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Respect the technique: Status-based respect increases minority group social cohesion with majority groups, while also increasing minority collective action tendencies

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ABSTRACT

The present work explores the implications of respect for social change. Social change can be achieved via improved attitudes between minority and majority groups (i.e., social cohesion) or via action taken by minority groups (i.e., collective action). Recent work suggests that the social cohesion route to social change, in particular an emphasis on commonality, may be incompatible with the collective action route to social change. We suggest that social-cohesion strategies rooted in status-based respect may allow for social cohesion and collective action. We experimentally investigated the relative effects of a majority group communicating status-based respect and commonality, as compared to a control, on minority group members' social cohesion with the majority group and willingness to engage in collective action. Status-based respect increased positive attitudes toward a majority group, relative to commonality and control, but was also associated with increased collective action tendencies. Implications for social change are discussed.

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Social change, or the reduction of inequality between groups, is achieved via a variety of processes, but two prominent routes involve improving attitudes between minority (low status) and majority (high status) groups (i.e., social cohesion route to social change) and action taken by minority groups (i.e., collective action route to social change; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Much of the study on the social cohesion route to social change has focused on increasing positive relations between majority and minority groups, with a particular focus on emphasizing commonality (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Recent work, however, suggests that the social cohesion route to social change, and specifically prejudice-reduction via commonality, may be incompatible with the collective action route to social change (Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012). The emerging body of research on the limits of a commonality-focused framework for the social cohesion route to social change suggests the need for an alternative cohesion framework, which has the potential to foster both routes to social change: social cohesion and collective action (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). We suggest that respect may have important implications for social change. Drawing on the dual pathway model of respect (Huo & Binning, 2008), the present research tests the relative effects of commonality and status-based respect, as compared to control, on racial/ethnic minority group members' attitudes toward, and interest in future contact with, a majority group (social cohesion), as well as willingness to engage in minority collective action (collective action).

A growing body of research suggests that a strict focus on commonality, as a means to social cohesion between majority and minority groups, can actually undermine the collective action route to social change (Dixon, Durrheim, Kerr, & Thomaes, 2013; Dixon et al., 2012). Exclusively focusing on commonality increases social cohesion between minority and majority groups (e.g., attitudes;

Gómez, Dovidio, Huici, Gaertner, & Cuadrado, 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, the potential “dark side” of commonality is that it decreases the salience of intergroup boundaries, which is associated with a host of negative outcomes pertinent to minority-group collective action. For example, a strict focus on commonality with a majority group has been shown to decrease estimates of degree of personal discrimination among minority groups (Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010), increase expectations of benevolent treatment from majority groups (Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009), and also reduce minority group identification, as well as willingness to engage in collective action (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). There is evidence, therefore, to suggest that utilizing commonality as the means for social cohesion may be counterproductive and even (at times) contradictory to the larger goal of reducing group inequality and social change (Dixon et al., 2012). Moreover, the evidence suggests an incompatibility between the social cohesion and collective action routes to social change (Dixon et al., 2013).

The support of majority group members', however, is often necessary and integral to sustainable social change (Subasic, Reynolds, & Turner, 2008). Indeed, although social change is typically initiated by minority groups (collective action), by definition, a numerical minority must work with majority groups (social cohesion) to achieve long-term social change. Therefore, there is a need to develop alternative means for social cohesion that do not undermine minority collective action. As most of the work on social cohesion has focused on commonality as the primary means to achieve social cohesion, the perceived incompatibility between the two routes may be predicated on utilizing commonality as *the* means to social cohesion. In the present work, we investigate the implications of status-based respect for minority-group social cohesion with a majority group, as well as for minority collective action.

There are a variety of conceptualizations of the respect construct, but in the present work we explore the implications of *status-based respect* for the two routes to social change. Scholars have conceptualized respect as recognition in the form of care or social esteem for others (Honneth, 1995), the quality of treatment one receives from others (Tyler & Smith, 1999), perceptions of liking (Spears, Ellemers, Doosje, & Branscombe, 2006), recognition of equality (Simon, Mommert, & Renger, 2015), or as appraisals of competencies (Clarke, 2011; van Quaquebeke, Henrich, & Eckloff, 2007). Thus, there are many different ways to operationalize respect as a construct, and we should note that these different conceptualizations of respect likely have differing effects on social change outcomes. For the purposes of the present work, however, we draw on the dual pathway model of respect (Huo & Binning, 2008) and utilize a conceptualization of respect rooted in status. The dual pathway model of respect suggests that there are two routes to the experience of respect: inclusion and status. Whereas respect rooted in inclusion is fundamentally about a person's feeling of social acceptance (i.e., feelings of belongingness or liking), respect rooted in status is fundamentally about recognition or social standing (i.e., judgements of standing; competence; status attainment; Huo & Binning, 2008). Status-based respect is conceptualized as recognition of social standing, and thus, not only explicitly acknowledges perceived status (i.e., addressing status concerns), but is rooted in conveying perceived value and competence (Huo & Binning, 2008). Importantly, status-based respect recognizes and acknowledges power relations. The present work utilizes, and was designed to test, the implications of majority groups' communicating status-based respect for social change. Thus, the current study focuses on one-half of the intergroup relations equation by investigating the perspective of the minority group, in relation to majority groups. More specifically, we explore whether a majority-group message emphasizing status-based respect has the potential to not only produce social cohesion (i.e., improved attitudes toward the majority group), but also facilitate minority group collective action (i.e., greater willingness to act on behalf of the minority group).

One goal of the present work, therefore, was to explore the potential benefits of status-based respect, as compared to commonality, for increasing minorities' positive attitudes toward majority groups (social cohesion route to social change). Emphasizing commonality can increase minority group members' positive attitudes toward majority groups (Gómez et al., 2008; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Indeed, to the extent that an intervention induces members of different groups to focus on commonality (e.g., a commonality message; common/superordinate identity), thereby reducing

salience of intergroup boundaries or group differences, it can improve intergroup attitudes (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) and increase motivation for intergroup contact (Gómez et al., 2008). From a social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), however, members of minority groups often prefer approaches that recognize the distinctiveness of their group, compared to approaches that threaten or obscure the distinctiveness of their group. For example, relative to majority group members, minority group members typically prefer multiculturalism over assimilation (Verkuyten, 2006) and dual identity over common identity (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kafati, 2000). Moreover, and of particular relevance to the current work, racial/ethnic minorities are often more concerned with being respected, than being liked, by majority group members (Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010). As a result, minority group members, whether within interpersonal interactions (Bergsieker et al., 2010) or in attitudes toward the larger group (Glasford & Dovidio, 2011; Shnabel, Nadler, Ullrich, Dovidio, & Carmi, 2009), are more comfortable approaching majority-groups and contexts under conditions that recognize the minority sub-group identity. For example, when racial/ethnic minorities feel respect they are more likely to actively support majority-group institutions (Huo & Molina, 2006). Taken together, this body of work suggests that although both status-based respect and commonality should increase minority group social cohesion toward a majority group, when compared to a control, it is likely the case that status-based respect should be more likely to produce positive attitudes toward, as well as interest in contact with, a majority group (social cohesion), compared to commonality or control.

A second goal of the present work was to explore the potential benefits of status-based respect, as compared to commonality, for facilitating minority collective action tendencies (collective action route to social change). Drawing on past work (Wright & Lubensky, 2009), we expected a majority group message emphasizing commonality to be associated with decreases in collective action tendencies, as compared to a control condition, which should be explained by reduced group identification. Thus, consistent with a large body of work (Dixon et al., 2012), it was expected that a message emphasizing commonality, as compared to control, would undermine minority collective action tendencies, which would be explained by decreases in minority-group identification (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). On the contrary, status-based respect was expected to empower collective action, as compared to commonality or control, among minority group members.

Within a context of unequal group relations, we would expect a message of status-based respect from a majority group to bolster preference for minority-group distinctiveness. From a social identity perspective, distinctiveness needs and preferences are strategic, based on the constraints/possibilities of the context (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). Preference for group distinctiveness, therefore, is context-specific, often varying based on the characteristics of (e.g., group size; Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001), and identity-relevant perceptions elicited by (e.g., threat; White & Langer, 1999; threat to identity by out-groups; Livingston, Spears, Manstead, & Bruder, 2009), the given social context. Within a context of unequal group relations, a majority group message emphasizing status-based respect, which acknowledges the relative lower status of the minority group, is likely to make not only group boundaries, but also power relations, salient (Tyler & Smith, 1999). To the extent that increasing the salience of both group boundaries and (unequal) power relations invokes perceptions of illegitimacy regarding group disparities (e.g., via identity-threat; Livingston et al., 2009), minority group members' preference for distinctiveness should increase. Indeed, minority group members' desire to establish positive distinctiveness increases under conditions that raise awareness about group disparities, and in particular the minority group's relative lower status, compared to a majority group (Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton, & Hume, 2001; Bettencourt, Charlton, Dorr, & Hume, 2001). Moreover, distinctiveness needs are especially high when group disparities are perceived as illegitimate (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Given the social reality of most societies, making group disparities salient also often simultaneously invokes perceptions of illegitimacy for most minority group members (Eibach & Keegan, 2006). Taken together, this work suggests that a message emphasizing status-based respect from a higher power majority group (occurring within the context of unequal power relations), should increase preference for minority-group distinctiveness among minority group members, as compared to a neutral message (control condition).

Differentiation is often *the* starting point for understanding when members of low status groups mobilize to secure social change via collective action (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Therefore, increased preference for minority-group distinctiveness from a majority group, as a result of status-based respect (as compared to control) was expected to, in turn, increase minority group members' willingness to engage in collective action. Status-based respect affirms value and competence (Huo & Molina, 2006), thereby increasing potential for empowerment among individuals and collectives (Simon, 2007). To the extent that preference for differentiation from a majority group is high, it would be expected that minority group members should be especially willing to engage in collective action. Indeed, distinctiveness concerns are directly related to collective action behavior (Wohl, Giguere, Branscombe, & McVicar, 2011). Employees, for example, are more likely to work on behalf of their organization after they receive a message affirming a distinct social identity, compared to a message that does not affirm distinct social identity (Haslam & Platow, 2001). In sum, it was expected that a majority group message emphasizing status-based respect, as compared to a control, would be associated with increases in minority collective action tendencies, which would be explained by increases in preference for minority group distinctiveness.

The present study

In the present work, focused on the perspective of the minority group, we investigate the relative effects of status-based respect and commonality, as compared to control, on the two routes to social change: social cohesion and collective action. More specifically, first we test for whether a majority group message emphasizing status-based respect, as compared to commonality and a control, increases positive attitudes toward, as well as interest in future contact with, a majority group (social cohesion route to social change). Second, we explore whether a majority group message emphasizing status-based respect increases minority-group collective action tendencies (collective action route to social change), as compared to commonality and a control. The present research extends the literature in two ways. First, there are relatively few studies that have investigated the implications of respect for the two routes to social change. The current study not only seeks to identify an alternative to harmony-focused social cohesion interventions, but also explores the implications of status-based respect for minority group collective action. Second, this work complements an emerging body of work on the potential benefits of respect for intergroup relations (Huo & Binning, 2008; Simon & Grabow, 2014), and is especially pertinent to the study of intergroup relations from the perspective of the minority group (e.g., minority-to-majority). Commonality-focused interventions are less effective for minority groups, as compared to majority groups, such that they are less likely to improve minority group members' attitudes and behaviors toward majority groups (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Given the numerous contexts where there is a need to develop interventions aimed at improving relations across power (e.g., high schools; universities; bank mergers; neighborhoods; law enforcement; other multicultural settings; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) and that an exclusive focus on harmony is less effective for minority groups, there is a need to identify alternatives to commonality-focused frameworks, which focus on the perspective of minority groups (i.e., low status/power to high status/power).

In the current study, racial/ethnic minority group members in the United States read a news report designed to emphasize status-based respect, commonality, or no specific emphasis (control condition) from a majority group (Whites). The outcome measures included group identification, preference for minority group distinctiveness, attitudes toward the majority group, and interest in future contact (social cohesion route to social change), as well as collective action tendencies (collective action route to social change). We expected a message emphasizing status-based respect from a majority group to produce more positive attitudes and greater interest in future contact with the majority group (social cohesion), as compared to commonality or control. We also expected the commonality message to decrease collective action tendencies, as compared to the control, which would be explained by decreases in group identification (Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Conversely, we

expected status-based respect to increase collective action tendencies, which would be explained by increases in preference for minority group distinctiveness.

Method

Participants

One hundred and sixty-one undergraduate students (112 women and 49 men) participated to fulfill one option of an introductory psychology course requirement. Sixty-three percent of the sample self-identified as Latino/Hispanic, 28% as Black/African-American, and 9% self-identified as primarily Latino or Black with a multi-racial mix. Participants were pre-selected for race/ethnicity based on a pre-screening procedure, but were not aware of selection criteria used for the study.

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions (Commonality, Respect, or Control; method for manipulation adapted from Guerra et al., 2010) and individually completed questionnaires in a group setting.¹ All materials were designed to fit the participants' respective racial/ethnic group membership (i.e., either "Hispanic/Latino" or "African-American/Black"). In the remainder of the methods section, for ease of presentation, we input [*participant's minority in-group*; *P.M.G.*], in place of the respective name of the race/ethnicity of the minority group. Participants were asked to read one of three one-page reports describing "Relations in America and how Whites think about [*P.M.G.*]." In all conditions, participants read a general paragraph describing diversity in America, including the following passages: "The population in the United States includes many different racial/ethnic groups. . . As our country becomes more diverse and begins to include many groups, it becomes critical to understand how groups think about and relate to one another." Thus, this initial generic paragraph described the importance of understanding how groups approach one another and served as the baseline comparison condition (control condition).

In the other two conditions, participants read an additional paragraph that emphasized either commonality with, or status-based respect for, the minority group. The commonality paragraph (commonality condition) read, in part, "A recent poll of non-Hispanic Whites revealed that most Whites perceive that Whites have many things in common with [*P.M.G.*] . . . One White respondent noted 'We may disagree at times, but we, Whites, and [*P.M.G.*] in this country share so much in common.' . . . the results of the survey indicated that most Whites view Whites and [*P.M.G.*] as sharing commonalities." The status-based respect paragraph (respect condition) read, in part, "A recent poll of non-Hispanic Whites revealed that most Whites perceive that Whites should respect the views of [*P.M.G.*] . . . Given the position of [*P.M.G.*] in America, Whites should listen to the views of [*P.M.G.*] . . . Whites, should do a better job of listening, acknowledging the position of [*P.M.G.*] in this country, and recognizing the opinions of [*P.M.G.*]' . . . Many Whites perceive that [*P.M.G.*] have unique talents, ability, and competence. . . . the results of the survey indicated that most Whites perceive that Whites should approach [*P.M.G.*] with respect—listening and recognizing the views of [*P.M.G.*] in America." Thus, the message emphasizing status-based respect not only recognized the current social standing of the minority group, but also conveyed that the majority group values the opinion of the minority group, as well as views the group as competent. After reading the reports, participants in all conditions were asked to write down five statements summarizing the message of the report. The text of both the respect (Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010; Simon, Lücken, & Stürmer, 2006) and commonality (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000) manipulations were adapted from previous work.

On the next page, a manipulation check assessed the extent to which the manipulation had the intended effects. Specifically, participants were asked to respond to two items assessing perceptions of majority group approach. The commonality item read: "White-Americans share a lot in common with [*P.M.G.*]," and the respect item read, "White-Americans respect and listen to the views of [*P.M.G.*]."

Next, participants were asked to respond to a series of statements designed to assess group identification and preference for minority group distinctiveness (i.e., motivation to be categorized as a minority distinct from the majority group) and asked to answer how they were feeling “Right now, in the moment.” Group identification was assessed on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale using two items ($r = .80$): “Being [P.M.G.] is an important part of who I am,” and “Belonging to the [P.M.G.] group is an important part of who I am.” Preference for minority group distinctiveness was assessed on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale using three items ($\alpha = .85$): “It’s very important to me that others view [P.M.G.] as distinct from White Americans,” “It’s important to me that others view [P.M.G.] culture as unique from White culture,” and “It’s important that [P.M.G.] are recognized as distinct from White Americans.” These measures were adapted from past work exploring group identification (i.e., centrality; Leach et al., 2008) and expression of preference for identity distinctiveness (Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta, & Gomez, 2012).

Finally, we assessed social cohesion with the majority group and also minority group willingness to engage in collective action. Social cohesion toward the majority group was assessed via two indices: attitudes toward the majority group and motivation for future contact with the majority group. Attitudes toward the majority group were assessed via a standard attitudes thermometer scale (e.g., Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001), in which participants were asked to “describe their feelings toward Whites at the moment” ranging from 0 (*Cold*) to 100 (*Warm*). In addition, participants were informed that the researchers would be hosting “a dialogue to bring together groups of different racial/ethnic backgrounds.” Responding on a 1 (*not interested at all*) to 7 (*extremely interested*) scale, two items assessed motivation for future contact with a majority group ($r = .75$): “How interested would you be in participating in the proposed interracial dialogue with White Americans?,” and “How motivated are you to attend a ‘making friends discussion’ with White American students?” Finally, to assess minority group members’ willingness to engage in collective action, participants were asked to consider injustice facing their minority group and responded on a 1 (*extremely unlikely*) to 7 (*extremely likely*) scale to four items regarding their willingness to take action on behalf of their minority group ($\alpha = .83$): “Participate in a future demonstration to improve the conditions of [P.M.G.],” “Participate in some form of collective action with [P.M.G.],” “Sign a petition to help fight discrimination against [P.M.G.],” and “Work with other members of [P.M.G.] to improve the position of the group.”²

Results

Preliminary analyses confirmed the effectiveness of the manipulation. There was an effect of experimental condition for the commonality manipulation-check, $F(2,158) = 5.98, p = .003, \eta^2_p = .07$. Follow-up comparisons revealed that participants in the commonality condition reported higher agreement with the commonality item ($M = 4.61, SD = 1.48$), compared to those in the respect ($M = 3.75, SD = 1.88$), $p = .007$, and control ($M = 3.56, SD = 1.60$), $p = .002$, conditions, respectively. There was also an effect of experimental condition for the respect manipulation-check item, $F(2,158) = 7.55, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .08$. Follow-up comparisons revealed that participants in the respect condition reported higher agreement with the respect item ($M = 4.94, SD = 1.67$), compared to those in the commonality ($M = 4.03, SD = 1.69$), $p = .004$, and control ($M = 3.79, SD = 1.51$), $p < .001$, conditions, respectively.

Social cohesion: Attitudes and motivation for future contact

An ANOVA testing for differences in attitudes toward the majority group based on majority group message revealed an effect of condition, $F(2,158) = 8.35, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .09$. Follow-up pairwise comparisons revealed that participants in the respect condition ($M = 84.13, SD = 12.53$) reported more positive attitudes than those in the control condition ($M = 70.81.25, SD = 20.28$), $p < .001$, and slightly more positive attitudes than those in the commonality condition ($M = 77.18, SD = 17.26$), $p = .073$, with no reliable or significant differences between the commonality and control conditions,

$p = .13$. Similarly, an ANOVA testing for the effect of majority group message on desire for future contact revealed an effect of condition approaching significance, $F(2,158) = 2.97$, $p = .054$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. Follow-up pairwise comparisons revealed participants in the respect condition ($M = 5.85$, $SD = .91$) reported greater interest in future contact with a majority group, compared to those in the commonality ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 1.40$), $p = .023$, and the control ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 1.68$), $p = .071$, conditions, respectively, with no differences between the commonality and control conditions, $p = .70$.

Minority group identification and preference for minority group distinctiveness

An ANOVA revealed an effect of condition (commonality, respect, and control) on group identification, $F(2,158) = 16.027$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .16$. Follow-up pairwise comparisons revealed that participants in the commonality condition ($M = 4.89$, $SD = 1.48$) reported lower group identification than those in the control ($M = 6.10$, $SD = 1.39$) and respect ($M = 6.17$, $SD = 1.13$), p 's $< .001$, conditions, respectively, with no differences between the respect and control conditions, $p = .94$. An ANOVA revealed a significant effect of condition for preference for minority group distinctiveness, as well, $F(2,158) = 4.47$, $p = .013$, $\eta^2_p = .05$. Follow-up pairwise comparisons revealed that participants in the respect condition ($M = 4.94$, $SD = 1.34$) reported greater preference for distinctiveness compared to those in the commonality ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 1.49$), $p = .006$, and control ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 1.70$), $p = .026$, conditions, with no differences between commonality and control conditions, $p = .65$.

Collective action tendencies

An ANOVA testing for differences in collective action tendencies revealed an effect of condition, $F(2,158) = 28.167$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .26$. Follow-up pairwise comparisons revealed that participants in the respect condition ($M = 6.01$, $SD = .92$) reported greater willingness to engage in collective action compared to those in the commonality ($M = 4.67$, $SD = .83$), $p < .001$, and control ($M = 5.25$, $SD = 1.10$), $p = .002$, conditions, respectively. Collective action tendencies were lower in the commonality condition compared to the control condition, $p < .001$.

Mediation analyses

To investigate the hypothesized mediating roles of group identification and preference for minority distinctiveness in explaining the relation between conditions and collective action tendencies, we conducted mediation analyses with a multi-categorical independent variable (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). As the present work is concerned with relative effects of the experimental conditions, as compared to control, we preformed mediation analyses allowing for a test of the relative effects of status-based respect and commonality, as compared to control, on collective action tendencies. Thus, following guidelines for analyses with multi-categorical independent variables, this mediation test not only retains all information about how the respective groups differ from one another, but also allows for simultaneous hypothesis testing (Hayes & Preacher, 2014). We tested the relative direct and indirect effects of commonality and respect conditions, in comparison to the control condition. More specifically, the mediation analyses tests the relative direct and indirect effects of commonality (D_1) and respect (D_2) conditions, in comparison to the control condition, respectively. To test the significance of the relative indirect effects, we used the bootstrapping procedure and obtained 95% confidence intervals for indirect effects based on 5,000 bootstrap samples.

As shown in Figure 1, for the commonality condition, there was support for an indirect effect of group identification ($ab_{11} = -.23$, $SE = .12$, $LLCI = -.51$, $ULCI = -.04$) on collective action tendencies, but there was not an indirect effect for preference for minority group distinctiveness ($ab_{12} = .005$, $SE = .02$, $LLCI = -.02$, $ULCI = .09$). For the respect condition,

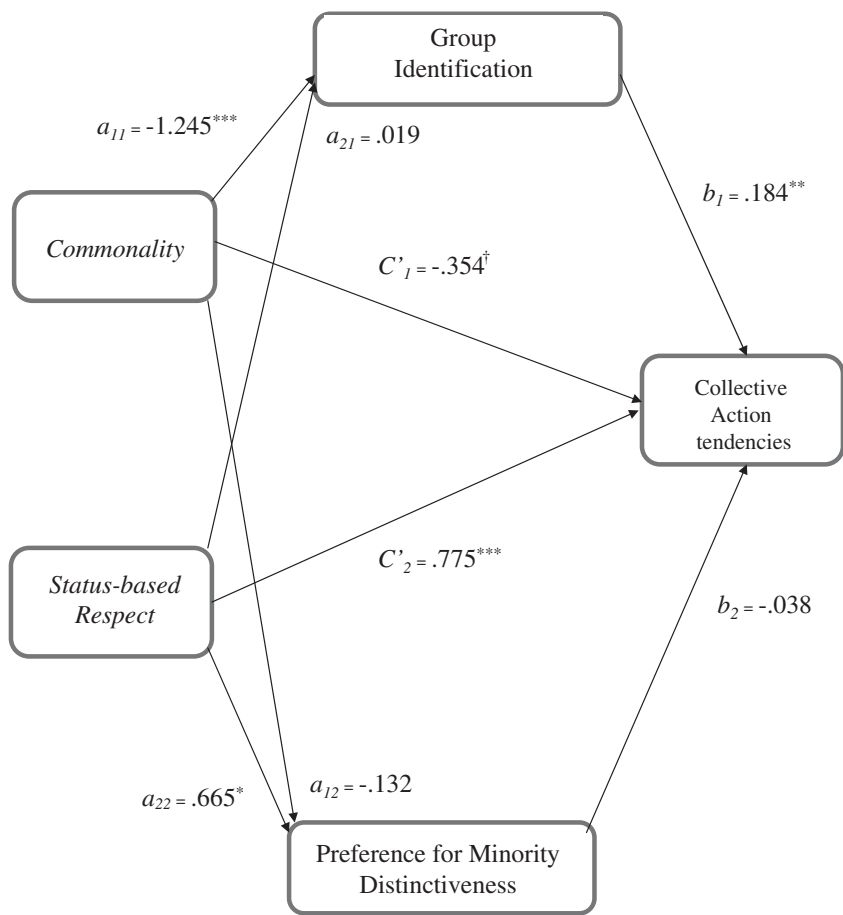


Figure 1. Mediation analyses for the relative indirect effects of commonality and status-based respect conditions (as compared to the control condition) on collective action tendencies, via group identification and preference for minority group distinctiveness. [†] $p < .07$, $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$.

there was not support for indirect effects via group identification ($ab_{21} = .004$, $SE = .05$, $LLCI = -.11$, $ULCI = .08$) or preference for minority group distinctiveness ($ab_{22} = -.025$, $SE = .04$, $LLCI = -.13$, $ULCI = .03$).³

Discussion

The present research examined the effect of a majority-group message emphasizing status-based respect on minority group social cohesion with the majority group, as well as on minority-group collective action tendencies. We found that a message from a majority group emphasizing status-based respect not only increased minority group members' positive attitudes toward the majority group, but also desire for future contact with the majority group (social cohesion route to social change), as compared to commonality and control. In addition, a majority group message emphasizing status-based respect, as compared to commonality and control, also increased preference for minority-group distinctiveness and minority group members' willingness to engage in collective action. Finally, consistent with a large and emerging body of work on the “ironic” effects of commonality-focused interventions (Dixon et al., 2012; Wright & Lubensky, 2009), we found that a majority group message strictly focused on commonality decreased minority collective action tendencies, which was explained by a reduction in minority-group identification. Moreover,

complementing this larger literature on 'ironic' effects of commonality and harmony, commonality was found to *also* reduce minority group members' preference to differentiate from a (more powerful) majority out-group.

The present research complements an emerging body of work on the benefits of respect for intergroup relations. Status-based respect may have important implications for bridging the divide between the preferences of minority and majority groups. Majority (preference for common identity, colorblindness, assimilation) and minority (preference for dual identity, multiculturalism, and integration) group members often have discordant intergroup orientations (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007). Differing intergroup orientations often makes intergroup relations more difficult between minority and majority groups (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). However, as evidenced by the current findings, to the extent that status-based respect acknowledges the social position of minority groups and recognizes sub-group identity, as well as power-relations, minority group members are likely to positively respond to a status-based respect framework. Conversely, to the extent that status-based respect has the potential to convey personal respect, which past work demonstrates is particularly important for majority group members (Huo & Molina, 2006), majority group members may be likely to positively respond to a respect framework. Of course the present work provides only one half of the puzzle and the social cohesion route to social change is typically rooted in majority-*to*-minority relations. Therefore, additional work is needed on the potential impact of status-based respect as a prejudice-reduction intervention for majority group members, as well as for intergroup relations more broadly. The current results, though, provide evidence of the benefits of status-based respect for increasing minority group members' positive attitudes and desire for contact with majority groups.⁴

Status-based respect also has implications for collective action. A majority group message emphasizing status-based respect was associated with increases in collective action, as compared to commonality and control. Thus, our findings suggest that status-based respect may facilitate collective action among minority groups. Counter to our expectations, though, the relation between respect, as compared to control, and willingness to engage in collective action was not explained by preference for minority group distinctiveness. It's possible that the relation between respect and collective action tendencies, as compared to control is explained by alternative, more traditional, pathways to collective action. Indeed, although the present work was focused on group identification and preference for minority-group distinctiveness, we suspect that anger and/or efficacy could also explain the effect of status-based respect on minority group members' willingness to engage in collective action. For example, to the extent that status-based respect not only recognizes the distinctiveness of the minority group, but also makes group boundaries salient with an advantaged group, it's possible that anger (rooted in a sense of perceived injustice or increased salience of inequality with a majority group; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004) may explain the relation between status-based respect and willingness to engage in collective action. Similarly, to the extent that status-based respect conveys competence, minority group members may feel more efficacious about collective action (as an in-group) but also more efficacious about the potential for political solidarity with the majority group, such that they sense greater likelihood that those in the majority group may be inclined to shift identification away from authority groups, toward the minority group (Subasic et al., 2008). Further work is of course needed to explore the implications of status-based respect for collective action. However, in line with recent theorizing (Simon, 2007), we would expect respect, under certain conditions, to have the potential to empower collective action among minority groups.

More broadly, the current findings provide initial evidence of the benefits of status-based respect for the dual routes to social change: improved relations between groups (social cohesion route) and collective action by minority groups (collective action route; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). A majority group message framing relations in terms of status-based respect, rooted in recognizing the social standing of the minority group and conveying that the minority group is valued to intergroup relations, not only increased social cohesion with the majority group, but also minority group collective action. Much of the debate surrounding the 'ironic' effects of commonality suggests that promoting social cohesion may be counterproductive to facilitating collective action among minority

group members (Dixon et al., 2012). However, the perceived incompatibility between the two routes to social change assumes a social cohesion approach that is rooted in emphasizing commonality or harmony, thus reducing the salience of group boundaries and obscuring power relations (e.g., common identity; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; quality contact; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Status-based respect can be an alternative to commonality as a means to social cohesion among groups, suggesting there may be potential for compatibility between the social cohesion *and* minority group collective action routes to social change. Given that one critique of commonality and harmony-focused intergroup relations prejudice-reduction interventions is that it doesn't allow for conflict (i.e., the approach is rooted in focusing on similarity), thereby dis-incentivizing a focus on group inequality and institutional/structural characteristics that maintain group inequality (Dixon et al., 2012; Jackman, 1994), status-based respect may be particularly beneficial for social change *because* it seems to leave room for conflict and/or uncomfortable discussion related to inequality. Indeed, consistent with a theoretical approach that distinguishes liking and competence (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), status-based respect framework, which recognizes power relations, may not only allow for more difficult conversations around inequality (as compared to commonality), while supporting social cohesion (improved relations between groups), but also support minority group collective action, both of which can raise awareness of structural systems of disadvantage and promote positive social change. Status-based respect, therefore, may help to reconcile the two models of social change: It allows for a mode of social change that seeks to improve relations, while at the same time supports a model of social change rooted in minority group collective action.

We note some limitations of the present work and suggest avenues for future research. First, although the present work utilized an operationalization of respect rooted in status (Huo & Molina, 2006), additional work is needed to identify not only the influence of the particular components of status-based respect (i.e., recognition of social standing; competence) but also the effect of other conceptualizations of respect, such as recognition based on equality (Simon & Grabow, 2014) or appraisal (van Quaquebeke et al., 2007), on social cohesion and collective action outcomes. Second, one unexpected finding was that the commonality condition, as compared to control, did not increase social cohesion. This finding is counter to a large body of work on the positive effects of commonality on intergroup attitudes (e.g., common identity; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). However, the current results are consistent with work demonstrating that interventions that exclusively emphasize commonality can increase bias among sub-groups (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000), and this is particularly the case when the initiative is coming from an out-group member (Gómez et al., 2008). Thus, in the current study, it's possible that minority group members experienced some threat or discomfort at a majority out-group emphasizing commonality, which negatively impacted social cohesion outcomes. Third, on a related note, we acknowledge that optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991) and past findings (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000) would suggest that commonality should have increased preference for distinctiveness, compared to the control condition. One explanation for the discrepancy in findings, however, may be related to status and the role of desire for group membership. Optimal distinctiveness theory is primarily concerned with contexts in which individuals are seeking to achieve a balance between needs for inclusion and differentiation, *but also* desire (or have the option) to identify with, the available group memberships (e.g., a superordinate identity; Brewer, 1991). However, context and the status of groups within intergroup relations may play a key role in shaping distinctiveness needs. To the extent that a minority group member perceives a commonality message *from a higher status majority group* as a means to (at least partially) reinforce existing (unequal) intergroup arrangements (e.g., dependency helping; Halabi, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2016) or views the commonality message from a majority group as not inclusive of their group (Hornsey & Hogg, 1999), it would be expected that he or she might view commonality as less attractive (less preference to join the group) and thus experience less distinctiveness threat under commonality. Thus one avenue for future work is assessing the potential moderating role of status and perceptions of inclusiveness of the commonality message on the effect of commonality on preference for distinctiveness.

Future research may also explore the relation among status-based respect, group identification, and collective action tendencies. The present work primarily focused on exploring preference for minority-group distinctiveness as a mechanism to explain the effect of status-based respect on collective action tendencies, but we acknowledge that there are conditions when status-based respect may increase collective action, via increased group identification. Indeed, the socio-structural characteristics of intergroup relations (e.g., permeability of group boundaries; stability of intergroup relations; Mummendey, Klink, Mielke, Wenzel, & Blanz, 1999) likely inform the role of group identification on the status-based respect-collective action relation. For example, under conditions of low perceived permeability, status-based respect may increase collective action tendencies via increases in group identification or perceptions of illegitimacy (Reysen, Slobodnikova, & Katzarska-Miller, 2016). Finally, we recognize that whereas the commonality condition emphasized a perceived “actual” state (i.e., “we have commonalities”), the respect condition emphasized a potential ‘ought’ state (i.e., ‘we should listen to the views’). Given existing relations between the two groups in society, we wanted the respect condition to be meaningful and ecologically valid, but it is of course possible that differences in the results of the respect and commonality conditions may also be due to this slight difference in framing (e.g., discrepancy in actual-ideal intergroup differentiation; Turner & Crisp, 2010). However, as past work demonstrates that racial/ethnic minorities are often more concerned with being respected than liked (Bergsieker et al., 2010), we are confident in the general pattern of results.

The present research sheds new light on the implications of status-based respect for social change. The results reveal that a majority group message emphasizing status-based respect has the potential to not only increase positive attitudes toward majority groups but also increase minorities’ willingness to engage in collective action. To the extent that not only functional intergroup relations, but also social change, requires developing interventions that engage both minority and majority groups, there is a need to develop interventions that are responsive to the perspective of minority groups. Our findings suggest, at least from the perspective of minority groups, that status-based respect may be a useful alternative to commonality as a means to facilitate social cohesion with majority groups (improved attitudes and partnerships), which doesn’t come at the expense of collective action. Understanding the processes that promote positive social change, whether via improved relations between groups or via minority collective action, is a complex and nuanced endeavor. We view the current findings, and the potential of future work exploring status-based respect from the perspective of majority groups, as a promising framework for social cohesion, minority collective action, and (more broadly) social change.

Notes

1. Preliminary analyses testing for the effects of participant race/ethnicity revealed no significant effects.
2. This study included several other variables as a part of the larger test of hypotheses. However, for ease of clarity and presentation, we have omitted the reporting of these variables. We disclose this information in the interest of transparent scholarship, but deem the reporting of all of the variables, as well as the accompanying analyses, as beyond the scope of the present paper. Further details can be obtained from the first author.
3. To investigate the hypothesized mediating roles of group identification and preference for minority distinctiveness in explaining the relation between the experimental conditions (contrasting only status-based respect and commonality) and collective action tendencies, we conducted a dual mediator path analysis using a 5,000 re-sample bootstrapping procedure (Preacher & Hayes, 2004). There was support for partial mediation, the total effect of experimental condition on collective action was reduced (total effect = -1.26 , $p < .001$; to direct effect = -1.05 , $p < .01$) when group identification and preference for minority group distinctiveness were included as mediators. Both preference for minority distinctiveness, point estimate .09, with a 95% bias corrected/accelerated interval between .0131 and .2328, and group identification, $-.37$, with a 95% bias corrected/accelerated interval between $-.5806$ and $-.2180$, explained the relation between majority group emphasis condition and collective action tendencies, $F(3, 109) = 37.42$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .50$.
4. Although the present work focused on status-based respect and commonality as independent constructs, we note that there may be fruitful avenues for future investigation involving the interrelation between commonality and respect. For example, across all conditions, there was a positive association between the commonality and status-based respect manipulation-check items ($r = .372$, $p < .001$; $n = 161$), which

stayed at comparable levels of association strength under the control ($r = .354$, $p = .013$; $n = 48$) and status-based respect ($r = .351$, $p = .007$; $n = 58$) conditions (collapsing across the control and respect conditions, $r = 3.49$, $p < .001$; $n = 106$). However, there was a marginally stronger positive association among the two manipulation-check items in the commonality condition ($r = .578$, $p < .001$; $n = 55$), as compared to the other two conditions (collapsed), $Z = 1.735$, $p = .082$. The manipulation-check findings by condition suggest that the effects of status-based respect on social cohesion, for example, may be especially effective under conditions of salient superordinate or dual identity. Indeed, it is often easier for individuals to respect those in which they share similarities or commonalities.

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