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Team Identity, Emotion,
and Development

The CEO of Seagate Technology, Bill Watkins, modifies his employees' behavior by putting them in unfamiliar and downright uncomfortable situations. Watkins believes that when team members are facing a 17 km trek through a bog, on an 18 km bike ride down treacherous descents, or are dangling by cables over gorges, they are more apt to ask for help and work as a team. At Seagate, it all happens in Eco week with a budget of \$2 million. Watkins taunts, "What would you do if you knew you could not fail? This week is about doing what you want to do for every week for the rest of your life." Of the 55,000 Seagate employees worldwide, approximately 200 go to Eco week. They are split into 40 teams, with each team comprising four men and a woman. All of the teams are balanced in terms of physical prowess, but each team has a weakness (that they don't know about). For example, one team containing a salesman from Hong Kong, a Malaysian engineer, California attorney, VP from Colorado, and a writer from San Francisco doesn't know that no one on the team can read a map. At the opening ceremony, Watkins plaintively says that they are all going to die. Of course, he is not trying to kill his employees; rather, he is making them uncomfortable as a way to open their minds.¹

Most companies don't have \$2 million budgets to engage in exotic treks, but they do care about the psychology of their teamwork. This chapter focuses on team development, mood, and culture. These dynamics form the personality of a team.

ARE WE A TEAM?

Just because senior management decides to create a team, it does not mean that the team members feel like a team.

¹O'Brien, J. (2008, May 26). Team building in paradise. *Fortune International*, 157(10), 74–82.

Group Entiativity

Group entiativity refers to the degree to which people perceive themselves (and others) to be a team or collective. People are more likely to see people as a team when they are close together, resemble one another, and move together.² When people identify with their team, they think and behave in terms of “we” instead of “I.”³ And, when people think about their team, they assume that they should act in accord with the principles of the team.⁴ When group members agree on which principle is most fundamental to them, their perceived entiativity will be greater than when they do not agree about that principle, regardless of how many other principles they might agree about.⁵

Group Identity

Group identity is the extent to which people feel their group membership is an important part of who they are. Membership in teams provides people with a sense of belonging. People who have been rejected from groups judge their own groups to be more meaningful and cohesive.⁶ People who are strongly identified with their groups feel particularly stressed when their attitudes differ from those of their group; and they avoid attempting to change the behavior of their group.⁷

RELATIONAL AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY Gabriel and Gardner distinguished two types of identities people might have to their groups: relational and collective.⁸ **Relational identity** is based on important relationships to particular people. **Collective identity** is based on group memberships. Collective identity affects the ability of teams to perform. In teams with low collective identification, diversity in expertise is negatively related to team learning and performance; however, in teams with high collective identification, diversity in expertise promotes team learning and performance.⁹

Men and women differ in terms of their attachment styles, with women’s attachments being primarily relational (based on one-on-one relationships) and men’s attachments being strongly collective (based on team and group memberships) as well as a relational¹⁰ (see Exhibit 5-1). Attachment style and strength predicts how important teams are for employees.¹¹

²Campbell, D. T. (1958). Common fate, similarity, and other indices of the status of aggregates of persons as social entities. *Behavioral Science*, 3, 14–25.

³Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.

⁴Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

⁵Sani, F., Todman, J., & Lunn, J. (2005). The fundamentality of group principles, and perceived group entiativity. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 41(6), 567–573.

⁶Knowles, M., & Gardner, W. (2008). Benefits of membership: The activation and amplification of group identities in response to social rejection. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34(9), 1200–1213.

⁷Glasford, D., Dovidio, J., & Pratto, F. (2009). I continue to feel so good about us: In-group identification and the use of social identity—enhancing strategies to reduce intragroup dissonance. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 35(4), 415–427.

⁸Gabriel, S., & Gardner, W. L. (1999). Are there “his” and “hers” types of interdependence? The implications of gender differences in collective versus relational interdependence for affect, behavior, and cognition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77, 642–655.

⁹Van der Veegt, G., & Bunderson, S. (2005). Learning and performance in multidisciplinary teams: The importance of collective team identification. *Academy of Management Journal*, 48, 532–547.

¹⁰Gabriel & Gardner, “Are there ‘his’ and ‘hers’ types of interdependence?”

¹¹Seeley, E. A., Gardner, W. L., Pennington, G., & Gabriel, S. (2003). Circle of friends or members of a group? Sex differences in relational and collective attachment to groups. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6, 251–263.

behalf of their group, and they are more willing to fight or die for their groups than a nonfused person, especially when their personal or social identities are activated.

Group-serving Attributions

Group-serving judgments offer a self-protective function for the team member, by enhancing the ego. In a study of 81 simulated top management teams, superior firm performance was attributed to excellent teamwork, whereas inferior firm performance was attributed to external factors.¹⁴ The more cohesive the teams were, the more likely they were to make internal attributions, regardless of firm performance. When people make positive self-affirmations, they are less likely to show a group-serving judgment.¹⁵ Another form of group-serving attributions is **retroactive pessimism**, which occurs when people lower their evaluations of a group's chances for success after a failed competition.¹⁶ Indeed, when supporters of two college basketball teams evaluated the chances for victory for each team, the most avid supporters of the losing team were the most likely to engage in retroactive pessimism.¹⁷

GROUP POTENCY AND COLLECTIVE EFFICACY

Group potency is “the collective belief of group members that the group can be effective.”¹⁸ Similarly, **collective efficacy** refers to an individual's belief that a team can perform successfully.¹⁹ The results of a large meta-analysis of 6,128 groups revealed that groups with higher collective efficacy performed better than groups with lower collective efficacy.²⁰ Group potency may be a more important predictor of group performance than actual ability. In one investigation, 143 officer cadets working in 51 groups participated in a team simulation in which performance was measured. Group potency predicted group performance over and above actual ability.²¹ Similarly, in an investigation of 648 military officers working in 50 self-managed teams over a 5-week period, team performance was assessed via two objective criteria (mental task performance and physical task performance) and one subjective criterion (commander team performance ratings).²² Group potency had more predictive power in explaining team performance than did cohesion. Thus, thinking “we can” is often more important than actual ability. Over time, group members develop more homogeneous (similar) perceptions of their efficacy.²³

¹⁴Michalisin, M. D., Karau, S. J., & Tangpong, C. (2004). Top management team cohesion and superior industry returns: An empirical study of the resource-based view. *Group and Organization Management*, 29, 125–140.

¹⁵Sherman, D. K., & Kim, H. S. (2005). Is there an “I” in “team”? The role of the self in group-serving judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88, 108–120.

¹⁶Tykcinski, O., Pick, D., & Kedmi, D. (2002). Retroactive pessimism: A different kind of hindsight bias. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 32, 577–588.

¹⁷Wann, D., Grieve, F., Waddill, P., & Martin, J. (2008). Use of retroactive pessimism as a method of coping with identity threat: The impact of group identification. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 11(4), 439–450.

¹⁸Shea, G. P., & Guzzo, R. A. (1987, Spring). Group effectiveness: What really matters? *Sloan Management Review*, 28(3), 25–31.

¹⁹Guzzo, R. A., Yost, P. R., Campbell, R. J., & Shea, G. P. (1993). Potency in groups: Articulating a construct. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 32, 87–106.

²⁰Stajkovic, A., Lee, D., & Nyberg, A. (2009). Collective efficacy, group potency, and group performance: Meta-analyses of their relationships, and test of a mediation model. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 94(3), 814–828.

²¹Hecht, T. D., Allen, N. J., Klammer, J. D., & Kelly, E. C. (2002). Group beliefs, ability and performance: The potency of group potency. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research and Practice*, 6(2), 143–152.

²²Jordan, M. H., Field, H. S., & Armenakis, A. A. (2002). The relationship of group process variables and team performance: A team-level analysis in a field setting. *Small Group Research*, 33(1), 121–150.

²³Jung, D. I., & Sosik, J. J. (2003). Group potency and collective efficacy: Examining their predictive validity, level of analysis, and effects of performance feedback on future group performance. *Group and Organization Management*, 28, 366–391.

People can hold positive or negative beliefs about groups. The beliefs about groups (BAG) scale (Exhibit 5-2) identifies four factors that collectively form a person's beliefs about groups: group preference, positive performance beliefs, negative performance beliefs, and effort beliefs.²⁴

GROUP MOOD AND EMOTION

People express moods and so do teams. And, just as people have chronic moods, so do teams. **Group emotion** is a group's affective state that arises from the combination of its bottom-up components (e.g., the moods of particular team members) and its top-down components (e.g., the overall mood of the company).²⁵ Team members bring their individual-level emotional experiences, such as their chronic moods, emotions, and emotional intelligence, to the team interaction. This emotional information is communicated to other group members. Similarly, the organization's norms and group's emotional history set the stage for the expression and feeling of emotion. For example, following a downsizing or restructuring, the overall mood of the organization or industry might be severely dampened.

Group emotion serves an important role in promoting group survival.²⁶ The emotions that are felt and displayed in groups coordinate the group's behaviors, particularly in response to threat or stress. In particular, expressed emotion in groups provides the group with information about the environment (e.g., "a layoff has been announced"). Also, shared emotions in groups foster group bonds and group loyalty. For example, happiness felt about one's own group (or collective anger about a rival group) increases the identification that people feel with their own team.²⁷

How Emotions Get Shared in Groups

Group emotion can be reliably recognized by group members and outsiders, both on-site and through video ratings.²⁸ Individual emotions get shared and spread among group members, much like a cold or flu spreads among people who live or work together. There are implicit methods by which this happens, such as emotional contagion, vicarious affect, and behavioral entrainment, as well as conscious, deliberate processes, such as affective influence and affective impression management.²⁹

EMOTIONAL CONTAGION **Emotional contagion** is the process whereby moods and emotions of people around us influence our emotional state. It is the process by which we "catch" other people's emotions. Because people automatically mimic the facial, movement, and vocal rhythms of others, the physiological feedback from such movements often leads them to feel the accompanying emotions. The mere manipulation of facial muscles involved in a particular expression

²⁴Karau, S., Moneim, A., & Elsaid, M. (2009). Individual differences in beliefs about groups. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research and Practice*, 13(1), 1–13.

²⁵Barsade, S. G., & Gibson, D. E. (1998). Group emotion: A view from the top and bottom. In D. Gruenfeld, B. Mannix, & M. Neale (Eds.), *Research on managing groups and teams* (pp. 81–102). Stamford, CT: JAI Press.

²⁶Spoor, J. R., & Kelly, J. R. (2004). The evolutionary significance of affect in groups: Communication and group bonding. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 7, 398–416.

²⁷Kessler, T., & Hollbach, S. (2005). Group-based emotions as determinants of ingroup identification. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 41(6), 677–685.

²⁸Barsade, S. G. (2000). *The ripple effect: Emotional contagion in groups*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Yale School of Management; Bartel, C., & Saavedra, R. (2000). The collective construction of work group moods. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 45, 197–231; Totterdell, P., Kellert, S., Teuchmann, K., & Briner, R. B. (1998). Evidence of mood linkage in work groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 1504–1515.

²⁹Kelly, J. R., & Barsade, S. G. (2001). Mood and emotions in small groups and work teams. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 86, 99–130.

EXHIBIT 5-2 BAG: Beliefs about Groups Scale

Item	Group Preferences	Positive Performance Beliefs	Negative Performance Beliefs	Effort Beliefs
1. I'd rather work alone than work with others. ^a	X			
2. I'm more comfortable working by myself rather than as part of a group. ^a	X			
3. I generally prefer to work toward group goals rather than individual goals.	X			
4. I prefer group work to individual work.	X			
5. Whenever possible, I like to work with others rather than by myself.	X			
6. Groups usually outperform individuals.		X		
7. Groups often produce much higher-quality work than individuals.		X		
8. Generally speaking, groups are highly effective.		X		
9. Assigning work to a group is a recipe for disaster. ^a			X	
10. Group projects usually fail to match the quality of those done by individuals. ^a			X	
11. It would be foolish to expect a group to outperform the same number of individuals working alone. ^a			X	
12. I trust other people to work hard on group tasks.				X
13. I am always reluctant to put my fate in the hands of other group members. ^a				X
14. Most people can be trusted to do their fair share of the work.				X
15. Most people loaf when working on a group task. ^a				X
16. It is naive to think that other group members will live up to their promises. ^a				X

Note. All items are assessed on five-point scales ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*.
^a Item was reverse scored.

Source: Karau, S., Moneim, A., & Elsaid, M. (2009). Individual differences in beliefs about groups. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research and Practice*, 13(1), 1–13.

(e.g., a smile or frown) stimulates emotional feelings.³⁰ For example, people in conversation converge on a conversational rhythm,³¹ nonverbal behaviors,³² and facial movements.³³

Some people, however, are more susceptible to “catching” the emotions of others in their groups. Similarly, some people are better at “spreading” emotions than are others. For example, people who are high in feelings of interrelatedness and good decoders of emotional expressions, and score high on emotional contagion scales are more likely to catch the emotions of those around them.³⁴ People who categorize themselves as “group members” are more likely to converge toward what they believe are their group’s emotional experience.³⁵ When people are explicitly asked about the emotions they experience as members of a particular group, their reported emotions converge toward a profile typical for that group.³⁶ Identifying with a group produces convergence for emotions as well as attitudes and behaviors.³⁷ The process of emotional contagion implies that group members will converge in their emotional states over time, leading to a homogeneous group composition.³⁸ The average affective state of team members was related to a given team member’s affect over time, even after controlling for team performance.³⁹ Group leaders, especially those who are high in expressiveness, may be particularly likely to influence the emotional state of the group.⁴⁰

A group’s overall emotional tone, or group affective tone,⁴¹ can affect a variety of team behaviors and performance. For example, in a study of sales teams, group affective tone predicted absenteeism (groups with chronically worse moods were absent more often) and customer-directed prosocial behavior (groups with chronically worse moods were less helpful to customers).⁴² Similarly, a field sample of 61 work teams revealed that negative affective tone in teams served a critical link between dysfunctional team behavior and performance when nonverbal negative expressivity was high.⁴³ Just as group members influence one another to form an overall affective tone, people can be drawn to groups that have members with similar emotions as

³⁰Duclos, S. E., Laird, J. D., Schneider, E., Sexter, M., Stern, L., & Van Lighten, O. (1989). Categorical vs. dimensional effects of facial expressions on emotional experience. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57, 100–108.

³¹Warner, R. (1988). Rhythm in social interaction. In J. E. McGrath (Ed.), *The social psychology of time* (pp. 63–88). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

³²Tickle-Degnen, L., & Rosenthal, R. (1987). Group rapport and nonverbal behavior. In C. Hendrick (Ed.), *Review of personality and social psychology: Vol. 9. Group processes and intergroup relations* (pp. 113–136). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

³³Bavelas, J. B., Black, A., Lemery, C. R., & Mullett, J. (1987). Motor mimicry as primitive empathy. In N. Eisenberg & J. Strayer (Eds.), *Empathy and its development* (pp. 317–338). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press; Hatfield, E., Cacioppo, J. T., & Rapson, R. (1994). *Emotional contagion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

³⁴Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, *Emotional contagion*.

³⁵Moons, W. G., Leonard, D. J., Mackie, D. M., & Smith, E. R. (2009). I feel our pain: Antecedents and consequences of emotional self-stereotyping. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45(4), 760–769.

³⁶Smith, E. R., Seger, C., & Mackie, D. M. (2007). Can emotions be truly group-level? Evidence regarding four conceptual criteria. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 431–446.

³⁷Smith, E. R., Seger, C., & Mackie, D. M. (2009). Subtle activation of a social categorization triggers group-level emotions. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45(3), 460–467.

³⁸Kelly, J. R. (2001). Mood and emotion in groups. In M. Hogg & S. Tindale (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook in social psychology: Vol. 3: Group processes* (pp. 164–181). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

³⁹Ilies, R., Wagner, D., & Morgeson, F. (2007). Explaining affective linkages in teams: Individual differences in susceptibility to contagion and individualism-collectivism. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(4), 1140–1148.

⁴⁰Barsade & Gibson, “Group emotion.”

⁴¹George, J. M. (1996). Group affective tone. In M. A. West (Ed.), *Handbook of work group psychology* (pp. 77–93). Chichester, UK: Wiley.

⁴²George, J. M. (1990). Personality, affect, and behavior in groups. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75, 107–116.

⁴³Cole, M., Walter, F., & Bruch, H. (2008). Affective mechanisms linking dysfunctional behavior to performance in work teams: A moderated mediation study. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(5), 945–958.

their own.⁴⁴ And, to the extent to which a group displays homogeneity of affect, they are more effective.⁴⁵

VICARIOUS AFFECT **Vicarious affect**, or socially induced affect, refers to situations in which a person's emotions are induced or caused by another person's emotions. Moreover, the strength of emotional experience is often a function of how similar or well liked the source of the emotion is.⁴⁶

BEHAVIORAL ENTRAINMENT **Behavioral entrainment** refers to the processes whereby one person's behavior is adjusted or modified to coordinate or synchronize with another person's behavior. Synchrony often happens with both micro (small) and macro (large) body movements.⁴⁷ Usually, the outcome of synchronizing movement is positive affect, which can take the form of liking the other person,⁴⁸ satisfaction with the interaction,⁴⁹ and greater group rapport.⁵⁰

Emotional Intelligence in Teams

Emotional intelligence is the ability to recognize emotions in ourselves and others and to use emotional knowledge in a productive fashion. Emotional intelligence in teams is positively linked to team performance.⁵¹ In one investigation, 139 respondents were administered the Workgroup Emotional Intelligence Profile, a measure of group members' emotional intelligence when working in teams (see Exhibit 5-3 for the 2009 version of this scale). The results consistently showed that individuals with high emotional intelligence preferred to seek collaborative solutions when confronted with conflict.⁵²

Leadership and Group Emotion

As emotional intelligence becomes recognized as a leadership skill, leaders are encouraged to both recognize emotions and manage them in their teams. Leaders' emotions strongly influence group emotion and performance. In addition, leaders' ability to recognize emotions in their team members determines the effectiveness of their leadership. **Emotional aperture** is the ability to recognize diverse emotions in a team.⁵³ The leaders who are the most likely to be effective at

⁴⁴George, "Group affective tone."

⁴⁵Ibid.; George, "Personality, affect, and behavior in groups."

⁴⁶McIntosh, D. N., Druckman, D., & Zajonc, R. B. (1994). Socially induced affect. In D. Druckman & R. A. Bjork (Eds.), *Learning, remembering, believing: Enhancing human performance* (pp. 251–276). Washington, DC: National Academy Press.

⁴⁷Siegmán, A. W., & Reynolds, M. (1982). Interviewer-interviewee nonverbal communications: An interactional approach. In M. A. Davis (Ed.), *Interaction rhythms: Periodicity in communication behavior* (pp. 249–278). New York: Human Sciences Press.

⁴⁸Kelly, J. R. (1987). *Mood and interaction*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, IL.

⁴⁹Bernieri, F., Reznick, J. S., & Rosenthal, R. (1988). Synchrony, pseudosynchrony, and dissynchrony: Measuring the entrainment process in mother-infant dyads. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 243–253.

⁵⁰Hecht, Allen, Klammer, & Kelly, "Group beliefs, ability and performance."

⁵¹Jordan, P. J., & Troth, A. C. (2004). Managing emotions during team problem solving: Emotional intelligence and conflict resolution. *Human Performance*, 17, 195–218.

⁵²Jordan, P. J., & Troth, A. C. (2002). Emotional intelligence and conflict resolution: Implications for human resource development. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 4(1), 62–79.

⁵³Sanchez-Burkes, J., & Huy, Q. (2009). Emotional aperture and strategic change: The accurate recognition of collective emotions. *Organization Science*, 20(1), 22–34.

EXHIBIT 5-3 Workgroup Emotional Intelligence Profile

The questions on the Work Group Emotional Intelligence Profile (WEIP) ask you about your feelings when working in your team. When thinking about your team, please think of your immediate work unit. Please indicate your level of agreement with each of the following statements using a 1-7 scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Awareness of Own Emotions (Own Aware)

1. I can explain the emotions I feel to team members.
2. I can discuss the emotions I feel with other team members.
3. If I feel down, I can tell team members what will make me feel better.
4. I can talk to other members of the team about the emotions I experience.

Management of Own Emotions (Own Manage)

5. I respect the opinion of team members, even if I think they are wrong.
6. When I am frustrated with fellow team members, I can overcome my frustration.
7. When deciding on a dispute, I try to see all sides of the disagreement before I come to a conclusion.
8. I give a fair hearing to fellow team members' ideas.

Awareness of Others' Emotions (Other Aware)

9. I can read fellow team members 'true' feelings, even if they try to hide them.
10. I am able to describe accurately the way others in the team are feeling.
11. When I talk to a team member I can gauge their true feelings from their body language.
12. I can tell when team members don't mean what they say.

Management of Others' Emotions (Other Manage)

13. My enthusiasm can be contagious for members of a team.
14. I am able to cheer team members up when they are feeling down.
15. I can get fellow team members to share my keenness for a project.
16. I can provide the 'spark' to get fellow team members enthusiastic.

Source: Jordan, P.J., & Lawrence, S.A. (2009). Emotional intelligence in teams: Development and initial validation of the short version of the Workgroup Emotional Intelligence Profile (WEIP-S). *Journal of Management & Organization*, 15, 452-469

transformational leadership are those who can accurately recognize emotions, exude positive emotions, and are agreeable in nature.⁵⁴

GROUP COHESION

Group cohesion or cohesiveness might be considered to be a special type of group affective tone or emotion.⁵⁵ **Group cohesiveness** refers to emotional attraction among group members. Indeed, most people who have been a part of a team will claim that there are ties that bind the group together.⁵⁶

⁵⁴Rubin, R. S., Munz, D. C., & Bommer, W. H. (2005). Leading from within: The effects of emotion recognition and personality on transformational leadership behavior. *Academy of Management Journal*, 48(5), 845-858.

⁵⁵Kelly, J. B. (1991). Parent interaction after divorce: Comparison of mediated and adversarial divorce processes. *Behavioral Sciences and Law*, 9, 387-398.

⁵⁶Hogg, M. A. (1992). *The social psychology of group cohesiveness: From attraction to social identity*. London/New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf/New York University Press.

Cohesion and Team Behavior

Members of cohesive teams sit closer together, focus more attention on one another, show signs of mutual affection, and display coordinated patterns of behavior. Furthermore, members of cohesive teams who have a close relationship are more likely to give due credit to their partners. In contrast, those who do not have a close relationship are more likely to take credit for successes and blame others for failure.⁵⁷ Cohesive groups are easier to maintain. Members of cohesive teams are more likely to participate in team activities, stay on the team and convince others to join, and resist attempts to disrupt the team.⁵⁸ Cohesion increases conformity to team norms.⁵⁹ This effect can be helpful when deviance endangers the team or harmful when innovation is required. Cohesive teams are more likely to serve team rather than individual interests.⁶⁰ Most important, members of cohesive teams are more productive on a variety of tasks than are members of noncohesive groups.⁶¹ In a study of 81 simulated teams of competing airlines, top management cohesion was associated with superior returns.⁶²

Cohesive teams are more productive than are less cohesive teams, but it could very well be that (1) more productive teams become more cohesive, (2) something other than cohesion is responsible for increased productivity, or (3) both. The link of cohesion with performance may depend on team norms: Cohesion amplifies norms favoring both high and low productivity.⁶³ There are many ways to promote cohesion (see Exhibit 5-4).

Building Cohesion in Groups

Building cohesion in teams is often easier than we think.

- **Help the team build identity** Simply assembling people into a team is enough to produce some cohesion,⁶⁴ and the more time people spend together (in a face-to-face fashion), the more cohesive they become.⁶⁵ When team members think about their identity (i.e., what they stand for) and what they have in common, they become more cohesive.⁶⁶

⁵⁷Sedeckides, C., Campbell, W. K., Reeder, G. D., & Elliot, A. J. (1998). The self-serving bias in relational context. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(2), 378-386.

⁵⁸Brawley, L. R., Carron, A. V., & Widmeyer, W. N. (1988). Exploring the relationship between cohesion and group resistance to disruption. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 10(2), 199-213; Carron, A. V., Widmeyer, W. N., & Brawley, L. R. (1988). Group cohesion and individual adherence to physical activity. *Journal of Sport and Exercise Psychology*, 10(2), 127-138.

⁵⁹O'Reilly, C. A., & Caldwell, D. F. (1985). The impact of normative social influence and cohesiveness on task perceptions and attitudes: A social-information processing approach. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 58, 193-206; Rutkowski, G. K., Gruder, C. L., & Romer, D. (1983). Group cohesiveness, social norms, and bystander intervention. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 44(3), 545-552.

⁶⁰Thompson, L., Kray, L., & Lind, A. (1998). Cohesion and respect: An examination of group decision making in social and escalation dilemmas. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 34, 289-311.

⁶¹Dion, K. L., & Evans, C. R. (1992). On cohesiveness: Reply to Keyton and other critics of the construct. *Small Group Research*, 23(2), 242-250; Michel, J. G., & Hambrick, D. C. (1992). Diversification posture and top management team characteristics. *Academy of Management Journal*, 35(1), 9-37; Smith, K., Smith, K., Olian, J., Sims, H., O'Bannon, D., & Scully, J. (1994). Top management team demography and process: The role of social integration and communication. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 39, 412-438.

⁶²Michalisin, Karau, & Tangpong. "Top management team cohesion and superior industry returns."

⁶³Stogdill, R. M. (1972). Group productivity, drive, and cohesiveness. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 8(1), 26-43.

⁶⁴Hogg, M. A. (1987). Social identity and group cohesiveness. In J. C. Turner, M. A. Hogg, P. J. Oakes, S. D. Reicher, & M. Wetherell (Eds.), *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory* (pp. 89-116). Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

⁶⁵Manning, J. F., & Fullerton, T. D. (1988). Health and well-being in highly cohesive units of the U.S. Army. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 18, 503-519.

⁶⁶Prentice, Miller, & Lightdale. "Asymmetries in attachments to groups and to their members."

EXHIBIT 5-4 Fostering Cohesion in Teams

Just inside the door of the men's room was a rack that held sweaty biking shirts, damp bathing suits, and clammy running shoes. The aroma seemed to belong more to a high school locker room than to a corporate headquarters. But this was the house of Patagonia, the apparel company that prides itself on letting its employees take their play every bit as seriously as they take their work. At lunchtime many days, Patagonia employees go surfing for 2 hours, while half-dozen others take a 100-minute, 27-mile bike loop in the hills overlooking the Pacific. One of the sweaty biking shirts belongs to Andy Welling, a sales manager at Patagonia's headquarters in Ventura, California. At 41, Welling is a fiend about staying in shape—he bikes several days a week at lunchtime and joins Patagonia's weekly pick-up soccer game. He often makes up for his lunchtime cycling by working a few hours at home in the evening. Patagonia is so mellow about flextime that the receptionist at headquarters, an 11-time world Frisbee champion, is allowed to take 3 months off each summer to run a surfing school. "I could make quite a bit more money working somewhere else," Welling said. "But to have the quality of life and to remain physically fit, by cycling or going surfing, you can't put a dollar amount on it."

At Fahrenheit 212, an innovation consultancy located in Manhattan, every 100 days everyone gets together, locks the doors, ditches the cell phones, and sits down to a companywide strategy session. Together, they set the company's goals for the next 100 days. And they go around the table to hear how each staffer—execs included—did on his personal deliverables over the last 100 days. They ask each other questions, weigh in with their own perspectives on their colleagues' work, and do lots of ribbing, reflecting, and cheering. And if the fear of being embarrassed in front of rowdy colleagues wasn't enough, staffers work directly with their managers to lay out their individual plans for the next 100 days and actually grade themselves on their last 100-day plan. At the end of the year, the scores are added up to help determine incentive bonuses and future compensation.

In May of 2009, employees of Student Media Group in Newark, Delaware, started noticing a few things popping up in the office: a 50-inch plasma television screen, a ping-pong table, a Wii videogame player, and a fridge stocked with free soda and snacks. They wondered what was going on. After three salespeople were laid off during the spring and revenue fell 40 percent year-to-year in the first 4 months of 2009, the owner of the college advertising company sensed a bad vibe among the 19 remaining employees that he didn't want to continue. So, he invested \$3,000 on perks to motivate his staff. "Let's show our employees that we're not scared," says Paul Alford, chief executive of Springboard Inc., which owns Student Media Group. "Let's see if this inspires them. It did." By the end of the month, sales were at \$1.5 million for the year, up 10 percent from the same period last year. Mr. Alford says the action had a big impact on the staff. "It really was the catalyst that got people believing," he says.

Sources: Greenhouse, S. (2008, April 20). Working Life (High and Low). *New York Times*, p. BU, p. 1. Also, Hira, N. (2009, December 16). A management strategy that works for young employees. *Fortune Magazine*. money.cnn.com. Also, Flandez, R. (2009, July 7). Rewards Help Soothe Hard Times. *Wall Street Journal*, p. B4.

- **Make it easy for the team to be close together** Physical proximity and real or perceived similarity strengthen team cohesion.⁶⁷
- **Focus on similarities among team members** Team members feel more cohesive when they focus on their similarities, rather than their differences.

⁶⁷Ruder, M. K., & Gill, D. L. (1982). Immediate effects of win-loss on perceptions of cohesion in intramural and inter-collegiate volleyball teams. *Journal of Sport Psychology*, 4(3), 227-234; Stokes, J. P. (1983). Components of group cohesion: Inter-member attraction, instrumental value, and risk taking. *Small Group Behavior*, 14, 163-173; Sundstrom, E. D., & Sundstrom, M. G. (1986). *Work places: The psychology of the physical environment in offices and factories*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- **Put a positive spin on the team's performance** Teams are more cohesive when they succeed rather than fail, though some teams can preserve (if not strengthen) cohesion even when they fail.⁶⁸
- **Challenge the team** External pressure and rewards for team performance also increase team cohesion.⁶⁹

Many factors that produce greater cohesion in teams contradict those that promote diversity. We suggest that the manager first consider strategies for building diversity and then focus on building cohesion within the diverse team.

TRUST

Trust and respect are both important for teams, but they are not the same thing. **Respect** is the level of esteem a person has for another, whereas **trust** is the willingness of a person to rely on another person in the absence of monitoring.⁷⁰ (See Exhibit 5-5 for measures of trust and respect in teams.) Trust is very important for teams. Among the characteristics of "ideal members" of teams and relationships is trustworthiness, which is the most important attribute for all interdependent relationships.⁷¹

A high level of trust among team members can make members of self-managing work teams reluctant to monitor one another. In a study of 71 self-managing teams, when low monitoring combined with high individual autonomy, team performance suffered.⁷² Autonomy, in a team context, is defined as the amount of freedom and discretion that a person has in carrying out assigned tasks.⁷³ It was only when high trust in the team was combined with low individual autonomy that performance improved. The dangerous combination was high trust combined with high individual autonomy.

According to Cronin and Weingart, teams high in both trust and respect should be desirable, as team members begin with the belief that their fellow teammates have something valuable to add to the team.⁷⁴ Teams high in respect but low in trust might appear as collections of individualists, afraid of exposing their vulnerabilities for fear they might be exploited. Conversely, teams high in trust but low in respect are safe but ineffective, such that members don't see much value in the contributions of their teammates, even if they are well intentioned. In a simulation study of top management teams, higher respect increased task conflict and decreased relationship conflict. Trust decreased process conflict.⁷⁵

⁶⁸Brawley, Carron, & Widmeyer. "Exploring the relationship between cohesion and group resistance." p. 114.

⁶⁹Glickman, A. S., Zimmer, S., Montero, R. C., Guerette, P. J., & Campbell, W. J. (1987). The evolution of teamwork skills: An empirical assessment with implications for training. *US Naval Training Systems Center Technical Reports*, No. 87-016; Shea & Guzzo, "Group effectiveness," p. 110.

⁷⁰Mayer, R. C., Davis, J. H., & Schoorman, F. D. (1995). An integrative model of organizational trust. *Academy of Management Review*, 20, 709-734; Rousseau, D. M., Sitkin, S. B., Burt, R. S., & Camerer, C. (1998). Not so different after all: Across-discipline view of trust. *Academy of Management Review*, 23(3), 393-404.

⁷¹Cottrell, C., Neuberg, S., & Li, N. (2007). What do people desire in others? A sociofunctional perspective on the importance of different valued characteristics. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92(2), 208-231.

⁷²Langfred, C. W. (2004). Too much of a good thing? Negative effects of high trust and individual autonomy in self-managing teams. *Academy of Management Journal*, 47(3), 385-399.

⁷³Hackman, J. R. (1983). Designing work for individuals and for groups. In J. R. Hackman (Ed.), *Perspectives on Behavior in Organizations* (pp. 242-256). McGraw-Hill, New York.

⁷⁴Cronin, M., & Weingart, L. (2007). The differential effects of trust and respect on team conflict. In K. Behfar & L. Thompson (Eds.), *Conflict in organizational groups: New directions in theory and practice*. Chicago, IL: NU Press.

⁷⁵Langfred, "Too much of a good thing?"

EXHIBIT 5-5 Trust and Respect in Teams

Trust in teams can be measured by . . .	Respect in teams can be measured by . . .
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I trust my teammates. • I have little faith that my teammates will consider my needs when making decisions. (R) • I believe my teammates are truthful and honest. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I think highly of my teammates' character. • This team sets a good example. • Our team does things the right way. • My team deserves my consideration. • I admire my teammates. • I am proud to be part of my team. • I think my teammates have useful perspectives. • My teammates usually have good reasons for their beliefs. • People on my team have well-founded ideas. • I hold my team in high regard. • I think highly of my team members. • Our team has a reason to be proud. • I respect my teammates.
<p><i>Note.</i> (R), Reverse-scaled item.</p>	

Source: Cronin, M., & Weingart, L. (2007). The differential effects of trust and respect on team conflict. In K. Behfar & L. Thompson (Eds.), *Conflict in organizational groups: New directions in theory and practice*. Chicago, IL: NU Press.

Also: Cronin, M. A. (2004). The effect of respect on interdependent work. *Unpublished doctoral dissertation*, Pittsburgh, PA: Carnegie Mellon University.

TRUST OR FAITH? Business is built on relationships of all sorts, and almost nothing is truly guaranteed in writing. No contract can be so complete as to specify, for instance, what an employee must actually do at a given time on a given day in a particular instance, because at some level just about every situation is unique. Faith in other team members' integrity to do things that cannot be specified in a contract or monitored after the fact is an essential feature of a successful team—or for that matter, any business relationship. It is the integrity of the individual team members, and the members' trust in this integrity, that allows for successful teamwork.

The absence of a positive, trusting relationship can undermine teamwork, and so fostering trust is one of the most important tasks of a manager. One key type of trust is the confidence we have in the ability or knowledge of others. The absence of trust need not be associated with anything malicious; a lack of trust can stem from a lack of experience working with others, such as when a cross-functional team is assembled to establish organizational policy or to hire key executives to lead the company. The next few sections elaborate on the issue of trust—how to get a better understanding of it and its role in working relationships and, most important, where and when to find it.

INCENTIVE-BASED TRUST Incentive-based or calculated trust involves designing incentives to minimize breaches of trust. When an arrangement, such as a contract, is made on favorable terms for the other party, it is easier to trust that they will fulfill their end of the deal. Companies often pay bonuses, in fact, to ensure just this kind of outcome.

TRUST BASED ON FAMILIARITY As people become more familiar with one another, they are more likely to trust one another. For this reason, group turnover presents special challenges for trust within the team. For example, distrust of new members places extra burdens on full members, who must work harder to make sure that the team's expectations are clear and that new members' behaviors are monitored.⁷⁶

TRUST BASED ON SIMILARITY Oftentimes, trust can develop based on commonalities, such as being alumni of the same school, belonging to the same religious institution, or having kids who play on the same Little League team. People who are similar to one another in beliefs, attitudes, and interests tend to like one another more.

TRUST BASED ON SOCIAL NETWORKS Trusting relationships in organizations are often based upon social networks. **Social embeddedness** refers to the idea that transactions and opportunities take place as a result of social relationships that exist between organizational actors.⁷⁷ This is conducive to organizational teamwork in that trust and shared norms of reciprocal compliance have beneficial governance properties for the people involved. In short, embedding commercial exchange in social attachments creates a basis for trust that, if accepted and returned, crystallizes through reciprocal coinvestment and self-enforcement for use in future transactions. Trust based on social networks offers several advantages.⁷⁸ “Embedded ties” reduce the time needed to reach and enforce agreements. Second, the expectations and trust associated with embedded ties increases risk taking and coinvestments in advanced technology. Third, the transfer of proprietary information through embedded ties leads to more win-win types of arrangements. Finally, embedded ties promote cooperation, even when groups will not work together very long.

IMPLICIT TRUST Sometimes, we put our trust in others even in the absence of any rational reason or obvious similarity. Trust, in this sense, is based upon highly superficial cues. In every social interaction, there are subtle signals that we attend to even though we are not aware of their influence. They operate below our conscious awareness. Some examples follow.

Instant Attitudes Near-immediate, intense likes or dislikes for a novel object based on a first encounter with it.⁷⁹

Mere Exposure: “He Grew on Me.” The more we see someone, the more we like them.⁸⁰ This even goes for people that we initially do not like. However, most people do not realize that their liking for people is driven by how often they see them.

Schmoozing: “Let’s Have Lunch Sometime.” Small talk might not appear to be relevant to accomplishing a work task. The exchange of pleasantries about the weather or our

⁷⁶Moreland, R. L., & Levine, J. M. (2002b). Socialization and trust in work groups. *Group Processes and Interpersonal Relations*, 5(3), 185–201.

⁷⁷Uzzi, B. (1997). Social structure and competition in interfirm networks: The paradox of embeddedness. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 42, 35–67.

⁷⁸*ibid.*

⁷⁹Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. (1995). Implicit social cognition: Attitudes, self-esteem, and stereotypes. *Psychological Review*, 102(1), 4–27.

⁸⁰Zajonc, R. (1968). Attitudinal effects of mere exposure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (monograph supplement, No. 2, Part 2).

favorite basketball team seems to be purposeless, except for conforming to social etiquette. However, on a preconscious level, schmoozing has a dramatic impact on our liking and trust of others. For example, even a short exchange can lead people to develop considerably more trust in others than in the absence of interaction.

Mirroring People involved in a face-to-face interaction tend to mirror one another in posture, facial expression, tone of voice, and mannerisms. Mirroring helps people to develop rapport.⁸¹ On the surface, it might seem that mimicking others would be extremely annoying—almost like a form of mockery. However, the type of mimicry that is involved in everyday social encounters is quite subtle. When two people are mimicking each other, their movements are like a choreographed dance. Their behavior becomes synchronized. To the extent that our behaviors are synchronized with those of others, we feel more rapport, and this increases our trust in them.

“Flattery Can Get You Anywhere.” We like people who appreciate us and admire us. We tend to trust people more who like us. Many people believe that for flattery to be effective in engendering trust, it must be perceived as genuine. However, even if people suspect that the flatterer has ulterior motives, this can still increase liking and trust under some conditions.⁸²

Face-to-Face Contact We are more likely to trust other people in a face-to-face encounter than when communicating via another medium, such as phone or fax machine. Perhaps this is why people often choose to travel thousands of miles for a face-to-face meeting when it would be more efficient to communicate via phone, e-mail, or videoconference.

Psychological Safety

People in teams size up how “safe” they feel bringing up certain subjects and seeking assistance from the team.⁸³ **Psychological safety** reflects the extent to which people feel that they can raise issues and questions without fear of being rebuffed. Psychological safety is important in teams that need to communicate knowledge about new technological procedures to one another and learn from one another.⁸⁴ Team members in one hospital intensive care unit were asked three questions: (1) How comfortable do you feel checking with others if you have a question about the right way to do something? (2) How much do people in your unit value others’ unique skills and talents? (3) To what extent can people bring up problems and tough issues? When combined, these questions were used to create a measure of psychological safety. Team members who expressed greater psychological safety were more likely to engage in learning about how to use new technological procedures, which in turn predicted the success of implementation in the neonatal intensive care units.

⁸¹Drolet, A., Larrick, R., & Morris, M. W. (1998). Thinking of others: How perspective-taking changes negotiators’ aspirations and fairness perceptions as a function of negotiator relationships. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 20*(1), 23–31.

⁸²Jones, E. E., Stires, L. K., Shaver, K. G., & Harris, V. A. (1968). Evaluation of an ingratiation by target persons and bystanders. *Journal of Personality, 36*(3), 349–385.

⁸³Edmondson, A. (1999). Psychological safety and learning behavior in work teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 44*, 350–383.

⁸⁴Tucker, A. T., Nembhard, I. M., & Edmondson, A. C. (2007). Implementing new practices: An empirical study of organizational learning in hospital intensive care units. *Management Science, 53*(6), 894–907.

TEAM DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIALIZATION

Teams are not permanent entities. The average lifespan of a team is approximately 24 months.⁸⁵ Teams are constantly being reconfigured, and people need to quickly transition into new teams.

Group Socialization

Teams are not built from scratch. Instead, a member or two is added to a team that is changing its direction; members leave teams for natural (and other) reasons. Members of teams are continually entering and exiting; as a consequence, the team itself is constantly forming and reconfiguring itself. **Group socialization** is the process of how individuals enter into and then (at some point) leave teams. The process is disruptive, to be sure, yet it need not be traumatic or ill advised. When people begin to work together as a team, they begin a process of **socialization**, such that members of the team mutually shape each other's behavior. More often, teams may undergo changes in membership, such that some members may leave and new ones may enter. The process of socialization is essential for team members to be able to work together and coordinate their efforts.

Most people think of socialization as a one-way process, wherein the team socializes the individual member—usually a newcomer—in the norms and roles of the team. However, as any leader can attest, the introduction of a new team member is a process of joint socialization. Facilitating newcomer effectiveness in teams is particularly important in high-technology industries in which knowledge workers transition frequently and the cost of integrating new employees is high.⁸⁶ Three predictors of newcomer performance include newcomer empowerment, team expectations, and team performance.⁸⁷ In an investigation of 65 project teams, newcomer performance improved over time, particularly early in socialization.⁸⁸ Newcomer empowerment and the team's expectation of the newcomer positively predicted newcomer's performance. Moreover, newcomers who were empowered and performed well were less likely to express intentions to leave the team.

The Phases of Group Socialization

Think about a time when you joined an existing team. Perhaps you joined a study group that had been previously formed, took a summer internship with a company that had ongoing teams already in place, or moved to a different unit within your organization. In all of these instances, you went through a process of group socialization.⁸⁹ Three critical things go on during group socialization that can affect the productivity of teams: evaluation, commitment, and role transition.

EVALUATION Teams evaluate individual members, and individual members evaluate teams. In short, the individuals on the team “size each other up.” People conduct a cost-benefit analysis

⁸⁵Thompson, L. (2010). *Leading high impact teams*. Team leadership survey from the Kellogg School of Management Executive Program. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University.

⁸⁶Chen, G., & Klimoksi, R. J. (2003). The impact of expectations on newcomer performance in teams as mediated by work characteristics, social exchanges, and empowerment. *Academy of Management Journal*, 46(5), 591–607.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Chen, G. (2005). Newcomer adaptation in teams: Multilevel antecedents and outcomes. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 48(1), 101–116.

⁸⁹Moreland, R. L., & Levine, J. M. (2000). Socialization in organizations and work groups. In M. Turner (Ed.), *Groups at work: Theory and research* (pp. 69–112). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

when it comes to evaluating team members. If team members receive (or expect to receive) relatively high returns from team membership while enduring few costs, they probably like their team. Teams, too, evaluate a member positively who makes many contributions to the collective while exacting few costs.⁹⁰ People with either little experience or negative experiences in teams often avoid working in groups.⁹¹

COMMITMENT Commitment is a person's "enduring adherence" to the team and the team's adherence to its members.⁹² The key factor that affects commitment is the alternatives that are available to the individual and the team. For example, if a team has its choice of several highly qualified candidates, its level of commitment to any one candidate is less than if a team does not have as many alternatives.

ROLE TRANSITION A person usually moves through a progression of membership in the team, going from nonmember to quasi-member to full member (see Exhibit 5-6). One key to gaining full member status is to be evaluated positively by the team and to gain the team's commitment. This can often (but not always) be achieved by learning through direct experience with the team, and also through observations of others in the team. Indeed, newcomers in teams feel a strong need to obtain information about what is expected of them;⁹³ simultaneously, teams communicate this knowledge through formal and informal indoctrination sessions.⁹⁴ However, newcomers may not learn crucial information they need to perform their jobs, such as information about the preferences of supervisors or administrative procedures, until they are trusted by their coworkers.⁹⁵

According to Swann, Milton, and Polzer, people who join groups can engage in either **self-verification** or **appraisal effects**.⁹⁶ Self-verification occurs when group members persuade others in the team to see them as they see themselves. In contrast, appraisal occurs when groups persuade members to see themselves as the group sees them. Of the two, self-verification is more prevalent than appraisal. When team members encourage their group to see them the way they

⁹⁰Kelley, H. H., & Thibaut, J. (1978). *Interpersonal relations: A theory of interdependence*. New York: Wiley; Thibaut, J., & Kelley, H. (1959). *The social psychology of groups*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

⁹¹Bohrnstedt, G. W., & Fisher, G. A. (1986). The effects of recalled childhood and adolescent relationships compared to current role performances on young adults' affective functioning. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 49(1), 19-32; Gold, M., & Yanof, D. S. (1985). Mothers, daughters, and girlfriends. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 49(3), 654-659; Hanks, M., & Eckland, B. K. (1978). Adult voluntary association and adolescent socialization. *Sociological Quarterly*, 19(3), 481-490; Ickes, W. (1983). A basic paradigm for the study of unstructured dyadic interaction. *New Directions for Methodology of Social and Behavioral Science*, 15, 5-21; Ickes, W., & Turner, M. (1983). On the social advantages of having an older, opposite-sex sibling: Birth order influences in mixed-sex dyads. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45(1), 210-222.

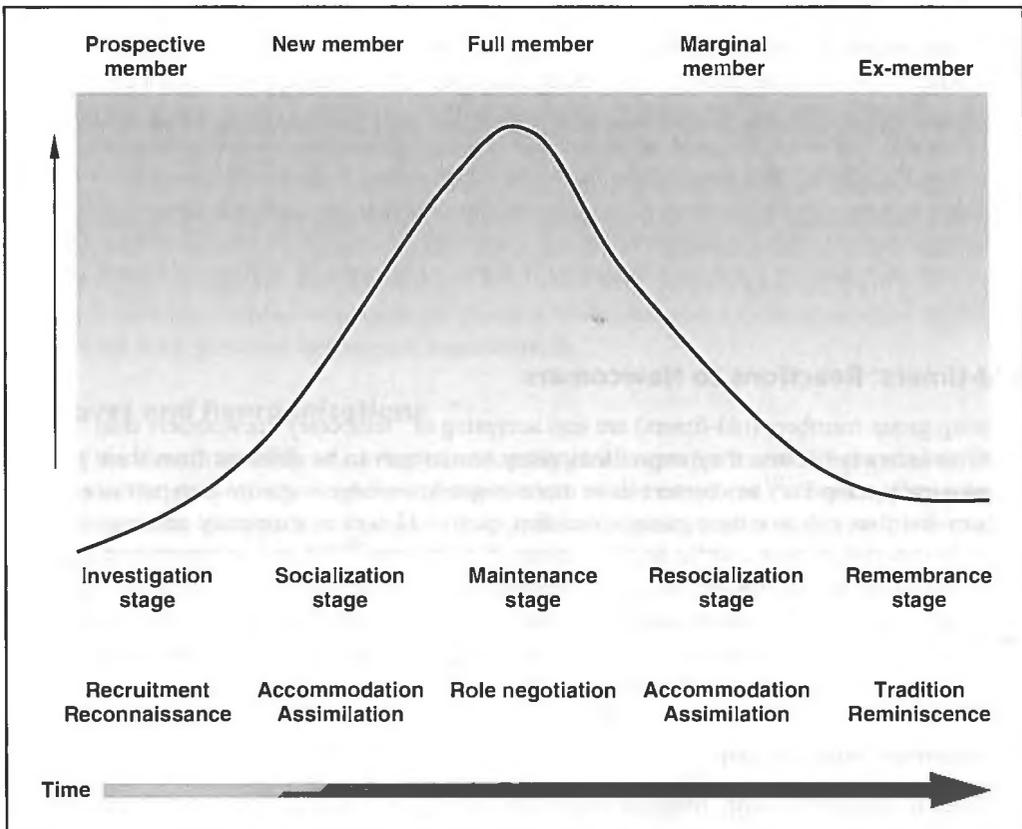
⁹²Kelley, H. H. (1983). The situational origins of human tendencies: A further reason for the formal analysis of structures. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 9(1), 8-36.

⁹³Louis, M. R. (1980). Surprise and sense making: What newcomers experience in entering unfamiliar organizational settings. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 25, 226-251; Van Maanen, J. (1977). Experiencing organization: Notes on the meaning of careers and socialization. In J. Van Maanen (Ed.), *Organizational careers: Some new perspectives* (pp. 15-45). New York: John Wiley & Sons; Wanous, J. P. (1980). *Organizational entry: Recruitment, selection, and socialization of newcomers*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

⁹⁴Gaaron, E. F., & Rawlings, E. I. (1975). A procedure for orienting new members to group psychotherapy. *Small Group Behavior*, 6, 293-307; Jacobs, R. C., & Campbell, D. T. (1961). The perpetuation of an arbitrary tradition through several generations of a laboratory microculture. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 62, 649-658; Zurcher, L. A. (1965). The sailor aboard ship: A study of role behavior in a total institution. *Social Forces*, 43, 389-400; Zurcher, L. A. (1970). The "friendly" poker game: A study of an ephemeral role. *Social Forces*, 49, 173-186.

⁹⁵Feldman, D. C. (1977). The role of initiation activities in socialization. *Human Relations*, 30, 977-990.

⁹⁶Swann, W. B., Milton, L. P., & Polzer, J. T. (2000). Should we create a niche or fall in line? Identity negotiation and small group effectiveness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79(2), 238-250.

EXHIBIT 5-6 Role Transition in Groups

Source: Moreland, R. L., & Levine, J. M. (1982). Socialization in small groups: Temporal changes in individual-group relations. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 15, pp. 137–192). New York: Academic Press.

see themselves, this heightens the feelings of connection to the team, lessens A-type (unhealthy) conflict, and improves performance on creative tasks. In contrast, when groups beseech individuals to see themselves as the group sees them, this improves performance on computational tasks (e.g., tasks that have a single correct answer).

The following strategies are especially useful for integrating new members into teams.

Upper Management and Leaders: Make It Clear Why the New Member Is Joining the Team Many times, the introduction of a new team member is threatening for individuals, when it need not be. The manager should not assume that everyone is fully aware of why the newcomer is joining the team. Simple, clear, straightforward statements about how upper management sees the relationship between the individual and the team are needed early on before an unnecessary cycle of paranoia is set in motion.

Existing Team Members: Explain What You Regard to Be the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Team It can be very revealing for existing team members to talk about their strengths and

weaknesses when a new member joins. The new member can “see” the team through the eyes of each team member.

New Members: Understand the Team’s Goals and Processes Existing members often expect newcomers to be anxious, passive, dependent, and conforming. Further, new members who take on those characteristics are more likely to be accepted by old-timers.⁹⁷ What newcomers may not realize is that they inevitably pose some threat to the team. This is often because newcomers have a fresh and relatively objective view of the team, which causes them to ask questions or express opinions that are unsettling. New members can take initiative by demonstrating an interest in learning about the team. Remember that the team may be hypersensitive about past failures. Therefore, it is often a good idea to deflect defensive reactions by noting the team’s positive qualities.

Old-timers’ Reactions to Newcomers

Existing group members (old-timers) are less accepting of “temporary” newcomers than “permanent” newcomers because they expect temporary newcomers to be different from their group.⁹⁸ Paradoxically, temporary newcomers share more unique knowledge in groups than permanent newcomers and thus enhance their group’s decision quality. However, temporary newcomers cause teams to experience more conflict and less group identification.⁹⁹ When newcomers criticize their workplace, their profession, or Internet community, they arouse more resistance in old-timers.¹⁰⁰ Newcomers reduce old-timer resistance when newcomers distance themselves from their previous group. Groups with out-group (i.e., diverse) newcomers are less confident about their performance, but yet perform better than groups with in-group (homogeneous) newcomers.¹⁰¹

Newcomer Innovation

Contrary to popular opinion, turnover might benefit a group—through the exit of “old-timers” who lack the skills or motivation to help the group attain its goals and the entry of newcomers who possess needed skills.¹⁰² Three factors determine the extent to which newcomers can introduce change: (1) their commitment to the team; (2) their belief that they can develop good ideas for solving team problems; and (3) their belief that they will be rewarded. For turnover to have positive effects, it must outweigh the substantial benefits that group members derive from working together.¹⁰³ In one investigation of turnover, teams worked on an air surveillance task

⁹⁷Moreland, R. L., & Levine, J. M. (1989). Newcomers and old-timers in small groups. In P. Paulus (Ed.), *Psychology of group influence* (2nd ed., pp. 143–186). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

⁹⁸Rink, F., & Ellemers, N. (2009). Temporary versus permanent group membership: how the future prospects of newcomers affect newcomer acceptance and newcomer influence. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 35(6), 764–775.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰Hornsey, T., Grice, J., Jetten, N., Paulsen, V., & Callan, V. (2007). Group-directed criticisms and recommendations for change: Why newcomers arouse more resistance than old-timers. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33(7), 1036–1048.

¹⁰¹Phillips, K., Liljenquist, K., & Neale, M. (2009). Is the pain worth the gain? The advantages and liabilities of agreeing with socially distinct newcomers. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 35(3), 336–351.

¹⁰²Levine, J. M., Choi, H.-S., & Moreland, R. L. (2003). Newcomer innovation in work teams. In P. B. Paulus & B. A. Nijstad (Eds.), *Group creativity: Innovation through collaboration* (pp. 202–224). New York: Oxford University Press.

¹⁰³Argote, L., & Kane, A. (2003). Learning from direct and indirect organizations: The effects of experience content, timing, and distribution. In P. Paulus & B. Nijstad (Eds.), *Group creativity*. New York: Oxford University Press; Hollenbeck, J. R., Ilgen, D. R., LePine, J. A., Colquitt, J. A., & Hedlund, J. (1998). Extending the multilevel theory of team decision making: Effects of feedback and experience in hierarchical teams. *Academy of Management Journal*, 41, 269–282.

over 2 days.¹⁰⁴ On both days, specialists monitored changes in plane information (e.g., airspeed and altitude) and transmitted it to the commander, who integrated this information and assigned threat values to the planes. At the beginning of day 2, there was turnover: In some teams, one of the specialists was replaced with a specialist from another team; in other teams, the commander was replaced with a commander from another team. Teams performed better when newcomers had high rather than low ability; this was particularly pronounced when newcomers had high status (commander) rather than low status (specialist).

There are several “newcomer” roles: visitors, transfers, replacements, and consultants.¹⁰⁵ Visitors are people who are expected to remain on the team for a short time and not viewed as instrumental to attaining long-term goals. Because they are viewed as lacking in commitment, their ability to change the team is muted.¹⁰⁶ Transfers have recently belonged to a similar team and have expertise. Replacements take the place of former members. Consultants join the team to observe its work practices and suggest improvements.

Turnover and Reorganizations

One of the most frequently occurring but daunting challenges for teams is personnel turnover, defined as the entry of new members and/or the exit of old members.¹⁰⁷ Turnover represents a change in team composition that can have profound consequences for team performance, because it alters the technical knowledge of the team, as well as the interpersonal dynamics. As might be expected, turnover disrupts group performance, especially when group members are reciprocally interdependent;¹⁰⁸ when the group has high, rather than low, structure;¹⁰⁹ and when the task is complex rather than simple.¹¹⁰

TIME IN TEAMS

A key issue in team design concerns how to optimally balance the amount of group work versus the amount of individual work. A purely linear view of time would suggest that teams given more hours to do their work will be more productive. However, this is not always the case. There are three theories of how time is viewed in teams:¹¹¹

¹⁰⁴Levine, J. M., & Choi, H.-S. (2004). Impact of personnel turnover on team performance and cognition. In E. Salas & S. M. Fiore (Eds.), *Team cognition: Understanding the factors that drive process and performance* (pp. 153–176). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

¹⁰⁵Arrow, H., & McGrath, J. E. (1995). Membership dynamics in groups at work: A theoretical framework. In B. M. Staw & L. L. Cummings (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior*, 17, 373–411. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

¹⁰⁶Gruenfeld, D. H., & Fan, E. T. (1999). What newcomers see and what oldtimers say: Discontinuities in knowledge exchange. In L. Thompson, J. Levine, & D. Messick (Eds.), *Shared cognition in organizations: The management of knowledge*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum; Gruenfeld, D. H., Martorana, P., & Fan, E. T. (2000). What do groups learn from their worldliest members? Direct and indirect influence in dynamic teams. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 82(1), 45–59.

¹⁰⁷Levine, J. M., Choi, H.-S., & Moreland, R. L. (2003). Newcomer innovation in work teams. In P. B. Paulus & B. A. Nijstad (Eds.), *Group creativity: Innovation through collaboration* (pp. 202–224). New York: Oxford University Press.

¹⁰⁸Naylor, J. C., & Briggs, G. E. (1965). Team-training effectiveness under various conditions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 49, 223–229.

¹⁰⁹Devadas, R., & Argote, L. (1995, May). *Collective learning and forgetting: The effects of turnover and group structure*. Paper presented at the meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association, Chicago, IL.

¹¹⁰Argote, L., Insko, C. A., Yovetich, N., & Romero, A. A. (1995). Group learning curves: The effects of turnover and task complexity on group performance. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 25, 512–529.

¹¹¹Ancona, D. G., Okhuysen, G. A., & Perlow, L. A. (2001). Taking time to integrate temporal research. *Academy of Management Review*, 26, 512–529; Mathieu, J. E., & Schulze, W. (2006). The influence of team knowledge and formal plans on episodic team process-performance relationships. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 49(3), 605–619.

- **Clock time** Clock-based time depicts a linear continuum of team development as infinitely divisible into objective, quantifiable units.
- **Developmental or growth patterns** Teams are viewed as qualitatively evolving over time as they move through various stages toward maturity. For example, Tuckman's forming, storming, norming, performing, adjourning model¹¹² and Gersick's punctuated equilibrium conception are examples of team development.¹¹³ Similarly, Wheelan proposed a model of group development in which groups pass through five stages:¹¹⁴
 - *Stage 1: Dependency and inclusion:* Members are dependent on the leader.
 - *Stage 2: Counterdependency and fight:* Conflict exists among members and the leader.
 - *Stage 3: Trust and structure:* There is a more mature determination of the elements of group structure and norms.
 - *Stage 4: Work:* There is effective progress toward group goals.
 - *Stage 5: Termination:* There is evaluation of past work, feedback, and the expression of feelings about fellow group members.
- **Performance cycles or episodes** Cyclical theories of team functioning suggest that events unfold in a recurring fashion over time in cycles or episodes related to performance. Performance episodes are distinguishable periods over which performance accrues and feedback becomes available.¹¹⁵

How groups think about time affects how they treat time.¹¹⁶ For example, in one investigation, four men counteracted the monotony of long hours of tedious machine work (objective time) by reconstructing time into a series of recurrent daily events, mostly organized around the procurement, sharing, stealing, and consumption of food and drink.¹¹⁷ In this sense, the team of men reconstructed how they think about the time spent on their task.

ROLE NEGOTIATION

In all teams, task-management and people-management skills are required. Task-related roles focus on getting the work done and accomplishing the task at hand; interpersonal roles focus on how the work gets done and satisfying the emotional needs of team members. However, unlike traditional functional roles, such as finance, sales, and manufacturing, the roles of task management and people management are not necessarily played by one particular person.

Over time, through the process of role negotiation, various roles emerge.¹¹⁸ Most often these roles and the negotiations for them are not talked about in an explicit fashion; rather, people engage in actions designed to take on that role, which are either accepted or rejected by

¹¹²Tuckman, B. W. (1965). Developmental sequence in small groups. *Psychological Bulletin*, 63(6), 384–399.

¹¹³Gersick, C. J. G. (1988). Time and transition in work teams: Toward a new model of group development. *Academy of Management Journal*, 31, 9–41.

¹¹⁴Wheelan, S. A. (1990). *Facilitating training groups*. New York: Praeger; Wheelan, S. A. (1994). *Group processes: A developmental perspective*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

¹¹⁵Marks, M. A., Mathieu, J. E., & Zaccaro, S. J. (2001). A temporally based framework and taxonomy of team processes. *Academy of Management Review*, 26, 356–376.

¹¹⁶Arrow, H., Poole, M. S., Henry, K. B., Wheelan, S., & Mooreland, R. L. (2004). Time, change, and development: The temporal perspective on groups. *Small Group Research*, 35(1), 73–105.

¹¹⁷Roy, D. F. (1960). "Banana time": Job satisfaction and informal interaction. *Human Organization*, 18, 158–168.

¹¹⁸Beitenshausen, K., & Murnighan, J. K. (1985). The emergence of norms in competitive decision-making groups. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 30, 350–372.

other members of the team. First, there is no one set of ideal roles for any particular team. Roles are unique to each team. However, some roles are more common than others.

Second, few people can simultaneously fulfill both the task and interpersonal needs of the team.¹¹⁹ When taskmasters move troops toward their goals, they often appear domineering, controlling, and unsympathetic. These actions may be conducive to goal attainment, but team members may react negatively. Because team members believe the task specialist is the source of the tension, someone other than the task leader must often assume a role aimed at reducing interpersonal hostilities and frustrations.¹²⁰ The diplomat who intervenes to restore harmony and cohesion is the socioemotional master. An example of this on a corporate scale is evident in the management styles of the former and current CEOs of Yahoo, Jerry Yang and Carol Bartz, respectively. Bartz has a candid and decisive style. Conversely, Yang's leadership was regarded to be more passive.¹²¹

Status Competition

Role negotiation may take the form of status competition within the team. **Status competition** is the process by which people acquire the authority and legitimacy to be the taskmaster or the relationship coordinator of the team. Even in teams with established status roles, status competition can emerge as certain members attempt to compete with the leader. Team members intuitively take note of one another's personal qualities they think are indicative of ability or prestige (years on the job, relevant connections, etc.). People consider two types of cues or information into consideration: real status characteristics and pseudostatus characteristics. **Real status characteristics** are qualities that are relevant to the task at hand (e.g., previous experience with the decision domain). **Pseudostatus characteristics** include factors such as sex, age, ethnicity, status in other groups, and cultural background. Typically, pseudostatus characteristics are those that are highly visible. Pseudostatus characteristics have little to do with ability, but people act as if they do.

Status systems develop very quickly, often within minutes after most teams are formed.¹²² Soon after meeting one another, team members form expectations about each person's probable contributions to the achievement of the team's goals.¹²³ These expectations are based on personal characteristics that people purposely reveal to one another (real status characteristics such as intelligence, background, and education) or that are readily apparent (pseudostatus characteristics such as sex, age, race, demeanor, size, musculature, and facial expression).¹²⁴ Personal characteristics that are more relevant to the achievement of team goals have more impact on expectations, but even irrelevant factors are evaluated. People who possess more valuable characteristics evoke more positive expectations and are thus assigned higher status in

¹¹⁹Bales, R. F. (1955). How people interact in conferences. *Scientific American*, 192, 31–55; Bales, T. (1958). Task roles and social roles in problem-solving groups. In E. E. Maccoby, T. M. Newcomb, & E. I. Hartley (Eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston; Parsons, T., Bales, R. F., & Shils, E. (1953). *Working paper in the theory of action*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

¹²⁰Burke, P. J. (1967). The development of task and social-emotional role differentiation. *Sociometry*, 30, 379–392.

¹²¹Letzing, J. (2009, December 3). For battle-tested Bartz, how hard could running yahoo be? *Wall Street Journal Market Watch*. marketwatch.com

¹²²Barchas, P. R., & Fisek, M. H. (1984). Hierarchical differentiation in newly formed groups of rhesus and humans. In P. R. Barchas (Ed.), *Essays toward a sociophysiological perspective* (pp. 23–33). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

¹²³Berger, J., Rosenholtz, S. J., & Zelditch, M. (1980). Status organizing processes. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 6, 479–508.

¹²⁴Mazur, A. (1985). A biosocial model of status in face-to-face groups. *Social Forces*, 64, 377–402.

the team. An action plan for a manager who suspects that pseudostatus characteristics may supplant more relevant qualifications would be to provide clear information to team members about others' qualifications well in advance of the team meeting (e.g., circulating members' resumes). In addition to this, the leader should structure the first meeting of the team so as to ensure that relevant factors are made known to all members (e.g., a round-robin discussion in which members review their experiences).

It is critical for team members to not overestimate their status in their group. Disconcertingly, most people overestimate their status in groups, and, as a consequence, they are liked less by others and paid less for their work.¹²⁵ Status enhancers are socially punished because people think they are disruptive to the group's process.

Solo Status

When everyone in a group shares a common social identity except one person, the one who is different from the majority has solo status. Solo status increases that team member's visibility and performance pressure, which often results in stress. When the solo regards the task to be a challenge and the person's resources exceed demands, solo status improves performance. However, when the solo regards the task to be threatening (the task demands exceed the person's resources), the solo's performance is hurt.¹²⁶

Conclusion

Teams have their own personality, moods, and emotions. Teams differ in terms of how attached they feel to one another, and these attachment styles can affect the behavior and performance of the team. Teams feel and express emotions and, over time, team members develop similar chronic emotions due to the process of contagion. We've focused on how to build cohesion in teams, and we've examined the types of trust that characterize relationships. Finally, we explored the socialization process by which teams admit newcomers and how time may be studied in teams.

¹²⁵Anderson, C., Ames, D., & Gosling, S. (2008). Punishing hubris: The perils of overestimating one's status in a group. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 34*(1), 90–101.

¹²⁶White, J. (2008). Fail or flourish? Cognitive appraisal moderates the effect of solo status on performance. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 34*, 1171–1184.