The Development of Respect in Children and Adolescents

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Acknowledgements and Dedication

This monograph is dedicated, with deep gratitude, to the memory of Wolfgang Edelstein. He was an extraordinary scholar, mentor, and kind-hearted person whose genuine concern and respect for human dignity were apparent throughout his work and life.

Author Biographies

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Abstract

Respect is an integral part of everyday life. It is a virtue central to the aim of living an ethically good life. Despite its importance, little is known about its emergence, development, correlates, and consequences. In this monograph, we aim to fill this gap by presenting empirical work on children's and adolescents' thinking and feelings about respect. Specifically, we examined the development of respect in ethnically diverse samples of children between the ages of 5 to 15 years ($N = 476$). Using a narrative and semi-structured interview, as well as self-, caregiver- and teacher-reports, and peer-nominations, we collected information on children's respect conceptions and reasoning, as well as on the social-emotional correlates and prosocial and aggressive behavioral outcomes of respect.

We begin with a review of theoretical accounts on respect. This includes a selective overview of the history of respect in philosophy and psychology in Chapter 1. Here, we discuss early writings and conceptualizations of respect across the seminal works of Kant and others. We then provide an account of the various ways in which respect is conceptualized across the psychological literature. In Chapter 2, we review extant developmental theory and research on respect and its development, correlates, and behavioral consequences. In this chapter, as part of our developmental theory, we also discuss how respect is related and distinct from other emotions such as sympathy and admiration.

Next, we describe our methodology (Chapter 3). This includes a summary of our research aims, samples, and measures used for exploring this novel area of research. Our primary research aims were to examine how children and adolescents conceptualize respect, how their conceptualizations differ by age, whether and to what degree children feel respect toward others' "good" behavior (i.e., respect evaluations for behavior rooted in ethical norms of kindness and

fairness and personal achievement goals), and how children's respect is related to other ethical emotions and behaviors.

The next three chapters provide a summary of our empirical findings. Chapter 4 showcases our prominent results on the development of children's conceptions and evaluations of respect. Results revealed that children, across age, consider prosociality to be the most important component involved in respect. As children grow older, they increasingly hold fairness as a core component of respect. Children and adolescents also reported feeling higher levels of respect for behavior in the ethical domain (e.g., sharing fairly and inclusion) than behavior in the personal domain (i.e., achieving high grades in school). Chapter 5 shows how sympathy and feelings of sadness over wrongdoing are tied to respect for peers who behave fairly. Our main findings show that sadness over wrongdoing is positively related to adolescents' fairness conceptions of respect. Sympathy was positively related to children's feelings of toward others' ethical behavior and positively related to how they reason about their feelings of respect. In Chapter 6, we present links between respect and social behavior. Our findings provide some evidence that children's feelings of and reasoning for respect is positively linked with prosocial behavior and children's conceptions of respect (particularly those reflecting themes of fairness and equality) are negatively related to physical aggression.

In the last two chapters, we discuss the empirical findings and implications for practice and policy. In Chapter 7, we draw upon recent work in the field of social-emotional development to interpret our results and provide insight into how our findings extend previous seminal work on the development of respect from early childhood to adolescence. Finally, in Chapter 8, we conclude by discussing implications for educational and clinical practice with children and

adolescents, as well as social policies aimed at reducing discrimination and nurturing children's

wellbeing and positive peer relationships.

Keywords: Respect; childhood; social-emotional development; developmental theory; virtue

ethics

Chapter 1.

History of Respect: From Philosophy to Psychology

Respect is a virtue of humankind and has been an essential part of ancient schools of thought regarding the ideal ethical community. It continues to be important to this day, as notions of respect regulate how we ought to treat others and can serve as a source of inspiration and hope for peace if we observe others demonstrating it. Respect is particularly important for how we interact with others who are perceived as different from us. According to Plato, the road towards goodness leads away from the world of particularity and differences, and towards the world of sameness (Kalkavage, 2001). This ethical view relays the importance of unity and commonalities between people (Ignatieff, 2017; Murdoch, 1970). Positive experiences with others that are rooted in respect may increase the possibility that all people can gain respect, independent of race, gender, age, and social class.

The concept of virtue, including respect, is tied to the human condition. Because of respect's significance for how humans regulate their interactions with one another, it comes as no surprise that philosophers, novelists, artists, and many others have been interested in the topic across centuries. Ordinary people have been inspired by exemplars of respect and ethical integrity such as Mahatma Gandhi. Models like these have often influenced people to behave in better ways, and to be more appreciative of the fundamental norms of ethics such as fairness, justice, and care. The concept of respect has also been extensively applied within governmental, workplace, and educational policies and programs. These policies have led to the creation of action plans and programs which increase cohesion and prosociality, and decrease antisocial behaviors (e.g., Battistich et al., 1997; Langland et al., 1998; Lickona, 1991, 2004; The Regional Municipality of York Police Services Board, 2020).

Despite the general agreement about the importance of respect, there is disagreement about what respect is, its components, and what is involved in respecting various persons, notions, and entities. Most broadly, respect is defined as a feeling of esteem in response to the recognition of the "good" qualities of another (Li & Fischer, 2007) and is concurrently thought to be multifaceted and contextual in nature (Langdon, 2007). In this chapter, we provide a selective review of theoretical works that have discussed the concept of respect and how it has been conceptualized across different philosophical traditions across centuries. We do this to illustrate the significance of respect in the lives of humans, highlight commonalities and differences in approaches, and identify current gaps and why more knowledge on its origins and pathways in childhood and adolescence matters for caregivers, researchers, and practitioners.

We begin with a brief overview of philosophical notions of respect from Ancient Greek philosophy to the Enlightenment period. We limit these descriptions to respect for other persons. We omit discussions of respect for objects and self-respect because these would extend beyond the focus of our empirical work and more generally, extend beyond the scope of what is possible to address in a single chapter. Following our discussion of philosophical approaches, we illustrate themes of respect that have been highlighted in recent psychological works. We conclude with a brief summary of central approaches and ideas about respect across the historical, philosophical, and psychological literature.

Respect: Philosophical Perspectives

In philosophical notions of respect, it is widely acknowledged that respect refers to the equal treatment of all humans with dignity—a direct expression of the Golden Rule (i.e., treat others the way you want to be treated; Kant, 1797/1966). Nevertheless, there are still substantial variations in how philosophers have theorized about respect over time. In the following section,

we will briefly review accounts on how respect (towards persons) has been conceptualized in philosophy throughout history.

Conceptions of Respect

Philosophers have discussed how respect ought to be conceptualized, and what kinds of psychological components it entails. The Latin root *respicere*, meaning "to look back at", suggests that respect involves an apprehensive component, such that an individual who respects something pays attention to it, gives it care, and takes it seriously. It also implies a responsive component in which a person expresses respect towards persons (or entities) that are worth "looking back at" and that deserve our fullest attention. In this view, respect is a particular form of regard that involves reflection and consideration—cognitive factors that are directed by a feeling of appreciation toward another's worth and authority. Other accounts have also conceptualized respect as primarily being an emotional response (see Buss, 1999). This may include cognitive judgments regarding how worthy someone is of respect (Cranor, 1975). In addition to the cognitive and affective components, respect also involves a motivational component. That is, respecting someone involves treating and engaging with them in a certain way. Respectful expressions or behaviors may be explicit such that expressing respect involves treating others with kindness (e.g., helping and sharing with others) or implicit such that expressing respect involves holding a certain attitude toward others (Dillon, 2007). Accordingly, respect is reflected in an individual's attitude or direct expression of it (Frankena, 1986; see Downie & Telfer, 1969).

Respect was first formally discussed within Ancient Greek philosophy and was aimed at identifying "one's good" (Giselsson, 2012). Philosophers Plato and Aristotle theorized that respect was largely based on individuals' roles within the community; in other words, respect

was allotted and felt toward those who maintained and satisfied specific duties within society. According to Aristotle, only adult Greek males were worthy of respect because only they held the status of rational, political beings within society. Man's nature and social position was thought to be fixed, as was the basis for respect. As such, individuals without status including women, children, foreigners and slaves were deemed unworthy of respect (Giselsson, 2012). This ideology extended throughout medieval philosophy, and it was not until the Enlightenment that the scope of respect began to broaden and include previously marginalized groups as objects of respect. The ultimate goal of this time period was for individuals to garner rights, freedoms, ethical and political obligations, and, most importantly, to be seen as worthy of respect and dignity.

From this, the philosophical perspective became that objects of respect have ethical worth in their own right and not based on social class or status (Birch, 1993). That is, according to Kantian ethics, it is our fundamental obligation to respect persons, and ethically right actions are those involve respect for persons as ends in themselves (i.e., having an unconditional worth). Persons are then regarded as objects of respect and warrant respect by virtue of their rational autonomy. This view, one of the legacies of the Enlightenment, is reflected in contemporary philosophical notions of respect for all persons regardless of their social status, individual qualities, or group memberships. Respect rests on the notion of a fundamental equality among persons and therefore all have equal worth, dignity, and moral right. Thus, all persons have a distinctive and inviolable moral status in virtue in which we have absolute ethical obligations that constrain us to regard and treat all persons with respect (Kant, 1797/1966).

Types of Respect: Recognition-Respect and Appraisal-Respect

Just as philosophical accounts have conceptualized what is involved in respect in general (attention, affect, behavior, attitude), they have also identified varying types of respect. A prominent approach distinguishes two kinds of respect (Darwall, 1977; Dillon, 2007): *recognition-respect* and *appraisal-respect*. Recognition-respect includes a disposition to consider some facts about a person and to regulate one's own conduct in relation to those facts (Cranor, 1982; Frankena, 1986). Specifically, recognition-respect is akin to Kant's conceptualization of respect for all persons as such. As mentioned above, Kant proclaimed that any human that is capable of rational thought, cultivated emotion, and deliberate action is worthy of respect. Although not everyone fully manifests these features (e.g., young children who have not yet developed reasoned judgment), it is argued that they are still worthy of recognition-respect because they are human.

Appraisal-respect, by contrast, is a positive assessment of a person and their merits, which are features of persons that manifest the very ethical quality of their character and their features as agents. Unlike recognition-respect, it is not owed to everyone—it is based on an evaluation of ethically relevant traits or behaviors and engenders a genuine expression of esteem for those who possess excellence. Esteem refers to a positive recognition of the qualities of one's character, typically ethical in nature (Drummond, 2006; Malti & Latzko, 2017). Appraisal-respect is thus broadly conceptualized as a feeling (experienced at varying intensities) towards others based on their goodness (i.e., their qualities that reflect fairness, kindness, and the like). This type of respect is more often referred to than recognition-respect when speaking of respecting someone. Additionally, appraisal-respect has been the focus within prominent psychological accounts on respect (also discussed in Chapter 2 of this monograph).

In summary, respect is a central theme in philosophy and it highlights the idea that one should treat others with kindness and consideration as part of their everyday ethical duties and obligations (Hill, 1998). Central issues include the universal requirement to respect all persons and what it demands to respect all human beings, especially in the context of disagreement and conflicts (e.g., racial, ethnic, or religious differences). In the framework of our empirical research presented in this monograph, we mainly focus on evaluating children's appraisal-respect, while acknowledging that recognition-respect could be reflected within children's conceptions of respect. We put a focus on appraisal-respect is because it is more readily understood as a kind of respect and research on appraisal-respect may provide important information regarding what behaviors and characteristics children attend and hold in high regard.

Respect: Themes in Psychology

Stemming from the works and philosophical accounts of respect reviewed above, psychologists have recently taken an interest in identifying the components involved in experiences of respect. From this work, four distinct themes of respect have emerged. These themes include respect as equality/fairness, respect as prosociality, respect as social conventions, and respect as social power.

Respect as equality/fairness involves treating everyone as equals and with fairness (from Kant's *Achtung* or recognition-respect for persons and their dignity; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2000). This theme roots respect in egalitarian attitudes, values, and considerations (Jones, 2002; McDowell, 2007), and involves the acceptance of others despite their perceived differences and weaknesses. Respect as prosociality has been a prominent perspective in the psychological literature since the early 2000s, as theories and research have equated respect with empathy, care, supportiveness, and love (Frei & Shaver, 2002; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2000; Schirmer et al.,

2013). Indeed, in the last 20 years or so, researchers have argued that respect is at the heart of loving and cooperative relationships (Frei & Shaver, 2002; Sennett, 2003). Respect as social conventions involves following social rules, norms, and customs/traditions. Within this theme, respect is shown through polite behavior that reflects an individuals' conformity to rules and societal regulations (Branscombe et al., 2002). Finally, respect in the domain of social power reflects respecting others based on their prestige, hierarchical power, and status in society. Although there is limited research in the field that highlights respect in relation to social power (Langdon, 2007), this form of respect has been emphasized across history within the military (Keller, 2001), institutions (e.g., schools; Goldson, 2018) and within the family (Piaget, 1932/1965). Respect in this domain is argued to be motivated by fear of punishment and humiliation. As such, respect as social power is not considered to be ethically relevant because it does not reflect the genuine recognition of others' good qualities and internalization of ethical standards but rather deference as duty and obligation.

From these works, it is possible to assume that respect is multidimensional such that it is tied to both ethical and non-ethical themes. As such, ambiguity within the psychological literature about the definition of respect is due, in part, to its complex nature. Throughout the next chapters within this monograph, we aim to clarify what respect is and how it may be related to the above-mentioned themes of fairness, prosociality, social conventions, and social power. We do this by examining children's and adolescents' conceptualizations of respect. We believe that taking a developmental approach will provide important insight into how various themes of respect unfolds over time and will garner important knowledge regarding its nature.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have shown that respect is and has been central in philosophical and psychological debates. Ethical conceptions of respect have been extensively discussed in philosophy, with a focus on the question of what behaviors ought to be considered respect-worthy. Philosophical accounts influenced the first attempts to study respect scientifically, which began in the early 20th century. Following this work, psychologists have attempted to define and describe respect across multiple studies that examined individuals' conceptions of respect and their respect in social relationships. From this psychological work, four themes of respect have emerged (respect as fairness, prosociality, social conventions, and social power), each holding different foundational components at their core. In Chapter 2, we further clarify and summarize research on respect and related concepts within a developmental framework.

Chapter 2.

Developmental Theory and Empirical Research on Respect

In this chapter, we review seminal theoretical approaches to respect and its development, as well as empirical research on respect in children and adolescents. We begin by discussing the definition of respect and ways in which the concept of respect is both similar to and distinct from other kinds of emotions and characteristics.

In the developmental literature, respect has been defined as a positive emotion of esteem for a person regarding their quality as a human being or for others' "good" and ethical qualities that are deemed important. As such, respect is categorized as an approach emotion that involves an orientation to the other. This means that the emotional component involved in respect is elicited in response to observing another and recognizing their qualities, which then instills a desire to approach the respected other. Respect also involves a motivational component such that it inspires an individual to acquire the qualities that one respects (Malti & Latzko, 2017). The respected qualities are likely based on and consistent with cultural values and societal expectations. This conceptualization of respect more closely reflects the philosophical notion of appraisal-respect rather than recognition-respect (see Chapter 1 of this monograph). This is not, however, to say that recognition and appraisal-respect are mutually exclusive. It is possible that recognition-respect (i.e., respect for others as such) provides the foundation for experiences of appraisal-respect (i.e., respect for others' merits and qualities).

Similar to other ethical emotions, respect in daily life likely fluctuates in intensity and in how it is expressed. These shifts likely depend on contextual factors (i.e., when, where, and what type of respect-worthy behavior is elicited), interpersonal factors (i.e., the hierarchy inherent

within the relationships) and intrapersonal features (i.e., what the actor perceives to be worthy of respect).

In line with this thinking, within the empirical work we describe in this monograph, we assess children's developing conceptions of respect as both a context-independent and context-dependent emotion. Context-independent facets of respect may best reflect recognition-respect while context-dependent facets may best reflect appraisal-respect.

Defining Respect

Contemporary psychological literature most commonly defines respect as the recognition of the good qualities or behaviors of another (Li & Fischer, 2007) and argues that it is primarily felt towards those who express or possess these qualities and behaviors. These good qualities are often (but not always) equated with ethical qualities or characteristics. Although there remain disagreements regarding the nature of respect (Langdon, 2007), respect has been defined as an ethically relevant emotion in developmental literature and is largely considered to be a positively valnced, other-oriented emotion (Malti et al., 2018; Malti & Latzko, 2017). It is considered an emotion because respect entails an affective component that is galvanised in response to those who display ethically meritorious and praise-worthy behaviors (Darwall, 1977), and elicits positive feelings akin to esteem and admiration (Li & Fischer, 2007; Peplak & Malti, 2017). Recognition-respect (i.e., respect for individuals as such), may be more cognitively infused, drawing less upon affective processes as it does not occur in response to a particular quality or behavior, but is omni-present amongst humans (Peplak & Malti, 2017). In the remainder of the chapter, we focus on distinguishing respect from other related emotions and characteristics in order to clarify its definition (see Table 1) and summarize previous empirical work that has investigated respect in relation to social behavior.

(Insert Table 1 about here)

Respect and Links to Other Kind Emotions and Characteristics

Kind emotions are rooted in our conceptualization of kindness as a genuine, deep feeling of concern for another (Malti, 2020; Schopenhauer, 1840/2006). Kindness stems, in part, from being able to emotionally connect with others and be compassionate toward yourself and others (Malti, 2020; Neff, 2011). This involves identifying with another's painful experiences, feeling sympathy for them, and attempting to repair any damage caused by oneself or others (Malti, 2020). Realizing one's own role in the suffering of another elicits sadness and feelings of regret over wrongdoing (Malti, 2016, 2020). Thus, sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing are considered prototypical "kind" emotions as they reflect: (1) internalized ethical principles of fairness or omission of harm, (2) kindness and concern for another's welfare, or (3) both.

Sympathy

Sympathy is the feeling of sorrow or concern for a needy other (Eisenberg, 2000). Similar to respect, sympathy is identified as another-oriented emotion. However, the two emotions differ in their valence. Sympathy is negative in valence as it highlights the aversive qualities of the situation, for example, when someone is harmed. In contrast, respect is positive in valence as it induces positive feelings that reflect one's ethical concerns, for example, when seeing someone help a needy other (Malti et al., 2018).

Recent theorizing has linked respect and sympathy in meaningful ways that go beyond their valence and orientation. For example, Drummond (2006) has theorized that empathy and sympathy are antecedents of respect such that the development of respect is a derivative of the ability to recognize others as individuals with emotions and points of view (also see Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2000). In other words, in order to respect another, one needs to first recognize and

understand that they have emotions, needs, and desires (i.e., theory of mind or perspective-taking skills). This, combined with empathic experiences toward the individual, form the foundation of the emergence of more complex other-oriented tendencies, such as respect. Further, Drummond argues that, although an underlying empathic structure is necessary to form the core of one's first experiences of respect, feelings of sympathy do not need to precede respect in the moment. Nevertheless, a tendency to feel other-oriented concern for less fortunate others likely helps us to recognize and appreciate that the other is an agent worthy of our attention. Because many of these ideas have not yet been tested empirically, more research is necessary to delingate the developmental relations between orientation to another, perspective-taking, sympathy, and respect.

Sadness Over Wrongdoing

Sadness in the context of ethical considerations is the feeling of sadness and regret over one's wrongdoing, particularly when another is physically or psychologically harmed (Malti, 2016; 2020). It is a negatively valenced, self-conscious emotion and can be constructive in promoting kind behaviors toward others, such as reparative behaviors (Colasante et al., 2016). Sadness over wrongdoing is different from respect in its orientation and valence as respect is the positive feeling of admiration for others' good behaviors or merits. However, similar to respect, sadness over wrongdoing is grounded in an understanding of one's behavior in relation to the internalized social and ethical standards. For instance, to feel sad over something that they did wrong (e.g., damaging an object or hurting another), children must recognize that their actions are a violation of social norms or ethical principles, and also sometimes, how their actions affect others. On the other hand, if a child does not internalize the ethical standards of fairness, welfare and care, the child is unlikely to feel sadness when they transgress. Because both sadness over

wrongdoing and respect reflect an appreciation for and adherence to ethical standards (see

Chapter 1 for discussion), it is expected that sadness will be linked to respect in a positive way

such that children who are likely to feel sadness over wrongdoing are also more likely to

understand respect as an ethical construct and feel high degrees of respect for others who

demonstrate ethical behaviors.

Fairness

Fairness and equality are at the core of mutual respect (Piaget, 1932/1965). Children's

understanding of principles of fairness allow them to recognize the importance and value of

treating others similarly to oneself and accept their differences (e.g., Shaw et al., 2014). Fairness

is a general concept that may encompass attitudes, values, and behaviors that reflect equality and

equity. Behavioral expressions of fairness may take different forms such as equal resource

allocation and behaviors that reflect reciprocity (e.g., "I help you then you help me"). Previous

research has emphasized the conceptual similarities between fairness and respect, such that

expressions of fairness are considered by children and adults to be a core component in

perceiving an individual or a behavior to be respect-worthy (e.g., Hsueh et al., 2005).

Nevertheless, the difference between the two lies in their breadth and relation to feeling: fairness

is a broad characteristic that reflects an overarching cognitive capacity to consider the state of

others whereas respect highlights one's feelings of esteem for fairness-related expressions.

Respect and Links with Appreciation Emotions

Beyond its conceptual links with kind emotions and characteristics, respect is also part of a

constellation of similarly valenced feelings such as liking, admiration, and adoration, referred to

as *appreciation emotions* (Schindler et al., 2013). Although respect may often be used

interchangeably with these feelings, these emotions are distinct entities that sometimes, but not

always, co-occur. For example, admiration is not necessary to feel respect for another and

respect does not require the target to be adored or even liked. This is particularly true when

considering recognition-respect because it is argued that this type of respect should be felt

toward all human regardless of their individual characteristics or one's disposition toward them,

such as feelings of liking or disliking (see Chapter 1). Further, other appreciation emotions are

not, by definition, ethically relevant, whereas respect is considered a prototypical kind emotion.

The following section summarizes the differences and similarities between respect and related

appreciation emotions.

Liking and Adoration

Previous research on respect suggests that it is an important component in the development

of positive peer relations (e.g., Piaget, 1932/1965), in part, because it is related to various

emotional outcomes such as peer liking and social competence (Audley et al., 2019; Hsueh et al.,

2005). Liking is an overall positive affect directed towards an individual and is defined as a

feeling of enjoyment. Liking and respect seemingly overlap as they are both positively valenced

and often co-occur (Nesler et al., 1993). For example, Hsueh and colleagues (2005) found that

children showed a greater tendency to respect those they liked (and vice versa). Respect and

liking reflect different motivations. They are distinct such that liking primarily reflects personal

interest and preference (e.g., fondness, attachment, and enjoyment), whereas respect primarily

entails high regard based on abstract societal or ethical standards (e.g., Kiesler & Goldberg,

1968; Wojciszke et al., 2009).

Adoration is extreme liking or passionate attachment to another and is strongly related to

romantic love (Schindler et al., 2013). Adoration and recognition-respect are related such that

they are linked to the holistic evaluation on an individual; however, they greatly differ in

intensity. Specifically, adoration is a strong intimate link that often involves an interpersonal relationship between the agent and the evaluator—an association that is not necessarily present in experiences of respect (Körner et al., 2016).

Admiration

Darwin (1890/2007) defined admiration as a type of surprise that is connected to pleasure and approval. In order to feel admiration towards another, the observer must have a skill, expectation, and standard in mind to which the target is compared. Admiration is similar to respect as both emotions are considered to be recognize the exceptional qualities of another and are elicited in response to another person attaining or exceeding a set standard (Schindler et al., 2013).

One main difference between respect and admiration, however, lies in the nature of the comparison. Specifically, admiration is felt towards others based on a ranking of human abilities and follows a global comparison that relies on the premise of equal access to capabilities. For example, those who can draw very well are likely to be more admired than those who rank below them. This is an inter-individual evaluation (Khalil, 1996). Respect, however, tends not to be felt based on a set rank of distinction, but rather on merited personal capabilities. This is considered to be an intra-individual evaluation. The closer the target gets to their potential, the more the observer's respect increases in strength (Khalil, 1996). Another main conceptual difference may be the degree to which the constructs affect the target if it is not present. For instance, if a target fails to gain admiration from an observer, the target will feel less upset or offended by the matter than if they were not respected.

One final distinction is that respect is an ethically relevant emotion, whereas admiration is not. In a recent study, researchers examined qualitative differences between adults' narratives of

admiration and respect (Körner et al., 2016). Results revealed that admiration was most often experienced towards another person's achievements or abilities when the admirer did not possess the achievements/abilities. Although some participants reported feeling respect towards others' achievements and competence as well, narratives about others' altruism and prosociality were more strongly tied to respect. These findings suggest that although respect and admiration may be felt towards others' non-ethical achievements, respect is more likely to be felt towards others who demonstrate a high level of ethical conduct than admiration is.

Developmental Theories of Respect

The development of respect has received surprisingly little attention from psychologists. It was not until the 1900s that theories regarding children's respect began to emerge (Kuryluk et al., 2011; Lawrence–Lightfoot, 2012). Bovet (1928) was one of the first to theorize about children's respect. According to Bovet, children were thought to conceptualize respect as a combination of fear and love for community role models. According to this theory, children's sentiments of respect were thought to be primarily unidirectional or unilateral in nature, and uniquely felt towards superiors (Kuryluk et al., 2011). Jean Piaget (1932/1965) extended Bovet's theoretical perspective and was the first to adopt a developmental approach to study respect. Based on observations of respect and its development from early to middle childhood, Piaget supported Bovet's notions and suggested that children primarily direct their respect towards authority figures (i.e., adults)—at least in early childhood. Adult models were described as being of higher social status, being wise, or having the ability to exercise their authority. Due to these characteristics, children were expected to feel respect for adults and if they did not, they would be punished. Respect was thus rooted in fear of punishment and was unilateral in nature—children were expected to respect adults but not the reverse. Piaget then suggested that reciprocal

or bilateral respect emerges in middle childhood as children form peer relationships. Bilateral respect was theorized to be rooted in principles of fairness and an understanding of the Golden Rule (i.e., to treat others as you want to be treated). Piaget hypothesized that this form of respect develops due to increases in peer interactions, advance in socio-cognitive skills such as perspective-taking skills, and the development of autonomy.

Empirical Findings on the Development of Respect

Other than Piaget's (1932/1965) early theorizing about children's respect and its development from early to middle childhood, relatively few empirical studies have been conducted to examine when children first begin to understand respect and how their understanding changes across development. Piaget's theorizing on respect set the stage for an emerging understanding of respect, its various components, and its developmental changes.

Piaget highlighted that equality and fairness are important components of respect. More recent evidence suggests that, indeed, children develop an increased sense of the importance of fairness and equality within their notions of respect (Damon, 1975). Increases in fairness-related themes of respect are found in Shwalb and Shwalb's (2006) research on children's respect. The researchers examined young American children's respect in contexts involving: (1) respecting others' rights (e.g., asking to borrow a possession), (2) animal care, (3) sharing, (4) caring for others, and (5), obeying classroom rules. Results revealed that although children recognized respect within contexts that involved fairness and rights, respect was also recognized across other contexts. When asking children to justify their understanding of respect, kindergarteners mainly referred to themes involving general positive characteristics (e.g., being nice) and friendship maintenance. First and second graders recognized and justified respect more consistently in terms of fairness (e.g., not stealing from others) and prosocial norms (e.g., caring, sharing).

These findings show that, with age, children are increasingly likely to align their understanding

of respect with ethically relevant norms and concepts related to fairness and prosociality, which

in turn may increasingly motivate them to feel respect towards others who actively abide by

those norms. These findings also indicate that by the time children enter kindergarten, their

understanding of respect is already multidimensional and complex.

In another study, Hsueh and colleagues (2005) found that about 70% of a sample of third to

sixth grade American children (ages 8 to 11 years) conceptualized respect as a variant of the

Golden Rule (i.e., "To be good to others and treat them as you want to be treated"), while others

(~30% of the sample) viewed respect in terms of obeying and following classroom rules. This

suggests that fairness-based conceptions of respect are prominent in middle childhood, likely due

to increases in the amount of time children spend with their peers. Peer relationships are typically

horizontal and equal in terms of social status and thus provide children with the opportunity to

develop an understanding of fairness and other-oriented norms (Berry & O'Connor, 2010; Killen

& Malti, 2015). Respect within peer relationships is important as it motivates children to

increasingly learn to accept different, albeit equally valid, viewpoints (Damon, 1975). Table 2

provides a summary of themes of children's respect that have been found across the

developmental literature.

(Insert Table 2 about here)

Developmental research supports the notion that children cultivate a stronger sense of

fairness and other-oriented tendencies from middle childhood to adolescence (Gummerum et al.,

2008). Indeed, elementary school American children believe that they must show respect to their

peers in order to be respected by them, a norm which denotes reciprocity and social coordination

(Audley et al., 2019; Audley-Piotrowski et al., 2008; Hsueh et al., 2005). In addition, increases in

social-cognitive and social-emotional capacities from early to middle childhood help children become less egocentric and increasingly aware of others' thoughts and feelings (Lagattuta & Weller, 2014; Ongley & Malti, 2014). These developmental changes likely affect how children understand, perceive, experience, and make meaning of respect from early to late childhood.

       To date, the evidence base is too scarce to support Piaget's theorizing about the core components involved in children's conceptions of respect. In addition, the assumption that respect changes from unidirectional and authority-based to bidirectional and mutually reciprocal appears over-simplified. Modern notions of respect are likely shaped by societal norms, values, and practices that have fundamentally changed in industrialized countries in recent decades. These changes can be seen within research on socialization and parenting practices—particularly within parental discipline practices. For example, past research suggested that positive socialization was achieved through power and control. These strategies resulted, instead, in externally motivated obedience of norms and did not effectively promote ethical behavior in children (see Hoffman, 1975, for a discussion). Now, positive socialization experiences typically entail love-oriented strategies (e.g., praise, inductive reasoning; Grusec et al., 2014; Leman, 2005) and as such, result in internalized ethical norms and behaviors in children. It remains an open question as to whether the development of respect can be described as a process that involves changes from externally driven fears about authority to insights about equality and mutuality in interpersonal relations.

Respect and Social Behavior

       Other-oriented emotions, such as sympathy and respect, are theorized to evoke a motivation to act in a manner that benefits others which forms the basis for other-oriented social behavior and positive interpersonal relationships (Drummond, 2006; Malti & Latzko, 2017).

Indeed, research suggests that respect is an important component in collaborative, cooperative classroom settings, and fosters the development of positive peer relationships and mutual friendships (Cohen et al., 2006; Hsueh et al., 2005; Mayseless & Scharf, 2011). Additionally, the literature shows that being respected by one's peers is related to higher social competence (Cohen et al., 2006; Huo & Binning, 2008; Langdon & Preble, 2008), which refers to the ability to achieve personal goals in social interactions while maintaining positive relationships with others. Finally, feeling respected by peers positively predicts feelings of group belonging (Huo et al., 2010; Simon & Stürmer, 2005).

This evidence suggests that respect is a crucial component of relationship formation and is likely also involved in relationship maintenance. This is because respect is fostered within contexts whereby feelings of respect stem from observing and interacting with others. These interactions, which are likely positive in nature, are theorized to insight humble feelings directed towards those who display respect-worthy behavior. Respect may then drive the individual to acquire the characteristic/behavior they deem respect-worthy, resulting in the emulation of the respected characteristics/behaviors (i.e., reflecting behavior that is congruent with their feelings of respect). For instance, if a child feels respect toward a peer who is generous (e.g., by inviting everyone in their class to their birthday party), their feelings of esteem toward that peer may inspire them to behave like them, and motivate them to behave more generously. A similar mechanism can be applied to respect's role in inhibiting aggression. For example, if a peer respects fair and prosocial qualities or behaviors in others, they may be less likely to behave in a way that is contrary to their respect. Further, if a peer believes that respectful behavior is rooted in treating everyone with kindness, they may be less inclined to harm another when resolving a

conflict because harmful behavior would contradict their esteem and effort directed toward attaining the characteristics they respect in others.

Recent work has found initial support for links between respect and social behavior. For instance, De Cremer (2002) found that respect among group members promoted cooperation and behavior that increased the welfare of the group. Furthermore, respect has also been found to promote social engagement (e.g., maintaining group cohesion) in high school students (Huo et al., 2010). More recent work suggests that respect may serve a compensatory function in promoting prosocial behavior. Specifically, feeling high levels of respect towards others who display ethical behaviors (e.g., those who are generous) may aid children and adolescents who have low levels of sympathy to engage in prosocial behavior (i.e., costly sharing; Zuffianò et al., 2015).

Some research has emerged showing that respect plays a role in inhibiting aggression and victimization. In one study by Leary and colleagues (2005), the researchers examined African American youth's respect in relation to their violent behavior. Results revealed that youth who reported feeling respect towards society, peers, and family members were less likely to engage in aggressive behavior compared to youth who reported feeling less or no respect. Furthermore, Langdon and Preble (2008) found that perceived levels of respect predicted how often children and adolescents in grades 5 through 12 were victimized. Specifically, those who were perceived to be less respected by others were victimized more frequently than comparative groups. Finally, respect may function as an important emotion in reducing aggression within intervention programs. For instance, Langland and colleagues (1998) found that a social skills training program aimed at teaching children to demonstrate respect for adults and peers decreased

children's verbal and physical aggressive behaviors post-intervention and at the two-month

follow up.

Based on these findings, it is reasonable to assume that respect may serve as a motive in

increasing prosocial behavior and in decreasing aggression. Similar to related emotions, such as

sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing, high regard for others' good qualities, such as being a

caring or fair child, may facilitate internalization of ethical norms related to those good qualities,

which in turn is likely to facilitate behaviors that reflect this internal state (Malti, Ongley, et al.,

2016; Malti et al., 2009; Malti & Krettenauer, 2013).

Conclusion

Developmental scientists have become increasingly interested in examining children's

respect because respect is (and has been) recognized as a core component involved in fostering

positive relationships and cohesive, harmonious societies (Langdon, 2007). Although

disagreements still remain regarding the fundamental nature of respect, there is evidence to

suggest that the construct of respect is different from related kind emotions/characteristics such

as sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing, as well as from related appreciation emotions such as

liking and admiration. Further, developmental research in the last two decades has shown that

children's respect involves themes of fairness, prosociality, and social conventions, thereby

showing consistency with previous research conducted with adult samples (see Chapter 1 for

discussion). Finally, preliminary findings suggest that children's feelings of respect may be

positively linked to prosocial behavior, and negatively linked to aggressive behavior.

The theories and research summarized in this chapter provided the foundation for our

theorizing and research, as discussed in more detail in the next chapters. Our empirical analysis

explores how children's respect develops, how it relates to social-emotional development, and

how it is associated with prosocial and antisocial behavioral outcomes. In the next chapter, we

provide a detailed account of our methodological approach to investigate our research aims.

Chapter 3.

Method: Research Aims, Participants, and Measures

Due to the scarcity of developmental research on respect, we first developed a narrative interview based on previous philosophical and psychological theories about respect described in Chapters 1 and 2. We also draw from previously validated interview procedures for eliciting children's thoughts and feelings about ethically relevant conflict situations (e.g., Malti et al., 2009). This approach allowed us to understand the specific ways in which children construct and interpret their feelings of respect, broadening the lens through which affective and social-cognitive development is understood (Bruner, 1986; Wainryb et al., 2014).

We developed a semi-structured vignette procedure to garner more knowledge about which behaviors children evaluate as respect-worthy. The vignettes were developed based on related research on children's social-emotional development, which has revealed the highly contextualized nature of children's emotions and reasoning (Malti et al., 2009; Smetana et al., 2014). Our vignettes demonstrate hypothetical peers engaging in respect-worthy behaviors such as sharing resources equally and achieving a high grade in school. We measure children's feelings of and reasoning behind their feelings of respect in response to these vignettes. Combining a qualitative approach with quantitative methods allows us to gather rich, descriptive data on children's understanding and experiences of respect in naturally occurring contexts while also allowing for systematic, standardized comparisons of children's feelings of respect. In Figure 1, we present a graphical summary of our multifaceted measurement approach, which we elaborate on in the sections below.

(Insert Figure 1 about here)

In addition to anchoring this methodology in both theory and related research, we piloted our novel procedure in the research laboratory to ensure age-appropriateness and adequacy of content ($n = 21$, ages 5, 7, and 11 years). We then conducted our research using two separate samples: one collected in the laboratory, and the other collected in schools. We did this to gather data from multiple informants (parents, teachers and peers) to capture context differences in children's emotions and behaviors, and to replicate our findings across samples. We chose three contexts wherein respect is likely to occur, that is, fairness, prosociality, and achievement. This selection was based on theoretical considerations about respect-worthy behaviors (i.e., equality, care, merit, etc.; Langdon, 2007), and based on the emergent empirical literature of children's respect (see Chapter 2). Achievement has been considered a typical context in which individuals express appreciation for and admiration of others (Langdon, 2007)—yet, it is not ethically relevant. Therefore, feelings of respect within the achievement context served as a comparison for respect toward ethical behavior (i.e., fairness and prosociality). We chose to depict behaviors that abide by norms of fairness and prosociality because these were found to be central in children's conceptions of respect within research by Shwalb and Shwalb (2006) and Hsueh and colleagues (2005). These themes, including the theme of achievement, also appeared within our pilot data, which consolidated their importance within children's thinking about respect.

In addition to examining children's respect, we tested the links between respect, kind emotions and characteristics (i.e., sympathy, sadness over wrongdoing, and perceived fairness) and social behavior (i.e., prosocial behavior and aggression). Here, we adopted a multi-informant approach such that we collected self-, parent-, and teacher-reports and peer-nominations of children's kind emotions and characteristics and social behaviors in our two samples.

Specifically, we collected self-reports of respect and sympathy. We used self reports because the construct of interest was emotional experience of individuals that may or may not be linked to observable, outward behaviors. Thus, children are better than other informants in assessing their own feelings. We conducted peer nominations of behavior because peers can identify children who engage in behaviors that are salient to other children even when those behaviors are too infrequent or too subtle for others (e.g., teachers or parents) to observe reliably (Rubin et al., 2006). On the other hand, teachers and parents are critical in providing information about children's general behavioral tendencies in school and home environments, respectively.

Research Aims

Our work had three specific research aims. First, we investigated how children and adolescents conceptualize respect, and how these conceptualizations differ across early childhood to adolescence. Second, we examined how children's and adolescents' conceptualizations of respect are related to kind emotions (i.e., sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing) and ethically salient characteristics (i.e., perceived fairness). Third, we analyzed the relation between children's and adolescents' respect and prosocial and antisocial behavior.

To address these aims, we tested children and adolescents between 5 and 15 years—an age range selected because during this period there are vast cognitive (e.g., increases in theory of mind), emotional (e.g., increases in sympathy), and behavioral changes (e.g., increases in prosocial behavior; Eisenberg et al., 2015). We chose 5 years as our youngest age group because of the well-documented advances in social-cognitive, linguistic, and social-emotional processes that occur prior to this age that allow children to understand and experience complex emotions (Malti & Ongley, 2014). Additionally, theories and research suggest that children in early childhood are able to make meaning of respect (e.g., Piaget, 1932/1965; Shwalb & Shwalb,

2006), thus making it reasonable to begin our investigation at 5 years of age. We chose a broad age-range because developmental research suggests important changes in kind emotions from early to middle childhood and from late childhood to adolescence (Arsenio, 2014; Krettenauer et al., 2008; Malti & Ongley, 2014), as well as changes in concerns (e.g., increases in concerns over reputation and identity) from late childhood to adolescence (e.g., Daniel et al., 2016; McDonald & Asher, 2018).

Research Aims and Hypotheses

Research Aim 1

Our first goal was to explore how children conceptualize respect. In addition, we explored if and how their conceptualizations differ across early childhood to middle adolescence. We examined three domains of children's respect: respect conceptions, expressions of respect, and respect from others. We were first interested in how children make meaning of respect in general to garner a sense of how respect may be conceptualized in the general sense (i.e., termed *respect concept*). Then, because respect naturally unfolds in interpersonal relationships due to its other-oriented nature, we explored children's narrative accounts of respect within their relationships. Specifically, we were interested in understanding how children expressed respect towards others (i.e., termed *expression of respect*), and how they perceived to be respected by others (i.e., termed *respect from others*). We were interested in examining differences (or similarities) between how children's general understanding of respect maps onto how they experience respect within their relationships; thus, we also compared conceptions of respect across our three domains of interest.

Because research on children's respect is scant, this aim was mostly exploratory; however, we hypothesized that children's conceptions of respect would generally reflect themes

of kindness and fairness rather than social power and authority. This expectation is based on the argument that even very young children are able to experience respect as an expression of prosociality in friendship relationships. Regarding how respect may be differentially conceptualized between the domains of respect, we expected there to be some overlap but also some uniqueness. Mainly, we hypothesized that children's general respect conceptions would be more abstract (e.g., relating to concepts of equality and distributive justice) than respect within their interpersonal relationships because emotions within relationships may be more easily expressed through kindness and prosocial behaviors (e.g., helping or including others in activities).

Next, we compared children's feelings of respect and their justifications for their feelings of respect towards peers in three contexts that revolved around themes of fairness, prosociality, and achievement. We chose these domains based on previous research (e.g., Hsueh et al., 2005; Langdon, 2007; Shwalb & Shwalb, 2006; Zuffianò et al., 2015) and our pilot research showing that these are important themes within children's respect. The purpose of examining justifications following children's feelings of respect was to gain a better understanding of whether children's expressions of respect are supported by ethical justifications. Within developmental theories of kind emotions, affect and cognition function synergistically (Malti, 2020). Examining how children think about or justify their feelings of respect through their reasoning informs us about the underlying motivation of the emotion, and how children cognitively construct their affective experiences. We hypothesized that, because children's conceptions of respect are likely to be rooted within ethical considerations of fairness and prosociality, children would feel higher degrees of respect for ethical behavior (i.e., sharing fairly and inclusion) compared to achievement goals (i.e., attaining high grades in school). We

expected children's reasoning for respect toward ethical behavior to be more strongly supported

by ethically relevant justifications compared to reasoning for respect toward achievement goals.

Regarding age-related hypotheses, we predicted that children's respect would change

with age as children's peer relationships become more complex and increasingly rooted in

notions of equality and reciprocity (Killen et al., 2018; Rubin et al., 2015). Sullivan (1953)

believed that the concepts of mutual respect, equality, and reciprocity developed from peer

relationships—specifically within relationships in the juvenile years (i.e., late elementary) as that

is the age children are thought to be able to recognize and value each other's qualities. Based on

this research, we expected older children's respect to be more strongly rooted in themes of

fairness, and younger children's respect to be concentrated within themes of prosociality. This is

in part because concepts of prosociality is more concrete and less contingent on abstract concepts

(e.g., Hsueh et al., 2005; Shwalb & Shwalb, 2006).

Research Aim 2

Our second overarching research aim was to explore how respect is related to ethically

relevant emotions and characteristics. Specifically, we examined links between respect and two

kind emotions: sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing. Theoretically, links between respect,

sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing are expected because these emotions reflect other-

oriented considerations and regard for the welfare/state of others (Drummond, 2006; Malti, 2016;

Malti & Latzko, 2017). Although sadness over wrongdoing is a self-conscious emotion because

it requires introspection and self-evaluation (Malti, 2016, 2020), it often stems from other-

oriented concern and reflects children's ability to recognize how their actions may harm another

(Hoffman, 2000; see Chapter 2 for a discussion of conceptual links between sadness over

wrongdoing and respect). We hypothesized that children's conceptions, evaluations of respect

(specifically in domains of fairness and prosociality), and how they reason about their evaluations would be related to higher levels of sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing. Specifically, we expected that sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing would be more strongly related to evaluations and reasoning of respect within prosocial domains because both are more linked to concerns for others' welfare than respect for fairness and fairness-based reasoning (although fairness sometimes can be other-oriented).

We also examined how perceived fairness (i.e., the extent to which peers perceive the child to treat others fairly) relates to children's respect. We hypothesized that children who were perceived to behave fair would be more likely to conceptualize respect as rooted in fairness-related principles and show higher respect for behaviors that demonstrate principles of fairness in contrast to other respect-worthy behaviors or qualities.

Research Aim 3

Our third research aim was to examine whether and how children's and adolescents' respect is associated with their prosocial and aggressive behaviors. We did this in order to garner insight into the potential motivating role respect may play in children's social behaviors. We explored links between children's own, spontaneous respect conceptions and their feelings of respect towards others with their parent-, teacher-, and peer-reported prosocial behavior and aggression. We predicted that children's ethical conceptions of respect (i.e., respect rooted in fairness and prosociality) would be positively linked to their prosocial behavior and negatively linked to their aggression. This hypothesis is based on previous research showing similar links between children's social behavior and respect (e.g., Leary et al., 2005; Zuffianò et al., 2015) and links between social behavior and kind emotions (sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing; e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2015; Malti & Krettenauer, 2013). Further, we expected a positive association

between children's social-conventional conceptions of respect and aggression as previous work

has found that children who display aggression (particularly those who display proactive forms

of aggression) are less likely to fully internalize ethical norms and as a result, often misidentify

ethical norms to be conventional norms (i.e., norms or traditions that are deemed acceptable by a

group or society; Huesmann & Guerra, 1997). Finally, we expected children's feelings of respect

towards ethically relevant behavior to be more strongly and positively related to their own

prosocial behavior (and negatively with their aggression) compared to their respect for

achievement because respect for others' ethical qualities has been theorized to galvanize one's

own other-oriented behavior.

Participants

Sample 1

A community sample of 283 children ages 5 ($n = 66$; 50% girls; $M_{age} = 5.41$, $SD = 0.44$),

7 ($n = 84$; 52% girls; $M_{age} = 7.63$, $SD = 0.36$), 11 ($n = 71$; 44% girls; $M_{age} = 11.54$, $SD = 0.41$),

and 15 ($n = 62$; 50% girls; $M_{age} = 15.38$, $SD = 0.19$) years was used. Participants were recruited

from community centers and events throughout a major city in Canada. All participating children

and caregivers were fluent in English.

The sample was ethnically diverse, including participants who identified as European

(37%), Asian (21%), Caribbean and South American (10%), Aboriginal (2%), African (1%), and

other ethnic backgrounds (20%). Nine percent did not report their ethnic origin. As a proxy for

family socioeconomic status (SES), primary caregivers reported their highest completed level of

education. Among participants' caregivers, the majority reported that they were university

graduates (i.e., academic and professional programs; 51%), followed by postgraduates (i.e.,

Master's and doctoral degrees; 19%), college graduates (i.e., career training and trades programs;

19%), and high school graduates (5%). Six percent of caregivers did not report their education or noted that they completed a different form of education that was not listed on the questionnaire. According to population data regarding ethnicity and SES, the sample was representative of the community in which the study took place (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Sample 2

A school sample of 193 children ages 5 ($n = 41$; $M_{age} = 5.55$ years; $SD = 0.38$, 49% girls), 7 ($n = 63$; $M_{age} = 7.60$ years; $SD = 0.41$, 44% girls), and 11 ($n = 89$; $M_{age} = 10.68$ years; $SD = 0.35$, 51% girls) years from two local schools in a major Canadian city participated in the current study. Participating children were fluent in spoken and written English. According to the socioeconomic status of the area in which the studies took place, participants from the first school ($n = 110$) were from mid- to high-socioeconomic backgrounds, while participants from the second school ($n = 83$) were from low- to mid-socioeconomic backgrounds (Statistics Canada, 2016). Participants from both schools were from ethnically diverse backgrounds.

Procedure

The studies were approved by the Research Ethics Board of the researchers' institution as well as by the school board of the community in which data were collected (sample 2). Trained graduate and undergraduate psychology students interviewed the children individually in a private room and the sessions were either audio or video recorded for data transcription, coding, and analysis. For sample 1, families visited the research laboratory for a one-time, 40- to 50-minute session. Informed written consent was obtained from the caregiver and oral assent was obtained from the child before actual participation began. Caregivers completed a questionnaire to provide information about demographics and their child's social-emotional development. A similar procedure was implemented for sample 2 except that consent was obtained from teachers

in addition to primary caregivers, and questionnaires about children's social-emotional development were completed by children's teachers instead of than by their caregivers.

Measures

Conceptions of Respect

Based on related, well-validated interview and narrative procedures on children's and adolescents' moral and social-emotional development (Malti et al., 2009), a novel open-ended interview procedure was developed to elicit children's conceptions of respect. A pilot study with 5-, 7-, and 11-year-olds was conducted to ensure content appropriateness of the new measure (N = 21). Minor adjustments in wording were made after the pilot study.

The interview examined how children conceptualize respect using open-ended questions. Specifically, the first interview question evaluated children's general understanding of respect (i.e., respect concept): "What does it mean to feel respect for someone?" This question was posed to all children and adolescents; however, to control for potential comprehension and/or language barriers in 5-year-olds, six prompting stories were created to help them communicate their understanding of respect (see "Prompting Stories" section below for details). The next question assessed how children showed respect to others (i.e., expression of respect) using a narrative question format: "Tell me about a time you respected someone" (Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger et al., 2010; Recchia et al., 2015). The final question examined how children perceive being respected by others (i.e., respect from others) using a narrative question format as well: "Tell me about a time someone respected you" (see Figure 1).

Prompting Stories. Six prompting stories that reflected expressions of respect across the domains of prosociality, authority, and personal choice were developed based on our pilot research. These stories were created to help children verbalize their respect conceptions when

they showed comprehension or language difficulties. When a child did not understand respect, the research assistant would guide them through all six stories. An example of a prompting story involving helping as an expression of respect read: "Three children are cleaning their classroom. Alex asks Tim and Jack to help him clean the tables. Tim says 'no', but Jack says 'yes, I'll help you.' Who is being more respectful, Tim or Jack?" The child would then respond to the prompt and the research assistant would conclude by explaining that the behavior in the story is thought to reflect respect. For example, after telling the story above, the research assistant said: "Some children think that children who are helpful are being respectful. In this story, Jack helps Alex and is being more respectful than Tim." Stories were age- and gender-matched to the child. Because almost all children reported that they understood respect and provided a codable response, prompts were given to under 5% of participants.

Coding of Respect Conceptions. A coding system was developed to classify children's conceptions of respect (see Table 3 for a description of categories and prototypical coding examples). The coding system was based on findings from the pilot study, as well as similar coding systems on ethical reasoning (Malti et al., 2009). We coded up to two categories for each answer as children very rarely mentioned more than two categories. Responses fell within six categories: fairness (i.e., responses involving the Golden Rule, impartial treatment, and respecting others' rights), prosociality (i.e., themes of other-oriented care such as engaging in sharing or empathizing), social convention (i.e., responses regarding following socially-set rules and regulations such as using manners), merit (i.e., responses that focus on achievement or success), authority (i.e., obeying orders from authority figures such as parents or teachers in order to avoid punishment), and personal freedom (i.e., themes involving autonomy and agency). In addition, there was a category encompassing unelaborated or nonsensical responses labeled

'rudimentary/unelaborated.' Approximately 36% of children reported two categories—both categories were considered within our analyses.

(Insert Table 3 about here)

To establish inter-rater reliability, two raters independently coded a portion of the data (25%) and Cohen's kappas were computed. The reliability for sample 1 was high with an average of $k = 0.89$ across all categories, ranging from $k = 0.72$ to $k = 1.00$. Reliability for sample 2 was also high, with an average of $k = 0.92$ across all categories and a range of $k = 0.82$ to $k = 1.00$. Once the data were coded, binary variables were computed where a value of "1" indicated that the child mentioned the category, and a value of "0" indicated that the child did not mention the category.

Respect Evaluations and Associated Reasoning

Using a semi-structured vignette procedure, the second part of the interview examined children's respect evaluations, and associated reasoning for their respect in three social contexts. This procedure was developed based on previous related literature on the development of kind emotions and associated reasoning (Malti, 2020; Malti & Ongley, 2014).

Participants were presented with three vignettes depicting everyday actions performed by hypothetical gender- and age-matched peers. We deliberately chose peers in these contexts because children's responses to open-ended questions revealed that they focused on peer relationships when reflecting upon respect (see Shwalb & Shwalb, 2006). Three distinct respect contexts were presented to the participants. The first two contexts involved ethical behavior (i.e., sharing fairly and social inclusion) and the third context involved achievement-related goals (i.e., academic achievement). These contexts were chosen because they reflect fairness and prosociality: two themes that were commonly alluded to in our pilot work and are theorized to be

central domains that elicit respect in childhood (Hsueh et al., 2005; Shwalb & Shwalb, 2006). The achievement context functioned as a comparison condition, allowing us to assess differences in children's ethical respect and non-ethical respect evaluations.

The story about sharing fairly read: "When [protagonist] shared his/her snack with his/her classmates, he/she gave them exactly the same amount." The story about social inclusion and read: "When [protagonist] chooses a new game to play, he/she lets everybody join in." This story was designed based on a similar story was used to depict respectful behavior within work by Shwalb and Shwalb (2006; "Gallant wants the child to play with the group", p. 72). The achievement story read, "[Protagonist] got the best marks in reading and math." After hearing each story, children were asked to (1) report how much respect they felt for the vignette's protagonist (i.e., respect evaluation) using a 4-point Likert scale (from 1 = do not respect, to 4 = respect), and (2) why they felt that amount of respect for the protagonist. The 5-year-olds were presented with a similar scale depicting animals of increasing size (i.e., a mouse, a dog, a horse, and an elephant corresponding to each intensity of respect, from low to high) to ensure they understood the Likert scale.

Coding of Reasoning. Children's reasoning for their respect evaluations was coded using the same coding system as for conceptions (see above and Table 3). Inter-rater reliabilities are reported above in the "Coding of Respect Conceptions" section because the same coding system was used to code both conceptions and reasoning.

Sympathy

Children from both samples reported their sympathy on a 5-item scale from Eisenberg and colleagues (1996; e.g., "When I see a child who is being hurt, I feel sorry for them"). After being read each item, children were asked if the statement was like them or not like them. If they

indicated that the item was like them, they were asked if it was really like them or sort of like them. Responses were coded as 1 = "*not like me*," 2 = "*sort of like me*," 3 = "*really like me*" (α = .74 for sample 1; α = .72 for sample 2).

Sadness Over Wrongdoing

We examined children's sadness following one's own wrongdoing in a subset of sample 2 (*n* = 83). This measure was only assessed in a subsample of sample 2 because we did not assess sadness over wrongdoing until the latter portion of the study. Children were read two vignettes depicting social exclusion based on (1) gender and (2) school membership. After each vignette, children were asked how they would feel if they excluded the protagonist of the vignette. Feelings of sad and bad were coded as sadness over wrongdoing (0 = *not sad*, 1= *sad*; Malti et al., 2009). Children's responses to the two vignettes were then aggregated (*r* = .18, *p* = .11). Although the correlation between the responses to the two stories was small, we chose to aggregate the responses because this measure has reliably assessed sadness over wrongdoing in previous studies on emotional development and social exclusion (Malti & Ongley, 2014; see Killen & Malti, 2015). Further, we expected context effects on sadness over wrongdoing across our stories. Thus, in order to maintain the authenticity of context-related variations in sadness over wrongdoing, we aggregated the scores.

Perceived Fairness

We measured perceived fairness using a class-play procedure modified from one developed by Masten and colleagues (1985) in which children are asked to pretend to be directors of an imaginary play. In our procedure, we read a series of items which described roles in the play, and asked participants (i.e., the play directors) to choose up to three classmates who would best fit each of the described roles. Children nominated classmates they thought behave

fairly toward others. Specifically, participants were asked to choose three classmates who are

"fair to other kids," and "fair to kids who were fair to them first". These items were chosen

because fairness and reciprocity have been identified as a core dimension of children's respect

(see Cohen et al., 2006). The two items were correlated, $r = .49$, $p < .01$ and therefore combined

into a single score. Proportional scores were calculated and standardized within each classroom

to control for class size.

Prosocial Behavior

A subsample of children in sample 1 ($n = 110$) reported on their own prosocial behavior

using 7 items from the Swiss Survey of Children and Youth (see Malti et al., 2009; $\alpha = .73$).

Similar to sadness over wrongdoing, this measure was added following a portion of the data

already being collected. Items were: "I am good at sharing and taking turns"; "I share my treats,

toys, and pencils readily with other children"; "I am helpful to other children"; "I am kind to

other children"; "I say or do nice things for other children"; "I am good at including other

children into playing games"; "I like to include new children into my group of friends". After

each item was read, children were asked if the item sounded a lot like them (3), sort of like them

(2), or not like them (1). Caregivers reported on their children's prosocial behavior using 5 items

from the prosocial behavior subscale of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ;

Goodman, 1997) on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *never true* to 6 = *always true*; $\alpha = .73$). An

example item is: "My child shares readily with other children."

The same items and procedure for child-reported prosocial behavior was applied for

child-reported prosocial behavior in sample 2 ($\alpha = .76$). Teachers in sample 2 reported on their

students' prosocial behavior using an adapted version of the prosocial behavior subscale of the

SDQ including items such as "shares readily with other children," "is kind to peers," "is helpful

to peers," "is good at sharing and taking turns," and "says or does nice things for other children"

(α = .93).

Aggressive Behavior

Aggression measures were collected using teacher reports and peer nominations in

sample 2. Children's overt aggression was assessed with three items measuring overt aggression

from Grotpeter & Crick (1996; "hits, pushes others," "yells, calls other mean names," "starts

fights"). Teachers rated how true each item was for each student on a 6-point Likert-type scale (1

= *never true* to 6 = *always true*). As explained above, children engaged in a class play procedure

where they were asked to choose up to three students for each role. The same items were used

for peer nominations as teacher reports, with some language variation to fit the method used.

Cronbach's alpha was .96 for teacher reports and .89 for peer nominations.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we presented our novel multifaceted measurement approach to assess

children's respect, links to related kind emotions and prosocial and antisocial behaviors. We

reviewed our main research aims and hypotheses and then described our samples and measures.

In the next three chapters, we report analyses and findings addressed to our hypotheses,

beginning by examining children's respect development (Chapter 4), then discussing ways that

kind emotions and characteristics relate to children's respect (Chapter 5), and finally, relating

respect to social behaviors (Chapter 6).

Chapter 4.

The Development of Respect Conceptions, Evaluations and Reasoning

While respect is and has been omnipresent in children's social lives for centuries, we still know surprisingly little about its emergence and development. Understanding children's conceptualizations of respect is important because an appreciation of others is a core motivational component in promoting humility and driving attention to others' needs. As such, respect likely plays a substantial role in children's positive peer relationships, their well-being, and the well-being of their peers (e.g., Mann et al., 1994; Zuffianò et al., 2015). In order to nurture respect among children, a richer understanding of how children come to make meaning of respect in peer relationships is needed. This includes questions regarding how children experience feelings of respect across social contexts, how they interpret interactions with others, and if and how their feelings of respect change across development.

In this chapter, we explore children's respect across early childhood to middle adolescence by examining their concepts of respect and evaluations of respect-worthy behaviors. We begin with an exploration of children's general conceptions of respect through their personal narratives. We chose a qualitative approach because narratives provide rich information about children's ethically relevant experiences and how they interpret these experiences (Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger et al., 2010). We then investigated how strongly children feel respect towards various behaviors (in three specific domains) and how they reason about their feelings of respect. These research aims are examined using a developmental framework because it is likely that how children make meaning of respect evolves alongside their social, emotional, and cognitive growth (Rotenberg et al., 2005).

Plan of Analysis

To explore domain and age-related differences in children's respect conceptions, evaluations, and reasoning for evaluations, we ran a series of repeated-measures binomial logistic regressions (for conceptions and reasoning) and linear regressions (for evaluations) in SPSS 26. Wherever possible, we included gender and SES as covariates due to previous research suggesting the presence of gender and SES differences in our study variables (Krettenauer et al., 2014; Malti & Ongley, 2014). We did not interpret main effects of gender and SES in the following analyses as they served as control variables and we did not find any significant differences between males and females in our respect variables (conceptions, evaluations, and reasoning).

In the first set of analyses, we examined differences in how frequently children understood feelings of respect as being central to fairness versus prosociality versus social conventions. We first tested this question across domains to examine whether there were any domain-specific effects. The domains include: (1) respect conception (i.e., how children define and understand respect), (2) expression of respect (i.e., how children show their respect to others), and (3) respect from others (i.e., how children perceive to be respected by others). We employed within-participants binary logistic regressions whereby the three conceptions of respect were the outcome variables (binary coded variables), and the three domains served as the within-participants factor.

In the second set of analyses, we explored age-related differences focusing on age differences within each domain—that is, we investigated whether age played a role in how children understood respect as a global concept, whether age affected how they expressed respect and how they perceived being respected by others. We employed chi-squared analyses for these comparisons.

In the third set of analyses, we investigated whether children's feelings of respect varied in intensity toward characters who displayed different respect-worth behaviors (i.e., respect evaluations regarding sharing fairly, social inclusion, and academic achievement) and whether their evaluations differ as a function of age. Finally, we tested differences in children's reasoning behind their respect evaluations toward these behaviors, as well as age-related differences in the use of reasoning for why they felt respect (or not) across the three contexts. All analyses were performed first for sample 1 and then sample 2 for replication purposes.

Results

Conceptions of Respect Across Domains

Sample 1

Figure 2 displays the percentage of children's respect conceptions within the three domains (i.e., respect concept, expressions of respect, and respect from others)

(Insert Figure 2 about here)

As can be seen, a variety of themes were mentioned. Across domains and across age, the three most frequently stated themes were prosociality (33%), fairness (27%), and social convention (15%). Within the children's respect conceptions, fairness conceptions were most often mentioned (34%), followed by prosocial conceptions (25%) and social convention conceptions (14%). Within the domain of respect expressions and respect from others, themes of prosociality were most common (36%, 40%, respectively), followed by themes of fairness (23%, 20%, respectively) and social conventions (14%, 15%, respectively).

Next, we examined differences in conceptions across domains (respect concepts, expressions of respect, respect from others) controlling for age, gender, and SES. We did this in order to explore if there were any differences in how children think about respect in general

versus how they think about respect within their social relationships. Results from our repeated-measures binomial logistic regressions revealed a main effect of domain on fairness conceptions of respect, Wald χ^2 (2) = 35.24, p < .001. Specifically, children more often mentioned fairness within their respect conceptions than their respect expressions, b = 1.10, SE = .22, p < .001, OR = 3.00 and respect received from others, b = .91, SE = .20, p < .001, OR = 2.48. Prosocial conceptions also varied across domains, Wald χ^2 (2) = 8.58, p < .01. Prosocial conceptions were more frequently used within children's respect expressions than their respect concepts, b = .56, SE = .19, p < .01, OR = 1.75. There was no difference in social conventional conceptions of respect across domains.

Sample 2

Figure 3 displays children's conceptions of respect within domains (see Figure 3). Replicating findings from sample 1, the three most frequently stated themes were prosociality (49%), fairness (26%), and social convention (12%). Within the children's respect conceptions, prosociality was most often mentioned (41%), followed by fairness (32%) and social conventional conceptions (13%). Within the domain of respect expressions and respect from others, themes of prosociality were most common (51%, 58%, respectively), followed by themes of fairness (23%, 20%, respectively) and abiding by social conventions (11%, 10%, respectively).

(Insert Figure 3 about here)

While controlling for gender and SES, main effects of domain and age group on fairness conceptions of respect were found, Wald χ^2 (2) = 23.87, p < .001. That is, children more frequently considered fairness within their respect concepts than within their respect expressions, b = .88, SE = .23, p < .001, OR = 2.41, and their respect from others, b = 1.07, SE = .24, p < .001,

$OR = 2.92$. No domain differences were found for prosocial or social conventional respect conceptions. These findings suggest that fairness is a prominent theme within children's general understanding of respect; however, prosocial themes are important when considering how children express their respect and interpret being respected by others. Social conventional themes were expressed across domains, but to a much lesser degree.

Age-Related Differences in Respect Conceptions Within Domains

Sample 1

To test our second research question on age differences in conceptions of respect within domains, we ran a series of binary logistic regression models (controlling for SES and gender) similar to those above except with age group as our independent categorical variable and respect conceptions within each domain as our dependent variables. Table 4 displays the percentage of children's respect conceptions across domains and by age group.

(Insert Table 4 about here)

Respect Conceptions. Analyses revealed that there were differences in fairness conceptions by age group, Wald $\chi^2 (3) = 15.11$, $p < .01$. Eleven-year-olds understood respect as a concept that involves fairness frequently than 5-year-olds, $b = 1.00$, $SE = .41$, $p < .05$, $OR = 2.72$ and 7-year-olds, $b = 1.05$, $SE = .35$, $p < .01$, $OR = 2.86$. Similarly, 15-year-olds also conceptualized respect as a function of fairness more frequently than 5-year-olds, $b = 1.03$, $SE = .42$, $p < .05$, $OR = 2.80$, and 7-year-olds, $b = 1.09$, $SE = .37$, $p < .01$, $OR = 2.97$. No effect of age group was found on prosocial or social convention conceptions within this domain. This suggests that children increasingly begin to form a concept of respect that revolves around fairness, equality, and equity from middle to late childhood. Further, there is marked stability in children's conceptualizations of respect as a construct relating to prosociality and social conventions.

Expressions of Respect. Findings revealed that there were age group differences in expressions of respect related to fairness, Wald χ^2 (3) = 9.28, p < .05. Eleven-year-olds mentioned fairness expressions more frequently than 5-year-olds, b = 1.55, SE = .54, p < .01, OR = 4.71. There was also a main effect of age group on prosocial conceptions of respect, Wald χ^2 (3) = 10.00, p < .05. Post-hoc comparisons showed that 7-year-olds reported that they express respect by behaving prosocially more frequently than 15-year-olds, b = .76, SE = .37, p < .05, OR = 2.12, and 11-year-olds, b = 1.10, SE = .36, p < .01, OR = 3.00. No age differences in social convention conceptions emerged.

Respect from Others. Lastly, no age differences were found in how children conceptualized respect in this domain, suggesting that children may be less differentiated in what they consider respect to be (i.e., whether it concerns equality or kindness or politeness) when they receive respect from others.

Sample 2

We aimed to replicate our age-related findings from sample 1. Table 5 displays the percentage of respect conceptions by domain and age group.

(Insert Table 5 about here)

Respect Conceptions. We replicated our findings from sample 1 such that we found age group differences in fairness conceptions, Wald χ^2 (2) = 24.91, p < .001. Specifically, 11-year-olds used themes of fairness within their respect concepts more often than 5-year-olds, b = 2.13, SE = .48, p < .001, OR = 8.41, and 7-year-olds, b = 1.24, SE = .35, p < .001, OR = 3.46. This further highlights the developmental window from middle to late childhood wherein children's respect begins to reflect fairness-related themes. No age differences were found the prosocial and

social convention concepts in this domain, emphasizing the stability in children's consideration of prosociality and social conventions as respect.

Expressions of Respect. Our findings replicated those from sample 1. First, we found a main effect of age group on fairness expressions, Wald χ^2 (2) = 5.95, p = .05. That is, 11-year-olds mentioned expressing fairness within their social interactions (e.g., equally distribution resources or engaging in fair treatment) more frequently than 5-year-olds, b = .95, SE = .43, $p <$ .05, OR = 2.59. Further, there was an effect of age group on prosocial expressions of respect, Wald χ^2 (2) = 14.22, p = .001 such that 5- and 7-year-olds mentioned showing respect through prosocial behavior (e.g., being generous or helping others) more often than 11-year-olds (b = 1.03, SE = .43, $p <$ .05, OR = 2.80; b = 1.30, SE = .37, $p <$ .05, OR = 3.67, respectively). No age-related differences were found in social convention conceptions in this domain. These findings emphasize that, similar to children's respect conceptions, fairness becomes a more prominent theme within how children show their respect to others with age.

Respect from Others. Lastly, replicating sample 1 findings, no age differences were found for how children understood respect in this domain.

Children's Respect Evaluations

Sample 1

Table 6 displays the means and standard deviations of children's respect evaluations (i.e., how much respect children felt for hypothetical peers displaying "good" behavior) by age group and story context.

(Insert Table 6 about here)

First, a one-way repeated measure ANOVA was run to examine story context and age effects on children's respect evaluations. Gender and SES were entered as covariates. Because

sphericity was not assumed, the Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used. The results indicated a significant context effect, Greenhouse-Geisser's $F(1.84, 465.71) = 5.35$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .02$. Follow-up post-hoc LSD comparisons indicated that children felt more respect for peers who shared fairly with others (sharing fairly and social inclusion contexts) and who included everyone in a game, compared to a peer who received high marks in school (achievement context), $ps < .001$. Finally, a respect by age group interaction was found, Greenhouse-Geisser's $F(5.48, 465.71) = 2.51$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Specifically, post-hoc LSD comparisons revealed that 5-year-olds felt significantly less respect in the sharing fairly context compared to 11-year-olds ($p < .001$) and 15-year-olds ($p < .05$). Seven-year-olds also felt less respect in the sharing fairly context to 11-year-olds ($p = .05$). In the social inclusion context, 11-year-olds felt higher levels of respect compared to 15-year-olds, $p < .05$. In the achievement context, 5- and 7-year-olds felt less respect compared to 11- and 15-year-olds, $ps < .05$. Across stories, 11-year-olds ($M = 3.89$, $SE = .05$) reported higher levels of respect compared to 5-year-olds ($M = 3.67$, $SE = .05$), 95%CI [.04, .42].

Sample 2

To replicate findings, we ran the same analyses to examine story context and age effects on children's respect evaluations for the study 2 (see Table 5 for descriptive statistics). Gender and SES were entered as covariates. Because sphericity was not assumed, the Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used. The results indicated a significant context effect, Greenhouse-Geisser's $F(1.72, 320.17) = 21.17$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$. The same findings were found as in sample 1, where children's evaluations of respect were higher in the social inclusion and sharing fairly contexts, compared to the achievement context, $ps < .001$. No interaction between children's respect and age was found. No age differences across stories were found.

Reasoning for Respect Evaluations and Development Differences Across Contexts

Sample 1

Table 7 shows the percentages of the three most frequently used reasoning categories for respect evaluations by age group and story context (i.e., fairness-based, prosocial-based, merit-based reasoning.

(Insert Table 7 about here)

Fairness Reasoning. We ran repeated-measures binomial regression analyses to examine reasoning differences for children's respect evaluations across contexts (controlling for gender and SES). We found a main effect of story context and age on fairness reasoning for respect evaluations, Wald χ^2 (2) = 85.48, p < .001. Specifically, children more often used fairness reasoning following their expressions of respect in the sharing fairly story, b = 2.18, SE = .22, p < .001, OR = 8.85, and the prosociality context, b = 1.77, SE = .22, p < .001, OR = 5.87, than the high achievement context, and unsurprisingly more often in the sharing fairly story compared to the social inclusion story, b = .41, SE = .20, p < .05, OR = 1.51. Further, fairness reasoning differed by age group, Wald χ^2 (3) = 85.48, p < .001, where 15-year-olds used this type of reasoning across contexts more often than 5-year-olds, b = 2.25, SE = .23, p < .001, OR = 9.49, and 7-year-olds, b = .98, SE = .23, p < .001, OR = 2.66. Eleven-year-olds also used this reasoning more often than 5-, b = 1.80, SE = .26, p < .001, OR = 6.05, and 7-year-olds, b = .98, SE = .23, p < .001, OR = 2.66. Five-year-olds used fairness reasoning less often than 7-year-olds, b = 1.26, SE = .25, p < .001, OR = 3.53. These results bolster our findings for children's respect conceptions: Feelings of respect become more heavily entrenched in concepts of fairness with age.

Prosocial Reasoning. Prosocial reasoning also differed by story, Wald χ^2 (2) = 13.72, p = .001—children more often justified their respect feelings using reasoning that involved themes of prosociality, particularly in the sharing fairly story, b = .52, SE = .24, p < .05, OR = 1.68, and the inclusion story, b = .89, SE = .24, p < .001, OR = 2.44, more so than the achievement story. This is likely because these contexts are more tied to themes of interpersonal success while the achievement context reflects intrapersonal success. Prosocial reasoning did not vary significantly by age.

Merit Reasoning. Finally, there were main effects of context and age group on merit reasoning, Wald χ^2 (2) = 83.17, p < .001. As expected, merit reasoning was more often used in the high achievement story than the sharing fairly story, b = 3.38, SE = .32, p < .001, OR = 29.37, and the inclusion story, b = 3.96, SE = .40, p < .001, OR = 52.46. No age group differences were found.

Sample 2

Table 7 shows percentages of the three most frequently used reasoning categories for respect evaluations by age group and story context (i.e., fairness-, prosocial-, and merit-based reasoning). Here, we aimed to replicate findings from sample 1.

Fairness Reasoning. We replicated our findings from sample 1, such that we found a main effect of story context on fairness reasoning for respect evaluations, Wald χ^2 (2) = 62.61, p < .001. Specifically, children more frequently used fairness reasoning following their feelings of respect in the sharing fairly story, b = 1.84, SE = .24, p < .001, OR = 6.30 and the inclusion story, b = 1.97, SE = .23, p < .001, OR = 7.17, than the achievement context. We also found a main effect of age group on reasoning, Wald χ^2 (2) = 29.56, p < .001, 11-year-olds used this reasoning more than 5-year-olds, b = 1.44, SE = .26, p < .001, OR = 4.22, and 7-year-olds, b = .71, SE =

.22, $p < .01$, $OR = 2.03$. Seven-year-olds used fairness reasoning more than 5-year-olds, $b = .73$, $SE = .27$, $p < .01$, $OR = 2.08$.

Prosocial Reasoning. For prosocial reasoning, similar to sample 1, we found an effect of context on prosocial reasoning, Wald χ^2 (2) = 27.75, $p < .001$. Specifically, this line of reasoning was more frequent in the sharing fairly story, $b = 1.31$, $SE = .25$, $p < .001$, $OR = 3.71$, and inclusion story, $b = 1.00$, $SE = .26$, $p < .001$, $OR = 2.72$, than the achievement story. No differences across age groups were found.

Merit Reasoning. Our last model examining the effects of story context on merit reasoning was significant, Wald χ^2 (2) = 45.01, $p < .001$. Again, as expected, reasoning involving merit was more often used in the high achievement story than the sharing fairly story, $b = 4.23$, $SE = .61$, $p < .001$, $OR = 68.71$, and the prosociality story, $b = 3.94$, $SE = .53$, $p < .001$, $OR = 51.42$. No differences in age group were found.

Discussion

In this chapter, we examined developmental changes in how children understand respect and the extent to which they feel respect across contexts involving ethical behavior and achievement goals. In line with our expectations and contrary to early theorizing (e.g., Piaget, 1932/1965), our findings indicate that children across ages considered themes of fairness and prosociality to be central to how they think about and define respect. These findings were consistent across both of our samples. Interestingly, children and adolescents considered fairness more often when generally conceptualizing respect compared to how they express respect or perceive to be respected by others in their interpersonal relationships. Respect within their social relationships revolved around themes of altruism and prosociality (e.g., sharing, helping, comforting). The former finding reflects Kant's notion of respect as an acknowledgment that all

humans ought to receive fair and dignified treatment (Kant, 1788/1966; i.e., recognition-respect) which expresses respect for persons as ends in themselves rather than as a means to an end. Our findings may suggest that children can grasp this very substantive idea such that they believe respect involves components of equality. In contrast, children emphasize acts of prosociality to indicate their respect in interpersonal relationships. This may reflect Kant's ethical esteem component of respect (i.e., appraisal-respect) indicating generosity, a *sui generis* other-orientation that echoes merit-worthy behavior. Our findings also revealed evidence, albeit to a much lesser degree, for children's acknowledgement of respect as involving social conventions, customs, and traditions. This likely reflects children's and adolescents' awareness of social rules (Shwalb & Shwalb, 2006), which are transmitted within families, classrooms, and communities at large. Table 2 within Chapter 2 of this monograph summarizes these main findings in relation to previous studies conducted on children's and adolescents' respect development.

In line with our theorizing, we found significant age differences in respect conceptions (see Figure 4 for a graphical summary of these findings).

(Insert Figure 4 here)

When defining what respect is and how it is expressed, older children and adolescents more often referred to issues involving fairness and equality compared to younger children. As Piaget (1932/1965) discussed in his seminal writings, when children increasingly interact with individuals of equal or similar social positions (such as peers), they learn to accept different but equally valid viewpoints (Damon, 1975) and consequently, coordinate their respect with equality and mutuality (i.e., fairness). These findings support early theories suggesting that respect becomes bi-directional and mutual as children establish and learn how to adaptively interact through peer relationships (Piaget, 1932/1965). They also substantiate research on the

development of ethical reasoning, which suggests that, with age, children increasingly emphasize more abstract conceptions such as fairness, equity, and the welfare of others when rationalizing about decisions about multifaceted social situations (Eisenberg, 1986; Eisenberg et al., 1995; Krettenauer et al., 2014).

Further, themes of prosociality were persistent across age, as children frequently used prosocial themes when conceptualizing respect across domains. These findings are contrary to Piaget's (1932/1965) theorizing of respect as being authority-oriented and rooted in fear during early childhood. Rather, it shows that even at a young age (i.e., 5 years), children are capable of appreciating and understanding that respect is reflected in the way individuals treat one another (i.e., by adhering to the Golden Rule). This may be due, in part, to changes in socialization strategies since the mid-1900s. For instance, there has been a decline in the use of power assertion (e.g., physical punishment) within parental disciplinary techniques and increases in the use of inductive reasoning (i.e., explaining why the child's behavior was harmful) in combination with the consideration of the child as an agent in their own development since the 1980s-1990s (Grusec & Davidov, 2010; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Power assertion discourages a child to reflect on ethical issues, whereas extensive explanations and opportunities for dialogue through induction facilitate the child's elaboration of schemas for understanding others' experiences—a condition presumably likely to encourage respect for others' rights (Applegate et al., 1985). It should be noted, however, that it is possible that even younger children's and toddlers' respect is driven by fear of punishment from authority. Further research is required in order to understand the roots of respect very early in development, and to delineate how respect may differ when directed toward authority figures versus peers.

We found some age-related declines in expressing respect through prosociality, perhaps because children increasingly incorporate prosocial behavior into their regular, conventional behavioral repertoire, rather than as an effortful, explicit expression of respect (Eisenberg et al., 2015). Because schools often focus on social-emotional learning and the promotion of prosocial behaviors in young children (Denham et al., 2014), it is possible that this socialization contributes to an early awareness of the need to behave in other-oriented ways, rendering prosocial expressions less exceptional with age. This explanation is supported by recent research which has also shown that there are decreases in instrumental forms of prosocial behavior (i.e., helping) beyond late childhood (Eisenberg et al., 2015), suggesting, perhaps, that children become more selective in their expressions of prosociality, and thus may adopt more abstract demonstrations of prosociality through fairness and equality. Interestingly, a large proportion of the children (across age) used prosocial themes to describe respect that they receive from others. Children possibly perceive other-oriented behaviors towards them as a genuine expression of respect, independent of age, because prosocial acts of sharing or helping are more often considered a matter of personal choice compared to acts related to fairness, which are seen as mandatory (Malti et al., 2009). As such, being treated kindly by others may be perceived as special treatment that is worthy of respect.

In addition to exploring conceptions of respect across development, we also developed and implemented a new, semi-structured vignette measure to explore respect evaluations and associated reasoning across contexts (i.e., fairness and prosociality). Our domains were chosen based on pilot work and recent findings regarding children's respect conceptions (e.g., Shwalb & Shwalb, 2006). We considered the domain of achievement as a contrast because it is a prominent concern in school-aged children's lives, and previous research has documented that individuals

often express an appreciation for achievement (Langdon, 2007). Thus, our assessment was a first step towards investigating children's conceptions within domains that children perceive to be relevant to respect, and to bridge our findings with extant research on themes of respect in a more standardized manner.

As expected, children reported feeling higher levels of respect for peers who engage in fair and prosocial behavior than peers who achieve high grades in school. This provides additional support for our findings on children's conceptions of respect such that children emphasize ethical considerations when reflecting and evaluating respect-worthy behaviors in social interactions. Some age-related findings were found; however, they were not replicated across samples. This inconsistent finding might, in part, be due to the fact that children's evaluations of fair and prosocial acts were generally fairly high and there may have been a lack of variability and power to detect any age effects (particularly in sample 2). Children's reasoning behind their feelings of respect reflected the themes children used to conceptualize respect. As expected, children differentiated between domains when justifying their feelings of respect—children used prosocial and fairness reasoning more frequently in prosocial and fairness contexts than in the achievement context. In addition, fairness reasoning increased with age, emphasizing that children place increasing importance on equality and fairness when reflecting upon respect-worthy acts. This finding echoes our findings regarding children's respect conceptions.

Conclusion

Together, the data presented in this chapter challenge past theorizing suggesting that respect in early childhood is predominantly hierarchical and based on authority, sanctions, and fear. Rather, the findings suggest that children's respect is rooted in kindness and a prosocial orientation from early on in development. Because of the novelty of these findings, many

questions remain to be answered. For instance, what might influence children's construction of

respect in ethical terms instead of social-conventional or merit-based terms? What are the

intraindividual factors that contribute to differences in the development of children's conceptions

and evaluations of respect? In our next chapter, we discuss possible intrapersonal factors that

may contribute to children's conceptions and feelings of respect.

Chapter 5.

The Role of Sympathy, Sadness Over Wrongdoing, and Perceived Fairness in Respect

Despite the converging themes and developmental trends in children's respect narratives, there is great variability in how children construct an understanding of respect and evaluate behaviors that are worthy of respect. How do children develop different conceptions of respect? Why do children perceive behaviors that are related to fairness and kindness as more worthy of respect than behaviors that are related to achievement or status? In this chapter, we explore individual differences in how children conceptualize respect and evaluate behaviors and qualities to be worthy of respect. Specifically, we examined central ethical factors that are theoretically linked to respect, namely, sympathy, sadness over wrongdoing, and perceived fairness. We chose to examine these factors because sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing are prototypical kind emotions that reflect principles of caring and justice (Malti, 2020; Malti & Latzko, 2017), both of which, along with perceived fairness (i.e., the extent to which children behave fairly in the peer context), are core themes of children's conceptions of respect (see Chapters 2 and 4 in this monograph).

Sympathy is a negatively valenced, other-oriented emotion as it is elicited in response to the suffering or need of another (Eisenberg, 2000). It shares conceptual similarity with respect as both emotions are other-oriented and involve a conscious regard and observation of another's state (Drummond, 2006; see Chapter 2); however, they differ in valence as sympathy is a negative feeling while respect is a positive affective experience. Further, empathy (i.e., the apprehension and feeling of another's emotional state; Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Morris, 2014) is likely a precursor for the development of both sympathy and respect because both emotions

enable one to recognize another as a conscious agent like oneself, worthy of attention and appreciation. This orientation toward the other that is involved in the experience of both emotions likely evokes a motivation to act in a manner that would benefit others (Drummond, 2006). Sympathy often results in a propensity to help or comfort less fortunate others (Eisenberg, 2000; Malti, Ongley, et al., 2016; Malti & Ongley, 2014) and respect likely results in the emulation of ethical relevant, respect-worthy characteristics (Zuffianò et al., 2015).

In contrast, sadness over wrongdoing is a negatively valenced and self-conscious emotion, which occurs when one recognizes one's own wrongdoing (Malti, 2016). It is based on an understanding of how one behaved in relation to one's own internalized standards. This self-evaluation of one's failure to meet ethical standards is likely related to an admiration for others' ethical behaviors (i.e., respect). That is, both sadness over wrongdoing and respect involve a sensitivity for and recognition of "doing the right thing" and as such, a higher propensity for sadness following a norm violation is likely related to a higher propensity for respect toward those who follow (or exceed) ethical standards.

Perceived fairness, on the other hand, involves being viewed as a fair individual and reflects an understanding of principles of fairness and an appreciation for treating others fairly (e.g., Shaw et al., 2014). In the peer context, fairness can be manifested in ways such as equal resource allocation or reciprocating a favor. Various theories suggest that fairness becomes increasingly important within children's notions of respect, especially in the peer context which is characterized by equality and reciprocity principles rather than fear- or authority-based norms (Shwalb & Shwalb, 2006). Because fairness is thought to be an important component within peer interactions, it is reasonable to expect that children who have a disposition toward behaving fairly (as rated by peers) are likely to endorse principles of fairness in their conceptions of

respect and show respect for fairness-related behaviors more than children who behave less fairly.

Despite the limited empirical work, we form our hypothesis based on this theorizing and our previous work on kind emotions. We expected sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing to be more related to prosocial conceptions of respect and higher feelings of respect toward ethical behaviors than achievement goals, and perceived fairness to be more strongly related to fairness conceptions of respect and higher respect for ethical behaviors than achievement goals. We also examined age differences in their relations.

Results

Data Analytic Plan

Prior to data analyses, data reduction was performed on theoretically and empirically related variables to reduce the number of statistical tests and the probability of capturing statistical significance by chance. Specifically, we averaged each type of respect conceptions (i.e., fairness, prosocial, and social convention) across the three domains (respect concept, expression of respect, and respect from others). The aggregated variables thus represent the general tendency to make meaning of respect in terms of fairness, prosociality, and social conventions. In addition, we collapsed age groups within childhood and age groups within adolescence (0 = *5- and 7-year-olds;* 1 = *11- and 15-year-olds*) to simplify the analyses and avoid potential estimation problems due to small subsample sizes within each age group when testing moderation effects.

We started with descriptive analyses of the study variables in SPSS 26. We then ran a series of binary logistic and linear path models to explore how sympathy, sadness over wrongdoing, and perceived fairness relate to respect conceptions, evaluations, and reasoning of

evaluations in M*plus* 7. In the first set of path models, we aggregated fairness-, prosocial-, and social convention-based respect conceptions across the domains of respect concept, expression of respect, and respect from others, resulting in three distinct outcome variables that varied by general theme. In the second set of path models, the outcome variables were respect evaluations for sharing fairly, social inclusion, and high achievement. In the third set of path models, the outcome variables were fairness- and prosocial-based reasoning of respect for sharing fairly and social inclusion, and merit-based reasoning of respect for academic achievement. In sample 1, the independent variables were sympathy (centered), the interaction of sympathy (centered) with age, and demographic covariates (dichotomized age, gender, SES). In sample 2, we entered the predictors using a step-by-step approach to be as comparable to sample 1 as possible. In step 1, the independent variables were sympathy (centered), the interaction of sympathy (centered) with age, and demographic covariates (dichotomized age, gender, and school membership as an approximate for SES). In step 2, we added perceived fairness and its interaction term with age. In step 3, we further added sadness over wrongdoing and its interaction term with age. Because sadness over wrongdoing was only assessed in a subsample of sample 2, we only used data from the subsample in step 3 (otherwise we used data from the full sample). Missing data were handled with full information maximum likelihood estimation in M*plus*. Moreover, to account for the non-independence of observations due to nested data structure within classrooms in sample 2, we used a sandwich estimator to adjust the standard errors of estimate in the models (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017).

Descriptive Statistics

Table 8 displays means and standard deviations of sympathy, sadness over wrongdoing and perceived fairness in the total sample and within each age group. Ratings of fairness were

standardized within classrooms (which are almost nested within age groups because younger children were from lower-grade classrooms and older children were from upper-grade classrooms). As such, age differences could not be examined (i.e., mean perceived fairness scores were zero in both age groups). We examined age differences in sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing using independent-samples t-tests. Adolescents reported significantly higher sympathy than children in sample 2, $t(191) = -2.27, p = .03$, but not in sample 1, $t(279) = -1.69, p = .09$. However, the two groups did not differ in their sadness scores, $t(81) = 0.66, p = .51$. Among the predictors, sympathy was positively related to sadness over wrongdoing, $r = .32, p = .004$, whereas perceived fairness was not significantly related to sympathy, $r = -.03, p = .72$, nor sadness over wrongdoing, $r = .06, p = .61$, in sample 2.

Sympathy, Sadness Over Wrongdoing, and Perceived Fairness: Links with Respect Conceptions

The first set of path models examine how sympathy, sadness over wrongdoing, and perceived fairness relate to respect conceptions (in terms of fairness, prosociality, and social convention) while controlling for age, gender, and SES. We hypothesized that sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing would be related to prosocial conceptions of respect, whereas perceived fairness would be related to fairness conceptions of respect. We did not expect them to be related to social conventional conceptions of respect. The results are displayed in Table 9.

(Insert Table 9 about here)

Sample 1

Sympathy was not significantly related to fairness or social conventional conceptions of respect controlling for age, gender, and SES. Sympathy was neither significantly related to prosocial conceptions of respect. Age did not moderate these relations. The model explained

small proportions of the variances in fair conceptions of respect, $R^2 = .06$, prosocial conceptions

of respect, $R^2 = .05$, and social conventional conceptions of respect, $R^2 = .02$.

Sample 2

Similar to the results in sample 1, sympathy was unrelated to fairness, prosocial, or social

conventional conceptions of respect. Neither did age significantly moderate these relations.

Moreover, perceived fairness or its interaction with age was also not related to any of the respect

conceptions. However, in the subsample in which sadness over wrongdoing was assessed, there

was a significant interaction effect between sadness over wrongdoing and age in in predicting

fairness conceptions of respect. Follow-up analyses indicated that sadness over wrongdoing was

positively related to fairness conceptions of respect in adolescents, $b = 0.34$, $p < .001$, but not in

children, $b = -0.18$, $p = .13$ (see Figure 5). It should be noted that for children, fairness

conceptions were relatively low regardless of levels of sadness over wrongdoing compared to

that for adolescents. The model explained small proportions of the variances in fair conceptions

of respect, $R^2 = .23$, prosocial conceptions of respect, $R^2 = .16$, and social conventional

conceptions of respect, $R^2 = .14$.

(Insert Figure 5 here)

Taken together, these findings suggest that how children conceptualize respect across

domains was not significantly related to their dispositional levels of sympathy, perceived fairness

by their peers, or sadness in response to one's wrongdoing. However, adolescents (but not

children) who expressed higher levels of have a higher tendency to conceptualize respect in

terms of fairness-related concepts.

Sympathy, Sadness Over Wrongdoing, and Perceived Fairness: Links with Respect

Evaluations

The second set of path models examine how sympathy, sadness over wrongdoing, and perceived fairness relate to respect evaluations of sharing fairly, social inclusion, and academic achievement while controlling for age, gender, and SES. We hypothesized that all three variables would be more strongly related to higher respect for ethical behaviors than achievement goals. The results are displayed in Table 10.

(Insert Table 10 about here)

Sample 1

As expected, sympathy was related to higher respect for sharing fairly and social inclusion, but it was also related to respect for academic achievement. We did not find significant moderations of age in these relations. The model explained small proportions of the variances in respect for sharing fairly, $R^2 = .16$, respect for social inclusion, $R^2 = .03$, and respect for achievement, $R^2 = .15$.

Sample 2

In contrast, sympathy was not significantly related to respect evaluations of sharing fairly, social inclusion, or high achievement, controlling for age, gender, and school membership. Age did not moderate these relations either. Perceived fairness was also unrelated to respect evaluation of sharing fairly or social inclusion but negatively related to respect evaluation of high achievement. This relation was further moderated by age. Follow-up analyses indicated that perceived fairness was related to lower respect for high achievement in children, $b = -0.34$, $p = .002$, but not in adolescents, $b = 0.14$, $p = .13$.

In the subsample, sadness over wrongdoing was not significantly related to respect evaluations of sharing fairly, social inclusion, or high achievement. Neither did age moderate these relations.

In the full sample, the model explained small to moderate proportions of variance in respect for sharing fairly, $R^2 = .16$, respect for social inclusion, $R^2 = .14$, and respect for achievement, $R^2 = .29$. In the subsample, the model explained small proportions of variance in respect for sharing fairly, $R^2 = .15$, respect for social inclusion, $R^2 = .18$, and respect for achievement, $R^2 = .10$.

These findings highlight the role of sympathy in children's evaluations of respect for sharing fairly, social inclusion, as well as high achievement, although robustness of the results should be further investigated because these findings were only found in sample 1 and not replicated in sample 2. In contrast, perceived fairness and sadness over wrongdoing were not related to children's levels of respect for these behaviors or merit. However, children who were rated by peers as fairer tend to show lower respect for high achievement, whereas this was not found in adolescents.

Sympathy, Sadness Over Wrongdoing, and Perceived Fairness: Links with Reasoning for Respect Evaluations

The third set of path models examine how sympathy, sadness over wrongdoing, and perceived fairness relate to the type of themes used within children's reasoning for respect evaluations of sharing fairly, social inclusion, and academic achievement (while controlling for age, gender, and SES). Again, we hypothesized that sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing would be more strongly related to prosocial reasoning of respect evaluations, whereas perceived fairness would be more related to fairness reasoning of respect evaluations. We did not expect them to be related to merit reasoning of respect evaluation. The results are displayed in Table 11.

(Insert Table 11 about here)

Sample 1

Sympathy was positively related to prosocial reasoning for feelings of respect toward sharing fairly and not related to other reasonings controlling for age, gender, and SES. There were no significant moderation effects of age in these relations.

Sample 2

In contrast to results from sample 1, sympathy was unrelated to any reasoning of the respect evaluations controlling for age, gender, and school membership. Similarly, age did not moderate the relations either.

Perceived fairness was not significantly related to any reasoning type. However, the relation between fairness and merit reasoning of respect evaluation for high achievement was moderated by age. Follow-up analyses indicated that perceived fairness was related to higher likelihood of reporting merit-based reasoning of respect evaluation for high achievement in adolescents, $b = 0.32$, $p = .018$, $OR = 1.38$, but not in children, $b = -0.20$, $p = .12$, $OR = 0.82$.

In the subsample, sadness over wrongdoing was unrelated to reasoning of respect evaluation in any story. Age did not moderate any of the relations.

In the full sample, the model explained small proportions of variance in fairness-based reasoning of respect for sharing fairly, $R^2 = .21$, prosocial-based reasoning of respect for sharing fairly, $R^2 = .08$, fairness-based reasoning of respect for social inclusion, $R^2 = .11$, prosocial-based reasoning of respect for social inclusion, $R^2 = .08$, and merit-based reasoning of respect for high achievement, $R^2 = .11$. In the subsample, the model explained small proportions of variance fairness-based reasoning of respect for sharing fairly, $R^2 = .32$, prosocial-based reasoning of respect for sharing fairly, $R^2 = .06$, fairness-based reasoning of respect for social inclusion, $R^2 = .15$, prosocial-based reasoning of respect for social inclusion, $R^2 = .15$, and merit-based reasoning of respect for high achievement, $R^2 = .19$.

These findings suggest that children with higher levels of sympathy are more likely to use prosocial reasonings to explain their feelings of respect for ethical behaviors (e.g., sharing fairly), although again, cautious interpretation is advised because replication of this finding was not found in study 2. Moreover, in contrast to children, adolescents who were perceived as fair by peers are more likely to use merit-based reasoning for their respect for high achievement.

Discussion

To date, little research has been done to explore the nature of children's respect and how respect may be related to other kind emotions and characteristics across development. In this chapter, we took the first step in examining the links among sympathy, sadness over wrongdoing, and perceived fairness with respect. In doing so, we provide a better understanding of children's respect and how conceptions and evaluations of respect may be formed, in relation to other aspects of children's social-emotional development. Figure 6 provides a summary of our most prominent findings from this chapter.

In particular, regarding emotions, we examined links between respect with sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing, two kind emotions that are likely important correlates involved in the development of children's respect (Drummond, 2006; Malti et al., 2018). Sympathy emerges early in development (Kochanska et al., 2002; Roth-Hanania et al., 2011) and motivate children to abide by ethical norms and engage in prosocial behavior. Similarly, feelings of sadness over wrongdoing strongly develop between early and middle childhood (Malti, 2016, 2020). In line with these conceptual links, we expected that children with high sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing were more likely to use prosocial-based conceptions of respect and evaluate prosocial behaviors as highly respect-worthy.

In line with the literature linking sympathy to prosocial orientations (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2015), we found that sympathy also plays an important role in children's feelings of respect (i.e., respect evaluations). In sample 1, sympathy was positively related to respect ratings of sharing fairly and social inclusion. Although these relations were not statistically significant in sample 2 likely due to insufficient power, the magnitude of the relations (as evidenced in standardized estimates) were similar. These findings suggest that children who show other-oriented concerns tend to display higher respect for fair and prosocial behaviors that concern the welfare of others. This is not surprising because the literature suggests that children with high sympathy are likely to engage in prosocial behaviors such as sharing and cooperation from childhood to adolescence (e.g., Malti, Ongley, et al., 2016); thus, prosocial orientations are likely to be central to their behavioral and value systems. In our contexts, sharing fairly and social inclusion are exemplar prosocial scenarios that likely lead to benefits for both parties, which may explain why children with high sympathy show high respect and appreciation for these good behaviors. Further, we also found that children who reported themselves to be highly sympathetic were more likely to use prosocial-based reasoning for their respect to peers who share fairly. This finding suggests that sympathy may be an important emotion in encouraging children to think of respect in terms of prosociality and to attend to others' prosocial actions, perhaps because sympathy orients one to considering the well-being of others (Eisenberg, 2000).

Sadness over wrongdoing—played a smaller role in children's respect compared to sympathy, perhaps partly due to methodological limitations in its assessment (i.e., small sample, situational measures). We did not find consistent relations between sadness over wrongdoing and respect conceptions or evaluations; however, we found an important finding worthy of discussion. Adolescents, but not children, who reported feeling sad over transgressing were more

likely to base their respect conceptualizations in themes of fairness. Transgressions are often unfair in nature, and adolescents who have had more experience transgressing or being the victim/bystander of a transgression may feel higher levels of sadness over wrongdoing when faced with similar situations. As a result, they may be more sensitive to fairness and may be more likely to encourage fairness-based respect to combat injustices that result from transgressions (McDonald & Asher, 2018). Although replication is needed, these findings suggest that sadness over wrongdoing may indeed influence how children behave and evaluate the behavior of others, but this association may be tied to specific behaviors and/or contexts. How sadness over wrongdoing relates to respect is possibly more indirect and may be moderated by other factors (e.g., emotion regulation; Colasante & Malti, 2017; Malti, Ongley, et al., 2016).

In addition to exploring the role of affective factors in children and adolescents' respect development, we examined how perceived fairness as rated by peers relates to respect conceptions and evaluations. Specifically, we asked peers to nominate the children they perceived to be the fairest in their class. We did this because we were interested in examining the perceptions of peers (specifically in the domain of fairness) because the influence of peers increases from childhood to adolescence (Fabes et al., 2009) and therefore the thoughts and perceptions of peers likely have a great impact on the development of children's respect. We anticipated that children who would be perceived as fair in the peer context would more likely conceptualize respect in terms of fairness and rate fair behaviors as highly worthy of respect. To our surprise, perceived fairness was also not consistently related to respect conceptions, especially in ethical domains. The only significant results for perceived fairness emerged in the scenario of respect for high academic achievement—that is, children, but not adolescents, who were perceived as being fair rated high achievement as less worthy of respect. In contrast,

adolescents, but not children, who were perceived as fair were more likely to use merit-based reasoning for their respect to high-achieving peers. It is possible that being fair confines respect to the ethical domain, and children who engage in high levels of fairness may not believe acts in other domains (in this situation the academic domain) deserve high levels of respect. Further, it is possible that fair children may not believe that showing respect for another's high achievement would be fair for other peers who do not achieve high grades. Additional work is necessary to unpack this relation and to clarify how fairness perceptions may influence respect evaluations.

The lack of link between perceived fairness and prosocial- and fairness-related respect conceptions and evaluations is unexpected because as reported in Chapter 4, fairness is a central theme within children's narratives of respect. It is also contradictory to previous findings highlighting the importance of fairness in children's notions of respect (e.g., Damon, 1975; Hsueh et al., 2005; Shwalb & Shwalb, 2006). Although speculative, one reason for the lack of significant findings could be the way we measured children's fairness. As previously mentioned, we measured children's perceived fairness through peer nominations of children who are fair to others. Although we expect that children who were nominated by peers and perceived to be fair may be more likely to endorse fairness principles, it is possible that children nominated those peers for other reasons (e.g., popularity; Cohen et al., 2006). In future research, it would be interesting to revisit this question using other or multiple measures to assess fairness (e.g., obtaining reports from caregivers in addition to obtaining reports from children themselves).

Conclusion

Results from this chapter demonstrate that children's conceptions of respect are associated with their affective and social-cognitive development, particularly with the development of sympathy, and, to a lesser degree, with sadness over wrongdoing and fairness.

However, other developmental and contextual processes likely play a role in these processes, such as children's regulatory capacities or the quality of their peer relationships. Nonetheless, the current findings highlight that central dimensions of social-emotional development, i.e., sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing, are associated with children's respect, while also revealing potential age-related differences in how they relate to respect. In the next chapter, we examine how respect is linked to children's social behavior.

Chapter 6.

Respect and Social Behaviors

Children engage in a wide range of social behaviors that vary in form and function—some behaviors are other-oriented and intended to help or benefit others, while others are aggressive and intended to harm or disadvantage others (Malti & Averdijk, 2017; Malti & Dys, 2017; Malti & Rubin, 2018). Other-oriented behavior (i.e., prosocial behavior), defined as voluntary behavior intended to benefit another, leads to positive psychological, academic, and interpersonal outcomes in children (Eisenberg et al., 2015). On the other hand, aggression, defined as behavior intended to harm another physically or psychologically (Krahé, 2013), has been linked to many psychosocial problems such as peer rejection, low academic achievement, and delinquency (Temcheff et al., 2011; Tremblay, 2000). These studies highlight the importance of better understanding what drives children to engage in these various social behaviors.

One motivating force in driving social behaviors that has received increasing attention in the last 20 years or so is emotion. Of particular focus are feelings in contexts involving ethical considerations such as fairness, care, and welfare of others, often labeled as kind emotions Malti, 2020; Malti et al., 2018; Malti & Latzko, 2017). Much research shows that kind emotions, particularly sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing, play a primary role in promoting prosocial behavior, as these emotions orient one to the needs and well-being of others (Eisenberg et al., 2015; Malti et al., 2018). Along the same vein, it is likely that respect also motivates prosocial action as it likely prompts children to compare and align their behavior with their humble feelings toward others' good deeds.

There is widespread evidence that kind emotions also play a part in deterring children from engaging in aggressive behavior (Malti & Krettenauer, 2013; see Eisner & Malti, 2015).

For example, feeling sympathy for someone signals to the individual that they care for the other's welfare and wellbeing; thus, these feelings of concern likely discourage behaviors that puts the individual at risk of harm. Along this same vein, respect (both appraisal-respect and recognition-respect) may also buffer aggression. This is because aggression contradicts ethical values and orientations, and engaging in harmful behavior would not align with one's respect for good qualities and behaviors. For example, if a child feels respect for a classmate because the classmate is caring, it is unlikely that the child will behave in a way that violates this ethical principle by an act such as pushing or hitting that classmate. Feeling respect for others who demonstrate ethical characteristics and behaviors likely reduces anger and aggression and promotes understanding and acceptance among others (Miller, 2001).

Respect and its links with pro- and antisocial behavior have indeed received some empirical support. For example, children and adolescents' respect for others with good behaviors is associated with increased sharing behavior, particularly when children experience low levels of other kind emotions such as sympathy (Zuffianò et al., 2015). This finding suggests that respect may even compensate for experiencing low levels of sorrow for others. Additionally, in research examining an American sample of children in grades 3 to 6, Cohen and colleagues (2006) found that peer-nominated respect (i.e., being respected by others) was positively associated with peer liking, number of mutual friends, and peer-nominated prosocial behavior.

Respect has also been negatively related to children's and adolescents' overt aggressive behavior (Kuryluk et al., 2011; Leary et al., 2005). For example, victims of violence report feeling less respected in school than do unvictimized children (Morrison, 2006). Further, peer respect (i.e., students who treat each other with fairness and respect at school) predicts lower levels of bullying at the school (Langdon & Preble, 2008). Finally, in addition to the relation

between respect and prosocial behavior, researchers have found links between peer-nominated respect and aggression (Cohen et al., 2006). These findings reveal that children and adolescents who are more respected by their peers—likely because they themselves are more respectful—are less likely to engage in aggression and similarly, are less likely to be victims of aggression.

Based on this existing body of research and the conceptual similarities between respect and sympathy, it is reasonable to assume a positive relation between respect and prosocial behavior and a negative relation between respect and aggression. Here, we extended previous research by examining how children's and adolescents' own respect conceptions (as opposed to peer nominations of respect) relate to their prosocial behavior and aggression.

Data Analytic Plan

We started our analyses in SPSS 26 by conducting a correlational analysis followed by hierarchical linear regression analyses in Mplus *7* to examine associations of prosocial behavior and aggression with respect conceptions and respect evaluations (and associated reasoning). Prosocial behavior and aggression were our outcome variables. Because correlations between reports of children's behaviors average about .28 between informants seeing the child under different conditions (e.g., parents versus teachers) and .22 between children's self-reports and reports by others (Achenbach, 2006), we decided not to combine our outcome variables across informants. Further, these low correlations show that parents, teachers, and children themselves experience children's behaviors differently, warranting exploration into how respect may differentially relate to prosocial behavior and aggression as viewed by these multiple informants. Respect conceptions, evaluations, and reasoning were our independent variables. Given that we did not have any a priori, domain-specific hypotheses, we combined respect conceptions across the domains (i.e., creating variables that reflect children's general tendency to conceptualize

respect in terms of fairness, prosociality, or social-conventions) to limit the number of models run and simplify the interpretability of the findings. We combined reasoning categories across stories for similar reasons.

As with our previous analyses, we controlled for gender and SES in our models given that related research had found links between gender and SES and our outcome variables (Côté et al., 2007; Malti et al., 2009). In addition, because verbal intelligence has been linked to aggression (Arsenio et al., 2009), we added verbal ability as a control variable. We conducted interactions between age and our independent variables since we found that many of our respect variables differ by age (see Chapter 4). When interactions were non-significant, they were removed in order to increase model parsimony (Cohen et al., 2003). All variables were mean-centered and, as explained in Chapter 5, we accounted for the non-independence of observations due to nested data structure within classrooms in sample 2 by using a sandwich estimator to adjust the standard errors of estimate in the models (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2017). We also collapsed age groups within childhood and age groups within adolescence (0 = *5- and 7-year-olds;* 1 = *11- and 15-year-olds*) to simplify the analyses and avoid potential estimation problems due to small subsample sizes within each age group when testing the moderation effects.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 12 displays means and standard deviations of and correlations between our dependent variables for sample 1 and sample 2 separately. Child- and parent-reported prosocial behavior was not correlated in sample 1. In sample 2, child- and teacher-reported prosocial behavior was positively related, and prosocial behavior scores from both informants were negatively related to both teacher-reported and peer-nominated aggression measures. The two aggression measures were positively related.

(Insert Table 12 about here)

Links Between Respect Conceptions and Prosocial Behavior

Sample 1

To test our hypotheses regarding positive links between children's prosocial behavior and their fairness-, prosocial-, and social conventional-respect conceptions, we ran two linear regression models. In the first model, we tested links between children's conceptions and their self-reported prosocial behavior, and in the second model we tested the same links but with caregiver-reported prosocial behavior. We did not find any main effects or interaction effects with age for either child- or parent-reports of prosocial behavior, suggesting that how children make meaning of respect does not differentially relate to their levels of prosocial behavior.

Sample 2

For replication purposes and to examine potential differences in links between our study variables and different informants from a separate sample, we conducted the same models as in sample 1 with child- and teacher-reported prosocial behavior as our dependent variables. We also did not find any significant effects of respect conceptions on prosocial behavior here.

Links Between Respect Conceptions and Aggression

Next, we tested our hypotheses regarding negative relations between children's aggression and their fairness/prosocial respect conceptions, and positive links between social-convention conceptions and aggression. We ran two hierarchical linear regression models: the first tested links between respect conceptions and teacher-reported aggression and the second tested links between respect conceptions and peer-nominated aggression. We only conducted these analyses in sample 2 as we did not collect aggression measures in sample 1. The final model for teacher-reported aggression is displayed in Table 13.

(Insert Table 13 here)

We found a significant effect of fairness conceptions on teacher-reported aggression, ΔR^2 = .08, $p < .01$. This suggests that children who understood respect as a concept of fairness were rated as less aggressive compared to children who conceptualized respect in other ways. This finding highlights the potential protective role that fairness-respect may have in attenuating children's aggressive behavior. No significant age and conception interactions were found for teacher-reported aggression. Further, no significant main effects or interaction effects with age were found for peer-nominated aggression.

Links Between Respect Evaluations, Reasoning, and Prosocial Behavior

Sample 1

Respect Evaluations. Here, we tested our hypothesis regarding the positive relations between children's respect for others' ethical behaviors and children's own prosocial behavior, and the lack of relation between their prosocial behavior and respect for others' achievement. We ran linear regression models testing the links between respect evaluations and the dependent variable of prosocial behavior (both child and parent-reported; see Table 14). Respect evaluations for sharing fairly were positively related to child-reported prosocial behavior and marginally with parent-reported prosocial behavior. Respect evaluations of social inclusion and academic achievement were also positively related to children's self-reported prosocial behavior. Finally, we found an age by respect for achievement interaction: Simple slopes analyses revealed that respect evaluations of achievement positively related to younger children's prosocial behavior, $b = .23$, $p < .001$, but not for adolescents. The model for child-reported prosocial behavior explained a significant amount of variance, $R^2 = .45$, $p < .001$. These findings suggest that children and adolescents who engage more frequently in prosocial behavior also feel higher

levels of respect for ethical behavior and, *for children only,* achievement goals compared to children and adolescents who display less prosocial behavior.

(Insert Table 14 about here)

Reasoning for Respect Evaluations. Reasoning was unrelated to child-reported or parent-reported prosocial behavior.

Sample 2

Respect Evaluations. For replication purposes and to better understand the relation between children's respect evaluations and their behavior according to different informants, we conducted the same models as we did with sample 1 except with child- and teacher-reported prosocial behavior as our dependent variables. The relation between children's respect evaluations for ethical behaviors and their prosocial behavior was not replicated; however, respect evaluations for achievement were positively related to teacher-reported prosocial behavior, and this relation was moderated by children's age. Simple slopes analyses revealed that respect evaluations for achievement positively predicted adolescents' ($b = .21, p < .01$), but not younger children's ($b = -.10, p =$ ns), teacher-reported prosocial behavior. This interaction explained a small but significant portion of the variance, $\Delta R^2 = .02, \Delta F(1,170) = 4.67, p < .05$. These findings may suggest that the informant matters—in other words, children's own ratings of prosocial behavior may be more accurately aligned with their feelings of respect, and ratings from parents and teachers may capture other aspects of children's prosociality that may be less related to their respect evaluations.

Reasoning for Respect Evaluations. A sum score across all three vignettes was created to examine how various types of reasoning relate to child- and teacher-reported prosocial behavior. Results revealed that prosocial reasoning across the three vignettes positively predicted

children's self-reported prosocial behavior, $b = .24$, $p < .01$. A small portion of variance was explained by this model, $\Delta R^2 = .10$, $p < .05$. We also found an effect of fairness reasoning by age on teacher-reported prosocial behavior such that adolescents who felt respect across our vignettes for reasons of fairness were more likely to be rated as prosocial by their teachers, $b = .76$, $p < .01$. This effect was non-significant for children. This finding aligns with our previous findings on respect conceptions such that respect becomes more strongly tied to themes of fairness with age, which is also reflected here in adolescents' respect evaluations.

Links Between Respect Evaluations, Reasoning, and Aggression

Finally, we tested our hypothesis that children's feelings of respect towards others' ethically relevant behavior, but not respect for achievement, were negatively related to their aggressive behavior. To do this, we ran a linear regression model with aggression as the dependent variable (both teacher-reported and peer-nominated) for sample 2 only as we did not collect aggression measures in sample 1.

Sample 2

Respect Evaluations. No significant effects of respect evaluations for sharing fairly, social inclusion, nor academic achievement were found. This finding reveals that respect evaluations are more strongly tied to children's prosocial behavior than their aggression.

Reasoning for Respect Evaluations. No significant effects of reasoning for respect were found.

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Discussion

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The findings described in this chapter provide insight into the possible links between children's conceptions and evaluations of respect and their prosocial and aggressive behavior. Figure 6 provides a graphical summary of the main findings presented in this chapter. Contrary

to our expectations, we did not find any relations between children's conceptions and their prosocial behavior across samples. In line with our expectations, we found some evidence that children's ethical conceptions of respect—specifically fairness-based conceptions—were negatively related to their aggressive behavior. This suggests that children who perceive respect as having an ethical basis, particularly in relation to fairness, equality and reciprocity, may be less likely to treat others in unfair or harmful ways. Notably, this finding reflects Kant's (1797/1966) concept of the Golden Rule, which demonstrates that young children who conceptualize respect as being based in fairness avoid treating others in a way they themselves would not want to be treated. It is possible that children who construct their experiences of respect (and revolve these experiences around equality) will avoid acting contrary to their held beliefs about respect-worthy behavior (Peplak & Malti, 2017). Teaching aggressive children to understand respect as an ethical emotion and express it in ways that encourages fair treatment may be important to deter them from harming others.

Next, we found links between children's respect evaluations and their prosocial behavior. We hypothesized that children's respect in ethical contexts (i.e., respect toward sharing fairly and social inclusion) would be most strongly related to their prosocial behavior and less related to respect in contexts involving academic achievement. What we found, however, was that evaluations of respect for all three types of behaviors were related to children's prosocial behavior, but only in sample 1. Specifically, children who respected those who shared fairly with others, included everyone in their game, and attained high grades in school were more likely to rate themselves as higher in prosocial behavior. The relations between respect for high achievement and prosocial behavior was moderated by age such that the link was significant for children but not for adolescents. The links between children's respect for behaviors related to

ethical principles were expected. Theoretically, it is hypothesized that respecting positive, good behavior may increase a child's likelihood of engaging in emulating that behavior. Previous research has yet to show evidence regarding links between respect and prosocial behavior; however, researchers have found that children who are respected have higher levels of social competence than less respected children (Audley et al., 2019). Social competence involves cooperating and engaging with others in positive ways such as taking turns and listening (Denham et al., 2003). As such, children who display those behaviors abide by fairness-related and prosocial norms, perhaps because it reflects their own behavior and as such, they hold behaving in this way to a high standard.

Regarding respect for achievement, perhaps it is not until children enter adolescence that their respect for ethical behavior becomes a specific motivator of their prosociality. Another possibility for this pattern of findings is that feelings of respect for another individual's achievements may be more other-oriented than we originally expected. Perhaps having respect for another's achievement involves overcoming more self-oriented responses, such as jealousy for the other's success or anger and shame for their own lack of achievement. Therefore, it is possible that children (but not adolescents) who feel high respect for another child's achievement can more easily move beyond self-centered emotions, which may also lead them to behave more prosocially and focus on the needs of others.

Our findings regarding links between prosocial behavior and respect evaluations did not replicate across samples. This may be because prosocial behavior in sample 2 was measured using teacher and parent reports. It is possible that children are more in-tune to their own prosocial behavior and as such, are better able to evaluate themselves across contexts, whereas parents and teachers experience children's prosociality only within the home or school

environment, respectively. This may also explain why we found a link between respect for achievement and prosocial behavior as rated by teachers (for adolescents but not children). Becasue teachers experience their students' prosocial behavior primarily in an academic context (i.e., in their classroom), it is possible that teachers' perceptions of children's prosocial behaviors are conceptually more closely linked to children's respect in the achievement domain.

Finally, we found that adolescents who reasoned about their feelings of respect using themes of fairness were rated as being more prosocial. Adolescents who believe that others should be respected because they consider their behavior to be just and fair, likely have a deeper understanding of respect as an ethical construct (see Eisenberg, Hofer, et al., 2014). We did not find any links between aggression and how children reason about their respect. Although our findings show that children who display aggression conceptualize respect less in terms of fairness, it is possible that children high in aggression in this sample may know that they should respect others who behave fairly; however, they may not consistently apply these notions within their own behaviors due to possible difficulties with emotional self-regulation or other psychological factors that are associated with high levels of aggression. Additionally, recent research has suggested that children who display reactive subtypes of aggression do not differ in their expressions of kind emotions, including feelings of respect, from children who do not engage in aggression. Children who primarily engage in proactive aggression, on the other hand, do express lower levels of kind emotions (Jambon et al., 2019; Peplak & Malti, 2017). As such, a more in-depth investigation regarding how the different subtypes of aggression relate to respect is warranted to extend our findings.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have provided empirical evidence for links between respect conceptions, evaluations, and reasoning and children's social behavior. Our findings revealed that children who engage in aggressive behavior may have difficulty conceptualizing respect to have an ethical dimension, particularly in terms of fairness. Further, we found support for a positive association between respect and prosocial behavior, suggesting that feelings of respect for others' ethical behavior may play a potential motivating role in children's engagement in prosocial behavior. In the next chapters, we discuss implications of these findings within developmental research and consider implications of our results for practice and policy.

Chapter 7.

Conclusions for Developmental Research

Respect is omnipresent in children's social and emotional lives and has been of interest to philosophers and psychologists for centuries, but we still know surprisingly little about its emergence, development, correlates, and behavioral consequences. In view of this lack of research, the overarching aim of this monograph was to break new ground and generate knowledge on theories of respect and its development.

Although there is emerging evidence that respect may play a role in promoting group cohesion and harmonious social interactions (Mayseless & Scharf, 2011; Zuffianò et al., 2015), and in deterring cruelty and harmful interactions (Kuryluk et al., 2011; Leary et al., 2005), there is a substantial lack of empirical evidence on how children themselves construct meaning of the concept. Indeed, Piaget's (1932/1965) early theorizing that young children's respect emerges in the form of unilateral, fear-based respect and turns into bilateral, fairness-based respect with age is still one of the few theoretical approaches available for understanding the emergence and development of respect in childhood. Garnering insight into how children think and feel about respect is important because respect is thought to reflect an appreciation of others as worthy of equality, kindness, and esteem. As such, respect is likely to be a core motivational component in promoting humility and driving attention to others' needs. Given the conceptual relation between respect and fairness and care, respect may play a substantial role in children's well-being and the well-being of their peers.

We developed and implemented new measures to assess children's own conceptions of respect, links between children's respect and other-oriented characteristics, and their evaluations and associated reasoning for respect-worthy acts. We employed these measures in two samples

of children aged from 5 to 15 years. Our studies were well-suited to generate novel information about a core feature of children's social-emotional development. In this chapter, we discuss our novel findings pertaining to how children, across development, think about their own feelings of respect and others' expressions of respect, how their respect is related to conceptually similar emotions (i.e., sympathy and sadness following one's own wrongdoing) and ethically-related correlates (i.e., being perceived as a fair child), and how their respect is linked to overt prosocial and aggressive behavioral tendencies.

Emergence and Development of Respect

One of our major findings pertains to children's and adolescents' predominant use of fairness and prosocial themes in conceptualizing respect. Specifically, children referred most commonly to fairness and prosociality when reflecting upon what respect means to them, as well as how it is expressed within interpersonal relationships. While fairness considerations were central for general conceptions of respect, prosocial themes of helping, sharing, and other-oriented concern were essential when children and adolescents described their conceptualizations of respect in interpersonal relationships. These findings were similar across the two samples, adding to their reliability. These findings are supported by evidence showing that children also evaluated acts of fairness and prosociality as more respect-worthy compared to high achievement when we assessed their feelings of respect.

Our findings challenge past theories which paint early phases of respect as predominantly hierarchical and based on authority, sanctions, and fear. Contrary to commonly held positions, our empirical findings also fail to support the notion that children and adolescents predominantly consider respect to represent merit, the ability to make personal choices, or to follow social norms, rules, and traditions. Rather, in our sample, even the youngest children expressed ethical

sentiments by conceptualizing respect as an expression of fairness and kindness. This result is consistent with related literature on the early emergence of other-oriented emotions and behaviors (Davidov et al., 2013; Vaish et al., 2009). The finding that children emphasize acts of prosociality as indicators of respect in interpersonal relationships (both for expressing respect to others and for receiving expressions of respect from others) may also reflect Kant's notion of *Achtung*. This ethical-esteem component of respect (also called appraisal-respect) indicates generosity, a *sui generis* other-orientation that echoes merit-worthy behavior. Our data also support findings on children's early understanding of fairness in the context of social conflict (Malti & Ongley, 2014). Our findings add to this body of research and demonstrate that children are aware that equality and care are important in their own ethical conduct.

Although this theme was not as prominent within our findings on children's conceptions, a small portion of children acknowledged that respect pertains to social conventions. This shows an awareness of the need to conform to societal customs. Children are frequently exposed to a commonly held understanding that respect helps to maintain a harmonious atmosphere, for example in the classroom or at home (Goodman, 2009). This may often entail social conventional rules, accompanied by an expectation to follow such guidelines as an appreciation of others.

Contextual Differences

Interestingly, as alluded to above, children and adolescents considered fairness more frequently when conceptualizing respect in abstract, general terms than they did when considering the meaning of respect within interpersonal relationships. In the latter context, children more often focused on acts involving prosociality (e.g., sharing, helping, comforting). This finding reflects Kant's notion of respect as an acknowledgment that all humans ought to

deserve fair and dignified treatment, a position which expresses respect for persons as an end in itself (Kant, 1788/1966).

Age-Related Differences

In line with our theorizing, we found significant age differences in respect conceptions. Specifically, adolescents were more likely than were children to conceptualize respect in terms of fairness, whereas children were more likely than adolescents to offer prosocial respect conceptions. As children increasingly interact with individuals of equal or similar social positions (such as peers), they may increasingly learn to accept different but equally valid viewpoints (Damon, 1975) and consequently, conceptualize respect more in terms of equality and mutuality (i.e., fairness). These findings support early theorizing of respect as becoming bi-directional and mutual as children establish and learn how to compromise and navigate conflicts within peer relationships (Piaget, 1932/1965). They also further substantiate research on the development of ethical reasoning, which suggests that children increasingly emphasize fairness, reciprocity, and the welfare of others when reasoning about multifaceted social situations (Krettenauer et al., 2014). In addition, our findings are supporting by recent work by Elenbaas and colleagues (2016) which revealed that 10- to 11-year-olds judged resource inequality more negatively than did 5- to 6-year olds. This reflects older children's increased attunement to fairness—a focus that likely extends to their conceptions of respect. Together, these findings support and extend the existing literature on developmental increases in fairness-related reasoning in the context of social conflict (Damon, 1975; Krettenauer et al., 2014) and findings on resource allocation and inequity aversion (Gummerum et al., 2008; Paulus, 2014; Malti, Ongley, et al., 2016).

With increasing age, children may increasingly acknowledge equality and reciprocity when reasoning about social dilemmas, and their growing social-cognitive capacity may help them connect these concerns to their emotions and internal states. This, in turn, may lead to a greater appreciation of fairness considerations (Carpendale et al., 2010). The reverse may also be true: the later decrease in prosocial respect conceptions may reflect the general decrease in some forms of prosocial behavior beyond late childhood (Hammond & Brownell, 2015). In addition, children may become increasingly aware that simple forms of prosocial behavior such as helping or sharing, can be motivated by various concerns (e.g., altruistic concerns, hedonistic reasons, or to avoid punishment), some of which they might consider as less respect-worthy than others (Carlo, 2014; Svetlova et al., 2010). As a result, children may be more likely to consider fairness- and equality-related motives and behaviors as respect-worthy—behaviors which can be costly in interpersonal relationships (Miller et al., 2015). For example, children may increasingly realize that sharing resources fairly comes at a cost to themselves, which makes engaging in such behaviors admirable.

Across age, children frequently used prosocial themes when conceptualizing respect. This observation is inconsistent with Piaget's (1932/1965) position that respect is authority-oriented and rooted in fear during early childhood. The finding instead suggests that even at a young age, children are capable of appreciating and understanding that respect is reflected in the way individuals treat one another. Thus, ethically-relevant conceptions of respect emerge as early as five years of age.

We found age-related differences in how children consider prosociality within their respect expressions. That is, children in middle childhood conceptualized respect in prosocial terms more than older children and adolescents did. The age-related decline in prosocial respect

expressions may be due to the fact that children increasingly incorporate prosocial behavior into their regular behavioral repertoire, particularly instrumental behaviors such as helping, and as a result, may consider proociality to be less effortful and less exceptional. Supporting this idea, recent research has shown that there are decreases in instrumental forms of prosocial behavior beyond late childhood (Eisenberg et al., 2015). Further, prosocial behaviors become more sophisticated with age as children incorporate factors such as need, group membership, cost of behavior when deciding how, when, and toward whom to behave prosocially (Hammond & Brownell, 2015). As such, due to its complexity, it may be increasingly difficult for children to judge the respect-worthiness of prosocial behavior with age and may instead adopt more abstract demonstrations of prosociality through fairness and equality. Another reason for the decrease in prosocial conceptions of respect could be because schools now often focus on social-emotional learning and the promotion of prosocial behaviors in young children (Denham et al., 2014). As such, it is possible that institutional socialization contributes to an early awareness of the need to behave in other-oriented ways, rendering prosocial behavior less exceptional with age.

Interestingly, almost half of the children used prosocial themes to describe respect when describing how they are respected by others, and we did not find a developmental decline. Children possibly perceive other-oriented behaviors *toward them* as a genuine expression of respect independent of age because prosocial acts of sharing or comforting are more frequently considered a matter of personal choice compared to fair decision-making or the omission of intentional harm, which are considered obligatory (Malti et al., 2009). Together, these findings suggest that even children as young as five years of age most frequently perceive respect for others as being driven by ethical acts that are based in principles of caring and fairness, rather

than authority, status, or achievement. This supports recent developmental models of respect that conceptualize it as an ethically relevant, kind emotion (Malti & Latzko, 2017; Malti et al., 2018).

Children's Evaluations of Respect-Worthy Actions

In both samples, we also developed and implemented a new, semi-structured vignette measure to explore respect evaluations and associated reasoning across various domains. The domains of fairness and prosociality were selected based on related literature on the development of kind emotions and reasoning (Malti, 2020; Malti & Ongley, 2014). We considered the domain of achievement as a comparison because it is a prominent theme in school-aged children's lives, and previous research has documented that individuals express an appreciation for achievement (Langdon, 2007). Thus, our assessment was a first step toward assessing children's conceptions within domains that they perceive to be relevant to respect and to bridge our findings with extant literature on themes of respect (i.e., fairness, prosociality, achievement) in a more standardized manner.

As expected, children evaluated fair and prosocial behavior to be more respect-worthy than high academic achievement. This provides additional support for findings that children place an emphasis on ethical considerations when reflecting and evaluating respect-worthy behaviors in social interactions. Interestingly, although we found some age differences in sample 1, they were not consistently replicated in sample 2. This finding might, in part, be due to the fact that children's evaluations of fair and prosocial acts were generally fairly high. While we used a 4-point Likert scale to tap into young children's evaluations of respect, future studies with more fine-graded response scales might be needed to discover if there are more subtle differences in respect evaluations. The reasoning behind children's respect evaluations reflected the themes they used to conceptualize respect. As expected, children differentiated between

domains when justifying respect evaluations. Children used prosocial and fairness reasoning more frequently in prosocial and fairness contexts than in the achievement context. In addition, fairness reasoning increased with age until late childhood, emphasizing that children place growing importance on equality and justice when reflecting upon respect-worthy acts.

Affective and Social-Cognitive Correlates of Respect

Another goal of the monograph was to investigate the affective and social-cognitive correlates of respect. Specifically, we aimed to explore whether and how children's respect relates to their sympathy, sadness over wrongdoing, and ethical characteristics (i.e., being perceived as a fair child by peers; see Figure 6 for summary of our main findings regarding this aim).

(Insert Figure 6 about here)

Conceptually, sympathy and respect share similar characteristics (e.g., their other-orientation) and as a consequence, it was reasonable to expect a positive link between these emotions. Our findings provided partial support for this notion. Specifically, in sample 1, children's self-reported sympathy related positively to children's feelings of respect for sharing fairly, social inclusion, and high academic achievement. It is likely that the same capacities that are involved in orienting to others' feelings or state are similar if not the same across both positive and negative emotional contexts. We also found some links between children's sympathy and their reasoning for why they respect certain behaviors. Particularly, in sample 1, children who expressed high levels of sympathy were more likely to report prosociality as a driving force for their respect toward peers who share fairly. This finding suggests that children's feelings of respect are a true reflection of their concern for prosociality, perhaps because children with high levels of sympathy hold kindness in high esteem. Sympathy has been clearly and

consistently related to prosocial orientations (Eisenberg et al., 2015; Roth-Hanania et al., 2011), wherein sympathetic children and adults are more likely to help others. These findings lend further credence to this link, in addition to building on our current understanding of the relationship between kind emotions and prosociality. Perhaps children who are highly sympathetic not only feel the urge to help others in order to relieve the others' suffering and distress, but also because they wish to emulate the behavior for which they feel high levels of respect.

Beyond sympathy, we found some, although less consistent, relations between respect and sadness over wrongdoing and perceived fairness. Sadness over wrongdoing was positively related to fairness conceptions in adolescents but not in children within a subsample of our data. For children, however, fairness conceptions were relatively low regardless of levels of sadness over wrongdoing. Perhaps high levels of sadness over excluding someone facilitate an admiration for fairly-behaving persons in adolescence (i.e., because excluding someone puts someone in a peer group at a disadvantage, and peer group norms are highly salient in adolescence). However, sadness over wrongdoing was not consistently associated with how children conceptualize respect or evaluate respect-worthy behaviors. This finding warrants further investigation given our relatively small sample size with available data on sadness over wrongdoing. It is plausible that feelings of sadness over wrongdoing alone are not necessarily enough to encourage respect for good behaviors, and that regulation of one's own negative emotions is needed to direct attention to others for children high in sadness over wrongdoing. Thus, unlike sympathy, which seemed to covary with feelings of respect, perceived fairness, and sadness over wrongdoing may have more nuanced relations with respect, influencing what behaviors children deem respect-worthy.

Regarding perceived fairness and respect, the findings showed that children, but not adolescents, who were rated as fair by their classmates tended to have lower feelings of respect for high academic achievement compared to children who were rated as less fair. Children who are fair within their interactions with others may lack respect for the achievement of others because they view others' achievement as unfair for others who do not achieve high grades. Indeed, young children have been shown to be strongly opposed to being at a disadvantage to a peer (Sheskin et al., 2014). Thus, one possibility is that children to whom fairness is especially salient perceive high achievement as unequal, and thus unworthy of their respect. However, older children and adolescents who behave fairly may feel respect for high achieving peers because they understand that these peers earned their achievement through their strengths and abilities. Indeed, adolescents who were rated to be highly fair by their peers were more likely to use merit reasoning within the high achievement vignette compared those who were rated as less fair.

Altogether, it is evident that the other-oriented emotion of respect is differentially linked to conceptually related emotions, such as sympathy and sadness over wrongdoing, and good characteristics, such as fairness as a personal characteristic, speak to its multifaceted character.

Behavioral Consequences of Respect

One of the defining characteristics of respect as a kind emotion is that it is felt for good deeds, which then encourages the individual to behave similarly. Conversely, an absence of respect for good behavior may deter children from emulating these actions. In the limited research on children's respect, developmental researchers have demonstrated links between respect and social behavior, showing that feelings of respect are associated with both increased prosocial behavior (Mayeseless & Scharf, 2011; Zuffianò, et al., 2015) and decreased aggressive behavior (Kuryluk, et al., 2011; Leary, et al., 2005; see Chapter 6). Conceptually similar

emotions, such as sympathy and ethical guilt have been shown to have comparable relations with children's behavior (Drummond et al., 2017; Kochanska et al., 2002; Malti, 2020; Malti et al., 2009; Malti, Ongley, et al., 2016; Vaish et al., 2016).

The work we have described in this monograph supports and extends the above-mentioned studies. For instance, in sample 2, prosocial reasoning across all three respect vignettes positively predicted children's prosocial behavior, suggesting that those who respected others' prosocial actions because they reflect care and orientation to others' needs, also engage in more prosocial behavior with others.

Additionally, our data provide some support for our hypothesis that fairness conceptions of respect predict aggressive behaviors. Furthermore, fairness-based conceptions negatively predicted children's physical aggression as reported by teachers, although the effect was small. Children with a genuine sense of fairness may more frequently experience (and actively seek out) opportunities to experience reciprocal, cooperative interactions with peers and adults— behaviors that are antithetical to aggression. This conjecture is supported by results from a study by Hsueh and colleagues (2005) which showed that children who defined respect as reciprocity had more mutual classroom friends. Children with a higher fairness orientation may be genuinely willing to cooperate with peers and adults, which may strengthen existing, and help establish new, mutually respectful relationships, in turn enhancing other-oriented prosocial behaviors. Likewise, these children may also exhibit less aggressive behavior because they may be more aware of the harm or injustice that their negative social behaviors can cause to others.

Whereas some previous research has documented that children with aggressive behavior often misidentify ethical norms as conventional norms (Huesmann & Guerra, 1997; Jambon & Smetana, 2018; Murray-Close et al., 2006), we did not find links between aggression and social

conventional conceptions of respect. The inconsistencies may be due to measurement and sampling differences, and further research is warranted to delineate the links between children's understanding of respect as a conventional norm and aggressive behaviors.

Finally, we showed that that children's respect evaluations are related to children's own prosocial behavior, but were unrelated to children's aggression. Specifically, we found that children who reported high respect for others who share fairly, include everyone in a game, and attained high grades in school were more likely to rate themselves as exhibiting high levels of prosocial behavior in their daily interactions. Links between children's respect for behaviors related to ethical principles were expected in that we hypothesized that respecting positive, good behavior would increase the likelihood that children would emulate that behavior. Previous research has yet to show evidence regarding links between respect and prosocial behavior; researchers have, however, found that children who are respected are also socially competent and as such, are more likely to behave prosocially (Audley et al., 2019; Denham et al., 2003).It is possible that socially competent children hold ethical behavior to a high standard, and direct their respect toward others who do so as well. Because respect is a positively valenced other-oriented emotion, and highlights others' positive qualities, children's feelings of respect may function to discourage negative behaviors such as aggression at the same time that they function to encourage positive behaviors such as prosocial acts.

Importantly, our findings speak to the fact that having unwavering respect for an authority figure likely does not promote good behaviors in children. Conversely, allowing children to choose who they respect and why they respect them may lead to children to think of respect in ethical terms and it may inspire them to behave in ways that emulate the qualities they

esteem. In our study, the qualities children choose to respect are those that reflect ethical concerns and actions.

Limitations and Future Directions

As intended, our research project generated information on the development of respect, but we acknowledge several limitations of our project. First, the empirical studies presented in this monograph were cross-sectional, which prevents us from making claims about developmental trajectories of respect conceptions. Longitudinal studies are needed to clarify the current findings. Second, children focused on respect-worthy actions in peer relations in general when conceptualizing respect. Our open-ended approach was well-suited to elicit children's spontaneous conceptions of respect toward targets of their choice, but follow-up studies are needed to systematically investigate children's conceptions of respect toward a broader range of targets. For example, it would be interesting to examine whether respect conceptions differ as a function of status differences that characterize child-peer versus child-adult relationships. Third, our data were based on children's self-reports of respect as elicited through a combined narrative and semi-structured interview format. Although this method was well-suited for collecting data on a topic for which there is limited prior empirical research, other methods (e.g., observations of naturally occurring peer encounters) would be important to pursue in future studies. In addition, further insight into the developmental mechanisms underlying respect and its multidimensional nature would come from research that included assessments of additional developmental constructs such as levels of socio-cognitive development (see Malti et al., 2010, for discussions of links between socio-cognitive development and emotional development).

The current work was also limited insofar as we examined only how children's feelings of respect for positive behaviors such as behaving prosocially or achieving high grades at school,

was associated with their overt behavior. This was done because our pilot work had shown that children predominantly focused on these domains when talking about respect. Yet, it is possible that respect for negative behaviors, such as acting aggressively to reach a goal, may better predict antisocial behavior than does respect for positive behaviors. Further, while we speculated that respect conceptions likely reflect socialization practices and culturally shaped expectations regarding respect-worthy behaviors, future studies are needed to explore how parenting and associated cultural norms affect children's development of respect.

Although we examined replicability across our samples, not all our findings replicated, particularly findings regarding links between respect and kind emotions and behaviors. These findings suggest the need for caution before asserting the generalizability of our findings. However, multiple factors may have contributed to imperfect replication across samples. Particularly in need of study is the way that replicability of our findings may have been affected by sample differences, including those resulting from differences in settings (school versus laboratory settings) and the use of different informants. Additional research is required to allow conclusions about the extent to which findings generalize across samples, settings, and methods. Lastly, future research would also benefit from studying parents' and teachers' conceptualizations of respect, and from examining if and how adults' responses are systematically connected to children's self-reports.

Conclusion

Despite some limitations, the work we report challenges some traditional theories of respect that are rooted in authority-related status differences, social conventions, and associated fears of punishment. In contrast to those approaches, we have shown that children genuinely appreciate acts of fairness and kindness, and that they understand these acts as demonstrations of

respect. Even the youngest children we studied (5 years) were able to conceptualize respect using concepts related to ethical concerns. These themes may reflect an early form of *Achtung,* that is, an appreciation for persons who show ethically relevant, respect-worthy actions, such as equal treatment and caring about the welfare of others (Kant, 1788/1966). This possibility is indirectly supported by research on early forms of prosociality that suggest that very young children have other-oriented concern, likely rooted in both socialization practices and biological predisposition (Hastings et al., 2015; Kärtner, 2015).

Our findings also contribute to an understanding of how children's respect unfolds across childhood and adolescence. With age, children increasingly emphasized fair treatment as a core dimension of respect. This finding resonates with findings from studies on distributive justice and fair resource allocation (Elenbaas et al., 2016).

Finally, we show that children's respect is associated with their sympathy and prosocial behavior, a finding which supports the other-oriented nature of respect. Similar to sympathy and prosociality, respect prompts an individual to attend to others, particularly to others' positive qualities. As such, noticing and admiring the good qualities in others likely plays a role in inspiring kindness—a disposition that also involves both sympathy and prosocial behavior. Although our findings also show links between respect and feelings of sadness over wrongdoing and aggressive behavior, our findings are less consistent in this realm. Further research is required to better understand how these ethically-relevant constructions may be related to children's respect.

Overall, our work challenges notions of respect as being rooted in themes of obedience, status, and dominance, and instead shows that from a young age, children in the 21st century place core ethical principles (e.g., justice and care) at the core of respect. These ideas were also

reflected in our findings regarding how respect is related to children's own kind emotions and behaviors. Our pattern of findings thus informs contemporary theorizing about the emergence and development of respect and its behavioral consequences, and leads us to address possible implications for practice and policy, the focus of the final chapter.

Chapter 8.

Implications for Practice and Policy

Respect is a universal emotion that permeates culture and history. Although respect has been at the core of philosophical deliberations across centuries, developmental theorizing and empirical research have been surprisingly scarce. In addition, the sparse existing literature has predominantly focused on children's sociometric status, reflecting the degree to which children are respected by their peers. Being respected by others is undoubtedly important for social cohesion, for positive self-esteem, and for general well-being (Audley et al., 2019). Nevertheless, it is also important to know how children make meaning of their respect. We need to know how children understand their feelings of respect for others, how their conceptions of respect change across development, and what the correlates of respect conceptualizations are. This knowledge will help the design of new effective interventions and improve existing ones by making them developmentally and contextually sensitive.

Challenging traditional theorizing about respect, our overarching aims of this monograph were to explore how children and adolescents conceptualize respect, and to learn how these conceptions change across development. We also examined affective and ethical correlates of respect, as well as behavioral consequences of respect conceptualizations. Notably, our findings provided evidence that children of all ages view respect as being an ethically salient emotion based in principles of kindness and fairness. This is particularly impressive because it reflects philosophical conceptions of respect (Kant, 1797/1966) and shows that even children as young as five years of age reject the notion of respect as a concept involving authority, social status, and dominance. Furthermore, we found links between children's own perceptions of respect with prosocial and antisocial behaviors—although some of these associations were weak and varied

across different measures and different informants. Nevertheless, our findings show that how children conceptualize respect in general and within their peer relationships may have an effect on how they behave, both positively and negatively.

In the remainder of this chapter, we provide ideas about potential implications of our research, first, for educational and clinical practice with children and adolescents and second, for social policies intended to reduce discrimination and nurture social inclusion and respectful peer relationships. Due to the novelty of our approach, we acknowledge that these suggestions are necessarily speculative. Far more research across different ages, populations, and contexts is needed to allow definitive conclusions about how respect develops in children and adolescents.

Respect as a Kindness Virtue

One of our key findings was that respect is predominantly perceived as a prosocial virtue by children. This was true across ages and samples, thus adding to the significance of this finding. This finding is striking because even the youngest children in our samples (i.e., five-year-old children) identified other-oriented acts such as helping, comforting, or sharing, as genuine expressions of respect within their relationships. The prosocial theme reflects a core ethical principle: kindness. Evidence of kindness challenges traditional accounts of respect that focus on authority, status, and hierarchies. It speaks to the essential role of prosociality in interventions that aim to nurture respect in children and their peer relationships. Furthermore, we found that many children identified fairness-related themes as central element of respect, and they increasingly did so with age. Their growing social-cognitive capacity may help them connect concerns about equality, justice, and reciprocity to their emotions and internal states. For educational practice, this speaks to the need to incorporate strategies that target the promotion of children's reflections on, and reasoning about, social dilemmas and fairness considerations in

peer relationships. For instance, group discussions of common social conflicts in the school context in the middle childhood years may promote fairness-oriented conceptualizations of respect. For social policies, this may imply that a focus on positive contact in peer relationships, opportunities for engagement in other-oriented actions, and constructive discussion of social conflicts may all facilitate respect.

Respect and Related Kind Emotions

Our results indicated that the other-oriented emotions of sympathy and respect are associated. The promotion of kind emotions may thus contribute to an increase in respect. More specifically, intervention strategies that focus on the other-oriented emotion of sympathy may indirectly also facilitate an increase in the other-oriented emotion of respect. Similarly, nurturing the conceptually related concept of sadness over wrongdoing, which was in part associated with respect in our empirical analysis, may also help strengthen children's development of respect.

Thus, intervention strategies that focus on orienting the child to the victim's perspective and to others' feelings of pain and suffering may nurture both sympathy and respect because the child may realize that such feelings are part of the shared human experience (Hoffman, 2000; Malti, 2020). In addition, character education approaches have emphasized the function of moral or ethical exemplars in promoting respect. Ethical exemplars do not merely talk about respect, but rather live these concepts through stories, movies, or in their relationship with the child (Colby & Damon, 1992; Walker, 2002).

Other existing interventions to promote respect and social inclusion often focus on the reduction of prejudice and discrimination by promoting contact (i.e., spending time with individuals of diverse backgrounds) and media instructional types of interventions (for a review, see Aboud et al., 2012). Overall, there is some evidence that attitudes are more positively

affected by such interventions—particularly by contact approaches—than are peer relationships (Aboud et al., 2012; Beelmann & Heinemann, 2014; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011).

Respect and Children's Social Behavior

Just as research has provided strong evidence that the other-oriented emotion of sympathy increases prosocial behavioral tendencies across development (Eisenberg et al., 2015) and decreases level of aggression in children and adolescents (Strayer & Roberts, 2004; van Noorden et al., 2015; Zuffianò et al., 2018), our findings indicated that the other-oriented emotion of respect also enhances children's and adolescents' prosocial behavior. We also found, albeit less consistently, evidence that respect may help decrease physical aggression in children and adolescents. These findings suggest that intervention techniques that more broadly target a range of other-oriented emotions (such as sympathy and respect) may contribute to an enhancement of positive behaviors in peer relationships, and may also facilitate a decrease in aggressive behaviors more effectively. To date, many existing social skills and social-emotional learning (SEL) curricula focus almost exclusively on the promotion of empathy or sympathy (Malti, Chaparro, et al., 2016). For instance, a meta-analytic review by Durlak and colleagues (2011) evaluated the impact of 213 school-based SEL programs on behavior problems and positive social behavior. Programs that target empathy (and related dimensions of SEL such as emotion understanding) had the largest effect sizes. Thus, among the skills relevant to SEL, empathy-related constructs appear to be a crucial element of program success. Such programs may consider the inclusion of techniques to nurture respect and responsibility to strengthen effects on behavioral outcomes. This could be achieved through a more systematic integration of character-education strategies into such curricula (Lickona, 1991, 2004).

One program that has been widely implemented across K-8th grade classes is the Caring School Community Program (Battistich et al., 1997). The aim of this program is to promote kindness and respect through the direct teaching of responsibility, empathy, and cooperation. To facilitate this learning, educators create a setting where students feel heard, known, and cared for. In addition to increasing children's academic success, research assessing the effectiveness of this intervention has found that children in the program also treat their teachers and classmates more respectfully (e.g., by taking turns and listening to their partners). Additional effort to explicitly teach respect by promoting children's recognition of others' ethical qualities and by promoting meaning-making when contemplating respect may further aid in efforts to promote kindness and respect in children.

Developmental Tailoring

Lastly, interventions that target key dimensions of social-emotional development, such as sympathy or respect, need to consider tailoring interventions in relation to the child's developmental capacities (Humphrey, 2013; Malti, Chaparro, et al., 2016). Specifically, two issues have been emphasized in the literature on developmental tailoring of interventions: (1) Developmental considerations need to be systematically incorporated in the design, implementation, and adaptation of intervention curricula, and (2) the timing and duration of specific intervention strategies require careful thought and planning (Malti, Chaparro, et al., 2016).

Given that our findings revealed some developmental differences in children's normative development of respect, it is reasonable to propose that approaches aimed at nurturing respect require developmental tailoring. For example, our results showed an age-normative increase in fairness-related conceptualizations of respect. This may suggest benefits might accrue from

emphasizing prosocial-based respect in the early years. In contrast, our findings showed prosocial themes commonly generated by children across the full age-range, a finding suggesting that it would be possible to target an enhancement of respect via prosociality across development.

In previous work (Malti, Chaparro, et al., 2016), we have shown that existing, evidence-based empathy interventions already include some developmental considerations (e.g., the adaptation of strategies by grade). Yet, there is need to further modify existing strategies based on developmental research that shows great variability in empathic skills within children of the same chronological age (Eisenberg et al., 2015). Thus, in addition to being sensitive to normative age-linked differences when designing interventions, it would also be important to consider individual differences within a given developmental period (Malti, Chaparro, et al., 2016). Translating the issue of developmental tailoring from practice to policy may involve taking an unjustified one-size-fits-all approach and instead designing policies and programs that are sensitive to age and to the developmental needs of individual children in particular contexts.

Conclusion

Respect is not only a core emotion in everyday interactions, but also a virtue that guides how we ought to interact with each other in a peaceful manner. Despite the centrality of respect in daily life and human interactions, there is still relatively little developmental research on respect. Nevertheless, there are approaches to teach children civility in school settings. For example, school-based character education programs aim at cultivating virtues in students. The curricula of these programs focus on the teaching of character values and often target respect and responsibility as outcomes (Berkowitz & Bier, 2007; Lickona, 1991, 2004). Evidence-based anti-bullying programs, such as Steps to Respect (Frey et al., 2005) or the KiVa Antibullying

Program (Karna et al., 2011), also often target empathy, respect, and tolerance as a strategy to prevent bullying in peer relationships.

The conceptual proximity of respect to kindness, the other-oriented emotion of sympathy, as well as its links to prosocial behaviors, can help identify additional ways to translate the emerging knowledge about its normative development into specific respect intervention practices and social policies. Specifically, the promotion of other-oriented feelings, attitudes, and behaviors will likely nurture respect in children and adolescents. We base this conjecture on our findings about the central role of kindness in children's conceptualizations of respect, the similarities between respect and sympathy, and on the links between respect and prosocial behaviors. Existing social-emotional learning curricula will also need to consider developmental tailoring of intervention techniques aimed at nurturing sympathy and respect to make them more appropriate for all children, both across and within ages.

Respect is essential for child well-being, positive peer relationships, and inclusive communities. Policies that facilitate positive contact, other-oriented feelings, perspective taking opportunities, compassion, and prosocial behaviors are therefore likely to contribute to the development of respect in—and of—every child.

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Tables

Table 1

Comparison of Respect and Related Constructs

Construct	Description	Developmental Trajectory	Relations with Respect
Respect	A positively valenced emotion of esteem for a person' in their quality as a human being or in "good" and ethical qualities (Li & Fischer, 2007)	Precursors (e.g., social-cognitive skills) emerge in early childhood; respect further develops between the early and middle childhood years	
Sympathy	A feeling of sorrow or concern for a needy other (Eisenberg, 2000)	Affective components of sympathy (i.e., concern) emerge in the first years of life; sympathy then develops between the early and middle childhood years	*Similarities:* Similar to respect, sympathy underlies prosocial behaviors and impedes aggression because it shows an appreciation of the other as a fellow human *Differences:* Sympathy highlights the aversive qualities of a situation (e.g., when someone is harmed). In contrast, respect is positive in valence as it induces positive feelings that reflect one's ethical concerns (e.g., seeing someone help a needy other)
Sadness over wrongdoing	A feeling of regret over own wrongdoing (Malti, 2016)	Precursors emerge in early childhood; Sadness over wrongdoing develops between the early and middle childhood years and becomes more stable then	*Similarities:* Both emotions are hypothesized to emerge between early to middle childhood and can facilitate internalization of values and ethical norms, such as caring and fairness, and as such can underlie kind orientations, such as reparative behaviors *Differences:* Sadness over wrongdoing is different from respect in its orientation toward the self and in its negative valence
Liking and adoration	Liking is an overall positive affect directed towards an individual and is defined as	Liking and adoration develop from the early years and are rooted in attachment	*Similarities:* Similar to respect, liking and adoration involve positive feelings toward someone (or something)

	a feeling of enjoyment (Hsueh et al., 2006). Adoration is extreme liking or a passionate attachment to someone (or something; Schindler et al., 2013)	relationships. Children shift and direct their liking as they develop a sense of self and an understanding of others.	*Differences:* Liking and adoration reflect personal interest, preference, and commitment—motivations that do not necessarily reflect esteem or ethical concerns. Respect reflects high regard and self-reflection that may or may not involve liking/adoration.
Admiration	A type of surprise or wonder that is combined with pleasure, reverence, and approbation (Schindler et al., 2013)	Little is known about the development of admiration; however, it is likely that admiration begins to unfold in early childhood as children start to understand social norms, rules, and standards of achievement.	*Similarities:* Both emotions are considered other-praising, *recognition* emotions and are elicited as a result of another attaining or exceeding a standard. *Differences:* Admiration is dependent upon global standards that may be ethical or non-ethical in nature, while respect is an intra-individual evaluation that is ethical at its core.
Fairness	A cognitive capacity that involves reasoning, judgments, and behaviors that involve justice-related issues (Piaget, 1932)	Fairness conceptions strongly develop between the early and middle childhood years	S*imilarities*: Both respect and fairness conceptions develop from early to middle childhood and express a sense of ethical concern. Respect can be expressed toward "fair" behaviors and persons. *Differences:* Fairness is a broad cognitive capacity, whereas appraisal- respect is conceptualized as an affective process.
Prosociality	An umbrella term that includes other-oriented emotions, thoughts, and behaviors (Eisenberg et al., 2015)	Given the multidimensional nature of this construct, developmental pathways are diverse and depend on the respective subdimension(s)	*Similarities:* Conceptions of respect often entail themes of prosociality, such as being perceived as a kind person *Differences*: Prosociality encompasses other-oriented emotions, cognitions, and behaviors, whereas appraisal-respect is conceptualized as an other-oriented emotion that develops between early and middle childhood

Table 2

A Summary of Previous Developmental Theories and Research and Our Findings Regarding Children's Conceptions of Respect

Themes	Previous Findings	Our Findings
Equality/Fairness	Children's respect (starting in middle childhood) revolves around egalitarian interactions with peers and an acknowledgement that all individuals are to be treated fairly.[1]	Children prominently consider respect to revolve around egalitarian interactions with others. Conceptions include equal treatment, acknowledging others' rights, and reciprocity.
Prosociality	Only in more recent work has children's respect been related to themes of prosociality (including friendship) and care.[2]	Most children conceptualize respect in terms of prosociality, particularly when making meaning of respect in their social interactions. Themes included sharing, helping, and care.
Social Conventions	Children consider respect to include obeying classroom rules and norms such as raising one's hand before speaking. [3]	A small portion of children understood respect as a concept involving politeness and following social rules/norms.
Authority/Social Power	Theories suggest and research has shown that children accept their subordinate status to adults in an agreeable manner and obey others who are of higher social status to avoid punishment. [4]	Only a very small portion of participants mentioned obeying others of higher social status; however, these conceptions of respect were not motivated by fear of punishment.

Note. Most of the empirical studies noted above have examined respect using a variety of methods such as vignette procedures and rating scales. Few studies (see Hsueh et al., 2005 for exception) have used open-ended approaches to examine children's respect conceptions.

[1] Hsueh et al., 2005; Kant, 1797/1966; Langdon & Preble, 2008; Piaget, 1932; Shwalb & Shwalb, 2006
[2] Langdon & Preble, 2008; Shwalb & Shwalb, 2006
[3] Kuryluk, Cohen, & Audley-Piotrowski, 2011; Langdon & Preble, 2008; Shwalb & Shwalb, 2006
[4] Bovet, 1928; Hsueh et al., 2005, Langdon & Preble, 2008; Piaget, 1932

Table 3

Coding System for Respect Conceptions and Reasoning for Respect Evaluations

Category	Description	Example
Fairness	Themes of justice, equality, fairness, and reciprocity.	RC: "To be treated like everybody else." ER: "I would play fair." RO: "They respected me, I respected them back and there was an equal amount of respect."
Prosociality	Themes of other-oriented behaviors (i.e., sharing, giving, helping, and kind actions such as inclusion), and emotions (i.e., empathy).	RC: "Showing kindness and playing with them when they don't have anyone to play with." ER: "I let her borrow my pens and pencils, I shared to make her happy." RO: "He shares LEGO with me."
Social Convention	Themes concerning societal standards, norms, or customs.	RC: "When you're having good manners." ER: "Said please, can I make a ghost with you?" RO: "Somebody said sorry to me when they pushed me."
Authority	Obeying orders of another who is of higher status because of fear of punishment.	RC: "Means you have to do whatever the teacher says." ER: "When my teacher says to do something I do it." RO: "When I told my brother to go do his homework, he listened."
Merit	Admiration of another based on their talents, or accomplishments.	RC: "You recognize that they can do something and can do it well." ER: "He was a really good player." RO: "I won a race and a bunch of my friends came up to me and patted me on the back."
Personal Freedom	Themes concerning the preservation of one's autonomy, personal choice, and personal property.	RC: "You respect other people's houses." ER: "Respected her personal space." RO: "My parents would respect a decision I made."
Other	Unelaborated or nonsensical responses.	"It is nice."

Note: RC = Respect concept, ER = Expressions of Respect, RO = Respect from Others

Table 4

Percentage of Respect Conceptions by Domain and Age Group (Sample 1)

Conception Categories	5-Year-Olds (*n* = 66)	7-Year-Olds (*n* = 84)	11-Year-Olds (*n* = 71)	15-Year-Olds (*n* = 62)
Respect Concept				
Fairness	26	29	41	38
Prosocial	32	37	19	16
Social Convention	17	12	20	10
Total	75	78	80	64
Expressions of Respect				
Fairness	13	21	33	20
Prosocial	44	50	25	28
Social Convention	17	16	11	13
Total	74	87	69	61
Respect From Others				
Fairness	21	16	25	20
Prosocial	40	51	34	33
Social Convention	17	23	11	9
Total	78	90	70	62

Note: Only the top three most frequently used categories were included, and uncodable responses were omitted, thus, total frequencies do not add up to 100%.

Table 5

Percentage of Respect Conceptions by Domain and Age Group (Sample 2)

	Age Groups		
	5-Year-Olds	7-Year-Olds	11-Year-Olds
Conception Categories	($n = 41$)	($n = 63$)	($n = 89$)
Respect Concept			
Fairness	14	25	41
Prosocial	47	46	35
Social Convention	18	11	13
Total	79	82	89
Expressions of Respect			
Fairness	18	15	30
Prosocial	63	66	36
Social Convention	5	10	14
Total	86	91	80
Respect From Others			
Fairness	28	13	22
Prosocial	50	69	54
Social Convention	6	8	12
Total	84	90	88

Note: Only the top three most frequently used categories were included, and uncodable responses were omitted, thus, total frequencies do not add up to 100%.

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations of Respect Evaluations by Story Context, Age Group and Sample

Story Context	Age Groups							
	5-Year-Olds		7-Year-Olds		11-Year-Olds		15-year-olds	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Sample 1								
Sharing fairly	3.71	0.68	3.86	0.39	3.99	0.12	3.89	0.32
Social inclusion	3.83	0.65	3.89	0.47	3.97	0.17	3.77	0.56
Achievement	3.42	1.05	3.46	0.83	3.73	0.48	3.72	0.49
Sample 2								
Sharing fairly	3.54	0.98	3.81	0.44	3.79	0.41	-	-
Social inclusion	3.54	0.93	3.87	0.34	3.90	0.34	-	-
Achievement	2.93	1.31	2.90	0.96	3.03	0.84	-	-

Note. Respect scores ranged from 1 (do not respect) to 4 (respect).

Table 7

Percentage of Reasoning Types Following Respect Evaluations by Story Context and Sample

Story Context	Reasoning for Respect Evaluations			
	Fairness	Prosocial	Merit	Total
Sample 1				
Sharing fairly	62	20	6	88
Social inclusion	54	26	3	83
Achievement	19	13	50	82
Sample 2				
Sharing fairly	69	40	2	111
Social inclusion	73	33	2	108
Achievement	29	15	47	91

Note. The first and second lines of reasoning were combined; thus, percentage totals may add to more or less than 100%. The three most frequently used categories in each context were included and uncodable responses were omitted.

Table 8

Descriptive Statistics of the Study Variables

	Total					Children			Adolescents		
	N	*M*	*SD*	*Min*	*Max*	*N*	*M*	*SD*	*N*	*M*	*SD*
Sample 1											
Sympathy	281	2.47	0.44	1.00	3.00	148	2.43	0.53	133	2.52	0.30
Sample 2											
Sympathy	193	2.44	0.44	1.00	3.00	104	2.37	0.47	89	2.51	0.37
Perceived fairness	168	-	-	-	-	79	-	-	89	-	-
Sadness over wrongdoing	83	0.69	0.36	0.00	1.00	49	0.71	0.37	34	0.66	0.34

Note. Children = 5- and 7-year-olds; Adolescents = 11- and 15-year-olds (sample 1) and 11-year-olds (sample 2). Fairness was standardized within class; thus, mean and standard deviation were not reported. Sadness over wrongdoing was assessed only in the public school.
*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Table 9

Linear Regression Coefficients Predicting Respect Conceptions

	Fairness		Prosocial		Social Convention	
	b	95% CI	*b*	95% CI	*b*	95% CI
Sample 1						
Age	0.15***	0.07, 0.23	-0.13**	-0.21, -0.05	-0.03	-0.10, 0.04
Gender	-0.03	-0.11, 0.04	0.03	-0.06, 0.11	-0.02	-0.09, 0.05
SES	0.03	-0.03, 0.08	-0.01	-0.06, 0.05	0.04	-0.01, 0.08
Sympathy	-0.00	-0.11, 0.10	0.10	-0.01, 0.21	-0.04	-0.13, 0.05
Sympathy X age	0.06	-0.15, 0.26	-0.12	-0.34, 0.11	0.06	-0.13, 0.24
Sample 2						
Step 1						
Age	0.19***	0.12, 0.26	-0.13***	-0.20, -0.07	0.05	-0.05, 0.14
Gender	0.02	-0.08, 0.11	0.03	-0.05, 0.12	-0.02	-0.07, 0.04
SES	-0.12**	-0.20, -0.04	0.07*	0.01, 0.14	0.03	-0.06, 0.11
Sympathy	0.09	-0.03, 0.21	-0.12	-0.28, 0.05	0.05	-0.05, 0.16
Sympathy X age	-0.11	-0.26, 0.04	0.13	-0.16, 0.42	-0.01	-0.21, 0.20
Step 2						
Fairness	0.02	-0.10, 0.15	-0.05	-0.12, 0.02	0.01	-0.05, 0.08
Fairness X age	-0.01	-0.18, 0.16	0.07	-0.04, 0.19	-0.02	-0.11, 0.06
Step 3[1]						
Sadness over wrongdoing	-0.18	-0.42, 0.05	0.23	-0.05, 0.51	-0.09	-0.38, 0.19
Sadness over wrongdoing X age	0.52***	0.27, 0.77	0.07	-0.46, 0.60	-0.09	-0.38, 0.20

Note. Ns = 283 in sample 1 and 193 in sample 2. [1]Sadness over wrongdoing was assessed in only a subsample of sample 2 (i.e., $n = 83$ in step 3).
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

Table 10

Linear Regression Coefficients Predicting Respect Evaluations

	Sharing fairly		Social inclusion		High achievement	
	b	95% CI	*b*	95% CI	*b*	95% CI
Sample 1						
Age	0.12**	0.03, 0.22	0.00	-0.12, 0.12	0.25**	0.08, 0.41
Gender	-0.02	-0.11, 0.08	-0.08	-0.20, 0.03	0.04	-0.13, 0.20
SES	0.05	-0.01, 0.12	-0.01	-0.09, 0.06	0.08	-0.03, 0.19
Sympathy	0.35***	0.23, 0.48	0.18*	0.02, 0.33	0.61***	0.38, 0.83
Sympathy X age	-0.13	-0.38, 0.13	-0.01	-0.33, 0.30	-0.18	-0.64, 0.29
Sample 2						
Step 1						
Age	0.02	-0.09, 0.14	0.10	-0.08, 0.28	0.01	-0.24, 0.26
Gender	-0.15*	-0.27, -0.03	-0.02	-0.14, 0.10	-0.08	-0.37, 0.21
SES	0.34***	0.19, 0.50	0.27*	0.05, 0.48	0.99***	0.74, 1.24
Sympathy	0.37	-0.07, 0.81	0.32	-0.07, 0.70	0.12	-0.32, 0.57
Sympathy X age	-0.39	-0.86, 0.10	-0.18	-0.60, 0.23	-0.05	-0.68, 0.58
Step 2						
Fairness	-0.04	-0.20, 0.11	0.08	-0.02, 0.18	-0.34**	-0.55, -0.12
Fairness X age	0.01	-0.16, 0.19	-0.10	-0.22, 0.01	0.47**	0.18, 0.77
Step 3[1]						
Sadness over wrongdoing	-0.19	-0.49, 0.11	0.55	-0.28, 1.38	-0.15	-1.13, 0.82
Sadness over wrongdoing X age	-0.15	-0.54, 0.24	-0.83	-1.91, 0.26	0.14	-0.90, 1.17

Note. *N*s = 283 in sample 1 and 193 in sample 2. [1] Sadness over wrongdoing was assessed in only a subsample of sample 2.
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

Table 11

Logistic Regressions Coefficients Predicting Reasoning of Respect Evaluations

	Sharing fairly				Social inclusion				Achievement	
	Fairness		Prosocial		Fairness		Prosocial		Merit	
	b	95% CI	*b*	95% CI	*b*	95% CI	*b*	95% CI	*b*	95% CI
Sample 1										
Age	0.87***	0.63, 1.10	0.35*	0.02, 0.69	0.64***	0.37, 0.90	0.29	-0.02, 0.60	0.70***	0.44, 0.96
Gender	0.13	-0.16, 0.43	0.10	-0.24, 0.44	-0.04	-0.34, 0.26	-0.16	-0.48, 0.15	-0.07	-0.37, 0.23
SES	0.09	-0.10, 0.28	-0.03	-0.24, 0.18	-0.12	-0.31, 0.08	-0.02	-0.24, 0.19	0.12	-0.08, 0.32
Sympathy	0.18	-0.22, 0.58	0.50*	0.05, 0.95	0.26	-0.15, 0.66	0.33	-0.19, 0.84	0.06	-0.35, 0.48
Sympathy X age	-0.23	-1.09, 0.64	-0.22	-0.87, 0.42	-0.13	-0.87, 0.61	0.31	-0.58, 1.21	0.80	-0.03, 1.64
Sample 2										
Step 1										
Age	0.81***	0.48, 1.14	-0.26	-0.62, 0.10	0.48**	0.18, 0.79	0.06	-0.29, 0.41	0.09	-0.26, 0.43
Gender	-0.03	-0.29, 0.22	-0.36**	-0.59, -0.13	0.17	-0.26, 0.59	-0.29	-0.61, 0.04	-0.17	-0.64, 0.29
SES	-0.05	-0.45, 0.36	0.28	-0.08, 0.65	-0.04	-0.35, 0.28	0.14	-0.22, 0.50	0.51**	0.17, 0.84
Sympathy	0.42	-0.06, 0.89	0.19	-0.35, 0.72	0.19	-0.29, 0.66	0.15	-0.31, 0.61	-0.10	-0.66, 0.47
Sympathy X age	-0.33	-1.25, 0.59	-0.57	-1.19, 0.06	-0.24	-1.40, 0.91	-0.29	-1.01, 0.42	0.15	-1.22, 0.93
Step 2										
Fairness	0.21	-0.06, 0.48	-0.11	-0.46, 0.23	-0.27	-0.69, 0.16	0.31	-0.06, 0.69	-0.20	-0.46, 0.05
Fairness X age	-0.24	-0.79, 0.32	0.10	-0.32, 0.52	0.54	-0.13, 1.21	-0.06	-0.57, 0.45	0.52*	0.12, 0.92
Step 3[1]										
Sadness	0.34	-0.82, 1.51	-0.40	-1.05, 0.25	-0.47	-1.51, 0.58	-0.44	-2.21, 1.33	0.10	-1.04, 1.24
Sadness X age	-0.16	-2.65, 2.33	0.63	-0.21, 1.47	-0.03	-1.86, 1.80	1.06	-1.13, 3.24	-0.96	-2.62, 0.70

Note. *N*s = 283 in sample 1 and 193 in sample 2. [1]Sadness over wrongdoing was assessed in only a subsample of sample 2.
*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Table 12

Descriptive Statistics of and Correlations Among Control and Outcome Variables

	N	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sample 1									
1. SES	263	3.90	0.77	-					
2. CR Prosocial behavior	110	2.51	0.39	.10	-				
3. PR prosocial behavior	275	5.13	0.58	-.02	.14	-			
Sample 2									
1. SES	193	0.57	0.50	-					
2. Verbal ability	193	109.66	15.00	.37[**]	-				
3. CR prosocial behavior	193	2.54	0.38	.07	-.13	-			
4. TR prosocial behavior	181	4.90	0.91	.17[*]	-.09	.37[***]	-		
5. TR overt aggression	181	1.81	1.10	-.10	.08	-.34[***]	-.66[***]	-	
6. PN overt aggression[a,b]	172	-	-	-	.10	-.26[**]	-.22[**]	.35[**]	-

Note. CR = Child-reported, PR = parent-reported, TR = teacher-reported, PN = peer-nominated. In study 1, SES is indicated by level of parental education (1 = elementary school, 2 = high school, 3 = college, 4 = university, 5 = graduate school). In study 2, SES is indicated by school membership (0 = low SES public school, 1 = high SES private school)
[a] Peer nominated overt aggression was standardized within class; thus, means and standard deviations, as well as correlation with SES (school membership) were not reported.
[b] 5-year-olds in the private school did not complete peer-nominations.
[*]$p < .05$; [**]$p < .01$; [***]$p < .001$.

Table 13

Linear Regression Analyses Testing the Relation Between Respect Concepts and Aggression

	TR Aggression	
	b	95% CI
Sample 2		
Age	-0.24	-0.57, 0.10
Gender	0.52***	0.29, 0.75
SES	-0.37	-0.82, 0.08
Verbal ability	0.01	-0.00, 0.02
Fairness RC	-0.72**	-1.14, -0.31
Prosocial RC	-0.43	-0.88, 0.01
Convention RC	-0.47	-1.16, 0.22

Note. Regression coefficients are from the final step of the model.
RC = Respect conception, TR = Teacher-reported.
Gender was coded (-1) for girls and (1) for boys.
**$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

Table 14

Linear Regression for the Relation Between Respect Evaluations and Prosocial Behavior

	CR Prosocial Behavior		PR/TR Prosocial Behavior	
	b	95% CI	*b*	95% CI
Sample 1: Model 1				
Age	-0.17**	-0.27, -0.07	0.17*	0.06, 0.28
Gender	-0.23***	-0.33, -0.14	-0.25***	-0.36, -0.14
SES	0.02	-0.04, 0.08	-0.03	-0.10, 0.06
Sharing fairly	0.14*	0.03, 0.24	0.17†	0.01, 0.33
Social Inclusion	0.15***	0.08, 0.22	0.05	-0.07, 0.16
Achievement	0.23***	0.14, 0.32	0.03	-0.05, 0.11
Achievement X age	-0.28***	-0.41, -0.14	-	-
Sample 2: Model 1				
Age	-0.02	-0.09, 0.05	-0.05	-0.28, 0.25
Gender	-0.17**	-0.26, -0.08	-0.23*	-0.50, 0.03
SES	0.07	-0.02, 0.17	0.40	0.07, 0.71
Verbal ability	-0.01*	-0.01, -0.00	-0.01*	-0.02, -0.00
Sharing fairly	-0.01	-0.07, 0.06	0.10	-0.14, 0.32
Social Inclusion	0.06	-0.03, 0.15	0.02	-0.23, 0.29
Achievement	0.03	-0.03, 0.09	0.09	-0.10, 0.22
Achievement X age	-	-	0.32*	0.03, 0.60

Note. Regression coefficients are from the final step of the model.

Gender coded -1 for girls and 1 for boys.

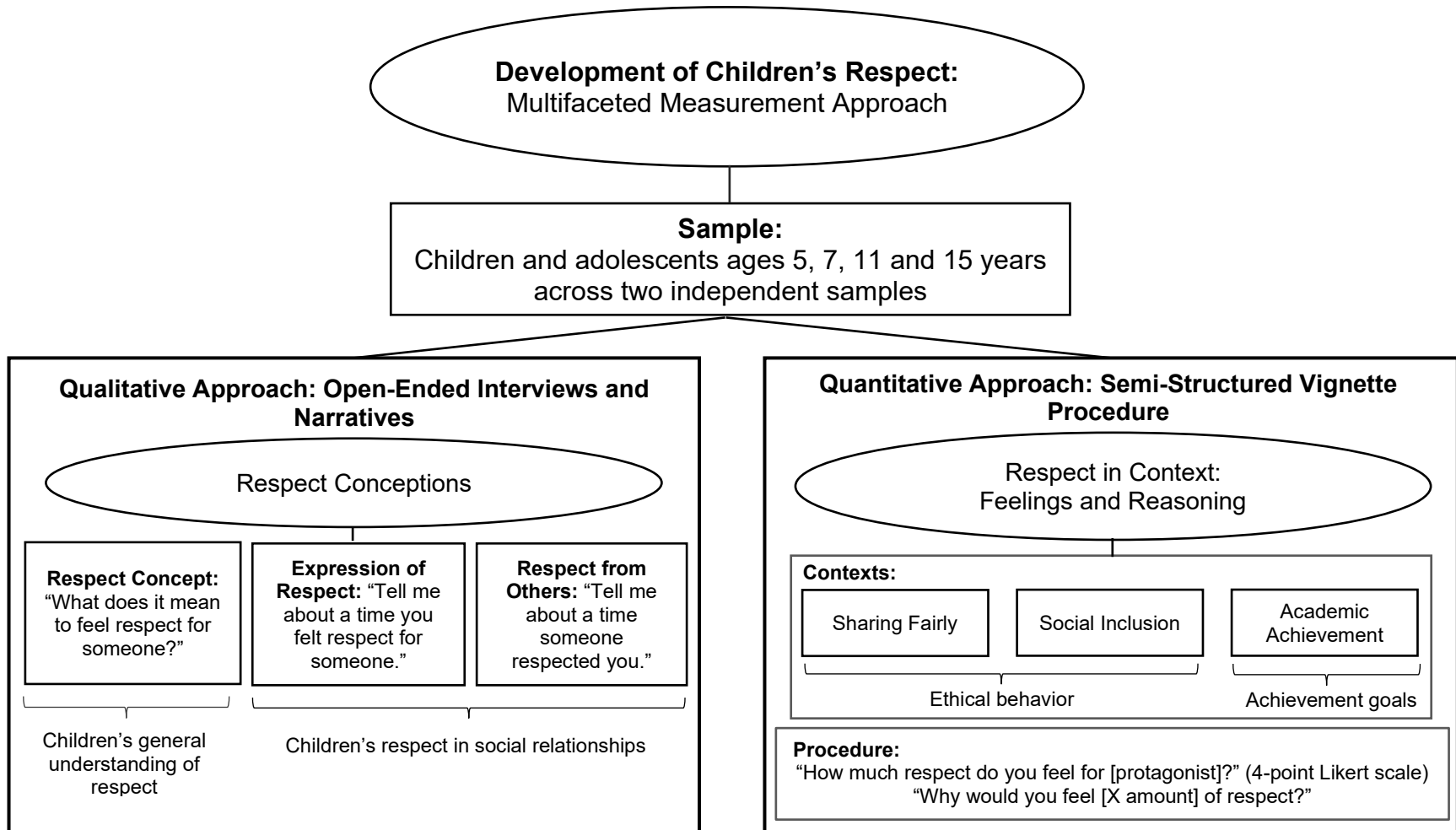†$p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$.

Figures

Figure 1. Summary of our multifaceted measurement approach employed to examine the development of children's respect.

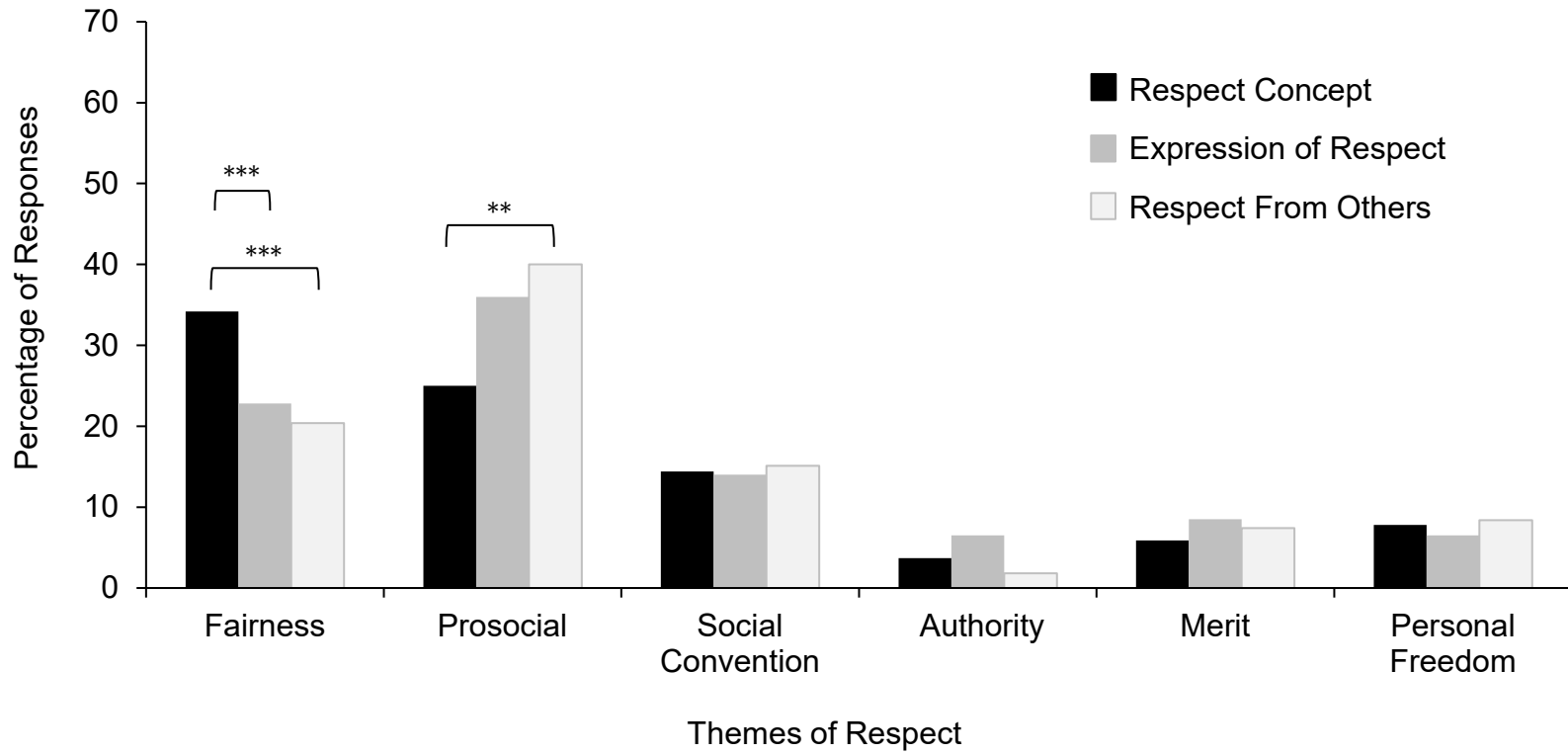*Figure 2.* Children's conceptions of respect by domain (sample 1; $N = 283$).
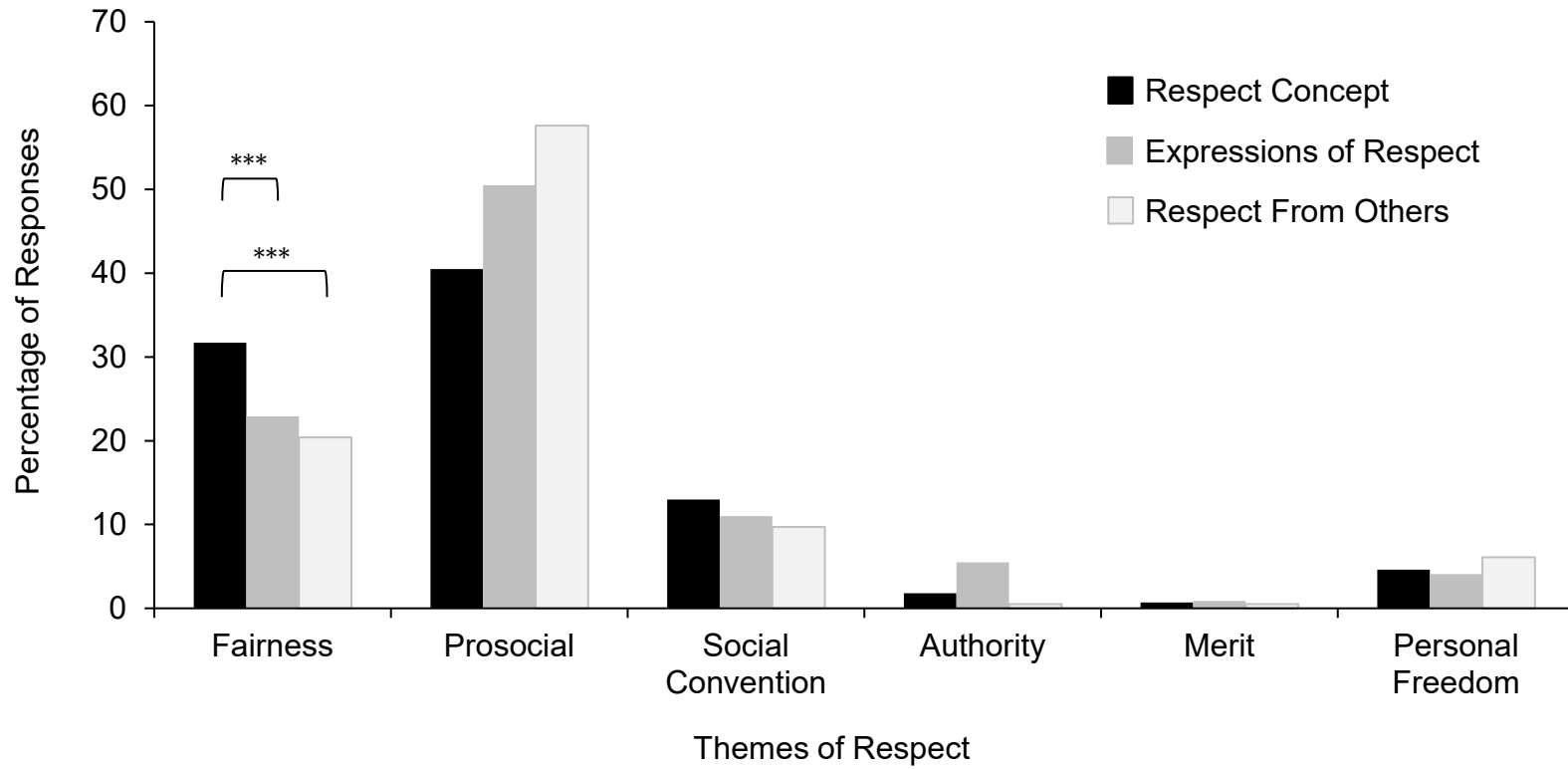$^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$.

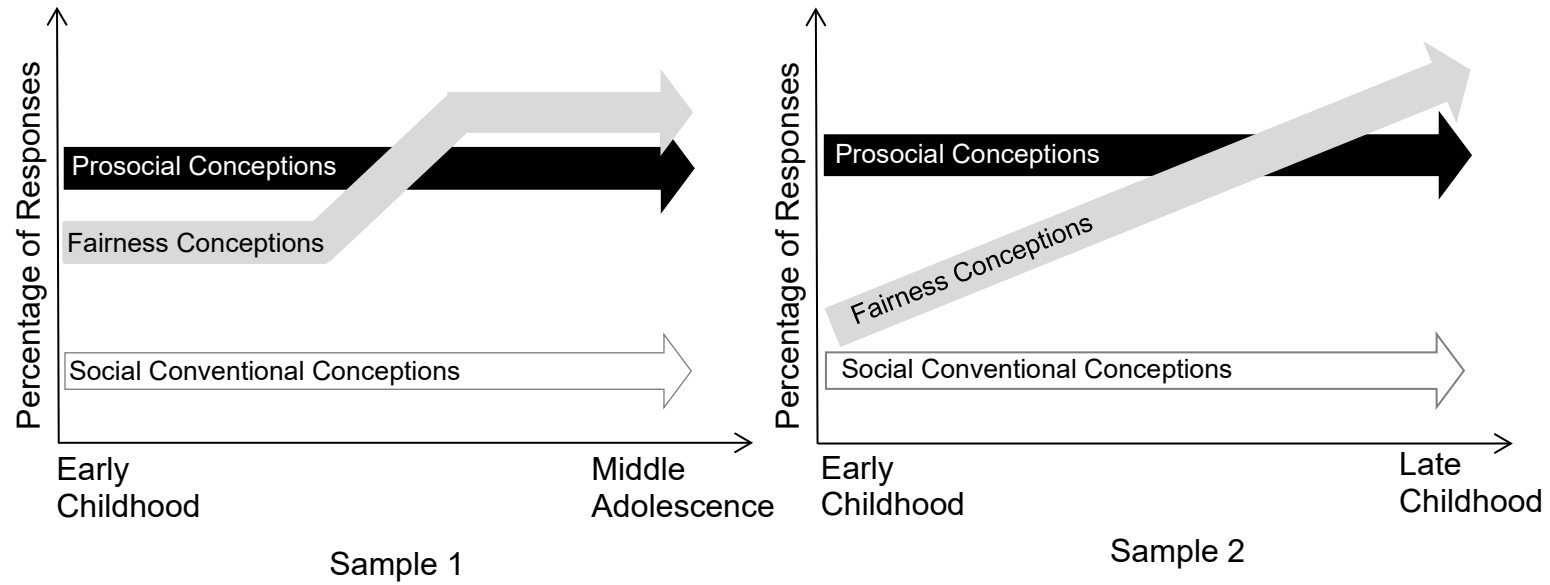*Figure 3.* Children's conceptions of respect by domain (sample 2; *N* = 193).
***p* < .001.

Figure 4. Graphical representation of our findings regarding developmental trends in children's respect concepts across samples.
Note. This was a cross sectional study; thus, the above lines represent age-related trends and do not imply longitudinal trajectories.
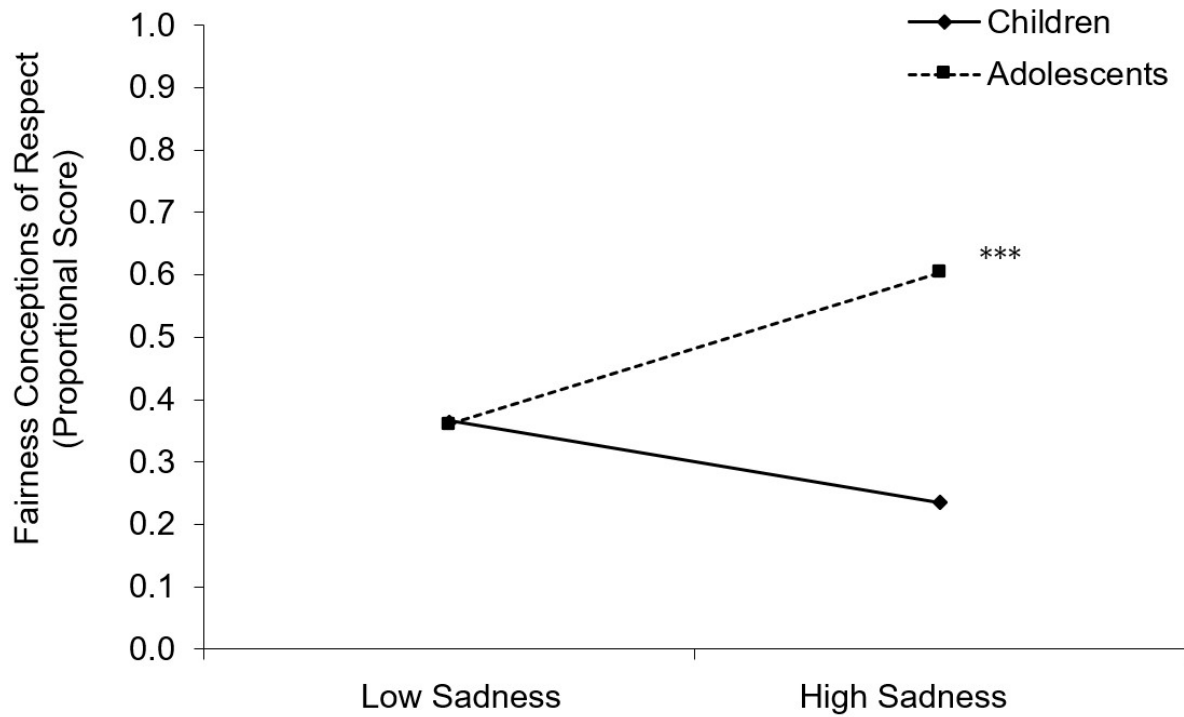
Figure 5. Interaction between ethical guilt (i.e., sadness over wrongdoing) and age predicting the likelihood of conceptualizing respect in terms of fairness in the subsample of sample 2.
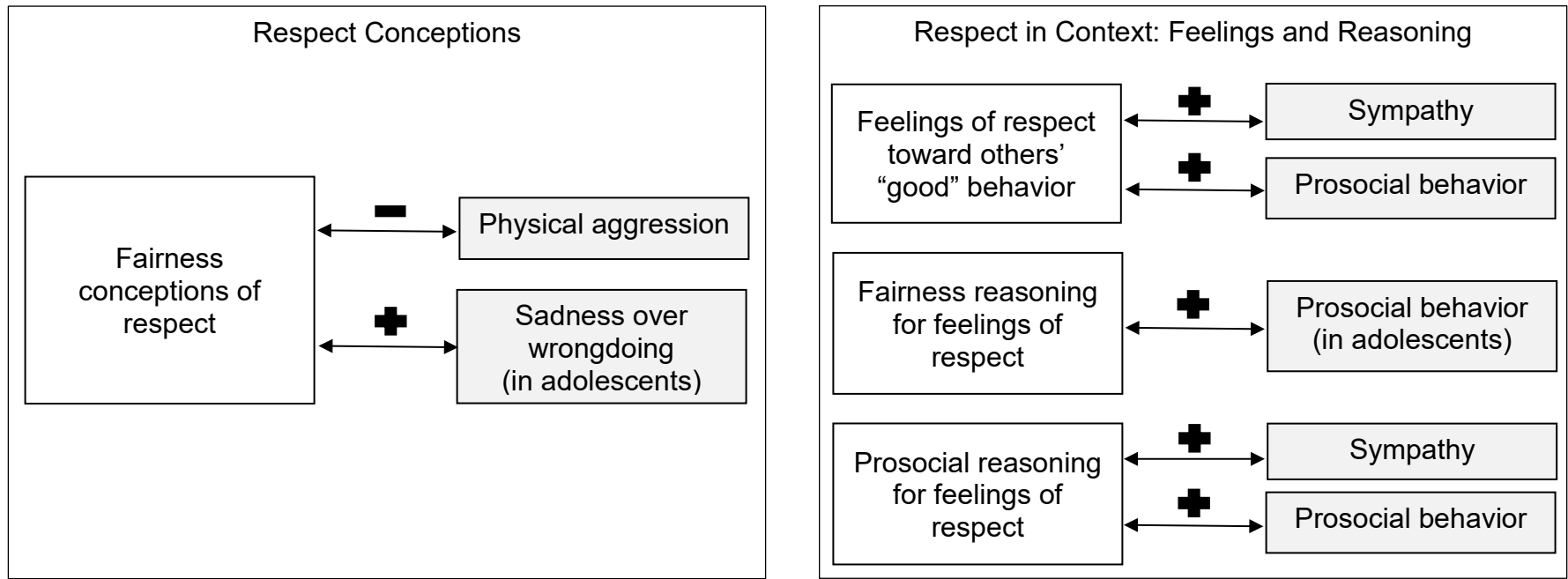****p* < .001.

Figure 6. Summary of our findings regarding how sympathy, sadness over wrongdoing, and social behaviors relate to respect.