

REBELS IN GROUPS

**DISSENT, DEVIANCE,
DIFFERENCE AND DEFIANCE**

EDITED BY

JOLANDA JETTEN AND MATTHEW J. HORNSEY

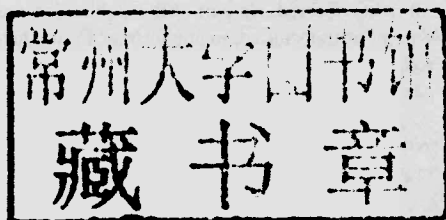


Rebels in Groups

Dissent, Deviance, Difference and Defiance

Edited by

Jolanda Jetten and Matthew J. Hornsey



 **WILEY-BLACKWELL**

A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication

This edition first published 2011
© 2011 Blackwell Publishing Ltd

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007. Blackwell's publishing program has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

Registered Office

John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, United Kingdom

Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell.

The right of Jolanda Jetten and Matthew J. Hornsey to be identified as the authors of the editorial material in this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book. This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information in regard to the subject matter covered. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data is available for this book.

HB: 9781405196857

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Set in 10.5/13pt Minion by Thomson Digital, Noida, India

Printed and bound in Malaysia by Vivar Printing Sdn Bhd

1 2011

Rebels in Groups

To Helen and Sophie – rebellion at its best (JJ)

To my little deviants Rosa and Sophie (MJH)

About the Editors

Jolanda Jetten is Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Queensland, Australia. She has published on topics relating to peripheral and marginal group membership; deviance within groups; normative influence and conformity; the role of perceptions of intergroup distinctiveness in intergroup discrimination; coping with devalued group membership; and identity change processes. She is currently Chief Editor of the *British Journal of Social Psychology* and Associate Editor of *Social Psychology*.

Matthew J. Hornsey is an Associate Professor of Social Psychology and Associate Dean (Research) at the University of Queensland, Australia. His research focuses on the social psychology of intergroup relations, identity threat, criticism, dissent, collective forgiveness, and the tension between individual and group will. He is currently Associate Editor for the journal *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, and the *Australian Journal of Psychology*.

About the Contributors

Dominic Abrams is Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Kent (UK). His research focuses on social identity, social exclusion and discrimination as well as group decisions and influence. His work spans basic and applied research in social and developmental psychology in areas including deviance, leadership, stereotype threat, cooperation and prosociality, social cohesion, intergroup contact, ageing, and equality and human rights. He is the Director of the Center for the Study of Group Processes and co-editor of the journal *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*.

Fabrizio Butera is Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Lausanne (Switzerland). His research is concerned with social comparison and social influence, and focuses in particular on how social comparison may represent a threat in social influence situations. He has been Associate Editor with the *European Journal of Social Psychology* and is currently member of the Executive Committee of the European Association of Social Psychology.

Hoon-Seok Choi is an Associate Professor of Psychology at Sungkyunkwan University in Seoul, Korea. His research focuses on newcomer dynamics in work groups, group creativity, social exclusion, self-regulation, cultural dynamics in individual and collective behaviour, inter-cultural contact and stereotyping, and game behaviour. He was Editor of the *Korean Journal of Social and Personality Psychology*.

Céline Darnon is Assistant Professor of Social Psychology at Clermont University (France). Her main research field is social psychology of education. Her research focuses in particular on the social value of achievement goals in educational settings as well as their effects on individual (e.g., performance) and social outcomes (e.g., conflict regulation). She is also interested in social status as a moderator of goals effects.

Cory Davenport is a graduate student of psychology at San Diego State University. His research interests include attitudes and persuasion, social influence and political psychology.

Naomi Ellemers is Professor of Social and Organisational Psychology at Leiden University. After completing her studies at the University of California at Berkeley and the University of Groningen, where she obtained her PhD, she was Assistant Professor and Associate Professor at the Free University of Amsterdam. Her research addresses a range of topics in group processes and intergroup relations, and includes experimental studies as well as more applied research in organisations. She has co-edited several books, for instance on stereotyping, social identity theory and social identity processes in organisations.

Jack A. Goncalo joined the Cornell University, School of Industrial and Labor Relations as an Assistant Professor in August 2004. He received his PhD in Business Administration in 2004, from the University of California at Berkeley. Although most research in organisational behaviour emphasises the value of being a 'team player' his research suggests that in order to spark creativity, organisations should emphasise individualistic norms and individual achievement. His research has been published in *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *Management Science*, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* and the *European Journal of Social Psychology*. He also co-edited the book, *Research on Managing Groups and Teams: Creativity in Groups*.

S. Alexander Haslam is Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Exeter (UK) whose research focuses on group processes in social and organisational contexts. His most recent book is *The New Psychology of Leadership: Identity, Influence and Power* (co-authored with Stephen Reicher and Michael Platow; Psychology Press, London, 2010). He is a fellow of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research and a former Chief Editor of the *European Journal of Social Psychology*.

Paul Hutchison is a Senior Lecturer in Social Psychology at London Metropolitan University. His research focuses on group processes and intergroup relations; prejudice and discrimination; identity maintenance, identity change and identity loss; and conformity and deviance in groups.

Aarti Iyer is a Senior Lecturer in Social Psychology at the University of Queensland, Australia. Her research investigates: individuals' emotional

and political responses to inequality and injustice; the implementation of affirmative action and equal opportunity programmes in employment; and social identity processes during life transitions. She serves on the Editorial Boards of *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, the *European Journal of Social Psychology* and the *British Journal of Social Psychology*.

John M. Levine is Professor of Psychology and Senior Scientist at the Learning Research and Development Center at the University of Pittsburgh. His work focuses on small-group processes, including innovation in work teams, reaction to deviance and disloyalty, conflict and learning, and social processes in online groups. Dr Levine is a Fellow of the American Psychological Association and the American Psychological Society and has served as Editor of the *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* and Chair of the Society of Experimental Social Psychology. He is an Honorary Professor of Psychology at the University of Kent, Canterbury, UK.

José M. Marques is Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Porto, Portugal. He has published on the black sheep effect and more recently has developed the subjective group dynamics theory.

Marcia P. Miceli is Professor of Management in the McDonough School of Business at Georgetown University, Washington, DC. She has published on topics relating to whistle-blowing (employees' reporting of perceived wrongdoing in organisations), compensation in organisations and recruiting.

John Michalak is a graduate student of psychology at San Diego State University. His research interests include goal attainment and motivation in the group context.

Dale T. Miller is Professor of Organizational Behavior at the Graduate School of Business at Stanford University. His research focuses on intragroup processes, especially peer misperception, social influence and minority status. He also is interested in the role of identity in political and group decisions. He directs the Center for Social Innovation at Stanford University.

Benoît Monin is an Associate Professor of Organizational Behavior and Psychology at Stanford University. His work focuses on self-image concerns, in particular how they pertain to morality. He has published on topics such as cognitive dissonance, discrimination, norm perception and moral

credentials. He is currently an Associate Editor for the *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*.

Thomas A. Morton is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Psychology at the University of Exeter, UK. His research focuses on the ways in which people experience and express their identities in relation to others and the role of strategic considerations and reality constraints in guiding these processes. His work on this theme covers topics such as deviance, intergroup relations, collective forgiveness, essentialism, prejudice and stereotypes.

Gabriel Mugny is Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Geneva (Switzerland). He has published on topics relating to the role of conflict and identity stakes in social influence processes; the social construction and development of knowledge; normative influences in discrimination; the interplay between social influence and social representations. He has been Chief Editor of the *Swiss Journal of Psychology* and is currently Chief Editor of the *International Review of Social Psychology*.

Janet P. Near is the Dale M. Coleman Chair of Management and the Chairperson of the Department of Management & Entrepreneurship in the Kelley School of Business at Indiana University. Her research focuses on two topics: antecedents and outcomes of whistle-blowing in organisations; and the relationship between work and non-work areas of life, especially variables that predict job satisfaction, life satisfaction and their interrelationship.

Charlan J. Nemeth is Professor of Psychology at the University of California, Berkeley. Her research centres on influence and decision making in small groups and has been broadly applied to law and to business. Her focus has been the value of dissent, the open airing of conflicting views, for the stimulation of information processing, problem solving and creativity. Her work of over 100 publications has influenced the discourse on diversity and dissent, on decision making in juries and on corporate cultures for innovation. She was a Visiting Professor at London Business School and has given numerous invited addresses at universities around the world and was the holder of the prestigious Leverhulme Fellowship in the UK.

Kieran O'Connor is a doctoral student in Organizational Behavior at the Stanford University Graduate School of Business. His research focuses on the social psychology of morality and justice, including reactions to moral

rebels, vicarious processes of moral credentials and rule violations as a means to restore justice.

Dominic J. Packer has been an Assistant Professor of Psychology at Lehigh University since 2009. He received his PhD in 2007 from the University of Toronto, after which he was a Post-Doctoral Fellow at The Ohio State University. His scholarly work focuses on the psychology of collective life, with particular attention to processes underlying conformity and dissent, as well as ingroup biases.

Deborah A. Prentice is Alexander Stewart 1886 Professor of Psychology and Chair of the Psychology Department at Princeton University. She has published articles, chapters and essays on the psychology of social norms, social identities, the phenomenology of self, behaviour change and related topics. She is currently Associate Editor for the journal *Personality and Social Psychology Review*. Last year, she was Visiting Faculty in the School of Social Sciences at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, and in 2009 she was an Invited Professor at the University Paris Descartes, France.

Radmila Prislin is Professor of Psychology and Associate Dean of Graduate Affairs at San Diego State University. Her research interests are in the areas of attitudes and persuasion, social influence, social change and group dynamics in the aftermath of social change.

Georgina Randsley de Moura is a Lecturer in Social Psychology at the Centre for the Study of Group Processes, School of Psychology, University of Kent (UK). Her research interests are predominantly in the field of intra- and intergroup dynamics, specifically leadership, deviance, collective political action and applying research to organisations.

Stephen D. Reicher is Professor of Social Psychology at the University of St Andrews (UK) whose research examines the role of social identity and group processes in shaping and changing society. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and a former Chief Editor of the *British Journal of Social Psychology*. His most recent book is *The New Psychology of Leadership: Identity, Influence and Power* (co-authored with Alexander Haslam and Michael Platow; Psychology Press, London, 2010).

Floor Rink obtained her PhD in Social and Organisational Psychology from Leiden University. She is currently employed as Associate Professor at the Faculty of Economics and Management of the University of Groningen, the Netherlands, as a Fellow in the Rosalind Franklin programme. She has been

awarded several prizes (e.g., an APA dissertation award) and obtained substantial grants for her research, which she has published in top-tier journals and edited books. Her research interests include the psychology of the diversity and mobility in work groups, the effects of social identity processes in work teams, and the psychology of information sharing and innovation.

Kimberly Rios Morrison is an Assistant Professor of Social Psychology at the University of Chicago. Her research focuses on the self-concept, social identity, social influence and intergroup relations. She is particularly interested in what motivates people *not* to conform to others' opinions and behaviours.

Adam Rutland is Professor of Developmental Psychology at the University of Kent, UK. His research focuses on the development of social identity and prejudice during middle childhood and adolescence. This includes basic and applied studies on children's self-presentation, normative influences on peer exclusion, effects of extended contact on prejudice, children's implicit and explicit prejudice, and techniques for reducing interethnic prejudice. With Professor Melanie Killen he is author of *Children and Social Exclusion: Morality, Prejudice, and Group Identity*.

Jessica Salvatore received her PhD from Princeton University after which she took up a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Exeter (UK). She is currently employed as a Five College Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow at Amherst College and Mount Holyoke College. Her research concerns issues of social stigmatisation, social influence and self-regulation, and particularly how these processes operate at the interface between personal and collective identities.

Contents

About the Editors	ix
About the Contributors	xi
1 The Many Faces of Rebels <i>Jolanda Jetten and Matthew J. Hornsey</i>	1
Part I Dissent in Groups	15
2 Rogues and Heroes: Finding Value in Dissent <i>Charlan J. Nemeth and Jack A. Goncalo</i>	17
3 Learning from Conflict <i>Fabrizio Butera, Céline Darnon and Gabriel Mugny</i>	36
4 From Current State to Desired Future: How Compositional Changes Affect Dissent and Innovation in Work Groups <i>Floor Rink and Naomi Ellemers</i>	54
5 Minority Influence in Interacting Groups: The Impact of Newcomers <i>John M. Levine and Hoon-Seok Choi</i>	73
Part II Deviance in Groups	93
6 Questions about Leopards and Spots: Evaluating Deviance against a Backdrop of Threats to Collective Success <i>Thomas A. Morton</i>	95
7 Debating Deviance: Responding to Those who Fall from Grace <i>Jolanda Jetten, Aarti Iyer, Paul Hutchison and Matthew J. Hornsey</i>	117

8	Children's Understanding of Deviance and Group Dynamics: The Development of Subjective Group Dynamics <i>Dominic Abrams and Adam Rutland</i>	135
9	Impostors within Groups: The Psychology of Claiming to be Something You Are Not <i>Matthew J. Hornsey and Jolanda Jetten</i>	158
Part III Difference in Groups		179
10	Groups in Transition: Differences in the Context of Social Change <i>Radmila Prislin, Cory Davenport and John Michalak</i>	181
11	The Independence Paradox <i>Jessica Salvatore and Deborah A. Prentice</i>	201
12	Explaining Differences in Opinion Expression: Direction Matters <i>Kimberly Rios Morrison and Dale T. Miller</i>	219
13	Innovation Credit: When and Why do Group Members Give their Leaders License to Deviate from Group Norms? <i>Georgina Randsley de Moura, Dominic Abrams, José M. Marques and Paul Hutchison</i>	238
Part IV Defiance in Groups		259
14	Reactions to Defiant Deviants: Deliverance or Defensiveness? <i>Benoît Monin and Kieran O'Connor</i>	261
15	The Dissenter's Dilemma, and a Social Identity Solution <i>Dominic J. Packer</i>	281
16	Integrating Models of Whistle-Blowing and Wrongdoing: A Proposal for a New Research Agenda <i>Janet P. Near and Marcia P. Miceli</i>	302
17	Beyond Conformity: Revisiting Classic Studies and Exploring the Dynamics of Resistance <i>S. Alexander Haslam and Stephen D. Reicher</i>	324
Index		345

The Many Faces of Rebels

Jolanda Jetten and Matthew J. Hornsey

To illustrate a principle you must exaggerate much and you must omit much
(Walter Bagehot)

Serge Moscovici started his 1976 book, *Social Influence and Social Change*, with the above quote. Even though it is not immediately clear for the naive reader how this quote relates to the content of the book, it quickly becomes apparent that Moscovici is not referring to processes relating to understanding conformity, dependence and minority influence. Instead, he is commenting on our practices when conducting research in this field. What is the exaggeration that Moscovici is referring to?

Before answering this question, it is important to assess what Moscovici's book was trying to achieve. One of the main aims of his book was to examine the tension between the pressure of conforming versus the forces pushing for innovation and change. Of course, no one will dispute the omnipresence of these two opposing forces that guide our individual and group behaviour on a daily basis. Given this, why is it that social scientists have been more interested in what makes people conform than in what makes them defy authority and group pressure? Or as Moscovici put it: why do we exaggerate conformity and downplay processes relating to rebellion?

We do not have to look far to understand what Moscovici is referring to. For example, why is it that we are more interested in understanding why 12 per cent of participants in the classic Asch line study conformed on all trials than in the 24 per cent of participants who never conformed at all (Asch, 1951)? Why do we focus on explaining the 63 per cent of participants taking part in Milgram's study in 1963 who delivered what they thought was the maximum shock of 450 volts to a learner, and not on the 37 per cent of participants who insisted at some stage in the study that they did not want to

continue shocking the learner? Finally, why is our theorising geared towards understanding why groups do not appreciate 'black sheep' and the conditions under which such 'black sheep' are evaluated most negatively? Why do we not instead focus on our liking for rebels and mavericks who challenge group norms and do not appear to be afraid of standing out (Bellah *et al.*, 1985; Hornsey & Jetten, 2004)?

Many of the most famous figures in psychology (e.g., Asch, Milgram, Zimbardo) spent their careers examining conformity and obedience pressures within groups. It is true that these studies have captured the attention of a generation of researchers for a good reason. These researchers tried to understand how obedience and conformity could lead to the destructive consequences witnessed during World War II. Coming to terms with the Holocaust, these studies reveal many important insights in the psychology of dissent, deviance, difference and defiance within groups and have clearly enhanced our understanding of the consequences of conformity (Farr, 1996).

However, some of the conclusions from these classic studies have been taken out of context; they have been interpreted as showing that conformity is the default in groups and that rebellion is generally not welcomed, is suppressed, and at times is actively punished by others in the groups. This has led to a psychology that has focused on the positive value that groups place on loyalty and uniformity and it paints a rather dark picture of groups' perceptions of dissent, deviance, difference and defiance: as detrimental forces within groups, as reflections of a lack of group loyalty, as a sign of disengagement, or as delinquent behaviour.

Still, this general message would not be a problem if it was accurate. But is that the case? Or is it, as Moscovici suggests, that we may have exaggerated the extent to which individuals and group members conform, are obedient, and are intolerant of difference and deviance of others? In Moscovici's words: 'It is difficult to explain why social psychology has been so obsessed with dependence' (Moscovici, 1976, p.18). Or on a lighter note: 'The French say "cherchez la femme"; social psychologists say "look for the dependence, and everything will be explained"' (Moscovici, 1976, p.19).

The main objective of this edited book is to provide a counterforce to the dominant message emerging from social psychological research that groups strive for conformity, homogeneity and sameness, with little respect for deviance, dissent, difference or defiance. Even though the pressure for conformity is without doubt a dominant force in group life, we have perhaps exaggerated the extent to which it affects group processes. That

is, in our desire to understand conformity, we have perhaps unavoidably neglected and downplayed the important role played by those who are dissenting, deviant, different or defiant in group life. These individuals are not just a nuisance and trouble-makers. In many cases they are just as important for the functioning of the group as members who are trying hard to fit in and work for the group – indeed, they are often the same person. But why is it that we have been so captured by conformity in groups and why have we developed a dogma that deviance is detrimental for groups?

Do Social Psychologists have a Problem with Rebels?

Compared to other social scientists, it appears that social psychologists appear to be especially concerned about the negative effects of rebels in groups. For example, sociologists often point to the important function that deviance plays in group life and the beneficial effects of deviance. Emile Durkheim (1958) highlighted that deviance and crime are important activities within any healthy society. He argued that, in the process of responding to deviance, group members come together and bonds become tighter. It also enhances an understanding of the collective consciousness of a community, demarcates group boundaries, provides structure to groups, and clarifies important rules and norms that guide collective behaviour. In responding to deviance, groups' perceptions of being in control and being in charge of the way social change manifests itself are enhanced. It is therefore not surprising that sociologists like Erikson (1966) emphasise that groups need deviants. What is more, he argues that societies often develop institutions to sustain some level of deviance in society. At times, societies even 'recruit' deviants because they fulfil an important function. Rather than perceiving deviants as threats to the social order, deviants are part and parcel of the society and their presence stabilises society because it keeps these societies vibrant. If one takes this as a starting point, societies' behaviour is aimed at keeping deviance *within bounds*, rather than eroding it completely. Erikson (1966) quotes Aldous Huxley to make this point:

Now tidiness is undeniably good – but a good of which it is easily possible to have too much and at too high a price. . . . The good life can only be lived in a society in which tidiness is preached and practised, but not too fanatically, and where efficiency is always haloed, as it were, by a tolerated margin of mess (Erikson, 1966, p.13).