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Respect and the Viability of Ethnically Diverse Institutions

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Abstract

We present theory and research that examine how individuals' perceptions of the quality of their social relationships in self-relevant groups affect the functioning of ethnically diverse institutions (e.g., workplace, schools). Research on intragroup processes suggests that individuals are motivated to seek information about their value to the groups they identify with (personal respect). In diverse institutions, the extent to which key social identities, such as one's ethnic group, is valued by other group members matters as well (subgroup respect). Moreover, for minority group members, the ethnic ingroup, itself, is a source of important evaluative feedback (ethnic intragroup respect). We review evidence that demonstrates how and when each of these three aspects of social evaluation (personal respect, subgroup respect, and ethnic intragroup respect) shape outcomes central to group functioning, including individuals' level of engagement in the group and their subjective well-being. We discuss how insights from this research can inform the challenges faced by work organizations and other diverse institutions.

Respect and the Viability of Ethnically Diverse Institutions

Projections from the 2010 national census indicate that within the next twenty years the United States will become a plurality nation in which no one cultural, ethnic, or racial group will constitute the numerical majority (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). This unprecedented shift is due in large part to recent waves of immigration from Asian and Latin American nations. Similarly, the U.S. labor force will become substantially more diverse in the next few decades. Between 2000 and 2050, the share of Whites in the labor force is expected to drop by 20 percent (from 73% to 53%), while all major ethnic minority groups are expected to grow. Notably, the share of Hispanics will more than double (from 11% to 24%), and Asians will increase by six percent (from 5% to 11%; Toossi, 2002). As a consequence, institutions, and communities across the U.S. must face the challenges posed by this demographic shift. The more immediate challenge is the incorporation of large numbers of new immigrants in addition to historical minority groups. A second challenge is how Whites, the traditional majority ethnic group and the dominant political force in the U.S., will respond to these demographic changes.

Within this context, how can institutions continue to build human capital while maintaining cohesion and productivity within the workplace and other institutions? To address this question, we review past research and introduce recent findings on the psychological experience of respect in groups. We argue that the desire to feel valued by other group members is key to maintaining strong and viable, diverse institutions. That is, individuals are attuned to information that indicates how much they are valued (respected) by ingroup members. In turn, these perceptions of respect promote not only a sense of institutional belonging and commitment

but also psychological well-being. Together, this set of attitudes and behaviors can strengthen the institution as a whole.

A key insight of the research we will review is that the specific identity concerns experienced by individuals depend, in part, on where their ethnic group falls in the society hierarchy. In the U.S., there is wide consensus that Whites represent the dominant ethnic group whereas the other ethnic groups (e.g., African Americans, Asians, and Latinos) hold subordinate status (Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997). As a consequence, individuals may be aware of and respond to several distinct manifestations of the experience of respect. These experiences vary in terms of the source of respect (the institution or the individual's ethnic group) as well as the target (the individual or his or her ethnic group). We focus on three manifestations of the experience of respect: 1) personal respect (institution members' views about the individual); 2) ethnic subgroup respect (institutional members' views about the ethnic group); and 3) ethnic intragroup respect (ethnic group members' views about the individual) (see Figure 1). In this chapter, we provide empirical evidence for the distinctiveness of each form of respect and their consequences for the institution and its individual members. We also discuss actions institutions can take to promote feelings of respect among its members.

-----Insert Figure 1 about here-----

The Psychology of Respect: Theory and Background

The theoretical framework for the present analysis draws from research on the individual's relationship to others within organized groups (workplace, school, community). The psychological construct we refer to as personal respect captures people's views of their value to

and standing within important reference groups (Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010a; Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003; Spears, Ellemers, Doosje, & Branscombe, 2006). Personal respect from the group represents the group's opinion of individuals rather than a reflection of views derived from idiosyncratic interpersonal relationships (Emler & Reicher, 1995). Thus, the respect that individuals are shown by the group is a central part of their social identity (Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003). This conceptualization is distinct from the majority of work on social identity and self-categorization which highlight individuals' knowledge of, attachment to, and evaluations of groups they belong to (Leach et. al, 2008). Whether people view the group as valuable is clearly important. However, people's beliefs about whether the group values them can be equally, if not more, important.

Because a defining feature of the experience of respect is that it reflects the group's collective opinion, the actions of important group representative (i.e., group leaders, authorities) carry particular weight. Related research indicates that group authorities, by enacting decisions in a fair way, communicate the group's respect for individual members. This, in turn, elicits loyalty and attachment to the group (Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003; Tyler, DeGoey, & Smith, 1996). Similar responses are produced when group members directly communicate their collectively shared opinion of individual members (Ellemers, Doosje, & Spears, 2004; Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010b; Simon & Sturmer, 2003).

Individuals' feelings of the extent to which they are respected by the group predict a wide range of attitudes and behaviors including organizational citizenship behavior, trust in and deference to group leaders, and engaging in workloads above and beyond what is required (for a review, see Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003). Other research has demonstrated another important outcome; individuals who perceive respect from their reference groups report higher levels of

self-esteem (Koper, Van Knippenberg, Bouhuijs, Vermunt, & Wilke, 1993; Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003; Smith, Tyler, Huo, Ortiz, & Lind, 1998). The close tie between perceived respect and the self-concept suggests that the communication of respect from the reference group facilitates the bond between the self and the group. When individuals feel valued by the group, they are motivated to think of themselves and to act as a group member (Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010a). In sum, the communication of respect (or lack thereof) from the group is an important mechanism that has potential to shape the health of the group and its individual members.

Our analysis thus far provides a basic framework for understanding the experience of respect as communication from one group to one individual. In many institutions, social relations are more complex (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009). For example, at the workplace, employees are organized into departments and work groups. In ethnically and culturally diverse institutions, ethnicity and race also become salient forms of social categorization (Huo & Tyler, 2001). Within these more complexly organized institutions, evaluative feedback about one's subgroup (e.g., one's ethnic group) take on special meaning and may independently influence the dynamics of intragroup relations.

Below, we first explore the basic relationship between personal respect and indicators of the vitality of the institution and its individual members. We then focus on the relationship between subgroup respect and these outcomes. Lastly, we introduce the concept of ethnic intragroup respect, and focus on how the ethnic ingroup, itself, is a potential source of important social evaluative feedback, particularly for members of ethnic minority groups. Throughout, we pay particular attention to how these three manifestations of the experience of respect may have differential consequences for the institutions and its members, and also whether these processes

are similar or different for the dominant ethnic group (e.g., White Americans) and for ethnic minority groups (e.g., African Americans, Asians, and Latinos).

Personal Respect

In this section, we examine the relationship between personal respect and each of two categories of outcomes. The first, *group-oriented outcomes*, reflects individual attitudes and behavioral intentions that directly affect the group such as group commitment and the desire to engage in actions to improve the group. The second, *individual-oriented outcomes*, reflects indicators of personal well-being including self-esteem and low levels of perceived stress.

Personal respect and group-oriented outcomes

As noted earlier, individuals' perceptions that they are respected by other ingroup members have been linked to attitudes and behaviors that affect the welfare of the group, including group loyalty, commitment, and trust in the decisions of group authorities (for reviews see Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010a; Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003; Spears, Ellemers, Doosje, & Branscombe, 2006). These relationships are robust and have been demonstrated across different institutional contexts. In the workplace, feelings of respect promote organizational citizenship and greater compliance with workplace rules and with supervisor decisions, even after controlling for economic incentives (Tyler & Blader, 2000). In the educational context, our research shows that when high school students feel valued by their school community, they identify more with the school, volunteer to help at school, and report lower levels of social alienation (Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010a). Finally, in a study of at-risk youths in urban areas, young men who perceived high levels of respect within their local community were less likely to engage in future violent behavior that harm the community (Leary, Brennan, & Briggs, 2005). Together, these field studies show a clear relationship between individuals' perceptions of being

valued by the group and their motivation to act on behalf of the group. Studies that experimentally manipulate the experience of respect, similarly, show that when the group conveys their approval of and regard for individual members, they respond with more positive views about the group and greater willingness to engage in behavior that promotes group goals (Simon & Sturmer, 2003; Smith et al., 1998).

These research findings show that perceptions of respect from other members of the institution are associated with a range of attitudes and behaviors that facilitate collectively shared goals. However, a stronger test would be one in which we evaluate whether these relationships hold up during a time of institutional distress. To test this possibility, we reanalyzed data from a study of faculty employed by universities in California during the height of the U.S. economic recession in 2009. In response to severe cutbacks in public funding for California's public university systems, administrators implemented a controversial yearlong work furlough for faculty. The furlough was not accompanied by reductions in teaching load and/or other adjustments for amount of service provided. Thus, the furlough was an equivalent to a 10% salary reduction. Given the high level of uncertainty and discontent surrounding the furlough, the situation provided a unique opportunity to evaluate the robustness of the influence of perceived respect on individuals' attitudes and behavioral intentions.

Faculty members from three campuses were recruited via e-mail to complete a web-based survey ($N=953$) (for study details, see Osborne, Smith, & Huo, 2012). We measured the extent to which individuals felt that they were respected by the university community with three items. Each began with the stem *...Most of the time, I feel that people at my university ___* followed by: 1) *value my opinions and ideas*; 2) *think highly of my abilities and talents*, and 3) *admire my*

achievements. These items were adapted from previous research that assessed feelings of respect from group members (see for example, Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010b).

To evaluate whether perceived respect would predict views about a workplace during time of organizational crisis, we examined the predicted relationship using four different outcome variables: organizational belongingness, strength of organizational identification, support for the work furlough, and intention to protest the furlough. In addition to individuals' perceptions of respect within the workplace, we included in our model indicators that reflect a number of more objective indicators of status (e.g., years of service, gender).

Table 1 shows that perception of personal respect was a significant predictor of each of the four outcomes. It is notable that in a model that includes objective indicators of status, perceived respect was the most important predictor of organizational belongingness, organizational identification, support for the work furlough, as well as intention to protest the work furlough. The findings show that the relationship between perceived respect and group-oriented outcomes is robust and persists even during a highly stressful time for the organization and its employees. With what amounts to a sizable pay cut, faculty members who perceived that they were valued within the university community continued to support their workplace. Moreover, feelings of respect predicted whether or not these individuals went along with or actively protested the furlough. Together with existing studies, these findings suggest that perceived respect is an important contributor to institutional cohesion, not only under normal conditions but also during highly difficult times.

----Insert Table 1 about here---

Personal respect and psychological well-being

We have introduced evidence to show that experiences of personal respect can promote attitudes and behaviors that help to maintain institutional vitality. An arguably equally important indicator of how well an institution is doing is whether its individual members are physically and psychologically healthy and well-adjusted. If we think of individual well-being as a partial reflection of institutional climate, then institutions comprised of healthy individuals should have a distinct advantage over those that do not.

Findings across a number of disciplines suggest that an individual's social position (an objective form of status distinct from but related to respect, see discussion in Binning & Huo, 2012) is associated with measurable psychological and physical health outcomes. Analyses of large scale epidemiological datasets, for example, show that even after controlling for obvious predictors of health and longevity (e.g., income, lifestyle), status (defined as social position within a community) independently predicted health outcomes (Marmot, 2004). Individuals in positions consensually recognized as having higher social status are physically healthier and live longer. Furthermore, attesting to the link between subjective experiences of respect and health outcomes, large scale surveys of workers found that perceptions of respectful treat by supervisors predicted fewer sick days and reports of work related illnesses (Eloviano et al., 2005; Schmitt & Dorfel, 1999). While these findings draw from correlational data, experimental data produce converging findings. A field experiment of nurses who received an involuntary salary reduction found that those with supervisors trained to behave in a respectful and fair manner reported fewer occurrences of psychosomatic stress symptoms (e.g., sleep problems; Greenberg, 2006). Recent work in health psychology has begun to uncover the biological pathways through which the experience of respect affects health. Experimentally inducing acute threat to individuals'

social standing have produced short-term but measurable physiological changes (Gruenewald, Kemeny, & Aziz, 2006; Murphy, Slavich, Rohleder, & Miller, 2013).

Research linking respect from the group to the self-concept provides insight into why social evaluations from the group would affect health-related outcomes. Consistent with the findings described above, an early experiment documented that the communication of respect from a referent group leads to higher levels of self-esteem (Koper et al., 1993). Moreover, the effect of respect on self-esteem is moderated by social categorization. Individuals report higher levels of self-esteem when the communication of respect comes from an ingroup authority than when it comes from an outgroup authority (Smith et al., 1998). This finding suggests that the influence of respect on the individuals' sense of subjective well-being is tied specifically to the group individuals identify with. One implication of this finding is that it can be thought of as a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the communication of respect would have positive benefits for the well-being of individuals who identify strongly with the organization. On the other hand, when the communication of respect is absent, these same individuals also bear the negative consequences.

In our own recent research, we sought to expand upon this work by examining the possibility that experiences with personal respect can be detected not just in self-evaluations but also in measurable outcomes that more directly reflect psychological health. To do so, we draw upon work on the group-value model which suggests that individuals are highly motivated to seek information about their value to self-relevant groups (Lind & Tyler, 1988). Research motivated by the group-value model demonstrates that the actions of group leaders convey important information about how the group as a whole feels about individual members. Specifically, when leaders or other key group representatives treat individuals in a way that is

consistent with standards of fairness (neutrality, politeness, consideration of different views), they communicate the individual's value or worth to the group. In contrast, when leaders act in a way that deviates from fairness standards, they communicate that the individual has a marginal status. Other research suggests that members of small work groups who collectively treat individual group members in a fair or unfair way can elicit similar responses (Simon & Sturmer, 2003).

Building on this research, we examined whether how individuals are treated by group members would shape their well-being, mediated by perceptions of personal respect. That is, individuals who are treated in a fair way by the group are likely to recognize that they are respected members of the group. The perception that they are valued by the group, in turn, predicts higher levels of subjective well-being. We tested these hypothesized relationships using data from a field study (for details see, Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010b). In the study, students at an ethnically diverse, urban high school were interviewed about their everyday experiences at school. Students were asked to report how they are treated by most peers, teachers and staff at the school. They also reported perceptions of how they are viewed by most people in their school community (i.e., personal respect). Several measures of psychological well-being were assessed including self-esteem, anxiety, and depressive symptoms. The findings show that experiences with both teachers/staff and peers shape perceptions of respect from the group and indicators of psychological well-being. Individuals who feel that they are generally treated fairly by peers, teachers and staff report more positive psychological adjustment, and this relationship was mediated by perceptions of respect.

Concerns about personal respect across ethnic groups

The research we have reviewed suggests that the communication of respect can contribute to organizational vitality in multiple ways – by motivating group-oriented attitudes and behaviors and promoting the well-being of individuals. However, in diverse institutions, an important question that begs to be answered is whether these relationships hold up across different ethnic groups. The high school field study drew from a highly diverse sample and thus provided an opportunity to test the robustness of the communication of respect as a mechanism for creating inclusion. Interestingly, we found that the link between perceptions of being valued by the school community and psychological well-being is stronger among African American and Latino students than it is among White and Asian students. While Asians are a numerical minority in American society, in studies that asked individuals to rank the relative standing of different ethnic groups, Asians are generally ranked higher than African Americans and Latinos and closer to Whites (Begeny & Huo, 2013; Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997). Thus, one possible explanation for the differences across ethnic groups is that membership in lower status subgroups within an institution may increase the motivation to search for status affirming information (Jetten, Branscombe, & Spears, 2002).

Together, the findings suggest that perceived respect, derived from interactions with group members, is a potentially effective tool for promoting feelings of inclusion in diverse institutions. However, the observed interaction between ethnic group membership and perceptions of respect suggests that structural elements within the institution such as the relative standing of ethnic group must be considered.

Subgroup Respect

In diverse institutions, individuals are not only members of the institution but also members of salient subgroups within the institution (e.g. members of their ethnic groups). Thus, ethnic, cultural, and other subgroup-based divisions may shape individuals' perceptions and experiences of respect. Self-categorization theory suggests that personal and social identities are distinct (Turner, 1987). Here, we consider how the experience of subgroup respect may be similar to or different from the experience of personal respect.

Past research demonstrates that recognition and acknowledgement of ethnic identities are more important to ethnic minorities than to majority group members (Hehman et al., 2012; Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011). One reason may be that ethnic identity is more salient among ethnic minority group members (Phinney, 1996; Waters, 1990). Alternatively, ethnic minorities may be more concerned about the standing of their ethnic subgroup when their subgroup is seen as marginalized or peripheral to a broader group (Van Kleef, Steinel, & Homan, 2012). Evaluations of the ethnic subgroup by others can serve as a gauge of the extent to which the institution values an important component of individuals' social identity (Huo & Molina, 2006). Thus, in contrast to Whites, ethnic minorities may pay particular attention to information about the extent to which their ethnic subgroup is respected.

Subgroup respect and group-oriented outcomes

Datasets we have collected allowed us to test the prediction that subgroup respect would matter more to ethnic minority group members than to dominant group members. In each study, we measured subgroup respect with multiple items that are adapted from and parallel items previously used to measure personal respect. Each subgroup respect item was framed to assess individuals' perceptions of the extent to which the ethnic subgroup they belong to is valued by

the members of the institution (e.g., *Most Americans value the opinions and ideas of most [participant's ethnic group]*). We first focus on the relationship between subgroup respect and the individual's views of and commitment to the institution and then on the relationship between subgroup respect and psychological well-being.

In a large scale random digit telephone survey of African Americans, Latinos, and Whites, we evaluated whether our prediction about the moderating effect of ethnic subgroup membership would hold up in the context of U.S. ethnic relations. We assessed the extent to which individuals feel that other Americans respect them (personal respect) and also the extent to which they feel that Americans respect their ethnic group (subgroup respect). Controlling for strength of identification with the nation and with their ethnic group, subgroup respect predicted attitudes toward America and toward ethnic outgroups – but only among ethnic minority respondents and not among Whites (Huo & Molina, 2006). Specifically, African Americans and Latinos who perceive that most Americans value and respect their ethnic group (i.e., high levels of subgroup respect) report more positive feelings toward the nation, higher levels of trust in its institutions, and lower levels of ethnic ingroup bias. These relationships were not present among White respondents. In contrast, among Whites, perceptions that Americans respect them as individuals (i.e., high levels of personal respect) predicted each indicator.

In a second dataset, we sought to replicate the observed group-based asymmetry in a school context (Huo, Molina, Binning, & Funge, 2010). The school from which we drew our sample is highly diverse and characterized by a history of ethnic tension. The findings again showed that ethnic subgroup respect predicted individuals' views about the institution but only among ethnic minority students and not among White students. In particular, subgroup respect predicted more positive feelings toward the school, lower levels of school disengagement, and

lower levels of ethnic ingroup bias. These relationships held among each of the ethnic minority groups included in the study: African Americans, Asians, and Latinos. In contrast, none of these relationships held among Whites.

Subgroup respect and psychological well-being

In contrast to the robust and consistent relationship between personal respect and self-esteem (Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003), the relationship between subgroup respect and psychological well-being is more tentative. In two studies, one of adolescents we described earlier and another of young adults, both at ethnically diverse environments (urban high school and large public university), we did not find clear evidence of a link between perceived subgroup respect and psychological well-being (Huo, Binning, Molina, Danbold, & Yee, 2012). We did, however, replicate the relationship between personal respect and indicators of psychological well-being including self-esteem, general mental health, and self-reported physical health. These relationships held for both Whites and ethnic minorities. Subgroup respect, when controlling for personal respect, did not predict psychological well-being for any of the ethnic groups we investigated including Whites, African Americans, Asians, and Latinos.

For Whites who historically have been the dominant ethnic group in the United States, it is reasonable to conclude that ethnic identity may be less salient and central to the self-concept. Moreover, any attention to their status as members of the dominant group may further serve as unwelcomed reminders of unearned privilege (Knowles & Marshburn, 2010). The absence of a relationship between subgroup respect and psychological well-being among ethnic minorities, while counter-intuitive at first glance, is not inconsistent with related research. For example, Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax (1994) found that general public evaluations of the ethnic group predicted well-being (self-esteem, life satisfaction, depression, and hopelessness)

for Whites, to a lesser extent for Asians, and no relationship among African Americans. Analyses of data from Black immigrants to the United States found that the strength of relationship between how Americans view them and their self-evaluations decreased with the duration of time that this group of socially devalued immigrants had been in the U.S. (Wiley, Perkins, & Deaux, 2008). The pattern of finding suggests the evolution of an adaptive strategy, with immersion in the host country predicting greater separation of group-based feedback from self-evaluations. It is also consistent with the argument that targets of prejudice and discrimination can adapt and develop alternative strategies for seeking valid evaluative feedback. Such strategies may include separating group-based feedback from the self-concept (Crocker & Major, 1989) as well as seeking out alternative sources of feedback (Jones, 2003; Postmes & Branscombe, 2002).

Subgroup respect: Some caveats

Together, the findings suggest that there are identifiable constraints on the influence of group-level respect. Respect targeted toward subgroups within an institution shapes attitudes and behaviors that benefit the organization but only among minority group members. Moreover, subgroup respect does not predict subjective well-being among individuals regardless of whether they are White or members of an ethnic minority group. Thus, in contrast to the broad influence of personal respect which predicts both group-oriented outcomes and psychological well-being among both dominant and subordinate group members, the influence of subgroup respect is more limited.

One implication of the findings reviewed is that attention must be paid not only to the individual's relationship with the institution but also to the bond between each subgroup and the institution. In the context of increasing levels of population diversity, ethnic, racial, and cultural

divisions are likely to emerge within both public and private institutions such as schools and the workplace. Moreover, these divisions come with the knowledge and history of differences in access to power and resources among higher status and lower status ethnic groups in the broader society. While individuals' perceptions that a referent subgroup (e.g., one's ethnic group) is valued by the organization is not related to their psychological well-being, these beliefs do predict attitudes toward and willingness to engage in behavior on behalf of the institution at least among ethnic minority group members. With Latinos and Asians as the two fastest growing subpopulations in the U.S., to fully exercise all available tools for creating a sense of belonging, inclusion, and commitment among its diverse membership, institutions must take into account the distinct identity needs of these and other traditionally recognized ethnic minority groups.

Ethnic Intragroup Respect

Thus far, we have explored the institution as a source of identity relevant feedback both directed toward individuals and directed toward ethnic subgroups. While this focus has generated important insights about the role of respect in ethnically diverse institutions, there is another, often overlooked source of feedback. In institutions within societies that acknowledge a consensually shared hierarchy of ethnic groups, the ethnic minority group is potentially a yet uninvestigated source of social evaluative feedback and support, independent of personal and subgroup respect. In this section, we examine the third form of respect, ethnic intragroup respect, which we conceive of as the respect for individuals that comes from other members of their ethnic ingroup.

Related research suggests that perceptions of being valued and respected by fellow ethnic group members can positively shape individuals' psychological health and well-being. In a study

that examined African Americans' perceptions of being accepted by other African Americans, findings indicate that perceived acceptance predicted individuals' self-esteem, life satisfaction and general well-being (Postmes & Branscombe, 2002). Moreover, African Americans who felt more rejected by ethnic ingroup members reported lower levels of self-esteem and well-being. Other research has found a similar pattern with multiracial individuals drawing their sense of well-being from within the community of other multiracials (Giamo, Schmitt, & Outten, 2012).

In one study we conducted, we examined the relationship between ethnic intragroup respect and psychological well-being (Begeny & Huo, 2013). We examined this link not only among African Americans ($n = 173$), but also among Asians ($n = 145$), Latinos ($n = 156$), and Whites ($n = 129$). Individuals recruited through the internet were asked to respond to a set of items that assess ethnic intragroup respect, adapted to reflect their perceptions of being valued and accepted by members of their own ethnic group. They also completed measures of self-esteem, psychological stress, anxiety, and self-reported physical health. Additionally, because prior research has focused on perceived discrimination as a predictor of individuals' well-being (e.g., Postmes & Branscombe, 2003), we also assessed experiences with ethnic discrimination and controlled for this factor in our analysis. Thus, we can evaluate how ethnic intragroup respect shapes individuals well-being over and above what is explained by perceived discrimination.

Table 2 shows the results of regression analyses in which ethnic discrimination and ethnic intragroup respect were used to predict self-esteem, psychological stress, anxiety, and self-reported physical health. Even after controlling for perceived ethnic discrimination (as well as age, sex, and education), ethnic intragroup respect was a significant predictor of each indicator of psychological well-being among all four ethnic groups. The more individuals perceive respect

from other ethnic ingroup members, the higher their self-esteem and physical health and the lower their levels of psychological stress and anxiety. Although the relationship between ethnic intragroup respect and physical health was not statistically reliable among Asians and Whites, the direction of the relationship was similar.

-----Insert Table 2 about here---

These findings indicate that respect from ethnic ingroup members shapes psychological well-being. In particular, when individuals perceive discrimination directed toward their ethnic group, perceptions of being valued and respected from other ethnic ingroup members can serve as a source of psychological support. Thus, it is important not only to promote respect between the institutions and its individual members and ethnic subgroups, but also to consider the quality of relationships within each ethnic group.

Implications for Managing Ethnically Diverse Institutions in the 21st Century

Our goal in this chapter was to review research that demonstrates how varying levels and sources of respect (personal, subgroup, and ethnic intragroup) can shape the viability of ethnically diverse institutions. The research presented illustrates the potential benefits of experiences with respect for building a sense of inclusion, but also highlights certain limitations. Below, we discuss how insights derived from the findings presented can inform efforts by managers, policymakers, and other stakeholders to create inclusive environments. We describe two pathways through which institutions can promote inclusion and consequently, reap benefits in the form of greater commitment and loyalty among its members and higher levels of psychological well-being. The first focuses on efforts to foster interpersonal interactions in

institutions that convey personal respect. The second focuses on the construction of systematic diversity policies that promote subgroup and ethnic intragroup respect.

Developing institutional norms for conveying personal respect

Institutional cultures that communicate respect to individual members (personal respect) can engender not only attachment and loyalty to the institution but also higher levels of psychological well-being. A large body of research shows that one of the most effective ways to communicate respect is by treating individuals in a relationally fair way (see Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003 for a review). In particular, institutional leaders (e.g., administrators, managers), empowered to make decisions and set policies, are particularly potent sources of information about the extent to which individual members are valued by the group (Tyler & Lind, 1992). Decision-makers who listen to their constituents, behave in a polite manner, and show that they are unbiased are perceived as behaving in a fair way, and in turn, communicate respect for the affected individual (Tyler & Blader, 2003; Tyler, DeGoey, & Smith, 1996). In addition, there is growing evidence that group members, acting in concert in a fair or unfair way, can also effectively convey the value of the individual to the group (Ellemers, Doosje, & Spears, 2004; Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010b; Simon & Sturmer, 2003). Efforts to draw awareness to the importance of interpersonal interactions and their consequences would allow institutions to create inclusion through the communication of respect for individuals. Such efforts can be carried out through the selection and training of institutional leaders (e.g. work supervisors) as well as developing a climate that underscores the importance of behaving in a relationally fair way.

Developing diversity policies that promote subgroup and ethnic intragroup respect

Since the 1960's the United States and many other Western nations have debated the merits of various diversity policies. While some advocate for a colorblind policy that deemphasizes group-based divisions, others argue for the benefits of a more multicultural approach that acknowledges the importance of ethnic attachments (see van der Zee & Otten chapter, this volume). Our research, while lending general support to multicultural policies, also draws attention to potential limitations and challenges of this approach. In particular, our findings suggest that policies of ethnic recognition can create inclusion by communicating respect for valued ethnic identities (subgroup respect). We find that ethnic minority members respond to the communication of subgroup respect with more positive feelings toward and engagement in the institution. In contrast, we did not find evidence of any effects (positive or negative) of ethnic recognition on Whites.

As the U.S. moves toward becoming a plurality nation and the White subpopulation continues to decline, institutions may be faced with two contrasting scenarios. On the one hand, as Whites transition from their status as a majority ethnic group to one of several minority groups, the benefits of policies that reflect the multicultural principle of inclusion may extend to all ethnic groups, including Whites. On the other hand, the threat of losing their status as the dominant ethnic group may prompt negative reactions among Whites. Emerging evidence shows that multicultural policies at the workplace lead to feelings of exclusion among Whites (Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011). Moreover, Whites may resist efforts to create ethnic group-based equality and respond in ways that work to maintain or restore the prevailing social hierarchy (Binning & Unzueta, 2012; Outten, Schmitt, Miller, & Garcia, 2012). Thus, for now, our findings lean toward support of a multicultural approach. The communication of respect for

ethnic groups has positive institutional outcomes for ethnic minorities with no adverse outcomes for Whites. However, as the U.S. population shifts and the status of Whites are called into question, such an approach can potentially create a backlash that is not currently evident.

In addition to communicating a symbolic message of ethnic recognition, multicultural policies can be manifested, more instrumentally, in support for establishing ethnically-based networks within institutions. Resistance against such efforts is rooted in concerns that these networks might undermine the goal of building institutional commitment and morale by creating social divisions. However, what a colorblind approach overlooks, and what our findings suggest, is that ethnic networks can be an important source of social evaluative feedback. Discouraging or prohibiting such networks eliminates an important mechanism for promoting individual well-being, especially for members of ethnic minority groups. And, whether or not institutions actively support ethnically based networks, it is important to recognize that individuals do not check their ethnic identity at the door when they arrive at work or school. Furthermore, related research suggests that colorblind policies that downplay or obscure ethnic group identities can lead individuals to react in such a way as to further embrace the group-based attachments the policies were intended to eradicate (Hornsey & Hogg, 2002; Huo, Molina, Sawahata, & Deang, 2005). Thus, in addition to facilitating more positive inter-ethnic relations, support for ethnically based networks may have the additional benefit of promoting psychological well-being.

Conclusion

The experience of respect is central to the functioning of institutions. In workplaces, schools, and other institutions characterized by ethnic, cultural, and racial diversity, feeling valued by members of important self-relevant groups shapes attitudes and behaviors that affect the viability of the institution and the welfare of individual within it. Such feelings of respect

can be manifested in multiple ways – directed from the institution toward the individual (personal respect), directed from the institution toward ethnic subgroups (subgroup respect), and finally directed from the ethnic group toward the individual (ethnic intragroup respect). Our findings suggest that individuals, regardless of their ethnic group membership, respond positively to the communication of personal respect directed toward them as members of the institution. While the influence of subgroup respect and ethnic intragroup respect are most relevant to members of ethnic minority groups within institutions, our research suggest that as a whole, institutions, have more to gain than to lose in adopting systemic policies that acknowledge and give support to valued ethnic attachments. In sum, the communication of respect, at multiple levels, can work in concert to promote inclusion and organizational viability in ethnically diverse institutions.

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Table 1. Perceived Respect for the Individual and Organizational Outcomes

	Outcome Variables			
	Organizational Belongingness	Organizational Identification	Support Work Furlough	Protest Work Furlough
Predictors				
Personal Respect	.69**	.42**	.13**	-.14**
Research Grant (No/Yes)	.01	.03	.10*	-.08 ⁺
Admin. Position (No/Yes)	-.03	-.08*	.05	-.03
Tenure (No/Yes)	-.01	-.05	-.22**	.15**
Years of Employment	-.05	.17**	.12 ⁺	-.06
White (No/Yes)	.00	.06	.02	-.08 ⁺
Gender (Male/Female)	.07*	.02	.00	-.11 ⁺
Age	.00	.00	.02	-.10 ⁺
<i>R-squared</i>	.69**	.21**	.06**	.07**

Note: “⁺” $p < .10$; “*” $p < .05$; “**” $p < .01$.

Table 2. Perceived discrimination, ethnic intragroup respect as predictors of indicators of psychological well-being

Self-esteem

	Whites	Asians	Blacks	Latinos
Perceived Discrimination	-.317**	-.122 ⁺	-.152*	-.415**
Intragroup Respect	.544**	.622**	.457**	.454**
R ²	.419**	.385**	.323**	.397**

Psychological Stress

	Whites	Asians	Blacks	Latinos
Perceived Discrimination	.283**	.182*	.159*	.392**
Intragroup Respect	-.491**	-.546**	-.322**	-.441**
R ²	.342**	.338**	.235**	.369**

Anxiety

	Whites	Asians	Blacks	Latinos
Perceived Discrimination	.216**	.158*	.096	.387**
Intragroup Respect	-.546**	-.528**	-.446**	-.475**
R ²	.347**	.294**	.273**	.387*

Physical Health

	Whites	Asians	Blacks	Latinos
Perceived Discrimination	-.398**	-.394**	-.338**	-.538**
Intragroup Respect	.147 ⁺	.115	.222**	.146*
R ²	.201**	.190**	.177*	.332**

Notes. + $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$. Numerical entries are standardized regression coefficients. Background variables (age, sex, education) were entered as control variables in all models.

Figure 1. Typology of Respect

Source of Evaluation	Target of Evaluation	Type of Respect
Institution	Individual members of the institution	<i>Personal respect</i>
Institution	Ethnic groups within the institution	<i>Ethnic subgroup respect</i>
Ethnic group	Individual members of the ethnic group	<i>Ethnic intragroup respect</i>