



Justice and the regulation of social relations: When and why do group members deny claims to social goods?

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When do group members withhold monetary resources, abandon procedural protections, and deny fair and respectful treatment to potential claimants? Two experiments investigated the conditions that influence judgments about others' entitlement to these three social goods. Past research suggests that exchange concerns underlie entitlement judgments such that an instrumentally beneficial relationship will promote greater support for claims to social goods. Drawing from group-value theory (Lind & Tyler, 1988), an alternative hypothesis is proposed which suggests that entitlement judgments are motivated by concerns about preserving the core norms and values that comprise the group's identity. The findings support the group-value hypothesis that discrimination in entitlement judgments is motivated by social identity concerns. Furthermore, this tendency to discriminate against those who challenge the group's core norms and values is moderated by the nature of the social good. The effect is strongest with regard to judgments about economic goods (money) and is attenuated with regard to judgments about procedural goods (procedural protection) and especially relational goods (fair and respectful treatment). It is suggested that the level of discrimination exhibited in the domain of procedural and relational goods is kept in check by culturally rooted beliefs that these social goods should be distributed according to egalitarian principles.

The study of social justice, ironically, demonstrates the prevalence of social discrimination. This observation is colourfully illustrated by Deutsch who stated that 'justice is not involved in relations with others—such as heathens, "inferior races", heretics, "perverts"—who are perceived to be outside of one's potential moral community or opposed to it' (Deutsch, 1985, pp. 36-37). Given that inequality among social groups is ubiquitous across societies (Sidanius, 1993), clearly some claims to resources and justice considerations are viewed as more legitimate and deserving than other claims. The more interesting issue has to do with identifying the conditions that influence willingness to deny claims to valued social goods. This research focuses on the process of social discrimination or the antecedent conditions that motivate people to differentially support claims to monetary resources, procedural protections, and fair and respectful treatment. Two contrasting images of the motives that underlie such

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entitlement judgments are evaluated—each of which implicates concerns about the basic goals of groups—whether it is the pursuit of material group interest or maintaining a valued social identity. Moreover, the current research is premised upon the assumption that the nature of the resource under consideration is, in itself, an influence on entitlement judgments. Specifically, this research seeks to bridge distributive and procedural justice research by re-conceptualizing procedural justice constructs such as voice and respectful treatment as resources that can be distributed in social groups in addition to the concrete resources (e.g. money) that are, more often than not, the focus of research on the psychology of entitlement.

This research draws from the prevalent socio-functional perspective of justice which asserts that justice-relevant affect and cognitions play a critical role in determining the nature of social relationships within groups, organizations, and communities. For example, satisfaction of justice concerns and expectations maintains and repairs relationships by encouraging cooperation, prosocial behaviour, deference to authorities, and obedience to rules and policies (Huo, Smith, Tyler, & Lind, 1996; Lind, Kanfer, & Earley, 1990; Mikula & Wenzel, 2000; Moorman, 1991; Smith & Tyler, 1996). In contrast, failure to meet justice concerns and expectations adversely affects social relationships, leading to collective protest, sabotage at work, and employee theft (Greenberg, 1993; Gurr, 1970; Hafer & Olson, 1993; Walker & Mann, 1987). Following this line of logic, individuals in groups assume an implicit social contract that specifies the operation of justice norms and entitlements (Rousseau & Parks, 1993). It follows that in situations where the social bonds between actors are weak, such as when people are dealing with out-group members or when they are exiting a group, expectations of justice are diminished (Martin, Scully, & Levitt, 1990; Tyler, Lind, Ohbuchi, Sugawara, & Huo, 1998).

Drawing from social psychological theories of justice and related empirical work, at least two predictions can be made about *when* group members are more or less willing to support claims to social goods: (1) an instrumental hypothesis which implicates the pursuit of material group interest as the primary motive underlying entitlement judgments; and (2) an identity hypothesis which implicates the preservation of group norms and values as the primary motive underlying entitlement judgments. Although both hypotheses assume that justice considerations are linked to concerns about the nature of the relationship between the group and a target, they differ in their predictions about which aspect of that relationship motivates willingness to withhold valued social goods.

An instrumental hypothesis

The instrumental hypothesis reflects the assumption that the maximization of self- and group-interests motivates justice judgments (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Both distributive and procedural justice theories (Deutsch, 1985; Thibaut & Walker, 1975; Walster, Walster, & Berscheid, 1978) implicate an instrumental motivation on the part of those who express concern about justice for themselves as well as others. According to these social exchange based theories, concerns about justice reflect calculated self- or group-interest. As people strive to maximize their personal or group rewards in social exchanges, they follow justice norms and rules and expect others to follow along because they believe that in the long run, equitable, fair behaviour promotes personal gain (Tyler & Dawes, 1993). The instrumental perspective makes a straightforward prediction about when people will be motivated to endorse claims to social goods. They will be motivated to do so when there is potential for instrumental

gain. In contrast, in situations where there is potential for instrumental loss, people will feel less motivated to support claims to social goods.

The instrumental hypothesis has some empirical support. Historical evidence suggests that the adoption of discriminatory policies closely parallels economic downturns and increased competition for scarce resources (Nagata, 1990; Staub, 1989). For example, in the early 1990s a majority of voters in California passed restrictive legislation that adversely affected marginalized groups. These restrictive policies ranged from banning government agencies from providing health care and education for illegal immigrants to increasing the severity of sentences for repeat criminal offenders. These discriminatory policies coincided with a prolonged period of economic recession in California. Although it is not possible to conclude that competition for resources or fear of such competition led to support for these policies, this belief characterized public discourse and debates.

Recent empirical studies have directly tested the instrumental hypothesis. A study of attitudes towards immigrants found that perceived competition led to the development of hostile attitudes towards newcomers (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998). Interestingly, this study did not find similar effects of competition on the more specific attitude of willingness to allocate resources to immigrants. A study of environmental attitudes manipulated whether the target (an endangered animal species) is a source of economic benefit or harm to humans (Opotow, 1994). This study demonstrated that within a context of high conflict between humans and an animal target, people reported greater justice concerns for the target under conditions of mutual cooperation than under conditions of competition.

An identity hypothesis

In contrast to the instrumental hypothesis, the group-value theory suggests that concerns about justice in relationships with others are closely linked to social identity considerations (Lind & Tyler, 1988). Drawing on insights generated from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and self-categorization theory (Turner *et al.*, 1987), the group-value theory assumes that group members are motivated to maintain the positive and distinct identity of their reference group and to maintain social harmony within the group. More importantly, the theory argues that the provision of social goods is regarded as symbolic recognition of an individual's or a subgroup's status within the larger community (Boeckmann & Tyler, 1997; Tyler & Lind, 1990).

Studies evaluating the identity premise of the group-value theory have focused primarily on how identity concerns explain reactions to treatment by important group representatives (e.g. Huo *et al.*, 1996; Smith & Tyler, 1996). These studies demonstrate that procedural fairness considerations become more central in shaping reactions toward the group and its representatives to the extent that individuals identify with the group in question. In this context, how one is treated conveys important status-relevant information. Whereas fair treatment communicates recognition of the person's status as a full-fledged member of the group, unfair treatment is associated with a message of exclusion and marginality.

Although the identity hypothesis of the group-value theory is well developed and supported with respect to reactive justice judgments (i.e. how one responds to personal experiences with fairness or unfairness), relatively little attention has been focused on the influence of identity concerns on proactive justice judgments (i.e. how one feels about others' entitlements to justice considerations) which is the focus of the

current work. Following earlier theorizing on group-value theory, the two studies presented here test the premise that identity concerns are directly relevant to group members' responses to claims for social goods. Specifically, it is hypothesized that in the context of entitlement judgments, group members would be more willing to extend valued social goods to those who they view as supporting the core norms and values of their group. Doing so serves the purpose of protecting the social identity of a valued in-group and to maintain harmonious relations within it. In contrast, group members will be less motivated to extend social goods to those who pose a challenge to their group's norms and values.

Studies investigating when people will or will not support claims to social goods suggest that perceptions of shared values and beliefs do influence entitlement judgments. Taormina and Messick (1983) manipulated the degree to which nations requesting foreign aid are similar to the USA in their political orientation. The results support the hypothesis that increased goal similarity leads to higher ratings of deservingness. Studies of political tolerance also suggest that perceptions of value similarity are associated with greater concern for extending procedural protections to minority groups (Gibson, 1992; Sullivan, Piereson, & Markus, 1979).

Whereas these previous studies appear to support the identity hypothesis of entitlement, the current approach departs from these studies in an important respect. Specifically, it follows the group-value argument that concerns about maintaining the positive identity of the group and social harmony within it mediate the relationship between perceptions of the recipient of social goods and entitlement judgments. In other words, while similarity may reflect interpersonal processes such as empathy for and liking a similar other, the group-value approach proposes that it is group-level concerns about maintaining group norms and values that influence entitlement judgments. The link between the enforcement of normative behaviour and the preservation of social harmony has a long tradition, starting with studies of social influence in groups (Lauderdale, Parker, Smith-Cunnien, & Inverarity, 1984; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Sherif, 1966) and is reflected in more recent work on views about punishing rule-breakers (Boeckmann & Tyler, 1997; Goldberg, Lerner, & Tetlock, 1999).

Entitlement judgments: Differentiating among economic, procedural and relational goods

In addition to contrasting the instrumental and identity hypotheses of justice entitlements, this research also addresses the question of how support for resource claims is influenced by the nature of the social good itself. Specifically, the influence of instrumental and identity concerns on entitlement judgments should vary as a function of the nature of the resource distributed. Distributive justice research has traditionally focused on the allocation of money and other such economic resources while overlooking the equally important issue of how people distribute more symbolic resources (Greenberg, 1987). Although empirical work on the allocation of symbolic resources is scarce, conceptual models based on a more inclusive conception of social goods exist (Foa, 1971; Galston, 1980; Lane, 1988; Walzer, 1983). These models concur that economic resources are important. At the same time, they recognize that people value other, less tangible rewards such as opportunities to participate in the political process and being accorded a minimal level of respect by important others.

These three social goods map on to distributive and procedural justice research. Economic goods, as noted, have been the focus of distributive justice research (Greenberg & Cohen, 1982; Deutsch, 1985) and refer to tangible resources and services. It should be noted that, in this research, economic goods refer specifically to monetary and other such resources that are desirable to possess greater quantities of but are not absolutely necessary for the purpose of survival. This conception of economic resources is most common in the distributive justice literature (see Tyler, Boeckman, Smith, & Huo, 1997). Resources that are considered necessary for human survival such as essential food and access to basic health care fall into a separate category, and allocation of such resources are guided by a distinct set of considerations such as culturally bounded conceptions of need (see Moghaddam & Vuksanovic, 1990, for a discussion). While exhaustive taxonomies of distributable resources are useful for a number of reasons (e.g. Foa, 1971), it is not the intention of this work to provide such a framework. The more modest goal of this research is simply to extend the study of entitlements beyond monetary resources to include procedural and relational goods, which have rarely been explicitly studied (see Heuer, Blumenthal, Douglas, & Weinblatt, 1999).

In contrast to economic goods, procedural goods and relational goods have been the focus of procedural justice research (Lind & Tyler, 1988). Procedural goods are akin to the phenomenon identified in the procedural justice literature as 'voice' (Lind *et al.*, 1990; Peterson, 1999) and more broadly refer to opportunities to influence the community and one's position within the community through the exercise of political and legal rights (Sullivan *et al.*, 1979; Thibaut & Walker, 1975). Relational goods refer to the recognition of the social standing of individuals within a community (Lane, 1988; Walzer, 1983). One line of procedural justice research has operationalized relational goods more concretely. Specifically, the relational model (Tyler & Lind, 1992) proposes that people are attuned to the interpersonal aspects of their encounters with decision-makers—particularly with issues of politeness, dignity, and respect—because these evaluations convey important clues about one's position within a reference group.

Theorists who consider the multidimensionality of resources have proposed variations of a 'resource differentiation principle' (e.g. Fiske & Tetlock, 1997; Foa, 1971; Walzer, 1983). They regard social goods as possessing distinctive attributes and are thus not easily exchanged across domains. One version of the differentiation principle is evaluated here: people will be less likely to discriminate against targets in distributing social goods that fall into the process domain (procedural and relational goods) relative to social goods that fall into the content domain (economic goods). This hypothesis is based on evidence suggesting that entitlement judgments are partially a function of a culturally shared understanding of the appropriate norms for distributing different social goods. Whereas group members' attitudes about sharing procedural and especially relational goods with others are guided by an equality norm and thus *less* sensitive to the social context (e.g. the relationship between one's group and the claimant), attitudes about sharing economic goods are guided by more restrictive distributive norms that are *more* sensitive to the social context. Several pieces of evidence support this line of thinking.

The normative hypothesis is based on the observation that in democratic political cultures the concept of egalitarianism is closely tied to attitudes about symbolic goods such as political participation and treatment with respect. In this ideological system, respect is the 'most important of primary goods' (Rawls, 1971). While the Rawlsian

assertion of the importance of relational concerns reflects a normative position and may not be descriptive of lay reasoning, Lind and Earley (1992) arrive at a similar conclusion based on their review and critique of the shortcomings of self-interested models of group behaviour prevalent in Western psychology.

Moreover, survey data suggest that Americans, in general, tend to express greater support for symbolic recognitions resembling relational and procedural goods than for tangible resources resembling economic goods. In response to a survey question about what makes them proudest of the American system, people more frequently mention freedom and opportunity than economic prosperity (Compton Advertising, 1975; Public Opinion, vol. 4, p. 30, 1981, both cited in Lane, 1988). Similarly, analyses of American views about social equality indicate that there is far greater support for policies developed to ensure fair process (i.e. equality of opportunity) than for those that directly intervene in redistributing wealth and income (Hochschild, 1981; Kluegel & Smith, 1986). In addition, justice researchers and theorists argue that the norms guiding distribution of social goods are such that inequality of process is perceived to be more intolerable than inequality of outcomes (Brockner & Wiesenfeld, 1996; Okun, 1975; Rawls, 1971).

In contrast, economic goods tend to invoke a self- or in-group-oriented response. This is partially a function of the belief that the distribution of concrete resources is a zero-sum game. The more that an individual or group has, the less remains for others. The belief that one should try to maximize such resources for oneself or one's group is generally considered to be a dominant cultural norm in North America (Miller & Ratner, 1998). When justice principles are invoked in the allocation of non-essential economic goods in impersonal social relationships, the tendency is to rely on the equity rather than equality norm (Deutsch, 1975). Moreover, whereas attitudes about symbolic goods are guided by the heuristic of equality, attitudes about economic goods are determined by a number of different considerations (Skitka & Tetlock, 1993).

This version of the resource differentiation principle suggests that one way in which social goods can be distinguished from one another is that they prime different distributive norms. Because relational goods are hypothesized to be associated with more egalitarian norms than economic goods, it follows that people are less likely to discriminate between alternative targets in the domain of relational goods than in the domain of economic goods. Procedural goods involve symbolic acknowledgement of a person's social standing as well as opportunities to influence outcomes in the group and thus have elements in common with both relational and economic goods. This argument parallels the finding in the procedural justice literature indicating that people welcome the opportunity for 'voice' (the opportunity to present one's case or express one's opinions) for both symbolic and instrumental reasons (Lind *et al.*, 1990). Given its unique attributes, it follows that across different targets, people should express greater endorsement of claims to relational goods, followed by procedural goods, and finally by economic goods.

Summary

The research presented here seeks to identify the factors that influence entitlement judgments—when and why people are willing to withhold resources, abandon procedural protections, and deny fair and respectful treatment to others. Past research suggests that instrumental concerns should shape these judgments. An alternative identity-based motive is hypothesized to be important as well. In addition, it

is hypothesized that entitlement judgments will be partially determined by the type of social good considered, such that higher levels of discrimination against targets will be observed with regard to economic goods relative to procedural and especially relational goods. This predicted interaction is premised on the idea that relational goods are associated with egalitarian distributive principles and are thus more resistant to the influence of instrumental and identity considerations. These hypotheses are evaluated in two studies in which members of an existing community are asked to consider claims to social goods made by experimentally constructed targets.

STUDY 1

Method

Participants and design

The number of participants recruited for Study 1 was 168: 61% women and 69% non-white.¹ Participants were drawn from the psychology department's research participant pool and received partial course credit for their participation. The study was based on a 2 (pro-norm/anti-norm) \times 2 (material gain/loss) \times 3 (economic/procedural/relational goods) mixed factorial design in which social good type was a within-participant factor.

Procedure

Before the study began, participants were asked to read a statement inviting them to participate in a 'social judgment and decision-making simulation study'. The cover story embedded in the statement suggested that the researcher was interested in studying how novices (college students) and experts (university administrators) use social information to make decisions that would affect the lives of others. Participants were asked to engage in two exercises: a memo-writing exercise and a policy-making exercise. The experimental manipulations were embedded in the policy-making exercise.

In the introduction to the policy-making task, it was explained that expert policy makers often have to make decisions about important issues based on limited information. Participants were told that the policy issue they would consider was about the involvement of external organizations (organized groups that have no official ties to the university) in student life on campus. Participants were asked to consider what was ostensibly a real external organization active on campus (the target group). The university from which the sample is drawn is an open, urban campus where outsiders are free to mingle and interact with students. In all conditions, participants read about an organization with a generic pseudonym, 'College Revival' (CR). After reading the profile of the target, participants were asked to respond to a series of questions about the group. Individuals completed the study in small groups of no more than 10 people per session. The entire procedure took approximately an hour to complete. At the end of the experiment, participants were fully debriefed and thanked for their time and effort.

¹ The university draws its students from a highly diverse region of the USA and the diversity of the samples mirrors overall ethnic diversity of the university.

Independent variables

Material interest

There were two levels of the material interest variable (gain/loss). In the gain condition, participants were told that the target group had proposed to fund the renovation of an abandoned fraternity house owned by the university. The cost of the renovation was estimated at \$780 000. The target group is interested in using only one wing of the building. They offered the remaining wings in the building for use by members of the university community. Participants were also told that the university had, in fact, been planning to renovate the building to house a much needed tutoring centre and that the target group's proposal would save the university administrative budget nearly \$1 million in renovation and other overhead expenses. In the loss condition, participants were told that the target group would like to use the abandoned fraternity house. The external organization made a proposal to the university to lease the building for a nominal fee (\$100/month) on the condition that the university would first renovate the run-down building to meet safety codes. Participants were also told that the university had no immediate use for the building and that the renovation and associated overhead costs would be an unnecessary expenditure in the region of nearly \$1 million. Hence, the proposal, if adopted, would lead to overall loss for the university. Additional details were provided to suggest either that the target group's proposal would benefit or hurt the finances of the university.

Identity

The profiles for the two identity conditions (pro-norm/anti-norm) were created based on information generated through a pre-study which was designed to elucidate the norms and values that form the basis of the group's social identity. In the pre-study, 42 students randomly drawn from the psychology department's subject pool (59% female; 76% non-white) were asked to list three reasons why they are proud to be a part of the university they attend. They were also asked to respond to several close-ended questions about their perceptions of the student body. Responses to the open-ended question of why they are proud to be a part of the campus community were coded into discrete categories (10 total). The three categories in which at least a majority of responses fell include: the academic reputation of the university (81%), the social and cultural diversity of the campus community (55%), and the tolerant, intellectual atmosphere of the campus community (50%). In addition to the open-ended question, participants reported their agreement with several general statements describing the students at the university as academically motivated (93%); valuing social equality (88%), and interesting (76%). Two dominant themes emerged from an examination of the responses to the open-ended and close-ended questions. First, there is considerable consensus among the participants that academic excellence is a strong norm on campus. Secondly, another widely held norm on campus is a political-social view based on the appreciation of social and cultural diversity. These two pieces of information about the participants' perceptions of their reference group were used to construct the target groups.

Information from the pre-study was then used to create target groups that espoused values and beliefs that either supported or challenged the group's identity. In the pro-norm condition, participants read about an external organization characterized by values and goals consistent with their group's identity. The target group was described as a 'national honor society' whose mission was to promote scholarly exchanges

among college students. Furthermore, the group was described as being open to interested students and particularly encouraging of the participation of women and ethnic minorities. In the anti-norm condition, participants read about a group whose values and goals challenge or threaten their group's identity. The target group was described as primarily politically oriented and, in fact, one that discourages students from focusing too much on academic matters. Moreover, their central goal is to promote the belief that Anglo-Americans are superior to ethnic minorities. Additional details were provided to emphasize that while one target group supported the core norms and values of the community (academic excellence and campus diversity), the other target group contested these same norms and values.

Dependent variables

Participants were asked to respond to a series of statements that assessed their willingness to extend economic, procedural, and relational goods to the target group. Agreement with each of the statements was assessed using a 7-point scale (1=strongly disagree; 7=strongly agree).

Economic goods

Two items assessed attitudes about sharing community resources with the target group: 'The student association should provide funding to CR for its activities if needed'; 'The University should provide some funding to CR to help it become established at [the University]' ($\alpha=.89$).

Procedural goods

Two items assessed attitudes about extending general procedural protections to members of the target group: 'CR members should be allowed to distribute their literature to students in the dormitories'; 'CR should be allowed to display articles and essays written by their members in campus libraries' ($\alpha=.65$). These items were adapted from studies of political tolerance (e.g. Sullivan *et al.*, 1979) and are intended to capture the 'voice' component of procedural justice at a group level.

Relational goods

To assess the importance of applying high-quality treatment to members of the target group, participants were asked to imagine that the target group held what was supposed to be a peaceful rally that got out of hand and campus police were called in to intervene. After reading the scenario, they responded to three questions about how the police should interact with target group members who were involved in the rally: 'The police should treat CR members with dignity and respect'; 'During the intervention, the police should treat CR members in the same way that they would treat members of other groups in similar situations'; and 'It is important that members of CR be guaranteed fair treatment' ($\alpha=.62$).² The scenario method and the items used were adapted from studies of procedural justice in authority relations (Tyler & Lind, 1992) and are

² One might argue that the method used to assess attitudes about relational goods would inadvertently bias the results. Although the scenario description does not state the extent to which the target group caused the problem requiring police intervention, that is an implication the participants may logically draw. More problematic is that attributions of responsibility might be different across the two norm conditions. Participants might be more likely to perceive the different norm, racist group as having caused the altercation. However, pilot studies of the scenario method that varied the attribution of responsibility across the norm conditions did not produce any main or interaction effects on the relevant dependent measure.

Table 1. Exploratory factor analysis of dependent variables (Study 1)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Student association provide funding to target group?	.95	.12	.34
University provide funding to target group?	.95	.05	.36
Target group be allowed to distribute literature?	.35	.08	.88
Target group be allowed to display articles?	.28	.33	.84
Treat target group with dignity and respect?	.18	.71	.16
Treat target group in same way as other groups?	.01	.78	.19
Guarantee target group fair treatment?	.03	.79	.18
Percentage of variance	35	24	14

Note. The findings shown are the results of a rotated factor solution using Promax rotation. The number of factors was constrained to three. Numbers in italic indicate the items included in the scale reflecting each factor.

intended to represent the notion of respect as conveyed by authorities' treatment of individuals. This approach was taken because it corresponds most closely to related research on procedural justice.

Manipulation checks

Two questions assessed the effectiveness of the identity manipulation: 'To what extent do you feel that the views of CR are consistent with the general norms of the university?'; and 'To what extent do you think most students at the university would agree with the goals of CR?'. The two measures were significantly correlated ($r=.83, p<.01$) and combined to form a single scale. Two questions assessed the effectiveness of the material interest manipulation: 'Could the university potentially benefit financially from its association with CR?'; and 'To what extent could CR help the university financially?' The two measures were significantly correlated ($r=.70, p<.01$) and combined to form one index.

Results

Preliminary factor analysis

Before testing the influence of the experimental manipulations, it is necessary to evaluate first whether the indices of economic, procedural, and relational goods outlined form three factors as hypothesized. Because the three scales are interrelated ($r=.37, p<.01$ (economic and procedural goods); $r=.24, p<.01$ (procedural and relational goods), and $r=.10$, n.s. (economic and relational goods)), the factor solution used Promax (oblique) rotation. Factor analysis produced the rotated three-factor solution shown in Table 1. The results support the division of the items into three factors: economic goods, procedural goods, and relational goods. Subsequent analysis will treat these three indices as separate dependent variables.

Manipulation check

To assess whether the experimental manipulations had the intended effects, analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on items assessing perceptions of the extent to

Table 2. Support for claims to economic, procedural, and relational goods as a function of target group norm and financial impact (Study 1)

	Financial gain			Financial loss		
	Economic goods	Procedural goods	Relational goods	Economic goods	Procedural goods	Relational goods
Pro-norm	2.54 (1.32)	4.45 (1.22)	5.84 (1.09)	3.29 (1.44)	4.29 (1.59)	5.95 (0.77)
Anti-norm	1.61 (1.07)	3.12 (1.71)	5.43 (1.11)	1.35 (1.48)	3.23 (1.62)	5.80 (1.01)

Note. Entries are means with standard deviations in parentheses.

which the target's views are consistent with the norms of the university as well as perceptions of the financial relationship of the target to the university. The analysis revealed a significant effect for material interest in the intended direction on items assessing perceptions of the financial contribution of the target group, $F(1,162)=60.20, p<.01$. A significant effect for identity in the intended direction was found on items assessing perceptions of the norms of the target group, $F(1,163)=336.41, p<.01$. An unintended effect for identity was found on items assessing perceptions of the financial contribution of the target group such that the anti-norm target was perceived to be less likely to have a positive influence on the community's financial state than the pro-norm target, $F(1,162)=15.36, p<.01$.³ No other effects were found.

Influence of group-level concerns

Repeated-measure ANOVA was conducted to test the predicted experimental effects (see Table 2 for the cell means and standard deviations). Between-participants effects include a significant effect for identity such that participants were more willing to extend economic, procedural, and relational goods to the pro-norm target than to the anti-norm target, $F(1,164)=54.90, p<.01$. There was no significant effect for material interest nor was the two-way interaction between identity and material interest significant.

Several significant effects involving the within-participant factor of social good were found. First, there was a significant main effect for social good, $F(2,328)=399.57, p<.01$, such that support for relational claims ($M=5.76$) was on average higher than support for procedural claims ($M=3.78$), which in turn was higher than support for economic claims ($M=2.20$). However, this main effect needs to be interpreted within the context of the predicted identity by social good interaction, $F(2,328)=11.62, p<.01$. Figure 1 illustrates the nature of the two-way interaction. The difference between the means across the pro-norm and anti-norm target conditions was significant for economic goods, $t(166)=7.60, p<.01$, and for procedural goods, $t(166)=5.04, p<.01$. The means for relational goods were marginally different from each other, $t(166)=1.82, p<.10$. The interaction can be best interpreted by noting that the difference in means between the two conditions was greatest for economic goods

³ While this unintended effect brings into question the orthogonality of the two experimental manipulations, the material interest effect was three times larger than the identity effect on perceptions of the target group's financial impact (ETA squared of .27 vs. .09).

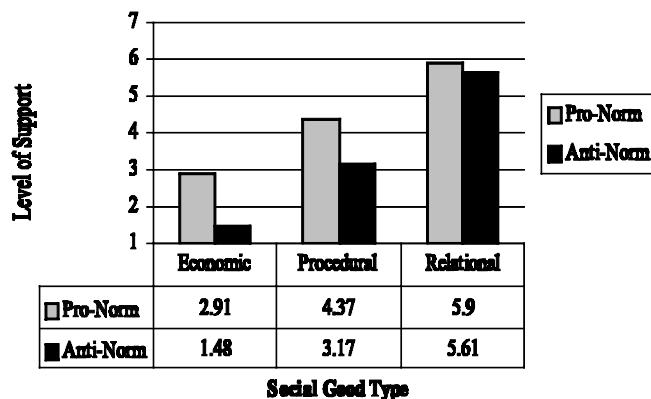


Figure 1. Support for claims as a function of target group norm and social good (Study 1).

Note. Level of support ranged from 1 (lowest) to 7 (highest).

(difference=1.43), followed by procedural goods (difference=1.20), and then by relational goods (difference=0.29). These findings are consistent with both the identity hypothesis and the identity by social good interaction hypothesis.

One potential problem with interpreting these results is that the scale used to measure the effectiveness of the material interest manipulation also revealed a significant effect for the identity manipulation. This problem can be partially addressed with regression analysis in which the effect of perceived norm similarity on the dependent measures can be evaluated, controlling for the effect of perceived material interest. The measures that served as manipulation checks were entered into regression equations to predict the dependent measures. The results of these analyses support the ANOVA results, which showed a strong identity effect. In no case did perceived material interest predict the dependent measures. In contrast, perceived similarity in norms and values predicted both judgments about economic goods ($\beta=0.49, p<0.01$) and procedural goods ($\beta=0.31, p<0.01$). Perceived similarity had a marginally significant effect on judgments about relational goods ($\beta=0.14, p<0.10$).

Although both the identity hypothesis and the identity by social good interaction hypothesis were supported, these patterns are qualified by an unexpected three-way identity \times material interest \times social good interaction. To understand the nature of this higher order interaction, analysis was conducted within each of the material interest conditions. The analysis reproduced both the two-way identity \times social good interaction and the main effect for social good within each material interest condition. A careful review of the table of means suggests that univariate ANOVA should be conducted on ratings of each type of social good to better locate the source(s) of the three-way interaction. The analysis indicated that while there was a significant identity \times material interest interaction on support for economic claims, $F(1,164)=7.44, p<.01$, the interactions were not significant for judgments about procedural or relational claims. Analysis of simple effects shows that in the pro-norm condition, surprisingly, participants were more willing to support economic claims made by the financially harmful target than claims made by the financially beneficial target, $F(1,166)=6.51, p<.01, M(\text{material loss})=3.29$ and $M(\text{material gain})=2.54$. The anti-norm condition had no comparable effect for material interest ($M(\text{loss})=1.35$ and $M(\text{gain})=1.61$).

Discussion

Study 1 provides preliminary support for the study predictions. In forming entitlement judgments, participants were responsive to whether the target supported the core norms and values of their group. Moreover, the findings show, as predicted, that group members would exhibit lower levels of discrimination towards targets with regard to procedural and especially relational goods relative to economic goods.

While the findings clearly demonstrate the important role that identity concerns play in shaping entitlement judgments, it is less clear what role material interest plays in such judgments, if any. The decomposition of the unexpected three-way interaction suggests that participants were responsive to whether the financial relationship between the target and the group was positive or negative. This effect was limited to those in the pro-norm condition and applied only to judgments about economic goods. The nature of the effect, however, was surprising. Contrary to predictions, the findings suggest that when evaluating a the pro-norm target, participants were more willing to support claims to social goods when engaging in a relationship with the target would lead to a financial loss rather than gain for their group.

At first glance, this finding seems puzzling. The instrumental hypothesis predicts that the more a group has to gain in a relationship with a target, the more group members would support the target's claims to economic resources. However, an alternative interpretation of the finding suggests that this finding is in some ways consistent with the identity hypothesis. The findings demonstrate that group members were willing to help out a target in financial need whose views are consistent with their group's norms and values. In other words, group members were willing to forego financial gain in an effort to extend a symbolic gesture of inclusion to a target who would uphold the core norms and values of their group. This *post hoc* explanation suggests that within the current experimental context, identity concerns seem to override instrumental concerns in shaping entitlement judgments. However, because this finding was unexpected, further tests of the study hypotheses are called for before definitive conclusions are formed.

STUDY 2

Because Study 1 has some methodological limitations, additional testing of the hypotheses is advisable. The most obvious limitation has to with the unintended effect of the identity manipulation on perceived financial gain or loss. This finding implies that participants perceived less financial gain with the anti-norm target than with the pro-norm target. It is plausible that this unintended experimental effect may account for the three-way interaction. Given that other studies have supported the instrumental hypothesis and that there was an unexpected three-way interaction, efforts were made in Study 2 to partial out the independent effects of material interest and identity.

Another potential limitation of Study 1 involves the way in which the three social goods were measured. Whereas attitudes about economic and procedural goods were assessed through direct statements, attitudes about relational goods were assessed in the context of evaluating how the target should be treated by group authorities in the event of an altercation. Arguably, the observed difference between attitudes about relational goods and the two other types of social goods could reflect method variance in addition to differences in the application of egalitarian norms as suggested. However, it should be noted that the social good hypothesis proposes that people

would be *less* discriminatory in their judgments about relational goods compared to their judgments about economic or procedural goods. Hence, if anything, the scenario which described the target group as being involved in a potentially volatile situation should work *against* this hypothesis. The social context described in the scenario should give participants justification for expressing unwillingness to provide targets with dignified and fair treatment. Yet, they responded by expressing more willingness to share relational goods with the targets than with any other social good. Nevertheless, it is important to measure entitlement judgments in a way that would eliminate method variance as an alternative explanation.

In Study 2, the social goods hypothesis was assessed in two ways. First, support for economic, procedural, and relational goods was assessed using the experimental paradigm presented in Study 1. Secondly, support for these social goods was assessed directly through several questions in an 'unrelated' questionnaire that asked the participants to indicate the importance of granting each of three social goods to *all* people. By assessing support for applying the equality norm to each of these social goods independent of a specific situational context, this evidence could provide additional evidence of the claim that beliefs about distributive norms influence entitlement judgments.

Study 2 improved upon the first study in two other ways. Additional items were included to measure procedural and relational goods in an effort to increase the reliability of these indices, which suffered from relatively low reliability in Study 1. Study 2 also provided an opportunity to directly evaluate whether social identity relevant concerns mediate the relationship between perceptions of the out-group target and support for claims to social goods.

Method

Participants and design

As in Study 1, the participants in Study 2 were students at the same public university. Unlike Study 1, which drew from the psychology department's research participant pool, the participants in this study represent a more general cross-section of the student body. One hundred and two participants (67% women and 83% non-white) were recruited from advertisement posted in the lobby areas of campus buildings and were paid \$7 for their time. The same 2 (identity) \times 2 (material interest) \times 3 (economic, procedural, relational good) mixed factorial design was recreated in Study 2.

Procedures

The procedures used were similar to those described for Study 1 with some changes. The cover story for the experiment was altered to increase realism and involvement. Participants were informed that they would be participating in a pilot study of a programme initiated by campus administration. The goal of the programme was to gather information about student opinion that would later be used to help the administration form campus policies. Participants were given information to suggest that it was very important that they took the study seriously because the outcome of the survey would be used to develop policies that would affect the lives of all students including themselves.

In the first section of the questionnaire, participants were asked to provide demographic information and to respond to questions about unrelated campus issues. In the

next section, participants were asked to indicate their opinions about an ongoing policy debate occurring on campus. They were told that the information gathered in the survey would be presented to the campus committee in charge of making a recommendation to the Chancellor's office. The policy debate was about the involvement of external organizations in the day-to-day student life on campus. External organizations were described as groups that have no official ties to the university and ranged widely in their goals and agendas and in the extent and nature of their involvement with the campus community.

Participants were asked to consider what is ostensibly a real external organization (the target group). The target was referred to with a generic name, 'Organization X'. The material interest and identity manipulations were embedded in a written profile of the target given to the participants. After reading the information provided in the profile, participants were asked to summarize the goals of the target and the nature of its financial relationship with the university. This written exercise was included as a check to see whether participants processed the available information accurately.

After responding to questions about the target, participants were asked to participate in an 'unrelated' questionnaire study of individual differences in social-political attitudes. Embedded within the questionnaire study was a short question that asked participants to indicate the importance of granting each of three social goods (monetary resources, procedural protections, and fair and respectful treatment) to all people. This question was designed as a context-independent test of the social goods hypothesis. The questionnaire was administered in a different room by a different experimenter after the main experiment took place. Because the single question of interest was embedded within a long questionnaire containing a range of items, participants, when probed during debriefing, did not express suspicion about the relatedness of the two parts of the study.

Independent variables

The identity manipulation in this study was the same one used in Study 1. The material interest manipulation was similar to Study 1 with the exception that an effort was made to make clear the connection between the target's financial relationship with the group and the impact of this relationship on student life. In the gain condition, participants were told that the target had proposed to pay for the renovation of an abandoned university-owned fraternity house. The target was motivated to pay for the renovation because they wanted to use the house. The contribution would save the campus administrative budget nearly \$800 000 which could then be used to fund needed courses, student services, and scholarships. In the loss condition, participants were told that the target group would like to lease the building for their own use for a nominal fee (\$100/month) on the condition that the university renovated the rundown building at the cost of \$800,000. Participants were told that because the lease fee was nominal relative to renovation expenses, in the end, the deal would result in a substantial cost to the university's administrative budget. The money lost in the transaction would have otherwise been used to fund courses, student services, and scholarships.

Dependent variables

The items used in this study were the same as the ones used in Study 1 with two exceptions. An additional procedural item was included ('Members of Organization X

should be allowed to hold public demonstrations and make speeches on campus') as well as an additional relational item ('The police should give each person involved the opportunity to explain their role in the rally before making arrests'). These items were added to increase the relatively low reliability of these indices found in Study 1. It appears that the addition of the two items increased the indices' reliability. In contrast to Study 1, where the reliability for the procedural goods and relational goods indices were on the low side ($\alpha=.66$ and $.62$, respectively), the reliability for all three scales in Study 2 was higher and within the general range of acceptability ($\alpha=.88$ (economic goods); $\alpha=.80$ (procedural goods); and $\alpha=.71$ (relational goods)).

The mediating variable of reputational impact was created by combining responses to two items: 'Do you feel proud or ashamed when you think about Organization X and what it represents?'; and 'What would be the effect on [the University]'s reputation if the general public knew of its affiliation with Organizational X?' The two items were correlated ($r=.73$, $p<.01$) and combined into a single index.

The questionnaire administered in tandem with the experiment included a series of filler questions. At the very end of the questionnaire, participants were asked to respond to the following question: 'How important is it for *all* people to have the unconditional right to [fill in social good]'. They were asked to rate each of three items on a 7-point scale (1=not important at all; 7=extremely important): (1) 'Access to money from the community's funds' (economic goods); (2) 'Opportunity to express their views in public' (procedural goods); and (3) 'To be treated with dignity and respect by group authorities' (relational goods). They were also asked to rank each of these three items in importance (1=most important; 3=least important). These questions served as secondary measures of how egalitarian norms influence support for claims to each of these social goods.

Manipulation checks

The items used as manipulation checks in Study 2 were used again in this study.

Results

Confirmatory factor analysis

Because exploratory factor analysis in Study 1 supported the predicted three-factor solution, the second data set provided an opportunity to replicate and extend this finding by subjecting the data to confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using EQS software. As Fig. 2 shows, all the items loaded onto their respective factors consistent with earlier findings. Moreover, the two most common indicators of model fit both suggest that the hypothesized model is a good fit to the data (comparative fit index=.90; $\chi^2/d.f.$ ratio=2.19).

Manipulation check

To ensure that the experimental manipulations had the intended effects, ANOVA was conducted on items assessing perceptions of the extent to which the target's views are consistent with the values of the university and perceptions of the financial relationship between the target and the university.⁴ The analysis revealed a significant effect

⁴Because of the unintended effect of the identity manipulation on perceptions of the financial impact of the target group on the in-group in Study 1, an effort was made to ensure that the participants properly understood the information they were given. During the debriefing sessions, the experimenter noted whether the participants voluntarily expressed

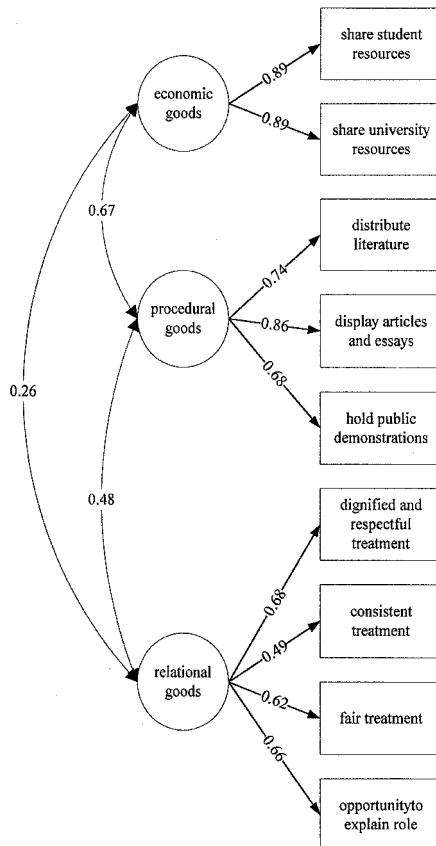


Figure 2. Confirmatory factor analysis model (Study 2).

Note. Diagram illustrates the loadings for a three-factor correlated model. Numbers represent standardized coefficients. All paths are statistically significant at $p < .05$.

for identity in the intended direction on items assessing perceptions of the norms of the target, $F(1,89)=136.77$, $p < .01$. A significant effect for material interest in the intended direction was found on items assessing perceptions of the financial contribution of the target, $F(1,89)=201.34$, $p < .01$. No unintended effects were found for any of the experimental manipulations.

Influence of group-level concerns

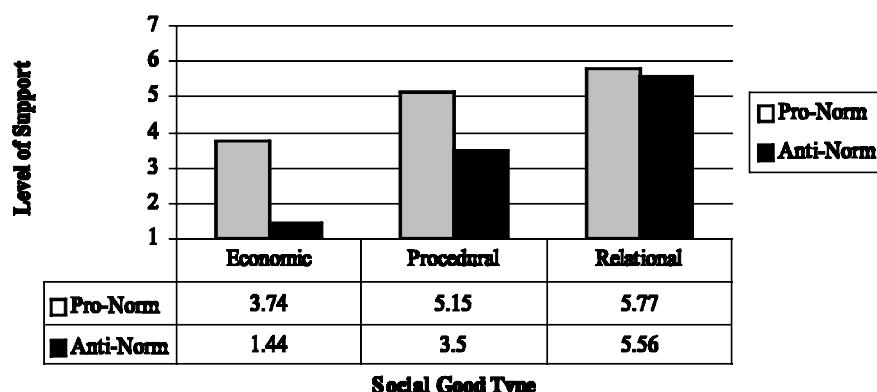
A repeated-measure ANOVA produced no three-way interactions (cell means are presented in Table 3). As in Study 1, there was a significant two-way interaction between identity and social good ($F(2,178)=24.54$, $p < .01$). The two-way interaction between identity and material interest was not significant nor was the main effect for material interest. However, there were significant main effects for identity ($F(1,89)=62.24$, $p < .01$) and for social good type ($F(2,178)=215.41$, $p < .01$) in the predicted direction.

suspicions about the cover story or misunderstood the experimental manipulations. All the participants believed the cover story. No one misunderstood the identity manipulation. However, nine of the participants misunderstood the material interest manipulation, and their data were excluded from the analysis. The effective sample size was 93 participants for analysis involving the experimental manipulations with cell sizes ranging from 20 to 25.

Table 3. Support for claims to economic, procedural, and relational goods as a function of target group norm and financial impact (Study 2)

	Financial gain			Financial loss		
	Economic goods	Procedural goods	Relational goods	Economic goods	Procedural goods	Relational goods
Pro-norm	4.04 (1.40)	5.26 (1.30)	5.74 (0.86)	3.46 (1.23)	5.10 (0.95)	5.80 (0.88)
Anti-norm	1.45 (1.18)	3.77 (1.75)	5.55 (1.0)	1.44 (0.77)	3.28 (1.56)	5.57 (1.03)

Note. Entries are means with standard deviations in parentheses.

**Figure 3.** Support for claims as a function of target group norm and social good (Study 2).

Note. Level of support ranged from 1 (lowest) to 7 (highest).

Figure 3 shows that the nature of the identity by social good interaction follows the pattern in Study 1. The difference between the means across the pro-norm and anti-norm conditions was significant for economic goods, $t(91)=9.47$, $p<.01$ and for procedural goods, $t(91)=5.70$, $p<.01$. The means for relational goods were not significantly different. The interaction can be best interpreted by noting that the difference in means between the pro-norm and anti-norm conditions was greatest for economic goods (difference=2.30), followed by procedural goods (difference=1.65), and then by relational goods (difference=0.21).

Test of mediation

Given the strong effect of target group norms on entitlement judgments, further analysis is called for to evaluate the hypothesis that this effect is mediated by concerns about protecting the positive social identity of the group as hypothesized. Following the Baron and Kenny (1986) approach for testing mediation, the path between the independent variable of target group norm and the mediating variable of reputational impact was established ($r=.87$, $p<.01$). Reputational impact was, in turn, significantly correlated with support for economic claims ($r=.70$, $p<.01$) and with support for procedural claims ($r=.57$, $p<.01$). Reputational impact was not significantly correlated with support for relational claims ($r=.15$, n.s.). Finally, target group norm was significantly correlated with support for economic claims ($r=.71$, $p<.01$) and with support for procedural claims ($r=.51$, $p<.01$). Target group norm was not correlated with support for relational claims ($r=.11$, n.s.).

Table 4. Mean rating and ranking for economic, procedural and relational goods (Study 2)

	Mean rating	SD	Mean rank	SD
Dignity and respect	6.30	1.29	1.45	0.54
Express opinion	5.71	1.41	1.75	0.67
Money	3.89	1.61	2.80	0.51

Note. For ratings, higher numbers represent greater importance. For rankings, lower numbers represent greater importance. Ratings were based on a 1 ('not important at all') to 7 ('extremely important') scale. Ranks ranged from 1 ('most important') to 3 ('least important').

The paths involving economic goods and procedural goods satisfied the specified requirements and were subjected to tests of mediation. Partial correlation analysis controlling for reputation impact resulted in reducing the strength of correlation between target group norm and judgments about economic goods ($r=.25, p<.01$) and procedural goods ($r=.05, \text{n.s.}$). The results indicate partial mediation for economic goods and full mediation for procedural goods. These results provide some indication that concerns about the impact of the target on the participants' in-group underlie entitlement judgments.

Context-independent test of the social goods hypothesis

To provide a context-independent test of the hypothesis that procedural and relational goods prime egalitarian responses, data from the questionnaire administered in tandem with the experiment were analysed. The questionnaire included a series of filler questions. At the very end of the questionnaire, participants were asked to respond to how important they thought it was for all people to have the unconditional right to access to community funds, opportunities to express their views, and treatment with dignity and respect by group authorities. They were also asked to rank each of these three items in importance. It is important to note that the framing of this question is independent of a specific social context. A pattern of findings in support of the hypothesis would result in relational goods being assigned the highest rating and rank followed by procedural goods and economic goods. The results in Table 4 support this predicted pattern.

Analysis of variance conducted on the importance ratings showed an overall effect for the within-participant factor of social good, $F(1,101)=2459.91, p<.01$. Follow-up paired t tests support the predicted pattern of mean ratings (see Table 4): M (relational goods) $> M$ (procedural goods), $t=5.05, p<.01$; M (procedural goods) $> M$ economic goods, $t=9.58, p<.01$; and M (relational goods) $> M$ (economic goods), $t=13.45, p<.01$.

Mean importance rankings were calculated for each item (see Table 4) and submitted first to an omnibus test of overall difference and then to pairwise comparisons. First, the mean importance rankings were submitted to a Friedman test of overall differences. The results indicated that the mean rankings were significantly different from each other, $\chi^2(2)=102.20, p<.01$. The mean rankings support the hypothesis with relational goods receiving the highest mean rank followed by procedural goods and economic goods. Follow-up pairwise comparisons submitted to the Wilcoxon test support the predicted pattern of mean rankings: M (relational goods) $> M$ (procedural

goods), $z=2.74, p<.01$; M (procedural goods) $> M$ (economic goods), $z=6.83, p<.01$; and M (relational goods) $> M$ (economic goods), $z=8.23, p<.01$.

Both rating and rank data suggest that participants were more concerned that *all* people receive fair and respectful treatment than that they receive either procedural protections or monetary resources. This finding supports the argument that procedural and especially relational goods are more closely associated with egalitarian norms than are economic goods. Controlling for method variance and social context, these findings replicated the pattern that emerged in the experimental data.

Discussion

Study 2 provided additional evidence that support for claims to social goods is primarily rooted in social identity-based concerns. Unlike Study 1, this second experiment did not produce any effects for material interest. In addition, the influence of identity on entitlement judgments are moderated by the nature of the social good such that the effect is attenuated with regard to procedural and especially relational goods. More importantly, Study 2 provides some evidence that norm and value congruence affects entitlement judgments by way of concerns about protecting the social reputation of the group to which participants belong.

Study 2's findings further support the claim that relational goods, and procedural goods, to a lesser extent, prime egalitarian norms. When asked about the extent to which all people should be entitled to each of the three social goods, participants responded by indicating that it was more important that all people be entitled to relational goods relative to procedural goods followed by economic goods. This additional evidence bolsters the pattern of findings documented in the two studies.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Three notable sets of findings emerged from the current research. First, the empirical data support the conceptual distinction made among three different types of social goods: (1) economic goods (money); (2) procedural goods (the exercise of political rights); and (3) relational goods (treatment with dignity and respect by important group representatives). Secondly, in contrast to the minimal influence of instrumental concerns, identity concerns were the primary force driving entitlement judgments. Lastly, entitlement judgments were also influenced by the nature of the social good itself. Participants were least likely to discriminate in the domain of relational goods, followed by moderate level of discrimination in the domain of procedural goods, and high level of discrimination in the domain of economic goods. This pattern was robust and replicated across both experiments and two different measurement approaches. Whereas participants were relatively unwilling to deny relational goods and even procedural goods to others, they were quick to withhold economic goods.

Implications for an identity approach to justice

While both an instrumental and an identity motive on social discrimination were evaluated in the two experiments, the evidence supports the latter rather than the former. This finding is consistent with earlier work on the group-value theory which has focused on individuals' responses to how they are treated by important group representatives. In contrast, identity processes have been neglected in distributive

justice research. However, recent work by Wenzel (2000, 2001) has documented that identity processes are relevant to distributive justice judgments. Although these two lines of work converge in their recognition of the importance of identity processes in justice judgments, they are each characterized by unique limitations. Whereas the work on identity and procedural justice has focused primarily on reactions to how one is treated rather than on judgments about how others should be treated, the work on identity and distributive justice has focused primarily on the distribution of non-procedural resources. In recognizing that procedural constructs can also be viewed as distributable resources, this research represents an initial but important step in bridging these earlier lines of work.

The importance of identity concerns in social relations is also consistent with conclusions drawn from a large body of existing research and theories. Early research on the minimal group paradigm provided evidence that individuals are motivated to preserve their group's positive social identity even at the cost of jeopardizing the group's overall instrumental gains (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Similarly, in studies assessing reactions to criminal offences, Boeckmann (1996) found that people were more punitive toward those who committed symbolic crimes that threatened community identity (e.g. damaging the American Constitution) than they were toward those who committed purely material crimes (e.g. stealing computer equipment from the public library). A like conclusion has been drawn about a more extreme situation. In a psycho-historical analysis of the Holocaust, Staub (1989) suggests that the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime were not so much the result of the rational pursuit of group interests but more likely attempts at restoring national pride and a sense of positive social identity. Theories and research on the development of intergroup attitudes also implicate the importance of shared values and norms (Allport, 1979; Biernat, Vescio, & Theno 1996; Sears, 1988). These studies suggest that attachment and loyalty to a particular group and its norms and values override material considerations across a range of disparate social phenomena.

Nonetheless, the finding that instrumental concerns had only a weak and unexpected effect on allocation attitudes is somewhat surprising given the long history of research implicating the role of realistic-group interest in intergroup attitudes (Levine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961). Several recent studies also find evidence that competition is associated with negative intergroup attitudes (e.g. Bobo, 1983; Esses *et al.*, 1998). However, the goal of this research is to examine the influence of functional concerns on a specific form of intergroup attitudes—willingness to share social goods. Interestingly, one study found evidence for the influence of self-interest on evaluative judgments of out-groups but not on willingness to share resources (Esses *et al.*, 1998). Research that has examined attitudes about policies involving distribution of social goods finds weak support for self-interest (Sears & Funk, 1991).

It has been argued that rational interests matter to people under specific conditions—when the material benefits or harms of a proposed policy are substantial, imminent, and well publicized (Sears, 1988; Sears & Citrin, 1982). Others suggest that the influence of instrumental motives on intergroup attitudes is moderated by individual differences in social orientation (Esses *et al.*, 1998) and by structural differences in power and status (Alexander, Brewer, & Hermann, 1999). While this research found partial support for the hypothesis that entitlement judgments are linked to concerns about the well-being of the group, given the presumed importance of instrumental goals in the maintenance of groups (Mackie & Goethals, 1987), future research

should explore the conditions under which instrumental concerns would influence entitlement judgments.

Implications for a broader conception of resources

The finding that people differentiate among the three social goods and that the level of discrimination is attenuated among procedural and especially relational goods is exciting and complements a growing interest among justice researchers on evaluating the effect of resource type on intergroup allocations (Azzi, 1992; Otten, Mummendey, & Blanz, 1996). Moreover, such an approach begins to fill a gap left in the procedural justice literature which has focused primarily on reactive judgments while neglecting to view fair process as a valued resource, in and of itself (Greenberg, 1987).

This set of studies found consistent evidence in support of the claim that social goods are qualitatively different. More specifically, the evidence suggested that the influence of identity concerns on entitlement judgments is qualified by the degree to which each social good primes egalitarian norms. That is, in western democratic cultures, egalitarian norms are associated with procedural and especially relational goods in such a way that entitlement judgments, with regard to process-oriented social goods, are relatively immune to the nature of the relationship between the in-group and the target. It is important to note, however, that this claim may be limited to communities that subscribe to a particular political philosophy that emphasizes equality of process. Others have noted that political and cultural ideology influence beliefs about what constitute 'human rights' (i.e. social goods that should be equally accessible to all regardless of their group membership; see Moghaddam & Vuksanovic, 1990). An important question for future research would be to evaluate the generalizability of the normative claim posed in this research.

A possible criticism of this interpretation of the finding that people were less willing to discriminate with regard to relational goods relative to procedural and especially economic goods is raised by the self-categorization perspective on distributive justice (Wenzel, 2000, 2001). This approach suggests that the documented social goods effect could be interpreted within a category salience framework whereby those who are categorized as part of the in-group are by default entitled to social goods. In other words, what is causing differential support for claims to social goods is the category that is primed. One can therefore argue that a relatively inclusive category (e.g. humans) is primed by relational goods and a less inclusive category (e.g. the in-group—university) is primed by economic goods. Because the category of humans includes both the in-group and the target, both are viewed as entitled to relational goods. In contrast, the in-group as defined by one's university does not include the target. Hence the target is viewed as less deserving of economic goods.

Although this alternative interpretation is intriguing, there is reason to believe that the pattern of findings generated is more consistent with the ideological argument presented in this article. After all, the 'context independent' data in Study 2 suggest that support for claims to social goods line up in the predicted way even when the social category primed is held constant (i.e. willingness to share social goods with *all* people). This finding seems to be consistent with the argument that people have well-developed conceptions of the degree to which egalitarian norms should be invoked with regard to social goods and this notion rather than differential categorization accounts for support for economic vs procedural and relational goods. There are also difficulties associated with the social categorization interpretation of the data on

two grounds. First, it is difficult to identify *a priori* the social category that is primed by the different social goods. Secondly, the social category that is primed may well be determined by contextual factors other than the resource being distributed (e.g. priming a shared superordinate category will change how an 'out-group' is viewed). Clearly, this debate cannot be adequately resolved with the current data, but it suggests interesting and potentially important avenues for future research.

Implications for bridging reactions to vs. allocation of procedural goods

One of the more important implications of this finding for the broader social justice literature is that the denial of respectful and dignified treatment may be more psychologically devastating than either the denial of the exercise of political rights or the withholding of monetary resources because the normative expectation is equality. There is some evidence for this line of thought in studies of people's self-reports of injustices they have experienced in their everyday encounters with others (Messick, Bloom, Boldizar, & Samuelson, 1985; Mikula, Petri, & Tanzer, 1990). The findings from these studies indicate that a considerable number of freely recalled incidents referred not to distributive injustices or even to violations of structural elements of established procedures but to impolite, rude interpersonal treatment (see Lupfer, Weeks, Doan, & Houston, 2000). Similarly, Lind, Tyler, and Huo (1997) reported that the most common cause of interpersonal disputes across a range of social and cultural contexts was rude and impolite behaviour.

One could reason that the denial of relational claims remains salient in people's minds long after the actual event because people operate under the expectation that individuals regardless of their group membership and normative position should be treated with dignity and respect. If there is such a consensual cultural norm as Rawls (1971) suggests, then it is not surprising that violation of such expectations would elicit strong negative reactions. In fact, violations of egalitarian principles in the relational domain may well be interpreted by the recipients as signals of exclusion (Tyler & Lind, 1990). While targets of discrimination may accept rejections of claims to economic resources, and perhaps even unequal access to procedural protections, they are likely to object to violations of their expectations for fair and respectful treatment. Because of people's heightened sensitivity to unequal treatment, mishandling of relational claims has the potential to trigger collective action.

In drawing together identity-based theories of distributive and procedural justice within an entitlement perspective, this work generates some interesting insights about how the psychology of justice changes as we move from studying how people react to personal experiences to how they construct entitlement judgments about what others deserve. Prior work on the group-value theory (Huo *et al.*, 1996; Smith & Tyler, 1996) suggests that the primary factor that shapes reactions to fair or unfair treatment is a sense of shared group identification. As individuals become more identified with the relevant group, they become more concerned about how they are treated by important group representatives. Interestingly, related work suggests that the primary role of identification processes in procedural justice judgments becomes attenuated when individuals are asked to make proactive judgments about how they would feel in a hypothetical situation rather than how they reacted to a past incident (Tyler, Huo, & Lind, 1999). In constructing proactive judgments about future events, individuals in that set of studies appear to be influenced more by ideological considerations (i.e. cultural norms of self-interest). Similarly, in the current work, individuals were asked to

construct proactive judgments about others' deservingness of social goods. The findings suggest that, in this context, entitlement judgments are jointly influenced by identity considerations and ideology (i.e. the shared belief that procedural and especially relational goods should be distributed according to egalitarian principles). It appears that in contrast to the psychology of justice reactions, which is primarily shaped by identity concerns, the psychology of entitlement is jointly determined by both identity concerns and the influence of cultural norms. This insight suggests the utility of conducting research that expands beyond a single perspective to include both proactive and reactive elements. Greenberg (1987) proposed a taxonomy for organizing justice theories that include both a process-content dimension (i.e. procedural-distributive) and a proactive-reactive dimension. The findings presented here suggest that this taxonomy is useful not only for organizing existing theories but for promoting the development of new theories that takes into account domain differences. These more broad-ranging theories are essential in moving us a step closer toward a more complete understanding of the psychology of justice.

Conclusion

This research began with the observation that notions of justice serve important functions in ongoing social relationships. Past research has demonstrated that a sense of justice maintains and repairs relationships and violation of justice expectations leads to destructive conflict (for summaries see Lind, 1997; Mikula & Wenzel, 2000; Tyler, Smith, & Huo, 1996). In other words, responses to justice or injustice in social situations are linked to attitudes that either serve to preserve or to dissolve ongoing relationships. This research further supports the link between justice and social relations by focusing on how entitlement beliefs are influenced by concerns about developing materially beneficial relationships and maintaining the core norms and values that define the group's identity. The evidence adds further support for the claim that distributive justice is deeply rooted in identity concerns. More interestingly, it suggests that the study of distributive justice can benefit from adopting a broader conceptual framework that extends beyond the traditional conception of resources as economic goods to recognize that procedural and relational resources are also social goods that are valued and valuable in social relations.

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