Respect as a positive self-conscious emotion in European Americans and Chinese

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The last decade has witnessed a growing interest in self-conscious emotions. For example, guilt, shame, and embarrassment have been studied both within and across cultures (Casimire & Schnegg, 2003; Lewis, 1993; Lindsay-Hartz, de Rivera, & Mascolo, 1995; Scheff, 2003; Tangney, 1998; Tangney & Fischer, 1995; Schneider, 1977). As a result, our knowledge in this area is not limited to the West as was most past psychological research, but our understanding is enriched from many researchers studying people from diverse cultural backgrounds (Abu-Lughod, 1996; Fischer, Manstead, & Rodriguez Mosquera, 1999; Fontaine, Poortinga, Setiadi, & Markam, 2002; Fung, 1999; Heider, 1991; Li, Wang, & Fischer, 2004; Menon & Shweder, 1994; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2002). However, the field mostly focuses on negative self-conscious emotions. In contrast, very little research exists on positive self-conscious emotions. Except for the growing research on pride (Tracy & Robins, 2004; Tracy, Robins, & Lagattuta, 2005), little research exists on other positive self-conscious emotions such as honor, respect, gratitude, humility, and, probably, the now well-known concept of face (Ting-Toomey, 1994).

As Tangney (2002) points out, positive self-conscious emotions may be viewed as part of the emerging field of positive psychology, which has gained recognition in mainstream psychology since the APA presidential address by Seligman (1999). Indeed, while the field continues to strive to understand mental illnesses, deviant behaviors, transgressions, and personal failures, it is essential that we study what enables human beings to function positively in life (Linley, Joseph, Harrington, & Wood, 2006; Selgiman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Researchers focusing on positive self-conscious emotions have unique contributions to make in this new direction of psychology.

In this chapter, we discuss respect as a positive self-conscious emotion. Our discussion is grounded in two important perspectives: Frijda's (1986) appraisal theory of emotion and Mesquita and Frijda's (1992; see also, Mesquita, 2003) cultural perspective on emotion. Accordingly, we first discuss Frijda's appraisal theory briefly. We then introduce two particular cultures, European American and Chinese, by presenting a description of each culture's basic value system in order to provide a framework for understanding respect. Next, we outline our conceptualization of respect as a self-conscious emotion and use Frijda's theory to describe how respect may occur in the two cultures' people. We offer an analysis of the functions that respect may serve in Westerners and Chinese people. To the extent possible, we draw on existing research to refine our conceptualization of respect. We conclude with a set of suggestions for future research on this positive self-conscious emotion.

At this juncture, we find it important to point out that the cultural perspective is indispensable in research on emotions, particularly self-conscious emotions. Examining emotions cross-culturally affords several important advantages. First, according to Mesquita (2003) and Mesquita and Frijda (1992), virtually every aspect of emotion is under cultural influence; this is particularly true of self-conscious emotions due to their social nature. Second, as referred to previously, research on negative self-conscious emotions has already made great strides in adopting the across-cultural perspective and as a result has enriched our understanding in ways never before found in mainstream psychology. Research on positive self-conscious emotions has much to benefit from this achievement, which can only lead to greater insights. Third and relatedly, this perspective avoids the pitfall of setting the Western cultures as the norm of human psychological functioning and then measuring other peoples against this norm. As the history of psychology attests, this outdated perspective has proven to be a liability rather than an

asset. Fourth, cross-cultural analysis enables us to identify patterns that are common across as well as specific to cultures. If common patterns do emerge, they are more likely to be valid. And the culture-specific patterns must then be studied and understood in their own right. Last but not least, a cross-cultural perspective promotes mutual understanding of positive self-conscious emotions among the world's peoples, a goal that psychology in general ought to strive to achieve.

Appraisal Theory

Human emotions are generally understood as episodes that take place temporally. Simply put, emotions come and go. Buck (1999) notes that we tend to notice our emotions (and are often noticed by others around us) when they become relatively strong even though our emotional system is always turned on under normal circumstances. Thus, any emotional episode can be seen as having three basic components that unfold in time: a cause or antecedent, a response/reaction, which is frequently physiological by nature, and then coping afterwards (Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, & O'Connor, 1987). Frijda (1986) advanced this basic description of emotions into a sequence of seven components: (1) antecedent events that generate emotions, (2) event coding where one characterizes the event in reference to event types as recognized by one's culture (e.g., insult), (3) appraisal where one evaluates the implications of the event to the self (e.g., "am I responsible?"), (4) physiological reaction patterns where a given emotion is linked to a set of autonomic reactions (e.g., shame leads to blush and gazing away, Casimire & Schnegg, 2003), (5) "action readiness" where the person selects the next course of actions from a repertoire of possible actions (e.g., fear gets one ready to run away), (6) "emotional behavior" where one takes action (e.g., actual running away in fear), and finally (7) "regulation" where the

person selects ways to deal with the emotion and action taken (e.g., stay engaged with the event when feeling happy).

Frijda's theory is referred to as an "appraisal theory," because it pays a great deal of attention to the perception of preceding causes, coding of events, personal appraisal, and so forth. The mere fact that our emotions are a result of how we perceive events in our environments points to the indispensable role sociocultural context plays in our emotional experience (Frijda & Mesquita, 1995; Mesquita & Frijda, 1992). Although Frijda did not develop his theory based on self-conscious emotions, this theory applies readily to self-conscious emotions.

A Cultural Perspective on Appraisal Theory

Mesquita and Frijda (1992) and Mesquita (2003) have advanced a cultural perspective on Frijda's appraisal theory of emotion. They maintain that culture is involved in all the seven phrases because human emotional experience is a result of the combination of autonomic responses and regulated responses according to specific cultural models. Levy (1973) studied Tahitians and found that some emotions in that culture were elaborated and fully expressed whereas others were almost not visible. Anger in Tahitian culture is the former and sadness is the latter due to the norms concerning the function of these emotions in Tahitian social life. Levy proposed hypercognized and versus hypocognized emotions to capture culturally shaped emotional experiences. While hypercognization has more terms indicating a great deal more conceptual differentiation of a given emotion, hypocognization has few terms indicating less conceptual differentiation. Drawing on this framework, Mesquita (2003) argues that cultures can differ in frequency of appraisals, action readiness, expression and behavior, and regulatory processes. The high or low frequencies of these processes indicate consistency or inconsistency with a given cultural model**.**

Frijda and Mesquita (1995) further suggest three aspects of emotion that are particularly subject to cultural influence: (1) social consequences of emotions that regulate expression and suppression of emotions, (2) importance of norms for expressing different emotions, and (3) social-cohesive functions of emotions. Although the first concerns event coding and appraisal, the second addresses issues of display rules. Based on this framework, we will show that respect is a self-conscious emotion that may be appraised, displayed, and regulated differently in European Americans and Chinese people because of their very different cultural models.

European American and Chinese Cultural Models as Guides for Emotional Life

Cultural models structure, frame, and constrain what is desirable and undesirable, allowed and sanctioned, and rewarded and punished. Cultural models thus influence thinking, emotion, goals and motives, and social behavior (D'Andrade, 1992, 1995; Harkness & Super, 1996; Quinn & Holland, 1987; Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park, 1997). However, the existence of cultural models does not automatically turn all cultural members into copies of their cultural models. Instead, individual members vary in their degree and form of appropriation of their cultural models (Spiro, 1987; Strauss, 1992). How much a given person internalizes his or her cultural model depends on many factors including the person's characteristics, proclivities, and upbringing experiences.

In our discussion of respect, we focus on the United States as a typical Western culture and China as a typical Asian culture to discuss respect. We chose to examine these cultures because they still have very different traditions and cultural systems despite recent political, economic, scientific/ technological, and educational adaptation on the part of Asia to the West. These cultural differences are likely to persist, as the cases of Japan, Korea, and Hong Kong have demonstrated; basic cultural values endure in spite of their Westernized economic and

political systems. Moreover, these cultures have been subject to ongoing comparative

psychological research in recent decades, which provides a good basis for a comparative analysis

of respect in European Americans and Chinese people.

Western Cultures and Respect

Research generally portrays Western cultures as promoting individual autonomy,

independence, and rights. Westerners purportedly seek personal uniqueness and distinction rather

than trying to be like others or to fit into their social group (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Fiske,

Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998). They pursue their personal goals and express their personal

sense of agency more than the goals of their group. Individualism seems prominent in the West,

particularly in European American (EA) culture. Individual rights are strongly emphasized and

protected based on political, moral, and social practices. Therefore, people are expected to, and

often do, assert their rights and associated entitlement. This cultural imperative may make people

feel that they should be respected simply for who they are, their backgrounds, choices, styles,

and preferences. When people show respect, their attitude and feelings may also stem from this

cultural model that recognizes people's dignity, deservingness, acknowledgement, and

entitlement (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002; De Cremer, 2002; Heuer, Blumenthal, Douglas, &

Weinblatt, 1999). Violations of this model may lead to anger, indignation, and, in some cases,

legal action.

Other than this common feeling of respect, Westerners show a somewhat different kind

of respect for people they admire, appreciate, revere, and/or hold in awe. This feeling of respect

can be seen when fans meet a rock star or when admirers meet their great political and moral

leader. This kind of respect is not rights-based but personally generated and expressed.

Chinese Culture and Respect

Chinese culture has traditionally been characterized as collectivistic (Hofstede, 1980; Leung & Bond, 1984; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). Confucianism promotes social relations and harmony as the foundation for human lives. Accordingly, Chinese people are defined not as separate and independent but interdependent selves. Social positions, hierarchy, roles, and relationships, but not their personal uniqueness and distinction, assume essential significance (Ho, 1986; Hsu, 1981; K. S. Yang, 1997). Thus, Chinese people are said to be principally motivated to pursue group goals rather than their own. Therefore their sense of agency is also socially defined (Menon, Morris, Chiu, & Hong, 1999). Children are socialized early on to focus on social connections within their kin and community by following adults' instructions. Children are taught to obey teachers and to cooperate with, instead of challenging, their teachers and peers at school (Tweed & Lehman, 2002). Due to the strong concerns about social harmony and respect for related social order, Chinese people may be deferential toward authority.

However, recent research suggests that the collectivistic aspect of Chinese culture may be overstated. Neglected in this research is the Confucian emphasis on individuality, particularly in the person's own moral striving and developing personal virtues (Chang, 1997; de Bary, 1983; King, 1985; Li, 2003b; C. F. Yang, 1993). A revised view is that, despite their noted sociocentric tendency, Chinese people emphasize self-reliance, individual responsibility (Chang & Hue, 1991; Ho & Chiu, 1994), success, ambition, personal capability (Schwartz, 1994), personal agency (Chen & Fung, 2004; Fung, Miller, & Lin, 2004; Wink, Gao, Jones, & Chao, 1997); and even autonomy in decision making and parent-child relationships (Helwig, Arnold, Tan, & Boyd, 2003; Yau & Smetana, 2003). Most recent research (Li, 2006a) on Chinese adolescents' goals

and agency in learning reveals that Chinese have many more individual learning goals such as developing their own ability and ambition than social learning goals (e.g., honoring parents). These adolescents also expressed a great deal more personal agency (e.g., exerting utmost effort to learn, self-discipline, and humility) than social agency (e.g., listening to parents and teachers).

Thus, while Chinese people may generally be more socially oriented, they appear to display a high level of personal aspiration and agency in the domain of learning. This dual orientation is unlikely to be due to recent influence from the West. Rather, it appears to reflect an important side of Confucian teaching, which has been in existence for millennia but has hitherto been neglected in research (Lee, 1996; Tu, 1979). It is the Confucian concept of *ren,* a lifelong striving to self-perfect that everyone is believed able to seek through the process of learning. This self-perfecting process is a general moral striving and is not limited to academic learning. For the Chinese, this approach to life constitutes an ideal self because it is open-ended, creative, aesthetical, deeply fulfilling, and it lies in the hand of the individual (Ames & Rosemont, 1999; de Bary, 1991; Kupperman, 2004; Tu, 1979). Recent research indeed documents moral self-perfection as the most significant learning goal among Chinese people (Li, 2001, 2003a; 2003b; Li & Fischer, 2004; Watkins & Biggs, 1996). Chinese children as young as four already show rudimentary awareness of similar learning goals and related virtues (Li, 2004a, 2004b). Chinese people thus may be particularly tuned to people who are exemplary in achieving these elements of their ideal life model. They may feel strong respect for such people, not because they are obedient or docile toward them, but because learning from and emulating these models can help people perfect themselves.

Respect in American and Chinese Cultures

Respect is a positive emotion in both Westerners and Chinese people (Cohen, Hsueh, Zhou, Hancock, & Floyd, in press; Hsueh, Zhou, Cohen, Hundley, & Deptula, 2005). The opposite of respect is disrespect or, as Gottman (1994) argued, contempt, in the West, and quite likely also in Chinese culture. Although it is a common concept in both cultures that occurs in political, legal, and academic discourse as well as in people's daily communication, respect as a psychological construct has, surprisingly, been seldom studied.

We propose that respect qualifies as a self-conscious emotion. This emotion arises when one recognizes the good qualities of another, such as moral, intellectual, athletic, artistic, and other personal qualities and achievement that the self either desires, is in the process of acquiring, or already possesses to some degree. The self-conscious part resides in the likelihood that the self may identify with such a person and is reminded of self's own good qualities. However, the self may not regard the level and degree of his or her own qualities as being as high or as extensive as the target. The recognition of this gap may be the foundation for one to long for, to approach (rather than to avoid), and to emulate the target. We suggest that respect may be an emotion that promotes positive self-development, which we call "self-Pygmalion." Therefore, there may be different kinds of respect. One kind may emphasize people's rights, another one may acknowledge qualities of others that one may not want to acquire (e.g., grandparents), and yet another may be more involved in the self-Pygmalion process. We will address different kinds of respect in more detail later.

The limited research on Western respect is found in the literatures on social psychology (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002; De Cremer, 2002; Heuer et al., 1999) and character education and development (Chapman, 1986; Kohlberg, 1984; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2000; Piaget, 1932/1962,

1941/1995). Most of the social psychology research views respect as a social construct, rather than an emotion, and this research examines it with regard to group perceptions, interactions, and dynamics in group-based psychological functioning such as group identity, resource allocation, attribution of power, cooperation and conflict generation and resolution. The psychologists who focus on moral and social development regard respect as a relational skill and attitude toward peers among individual children.

Recently, Kellenberg (1995) distinguished four kinds of respect: (1) respect for persons, (2) respect for persons based on accomplishments and ability, (3) respect for the rights of others, and (4) respect for duty or moral law. Whereas the first three kinds bear on individuals, the last does not. However, empirical research is generally lacking. Most research in psychology appears to focus on adult close relationships such as romantic love and marriage . Here respect has also been only tangentially touched on instead of being the focal point of investigation. In general, respect was viewed as an attitude toward or quality of a person, for example, as the "admired" characteristics of another, a part of liking and loving of one's partner, for the value and worth of the other (Gottman, 1996; Markman, Stanley, & Blumberg, 1994; Rubin, 1973), and a central feature of love, commitment, and intimacy (Aron & Westbay, 1996; Fehr, 1988; Tzeng, 1993).

The study by Frei and Shaver (2002) sheds some light on the affective nature of respect. They found 22 features that define respect. Inspection of these features reveals six groups of features: (1) moral and virtuous qualities (e.g., honest, trustworthy, loyal, and caring), (2) sensitivity toward others (e.g., considerate, accepting others, and understanding and empathic), (3) members of a respectworthy social category, (4) admirable talents/skills, (5) inspiring/motivating, and (6) mutuality. Because their open-ended probes did not produce an episode-like description of respect, the authors concluded that respect is not an emotion but "an

attitude or a disposition toward a particular person based on his or her perceived good qualities"

(p. 125). They also used the term "respectworthy" person or behavior to address respect as an

attitudinal/dispositional construct.

However, we maintain that, although respect may be viewed as a social/attitudinal

construct, it clearly possesses some hard-to-dismiss affect. To begin with, all of the above cited

researchers and theorists in psychology considered respect a component of emotions such as

liking, love, empathy, and admiration (even Piaget, 1941/1995 discussed respect as a feeling of

valorization between two individuals), and other strongly affective manifestations such as

commitment, intimacy, caring, loyalty, showing interest, sensitive to feelings, and

inspiring/motivating among Frei and Shaver's features. Second, Frei and Shaver, in their attempt

to identify the unique contribution of respect in adult close relationships, found strong

correlations among their respect features and other common variables with strong affect that are

characteristic of such relationships: liking, loving, positive valence, negative valence, and

relationship satisfaction. Although they found distinct explanatory power of respect, these

important correlational findings for respect compel us to consider respect as a construct with a

strong emotional component. Third, as will be seen, respect in Chinese people may lean even

more toward the affective side including a clear feeling state and a set of distinct physical

gestures and expressions (Li, 2006b). We disagree with Frei and Shaver's conclusion that respect

is categorically not an emotion. Their instructions for generating respect features did not ask

their participants to describe an incident where they felt respect toward another person as was

done on other basic emotions by Shaver et al. (1987). Therefore, they did not have relevant data

to rule out respect as an emotion. We argue that we stand to gain important understanding by

looking at respect as a self-conscious emotion in addition to its social and attitudinal nature in both cultures.

Distinguishing Ought-Respect and Affect-Respect in Westerners

Respect is an important concept in the West. Consulting word frequency in modern English (Francis & Kucera, 1982) reveals that *respect* has a token index of 22, indicating highly frequent usage. Kellenberg's (1995) three-sided distinction of respect (excluding respect for duty or moral law for our purposes) provides some conceptual clarification. Respect for persons and respect for persons based on accomplishments and ability are quite different from respect for the rights of others. Before elaborating on respect as a self-conscious emotion, it may be conceptually profitable to further distinguish these two kinds of respect as *ought-respect* and *affect-respect* both extended to another person.

Ought-respect refers to the kind of respect everyone deserves based on political, moral, and legal considerations in the West. However, ought-respect is not generated in a specific social context or relationship because it is for everyone. This kind of respect does not vary due to temporal or contextual particularities. Therefore, it is not, under normal circumstances, expressed as an emotion. Nor does ought-respect generate specific physical/bodily gestures and behaviors as do typical emotions, despite some of the attitudinal and behavioral manifestations such as listening, respecting other's views, and accepting others as noted by Frei and Shaver (2002). Given that ought-respect is tied to a rights-based moral principle and mandated by law, and it is not person- or relationship-specific, ought-respect is unlikely to be a prototypical emotion, but a more reason-based social, moral, and attitudinal construct.

Respect for authority is also common in the West. We argue that this kind of respect is also ought-respect for two reasons. First, it is directed at the notion of authority, not a given

person even though authority is often embodied and occupied by persons. However, respect is still more for the position and power that gives the person authority, not vice versa. Second, emotionality is minimal in the respect for authority (perhaps more fear if emotion is involved at all), again because authority has institution, law, and policy underlying it.

Quite differently, affect-respect is mostly an emotion that is generated in a specific social context or relationship. This kind of respect occurs when an individual genuinely recognizes, acknowledges, and admires another for his/her merit, achievement, moral qualities, and status/position/role/power. Affect-respect necessarily rests on the awareness that the self is either of lesser quality than the other, or shares a similar quality. This self-awareness, particularly of the gap between oneself and the other, is the basis for our consideration of affect-respect as a self-conscious emotion. The recognition of such a gap necessarily presupposes that the self values and desires the qualities of the other. The realization that one values/desires the quality, which the self should and can acquire but has not yet achieved, may be the very foundation for respect. The awareness of the gap is likely to have further implications for the self.

Affect-respect can be observed when a baseball fan meets his beloved player (e.g., Babe Ruth), or a college student who has been studying and memorizing Robert Frost's poems since 6th grade finally meets him, or an admirer meets Nelson Mandela. Affect-respect is not limited to the extreme experience with the greatest individuals in the world, but people can feel affect-respect toward a teenager who is on the high school honor roll or is dedicated to volunteer work. Affect-respect does not require mutuality as a condition as Piaget would argue for respect among peers. We feel this kind of respect toward certain people not because we expect them to extend this kind of respect back to us. In fact, our self-awareness of our lesser qualities prevents us from expecting such mutuality (mutuality as part of respect, as found by Cohen et al, in press, Frei &

Shaver, 2002; Hsueh et al., 2005, may be necessary for marital or peer relationships). This kind of respect is self-conscious, whereas the first kind – ought respect – need not be.

Other terms referring to affect-respect may include holding someone in awe, admiration, and, simply, love. It is important to point out that admiration and love, but not awe, are the two common terms that occur frequently in the previously reviewed research that studies close (specific) relationships. It is this affect-respect that led Gottman (1994) to consider contempt, a clearly negative self-conscious emotion, as the opposite of respect. Because affect-respect is not necessarily tied to a moral principle (although a good moral character is a feature defining respect, Frei & Shaver's, 2002) or mandated by law, we do not extend this kind of respect to everyone. We feel affect-respect only toward certain persons in a temporal sense (e.g., we generate therefore begin) respect when we recognize the good qualities of a person, but we also lose (i.e., end) respect for a person previously admired if, for example, that person's moral character becomes questionable later. Therefore, affect-respect is unlikely to be a disposition as claimed by Frei and Shaver that the respect showing/giving person possesses, for a disposition is a trait-like quality of a person that persists over time. Dispositions can vary as a function of the situation, stimulus, etc, such that people high in trait anxiety still only feel anxious in some situations, not all. [Jin: this point is well taken. My reading of this line of work concurs with your point except that traits tend to endure over time although they may vary from situation to situation. The point re respect is that if respect is a disposition, it should not be subject to temporal change. In other words, we should not begin or lose our respect for a given person. But we do; depending on our perception of the quality of the person. Temporality is a defining feature of any emotion. The next sentence further clarifies the temporality issue]. But affect-respect can come and go and rise and fall as our appraisal of the person changes as stated earlier.

The person-specific nature coupled with temporality as well as a set of distinct bodily

expressions (evident from Chinese data) of affect-respect compels us to conceptualize affect-

respect as an emotion. Finally, the fact that the English term *respect* denotes both ought-respect

and affect-respect may have mired conceptualization and empirical research of respect in the

West.

According to Keltner and Haidt (2003), awe is an emotion that may overlap with

admiration and respect due to two distinct attributes: felt vastness and the need to accommodate.

It seems that awe is a term people feeling respect may use. However, we argue, respect is not

awe according to the definition by Keltner and Haidt. Affect-respect is directed mostly toward a

person in specific social context/relationship, not events, objects, and supernatural phenomena as

the authors included. Moreover, awe is frequently associated with threat, fright, and fear due to

vastness and shock-like experience, which the mind cannot grasp, but prototypical respect is not.

Awe may cause submission in a person, which is more associated with the unfathomable power

rather than the identification with the target's good qualities that is predominantly involved in

respect.

Experience of Affect-Respect in Westerners

Given that there is virtually no research documenting the actual episode of affect-respect,

we apply Frijda's appraisal theory to map this process. We propose that antecedent events of

affect-respect are the presence of persons recognized as possessing valued qualities such as

moral character, courage (e.g., cultural heroes), knowledge (e.g., scholars), wisdom, merit (e.g.,

Olympic champions), achievement, talent (e.g., artists), often also people in high ranks (e.g.,

CEOs), status, power, or particular roles (e.g., great teachers). Such a presence is then

recognized/coded as greatness (but typically not unfathomable) or worthy of admiration. This

recognition is generally based on and consistent with cultural values (therefore respect-eliciting persons are not typically regarded as mysterious or threatening). This event-coding process also reminds one of one's lesser or shared quality, yet this realization does not lead one to feel ashamed or inadequate, as is typically the case with shame eliciting events, because the focus is on the target. This event-coding process likely makes one long for such qualities. As hinted previously, it is quite possible that people who respect the other already possess, or are in the process of acquiring, or have committed to the acquisition of the good qualities the respected person has. If this is the case, then some sort of identification with the respected person may be at work. For example, beginning basketball players recognize Michael Jordan because they aspire to be great players themselves. Likewise, young physicists admire Einstein because they themselves want to be like Einstein.

The ensuing appraisal process alerts one that the respected person has positive implications for the self, either because one has learned/read/heard about the good qualities, or has formed high opinions of the person, or has been desiring to meet, study, work with, learn from, or emulate the person. This positivity for the self may stem from the fact that one is reminded of one's own good qualities, aspirations, and hopes, therefore generating a sense of direction for possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986), possibly because of the identification as discussed earlier. It is important to note that the young basketball player's respect for Jordan is the self-conscious kind. But the respect for Jordan by an ordinary person who although recognizes Jordan's achievement, but does not aspire to be like him may not be self-conscious.

We propose that the bodily/behavioral reaction pattern for affect-respect may include smile while having wider-opened eyes, dropped jaw, raised eyebrows, and lowered and contracted bodily gestures (Fiske & Haslam, 2005) with slightly bent legs, a hunched back, a

bow, and a self-effacing/agreeable facial expression as well as honoring words. One may simply become speechless, for one may feel that no words can express the respect he or she feels toward the person. When respect is felt, one will approach, not avoid, the person, drawing his or her attention to the self so that the self gets ready to express/show respect to the target. Affect-respect may be fully expressed and displayed in both gestures and words. Respect-related regulation may direct one at sharing one's felt respect with one's social circles and at seeking ways to be like, to follow, to connect with, and to acquire qualities as exemplified by the person. In other words, the self may experience increased motivation in these self-regulatory processes. It is important to point out that affect-respect may not require the target to be physically present. One may feel this kind of respect at any time or in any context when the self is made aware of the person such as reading, hearing, learning about the target, or even when one merely thinks about the person.

In light of the emphasis the West places on individual distinctions, qualities, merit and achievement, Westerners' affect-respect may be felt and expressed only to those who earn or deserve their respect, that is, those who are found respectworthy (Frei & Shaver, 2002). Preexisting conditions such as age, role, or seniority alone that is not associated with individual moral character, merit, and achievement may not be regarded as respectworthy. This cultural tendency may differ markedly from the Chinese/Asian cultural model for respect where certain people may not need to earn or to acquire worthiness for respect through individual effort and achievement.

Function of Affect-Respect in Westerners

We propose that affect-respect is likely to do a great deal of psychological good to the self. First, it may account for the function of role models. A role model is necessarily someone

whom the self admires and desires to emulate, and it is one positive possible self (Markus &

Nurius, 1986). When a person has identified a role model, that person has a clear, concrete,

tangible, real human figure in mind. The fact that a person is identified as a role model for the

self indicates that the self has some understanding of the basic quality, merit, and achievement

that role model has (unlike awe-elicitors). The identification of a role model also necessarily

indicates at least some self-awareness of the *discrepancy* between the self and the role model and

quite possibly also ways to narrow the discrepancy. Second, each time the self is made aware of

the target, the self may experience affect-respect, a highly positive emotion that also makes the

self feel good about him- or herself as discussed before. Third, because it is often directed at

people with strong moral characters, affect-respect may be an essential emotion that underlies

our moral understanding and growth. Whereas the same process applies to excellence in other

domains, affect-respect may be particularly important in the moral domain. Finally, affect-

respect may generate strong motivation for action and behavior that propels the self toward

acquiring the qualities that the respected person possesses. In sum, feeling affect-respect for a

person may make the self eventually become such a person. This may be called the self-

Pygmalion process (named after the sculptor in Greek mythology who made his sculpture come

alive).

However, there is some evidence that ought-respect may be more prevalent in the West

than Asia while affect-respect is less commonly experienced among Westerners than Asians. For

example, Hsueh e al. (2005) found that, whereas 19% of EA children also named authority as a

definition of respect, only 6% of Chinese children did so. Australian schoolchildren expressed

less respect for their parents (affect-respect is assumed in this parent-child relationship) than

their Japanese peers (Mann, Mitsui, Beswick, & Harmoni, 1994). Moreover, Hsueh et al. (2005)

found that the highest number of EA schoolchildren (74%) identified reciprocity as their definition of respect (compared with 38% of their Chinese peers naming reciprocity, while 44%, the highest percentage, named admiration as their definition of respect). Reciprocity is a similar feature as mutuality that Frei and Shaver (2002) found, and it indicates social exchange more than emotionality. Finally, given that few EA children (2% only) named admiration as their definition of respect, Cohen et al. (in press) examined whether peer respect mediated peer liking, related peer social competence, and mutual friends. They found that peer respect mediated these factors among EA children much less than their Chinese counterparts. These findings are consistent with our view that because respect is more defined and experienced in the West as ought-respect rather than affect-respect, children's social competence and friendship may be less affected by respect (than in Asian cultures).

Description of Ought-Respect and Affect-Respect in Chinese People

Respect is a significant concept in Chinese culture. The distinction between ought-respect and affect-respect also applies to respect in Chinese people. Of important note is that there are two Chinese terms, *zunzhong* (   ) and *zunjing* (   ), denoting the two kinds of respect that we have distinguished. Consulting word frequency in modern Chinese (Wang et al., 1986) reveals that *zunzhong* has a token index of 50 and *zunjing* 27, indicating highly frequent usage for both terms. Both terms have the highest frequency among their synonyms and are among the 8000 most frequently used terms (of all Chinese words). These empirical indices provide support for the importance of respect in Chinese culture. The two terms have some affiliation because both share the common character *zun*, a term referring since ancient times to "elder," "senior," "respect," and honorable titles and addresses used to differentiate social positions, statuses, and roles according to the *Chinese-English Dictionary* (Wu et al., 1978). However, the fact that

Chinese language has two highly used terms is indicative of the significant distinction between the two.

Zunzhong seems to resemble the English term *respect*. Despite scarce research on respect in any culture, there is, fortunately, empirical evidence that *zunzhong* and *respect* are the closest equivalents based on a translation procedure conducted by Hsueh et al. (2005). Basically, *Zunzhong* denotes (1) the recognition, agreement with, and obeying of law, regulations, social order; (2) people's basic rights (to education, marital spouses of their choices, housing, education, healthcare, etc.); (3) valuing different cultures, traditions, custom, and social conventions, (4) accepting or considering the other's opinion, view points, choices, and preferences within daily social interactions. It seems reasonable to state that *zunzhong* is also a social/attitudinal construct. Underlying *zunzhong* are basic social/moral principles that guide people's social interactions, exchange, and transactions similar to those principles in the West. But it is important to point out that *zunzhong* is not a concept or practice imported or derived from Western type of rights that stress individual autonomy and independence (Ihara, 2004; Rosemont, 2004). Nevertheless, *zunzhong* is a social/attitudinal construct functions similarly in regulating people's social and moral lives within Chinese culture.

Quite differently, *zunjing* has a clearly emotional tone. It is this kind of respect that we are scrutinizing more carefully because we believe that it qualifies as a self-conscious emotion. It has more affinity to, though not identical with, affect-respect in the West. In order to gain some understanding of *zunjing*, we draw on Li's (2006b) recent collection of 159 terms in Chinese that were generated with the priming term *zunjing*. These terms are yet to be rated for typicality and centrality and sorted for organizational structure. Therefore, we can only offer a preliminary analysis of these meanings.

Experience of Affect-Respect in Chinese People

There are 116 terms in at least five discernible categories of antecedent events/persons that elicit *zunjing* in people. The first category contains terms (39) about (1) high moral character and (2) virtues. Within the former, examples include noble people, moral self-perfection, integrity, honesty, kindness, and sincerity. Within the latter, examples include generosity, magnanimity, being considerate, and carefulness in handling affairs. The second category (31 terms) refers to high ability, knowledge, and achievement also consisting of two subcomponents: (1) intellectual excellence and (2) personal greatness/charisma. Whereas the first contains terms such as strong ability and breadth and depth of knowledge, the second subcomponent has items referring to unmatched greatness, dignified persons, heroes, and persons standing on the pedestal. The third category (15 terms) is elders in one's kinship such as parents, grandparents, and old age on the one hand, and significant peers such as schoolmates and apprentice peers who study with the same mentor (particularly older ones) on the other hand. The fourth category (11 terms) shows persons in high political, social, and institutional positions such as the president of the country, school principals, and evaluative committee members. Finally, the fifth category (6 terms) refers to one's teachers, mentors, and admired scholars.

If we juxtapose these five Chinese categories of antecedents with the features found by Frei and Shaver (2002), it becomes clear that the first two also exist on their list. Most striking is the large number (12 or 55% in our tallying of 22 features) of what we term "virtues" (13 Chinese items) within the moral domain that also exist on their list. Moreover, they listed a feature termed "member of a respectworthy social category." Because they did not specify what kind of people this feature included, it is not clear whether they contained kin members, elders,

teachers/mentors, and persons in high political/social positions as referred to by the Chinese items. These latter three Chinese categories have a total of 32 terms, which is fairly large.

We propose that when one recognizes or is made aware of the presence (physical or in thought) of any of these categories of people, one is likely to code this presence as *zunjing*-relevant. For the first two kinds (people with high moral/virtuous qualities and high ability/achievement), the event-coding and appraisal processes are similar to those in Westerners. However, in Chinese individuals, these processes may also apply to one's teachers, mentors, and scholars. Yet, for kinship elders/old age and leaders, identification may not be at work because one cannot be the elder to an elder. One may be made aware of one's younger age, generational status, and lower position instead. This realization may also be linked to the idea that one is a beneficiary of the care and nurture that one's kin provides to oneself. The same feeling also applies to community leaders, for one is also a beneficiary from their work and care. There are 25 terms that describe the entire reaction pattern or the feeling state: awe, admiration, love, appreciation, worship, longing, favoring, submission, even caution with the person and fear (similar to awe). There are many words that express nuanced feelings, but they are difficult to translate into English. It is likely that feelings of admiration, awe, worship, surrendering oneself, and longing are more linked to those from the first three categories whereas love, caring, and caution are linked more to kin elders, old age, and leaders.

With regard to emotional expression and behavior, there are three interrelated types: (1) physically look up to the person with 5 terms (raising one's head to peek at the height of the person), for example, "look up to the highness of the mountain" and "look up longingly," (2) physically lower one's body with 7 terms ("prostrate oneself before the person"), "listening attentively," "following," and "feeling oneself small," and (3) humble behavior before the person

with 6 terms (e.g., polite and yielding). Finally, there are two terms referring to identification

with and motivation for emulating the target, which may indicate regulation of *zunjing*.

Function of Affect-Respect in Chinese People

Despite a near absence of research on respect, there is some data indicating how affect-

respect may function in Chinese people. Although some terms of *zunzhong* (ought-respect)

emerged when Chinese adults were primed with *zunjing* (affect-respect), they were much smaller

in quantity (23 or 14% out of a total of 159 terms). The majority of Chinese *zunjing* terms (Li,

2006b) indicate emotional processes in accordance with Frijda's appraisal theory. Thus, affect-

respect may be more, and ought-respect less, prevalent in Asia than in the West (Mann et al.,

1994) because Asian cultures may emphasize affect-respect more. The recent pioneering

comparative research on respect in EA and Chinese schoolchildren by Hsueh et al. (2005) and

Cohen et al. (in press) indeed reveals that most Chinese but not EA children nominated

admiration as a defining attribute of respect even when Chinese children were primed with

zunzhong, that is, affect-respect. Moreover, peer respect as defined in this way mediated Chinese

children's social competence and mutual friends (but peer respect as defined more in terms of

reciprocity did not mediate the same outcomes among EA children). These findings are sensible

considering that children's social competence and friendship making depend strongly on their

emotional bonding with other children. If respect is mostly experienced as peer admiration,

affect-respect should be linked to Chinese children's social competence and friendship making.

By contrast, it should not be surprising that respect construed and experienced with a lack of

emotionality by Western children does not predict their social outcomes.

Li's (2006b) *zunjing* terms are worth further discussion with regard to the Chinese

cultural value system, particularly in the three additional categories (beyond those with moral

qualities and high talent/skills as identified for EAs by Frei & Shaver, 2002). These people are inherently respectworthy for one's own benefit. Respect for one's elder kin is of paramount importance in Confucian filial piety (Wu & Lai, 1992). One owes his or her own life to their love and nurture and is explicitly socialized to express respect to them. Old age in general also signals wisdom, which one is encouraged to acquire. Respect for one's community leaders rests on the assumption that a person does not become such a leader without exemplary moral character and intellectual achievement. Along with leadership positions comes the fiduciary trust from the community in Chinese tradition (Tu, 1989). Respect for one's teachers/mentors continues to be an expression of one's aspirations as well as gratitude toward those who nurture one's intellectual and moral growth (Hsueh et al., 2005; Li, 2003a, Li & Wang, 2004). All in all, respect for all five kinds of people may guide the self in forming high aspirations in life, to lead the self to identify with these people as role models, to be motivated to emulate them, and eventually to become like them (Li & Wang, 2004; Munro, 1975). The process of self-Pygmalion may be even stronger and more prevalent.

Summary of Respect in Westerners and Chinese People

Based on the forgoing discussions, respect includes both ought-respect and affect-respect. Whereas the former is mostly a social/attitudinal construct with little emotionality, the latter is much more emotionally charged. People in the West may experience more ought-respect than affect-respect because Western ought-respect is deeply rooted in the moral and social notions of justice, fairness, and equality for everyone regardless of people's particularities and diversity in origin and culture. Nevertheless, affect-respect is also experienced by Westerners when they meet those who are deemed respectworthy. These people possess good qualities that lie in the moral/social and talent/achievement domains. Chinese culture distinguishes ought-respect and

affect-respect by using two different terms. Although not originating from Western moral conceptions, Chinese ought-respect, too, tends to be directed at following law/social order, people's basic rights to resources and opportunities, valuation of different cultures and peoples, and sensitivity to one's social world. Chinese affect-respect may be less accurately constrained by the notion of earned respectworthiness. Their affect-respect is extended to five categories of people with the first two similar to those in the West (therefore perhaps more aligned with earned respectworthiness). But the three additional kinds of people are family and elders, persons in high political and social positions, and teachers/mentors/scholars. Earned respectworthiness may not apply to these categories of individuals. Finally, affect-respect is likely to benefit the self in both cultures (see Figure 1).

Future Research on Respect as a Self-Conscious Emotion

It has become apparent through our literature review, that there is a dearth of research on respect as a positive self-conscious emotion in both cultures. Here we suggest some promising directions for future research. First, we need more research on the meaning of respect in European American and Chinese culture. Until we know what it means to people in their culture, we are handicapped in our attempt to analyze the specific processes. Well-established methods to map out the meaning of respect can be found in studies such as Shaver et al. (1987) and Li et al. (2004). Once we have gained a basic understanding of the meaning of respect, the typical experience of respect as well as specific elements of each of Frijda's appraisal processes can be described. Shaver et al. (1987), Fischer et al. (1999), and Mesquita et al. (in preparation) offer a useful set of methods to collect and analyze such data. Further research could test specific hypotheses regarding the functions of respect in both cultures as has been done by researchers (Higgins et al., 2001; Ross et al., 2005). Finally, developmental research (Mascolo, Fischer, &

Li, 2002) may focus on how respect develops in children with a broad range of methods such as those used by Aksan and Kochanska (2005) to study preschoolers' guilt and those used by Fung (1999) to study Taiwanese caregivers' socialization of moral learning with shaming techniques.

Research has come a long way toward recognizing the importance of human respect. Our inquiries will undoubtedly enlighten us about respect as a positive self-conscious emotion in lives across cultures.

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Figure 1: Diagram for respect as a self-conscious emotion in Westerners and Chinese people

Antecedent Events for Affect-Respect
Western admiration

1. Moral/virtuous qualities
2. High ability/merit/ knowledge/talent
3. Charismatic/heroic people
4. Powerful people
_____
Chinese *zunjing*
(尊敬)

1. Moral/virtuous qualities
2. High ability/merit/ knowledge/talent
3. Teachers/scholars
4. Kin elders/old age
5. Leaders

Ought-Respect (尊重) **in both Cultures**
1. For everyone
2. Moral principle
3. Social/attitudinal construct
4. Less emotionality More in the West than in China

Event Coding and Appraisal
Westerners

1. Worthy of self's admiration
2. Awareness of self's lesser or shared quality
3. Identification with target
4. Longs for like qualities
5. Reminder of self's hopes
_____
Chinese

1. Any of the 5 kinds of people coded as *zunjing*-relevant
2. Awareness of self's lesser or shared quality
3. Identification with target
4. Longs for like qualities
5. Reminder of self's hopes

For kin elders and leaders

1. Awareness of self's younger age
2. Awareness of self's generational status
3. Awareness of self's lower social position
4. One is a beneficiary of their care/nurture

Reaction Pattern and Respectful Behavior
Westerners

1. Smile, wider-opened eyes/bent legs/hunched back/ bow
2. Agreeable facial expression
3. Honoring words
_____
Chinese

1. Admiration/awe/ worship/surren-dering self/envy
2. Love/caring/caution
3. Raise self's head to peek at the height of the person
4. Lower self's body /bent legs/hunched back/bow
5. Humble behavior (polite and yielding)

Regulation and Function
Westerners

1. Target as role model
2. Motivation to emulate target
3. Seek ways to be like target
4. Self-Pygmalion
_____
Chinese

1. High aspiration for life
2. Target as role model
2. Motivation to emulate target
3. Seek ways to be like target
4. Self-Pygmalion