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Choosing the Right Pond: The Impact of Group Membership on Self-Esteem and Group-Oriented Behavior

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The group value model (Tyler & Lind, 1992) proposes that two dimensions of group membership—pride and respect—shape people's self-esteem and their behavior in groups. People are concerned with the position of the groups to which they belong (pride) and with their position within those groups (respect). Study 1 shows that both pride and respect are significantly related to self-esteem and group-oriented behaviors in a study based upon people's self-identification with important groups and social categories. Study 2 replicates the same relationships in a context (campus sororities) in which distinctions between and within groups are especially salient and important. The results from both studies demonstrate the value of pride and respect for understanding the relationships among group membership, self-esteem, and group-oriented attitudes and behaviors.

According to social identity theory, people prefer to belong to positively valued groups or social categories because positive social identities contribute to more general feelings of self-worth (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). When people are confronted with potentially negative social identities, they should react in a variety of ways—from attempts to leave the group to collectively challenging the current situation. Further, social identity theorists argue that people want to belong to groups that they view as better in comparison to other groups. It is this desire for ''positive distinctiveness,'' viewing one's own group as better than other groups, that leads to ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Social identity theory offers an appealing and powerful explanation for group behavior. However, related empirical research suggests difficulties for the tradi-

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tional social identity focus on people's affective evaluations of the group as a whole (Hinkle & Brown, 1990). Why, for example, do some people prefer membership in marginal or disadvantaged groups to membership in more advantaged or prestigious groups? Why don't all members who feel that their group is stigmatized or disadvantaged derogate outgroups? In this paper, we argue that answers to both these questions require a model of group identification that considers both people's evaluations of their position within the group (respect) as well as their evaluations of the group's general worth (pride).

THE GROUP VALUE MODEL

The suggestion that both pride and respect contribute to people's social identities, and consequently, to group-oriented behaviors and feelings of self-worth comes from the group value model (Tyler, Degoey & Smith, 1996). The group value model incorporates the social identity theory premise that people use groups, and the authorities that represent those groups, as a source of information about their self-worth (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Lind, 1992). However, in contrast to the early social identity focus on intergroup relations, the group value model developed out of procedural justice investigations of hierarchical relationships within groups. This research showed that people value procedures that are neutral, trustworthy, and indicate respect and consideration from important group authorities such as managers, judges, and parents (Tyler, 1989; Tyler & Lind, 1992). The group value model proposes that treatment by authorities communicates two symbolic messages about group membership. First, it indicates whether the person is a valuable and respected member of the group (respect) and second, whether the group, as a whole, is a worthy group of which to be a member (pride).

In a review of four studies, Tyler, Degoey, and Smith (1996) show that feelings of pride and respect are related but distinct evaluations of important group memberships. They also show that feelings of pride and respect are linked to judgments that group authorities are trustworthy, neutral and respectful, demonstrating support for the argument that treatment by authorities communicates information about group memberships. Finally, feelings of pride and respect are related to people's willingness to comply with group rules, the willingness to help the group, and their personal self-esteem. These results support the argument that people care about fair treatment by authorities because the fairness of those procedures indicates to those involved that they are respected members within their groups and that their groups are positive and valuable.

This research establishes the importance of pride and respect for understanding the relationship between group members and group authorities. However, all four studies are framed within traditional procedural justice research contexts and examine the relationship between particular authorities (e.g., work supervisors) and the respondents (e.g., employees). Although the relationship between group members and authorities is a central issue for procedural justice research, it is only one aspect of group life. For example, social identity researchers are interested in how membership in broad social categories (e.g., ethnicity or gender) influences

group-oriented behavior and attitudes, rather than the impact of personal experiences with particular group authorities.

The purpose of this study is to broaden the scope of the group value model by investigating the degree to which pride and respect are important constructs for understanding group behavior in general, not just in the context of authority relations. It may be that these two dimensions of group membership are important only in contexts in which the relationship between authorities and group members is a central and salient aspect of group membership. Perhaps in less hierarchical or differentiated groups or when group boundaries are particularly salient or important, the psychological processes underlying people's reactions to groups will be different (Barrett-Howard & Tyler, 1986; Shapiro, Sheppard & Cheraskin, 1992; Sheppard & Tuchinsky, 1995).

There is some evidence to suggest that pride will continue to be important for non-hierarchical groups. Pride closely resembles the affective and evaluative aspects of group identification as defined in social identity theory (Gurin & Townsend, 1986; Lau, 1989; Tajfel, 1982). Identification with particular groups has been linked to group behavior and attitudes when groups are (1) broad social categories (e.g., gender), (2) created using minimal group manipulations, and (3) when boundaries between groups are especially salient and important (see Bourhis, 1994; Hogg & Abrams, 1990; Messick & Mackie, 1989, for reviews). This research suggests that people's feelings of pride will be related to attitudes and behavior for groups and social categories not typically studied in procedural justice research.

However, social identification research does not include any variable that represents people's feelings about their position *within* the group. Hence, an important question is whether respect, in particular, will be related to self-esteem and group behavior when group memberships represent broader non-hierarchical social categories or when intergroup boundaries are salient or important. On the one hand, respect may require hierarchical personal relationships between authorities and group members. This argument suggests that if there is no central group authority, or the boundaries and relationships between groups are more important, one's position within the group should be less relevant. On the other hand, recent research shows that when particular ingroup–outgroup categorizations are salient or important, differences within groups do not disappear and often are accentuated (Boeckmann, 1993; Lorenzi-Cioldi & Doise, 1990; Smith, Spears, & Oyen, 1994). A central question for this research is to determine whether respect is an important aspect of group membership for a wide variety of groups and social categories.

PRIDE, RESPECT, AND SELF-ESTEEM

The possibility that both respect and pride shape group attitudes and behaviors offers answers to two perplexing questions raised by recent social identity research (e.g., Crocker & Major, 1989; Hinkle & Brown, 1990). First, social identity theory predicts membership in a negatively valued or low status group

should be related to low personal self-esteem, but evidence for a direct relationship between group status and personal self-esteem has been inconsistent. Although some research shows that membership in low-status groups is associated with low personal self-esteem (e.g., Bat-Chava, 1994; Wagner, Lampen, & Syllwasschy, 1986), other research shows that personal self-esteem for members of disadvantaged groups is not significantly lower than personal self-esteem for members of other groups (e.g., Crocker & Major, 1989; Porter & Washington, 1979).

The group value model proposes an explanation for this inconsistency. Membership in a negatively valued group is just one dimension of group membership that contributes to feelings of self-worth. People also may consider their position within the group. The potential importance of one's position within the group for self-esteem is suggested by Crocker and Major (1989) who argue that favorable within-group comparisons can buffer people against the negative consequences of unfavorable between-group comparisons. Further, they argue that people will be more likely to focus on within group comparisons if the (stigmatized) group membership is more central to their self-concept. According to this argument, within-group comparisons are especially relevant because they offer more proximal and similar comparison information (Major, Sciacchitano & Crocker, 1993). When the group membership of a comparison other was experimentally manipulated, participants reported the lowest levels of personal self-esteem when an ingroup comparison target performed better. In contrast, a superior performance by an outgroup member did not have the same negative consequence for personal self-esteem as an ingroup member's superior performance (Major, Sciacchitano, & Crocker, 1993). The group value model suggests that ingroup comparisons are closely related to personal self-esteem because they can indicate a person's position within important groups (e.g., degree of respect) just as treatment by key group representatives can be a source of respect (Tyler, Huo, & Smith, 1995). Outgroup comparisons do not communicate the same information.

The group value model also proposes why within group comparisons will be more, rather than less, likely when the group is salient or central to the self-concept. Respect, as conceptualized in the group value model, is similar to what Emler and Hopkins (1990) describe as a social reputation. Emler and Hopkins (1990) argue that to categorize oneself as a member of a particular social category or group is to ''invite evaluations of your own person in terms of the virtues regarded as prototypical of the category'' (1990, p. 129). They argue that these evaluations form people's reputations and constitute an important link between *specific* individual selves and social identities. Most importantly, reputations are *social* constructs. They are not the product of individual interpersonal relationships, but instead require a larger community in which people are known and personally identifiable (Emler & Hopkins, 1990). According to this argument, respect from other group members will be more closely related to feelings of personal self-worth and behavior when the group is more salient or important.

Most research designed to test the social identity self-esteem hypothesis has

included a measure of *personal* self-esteem (Hogg & Sunderland, 1991, Lemyre & Smith, 1985). The assumption is that personal self-esteem is influenced by group evaluations derived from intergroup comparisons (Brewer & Brown, 1996, p. 46). However, some researchers argue that self-esteem in this research has been measured at the wrong level of abstraction (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990). If, as social identity theory hypothesizes, the self-concept is comprised of *personal identity*—beliefs about one's skills, abilities or unique attributes and *social identity*—beliefs about the important groups and social categories to which one belongs, then two types of self-esteem can be distinguished. Personal self-esteem measures feelings of self-worth derived from personal identity whereas collective self-esteem measures feelings of self-worth derived from social identity (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). The hypothesized relationship between personal self-esteem and group status should be supported if collective self-esteem rather than personal self-esteem is measured (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Interestingly, related research documents similar inconsistencies between collective self-esteem and group status. Some research shows that members of advantaged or higher status groups report higher levels of collective self-esteem than do members of disadvantaged or lower status groups (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) whereas other research shows the opposite (Crocker, Blaine, & Luhtanen, 1993).

In this research, we include a measure of personal self-esteem and collective self-esteem. If, as we hypothesize, respect and pride jointly contribute to positive *social* identities, they both should be related to *collective* self-esteem because a collective measure of self-esteem represents general feelings of self-worth associated with social identities. If feelings of respect are related to personal self-esteem but not to collective self-esteem, it is difficult to argue that respect is an important aspect of *group* evaluations. However, we also include a measure of personal self-esteem because most social identity researchers have used measures of personal self-esteem in their research. Therefore, measuring personal self-esteem will make this research comparable to earlier research.

PRIDE, RESPECT, AND ATTITUDES TOWARD OUTGROUPS

A second difficulty for the social identity hypothesis is the lack of consistent evidence for a direct relationship between identification with the ingroup and attitudes toward other groups (Hinkle & Brown, 1990). Social identity theory hypothesizes that people who identify strongly with a particular group should be more likely to positively differentiate their group from other groups. In some cases, group members favor the ingroup and derogate outgroups as predicted; however, in other cases, they favor the outgroup and derogate the ingroup (see Hinkle & Brown, 1990 for a review). Contrary to social identity theory predictions, negative attitudes toward outgroups do not appear to be the universal consequence of social identification.

The group value model contends that a consideration of both dimensions of group membership (pride and respect) can clarify the relationship between social

identification and attitudes toward other groups. It may be that feelings of respect (or more accurately, disrespect) within the group are more closely related to negative outgroup attitudes than a lack of pride in the group as a whole. There is experimental research within the social identity tradition that supports this suggestion. For example, students who illegitimately gained entry into a better problem-solving group were more likely to derogate outgroups than were students who gained entry legitimately (Breakwell, 1979). Similarly, experimental participants who were told that they were ''peripheral'' group members expressed more negative views about outgroups than did experimental participants who were told that they were ''central'' group members (Noel, Branscombe, & Wann, 1995). In a second study, students who were in the process of joining a sorority or fraternity (defined as ''peripheral'' members) more directly derogated members of other sororities and fraternities than did students who were full members (defined as ''core'' members, Noel et al., 1995).

What is missing from this research is a psychological concept that captures people's subjective evaluations of their position within important groups. The group value model proposes how within group differentiation is represented phenomenologically—as feelings of respect from other group members. The experimental results suggest that members who feel less respected by their group (i.e., less ''legitimate'' or more ''peripheral'') will be more likely to derogate outgroups. By measuring both aspects of group membership, we can test whether pride, respect, or both are related to attitudes toward other groups.

STUDY 1

Study 1 addresses two questions. First, it explores the relationships among pride, respect, and self-esteem. Both personal and collective self-esteem are measured. If, as the group value model implies, feelings of pride and respect are a source of information about one's social identity, they should be related to *collective* self-esteem as well as personal self-esteem. Further, the relationships between pride, respect and both types of self-esteem should occur for broad diffuse social categories (the focus of most social identity research) as well as for smaller differentiated groups.

Second, the relationships among pride, respect, and group-oriented behavior are explored. In particular, we consider two types of group-oriented behavior. The first is compliance with group rules, or supportive behavior. The choice of compliance or conformity reflects the emphasis of recent social identity and self-categorization research on social influence and group polarization (e.g., Abrams, Wetherell, Cochrane, Hogg, & Turner, 1990). According to self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), when particular group memberships or social categories are salient or important, a set of internalized group norms guides individual behavior and encourages conformity to group rules (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner, 1991). If, as we hypothesize, pride and respect reflect social identities, we expect that people who feel proud or well respected will be more likely to endorse or engage in conforming group behaviors.

The second type of group-oriented behavior is similar to behavior described in organizational behavior research as extra-role behaviors that benefit the group but are not specifically required or prescribed (Folger & Konofsky, 1991; Moorman, 1991; Organ & Moorman, 1993). Organizational behavior research shows that greater identification with the organization is associated with a greater willingness to engage in these sorts of behaviors (O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986). However, measures of extra-role behavior often include items that might describe ''hyper''-conformity. For example, a 60-h work week might be the norm for a particular work organization. An employee who works 80 h is performing above and beyond the call of duty, but he or she is simply extending or outdoing the shared group norm rather than behaving in a creative or innovative way to help the group. In an effort to avoid this potential ambiguity, we focus on ''assertive'' group-oriented behaviors in this study—whether people are willing to help the group in a way that might differentiate them from other group members (e.g., suggest new ways to recruit group members). Again, if pride and respect reflect social identities, we expect people who feel proud or well respected to be more likely to endorse assertive group behaviors.

Method

Respondents

Two hundred six psychology undergraduates at a large public university participated in the study to fulfill course requirements. Three respondents reported being unable to choose a group that was most important to them. One respondent chose ''being married'' and another respondent chose ''being a girlfriend'' for the most important group. Because these choices represent interpersonal relationships rather than a group membership or social category, the data were excluded. Finally, a female respondent chose males as her most important group. Because she could not be a member of her chosen group, her data were excluded.

For the 200 respondents who completed the questionnaire, 61.3% of the subjects were females and 68% of the sample classified themselves in an ethnic category other than ''White/Caucasian/Anglo.'' The mean age was 21.30 years with a standard deviation of 2.84.

Measures

Respondents were asked to select the one group or category that is ''the most important to how you think of yourself.'' Once they selected a particular group or category, they answered a series of questions, reading [ ] as standing for their chosen group or category and all the members of the group or category.

Respect from other group members. The answers to the following nine questions were combined to measure respect from other group members: (1) If they knew me well, [ ] would respect my values; (2) If they knew me well, [ ] would respect how I live my life; (3) I believe that I have a good reputation among [ ]; (4) I believe that other [ ] react well to me, to what I say and do; (5) I believe that I make a good impression on other [ ]; (6) I believe that most [ ] like me; (7) Currently, most [ ] are impressed by what I have accomplished in my life; (8) Currently, most [ ] respect me; and (9) I often feel that I am a useless [ ] (reversed scored). Responses could range from completely agree (1) to completely disagree (7).

Pride in group membership. The answers to the following eight questions were combined to measure pride in group membership: (1) Would you feel good if you were described as a typical [ ]? (2) Is the position of [ ] in society something that concerns you deeply? (3) I am proud to tell my friends about [ ], (4) I often talk about [ ] as a great group, (5) I am a person who feels strong ties to [ ], (6) I am a person who makes excuses for being a [ ] (reversed scored), (7) I feel held back because I am a [ ]

(reversed scored), and (8) I would be proud to be identified as a [ ]. Responses could range from completely agree (1) to completely disagree (7).

Personal self-esteem. The 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979) was used to assess students' feelings of personal self-esteem. This scale is designed to measure global personal evaluations of the self and included such items as ''On the whole, I am satisfied with myself'' and ''I feel that I do not have much to be proud of.'' For each item, respondents rated their agreement on a scale from agree (1) to disagree (5).

Collective self-esteem. The 16-item Collective Self-esteem scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) was used to measure students' feelings of collective self-esteem. The collective self-esteem scale includes four subscales (with four items each) designed to assess different aspects of collective self-esteem. The private collective self-esteem scale is designed to measure the extent to which the person evaluates his or her social groups positively and includes such items as ''I feel good about the social groups I belong to.'' The public collective self-esteem scale is designed to measure how others evaluate one's social groups and includes such items as ''In general, others think that the social groups I am a member of are unworthy.'' The membership esteem subscale is designed to measure the extent to which people feel they are good group members and includes such items as ''I am a worthy member of the social groups I belong to.'' The importance to identity subscale is designed to measure how important one's social groups are to one's self-concept and includes items such as ''In general, belonging to social groups is an important part of my self-image.'' Participants were instructed to consider the range of ascribed social groups and categories to which they belonged and to respond to the items based on how they felt about these memberships (see Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Responses could range from completely agree (1) to completely disagree (7).

Conforming behaviors. To determine whether respondents endorsed conforming group behaviors, they rated the importance of the following five behaviors: (1) Attending all meetings of [ ], (2) Supporting all activities of [ ], (3) Completing any duties related to [ ] on time, (4) Complying with any rules and regulations authored by [ ], and (5) Attending functions that are not required, but that help. Responses could range from not important (1) to extremely important (6). Respondents could also indicate that the particular behavior was not relevant for the group or category that they chose. These ratings were excluded from the analyses.

Assertive behaviors. To determine whether respondents endorsed assertive group behaviors, they rated the importance of the following six behaviors: (1) Working hard to improve the prestige and status of [ ], (2) Defending the honor of [ ] whenever it is unfairly criticized, (3) Not letting people get away with unfair criticism of [ ], (4) Suggesting improvements for [ ], (5) Not letting other people do all the work for [ ], and (6) Helping organize activities for [ ]. Responses could range from not important (1) to extremely important (6). Respondents could also indicate that the particular behavior was not relevant for the group or category that they chose. These ratings were excluded from the analyses.

Results

Summary statistics and intercorrelations for all the variables included in this study are presented in Table 1. To explore whether pride and respect should be treated as two separate scales, a principal-axis factor analysis, using an oblique rotation (delta = 0), was performed on the 17 group identity items. An oblique rotation was used because we expected the two measures to be meaningfully correlated since both measures were hypothesized to represent aspects of group identity. As expected, the factor analysis revealed two separate factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0, accounting for 43.2% of the variance in the items. All the questions designed to assess each construct loaded on the appropriate

TABLE 1
MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND CORRELATIONS FOR ALL MEASURES—STUDY 1

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5
1. Respect	2.41	0.92	—				
2. Pride	2.42	0.93	.48**	—			
3. Personal self-esteem	1.97	0.65	.43**	.13	—		
4. Collective self-esteem	2.69	0.80	.42**	.45**	.41**	—	
5. Conforming behavior	4.19	1.01	−.26**	−.38**	−.05	−.28**	—
6. Assertive behavior	4.74	0.85	−.20**	−.14	−.06	−.04	.39**

Note. $N = 200$. Entries are Pearson correlations. Low scores indicate less respect, less pride, less personal self-esteem, less collective self-esteem, and more importance assigned to conforming behaviors and assertive behaviors.

** $p < .01$.

factor without significant cross-loadings on the other factor. Therefore, the nine items designed to measure respect were combined into a single variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$) and the eight items designed to measure pride were combined into a single variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$).

Most Important Group/Social Category

Respondents selected a wide variety of groups and social categories as being important to their self-concept. Two coders classified respondents' choices into the eleven categories represented in Fig. 1 (*Cohen's* $\kappa = .91$, $p < .05$). Respondents' choices included both the types of social categories typically studied in social identity research (e.g., 20% reported that their ethnicity was most important to their self-concept) as well as smaller, more differentiated organizations (e.g., 22% chose university-affiliated organizations like the band, athletic teams, and community service organizations).

Pride, Respect, and Feelings of Self-Worth

Multiple regression analyses were used to test whether pride, respect, or both were significantly related to self-esteem. The 10 items designed to measure personal self-esteem were combined into a single variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$) and the 16 items designed to measure collective self-esteem were combined into a single variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .71$). As shown in Table 2, respect was significantly related to both personal self-esteem ($\beta = .49$, $p < .01$) and to collective self-esteem ($\beta = .28$, $p < .01$). Pride was significantly related to collective self-esteem ($\beta = .31$, $p < .01$) but not to personal self-esteem ($\beta = -.12$, ns). The strong relationship between respect and collective self-esteem supports the group value model argument that respect (and pride) represents aspects of the *social* self.[1]

[1] Crocker and Luhtanen (1990) suggest that the private CSE subscale is the most appropriate group level counterpart to the Rosenberg personal self-esteem scale. Together, respect ($\beta = .21$, $p < .05$)

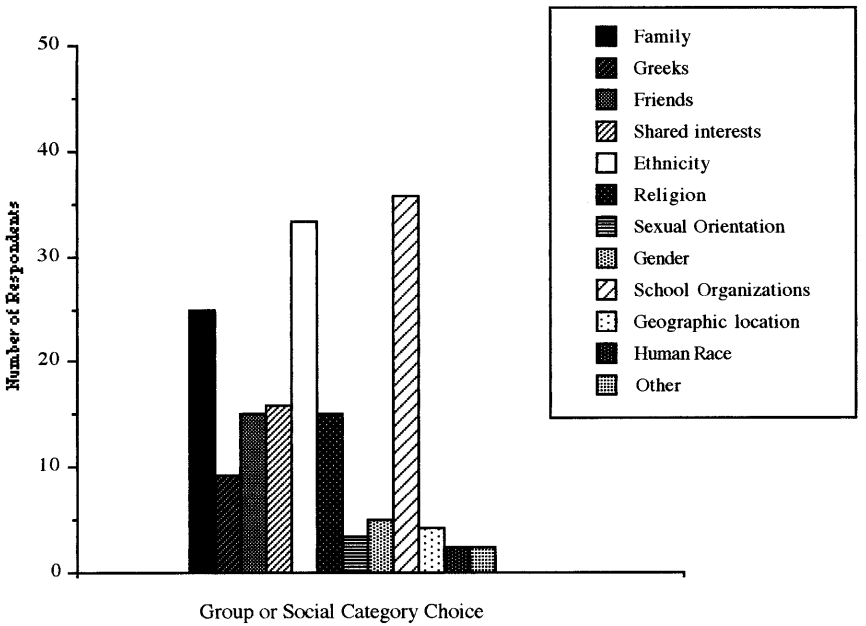

FIG. 1. Students' choices of groups and social categories that are most important to their sense of self.

To investigate whether these relationships might be more likely to occur for smaller more differentiated groups than for broader social categories, two subsets of respondents were distinguished. One set of respondents included the 11 respondents who chose sororities or fraternities, the 22 respondents who chose academic student organizations, the 11 respondents who chose athletic teams or the university band, and the nine respondents who chose service organizations as their most important group. The other set of respondents includes the 40 respondents who chose their ethnicity, the 18 respondents who chose their religious background (excluding respondents who named a particular church or campus organization), the four respondents who chose their sexual orientation, the five respondents who chose a geographic place, the three respondents who chose the ''human race'' and the six respondents (all female) who chose their gender as their most important social category. As shown in Table 2, regardless of the type of group or social category students chose, respect, in particular, remained significantly related to feelings of self-esteem at both the collective and the personal level. Interestingly, even when the analysis was limited to broad social categories, pride was not related to personal self-esteem.

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and pride ($\beta = .23$, $p < .05$) explain a significant amount of the variance in private CSE scores (adjusted $R^2 = 13.8\%$, $p < .05$).

TABLE 2
THE RELATIONSHIP AMONG SELF-ESTEEM, PRIDE, AND RESPECT—STUDY 1

	Personal self-esteem	Collective self-esteem
	Entire sample ($n = 198$)	
Pride	−.12	.31***
Respect	.49***	.28***
Adjusted R^2	18.4%**	25.1%**
	Small differentiated groups ($n = 53$)	
Pride	−.02	.46***
Respect	.61***	.33***
Adjusted R^2	33.9%**	43.5%**
	Broad social categories ($n = 76$)	
Pride	−.22	.25*
Respect	.33*	.28*
Adjusted R^2	7.8%**	19.1%**

Note. Unless otherwise noted, the entries are standardized regression coefficients for an equation in which all variables are entered simultaneously. Small differentiated groups include athletic teams and student academic, social, and service organizations. Broad social categories include gender, ethnicity, religion, geographic place, and sexual orientation.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Pride, Respect, and Group Behaviors

Not only do we expect feelings of pride and respect to be related to feelings of self-worth, we also expect that these evaluative aspects of group membership to be related to group attitudes and behavior. First, it is important to determine whether assertive and conforming group-oriented behavior should be treated as two separate measures. A principal-axis factor analysis, using an oblique rotation (delta = 0) was performed on the eleven group behavior items. An oblique rotation was used because we expected the two measures to be meaningfully correlated because they both describe group-oriented behaviors. As expected, the factor analysis revealed two separate factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0, accounting for 54.8% of the variance in the items. All but three of the questions designed to assess each construct loaded on the appropriate factor without significant cross-loadings on the other factor. Two items originally hypothesized as measures of assertive group behavior were excluded from the final scale: ''Helping to organize activities for [ ]'' and ''Not letting other people do all the work for [ ].'' The remaining four items were combined into a single variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .67$). A single item originally hypothesized as a measure of conforming group behavior, ''Attending functions that are not required, but that help [ ],'' was excluded from the final scale. The remaining four items were combined into a single variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .71$).

TABLE 3
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GROUP-ORIENTED BEHAVIORS, PRIDE, AND RESPECT—STUDY 1

	Conforming behavior (n = 191)	Assertive behavior (n = 197)
Pride	.33**	.09
Respect	.10	.19*
Adjusted R^2	14.5%**	6.8%*

Note. Unless otherwise noted, the entries are standardized regression coefficients for an equation in which all variables are entered simultaneously. Conforming behaviors include questions such as how important is it to attend all meetings of one's chosen group. Assertive behaviors include questions such as how important is it to defend the honor of one's chosen group when it is unfairly criticized.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Multiple regression analyses were used to test whether pride, respect or both would be related to the endorsement of both conforming and assertive group behaviors. As shown in Table 3, pride was significantly related to the endorsement of conforming group behaviors ($\beta = .33$, $p < .01$). However, pride was not related to the endorsement of assertive group behaviors ($\beta = .09$, ns). Respect was significantly related to assertive group behaviors ($\beta = .19$, $p < .05$), but respect was not related to conforming group behaviors ($\beta = .10$, ns).

Discussion

Across a wide variety of groups and social categories, pride and respect were significantly related to collective self-esteem, supporting the group value model assumption that respect represents an important aspect of group identity.[2] Further, respect remained significantly related to collective self-esteem even when the analysis was limited to broad social categories, indicating that respect is an important aspect of group membership even when there is no clear authority structure. Respect was also significantly related to personal self-esteem (whereas pride was not), echoing social comparison research that shows comparisons to ingroup members are more closely related to personal self-esteem than comparisons to outgroup members (Major et al., 1993). However, the fact that respect was also related to collective self-esteem lends credence to the group value model assumption that respect is an aspect of social identity (rather than personal identity).

The results for the two group behavior measures also support our argument that respect and pride are important aspects of group identities. Respect was significantly related to the endorsement of assertive group behaviors whereas pride was significantly related to the endorsement of conforming group behaviors. How-

[2] These two evaluative aspects of group membership, pride and respect, are illustrated by respondents' open-ended answers as to why they chose a particular category or group as most important to their sense of self. For example, the same choice for the most important group or category, family, is described by one student as important because "It is a source of pride for me." and by another student as important because family members "respect my feelings and ideas."

ever, the relationships among pride, respect, and actual behavior are tentative for two reasons. First, respondents rated how important each group behavior was, not whether they actually performed or would perform the behavior. Although people may view these behaviors as important, it does not mean necessarily that they would do these behaviors. Further, many respondents indicated that particular behaviors were not relevant for the group or category that they chose. This is not surprising—it is hard to see how attending every group meeting would be relevant for respondents who chose their gender or ethnicity as most important to their sense of self. However, a stronger test of our hypothesis would ask respondents whether they ever actually performed assertive or conforming group behaviors.

STUDY 2

The first goal of the second study is to provide a second test of the relationships among pride, respect, and self-esteem that occurred in the first study. The second goal is to explore the same relationships among pride, respect, conforming and assertive group behaviors using questions designed specifically for the group context and that asked whether people had actually performed the behavior. In the first study, students could select a wide variety of groups or social categories. Some of these choices included groups with clearly differentiated boundaries (e.g., religion) whereas other groups' boundaries were less clear (e.g., friends). Some of these choices represent social categories (e.g., intellectual interests) whereas others represent smaller more differentiated groups (e.g., the college band). By allowing respondents to choose any group or category, we could explore the relationship of pride and respect with self-esteem for a wide range of groups and social categories that students identified as important to them. However, because we could not specify the group in advance, we could not tailor the questions so that all the behaviors described were relevant nor could we ask respondents whether they actually had performed the behavior. In the second study, all the respondents evaluated the same type of group membership—membership in a campus sorority. Therefore, we could ask respondents about specific group-serving behaviors.

The third goal of the second study is investigate whether feelings of pride and respect are related to attitudes toward other groups. In contrast to the measures of conforming and assertive group behaviors investigated in the first study, attitudes toward other groups represent the typical focus of most social identity research. In the first study, we could not anticipate possible comparison groups in advance, so we were unable to investigate the relationship of pride and respect with attitudes toward other groups. Investigating sorority memberships enables us to ask about attitudes toward other sororities. Further, campus sororities represent a context in which sorority members clearly differentiate within and between different sororities. Different sororities compete with each other for new members and campus prestige, and, within individual sororities, sorority members compete with each other for leadership positions and more attractive rooms. One possible reason that respect, but not pride, was so closely related to personal self-esteem in the first

study may be that differences between groups were not particularly salient or important for most respondents. Therefore, evaluations of the group's general value were less personally relevant. In contrast, sports competitions, the annual drive to recruit new members, and other events mean that comparisons between sorority houses were a salient and important part of the social environment.

Investigating sorority membership offers several important advantages, but it does not guarantee that all sorority members view their sorority membership as important. For some sorority members, this is an extremely important and central group membership, and for others, it is not. We assumed that people's feelings and evaluations of a particular group membership only shape their behavior if that group is important to them. If the group is not important to them (e.g., salient or central), then how they feel about the group should be less important to their behavior. However, unlike the first study in which we asked people to choose their most important group, we could not know whether respondents viewed their sorority as an important group. Therefore, we included a measure asking respondents how often they think of themselves as members of their particular sororities.

Method

Respondents

Eighty-three members from five different sororities at a large public university participated in the study. In each house, we chose to survey members of ''pledge classes'' (a group of members who all entered or ''pledged'' the sorority at the same time) who had experienced one ''rush'' as active sorority members but who were still living in the house (average number of respondents per house was 16.4, the average response rate across the five different houses was 84.0%). The mean age was 20 years old with a standard deviation of 1.23. Respondents were surveyed as a group in their respective sorority houses, with the exception of a few participants who could not be there at the specified time. These respondents completed the questionnaire independently.

Measures

Pride in sorority membership. The same eight questions used in the first study, reworded with the particular sorority as the target group, were used to measure pride. For each item, participants rated their agreement on a scale from completely disagree (1) to completely agree (7).[3]

Respect from other sorority members. The same nine questions used in the first study, reworded with the particular sorority as the target group, were used to measure respect. For each item, participants rated their agreement on a scale from completely disagree (1) to completely agree (7).

Personal self-esteem. As in the first study, personal self-esteem was measured using the Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale. For each item, participants rated their agreement on a scale from disagree (1) to agree (5).

Collective self-esteem. As in the first study, collective self-esteem was measured using the Collective Self-esteem Scale. Responses could range from completely disagree (1) to completely agree (7).

Conforming behaviors. To determine whether the respondent had engaged in conforming group behaviors, the answers to the following five questions were combined: (1) I do my best to fulfill all my obligations related to [the name of the particular sorority] on time, (2) I always try to follow the rules of my sorority, even when I think they are wrong, (3) During this past rush, I was extremely careful to

[3] Although the items used to measure pride, respect, and self-esteem are the same in this study, the poles of the scales are reversed.

keep our sorority's plans secret, (4) I comply with any rules and regulations that [the name of the particular sorority] National requires from our house, and (5) I attend every [the name of the particular sorority] meeting that I am required to attend, unless I absolutely cannot make the meeting. Responses could range from Always (1) to Never (5).

Assertive behaviors. To determine whether the respondent had engaged in assertive group behaviors, the answers to the following six questions were combined: (1) I have suggested improvements and/or changes for how [the name of the particular sorority] does rush; (2) I have suggested improvements and/or changes regarding policies and procedures within the house; (3) I have suggested themes or other ideas for our parties or other social events; (4) Even if it is not an elected office, I volunteer when [the name of the particular sorority] needs a representative to attend a campus or Greek wide meeting; (5) I have taken individual responsibility for an activity regarding rush, the pledges, a social event, other activity or meeting within the house; and (6) I have made suggestions regarding pledge activities. Responses could range from Always (1) to Never (5).

Attitudes toward other sororities. Respondents rated the desirability and importance of eight positive adjectives and eight negative adjectives (Crocker, McGraw, Thompson, & Ingerman, 1987). After rating each adjective, each subject was asked to rate how characteristic that adjective was for a typical member of each of the 13 Panhellenic sororities on campus from extremely characteristic (1) to extremely uncharacteristic (7). The positive adjectives include: involved in campus activities, attractive, confident, friendly, likable, popular, sophisticated, and talented. The negative adjectives include: arrogant, boring, conforming, immature, insensitive, promiscuous, shallow, and unintelligent.

Importance of group membership. Unlike the first study, respondents were not asked to select the group or social category most important to their sense of self. Instead, they all focused on their membership in the sorority. To capture differences in the relative importance of sorority membership to respondents, two questions were asked: (1) How often do you acknowledge or think about the fact that you are a [name of the particular sorority]? and (2) How often do you refer to yourself as a [name of the particular sorority]? Responses could range from completely disagree (1) to completely agree (7).

Results

Summary statistics and intercorrelations for all the variables included in this study are presented in Table 4.[4]

Pride, Respect, and Feelings of Self-Worth

As in the first study, multiple regression analyses were used to test whether feelings of pride, respect, or both, were related to self-esteem. The 10 items designed to measure personal self-esteem were combined into a single variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$), and the 16 items designed to measure collective self-esteem were combined into a single variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$). Because respondents were unable to choose the group or social category that they felt was most important to their sense of self, a measure of sorority importance was also included in both regression analyses. The two questions designed to measure importance were combined into a single variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$). The eight items designed to measure pride formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$), and the nine items designed to measure respect formed a reliable scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = .93$).

As shown in Table 5, the relative importance of the sorority membership was related to personal self-esteem ($\beta = .28$, $p < .05$), but importance of group

[4] Unfortunately, the small sample size means that a factor analysis of these data is inappropriate.

TABLE 4
MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND CORRELATIONS FOR ALL MEASURES—STUDY 2

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Respect	5.92	0.79	—									
2. Pride	5.48	0.90	.65**	—								
3. Personal SE	5.78	0.88	.32*	.32**	—							
4. Collective SE	5.40	0.72	.63**	.68**	.39**	—						
5. Conforming behavior	3.21	1.37	−.29**	−.43**	−.04	−.35**	—					
6. Assertive behavior	3.72	1.45	−.45**	−.49**	−.18	−.41**	.65**	—				
7. Pos. outgroup ratings	3.89	0.47	.10	−.05	.12	.04	−.01	.15	—			
8. Pos. in groupratings	4.75	0.50	.33**	.33**	.20	.24*	−.14	−.08	.42**	—		
9. Neg. outgroup ratings	3.32	0.70	−.32**	−.14	−.24*	−.09	−.13	.10	−.37**	−.35**	—	
10. Neg. ingroup ratings	2.59	0.60	−.24*	−.14	−.14*	−.15	.13	.21	−.24*	−.40**	.59**	—
11. Importance of mbrshp	4.65	1.29	.22*	.48**	.36**	.40**	−.37**	−.40**	−.04	.16	−.03	−.08

Note. $N = 83$. Entries are Pearson correlations. Low scores indicate less respect, less pride, less personal self-esteem, less collective self-esteem, more conforming behavior, more assertive behavior, adjectives less characteristic of sorority, and sorority less important.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

membership was not related to collective self-esteem ($\beta = .12$, ns). More importantly, respect was significantly related to both personal self-esteem ($\beta = .26$, $p < .05$) and collective self-esteem ($\beta = .37$, $p < .01$). As in the first study, pride was significantly related to collective self-esteem ($\beta = .37$, $p < .01$) but not to personal self-esteem ($\beta = .01$, ns).[5]

Pride, Respect, and Group Behaviors

An important goal for this study is to show the same relationships between pride, respect, and group behaviors occur when respondents are asked about their experiences rather than whether they endorse particular behaviors (Table 6). The five items designed to measure conforming behaviors were combined into a single variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .70$), and the six items designed to measure assertive behavior were combined into a single variable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$). As in the first study, pride proved to be significantly related to conforming group behaviors (e.g., I attend all meetings, $\beta = .41$, $p < .01$). However, pride was not related to assertive group behaviors (e.g., I make suggestions for improving house policies, $\beta = .20$, ns). In contrast, respect was not related to conforming behaviors ($\beta = .02$, ns). Respect was significantly related to assertive group behaviors (e.g., I make suggestions for improving house policies, $\beta = .26$, $p < .05$).

Pride, Respect, and Attitudes Toward Other Sororities

An important question is whether respect, in particular, is related to sorority members' attitudes toward other sororities. Following Crocker and her colleagues (1987), two sets of scores were created. The first score represents the average

[5] Together, respect ($\beta = .28$, $p > .05$) and pride ($\beta = .43$, $p < .05$) explain a significant amount of the variance in private CSE scores (adjusted $R^2 = 40.7\%$, $p < .05$).

TABLE 5
THE RELATIONSHIP AMONG SELF-ESTEEM, PRIDE, AND RESPECT—STUDY 2

	Personal self-esteem	Collective self-esteem
Pride	.01	.37**
Respect	.26*	.37**
Importance of membership	.28*	.12
Adjusted R^2	16.4%*	52.5%**

Note. Unless otherwise noted, the entries are standardized regression coefficients for an equation in which all variables are entered simultaneously.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

rating for the eight positive adjectives for the 12 sororities to which the respondent did not belong (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$). The second score represents the average rating for the eight positive adjectives for the respondent's sorority (Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$). The third score represents the average rating for the eight negative adjectives for the 12 sororities to which the respondent did not belong (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$). The fourth score represents the average rating for the eight negative adjectives for the respondent's sorority (Cronbach's $\alpha = .70$). In order to facilitate the interpretation of the results, participants' ratings of each adjective were reverse scored before creating the four variables.

A multiple regression equation was used to test whether pride, respect, or both were significantly related to ratings of the outgroup sororities for the eight positive adjectives. The average rating of the respondents' own sorority for the eight positive adjectives was included in the regression equation as a control for respondent's general ratings of each positive adjective. As shown in Table 7, the average rating of the respondent's sorority on the eight positive adjectives were significantly related to the average rating of outgroup sororities for the eight positive adjectives ($\beta = .48$, $p < .05$). As might be expected, the more characteristic the respondent viewed the positive adjectives to be of her own sorority, the

TABLE 6
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GROUP-ORIENTED BEHAVIORS, PRIDE, AND RESPECT—STUDY 2

	Conforming behavior	Assertive behavior
Pride	.41**	.20
Respect	−.02	.26*
Importance of membership	.17	.25*
Adjusted R^2	18.6%**	28.5%**

Note. Unless otherwise noted, the entries are standardized regression coefficients for an equation in which all variables are entered simultaneously. Conforming behaviors include questions such as "I always try to follow the rules of my sorority, even when I think they are wrong." Assertive behaviors include questions such as "I have suggested improvement and/or changes regarding policies and procedures with the house."
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

TABLE 7
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDES TOWARD OUTGROUPS, PRIDE, AND RESPECT—STUDY 2

	Ratings of other sororities	
	Positive adjectives	Negative adjectives
Pride	−.30*	.08
Respect	.13	−.25*
Importance of membership	.01	.03
Ratings of own sorority	.48**	.55**
Adjusted R^2	19.1%	36.0%

Note. Unless other noted, the entries are standardized regression coefficients for an equation in which all variables are entered simultaneously. Positive adjectives include: involved in campus activities, attractive, confident, friendly, popular, sophisticated and talented. Negative adjectives include: arrogant, boring, conforming, immature, insensitive, promiscuous, shallow, and unintelligent. For the positive adjectives equation, ratings of own sorority refers to ratings for the eight positive adjectives and for the negative adjectives equation, ratings of own sorority refers to ratings for the eight negative adjectives.

more characteristic she viewed positive adjectives to be of outgroup sororities ($r(81) = .42$, $p < .05$). More importantly, pride was significantly related to respondents' ratings of how characteristic the positive adjectives were of outgroup sororities ($\beta = -.30$, $p < .05$). Controlling for ratings of one's own sorority, more pride in one's own sorority was significantly related to viewing positive aspects as *less* characteristic of other sororities (partial $r(81) = -.24$, $p < .05$).

The average rating of the respondents' own sorority for the eight negative adjectives was included in the regression equation with the average rating of the outgroup sororities for the eight negative adjectives as a control for respondents' general ratings of each negative adjective. As shown in Table 7, ratings of the respondent's sorority for the eight negative adjectives were significantly related to ratings of outgroup sororities for the eight negative adjectives ($\beta = .55$, $p < .05$). The more characteristic the respondent viewed the negative adjectives to be of her own sorority, the more characteristic she viewed those adjectives to be of outgroup sororities ($r(81) = .55$, $p < .05$). More importantly, respect was significantly related to negative adjective ratings of other sororities ($\beta = -.25$, $p < .05$). Controlling for ratings of one's own sorority, more respect from one's own sorority was significantly related to viewing negative aspects as *less* characteristic of other sororities (partial $r(81) = -.23$, $p < .05$).

Discussion

The results show that respect is related to feelings of self-worth, measured at either the collective or personal level, in a context in which between and within group differences are both salient and important. As in the first study, pride was related to collective self-esteem but not to personal self-esteem. Interestingly,

sorority membership importance was significantly related to personal self-esteem. One reason for this result may be the research context. Respondents completed these questionnaires in their sorority house with fellow sorority members present. Given that the research context made sorority membership extremely salient, the inconsistency between respondents' self-concept and an aspect of their self they did not prefer to acknowledge was also made salient for those women who preferred not to think or acknowledge themselves as sorority members. Therefore, it is not surprising that they reported lower levels of personal self-esteem than women who felt that their sorority membership was a central part of themselves. The research context might also explain why pride and respect were so closely related to collective self-esteem in this study. Even though the collective self-esteem measure was introduced as a measure of feelings about all one's group and social category memberships, it is likely that membership in the sorority dominated respondents' thoughts.

Both pride and respect also were related to the performance of group behaviors, indicating that the importance of pride and respect extends beyond the endorsement of a behavior to actually doing it. Further, as in the first study, pride was more closely related to conforming group behaviors whereas respect was more closely related to assertive group behaviors. These different relationships show the value in distinguishing between the two types of group-oriented behavior. One important question for future research is to explore why pride and respect appear to encourage different types of group-oriented behavior.

However, the most valuable contribution of this study is showing a relationship between pride, respect, and attitudes toward other groups—the traditional focus of social identity research. First, the relatively low correlations between the ratings for positive and negative adjectives echoes other recent research that shows positive and negative ratings of outgroups represent different phenomena (Brewer & Brown, 1996). Pettigrew and Meertons (1995), for example, argue that blatant prejudice which represents strong negative affect toward outgroups should be distinguished from subtle prejudice which represents the absence of positive emotions toward outgroups. Rather than viewing positive and negative evaluations of outgroups as opposite ends of a single continuum, recent research suggests that they are better treated as two separate dimensions (Brewer & Brown, 1996). Second, the same variables did not account for significant amounts of variance across both types of adjectives. Respondents who were more proud of their sorority rated positive adjectives as less characteristic of other sororities. Respect was not significantly related to ratings of positive adjectives. In contrast, respondents who felt more respected by other members of their sorority rated negative adjectives as less characteristic of other sororities. It is particularly interesting that respect, and not pride, accounted for a significant amount of variance in the ratings of other sororities for negative adjectives. This pattern indicates that respect, or more appropriately, disrespect, may capture the phenomenological experience of those participants who were illegitimate group members (Breakwell, 1979) or peripheral group members (Noel et al., 1995) in previous

experimental studies. These participants were significantly more likely to express negative attitudes toward outgroups.

Our results also offer a reason why respect, or more accurately, disrespect, is related to negative attitudes toward outgroups. Feeling disrespected by other members representing an important group may be more esteem threatening than not feeling proud of an important group. Certainly, ingroup upward comparisons influenced personal self-esteem more than did outgroup upward comparisons (Major et al., 1993), and, in both of these studies, it was respect rather than pride that was most closely related to personal self-esteem. Other experimental research shows that when personal self-esteem is experimentally lowered, participants express more negative attitudes toward an outgroup than participants in a comparison group (Meindl & Lerner, 1984). Interestingly, self-esteem in this study was manipulated via a rigged accident in which the subject apparently ruined a graduate student's organization of his data. In other words, to lower self-esteem, the researchers used an interaction with an authority who ostensibly represented an important group for participants (e.g., psychologists). According to the group value model, people use interactions with representative group authorities to infer whether they are respected group members (Tyler et al., 1996). This pattern of results suggests that when individuals feel that they are not valued members of their group, they may be more likely to focus on downward intergroup comparisons. This possible shift from intragroup to intergroup evaluations when confronted with negative intragroup comparison information offers an interesting parallel to the argument that people will focus on intragroup comparisons when confronted with negative intergroup comparison information (Crocker & Major, 1989).

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The results from both studies confirm the value of pride for understanding general group behavior. Previous social identity research has shown that affective and evaluative feelings about group memberships shape group oriented behavior and attitudes. Therefore, we predicted that pride—our measure of affective and evaluative feelings about the group as a whole—would be significantly related to conforming group behavior, ratings of how characteristic positive adjectives were of outgroups, and collective self-esteem. The results from both studies also demonstrate the value of respect for understanding general group behavior. As shown in the first study, assessments of respect remained important to personal self-esteem even when people chose broad social categories—categories in which they could not possibly know all the other members. Further, across both studies, respect was related to a measure of collective self-esteem, showing that respect represents an aspect of *social* identity. Finally, the fact that respect is related first to assertive group behavior and second to the ratings of how characteristic negative adjectives are of outgroups supports the conclusion that respect contributes to an understanding of group behavior.

In this research, we included a general measure of collective self-esteem as an

outcome variable in order to establish that feelings of pride and respect represent social identity rather than personal identity. However, researchers often include group specific measures of collective self-esteem as a measure of the worthiness or value of a particular group (e.g., Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994; Long, Spears, & Manstead, 1994; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). We expect that both pride and a group specific measure of collective self-esteem capture people's affective and evaluative feelings about the group as a whole, and therefore should be quite similar. However, our research purpose was to establish that respect, in particular, represents an aspect of social identity. If respect was closely related to personal self-esteem and not collective self-esteem, it would be difficult to claim that respect represents a group level variable, but because respect (and pride) explained significant amounts of variance in people's general collective self-esteem, we are confident that respect represents a group level variable.

Empirical research on respect as a *social* construct is rare (Bromley, 1993). Ironically, it is respect, as a measure of social reputations, that may be most important for social behavior. For example, Anderson (1994) describes how the negotiation of respect is the key to understanding street culture in poor inner city communities. Respect and honor are the products of a code of conduct that is shared by community members, not determined within particular interpersonal relationships. Lack of proper respect—from a friend *or a stranger*—is cause for verbal and physical confrontation. As Anderson writes, ''many inner city young men, in particular, crave respect to such a degree that they will risk their lives to attain it'' (Anderson, 1994, p. 80). Clearly, respect is a powerful influence on people's personal self-esteem and behavior, but the key for understanding why respect is so powerful is to recognize that it represents a *social* evaluation—the opinions of an entire group and not the just the opinion of a single person.

Given the pattern of results for respect, an important question for future research is to determine what facilitates feelings of respect. There are two possibilities. On the one hand, feelings of respect may require self-enhancing social comparisons (see Tyler et al., 1996). A social comparison explanation suggests that respect is the product of a zero-sum game—people increase their share of respect by putting someone else down (Anderson, 1994). On the other hand, respect may be related to the type of procedures groups and their representative authorities use. Group members who believe that group procedures and authorities are neutral, trustworthy and recognize their individual rights report higher levels of respect than group members who believe the opposite (Tyler, Huo & Smith, 1995). This possibility suggests that all group members can feel equally respected—more respect for one person does not have to come at the expense of less respect for another.

Of course, it is important to recognize that these are self-report correlational data, so any causal inferences should be made cautiously, if at all. An important question for future research will be to determine whether respect promotes self-esteem, group behavior, and attitudes rather than vice versa. However, as described earlier, experimental research shows that when people are led to believe

that their membership in a group is illegitimate or they are peripheral rather than central group members, they are more likely to derogate outgroups (Breakwell, 1979; Noel et al., 1995). Recent experimental research also shows that when an authority responsible for treatment represents an ingroup, the respectfulness of the treatment influences participants' personal self-esteem, but when the authority represents an outgroup, there is no relationship between how the authority treats the participant and his or her subsequent personal self-esteem (Smith & Ortiz, 1996). In this study, respectful treatment by an ingroup authority also increased participants' willingness to participate in a second research study, but respectful treatment by an outgroup authority did not increase participant's willingness to help. Together, these results indicate that it is not unreasonable to argue that respect promotes feelings of personal self-esteem and group behavior and attitudes, rather than vice versa.

Implications of Pride and Respect

Including both pride and respect within the same framework helps explain several inconsistencies reported in previous research. First, it can explain why membership in a disadvantaged group is not always associated with lower self-esteem. If one feels valued or respected by an important group, the overall value of the group may be less important to feelings of self-worth. In fact, the close relationship between respect and personal self-esteem can explain why members of disadvantaged groups are not uniformly eager to become members of advantaged groups. As a well-respected group member of a low status group, the chance to become a disrespected member of a higher status group may not be as appealing as working to increase the status of one's group as a whole (c.f., Ellemers, Wilke, & Van Knippenberg, 1993).

A consideration of respect also can explain why ''mere'' categorization into groups appears to lower self-esteem (Lemyre & Smith, 1985). When Lemyre and Smith (1985) measured participants' self-esteem immediately after a minimal group manipulation, personal self-esteem scores dropped. They argue that categorization into minimal groups is in itself a threatening experience and that the function of intergroup discrimination may be to restore personal self-esteem following threat. The results from these two studies suggest why ''mere'' categorization is threatening. If, as these results indicate, feelings of respect, the product of intragroup differentiation, are an important contributor to self-worth, then the imposition of generic categorizations removes this source of information and therefore lowers personal self-esteem. Further, if there is no source of respect available from within the group, people may shift their attention to the value of the group as a whole. This shift means that people will be especially sensitive to how their group is valued and, if necessary, they will use reward allocations or rating scales to positively distinguish their group from an outgroup (c.f., Lemyre & Smith, 1985). Testing this possibility is an important question for future research.

Third, a consideration of both pride and respect can explain why social

identification is not always related to negative attitudes toward outgroups. Positive social identity, or positive self-esteem, still may be related to negative evaluations of outgroups as social identity theory predicts, but, depending on the type of question asked, it may be respect rather than pride that is important. Our results show that if identification is represented by pride, people who feel more proud of their own group will view positive characteristics as less representative of outgroups (supporting the traditional social identity argument). However, if identification is represented by respect, people who feel more respect actually view negative characteristics as less representative of outgroups. This pattern of results suggests that social identification does not have to lead to outgroup derogation. Individuals who feel respected or valued by important groups and therefore enjoy a positive social identity may not need to view other groups more negatively.

Finally, our results provide an answer to Davis's (1966) question as to whether it is better to be a big frog in a small pond or a little frog in a big pond. In his research on career choices among college seniors, Davis (1966) suggests that it might be better to be a big frog in a little pond rather than a small frog in a big pond. Given the close relationship between respect and personal self-esteem, this advice still appears reasonable (also see Frank, 1985). However, a focus on respect alone neglects the relationship of pride to collective self-esteem and group behavior. Instead, our results suggest that the key is to select the right size pond. If people do not feel valued by important groups, or if people feel their important groups are not valuable, they are less willing to help the group, they view other groups more negatively, and their self-esteem suffers. The ''best'' pond is a social environment in which both feelings of pride and respect can contribute to positive social identities.

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