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Who likes the rebels and who likes the allegiants? The role of membership and status in the judgment of rebel attributions

Qui préfère les rebelles et qui préfère les allégeants ? Le rôle de l'appartenance et du statut sur le jugement des attributions rebelles

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Résumé

En situation d'échec, les explications en termes de rejet du système (attributions rebelles) sont moins bien évaluées que les explications allégeantes. Néanmoins, les rebelles peuvent parfois être valorisés, voire célébrés. Dans cette étude, nous examinons le rôle des dynamiques intergroupes dans les jugements sociaux associés à ce type d'attribution. Ainsi, 75 hommes et 75 femmes évaluent une cible féminine ou masculine qui utilise des attributions rebelles ou allégeantes pour expliquer un échec professionnel. Conformément à nos hypothèses, les résultats montrent que lorsque les participants sont issus d'un groupe considéré de haut statut, ils jugent la cible moins efficace et moins aimable lorsqu'elle est rebelle que

Abstract

Rebel attributions are less valued than allegiant ones when it comes to explain one's failure. Nevertheless, rebels can be sometimes positively viewed and even celebrated. We examined the role of inter-group dynamics at stake in the social judgment of such attribution types. 75 males and 75 females judged a male or a female target using allegiant vs. rebel attributions for a negative professional event. We hypothesized and found that high-status members judged the rebel targets less efficacious and less likable than the allegiant target, but only when the target was from the in-group. Low-status members judged the in-group target as more efficacious than the out-group target, but judged the rebel target

Mots-clés
Attributions rebelles et allégeantes, jugement social, efficacité, amabilité, dynamiques intergroupes

Key-words
Rebel and allegiant attributions, social judgment, efficacy, likability, inter-group dynamics

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lorsqu'elle est allégeante, mais uniquement dans le cas où elle est membre de l'endogroupe. Lorsque les participants sont issus d'un groupe considéré de bas statut, ils jugent la cible de l'endogroupe plus efficace que la cible de l'exogroupe indépendamment du type d'attribution, mais jugent la cible rebelle moins aimable que la cible allégeante, indépendamment du groupe d'appartenance. Ces résultats contribuent à une meilleure compréhension des dynamiques intergroupes qui sous-tendent le jugement social des attributions rebelles et allégeantes.

as less likable than the allegiant target. These findings contribute to better understand the intergroup processes underlying the social judgment of rebel attributions, and more broadly the differences in social judgment between attribution types.

The role of membership and status in the judgment of rebel attributions

What a bad day for Simon and Sandrine. They have just received a negative decision for a job they applied to. How will they explain this failure to their relatives? Is it better to claim that it is because of their insufficient efforts on the job or because of their rejection of the companies' policies? Research on attribution suggests a simple answer: Both explanations would put Simon and Sandrine in a favorable light, because internal explanations are socially valued (Dubois, 2003). However, other research (Gangloff, 2002; Gangloff, Abdelaoui, & Personnaz, 2007) suggests that only internal explanations that uphold the social order, namely *allegiant* attributions, are valued. In other words, Simon and Sandrine will be judged negatively if their explanations invoke a refusal to comply with organizational policies, which is an internal but *rebel* attribution. The situation becomes even more complex by taking into account the social attribution approach (Hewstone, 1989; Deschamps & Clémence, 2000; Klein & Licata, 2002), which would predict that intergroup and status dynamics moderate how allegiant and rebel attributions are judged. Therefore, in the context of the present research, we investigated how high- and low-status evaluators judge the effi-

ciency and the likability of in-group or out-group targets explaining a failure by means of rebel or allegiant attributions in an organizational context. We propose that allegiant or rebel attributions are judged depending on the intergroup and status dynamics existing between the target and the evaluator.

Allegiant and Rebel Attributions

Reactions toward rebels and deviants as individuals or group members have been extensively studied in social psychology would it be at the in-group level (Gangloff, 1994, or *the Black sheep* effect, Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988; Scheepers, Branscombe, Spears, & Doosje, 2002), at the intergroup level (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Fielding, Hogg, Annandale, 2006), or at the inter-individual level (Monin, Sawyer, & Marquez, 2008). Nevertheless, and to our knowledge, it has scarcely been investigated from the point of view of attribution processes (Fielding et al., 2006) with an intergroup and status perspective. That is why, in the present study, we focus on a specific concept dealing with rebellion: the rebel and allegiant attributions dimension as defined by Gangloff (2002) and Gangloff et al. (2007). This concept considers that some attribution types are more valued than others because they perpetuate and validate the social system in which they apply. The notion of allegiance is conceptually close to normative conformism (Deutsch & Gerard, 1955). As conformity refers to norm-congruent attitudes constructed by people to perpetuate groups' cohesion, allegiance can be seen as norm-congruent attributions people use to perpetuate the positive judgment of in-group norms. If allegiant and rebel attributions are both internal, only the former is socially valued because it does not incriminate the social order and thus perpetuate the organizational *status quo* (Gangloff, 2002; Gangloff et al., 2007). On the contrary, a rebel attribution implies individuals' incompatibility with social norms and contests power relations and the hierarchy (Gangloff, 2002). Rebel attributions are thus less normative and therefore less valued than allegiant attributions. In line with this idea, a rebel target is found to be more derogated than an allegiant target (Gangloff, 2002). But if attribution types have an intrinsic social value, this value can nonetheless change as a func-

tion of group and status dynamics (Deschamps & Clémence, 2000; see Hewstone, 1989, for a review).

Allegiant and Rebel Attributions: Groups Dynamics

It is well known that differences in status influence the way people perceive and respect social norms (Deschamps, 1979), and also the judgment processes implied in attribution mechanisms. The role of intergroup dynamics in attribution processes has been investigated by the social attribution approach (for reviews, cf. Deschamps & Clémence, 2000; Hewstone, 1989). It suggests that attribution is not only implicated in information processing, but is a process of *social construction of reality* which is socially marked by group membership and status differences between groups. Attributions people make to explain others' actions or performances depend on who are these "others" and who makes the judgment. Several studies provide evidence of the impact of intergroup dynamics and group status on social attribution at the level of ethnic groups (Taylor & Jaggi, 1974, Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Klein & Licata, 2002) or gender (Deaux & Emswiller, 1974). More specifically, different attribution types are associated with different groups. In particular, attribution types that are socially valued are generally associated with high-status groups (see Dubois, 2003 for the case of internality norm), who are more inclined than subordinate groups to preserve the social order (Deschamps & Clémence, 2000; see also Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). This last point is important because Gangloff (1998) has observed that the endorsement of a high responsibility position in an organization (such as manager) tends to favour the use of allegiant attributions to explain organizational behaviour (Gangloff, 1998). But the results of this study need to be extended for several reasons. First, the study sheds light on the use of allegiant attributions as a function of the participants' status but does not inform about how these attributions are used to judge others as a function of both the status of the evaluator and the status of the person to be evaluated. In other words, if Gangloff found that there are some expectations about who makes the attribution and which attribution is used, he does not show how these expectations are used to judge others according to their status. Second, differences of status

were studied in an organizational setting and not with social groups, which limits generalization of results. The present study aims at exploring these two points by investigating whether the judge-target dynamics in an intergroup context (group membership as well as status) modulates the rejection of rebels and the valorization of allegiants. Indeed, to our knowledge no study has shown that the judgment of allegiant and rebel attributions varies as a function of group membership and status. As it is quite difficult to operationalize status differences in natural groups and because gender roles are known to have an impact on social attributions (Deaux & Emswiller, 1974) and on the judgment of attributions (Garcia, Reser, Amo, Redersdorff, & Branscombe, 2005; Kaiser, Hagiwara, Malahy, & Wilkins, 2009), we decided to investigate the group dynamics related to gender.

Rebellion and Allegiance: Effect of Group Membership and Status on Social Judgment

The question addressed in this study is analogous to the question of the social cost associated with the attribution to discrimination (Kaiser & Miller, 2001, 2003). Using discrimination as an explanation for a failure is generally judged negatively because of the social cost this explanation implies. By using such an attribution, people contradict the equity rules on which modern society is supposed to be built, and weaken the social order (Kaiser, Dyrenforth, & Hagiwara, 2006; Jost, Frederico, & Napier, 2009). Studies suggest that intergroup dynamics moderate the social cost associated with the attribution to discrimination. Empirically, the discrepancy between devaluation of attribution to discrimination and valuation of internal attributions increases when the target is judged by in-group members (Garcia, et al., 2005; Kaiser et al. 2009). Nevertheless, in the domain of gender categorization, is has been shown that, compared to men, women were more supportive of other women complaining about gender discrimination in their company: the gender similarity bias (Elkins & Phillips, 1999; Elkins, Phillips, Konopaske, & Townsend, 2001). At the root of this effect, authors proposed that as a "low-status" group, women are more prone to favor collective action (Foster, 1999) and to support the in-group in a "male-dominated" context (Dillingham, Ferber, & Hamermesh, 1994). These assump-

tions are consistent with more general research on social status (including gender) showing that in high-status groups people value individuality, autonomy, and try to maximize differences between themselves and others (Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2002; Stephens, Markus, & Townsend, 2007) whereas in low-status groups, people are strongly oriented toward group interactions, interdependence, and try to maximize differences between their group and out-groups (Stephens et al. 2007). According to Gangloff, rebel attributions contest organizations, or more broadly social systems, whereas allegiant ones validate them. Men using rebel attributions would thus contest a system which favours them. This should be seen as illegitimate, especially when it comes from a representative of the in-group. Literature on the black-sheep effect suggests that in-group deviants are more rejected than any other deviants especially if they occupy a high status position (Abrams et al., 2000; Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010). On the contrary, a woman using a rebel attribution questions a system which does not favour her. This should be perceived as legitimate, and mainly in the eyes of her own group.

Therefore we hypothesize that group membership and status will moderate the difference of evaluation between allegiant and rebel attributions. In other words, we predict high-status judges to maximize the difference between the judgment of allegiant (positively valued) and rebel (negatively valued) attributions, more so when evaluating in-group targets than when evaluating out-group ones. We predict low-status judges to favour the in-group target compared to the out-group one, even when making rebel attributions, which is consistent with the gender similarity bias hypothesis observed among women.

Overview of the Study

High- and low-status participants judged either an in-group or an out-group target using allegiant or rebel attributions to explain a failure at a job selection. Gender is often considered as an indicator of group membership underpinning status differences. We therefore used male and female evaluators judging male and female targets. Moreover, the organizational context makes status (Gangloff, 1998, 2002) and gender differences salient (Elkins et

al., 2001; Kaiser & Miller, 2003). We therefore used an organizational context in which women are more often perceived as occupying lower positions and as having less responsibility skills than men (Eagly & Wood, 1982; Eagly & Steffen, 2000). Participants read the recruitment folder of a target who failed to obtain a high-responsibility position in an organization (adapted from Kaiser & Miller, 2003). Next, participants were asked to judge the likability (Kaiser & Miller, 2003) and the efficacy of the target (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995) in a professional context.[1]

We expect the rebel target to be judged less likeable and less efficient than the allegiant one but only among high-status participants judging in-group targets (because high-status participants are dominant). When facing out-group targets, high-status participants should devalue less a rebel target compared to an allegiant one, both on efficacy and likability. We expect low-status participants to favor their group. They should judge the rebel in-group target more likable and more efficient than the rebel out-group target and the allegiant out-group one. Worded differently, a three-way interaction between attribution type, the status of the judge and the membership of the target is expected on both likability and efficacy.

Method

Participants

Participants were French-speaking adults recruited in the surrounding of Lausanne (Switzerland). Students implicated in a Social Psychology Bachelor course had to administrate the questionnaire to ten adults. The sample included 75 men and 75 women, aged 18 to 76 (M = 30.46, SD = 12.56). A majority of participants (43.3%) were in formation (high-school, apprenticeship, or students), 23.3% were blue collars or employees, 9.3% were white collars, 5.3% occupied a medical profession, 3.3% were artisans or freelance workers, 9.5% indicated they were

1. These two measures (likability and efficacy) also refer to the two fundamental dimensions of social judgment which are labeled as warmth and competence (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007), or social desirability and social utility (Dubois & Beauvois, 2005; Dompnier, Darnon, Butera, 2009). These two dimensions cannot be ignored, but the review of the literature does not suggest different predictions for the two dimensions.

retired or without current professional activities and finally, 6.0% did not respond the question. Participants were randomly assigned to the experimental groups except for their gender.

Procedure

We used a target judgment procedure (adapted from Kaiser & Miller 2003). Male and female participants received a folder with documents about a fictitious female or male target (between-participants manipulation) who had applied for a position in a company and who failed to obtain it. The folder included the description of the position, a cover letter, the curriculum vitae of the target, the decision from the company, and a survey which had supposedly been filled by the target. The target's gender was manipulated by means of his / her first name (*Simon* / *Sandrine*) appearing in the cover letter and in the curriculum vitae. Target gender was the only categorical information made salient to the participants (other information about the target was blackened to convey the impression of confidentiality). Participants also read a decision letter from the company stating that the target had not been chosen for the position. As in the Kaiser and Miller's study, the decision letter was accompanied by a survey filled by the target. The cover story specified that the survey was proposed by the company to applicants "as a means of providing the company with feedback about the interview process" (Kaiser & Miller, 2003). The rebel and allegiant attribution manipulation was introduced thanks to three questions to which was associated a hand-written comment. The three questions were: (a) Do you think that the final decision was linked with the quality of your answers? (b) Do you think your profile matched the position? (c) Do you think that your emotional state provided you from giving appropriate answers during the interview? In the allegiant condition the target declared that he/she failed because of a lack of personal competence, an inadequacy with the job requirement and because his / her nervousness hindered self-presentation. Moreover, he/she indicated in the hand-written comment: "I didn't get the job because I didn't make all the efforts I should have made to succeed. I am the only one to be blamed." In the rebel condition, the target declared through the three questions that he / she didn't fail because of a lack of personal competence,

qualification, emotional state (rejection of the 3 same items) and furthermore stated in the hand-written comment "I didn't get the job because I never make concessions by selling myself for a job! I totally assume responsibility for not being chosen for the job".[2] Having read the recruitment folder, participants had to judge the target on efficacy and likability scales (see below). Finally, participants answered manipulation check and demographic questions.

Measures

Efficacy

The measure of efficacy (Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995) consisted in a 10-item scale (alpha = .86) related to the abilities people show in resolving practical and task related problems (Gecas, 1989), *e.g.*: "*Simon* / *Sandrine* can always manage to solve difficult problems if he / she tries hard enough". Items were contextualized to the professional area and participants rated their agreement with each statement on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *totally disagree* to 6 = *totally agree*; $M = 3.44$; $SD = 0.82$).

Likability

This measure consisted of a four-item scale (alpha = .82) including traits like "likable", "could be a good friend" and was adapted from Kaiser and Miller (2003). Participants had to say to what extent each trait suited to the target on a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *totally disagree* to 6 = *totally agree*; $M = 4.15$, $SD = 1.00$).

Manipulation check

First, we checked whether participants had noticed target gender. Second, because we used gender to operationalize status differences, at the end of the questionnaire, we checked participants perceived inequalities between men and women in society and in organizations. We asked them to indicate their agreement with the following statements on a Likert scale ranging from 1

2. Statements were constructed following Gangloff's definition of a rebel attribution. The original comments in French were: "Je n'ai pas eu le poste parce que je n'ai pas fourni tous les efforts qu'il aurait fallu pour réussir, je ne peux m'en prendre qu'à moi-même" for the allegiant condition, and "Ce n'est pas dans mes habitudes de me vendre pour du boulot. J'assume tout à fait le fait de ne pas avoir été choisi" for the rebel condition.

(*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*): "*In general in society, women are more often discriminated against than men are*" and "*In organizations, women are more often discriminated against than men are*". As the two questions were significantly correlated (r [148] = .78, p < .001), we computed a mean score for which a mark close to 6 indicates a high perception of inequalities and status differences between women and men and a mark close to 1 a low perception of inequalities and status differences (M = 4.38, SD = 1.21).

We also introduced checks about the attribution manipulation. According to Gangloff (2002), "rebels", as allegiants, accept responsibilities as self-determined individuals but they also contest the social order. Therefore we needed to check that rebel and allegiant targets were perceived similarly in regard to individualistic norms (Dubois & Beauvois, 2005), but also that the rebel target was perceived as a *trouble maker* compared to the allegiant one. With this aim we first introduced an individual anchoring scale which is an individualistic norm assessing the perception of people as self-determined and autonomous. This scale allowed us to check that the rebel and the allegiant targets were perceived similarly in regard to individualistic norm. We used 5 dichotomous items – such as: "*In general, what people do is unrelated to whether they are men or women*" or "*Children do not differ from each other because they belong to different social classes*" (taken from Dubois & Beauvois 2005), to address how the participants, using information about Simon or Sandrine, imagined he or she would answer to these questions. The sum of the individual anchoring answers (coded 1) ranged from 0 (*not individually anchored at all*) to 5 (*totally individually anchored*); M = 3.28, SD = 1.38. Second, we introduced an item to check the extent to which the target was perceived as a *trouble maker* (1 = *totally disagree* to 6 = *totally agree*; M = 1.88, SD = 1.01). If the manipulation we created matches with this description, the rebel target should be perceived more as a *trouble maker* than the allegiant.

Results

Manipulation Checks

First, all participants indicated the correct gender of the target. Second, to ensure that our participants perceived that inequalities exist between men and women in society and in organizations, we conducted a unique sample *t-test* on the perceived discrimination of women score with 3.5 as comparison point. However, as women perceived more women discrimination than men (respectively: $M = 4.61$, $SD = 1.16$ and $M = 4.14$, $SD = 1.23$, $t[147] = -2.38$, $p < .05$), we conducted these unique sample *t-test* separately for women and men. As expected, the means were significantly higher than 3.5 for both women and men, indicating an agreement of participants with the idea that inequalities between men and women exist in society in disfavor of women (for women: $t[74] = 8.28$, $p < .001$, and for men: $t[73] = 4.50$, $p < .001$). This result indicates that our participants globally adhered to the idea of an unequal treatment and status differences between men and women in society and in professional organizations.

To check that the perception of the rebel attribution suited with Gangloff's definition, we conducted an independent sample t-test to test the impact of attribution type on individual anchoring. Results indicated that the targets were not perceived more individually anchored when they made an allegiant attribution ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 1.44$) than when they made a rebel attribution ($M = 3.21$, $SD = 1.34$): $t(148) = 0.23$, $p = .54$. Moreover, the two means differed significantly from the middle of the scale (allegiant: $t[73] = 5.09$, $p < .001$; rebel: $t[75] = 4.62$, $p < .001$) indicating that both rebel and allegiant attributions were perceived individually anchored. We finally conducted an independent sample *t-test* on the *trouble maker* item. As expected, the rebel attribution led participants to see the target more as a trouble maker ($M = 2.21$, $SD = 1.10$) than the allegiant attribution ($M = 1.52$, $SD = 0.80$): $t(147) = 4.46$, $p < .001$.[3]

3. For all the checks we also tested the impact of the independent variables which were not concerned by the checks. Results were non-significant.

Efficacy

We expected high-status participants (men) to judge the rebel in-group target as being less efficacious than the in-group allegiant target and both out-group targets. On the contrary, we expected low-status participants (women) to judge the in-group targets more efficacious than the out-group targets, regardless of attribution-type. We performed a 2(attribution: rebel vs. allegiant) x 2(participants' status) x 2(target membership)[4] ANOVA,[5] which first showed a main effect of the target membership, $F(1,142) = 4.63$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. The main effect was qualified by the predicted three-way interaction between attribution, participants' status and the target membership, $F(1,142) = 6.48$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$ (see Figure 1). No other effects were significant, $Fs(1,142) < 1.40$, $ps > .24$. Decomposing the three-way interaction indicated that for high-status participants (men) the interaction between the target membership and attribution type was significant, $F(1, 142) = 6.93$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = 05$. Simple effects revealed that an in-group target using rebel attribution ($M = 3.07$, $SD = 0.70$) was perceived less efficient than an in-group target making allegiant attributions ($M = 3.65$, $SD = 0.71$): $F(1, 142) = 4.75$, $p = .05$, $\eta_p^2 = 03$. The rebel in-group was also perceived less efficient than the rebel out-group ($M = 3.74$, $SD = 0.65$): F (1, 142) = 6.50, $p = .05$, $\eta_p^2 = 04$. The difference of perceived efficacy between the rebel and the allegiant out-group targets was not significant (F [1, 142] = 2.37, *ns*). Neither the difference between the allegiant out-group target ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 0.85$) and the allegiant in-group target was significant (F [1, 142] = 1.39, *ns*), nor was the difference between the allegiant out-group target and the rebel in-group (F [1, 142] = 1.03, *ns*). Our predictions for high-status (male) participants are thus confirmed.

For low-status (female) participants, the interaction between target membership and attribution type was not significant: F (1,

4. In our study, group membership is defined by both participants' and targets' gender. According to Brauer & Judd (2000) and to avoid interpretation ambiguity, we estimated group membership through these two variables instead of constructing a new variable (in-group vs. out-group) which would be the partial crossing of participants' and targets 'gender.

5. The same analysis was performed controlling for participants' age, but this variable had no impact on results and was thus removed from the analyses. This also applies to analyses on likability.

142) = 0.93, *ns*. Only a main effect of the target membership was found, $F(1, 142) = 4.35$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. On average, the in-group target was assessed as more efficient ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 0.80$; rebel: $M = 3.41$, $SD = 0.85$; allegiant: $M = 3.90$, $SD = 0.70$) than the out-group target ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 0.99$; rebel: $M = 3.20$, $SD = 0.74$; allegiant: $M = 3.33$, $SD = 1.00$), which confirms our prediction.

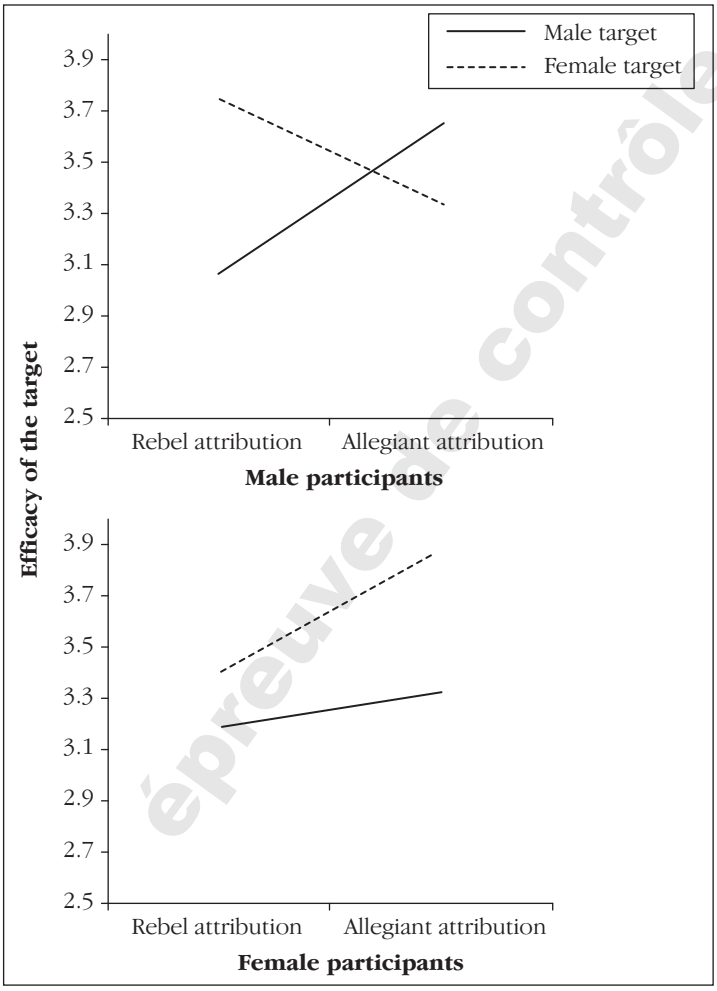

FIGURE 1:
Means for target efficacy as a function of attribution type, participant and target gender.

Likability

We tested the same hypotheses on likability with a 2(attribution: rebel vs. allegiant) x 2(participants' status) x 2(target membership) ANOVA. Results indicated two significant main effects. First, targets were judged more likable when they used allegiant (M =4.59, SD = 0.99) than rebel attributions (M = 3.73, SD = 0.82), F (1, 142) = 37.75, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$. Second, low-status (female) participants judged the targets more likable (M = 4.34, SD = 0.99) than high-status (male) participants (M = 3.96, SD = 0.98), F (1, 142) = 7.21, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. These effects were qualified by a significant interaction between target membership and attribution: F (1, 142) = 6.37, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, and more importantly by the expected three-way interaction, F (1, 142) = 4.52, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$ (see Figure 2). There were no other significant effects, Fs < 1.70, *ns*.

Decomposing the three-way interaction indicated that for high-status (male) participants the interaction between the target membership and the attribution was significant, F (1,142) = 10.81, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. As expected, high-status (male) participants judged the in-group target less likable when he used a rebel (M = 3.09, SD = 0.60) than when he used an allegiant attribution (M = 4.51, SD = 0.75), F(1, 142) = 25.30, $p < .001$. The former was also judged less likable than the out-group target using an allegiant (M = 4.19, SD = 1.00), F(1, 142) = 15.60, $p <$ .001, or a rebel attribution (M = 4.06, SD = 0.93), F(1,142) =12.60, $p < .001$. The in-group target using allegiant attribution was judged as likable as the out-group targets, whatever the attribution type: F(1, 142) = 1.24, *ns* (in-group allegiant vs. out-group allegiant), and F(1, 142) = 2.28, *ns* (in-group allegiant vs. out-group rebel). Our predictions for high-status (male) participants are thus confirmed.

For low-status (female) participants, the interaction between target membership and attribution type was again non significant: F(1,142) = 0.079, *ns*. Only the main effect of attribution type was significant: F(1,142) = 23.42, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$. Low-status (female) participants estimated that targets were more likable when they used an allegiant attribution (in-group target: M = 4.79, SD = 0.70; out-group target: M = 4.87, SD =

0.70) than when they used a rebel attribution (in-group target: $M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.00$; out-group target: $M = 3.85$, $SD = 0.85$).

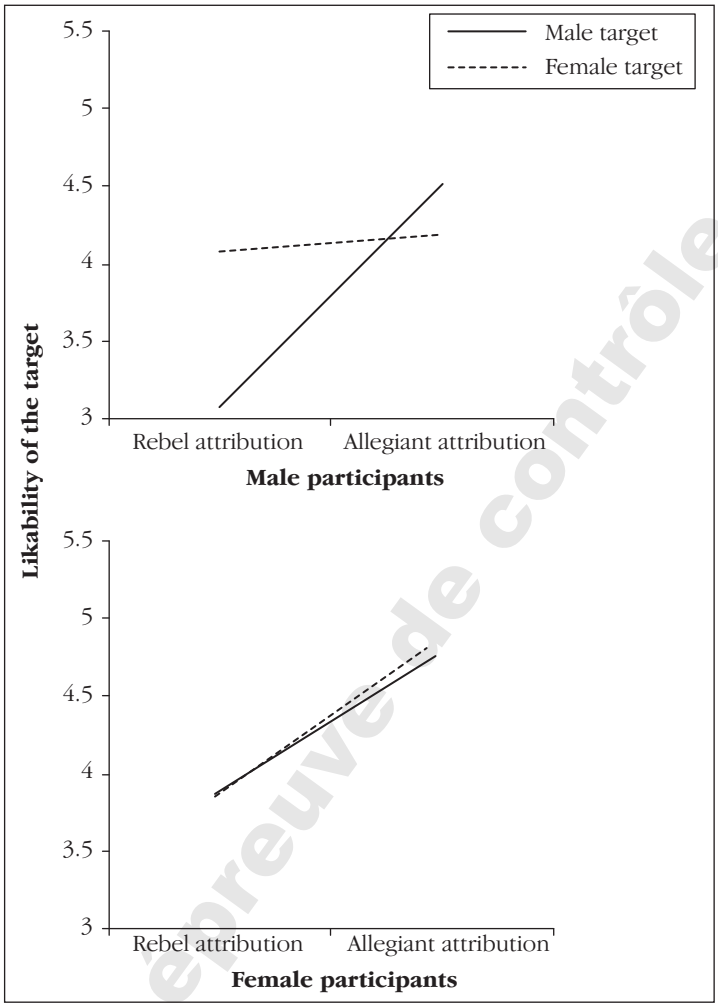

FIGURE 2:
Means for target likability as a function of attribution type, participant and target gender.

Discussion

The present research aimed at investigating the impact of intergroup and status dynamics in the social judgment of targets using allegiant or rebel attributions. By studying the intergroup underpinning dimension of attribution (Deschamps & Clémence, 2000), we proposed different patterns of judgment among high- and low-status people. We expected that high-status evaluators would judge a rebel target less efficacious and less likable than an allegiant target, but only if this target pertained to the in-group. In contrast, we expected low-status evaluators to favor in-group targets (on both efficacy and likability), whatever the attribution type.

The results for high-status (men) participants fully supported our predictions since these participants derogated the rebel target more than the allegiant one, but only when the target was an in-group member. They also judged the rebel out-group target more efficacious and more likable than the rebel in-group target. Concerning low-status (women) participants we found that the in-group target was judged more efficacious than the out-group target regardless of the attribution type for efficacy. This result supports the gender similarity bias hypothesized. Nevertheless, we did not find the gender-similarity bias on likability. Instead, we found a normative bias: the allegiant target was perceived more likable than the rebel target, regardless of the target's group membership.

Implications for allegiant and rebel attributions

To our knowledge, no study investigated the social value of allegiant and rebel attributions from an intergroup and a status perspective. Whereas a number of researches examined the impact of group membership and status on attribution processes (Beauvois, Gilibert, Pansu, & Abdelaoui, 1998; Klein & Licata, 2002; Garcia et al., 2005), this field remains underexplored. Yet scholars have emphasized the (counter-) normative dimension of rebel attributions by showing that high-status managers valued targets using allegiant attributions more than workers (Gangloff, 1998). In this research, we went a step further by showing that

the negative judgment of a target using rebel attributions depends on the status of the judge and the membership of the target. Our results provide support for a social attribution interpretation. Although we can only speculate on this, we surmise that targets using rebel attributions are negatively valued when they question the legitimacy of social status-quo, but are positively valued when they are less threatening for the group position. For example, while men sanctioned the rebel in-group target, they valued the out-group targets (allegiant and rebel) to the same extent as the in-group allegiant target. On the contrary, women were less severe toward the rebel target and favored the in-group by judging an in-group target as more efficacious than an out-group target. Hence, an intergroup perspective in the study of rebel attribution holds important implications for social deviance and in-group favouritism in social judgment.

Implications for upholding the status-quo and black sheep effect

Literature on upholding the status-quo has shown differences in the way social groups react when the social order is threatened: high-status groups, who set social norms (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), are more prone to maintain the favorable *status quo* by punishing those who contest the dominant norms. Because rebel targets question the social order and the status-quo, they are more threatening to high-status groups than to low-status groups. Moreover, rebels hold some of the high-status group characteristics (individuality, autonomy, see Gangloff, 2002). By questioning the social order, rebels question the dominant norms and consequently, they are perceived as deviants (Gangloff, 1994). In line with the black sheep effect literature (Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988), derogation of an in-group deviant member is known to occur mainly when the rebel in-group member questions a salient group norm (Marques, Abrams, & Serodio, 2001). This may explain why a rebel in-group member is judged less efficacious and less likable than an out-group rebel for high-status men. Surprisingly, we found that not only the rebel out-group target was judged more likable and more efficacious than the in-group one, but this also applied to the out-group allegiant target. This is consistent with studies showing that a

deviant out-group member is "often tolerated or even celebrated"(Kreindler, 2005, p. 98).

Finally, results among low-status (women) participants do not support a black sheep effect interpretation. This raises the question of whether the black sheep effect is more characteristic of high-status groups. Future research should address this question.

Implications for in-group favoritism and the gender similarity bias

This study provides evidence that in-group favoritism characterizes more low- than high-status people (women more than men). Contrary to men, women based their judgment of efficacy on group membership regardless of the attribution used by the target. This is consistent with approaches suggesting that low-status group members are more inclined to support in-group members than are high-status group members (Elkins et al., 2001; Stephens et al., 2007). Nevertheless this bias was not observed on likability. Targets using rebel attributions were judged less likable than targets using rebel attributions, independently of group membership. In other words, women did not favor the in-group on this dimension, but they were more severe with rebel targets in general. This suggests that a normative bias occurred on likability rather than a gender similarity bias. An interpretation in terms of normative bias is supported by studies showing that low-status groups tend to conform on dimensions that differentiate them from high-status groups (Stephens et al., 2007). For instance, results illustrated that people from disadvantaged status presented themselves favorably on "distinctive" dimensions, in order to avoid comparison on dimensions which favor the advantaged group (Lemaine & Personnaz, 1981). Likability is an indicator of warmth which is an important dimension that differentiates women from men (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). In Elkins' experiments, in-group support was deduced from assignment of responsibility, a dimension close to competence more than to warmth. This would suggest that this bias is not systematic and is probably less obvious on dimensions allowing low-status groups to differentiate themselves from high-

status groups. The existence of a gender similarity bias should thus be tested on multiple dimensions of judgment.

Limitations and Future Research

At least two limitations should be noticed. The first concerns the type of event for which attributions were made. Indeed, our research did not consider positive events. Studies show that attributions depend on the valence of the event at stake (Miller & Ross, 1975). Is the judgment of a positive event producing similar processes as for a negative one? Therefore, it would be of great interest for future research to investigate explanations of success as well. The second limitation is linked to group categorization. We only considered groups based on gender categorization. It would be important to generalize our findings to different social groups. Future research should be conducted with different social groups marked by different asymmetries, such as ethnic categories. Similarly, it would be fruitful to adopt an experimental approach to the judge's social status in future research (e.g. by manipulating managers vs. subordinates positions in an organization) in spite of taking the participants' gender.

Despite these limitations, our results contribute to the domain of evaluative social judgment of allegiant and rebel attributions. A rebel target is not necessarily negatively judged and an allegiant target is not necessarily positively judged. This demonstrates the importance of intergroup dynamics and status in both attribution processes and in the understanding of the assessment of rebels.

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