5-1-2017

Respect in Organizations: Feeling Valued as "We" and "Me"

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Abstract

Research suggests that organizational members highly prize respect but rarely report adequately receiving it. However, there is a lack of theory in organizational behavior regarding what respect actually is and why members prize it. We argue that there are two distinct types of respect: generalized respect is the sense that "we" are all valued in this organization, and particularized respect is the sense that the organization values "me" for particular attributes, behaviors, and achievements. We build a theoretical model of respect, positing antecedents of generalized respect from the sender's perspective (prestige of social category, climate for generalized respect) and proposed criteria for the evaluation of particularized respect (role, organizational member, and character prototypicality), which is then enacted by the sender and perceived by the receiver. We also articulate how these two types of respect fulfill the receiver's needs for belonging and status, which facilitates the self-related outcomes of

organization-based self-esteem, organizational and role identification, and psychological safety. Finally, we consider generalized and personalized respect jointly and present four combinations of the two types of respect. We argue that the discrepancy between organizational members' desired and received respect is partially attributable to the challenge of simultaneously enacting or receiving respect for both the "we" and the "me."

Keywords

Many employees desire far more respect at work than they receive. When asked to rate characteristics employees valued most in their job, respect—defined below as the "[perceived] worth accorded to one person by one or more others" (Spears, Ellemers, Doosje, & Branscombe, 2006: 179)—was ranked among the highest, above income, career opportunities, and the amount of leisure time afforded by the job (van Quaquebeke, Zenker, & Eckloff, 2009). Likewise, in a study of what employees view as characteristics of excellent managers, "it was found that trust and respect dominated all other categories of managerial behavior" (Drehmer & Grossman, 1984: 763). Yet, despite the reported importance of respect, van Quaquebeke and Eckloff (2010) found a disconnect between employees' desired respect and the respect they report actually receiving at work. Furthermore, research indicates that this discrepancy is especially salient in low-status or "dirty" work (e.g., Henry, 2011; Hodson, 2001; Sanders & Campbell, 2007), suggesting that those who receive the least respect at work desire it most. Indeed, respect "seems to be somewhat of a blind spot within organizational priorities" (van Quaquebeke et al., 2009: 429).

Social psychologists suggest that receiving respect is critical to both the functioning of collectives and the well-being of individuals (Huo & Binning, 2008). But what makes respect particularly important in organizational contexts? Among the many social contexts where respect cues are potentially sought, we suggest that respect is particularly powerful when received at work because employment is based on an exchange relationship, where tangible and intangible rewards signal the value of a contribution (Shore et al., 2004) and, indirectly, the value of the person making the contribution. This salience of organizational members' worth in a work context may motivate them to confirm their worth based on the respect they receive. Indeed, Ellingsen and Johannesson (2007) suggest that employees wish to be compensated with, and are highly motivated by, respect cues from the organization and its members. We argue that respect is among the most important of all social cues that employees receive from their work environment, as it validates their worth and meets universal human needs. Thus, building a theoretical model focusing on the nuances and dynamics of this construct will improve the field's grasp on how and why such affirmations of worth matter.

Given that respect is so central to employees' work experiences, how has respect been examined in organizational research? To date, the topic has received only modest direct attention.[1] However, respect has been a common element underlying well-established research areas, particularly leadership and justice. The leadership literature's acknowledgment of

respect dates back to the consideration dimension in the Ohio State leadership studies (Fleishman & Harris, 1962) and also includes research on charismatic leadership (Conger & Kanungo, 1987), ethical leadership (Brown, Treviño, & Harrison, 2005), servant leadership (van Dierendonck, 2011), and positive leader–member exchange (Gerstner & Day, 1997), which together indicate that (a) leaders serve as important sources of respect for individuals and (b) effective leadership involves, in part, expressions of respect. In addition, respect and organizational justice (Greenberg, 1987) are inextricably linked in the justice literature because organizational processes (i.e., procedural justice; Lind & Tyler, 1988), how one is treated (i.e., interactional justice; Bies & Moag, 1986), and the outcomes one receives (i.e., distributive justice; Folger & Konovsky, 1989) provide strong signals of one's worth. Perhaps most important, these literatures stress the relevance of respect across relationships, perceptions, and behaviors in organizations and also help convey that respect in organizations is ultimately a social phenomenon. However, these literatures have stopped short of elucidating the nuances of respect as a construct in its own right. As Langdon (2007: 470) notes, despite the widespread use of the term *respect* in the popular press and academic research, "an overarching theory of respect and its complements, including a uniform definition, is absent from the literature."

We aim to move theory forward regarding how respect works in organizations by focusing on two key theoretical issues. First, we seek to lay the foundation for what respect *means* in the organizational context. Our read of the literature suggests that there is much conceptual confusion surrounding the construct, as respect (a) is studied from the sender's perspective at times and from the receiver's perspective at other times and (b) is used in ways that muddle two very distinct types of respect experiences. As described in detail later, these two types or "parts" appear to make up the respect "whole." The first type of respect is equally accorded to all individuals in a social category regardless of individuating attributes, behaviors, or achievements, fostering a sense that "we" are all valued as members (what we will call "generalized respect"). The second type is *earned* by the receiver on the basis of his or her valued attributes, behaviors, and achievements, fostering the sense that the individual, or "me," is valued ("particularized respect").

Second, given the multidimensional nature of respect, there are likely unique bases for each type of respect, and unique mediators between each type and various self-related outcomes. Thus, we seek to build a theoretical model that details the particular bases for generalized respect and particularized respect, and the psychological processes through which each type of respect affects individuals' sense of themselves. We draw on respect research in the social sciences to suggest that employees highly prize respect because it satisfies certain universal human needs and that several self-related outcomes flow from the fulfillment of these needs. In addition, while the outcomes of receiving respect have garnered modest attention in the literature, the antecedents of respect have garnered even less, begging a question: How is respect *assessed* and *enacted* in organizations in the first place? Finally, we extend theory by jointly considering generalized and particularized respect.

Our article is organized as follows. First, in the next section we highlight the lack of conceptual clarity surrounding the construct, posit the definition of Spears et al. (2006) as a helpful

formulation, and extend this formulation in certain ways. Second, in "A Model of Generalized and Particularized Respect in Organizations," the major section of the article, we focus on how and why respect is sent and received. We present a theoretical framework that includes the antecedents of each form of respect, how each form is enacted, and the impact of each form. Next, we consider how generalized and particularized respect may operate together. Finally, in the discussion section we offer implications for future research and managerial practice.

Defining Respect

Although respect has long had a tacit presence in various areas of organizational research, there is not a widely accepted definition of the construct, which remains a roadblock to understanding the role that respect plays in organizational life. There are numerous definitions of respect across various disciplines, leaving scholars contemplating whether respect is "an attitude, a mode of conduct, a feeling, a form of attention, a mode of valuing, a virtue, a duty, an entitlement, a tribute, [or] a principle" (Dillon, 2007: 201). Furthermore, a difference in lay usage of the term *respect* appears across individuals, and even within individuals across situations, such as a mother who desires respect from her child as obedience, respect from her husband as giving space to maintain individuality, and respect from her employer as appreciating her work (Simon, 2007). Definitions have also been presented in the organizational literature (see Grover, 2014, for a review). Spears et al. (2006: 179) provide a simple and clear definition that captures the spirit of other definitions, which we, as noted, are adopting here: Respect is the "[perceived] worth accorded to one person by one or more others." This general definition serves as the core to conceptualizing respect because it can be applied to generalized and particularized respect, self-respect, and the sender's or the receiver's perspective. However, we wish to elaborate on this definition in two important ways.

Two Definitional Extensions

Reviewing various definitions of respect suggests two very important extensions to the definition of Spears et al. (2006). First, scholars in various disciplines distinguish between respect based simply on one's humanity and respect based on one's socially valued attributes, behaviors, and achievements (Grover, 2014). For example, in philosophy, Darwall (1977) and Dillon (2007) distinguish between "recognition respect" and "appraisal respect." Criminal justice researchers Butler and Drake (2007) divide respect into "respect-as-consideration" and "respect-as-esteem." And political scientist Bird (2004) writes that research is divided into two reinterpretations of historical conceptualizations of respect: a focus on human equality and a more recent focus on attributes that differentiate individuals. In organizational studies, van Quaquebeke, Henrich, and Eckloff (2007) and Grover (2014) follow Darwall (1977) in utilizing "recognition" and "appraisal" respect, and Lalljee, Laham, and Tam (2007) distinguish between "unconditional" and "achieved" respect. Thus, various literatures suggest related terms for the same idea that respect falls into two basic categories: *generalized respect* and *particularized respect*. Both generalized and particularized respect include the basic definition noted above: "[perceived] worth accorded to one person by one or more others" (Spears et al., 2006: 179);

the differentiation comes from what the respect is based on. Hence, we define generalized respect as the worth accorded by one or more others, which "is owed to everyone [in a social category] simply as a function of their being persons. It is not conditional on a person's status or achievements. It cannot be acquired and cannot be lost" (Lalljee et al., 2007: 452). Generalized respect is sent to all members of a social category, where a category refers to a particular way of grouping people (e.g., organization, work group, occupation, gender).[2] Particularized respect, in contrast, is the worth accorded by one or more others, which is based on the target's attributes, behaviors, and achievements.

The second definitional extension is that the point of view from which respect is perceived varies across the definitions. According to De Cremer and Mulder (2007: 441), "respect is considered not as something that people simply intuit by themselves, but rather as a judgment that emerges from the treatment they receive from others," making the role of each party important to clarify. Some scholars define respect from the sender's perspective (e.g., "a behavioral manifestation of believing another person has value"; Grover, 2014: 28), some define it from the receiver's perspective (e.g., "an individual's assessment of how they are evaluated by those with whom they share common group membership"; Huo & Binning, 2008: 1571), and for others it is not clear whether respect resides in the sender or receiver. And, indeed, important and unique research questions are associated with each perspective that we broach in this article (e.g., What criteria does the sender use in assessing respect? How does receiving respect cues affect the receiver's sense of self?). Following Katz and Kahn's (1978) distinction between sent roles and received roles, we distinguish between *sent respect* (the expression of worth by one party) and *received respect* (the perception of imputed worth by the receiving party). Senders include any actor that directly or indirectly interacts with a given social category member—in this case, an organizational member—*as* a category member. Senders can be individuals acting on the basis of their own conclusions, or as a representative of the organization or other collective level of analysis. The organization (or another collective) itself can also be a sender of respect, as when, for example, human resource management policies institutionalize practices that convey generalized and/or particularized respect.

Each of these two extensions to the basic definition of respect—generalized versus particularized respect and sent versus received respect—play a prominent role in our theory building.

Nomological Network

The construct of respect is often confounded with similar sounding constructs, making it important to articulate how respect differs from related constructs. We distinguish respect from the closely related constructs of trust, interactional justice, civility, status, and dignity. Table 1 defines each construct and explains how it differs from respect.

Table 1
Construct Definitions and Relationships to Respect

Respect	**Respect** is the "[perceived] worth accorded to one person by one or more others" (Spears et al., 2006: 179). **Generalized respect** is the worth accorded by one or more others, which "is owed to everyone [in a social category] simply as a function of their being persons. It is not conditional on a person's status or achievements. It cannot be acquired or lost" (Lalljee et al., 2007: 452). **Particularized respect** is the worth accorded to one person by one or more others, which is based on attributes, behaviors, and achievements.
Trust	Trust is a willingness to be vulnerable in a relationship (Cronin, 2003; Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995; Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998) or "the extent to which a person is confident in, and willing to act on the basis of, the words, actions, and decisions of another" (McAllister, 1995: 25). Trust implies taking a risk in a relationship, whereas respect is the value or worth accorded to a person (Cronin, 2003; Ramarajan, Barsade, & Burack, 2008). From the sender's perspective, particularized respect is a likely antecedent to trust because individuals are less inclined to be vulnerable with someone whom they do not value (Cronin, 2003). Thus, the sender's assessment of one's unique worth (particularized respect) would typically precede and inform one's willingness to be vulnerable with another person (trust).
Interactional Justice	Interactional justice is a fairness judgment based on the quality of interpersonal communication and treatment that one receives (Bies & Moag, 1986). According to Bies and Moag (1986), and Colquitt's (2001) operationalization of interpersonal justice, respectful treatment is an input for fairness judgments, making received respect a likely antecedent to perceived justice.
Civility	". . . a behavior involving politeness and regard for others in the workplace, within workplace norms for respect" (Andersson & Pearson, 1999: 454). Civility focuses on behaviors that uphold workplace norms or convey respect. It is likely that civility is a behavioral manifestation of sent respect, such that sent respect is conveyed, at least in part, through civility.
Status	Status is "the extent to which an individual or group is respected or admired by others" (Magee & Galinsky, 2008: 359) or "the respect, prominence, and influence individuals enjoy in the eyes of others" (Anderson, Brion, Moore, & Kennedy, 2012: 718). Generalized respect and status clearly differ, as generalized respect is equally due to all members of a social category, regardless of individuating attributes, behaviors, and achievements. Our take is that particularized respect and status can be viewed as synonymous insofar as both are defined narrowly as the value accorded to a person in a particular context. However, status is often defined not simply as the value accorded to a person but as a social stratification or one's position in a hierarchy, such that status "ranks people vertically" (Fiske, 2010: 941). In contrast to this status as social stratification, particularized respect is assessed relative to standards rather than against others per se. Accordingly, organizational members of *any* hierarchical status or rank (e.g., frontline employee, top executive, novice manager) have the potential to be seen as respectworthy.
Dignity	Hodson (2001: preface) defines dignity as "the ability to establish a sense of self-worth and self-respect and to enjoy the respect of others." Given this definition, we view dignity as a perception about oneself that is based on signals of worth from others. That is, enactments of respect—of being valued—are internalized by the receiver, fostering a sense of dignity. Perceived respect is thus an antecedent of dignity.

Of the various constructs listed in Table 1, respect is perhaps most easily confused with organizational justice, particularly interactional justice. Bies and Moag (1986: 44) state that "[B]y interactional justice we mean that people are sensitive to the quality of interpersonal treatment they receive during the enactment of organizational procedures." We view respect as a root or foundational construct, that is, one that underlies and helps inform certain constructs in the organizational studies literature, particularly organizational justice (and more specifically, interactional justice), civility, empowerment, and compassion. Respect, as the worth accorded by one or more others, is manifested and inferred via various means such as displays of fairness (the hallmark of justice) and expressions of sympathy and support (the hallmarks of compassion). Indeed, some definitions of justice convey the imputed worth that accompanies just treatment (e.g., "In all cases, of course, justice consists in giving a person his due"; Feinberg, 1974: 298). It is perhaps because of its foundational role that the term *respect* crops up in operationalizations not only of justice ("Has [he/she] treated you with respect?"; Colquitt, 2001: 389) and civility ("People treat each other with respect in my work group"; Osatuke, Moore, Ward, Dyrenforth, & Belton, 2009: 406), but of various other organizational constructs, such as transformational leadership ("[I]nstills pride and respect in others . . ."; Carless, Wearing, & Mann, 2000: 396) and learning organization ("In my organization, people

treat each other with respect"; Marsick & Watkins, 2003: 144). Furthermore, because of the foundational role of respect, exploring the dynamics of respect in organizational contexts will also help inform our understanding of justice and other constructs that manifest respect.

To visually illustrate this point, Figure 1 depicts a bidirectional line from observable behaviors to perceptions to the self. The figure can be interpreted in two ways regarding respect. First, the figure suggests a process. Others' behaviors toward oneself (displays of, for example, justice, civility, empowerment, and compassion) are perceived as cues signaling respect (or lack of), which affect one's sense of self. As Sayer (2007: 565) suggests, "Our self-respect depends so much on how others treat us, particularly others with whom we associate on a regular basis." In this processual interpretation of Figure 1, the self is in part an amalgam of the myriad instances in which respect cues were perceived.[3] The second interpretation of the figure suggests interdependent phenomena that are most stable at the base of the pyramid (i.e., the self) and most variable at the top (i.e., others' behaviors toward oneself). Whereas behaviors and perceptions are momentary and shift with the vicissitudes of a given situation, aggregated perceptions over time (schema) about one's general respectability tend to be far more stable, and the underlying substrate of self, more stable still (cf. Swann & Bosson, 2010). The more experience one has in an organization, the more behaviors bearing respect cues one has been exposed to and, thus, the more stable one's respect schema and sense of self tend to be in that particular context (assuming some consistency in cues across senders and over time).
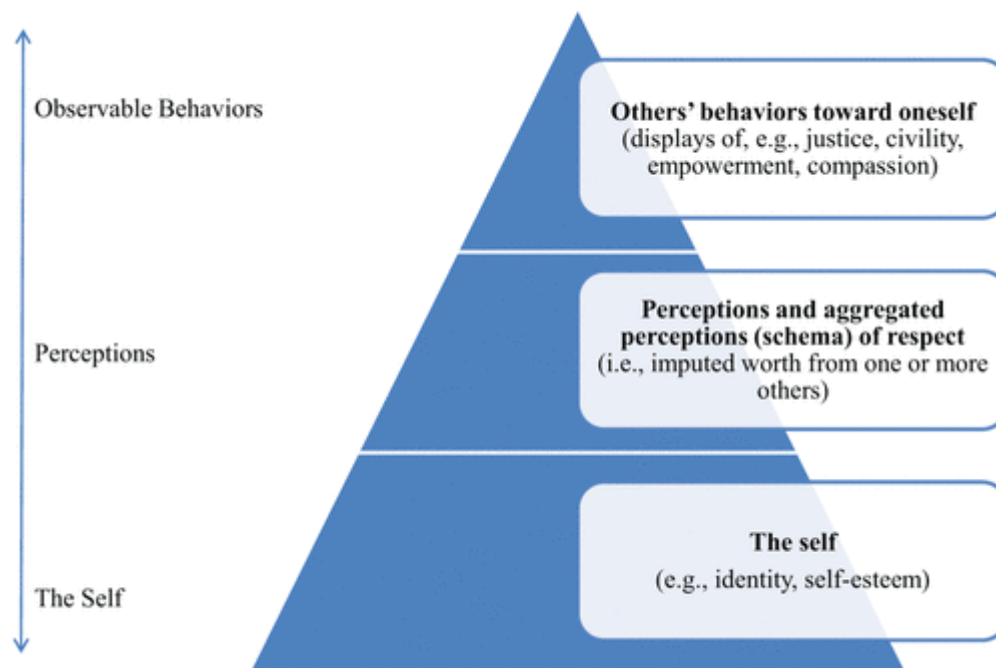

Figure 1 The Internalization of Respect Cues

A Model of Generalized and Particularized Respect in Organizations

As noted, scholars in social psychology, political science, and so on use the word *respect* to describe two distinct types: generalized and particularized (cf. Grover, 2014). We systematically examined research on respect through this lens, dividing it into these categories. We also explain the connection between the two types of respect and social needs. In their research on receiving respect, De Cremer and Mulder (2007: 441), along with Huo and Binning (2008; Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010), discuss the universal social needs for belonging and status and suggest that "respect specifically fulfils these needs," which in turn fosters well-being. We argue below that generalized respect helps satisfy the receivers' need for belonging and particularized respect helps satisfy the need for status, and that several self-related outcomes flow from the fulfillment of each need.

In this section, we describe the nature and antecedents of generalized respect, how generalized respect is enacted, the impact of received generalized respect on the need for belonging, and subsequent self-related outcomes. Given that our model is contextualized in organizations, these outcomes include organization-based self-esteem, organizational and role identification, and psychological safety. Next, we describe the ways in which particularized respect is earned, how particularized respect is enacted, the impact of particularized respect on the need for status, and subsequent self-related outcomes. Figure 2 summarizes our resulting model. Although our propositions focus only on self-related outcomes, we also note adjustment variables that are positively related to these outcomes.
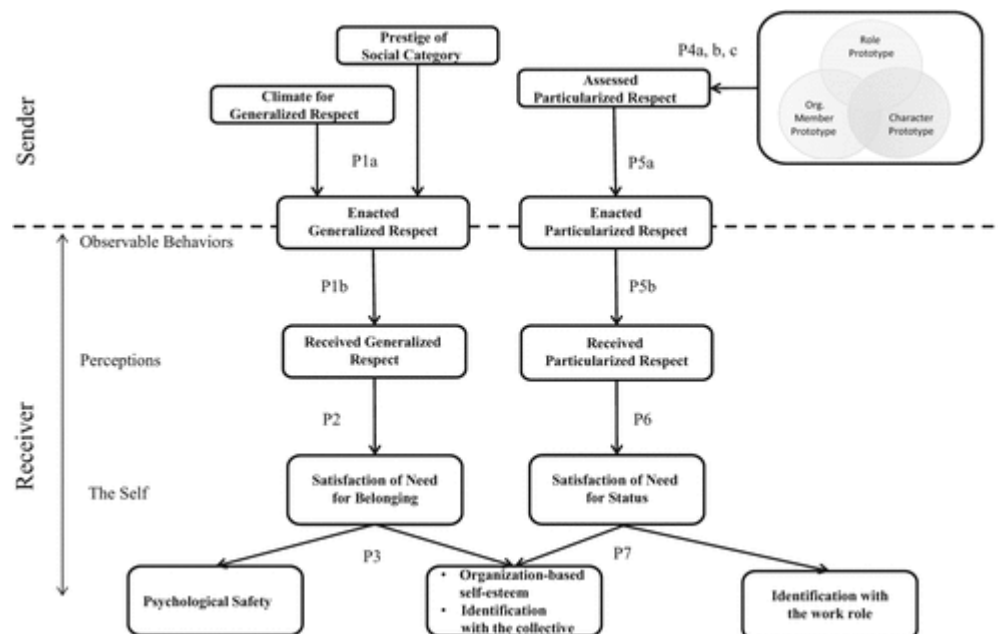

Figure 2 Generalized and Particularized Respect in Organizations

Generalized Respect

Notions of respect involving consideration and human equality speak to a treatment of all individuals as inherently valuable. Respect is "generalized" in the sense that it does not distinguish between individuals within a given collective. Scholars trace this form of respect to philosopher Immanuel Kant (1785/2002: 46-47), who wrote, "Act so that you use humanity . . . always at the same time as end [sic] and never merely as means" (see also Hill, 2000, and Simon, 2007). But what does this look like, specifically, in an organizational setting? We argue that generalized respect is the worth assigned to members of a social category. Social categories vary from broad (e.g., all members of this organization) to narrow (e.g., those who occupy management roles; those in a particular functional area). Following self-categorization theory (Hornsey, 2008; J. C. Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), individuals make sense of their social world by organizing themselves and others into meaningful categories. In organizational settings, such categories typically include role, department, hierarchical level, and demographic differences (e.g., gender, tenure). Regardless of the scope of the category, the idea is that all individuals who occupy the category are accorded the same level of respect—hence its "generalized" quality. For pedagogical purposes, our discussion focuses on the organizational member category, such that all members of the organization are given a common level of generalized respect.[4]

Prestige of social category

Not only do individuals make sense of their social world by organizing themselves and others into categories, they derive a sense of self from their membership in these categories (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). A major motive for identifying with a particular social category is the enhancement of self (Capozza, Brown, Aharpour, & Falvo, 2006). A given category is therefore attractive to the extent that it compares favorably with other categories in its comparison set (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Thus, categories that are perceived to have relatively high prestige tend to be more attractive to their members (e.g., Mael & Ashforth, 1992; Smidts, Pruyn, & van Riel, 2001).

We argue that the prestige of a social category—in our running example, the organization itself—is associated with *enacted* generalized respect, that is, expressions of generalized respect toward category members. An organization that is perceived to have a positive reputation when compared to its peers is likely to help foster a sense that members are, collectively, inherently valuable. The importance of this sense of inherent value is suggested by classic studies that document the trauma that organizational members tend to experience when the prestige of their organizations is severely threatened and the lengths that members often go to defend against those threats (e.g., Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Elsbach & Kramer, 1996). In sum, the greater the prestige of the social category, the greater the enacted generalized respect.

Climate for generalized respect

Does it make sense to speak of a collective-level—here, an organizational-level—orientation toward generalized respect, such that all members of the collective share a sense of the worth accorded to members? When respondents from diverse organizations were asked to identify attributes that characterized their organization, O'Reilly, Chatman, and Caldwell (1991) found that respect for individuals clearly emerged as one dimension. The respondents were asked not about their own experiences with the organization, but rather about the overall feel of the place, suggesting that individuals can gain a general sense of the respect for employees. According to Dutton (2003: 144), organizations differ in "how much they value the worth and dignity of every individual regardless of rank or position." Ramarajan, Barsade, and Burack (2006) posit that employees sense a level of respect from their organization that is sent to all members. Likewise, Osatuke et al. (2009: 386) suggest that respect and civility in organizations "may be best conceived at the organizational rather than purely individual level" because respect and civility jointly constitute an "interactive process occurring within a situational context . . . rather than single static events between separate individuals." These authors conducted organization-level respect and civility interventions and found significant differences in pre- and postintervention collective respect at intervention sites but not at control sites (sample item: "people treat each other with respect in my work group"; Osatuke et al., 2009: 406; see also Leiter, Laschinger, Day, & Oore, 2011).

In short, research suggests that a "climate for respect" can be said to exist (Ramarajan et al., 2008; Singh & Winkel, 2012), defined by Tenbrunsel, Smith-Crowe, and Umphress (2003: 294) as "shared perceptions regarding the extent to which individuals within their organization are esteemed, shown consideration, and treated with dignity."[5]Kuenzi and Schminke (2009) point out that climate is perceptual rather than objective, collective rather than individual, and, most important for our purposes, grounded in concrete activities. In sum, climate is a shared inference based on past activities.

Enacting and receiving generalized respect

To truly sense generalized respect—a sense that all are valued—one must look at how oneself *and* others are treated. In other words, a given individual's inference of generalized respect is not based simply on how *he or she* is treated. Consistent with climate research (e.g., Kuenzi & Schminke, 2009; Naumann & Bennett, 2000), individuals also rely on observations of how others are treated to inform their perceptions because it provides information about how they will likely be treated (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Ramarajan et al., 2006; Tyler & Blader, 2003). Thus, while we noted that senders of respect include any actor that directly or indirectly interacts with a given organizational member *as* a member, in the case of generalized respect, senders also include any actor that directly or indirectly interacts with *other* organizational members. Although generalized respect is likely perceived from many senders, one is likely to put more weight on how salient others send generalized respect, particularly senior managers (who are seen to personify the organization) and one's direct manager and peers (Ashforth & Rogers, 2012; Eisenberger et al., 2010).

We argue that senders of generalized respect take their cue from the prestige of the social category (the organization, in our example) and the climate for generalized respect in deciding how to treat all members. Based on prestige and a climate for generalized respect, how, then, do senders enact generalized respect? That is, what specific behaviors and practices are likely to result that signal generalized respect to members? Figure 1 lists, as general examples, behaviors that display justice, civility, empowerment, and compassion. Such behaviors qualify to the extent they are targeted at the collective or at least members generally rather than at individual members idiosyncratically. Regarding, more specifically, the prestige of the social category, behaviors and practices may include soliciting advice and involvement, augmenting resources, displaying "honorific deference" (Berger, Ridgeway, Fisek, & Norman, 1998: 397), and bestowing "prestige goods" (i.e., "material items whose primary function . . . is to signal elevated social status as well as to assist in augmenting status"; Plourde, 2008: 374) such as awards.

Turning to the empirical literature on climate for respect, Ramarajan and colleagues (2008) conducted a quasi-experiment in hospital subunits seeking to treat their employees more respectfully. Results indicate that a flatter and more team-based structure (where employees had more opportunities for involvement), along with a greater emphasis on active listening and the valuing of diversity, led to greater perceptions of (generalized) respect for employees. Fuller and colleagues (2006) also examined a health care setting, finding that perceived opportunities for growth and participation in decision making were related to employee perceptions of (generalized) respect. And Takeuchi, Chen, and Lepak (2009: 3) found that specific human resource management practices such as developmental performance appraisals were associated with a sense of "concern for employees." In addition, Southwest Airlines "consistently tries to convey that all people are important and that everyone should be treated with dignity and respect" (O'Reilly & Pfeffer, 2000: 33) and emphasizes egalitarianism and teamwork in its daily practices (Gittell, 2002). These examples suggest that a climate for generalized respect is enacted via behaviors and practices directed toward all members of the organization as well as via interpersonal interactions, such as one-on-one respectful engagements where an individual communicates appreciation of one's inherent worth (Dutton, 2003). In short, it is the ongoing direct and indirect enactments of generalized respect that communicate that the respect is "real."

Our discussion thus suggests the following:

> *Proposition 1:* (a) The prestige of a social category and a climate for generalized respect are each positively associated with the enactment of behaviors and practices that signal generalized respect; (b) enacted generalized respect is positively associated with received generalized respect.

Received generalized respect and the need for belonging

Research indicates that the experience of receiving respect is closely tied to the fulfillment of certain universal social needs. De Cremer and Tyler (2005) concluded from six experiments that

feeling respected addresses concerns for belonging and status. Huo and colleagues (Huo & Binning, 2008; Huo et al., 2010; see also De Cremer & Mulder, 2007, and Ellemers, Sleebos, Stam, & de Gilder, 2013) essentially formalized this finding in their dual-pathway model of respect, where they found that receiving respect is important to individuals because it satisfies these two core social needs.[6]

According to Baumeister and Leary (1995: 522; see also Baumeister, 2012, and Gere & MacDonald, 2010), "human beings are fundamentally and pervasively motivated by a need to belong." Following social identity theory, there are two forms of belonging: personalized and depersonalized (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Personalized belonging refers to the deep social bond a person feels from sensing that one or more others like him or her as an individual; depersonalized belonging refers to the social bond a person feels from sharing a valued social identity with other members (Cooper & Thatcher, 2010; Mael & Ashforth, 2001; Riketta, 2008), which is dependent not on specific interpersonal relationships but on seeing oneself as a member of a valued collective.

By recognizing the organization itself as a relatively desirable employer (prestige) and/or by recognizing all organizational members as inherently valued parts of the collective (climate for respect)—and thereby implicitly promoting an organizational identity that many members would find attractive—generalized respect helps foster depersonalized belonging. Thus, we argue that generalized respect helps meet the universal need for belonging.

> *Proposition 2:* Received generalized respect helps satisfy the need for belonging.

Outcomes

We posit that major self-related outcomes of satisfying the need for belonging include organization-based self-esteem (OBSE), organizational identification, and psychological safety. OBSE is "one's belief about his or her self-worth . . . specifically within the context of the workplace" (Bowling, Eschleman, Wang, Kirkendall, & Alarcon, 2010: 601-602), and self-esteem is occasionally referred to as self-respect. Given the importance of the need for belonging, it is not surprising that a sense that one is accepted and included—that one matters to others (in this case, as reflected through enacted generalized respect)—has been linked to one's general self-esteem (Gorrese & Ruggieri, 2013; Grover, 2014; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995; Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, Golledge, & Scabini, 2006; however, see Blackhart, Nelson, Knowles, & Baumeister, 2009). As Koch and Shepperd (2008: 55) note, "self-esteem serves as a gauge of others' acceptance or rejection." Indeed, these researchers found that positive feedback concerning acceptance had a greater influence on self-esteem than did positive feedback concerning competence. These dynamics are likely no less true of OBSE because satisfying the need for belonging in a specific domain such as the workplace is most likely to enhance self-esteem in that same domain. In turn, a meta-analysis by Bowling et al. (2010) reported positive associations between OBSE and job satisfaction, organizational commitment, job performance, organizational citizenship behaviors, and employee health.

Individuals tend to define themselves in part through affiliations that address their needs (Pratt, 1998). Thus, in helping satisfy the need for belonging, generalized respect is likely to foster identification with the organization. Indeed, organizational identification has been described partly in terms of a sense of belonging (e.g., Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Davenport & Daellenbach, 2011; Dávila & García, 2012). While no research that we are aware of directly assesses the link between a sense of belonging and organizational identification, Easterbrook and Vignoles (2012) found that positive changes in the satisfaction of the need for belonging predicted concurrent positive changes in students' identification with members of their dormitory. And Singh and Winkel (2012), as well as Fuller and colleagues (2006), found a positive association between generalized ("mutual") respect at work and organizational identification. Research clearly indicates that organizational identification is, in turn, associated with a variety of positive outcomes, from organizational citizenship behaviors to organizationally beneficial decision making (see Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008, for a review).

Finally, generalized respect, via helping satisfy the need for belonging, is also likely to foster a sense of psychological safety. Psychological safety is "feeling able to show and employ one's self without fear of negative consequences to self-image, status, or career" (Kahn, 1990: 708). In viewing all members as inherently worthy, generalized respect fosters a sense of belonging to a community that accepts individuals as they are, encouraging members to feel secure. For example, Carmeli and Gittell (2009) found that high-quality relationships (a composite of generalized ["mutual"] respect, shared goals, and shared knowledge) were strongly associated with psychological safety (see also Singh & Winkel, 2012). Research indicates that psychological safety may, in turn, foster positive outcomes such as learning, collaboration, and creativity (e.g., Edmondson, 2004; Nembhard & Edmondson, 2012). Perhaps most important for our focus on the self, psychological safety encourages individuals to experiment with "provisional selves" (Ibarra, 1999)—to try new ways of enacting their roles, of "being"—such that the collective provides an incubator for the evolving workplace self.

In sum, our arguments suggest the follow proposition:

> *Proposition 3:* Satisfaction of the need for belonging mediates the relationship between received generalized respect and (a) organization-based self-esteem, (b) organizational identification, and (c) psychological safety.

Particularized Respect

Notions of respect involving appraisal (Darwall, 1977; Dillon, 2007), achievement (Lalljee et al., 2007), esteem (Butler & Drake, 2007), and individuating attributes (Bird, 2004) speak to the act of explicitly differentiating among actors within a social category and viewing their worth according to some metric. Respect is "particularized" in the sense that it varies across actors.[7] Unlike generalized respect, which applies universally to category members as members, particularized respect is earned, as reflected in the sender's assessment of the individual receiver. But in an organizational context, how *does* one earn particularized respect? Specifically, what criteria are used by a sender to make a particularized respect assessment?

We argue below that assessed particularized respect is contingent on role, organizational member, and character prototypical standards.

We noted that anyone who directly or indirectly interacts with an individual *as* a member of a social category is a potential sender of respect, but that individuals place more weight on salient and/or proximal others. In the case of particularized respect, we add two caveats: (a) such respect is most appropriately sent and received when both parties share an understanding of respect criteria (Cranor, 1975; van Quaquebeke et al., 2007) and (b) a sender needs to have sufficient information about a receiver's attributes, behaviors, and achievements vis-à-vis the prototypical standards discussed below to make an informed judgment (Cranor, 1975). For example, "typically only doctors could respect other doctors as good doctors and patients could not, since they typically lack the knowledge and appreciation of what it is to be a good doctor that is essential to respect" (Cranor, 1975: 313). Thus, the senders of particularized respect tend to include one's manager, peers, and—if applicable—subordinates, as well as knowledgeable clients and other informed parties with whom one has important interactions.

Criteria for Assessing Particularized Respect

Bartel, Wrzesniewski, and Wiesenfeld (2012: 745) suggest that particularized ("earned") respect is based on "the extent to which employees are viewed as prototypical organizational members." Furthermore, Tyler and Blader (2002) note that in groups and organizations the criteria for respect are derived from collective schemas, which are based on the prototypical attributes of members who are in good standing. A prototype is "an abstracted list of features that are typical of category members" (Kunda, 1999: 30) and prototypicality, by extension, is the extent to which an individual matches such features. Prototypes tend not to be definitive sets of standards with hard and clear boundaries; rather, they tend to be "fuzzy sets" in that their standards form a loose configuration that may blur at the boundaries (Fiske & Taylor, 2008). Prototypes are shaped by direct experiences with concrete exemplars and by various indirect experiences, such as workplace socialization, through which collectives facilitate shared expectations among their members (Dickson, Resick, & Goldstein, 2008). Because prototypes are context-dependent, respectworthy criteria tend to vary somewhat across organizations.

It is because particularized respect represents an assessment of value that enactments of respect are reserved for those individuals whose qualities are perceived to be similar to abstracted and/or actual individuals in good standing (Tyler & Blader, 2002). By "qualities" we mean behaviors and achievements that signal understanding, acceptance, and fulfillment of the relevant prototype, as well as attributes that suggest the potential for these behaviors and achievements (e.g., prior work experience, educational attainments).[8] For example, Sypher and Zorn (1988: 39) found that "the prototypic liked co-worker emerged as one who is considerate and personable, has integrity, has leadership and communication skills, and is assertive but also open to others' ideas and opinions." Generally, individuals who exceed the "standards" (Boldero & Francis, 2002) are accorded more respect and may serve as exemplars.[9] Indeed, it seems likely that the standards for respect are an amalgam of what is normal or *descriptive* (and can therefore be expected of typical members) and what is aspired to or *prescriptive* (and

can therefore be hoped for; Bartel et al., 2012; see Higgins, 1989, for a related discussion of ought vs. ideal standards). After all, what is "normal" in a given setting may fall below accepted notions of respectworthy behavior, achievements, and attributes.

We argue that standards in one's work role, standards as an organizational member, and standards for one's character as a person jointly constitute the prototypical features to which a person is compared in order to earn particularized respect.

Role prototypicality

Due to the interdependent nature of work relationships, people within organizations are motivated to attend to information that suggests how well a given colleague will fulfill his or her role responsibilities (Burke & Stets, 2009; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Observable indicators of fulfilling one's role responsibilities include behavior (e.g., task activities, conformity to norms), performance outcomes (e.g., quality and quantity of output, role innovation), and identity markers (e.g., attire, use of jargon; Ashforth, 2001). Evaluating a receiver based on person-specific information pertinent to his or her role enables a sender to assess how well the receiver matches the role's prototype. The more that the receiver is seen to match the prototype, the more likely he or she will be accorded (earn) particularized respect. For instance, van Quaquebeke, van Knippenberg, and Brodbeck (2011) found that the more subordinates perceived their supervisor as matching their notion of an ideal leader, the more they respected him or her as a leader.

Organizational member prototypicality

There are also standards for earning particularized respect that apply to all members of the organization. Thus, this broader set of valued criteria transcends any given role. In particular, an organization's identity defines the central, distinctive, and more or less enduring nature of the organization—"whom we are as an organization" (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000)—and an organization's culture includes the values, beliefs, and assumptions that typify the organization (Schein, 2010). The more that a receiver enacts valued aspects of the organization's identity and culture, the more prototypical he or she will be perceived to be. Observable indicators include behaviors that demonstrate an understanding and acceptance of the organization's identity and culture (e.g., deference to rank in an army; Keijzer, 1978), as well as identity markers that typify the organization rather than simply one's role (e.g., using company products). For example, Bartel et al. (2012) argue that virtual work is contrary to the prototypical expectations of some organizations and found a negative association between virtual workers' perceptions of being physically isolated and being respected.

Character prototypicality

We follow past research that suggests (particularized) respect is earned in part for valued character standards that tend to be deeply held and transcend the organizational context

(Cranor, 1975; Cronin, 2003; Sennett, 2003). The question of what actually constitutes "character" has been pondered since at least the time of Aristotle, and many views have been offered (e.g., Peterson & Seligman, 2004; Sennett, 2003). Furthermore, perceptions of morality, ethicality, and character vary somewhat across cultures (Cropanzano, Goldman, & Folger, 2003; Peterson & Seligman, 2004), making any given typology inherently problematic. Thus, rather than provide a definitive and universal typology of character-based respectworthy attributes, behaviors, and achievements, we provide an illustration.

Sennett's (2003) formulation of character provides a good example of how character may be demonstrated and judged in workplaces—at least in Western, industrialized nations. His formulation closely parallels three dimensions of organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) as outlined by Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Paine, and Bachrach (2000). The first character consideration suggested by Sennett, "self-development of skills and abilities," corresponds to the OCB named self-development: "voluntary behaviors employees engage in to improve their knowledge, skills, and abilities" (Podsakoff et al., 2000: 525). The second consideration suggested by Sennett, "avoiding reliance on others," relates to the individual initiative OCB (Podsakoff et al., 2000), which implies independence, persistence, and "self-starter" behaviors. Finally, Sennett's third consideration, "giving back to others," parallels the OCB termed helping behaviors, for instance, assisting with or preventing coworkers' problems. The clear ties between Sennett's dimensions and the OCB dimensions raises the question of whether the remaining OCB dimensions in the formulation of Podsakoff et al.—sportsmanship, loyalty, organizational compliance, and civic virtue—also speak to prototypical character standards in many organizations. We see no reason to suspect otherwise.

Moreover, demonstrations of one's character outside the organization may also impact judgments of one's character-based respect. Unlike role and organizational membership standards, because character standards may also apply to nonwork contexts, a display of particularly good or bad character in a nonwork context may alter a sender's evaluation of a receiver (Cronin, 2003). For example, knowledge that a receiver volunteers at a homeless shelter may enhance the particularized respect earned from a sender.

> *Proposition 4:* Assessed particularized respect is a function of the extent to which an individual enacts prototypical standards for his or her (a) role, (b) organizational membership, and (c) character.

Enacting and Receiving Particularized Respect

What specific cues are likely to signal particularized respect to a receiver? The key differentiations between expressions of generalized and particularized respect are that signals of the latter are individualized and contingent on valued attributes, behaviors, and achievements. Van Quaquebeke and Eckloff (2010) conducted interviews about leader behaviors that expressed respect. Several of the themes are specifically relevant to particularized respect. For example, informants report feeling respected when a leader shows trust, confers responsibility, appreciates and rewards performance, and seeks input on

decisions. Each behavior speaks specifically to a valued or prototypical behavior, attribute, or achievement and is therefore likely to be interpreted as particularized respect. Clearly, though, the more explicit the contingency between a receiver's attributes, behaviors, and achievements and the expression of respect, the more likely the receiver is to construe the expression as particularized rather than generalized respect. In sum,

> *Proposition 5:* (a) Assessed particularized respect is positively associated with enacted particularized respect, and (b) enacted particularized respect is positively associated with received particularized respect.

How Might Role, Organizational Member, and Character Prototypicality Interact?

Thus far we have discussed the three prototypes separately. Generally, the standards associated with each of the three prototypes are quite complementary. Because roles are nested within the organization (March & Simon, 1958), fulfilling role standards contributes to perceptions that a receiver is also a solid organizational member—and vice versa. Similarly, our use of OCBs as illustrations of character standards suggests that fulfilling such standards also contributes to a receiver being seen as a solid organizational member and, possibly, role incumbent (e.g., Vilela, González, & Ferrín, 2008). This inherent complementarity suggests a synergy among the prototypes where fulfilling the standards for one tends to facilitate fulfillment of the standards for the others. In the discussion section, we speculate about organizational contexts where such complementarily is lacking.

Received Particularized Respect and the Need for Status

The second need addressed by receiving respect is what Huo and Binning (2008: 1572) call the universal status motive. Following past research, we define this need for status as a desire for acknowledgment of one's worthiness or value relative to a standard that is deemed important in the given context (De Cremer & Tyler, 2005; Huo et al., 2010). According to Anderson, Brion, Moore, and Kennedy (2012: 719), "the desire for high status is widely considered a universal human motive." This need is variously labeled as the need for social status, recognition, positive public appearance, or positive reputation (e.g., De Cremer & Mulder, 2007; Flynn, Reagans, Amanatullah, & Ames, 2006; Huo & Binning, 2008; Ross & Zander, 1957), and is empirically assessed with items such as "I want my peers to respect me and hold me in high esteem" and "Being a highly valued member of my social group is important to me" (Flynn et al., 2006: 1137).

Research on the need for status suggests that sent particularized respect may serve as a social cue that helps address this need. According to Maslow (1954/1970: 46, his emphasis), fulfillment of the need for status (esteem) is most stable when it "is based on *deserved* respect from others." Similarly, Ryan and Deci (2000) note that social-contextual cues such as positive feedback meet the need to feel recognized as competent. As noted, our definition of particularized respect is the worth accorded by one or more others that is based on attributes, behaviors, and achievements. Precisely because particularized respect is earned on an

individualized basis, it helps address one's need for status by clarifying one's value and providing the commensurate social reward. As Huo et al. (2010: 202) put it, respect based on the evaluation of individuals is a "social currency—a reward or recognition that the group gives to members who contribute or has [*sic*] the potential to contribute to the group's success." Thus, we posit that receiving particularized respect is positively related to satisfying the need for status.

Proposition 6: Received particularized respect helps satisfy the need for status.

Outcomes

We argue that satisfaction of the need for status is likely to foster two of the same outcomes as the need for belonging, OBSE and organizational identification, as well as a unique outcome, role identification. Regarding OBSE, Grover (2014: 37) argues that "[S]uccessful performance in an organization as demonstrated by external cues, such as objective outcomes, awards, raises, public recognition, or promotion, generate explicit self-esteem because they are self-relevant indicators proximal to the individual." Also, a meta-analysis by Bowling et al. (2010) found that more indirect external cues such as job complexity, autonomy, and salary were each positively associated with OBSE. Furthermore, given the need for status, individuals are motivated to seek and internalize positive feedback, which reinforces their self-esteem (e.g., Hepper, Hart, Gregg, & Sedikides, 2011; Kuhnen & Tymula, 2012). Although need for status was not assessed, Ellemers et al. (2013: 26) found that (particularized) respect was associated with OBSE (where the focus was on one's team; e.g., "I am important for the good functioning of my team").

Regarding organizational identification, we noted that individuals are inclined to define themselves partly in terms of affiliations that address their needs (Pratt, 1998)—which is why identification is argued to be an outcome of *both* forms of respect. Prior research found that status partially mediated the relationship between particularized respect ("authority treatment," "peer treatment") and organizational identification ("social engagement"; Huo et al., 2010). Furthermore, we also noted that one of the major motives for identification with a collective is self-enhancement (Capozza et al., 2006), which clearly shares conceptual space with the need for status. In addition, to the extent that respect is earned by fulfilling the organizational prototype, the desirability of the organization will be affirmed as an identification target. Indeed, particularized respect has been found to be associated with organizational identification (Al-Atwi & Bakir, 2014; Bartel et al., 2012; Stürmer, Simon, & Loewy, 2008), although status was not assessed as a potential mediator.

Finally, regarding role identification, to the extent that respect is earned by fulfilling the *role* prototype, the importance and desirability of the role will be affirmed as a target of identification. Indeed, because individuals are hired into organizations to fulfill a particular role such as accountant or waitress, the role tends to be highly salient to both the sender and receiver of respect and particularized respect is often heavily contingent on role performance. Thus, Hayase, Sakata, and Hiroshi (2011) found that (particularized) respect was positively related to occupational identification among nurses. Indirect support for this relationship is

suggested by a meta-analysis that found positive associations between performance-contingent rewards, such as recognition, and positive job attitudes (e.g., Podsakoff, Bommer, Podsakoff, & MacKenzie, 2006). What we are adding to the literature on the relationship between particularized respect and role identification is the argument that—just as with the above discussion regarding organizational identification—the relationship is mediated by satisfaction of the need for status. In turn, role identification has been positively associated with job satisfaction and organizational commitment and negatively associated with emotional exhaustion and intention to quit (Grawitch, Barber, & Kruger, 2010; Loi, Ngo, & Foley, 2004). Our discussion thus suggests the following proposition:

> *Proposition 7:* Satisfaction of the need for status mediates the relationship between received particularized respect and (a) organization-based self-esteem, (b) organizational identification, and (c) role identification.

Considering Generalized and Particularized Respect Jointly

How does the theoretical model presented above help us to better understand the disconnect noted in our introduction between the amount of respect that is desired at work and the amount that is actually received? According to Ryan and Deci (2000: 75), well-being requires the satisfaction of all needs; a social environment that satisfies some needs but not others "is expected to result in some impoverishment of well-being." Thus, for organizational members to feel adequately respected it is likely that they need to feel valued as "we" (generalized) *and* as "me" (particularized), necessitating the simultaneous presence of generalized and particularized respect. Below we consider generalized and particularized respect *jointly* and identify how our theoretical advances clarify the differing logics underpinning each type, which in turn sheds further light on the disconnect noted.

Our model indicates that organizations providing both generalized and particularized respect will help address members' needs for both belonging and status, and realize subsequent self-related outcomes. However, the institutional logic underlying the provision of each form of respect is somewhat different. Following Kabanoff (1991), an organization's technical subsystem is concerned with task accomplishment, whereas its maintenance subsystem is concerned with cohesiveness, solidarity, and a sense of common fate (cf. Katz & Kahn, 1978; Polley, 1987). The technical subsystem often utilizes the *equity principle* in that resources (rewards) are allocated in proportion to individuals' accomplishments (Deutsch, 1985). The allocation of particularized respect clearly follows the equity principle in that the greater one's fulfillment of role, organizational, and character prototypes, the more respect one earns. Conversely, in the maintenance subsystem, the allocation of resources is more egalitarian in order to reinforce a sense of cohesion (Kabanoff, 1991). This is often referred to as the *equality principle* in that the allocation of resources is not predicated on individual differences in need or accomplishment (Deutsch, 1985). The allocation of generalized respect clearly follows this principle.

Thus, a major reason why employees report a discrepancy between the respect they desire and the respect they receive may be that the inherent tension in the simultaneous provision of generalized and particularized respect ("we are all equal" vs. "we are not all equal") undermines the provision of both. We elaborate on this argument below as we consider combinations of the two types. We discuss the organization's perspective as well as implications for the individual.

Possible Combinations of Generalized and Particularized Respect

As summarized in Figure 3, when considering generalized and particularized respect jointly, there are four distinct possibilities for organizations (with gradations in between; see Grover, 2014, for a related model). For each cell, Figure 3 includes the governing principle (equality, equity), major characteristics, examples, self-related outcomes, and pros and cons. The pros are derived from our model in Figure 2, which shows the salutary impact of generalized respect and particularized respect, considered *independently*, on individual self-related outcomes. However, as we argue below, when generalized and particularized respect are considered jointly, certain cons emerge from their *interaction*.

Figure 3 Combinations of Generalized and Particularized Respect

In the top-left cell of Figure 3 are organizations that strongly favor equality (generalized respect) over equity (particularized respect) as a governing principle. This scenario appears most likely when the organization is characterized by strong interdependence, a reliance on teamwork for task accomplishment, a clan culture (Cameron, Quinn, Degraff, & Thakor, 2006;

Ouchi, 1980), being somewhat protected from competitive market forces (e.g., government agencies, monopolies), and/or being founded on egalitarian values (e.g., unions, co-ops). Following our earlier propositions, the strong emphasis on generalized respect likely helps satisfy the need for belonging and thereby fosters the self-related pros indicated in Figure 2: OBSE, organizational identification, and psychological safety. However, the weak emphasis on particularized respect likely does not meet the need for status and thereby somewhat undermines OBSE and organizational identification. Thus, on balance, these pros are likely to be moderate. It should be recognized, though, that individuals may be somewhat flexible in addressing their needs such that an unmet need may be satisfied in other domains (e.g., family) and thereby become less important in organizations (e.g., Sherman & Cohen, 2006; cf. Knowles, Lucas, Molden, Gardner, & Dean, 2010). Finally, on the con side, an unmet need for status likely undermines role identification, although alternative avenues to role identification may exist (e.g., an intrinsically motivating job). In addition, high generalized respect coupled with low particularized respect may foster a strong concern with cohesion at the expense of constructive task conflict; the result may be groupthink, poor collaboration, and impaired innovation (e.g., Jehn & Bendersky, 2003; M. E. Turner, Pratkanis, & Struckman, 2007). In short, generalized respect—in the absence of the moderating effect of particularized respect—may reach a tipping point where the positive self-related outcomes are eclipsed by negative system dynamics.

At the other extreme, the bottom-right cell, are organizations that strongly favor equity over equality as a governing principle. This is perhaps most likely when the organization's characteristics include an emphasis on individual achievement, a market culture (Cameron et al., 2006), existing in a highly competitive industry, and/or being founded on equity principles. A prime example is the star system of the brokerage industry, where high producers are accorded the lion's share of resources and low producers are accorded less respect of any sort (Lewis, 1990). While the strong emphasis on particularized respect likely helps satisfy the need for status, fostering the self-related pros of OBSE, organizational identification, and role identification, the weak emphasis on generalized respect likely does not meet the need for belonging, somewhat weakening OBSE and organizational identification. As for cons, low generalized respect undermines psychological safety (although alternative paths to safety may be evident, such as tolerating failure as a necessary byproduct of innovation). Furthermore, the ongoing emphasis on performance and accountability, without the moderating role of generalized respect, may foster burnout and high turnover (Grover, 2014; Halbesleben & Buckley, 2004). Once again, the interaction of the two forms of respect may result in a tipping point where the positive outcomes of particularized respect morph into negative outcomes. Such organizations may rely on "churn," that is, a constant supply of newcomers eager to earn the rewards associated with high performance—albeit at a longer term social cost (Casserley & Megginson, 2009).

In the bottom-left cell are organizations that eschew either equality (except, perhaps, equally poor treatment) or equity as a governing principle, and thus offer little of either generalized or particularized respect. Such organizations are apt to be uncommon because, given the needs for belonging and status, individuals tend to expect a modicum of at least some form of

respect; thus, they are unlikely to be attracted to or remain in these organizations. Accordingly, such organizations are characterized by an exploitive view of human capital and a reliance on individuals with limited job alternatives (due to, for example, low skill or lack of mobility; e.g., Shipler, 2004; Thompson, 2010). Organizations in this cell tend to have a hierarchy culture (Cameron et al., 2006) that prioritizes control over people. Examples include stereotypically "soul-deadening" bureaucracies and production operations (Morgan, 1997). Not surprisingly, such organizations are likely to have significant cons: members with low OBSE, organizational and role identification, and psychological safety. On the pro side, these organizations are geared toward efficiency—producing the most output for the least cost; however, the cost of maintaining the necessary system of controls is considerable (Edwards, 1979).

Finally, in the top-right cell are organizations that rely on both equality and equity as governing principles and thus provide both high generalized and particularized respect. As various scholars have noted, because organizations are simultaneously concerned with both the technical and maintenance subsystems—with achievement and cohesiveness—most typically use a mix of equality and equity (e.g., Kabanoff, 1991; Mannix, Neale, & Northcraft, 1995). Thus, in terms of characteristics, this may constitute the normative or aspirational cell if an organization does *not* have one or more characteristics that typify membership in one of the other cells. Similarly, we expect the examples to be quite diverse, from for-profit firms concerned with employee well-being (e.g., Sisodia, Sheth, & Wolfe, 2014) to nonprofits concerned with employee accountability for performance (e.g., Kearns, 1996). The pros are considerable, including all of the self-related outcomes noted in Figure 2: OBSE, organizational and role identification, and psychological safety. Moreover, the two forms of respect may interact such that generalized respect provides a social safety net of sorts for the performance-centric excesses of unalloyed particularistic respect, just as particularistic respect encourages individuals to thrash out the task-focused differences that may otherwise be suppressed with unalloyed generalized respect.

That said, we noted that many employees desire more respect than they actually receive, suggesting that organizations often fall short of realizing both equality and equity as governing principles. We also noted that a major reason may be that equality and equity are predicated on divergent values, such that a considerable con may be caused by the interaction of the two forms of respect: sending a mixed message. George Orwell (1946/2003: 92) offered a cynical reading of this message in his famous line from *Animal Farm*: "All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others." Similarly, generalized and particularized respect together may send the message that "all members of this organization are equally valued but your attributes, behaviors, and achievements make you more valued than others." This poses a challenge for organizations: to effectively facilitate generalized and particularized respect simultaneously. Generalized respect implies a certain egalitarianism, in that all individuals are worthy of respect, whereas expressions of particularized respect may result in some individuals faring better than others. Accordingly, it seems likely that the greater the climate for generalized respect, the more that particularized respect will be expressed in private and less boisterously in public. Furthermore, individuals may be encouraged to compete against standards of excellence rather than one another. Such finessing of particularized respect

upholds the equity principle without directly challenging the equality principle. Conversely, generalized respect appears to be less of a threat to particularized respect than vice versa. To be sure, strong expressions of egalitarianism can undermine allegiance to the equity principle. However, generalized respect provides a *foundation* for basic civility and trust, which in turn likely enhances (a) the very desire to enact role, organizational, and character prototypes (since they express and strengthen the individual's attachment to the collective) and (b) the appreciation of social rewards (since they are conferred by valued others; cf. Leiter et al., 2011; Osatuke et al., 2009). Under such conditions, the mixed message is mitigated such that members can simultaneously feel respected as part of the organization ("we" are valued) *and* as an individual ("I" am valued), allowing the pros to flourish.

In sum, generalized and particularized respect are rooted in seemingly contradictory institutional logics (equality and equity), fostering consequential interactions. Proposition 8 pertains to the high–low and low–high combinations of generalized and particularized respect (the upper-left and bottom-right cells of Figure 3), whereas Proposition 9 pertains to the high–high—and, implicitly, low–low—combinations (the upper-right and bottom-left cells):

> *Proposition 8:* (a) Generalized respect, without the moderating influence of particularized respect, and (b) particularized respect, without the moderating influence of generalized respect, will foster various negative outcomes that may offset positive self-related outcomes.

> *Proposition 9:* The high–high coexistence of generalized and particularized respect will foster the most positive outcomes and the least negative outcomes, provided that enactments of respect do not strongly undermine either the equality or equity principle.

Discussion

Existing research suggests a substantial disconnect between desired and received respect in organizations. We sought to build theory on respect in order to provide a better understanding of the construct, and create a theoretical model detailing how and why positive self-related outcomes flow from respect. As summarized in Figure 2, we discussed antecedents of generalized respect from the sender's perspective (prestige of social category, climate for generalized respect) and proposed criteria for the evaluation of particularized respect (role, organizational member, and character prototypicality), which is then enacted by the sender and perceived by the receiver. We clarified the role that respect plays in fulfilling social needs, such that receiving generalized respect helps meet the need for belonging and receiving particularized respect helps meet the need for status. We also articulated how fulfillment of these needs may facilitate positive self-related outcomes. Finally, we considered generalized and personalized respect jointly and presented the implications of four combinations of the two types of respect in Figure 3.

Implications for Research

A first step for future research is to empirically assess our propositions. Several methodological considerations pertaining to collective-level constructs are warranted, given the role in our model of prestige of a collective (in our running example, the organization) and the climate for generalized respect. Such constructs are often assessed via a "referent-shift consensus model" (Chan, 1998: 238) where individual perceptions of the collective are aggregated. Of course, if the collective of interest is indeed the organization, the burden of collecting data on member perceptions can be quite daunting because of the need for variance across organizations. In such cases, researchers often replace member perceptions with the perceptions of a limited number of key informants (e.g., senior managers). Member and/or key informant perceptions could also be triangulated with organizational artifacts (such as progressive human resources practices in the case of climate) and reputational rankings appearing in the media (in the case of prestige). The remainder of our model focuses on the individual level and, given the intrapsychic nature, is perhaps best assessed through self-reports.

An extension of our theoretical model could explore crossover effects of the distinct generalized and particularized respect paths in Figure 2. The model posits that generalized respect provides a foundation for respectful interactions in organizations and communicates a genuine valuing of all organizational members, helping to address a member's need for belonging, whereas particularized respect involves individuating information and therefore is more relevant to meeting a person's need for status. We speculate that there may be weaker crossover effects, such that generalized respect for being part of a valued social category helps satisfy the need for status by acknowledging one's worthiness, even if in the context of acknowledging others' worthiness as well, and particularized respect awarded for demonstrated prototypicality helps satisfy the need for belonging by recognizing one as a bona fide member of the relevant category (cf. Huo et al., 2010). These crossover effects would likely be weaker than the direct effects proposed in Figure 2, but certainly worthy of empirical attention, as this would also inform implications for the self in the high–low and low–high quadrants of Figure 3.

Future research should also flesh out important unanswered questions about the dynamics of sent and received respect, whether generalized or particularized. For example, are a series of small, periodic gestures of respect as meaningful as large, occasional ones? To what extent might one significant instance of poor treatment undo many instances of respect? Does respect from different sources (e.g., manager, peer, subordinate, client) produce different self-related outcomes (cf. Al-Atwi & Bakir, 2014)? What specific organizational policies and practices may institutionalize respect in ways that employees will feel valued even when the faces of the organization, such as top managers or immediate supervisors, change? Under what conditions are individuals most likely to perceive sent respect accurately?

Our argument regarding particularized respect assessments can be extended in various ways. For one, we discussed how a receiver is evaluated relative to role, organizational member, and character prototypes. We implicitly assumed that the prototypes are weighted equally, but

what contextual and individual difference factors influence how the criteria for particularized respect are combined to form an overall respect assessment, and what happens if the assessments conflict (e.g., a strong role performer displays poor person-organization fit)? Furthermore, depending on the organizational context, prototypes may be compensatory, as in the star system of the brokerage industry mentioned above, where strong role performance allows brokers to become prima donnas, essentially exempting them from the normal expectations of organizational members (Lewis, 1990). Finally, although unusual, there may be instances where the prototypes are actually antagonistic, such as when role standards of intraorganizational competitiveness interfere with a character standard of helping. Perhaps the most common kind of antagonism involves means versus ends. As research on unethical organizational practices indicates (e.g., Baucus, 1994; Piccolo, Greenbaum, & Eissa, 2012), organizations often emphasize the bottom line and send mixed messages about the importance of prototype standards concerning *how* one's role and organizational membership are enacted. In such organizations, particularized respect often depends more on achievement (what) than behavior (how).

Another extension would be to explore *dis*respect as a construct in its own right, as this would further illuminate our conceptual and phenomenological understanding of respect. Indeed, as Miller (2001) notes, it is often difficult for individuals to articulate what it means to be treated respectfully, but they can readily provide examples of experiencing the opposite. The term *disrespect* implies the denial of perceived worth in a way that devalues an individual. Behaviors toward those who are disrespected in organizations tend to violate the norms of civility and are characterized by "rudeness and disregard" (Pearson & Porath, 2005: 8). A low level of respect, in contrast, implies an absence of respect and may occur if an individual has not done anything notable enough to earn the imputed worth that is central to our definition of particularized respect, but also has not violated respect criteria, or if membership in a salient category is not particularly respectworthy. But what attributes, behaviors, and (lack of) achievements are most likely to trigger perceptions that a receiver has not merely fallen short of prototypical standards for particularized respect, but has *violated* them? How might the social-psychological dynamics of disrespect play out differently than those of respect? Finally, given the importance that individuals ascribe to the needs for belonging and status, research suggests that received disrespect may spawn anger and humiliation, and ultimately a desire to reciprocate the disrespect (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Miller, 2001; Montgomery, Kane, & Vance, 2004). Indeed, initial expressions of disrespect may quickly escalate into a disrespect spiral (cf. Andersson & Pearson, 1999). However, it is possible that received disrespect could motivate an individual to try harder to earn respect (e.g., Sleebos, Ellemers, & de Gilder, 2006). Thus, future research should explore moderators that explain differing reactions to disrespect.

Implications for Practice

We seek to help practitioners understand what it means to meet employees' desire to feel respected, how this is accomplished, and how to foster organizations that are simultaneously focused on valuing organizational members as a group (generalized respect) and as prototypical employees (particularized respect).

We noted at the outset that research indicates a major disconnect in organizations between members' desire for respect and the amount of respect they actually receive. We also noted that respect is associated with various positive self-related outcomes, which have been found to be associated with secondary benefits (e.g., OCBs, collaboration); indeed, De Cremer and Mulder (2007: 444) refer to respect as "social glue." Thus, managers should help clarify and promulgate the prototypical standards that typify role incumbents, organizational members, and persons "in good standing." This requires thinking through what it means to be a solid organizational member above and beyond what is required in particular roles, and how character may be reflected via one's behavior both inside and outside of the organization. Although there are usually synergies among (and within) the three prototypes, managers should be vigilant for mixed messages (e.g., extolling cooperation as an organizational member but then mandating competition between role incumbents).

Many managers seem to implicitly operate on the dictum that "no news is good news" (Komaki, 1982). We recommend that managers make their assessments explicit in an ongoing fashion by actively recognizing individuals who are judged respectworthy. As noted in Table 1, organizational members of any rank, from entry-level employee to CEO, have the potential to be seen as highly respectworthy. Members tend to especially value respect from those to whom they are accountable (cf. Tetlock, 1992). Managers should understand that they are often the face of the organization for employees, and therefore hold a great deal of power in enacting respect that meets employees' needs for belonging and status. Research indicates that employees infer respect from such seemingly prosaic leader behaviors as expressing trust, being friendly and supportive, and promoting development (van Quaquebeke & Eckloff, 2010). It is especially important that managers remain attuned to the needs for belonging and status for newcomers and for individuals in low-status or tainted jobs, where the absence of institutionalized respect makes need satisfaction more problematic (Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2007).

Conclusion

Despite the importance of respect to organizational members, it is rarely explored as a construct in its own right. Our hope is that, through articulating the dynamics of both generalized and particularized respect, we make respect less of a "blind spot" (van Quaquebeke et al., 2009: 429) for organizational research and managerial practice. Generating further research on the "we" and "me" of respect will establish an understanding of respect as a resource that is highly valued by receivers and, in turn, produces value for the sending organization.

Acknowledgements

Notes

[1]Notable exceptions are Cronin (2003), van Quaquebeke and colleagues (2007, 2009, 2010), Ramarajan, Barsade, and Burack (2008), Clarke (2011), Bartel, Wrzesniewski, and Wiesenfeld (2012), and Grover (2014), which we draw on later in theorizing about respect in organizations.

[2]We use the organization throughout the article as our running example of a social category. However, our theorizing about generalized respect applies to any category within an organization.

[3]Our intent is to show perceptions of respect as critical to one's sense of self, not to imply that respect is the only perception that mediates between observable behaviors and the self.

[4]It should be noted that to the extent that membership in a particular category is dependent on attributes, behaviors, and achievements, then *entry* can be said to be a reward—that is, earned. For example, a salesperson may be promoted to sales manager because of his or her stellar performance. However, the promotion itself, in our terminology, would actually be an expression of *particularized* respect because it is dependent on the individual. In contrast, generalized respect focuses on the treatment of extant members *as* members, not as individual performers.

[5]Given our argument that generalized respect constitutes a collective-level construct, we reserve the term *climate for respect* for generalized respect, that is, where respect is not conditional on personal attributes, behaviors, and achievements. Individuals vary in their enactments of the criteria that we argue are the basis for particularized respect. Some individuals may, therefore, be accorded low particularized respect while others are accorded high, such that it does not make sense to refer to a "climate for particularized respect" (other than as a way of referring to a shared belief in the importance of making particularized assessments and the appropriate criteria for doing so).

[6]It should be noted that Huo and colleagues did not include generalized respect in their model, arguing instead that the needs are met through particularized respect from two sources: peers and group leaders (Huo & Binning, 2008). Similarly, De Cremer and Tyler (2005) implicitly draw on particularized respect in their theorizing, and the respect manipulations in their experiments involved particularized respect or were unclear about the form of respect.

[7]Note that this formulation applies to comparisons between actors at various levels of analysis, for example, between individuals within a team, between teams within a department, and between departments within an organization. Thus, an individual, team, or department can each be said to earn actor-specific respect. For pedagogical purposes, we focus on individuals.

[8]However, it should be noted that a given sender may also weight demographic and other individual difference variables that are not directly relevant to prototypic attributes,

behaviors, and achievements (see Jackson, Esses, & Burris, 2001, for evidence of higher respect for males leading to hiring recommendations for men rather than women).

[9]For some standards, however, conformity is prized more than "overachievement." For example, employees who regularly exceed workgroup productivity norms are often punished by their coworkers (Dalton, 1974).

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