

GROUP EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE AND
ITS INFLUENCE ON GROUP EFFECTIVENESS

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The use of work groups in organizational settings has grown dramatically in the last decade as organizations have discovered that integrating diverse perspectives, skills, and knowledge enhances innovation and improves decisions (Lawler, 1998). The increased use of groups has also created keen interest in determining what makes them effective so that their success can be facilitated. A number of existing theoretical models help to answer this question by defining factors that impact a group's effectiveness. Common factors in most models include: organizational context (e.g., reward systems, culture, educational systems, etc.), group design (e.g., size, skills, etc.), group processes, and boundary management (Cohen, 1994; Shea & Guzzo, 1987; Hackman, 1987; Sundstrom, DeMeuse & Futrell, 1990). At its core, however, effective teamwork requires achieving cooperation and collaboration among group members. Yet, there exists no theory that addresses with enough depth to be useful for those interested in building effective teams, the actions and beliefs that underlie the emergence of these important interaction processes (Cannon-Bowers, Tannenbaum, Salas, & Volpe, 1995; Donnellon, 1996).

The need to more clearly understand how cooperation and collaboration develop in groups has increased over the years as the implementation of work groups has grown from exclusive use on the shop floors of manufacturing organizations, to use among knowledge workers making highly complex and important decisions. Today,

cross-functional groups are used throughout organizational levels to promote better informed, more innovative decisions, and quicker response times. Such mandates place a premium on give-and-take cooperative interaction processes that facilitate information sharing, idea and knowledge integration, and collaboration among what Dougherty (1992) calls differing "thought worlds" or types of expertise.

In this chapter we argue that determining how groups develop effective interaction processes requires an understanding of the role of emotion in groups. Because many human emotions grow out of social interactions (Kemper, 1978), emotion is a pervasive influence in groups and is fundamentally linked to how group members interact and work together. We argue that the ability of a group to intelligently manage emotion plays an important role in interaction process and group effectiveness. In this chapter we develop a model that examines, in detail, the emotional processes that exist at multiple levels in a group setting. We also introduce the concept of group emotional intelligence (GEI), which we argue is necessary for managing these emotional processes. Group emotional intelligence is defined as the ability to develop a set of norms that manage emotional processes so as to cultivate trust, group identity, and group efficacy. We argue that these collective beliefs facilitate the development of group member cooperation and collaboration.

The chapter is organized as five sections. In section one, we define the collective beliefs that facilitate member cooperation and collaboration. As the paper proceeds, we define the emotion-focused norms required to cultivate those collective beliefs, and

outline how those group norms develop. Section two takes an in-depth look at the emotional process in groups, including how emotions influence and are influenced by the group. Section three describes the role that individual and group-level emotional intelligence (GEI) play in groups and presents an applied framework of the group norms that characterize GEI. Section four describes the processes through which GEI norms develop in a group. We end with a synthesis of how GEI impacts group effectiveness and a discussion of the implications of our model for building effective work groups.

THE DESIRED OUTCOME: BUILDING COOPERATION AND COLLABORATION

Research consistently reveals that cooperation and collaboration are fundamental interaction processes in work groups and fundamental ingredients for group effectiveness (Ancona & Caldwell, 1992; Argote, 1989; Campion, Medsker, & Higgs, 1993; Druskat, 1996; Tjosvold & Tjosvold, 1994). Utilizing the assumption that salient cognition predicts behavior (see Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Scheier & Carver, 1982), we reviewed the extensive literature on group dynamics and interpersonal relationships to determine the collective beliefs in groups that predict and facilitate cooperation and collaboration. Three such beliefs were identified: trust, group identity, and group efficacy. In the pages that follow, we will argue that group emotional intelligence is necessary for building these collective beliefs and thus, effective interaction process (i.e., cooperation and collaboration).

Many agree that trust is an essential ingredient for developing cooperation in groups (Coleman, 1988; Jones & George, 1998, McAllister, 1995). Definitions of trust view the construct as growing out of affect and friendship (i.e., stemming from reciprocal interpersonal care and concern), and/or out of calculus-based cognitions (i.e., I trust that you can and will do what you say) (see McAllister, 1995; Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998). It seems clear that trust is both affective and cognitive and involves a sense of expectation, obligation (Coleman, 1990), and reciprocity (Clarkson, 1998). Coleman (1990) asserts that the social environment also plays an important role in trust. For example, in a trustworthy social environment, it can be assumed that an obligation will be fulfilled and an expectation met, thus creating a system of mutual trust. Clearly, obligations, expectations, and reciprocity are related constructs that can turn trust into a powerful group resource fostering cooperation and partnership or collaboration.

The second collective belief we consider necessary for building effective interaction processes in groups is group identity, defined as a group's collective belief that it is a unique, important, and attractive entity. Group identity "brings up a boundary" (Yan & Louis, 1999) around a group that clearly defines group membership and facilitates feelings of inclusiveness and attachment. As such, group identity creates the sense of security that Kahn (1998) describes as necessary for task engagement during periods of organizational unpredictability. Research has found that successful managers strive to build group identity in their work groups (e.g., often through the use

of symbols such as group names) in order to increase cooperation between members and commitment to the group and its task (Boyatzis, 1982). Thus, group identity is a collective belief that facilitates the sense among group members that their goals and future are positively linked. It thus increases member commitment to one another and facilitates the cooperation and collaboration necessary for group success.

The final collective belief we consider necessary for building effective interaction processes is group efficacy, defined as the collective belief in a group that it can be effective (Lindsley, Brass, and Thomas, 1995). Field research has consistently found a group's sense of efficacy to be linked to its task effectiveness (Campion et al., 1993; Shea & Guzzo, 1987; Silver & Bufanio, 1996). We argue that group efficacy facilitates cooperation and collaboration by giving group members the sense that they can be more effective as a unit than individually. As such, group efficacy creates its own self-fulfilling prophecy (see Darley & Fazio, 1980).

Together, these three collective beliefs are a powerful group resource that improves group decision-making and group effectiveness by facilitating cooperation and collaboration (Ancona & Caldwell, 1992; Clarkson, 1998; Coleman, 1990; Dirks, 1999; Edmondson, 1999; Jones & George, 1998). We now turn to a discussion of the role of emotions in the group context where we will begin arguing that the way emotions are treated in a group influences the emergence of the collective beliefs discussed above. We specifically argue that GEI norms facilitate the development of trust, group

identity, and group efficacy, which subsequently motivate effective task focused processes including cooperation and collaboration.

EMOTIONS IN THE GROUP CONTEXT

Many human emotions grow out of social interactions (Kemper, 1978), making emotion an inevitable and pervasive influence on group life (Barsade & Gibson, 1998). Knowing how emotions affect behavior in groups is, therefore, useful for understanding and predicting group behavior. In this section we begin by detailing the process through which emotions influence behavior. We then describe how understanding this process provides insights about the influence of emotions in work groups.

The theoretical representation of emotion we use borrows from the anthropological literature and is based on Levy (1984). An anthropological perspective is useful for understanding emotion in groups because it incorporates cultural influence in the interpretation and management of emotion. We argue that group cultural norms, like cultural norms in communities and societies, exert a powerful influence on the processing and expression of emotion by group members. Levy's (1984) perspective uses a cognitive appraisal theory of emotion (see Lazarus, 1991) that suggests the emotional process occurs in a sequence that begins with an eliciting event and proceeds as follows: (1) awareness of the eliciting event or situation, (2) interpretation of the situation such that emotional arousal or an 'emotional feeling' enters into conscious

awareness, and (3) the selection of an action or behavior as a response to the feeling.

This process is represented in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Anthropologists have long proposed cultures to have conventions and norms that influence the management of emotions (see Ekman, 1980; Lutz, 1988). In that sense, cultural norms or rules create commonality and predictability among individuals in their interpretation and response to emotional stimuli. Thus, in Figure 1, culture is shown to influence the emotional process in two places. First, the interpretation of an eliciting event is shaped by culture. For example, in some cultures arriving late to a meeting is interpreted as socially correct while in other cultures it is considered unacceptable. The difference between the two cultures in a person's interpretation of lateness will, therefore, elicit different emotions. Second, culture influences the selection of a response to emotion. Levy (1984) considers culture to be an internalized "system of control for producing integrated, adaptive, sane behavior" (p. 232). Thus, culture provides specific "display rules" that influence the selection of a culturally acceptable response (Ekman, 1980). For example, Kleinman (1988) found that it is unacceptable to express depression in Chinese culture, thus, the feeling of depression is expressed as a physical ailment.

There are three important aspects of this model that help us understand the role of emotion in work groups. First, emotions contain important information that can alert members to issues that require the group's attention and response (Fein, 1990), e.g., tension resulting from unresolved conflict. Second, the model posits a connection between emotions and behavior. In so doing, it emphasizes that emotions play a role in driving group member behavior. Third, the model proposes that once emotions reach consciousness, their interpretation and expression are influenced by expectations or norms.

A fourth implication for work groups grows out of the emotion-behavior connection. According to Folkman and Lazarus (1988), an emotional cycle is created from this connection. Emotion leads to behavior, which leads to changes in the relationship between the individual and the environment (i.e., the group and its members), which leads to emotion. Moreover, the cycle can take a positive or negative direction. It can create an upward self-reinforcing spiral of trust, group identity, and group efficacy; or, it can create a downward self-reinforcing spiral of dysfunctional conflict and detachment (Hackman, 1990; Lindsley, Brass, & Thomas, 1995). We propose that emotionally intelligent responses to stimuli contribute to the development of a positive cycle. We also argue that in the group context, individual emotional intelligence is not enough to support the positive cycle. It requires both individual- and group-level emotional intelligence (GEI).

The influence of cultural norms on the interpretation of an emotional stimulus and the resulting behavior forms the basis of our definition of group emotional intelligence. An integral element of our definition is the group's ability to create norms (i.e., a group cultural influence) that channel the interpretation of an emotional stimulus and subsequent behavior in ways that have a positive impact on group effectiveness. A full definition of GEI and the process of its creation is presented in a following section. We first turn to a discussion of individual emotional intelligence and its role in the group.

EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

Individual Emotional Intelligence

Goleman (1998) proposes that emotional intelligence has two overall categories of competence – both of which are related to the management of the emotional process described in the above section. The first is labeled "personal competence" and involves self-awareness, self-regulation, and self-motivation. The lightning speed with which the emotional process occurs makes the first two personal competencies important in social situations. They keep one from responding to emotional stimuli before fully contemplating the consequences of an action. Indeed, emotional intelligence involves keen awareness of the emotional process and the ability to manage it effectively (Goleman, 1995, 1998; Mayer & Salovey, 1997). Self-awareness and self-regulation enhance one's ability to mobilize a culturally appropriate interpretation of emotional

stimuli and to enact a situationally appropriate behavioral response. Self-motivation is defined as controlling emotions so that they guide and facilitate reaching goals.

Goleman (1998) labels the second category of competence that defines emotional intelligence as "social competence." This involves social awareness (i.e., empathy) and social skills. These involve the ability to label and recognize others' emotions, needs, and concerns, and the ability to help others manage their emotions so as to achieve desirable responses (e.g., enhancing positive and moderating negative outcomes) (Goleman, 1995, 1998; Mayer & Salovey, 1997). Figure 2 represents the inclusion of individual-level emotional intelligence into our model and represents it as influencing the interpretations of a situation and behavioral reactions to emotional arousal.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Importantly, the emotion-behavior cycle discussed above reveals how individual-level emotional intelligence can have an impact in a group. When emotion is stimulated in a social situation (e.g., group conflict), any response affects relationships among those involved, creating further emotion (Folkman & Lazarus, 1988). The emotion-behavior-emotion cycle can fuel a self-reinforcing spiral of positive or negative emotions that over time build a system of collective beliefs about issues such as trust, safety, and group efficacy. Emotionally intelligent responses to stimuli contribute to the development of a positive cycle. For example, Wolff (1998) found that when group

members act in a respectful and supportive manner it fuels beliefs about safety in a group that, in turn, create cohesion and group satisfaction.

However, we argue that to create an upward self-reinforcing spiral of trust, group identity, and group efficacy, requires more than a few group members that exhibit emotionally intelligent behavior. It requires the ability to develop group norms that influence the emotional process (e.g., awareness of emotions, interpretation of events, and behavioral responses to emotion) in constructive ways, or what we have labeled group-level emotional intelligence (GEI).

Group Emotional Intelligence

We define group emotional intelligence as the ability of a group to generate a shared set of norms that manage the emotional process in a way that builds trust, group identity, and group efficacy. As discussed above, the emotion-behavior-emotion cycle can spiral positively or negatively. A group with high emotional intelligence creates a positive cycle through the norms it develops to influence the emotional process.

Group emotional intelligence operates through two mechanisms. Recall two of the main insights taken from our discussion of the emotional process in groups: (1) Group cultural norms influence the interpretation of and behavioral response to emotion, and (2) emotional awareness provides information that may need the group's attention. Thus, GEI can operate through norms that regulate the interpretation of and response to emotional stimuli (i.e., regulation mechanisms), and it can operate through

norms that affect the degree to which the group becomes aware of emotional information (i.e., awareness mechanisms).

A distinguishing feature of the group context is that awareness and regulation mechanisms focus on three distinct arenas of interaction (i.e., interpersonal, group, cross-boundary). Thus, the group must develop norms that facilitate awareness and regulation of (1) the emotion of individual members (similar to empathy and social skills in the definition of individual emotional intelligence), (2) shared group-level emotion (similar to group atmosphere (Lewin, 1948) or group mind (McDougall, 1920)), and (3) the emotion inherent in relationships with groups and individuals outside the group boundary. In each arena, emotionally competent behavior builds trust, group identity, and group efficacy – beliefs that have been linked empirically to group effectiveness. Figure 3 adds GEI to our model and reveals the connection between the emotional process and collective beliefs. GEI replaces "cultural influences" shown in Figure 2. We also add an arrow directly from GEI to emotional arousal to represent the ability of the group to develop norms that encourage awareness of the group's emotional state and its ability to use the information embedded in the emotion.

Insert Figure 3 about here

Managing Emotion in the Individual Arena

Group emotional intelligence norms that facilitate awareness of individual needs and that regulate behavior to address those needs will have a positive impact on group effectiveness. In their study of group intelligence and group performance, Williams and Sternberg (1988) found that having even one overly zealous or domineering member significantly inhibited the quality of a group's performance. This might be due to "emotional contagion," as described by Barsade (1998), who found that one member with strong emotion could influence the emotion of an entire group. Thus, the first set of GEI norms must act to balance attending to individual member emotions and needs, with influencing or regulating them so as to induce desirable member behaviors and attitudes. As presented in Figure 4, we propose two elements of individually focused GEI to be: (1) group awareness of member emotions (i.e., member feelings, needs, preferences, resources, and concerns), and (2) group regulation of member emotional expression. The specific GEI norms that fall under each of these categories will now be reviewed.

Insert Figure 4 about here

Group awareness of members. Theory and research suggest two interrelated GEI norms that facilitate member awareness of the feelings, needs, and concerns of other members, and thus, help a group identify issues that need attention. The first norm is labeled "perspective-taking" (Boland & Tenkasi, 1995; Schober, 1998).

Perspective-taking occurs in conversation and is exhibited as the willingness to consider matters from the other's point of view. Successful conversation (Schober, 1998) and successful problem solving (Boland & Tenkasi, 1995) require the coordination of perspectives. Schober (1998) proposes that perspectives can be derived from four different sources: (1) a speaker's time, place, and identity, (e.g., a member's specific role on the assembly line might reveal a unique perspective on the work process), (2) a speaker's conceptualization (e.g., a specific characterization of the group's problem), (3) a speaker's conversational agenda (e.g., a member may be avoiding conflict because she wants to end a meeting early), and (4) a speaker's knowledge base (e.g., a member with expertise in finance is likely to bring a different perspective than one with expertise in marketing). Boland and Tenkasi (1995) argue that innovation requires perspective-taking. We argue that perspective-taking as a group norm benefits group effectiveness through two routes. First, it facilitates the successful assimilation of important information. Second, a member who feels her perspective is heard is more likely to trust and identify with her group and its decisions (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; McAllister, 1995), and would be more likely to give her energy and attention to the group's work (Kahn, 1990).

The second group norm under this dimension is labeled "interpersonal understanding" and is defined as the accurate understanding of the spoken and unspoken feelings, interests, concerns, strengths and weakness of group members. It allows members to predict and understand one another's day-to-day behavior. It is

based on the research of Druskat (1996) who found that members of high performing self-managing work teams exhibited significantly higher levels of interpersonal understanding than members of lower performing teams. She found that when norms supported interpersonal understanding, members could accurately interpret one another's non-verbal emotional expressions and behavior and would know whether a fellow team member was having work-related problems or needed to take a break (Druskat, 1996).

Group regulation of members. There is great tension in groups between creating norms that ensure predictable group member behavior, and at the same time creating enough leeway to allow members a sense of control and individuality. Theorists have argued that, paradoxically, the more a group allows its members to exert their individuality, the more its members will be open to placing their individualism aside for the good of the group (Smith & Berg, 1987). We propose two interrelated GEI norms that when taken together create a balance between regulating member behavior and allowing individual control. The first norm under this dimension is labeled "confronting members who break norms" and is defined as speaking-up when a member does something considered out of line. It is based on the research of Druskat (1996) who found that members of high performing self-managing work teams confronted members who broke norms more often than members of lower performing teams who often chose not to engage in confrontation out of fear that it would exacerbate problems and hurt relationships. It is also supported by the research of

Murnighan and Conlon (1991) who found that members of successful string quartets used confrontation more frequently than the conflict avoidance or compromise tactics used more often by less successful quartets.

The second GEI norm under this dimension is labeled "caring orientation" (Kahn, 1998; Wolff, 1998) and is defined as communicating positive regard, appreciation, and respect. Through a caring orientation, group members communicate that the group values the presence and contribution of the recipient member. In a study of 67 work groups, Wolff (1998) found that a caring orientation in a group contributed to group effectiveness by increasing members' sense of safety, cohesion and satisfaction, which in turn, facilitated member engagement in the task. Kahn (1998) argues that a caring orientation builds workplace relationships that provide a "secure base" for individuals, which allows them to take risks that facilitate personal learning and development. Both Wolff (1998) and Kahn (1998) indicate that caring does not necessitate close personal relationships. It requires member validation and respect.

Together, the GEI norms of confronting members who break norms and caring orientation help to balance uniformity and individuality within the group. In any group, an individual's beliefs, assumptions and expectations are partially shared with other group members and partially unique to the individual. Thus, an important aspect of regulating group members is the ability to perceive, surface, and manage the emotional tension that arises from differences between individual and group needs. Smith and Berg (1987) describe the paradox of involvement as a search to "mesh

individual needs and wishes with ... what the group needs and wants" (p. 95). When an individual does not share the same drive to act as the rest of the group, yet group norms coerce compliance with group action, cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) occurs.

Cognitive dissonance creates a negative drive state that must be resolved by the individual. An emotionally intelligent group has the ability to become aware of this tension (see GEI norms on awareness of members discussed above), and help the member resolve the dissonance in a way that builds, or at least does not deplete trust or sense of belonging. An emotionally non-intelligent group either does not recognize or address the tension, or does so in a way that reduces group member trust and sense of belonging.

Figure 5 illustrates examples of some of the ways a group can help manage the cognitive dissonance and resolve the tension. As shown, the group can attempt to coerce the individual into acting according to the group's wishes (which is likely to deplete trust); the group can use persuasive argument to bring the individual around to sharing the group's rationale for action (which is likely to have little effect on trust); the group can alter its behavior to be more in line with the individual's thinking (which may create additional tension in other members, thus, depleting trust); the individual could decide to become a rebel and act out against the group (thus, depleting trust); or the group could confront the member in a caring way that builds consensus and brings shared interpretations and behaviors more in line with each other (which is likely to increase trust and group identity).

Insert Figure 5 about here

An ethnographic study on control practices used in self-managing teams (Barker, 1993) illustrates the need for consensus building as a continuous process. Barker (1993) determined that early in the teams' formation, control was rooted in norms based on consensual values. However, over time, circumstances and membership changed and team control moved away from consensual values and toward a strict and unforgiving form of concertive control. An important contributor to this shift was turnover of membership. New members had not been part of the early consensus building activities, thus, giving them little sense of ownership over group norms and values that they were expected to follow. Thus, rules became increasingly necessary for norm enforcement. Surely, trust and group identify in Barker's teams diminished with the enforcement of these rule-based norms.

As a set, the GEI norms of perspective-taking, interpersonal understanding, confronting members who break norms, and caring, create a sense of social support and social acceptance and help balance group and individual needs. Sarason, Sarason and Pierce (1990) propose that supported individuals feel they are worthwhile, capable, valued members of a group and that the resources needed to pursue and achieve their goals are available to them, either within themselves or through a combination of their own efforts and those of their group members. Theory and research also reveal that

social acceptance and belongingness facilitate individual self-esteem (Baumeister, 1998; Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995), reduce anxiety, and enhance interpersonal skills (Sarason et al., 1990).

Managing Emotion in the Group Arena

LeBon (1977, originally published in 1895) was the first to propose that emotion in a group context can create a powerful force that overwhelms individual differences in emotion and creates a collective group character. McDougall (1920) later labeled the phenomenon "group mind." At the core of LeBon's and McDougall's controversial theories is the proposition that there can exist a group-level construct greater than the sum of its individual parts (Barsade & Gibson, 1998). Three decades later, Lewin (1948) referred to "group atmosphere" as a similar group-level phenomenon that had a strong influence on group member behavior. Since then, researchers have defined and empirically examined a great number of group-level constructs that are influenced by emotion and that shape member behavior and attitudes. Samples of these include group cohesiveness (Festinger, Schacter & Back, 1950; Gully, Devine, & Whitney, 1995; Whyte, 1943), group emotional or affective tone (Cartwright & Zander, 1968; George, 1990), social support (Campion et al., 1993; Gladstein, 1984), and conflict norms (Jehn, 1995, 1997).

The potentially strong effect of group-level emotion (Barsade & Gibson, 1998) requires that GEI norms facilitate awareness of group-level emotion and also regulate it.

As presented in Figure 4, we propose two dimensions of GEI under this category: (1) group self-awareness, and (2) group self-regulation.

Group self-awareness. Goleman's (1998) theory of individual emotional intelligence proposes self-awareness as a key dimension. Self-awareness is defined as knowing one's internal states, preferences, resources, and intuitions (p. 26). We borrow from this definition and define group self-awareness as member awareness of group-level emotional states, preferences, and resources. We propose that awareness of these issues can help a group think intelligently about itself and its needs. Indeed, it has been argued that understanding these aspects of an organization's culture can facilitate decisions that support an organization's core competence and, thus, focus and increase organizational effectiveness (Prahalad & Hamel, 1990; Schein, 1985). We propose the same to be true in a group context.

The first group norm we propose under this dimension is labeled "team self-evaluation" and is defined here as a group's ability to evaluate itself including its emotional states and the strengths and weaknesses in its modes of interaction and operation as a team. Research indicates that highly effective teams are more likely than lower performing teams to hold a norm that supports team self-evaluation (Druskat, 1996; McIntyre & Salas, 1995). Druskat (1996) found that team self-evaluation often manifests itself through the collection of information about other teams and then the comparison of one's own team to those other teams. This behavior is consistent with what Festinger (1954) labeled social comparison. Festinger's theory argued that the only

way to truly know how good one is at something is to compare oneself to others. To obtain such comparisons the effective teams in Druskat's study often observed and discussed the attitudes and work habits of other teams and used the information to define what was good or bad about their own team.

McIntyre and Salas (1995) propose that team self-awareness is also encouraged by a norm supporting the value of feedback and constructive criticism. Thus, the second group norm in the self-awareness dimension of GEI is labeled "seeking feedback" and is defined as searching out feedback from external sources. A norm of seeking feedback creates a climate in which continuous improvement can occur. In a review of 33 laboratory studies examining the impact of feedback on group behavior, Nadler (1979) concluded that feedback can bring about positive change in a group through its impact on motivation and cuing (i.e., calling attention to important issues). He also determined that positive feedback can improve attraction to the group, pride in the group, involvement, and esteem. In her research with self-managing work teams, Druskat (1996) also found that the higher performing teams were more likely than average teams to seek out and attend to feedback.

Group self-regulation. Mayer and Salovey (1997) propose that individual emotional intelligence includes the ability to regulate emotion so as to promote emotional and intellectual growth. We borrow from this definition and propose that GEI involves self-regulation so as to promote group emotional well-being and development. As such, it works in partnership with the self-awareness dimension.

Group self-awareness reveals issues that require the group's attention, but does not guarantee the group will effectively address those issues. Group self-regulation refers to a group's ability to manage its emotional states and create desirable responses. It encompasses what Holmer (1994) refers to as coping with or managing emotional challenge.

Emotional challenge is the degree of psychological threat perceived in a situation. In his theory of "orientation and response to emotional challenge" Holmer (1994) argues "The quality of our response to such challenge [defined by Holmer as emotional capacity] clearly affects our perceptions and interpretation of 'the facts' and hence our ability to take appropriate action" (p. 53). A group with low emotional capacity responds to emotional challenge with "self-deception and avoidance of reality" (p. 50). For example, a product development team might miss its deadline because underlying tensions in the team reduced its efficiency. A group with low emotional capacity may choose to ignore the issue to avoid conflict or they may blame external causes. A group with high emotional capacity, however, responds with "full awareness and responsiveness" (p. 50), e.g., members recognize and confront the problem. The norms of group self-regulation, which we define below, are related to a group's ability to build emotional capacity and mobilize effective responses to emotional challenge. Research and theory suggest three norms needed for a group to regulate its response to emotional arousal. These are outlined below.

Creating Resources for Working with Emotion. A group facilitates effective interpretation and response to emotional stimuli by providing resources that encourage the recognition of emotional stimuli and that help members discuss how they feel about those stimuli (Levy, 1984). Levy (1984) argues that people draw upon cultural resources for their ability to process feelings – without such resources, emotion is likely to be ignored or suppressed. In individuals, suppressed emotion leads to dysfunctions such as depression (Kleinman, 1988). In groups, suppressed emotion might manifest itself as apathy or lack of motivation. An emotionally intelligent group accepts emotion as an inherent part of group life. It legitimizes discussion of emotional issues and creates a vocabulary for discussing them.

Legitimizing discussion of emotional issues provides a resource that permits group members to examine and cope with their feelings. For example, learning can be associated with risk, uncertainty, and anxiety (Schein, 1993). Unless a group legitimizes and makes available time to address these emotional issues, learning can be reduced. Duck (1993) described a team responsible for a complex computer conversion that effectively dealt with emotion by scheduling time to discuss such emotions during their meetings. Fifteen minutes were dedicated to the expression of feelings associated with the difficulty and stress surrounding the project. This was followed by a "brag session" where small victories were celebrated. These discussions resulted in heightened group identity and efficacy or confidence to complete the task well. Team members felt closer to one another and they felt they were part of a winning team.

Another important group resource for working with emotion is the creation of a common, acceptable language for discussing emotion (Levy, 1984). For example, if group norms limit the use of the word "fear," group members may interpret the feeling as anger and act accordingly. They may also look for blame, hold unproductive gripe sessions, and/or try to find ways to retaliate against the source of the "anger."

Alternatively, the feeling may be suppressed, which can lead to dysfunction and apathy (Holmer, 1994; Kleinman, 1988). Sanctioning use of the word fear and labeling the emotion accurately can lead to the type of appropriate response used by the team in Duck's (1993) study described above.

Creating an Affirmative Environment. Once a group has accepted emotion and created resources for working with it, it must channel its energy to create an affirmative environment that cultivates positive images of the group's past, present, and future. As discussed above, emotion can be contagious in a group environment (Barsade & Gibson, 1998); thus, constructive, positive images can have an important impact on how emotions are ultimately experienced in a group. Research by Cooperrider (1987) suggests that positive images facilitate positive affect, positive behavior, and positive outcomes. For example, in an affirmative environment, group members are likely to interpret an unexpected obstacle as a challenge rather than a difficulty and, thus, are likely to mobilize positive energy to manage the obstacle and to generate a sense of group efficacy. Cooperrider (1990) argues that imagery "integrates cognition and affect and becomes a catalytic force through its sentiment-evoking quality" (p. 104). Indeed,

the research of Isen and her colleagues shows that positive affect helps create a heightened sense of optimism toward the future (Isen & Shalcker, 1982) and predisposes people toward acts that would likely support continued positive affect, e.g., helping (Isen, Shalcker, Clark, & Karp, 1978).

A body of research that supports the power of positive images is that examining expectancy confirmation and the tendency toward self-fulfilling prophecies, often referred to as the Pygmalion effect. This research (see Rosenthal & Rubin, 1978 for a summary of 345 studies) reveals that one's expectations about the capabilities of another individual tend to be confirmed. An example is the study in which a teacher is told that one set of students is very bright and able while a second set is not. In fact, both sets of students score equally on standardized exams. When the students are retested at the end of the school year, those students believed by the teacher to be the more able, test higher on the exam. In this situation, expectancy confirmation occurs because of the positive or negative image held by the teacher and the way this influences how he or she treats and works with students throughout the school year. A positive image creates a positive upward spiral of encouragement and success, while a negative image creates a downward spiral of discouraging interactions and failure.

Creating an affirmative group environment can be accomplished through norms that guide the interpretation of emotional stimuli. Events that trigger emotion are often ambiguous, thus, individuals draw upon cultural norms to help them interpret and make sense of their feelings (Levy, 1984). Interpreting and labeling ambiguous events

through positive images can create a self-fulfilling prophecy in groups. For example, failure can be interpreted as a constructive learning opportunity. Indeed, recent research indicates that effective groups are more likely to interpret failures as opportunities to learn (Edmondson, 1999). Negative images surrounding failure tend to result in negative affect and a reduced sense of group efficacy (Fein, 1990), which can create a negative emotional spiral for a work group.

Proactive Problem Solving. The third norm associated with group self-regulation of emotion is proactive problem solving (Druskat, 1996), which involves actively taking initiative to resolve issues that stand in the way of task accomplishment. For example, teachers in today's public schools must improve instruction within a budget imposed by the school district. They can choose to focus on the limitations imposed by the budget or they can engage in proactive action such as writing grants to secure additional funds. By taking control of the situation they create a sense of group efficacy and reduce the emotional challenge experienced by the group (Fein, 1990). In her study of self-managing work teams Druskat (1996) found that effective teams took proactive control of ambiguous or difficult situations. Members of one highly effective team that was experiencing frequent equipment breakdowns decided that rather than continue to endure the long wait for the maintenance crew to make the repairs, they would watch closely while the mechanics repaired the problem and, even though it was against plant policy, repair the problem themselves. Other teams with norms supporting proactive problem solving designed new parts rather than tolerate equipment that was difficult to

maneuver or utilize. The result for these teams was an increased sense of control over their environment, a greater sense of group efficacy, and enhanced performance.

Managing Emotion in the Cross-Boundary Arena

Research indicates that group effectiveness also requires networks of relationships with individuals and groups outside of a group's boundary (Ancona & Caldwell, 1992; Argote, 1989; Druskat, 1996; Gladstein, 1984). Indeed, Yan and Louis (1999) argue that the cross-functional, cross-boundary communication required for smooth organizational functioning that once occurred through formal hierarchical channels has now become the responsibility of work groups. Thus, the third dimension of GEI must involve an awareness of the feelings, needs, and concerns of important individuals and groups in the external boundary. It must also involve the social skills required to develop relationships with these individuals and to gain their confidence. As presented in Figure 4, we propose two dimensions of GEI related to cross-boundary emotion: (1) group social awareness, and (2) group social skills.

Group social awareness. Roles and activities in effective groups are directed outward as well as inward so that groups can gain external influence and obtain resources that exist outside of their boundaries (Ancona & Caldwell, 1992; Yan & Louis, 1999). To effectively engage in such activities, a group must first understand the needs and expectations of the broader organizational system and of the specific individuals and groups with whom it must interact (Druskat, 1996). We have identified two GEI

norms related to this type of social awareness: Organizational awareness, and inter-team awareness.

Organizational awareness refers to the ability of the group to be aware of and understand the social and political system of which it is a part. In her study of self-managing work teams, Druskat (1996) found that highly effective teams had a better understanding of the organization's culture including how and why managers made certain decisions. This understanding served the team well when they needed external resources. For example, one team had requested a new piece of equipment that they felt was necessary to their continued smooth operation. When management procrastinated in making the decision to purchase the equipment, they reframed their request and argued that their safety was at risk. They then attended a plant wide safety meeting and stood up in front of the plant and upper management to present the case for their new equipment. This team understood that safety was of paramount importance in the eyes of management. They also understood that by announcing their own safety issue in a public place they were more likely to capture the attention of management. They got their new equipment.

Emotionally intelligent groups also recognize the expectations and needs of other groups in the organization; we label this norm inter-team awareness. In a study of 30 hospital emergency units, Argote (1989) found that the most effective units had groups with high levels of inter-team agreement about norms. She concluded that agreement

among teams about inter-team norms and processes was more important for unit effectiveness than the specific processes adopted.

Group social skills. Being aware of organizational and inter-team issues and expectations is not sufficient to influence and engage the resources necessary for group effectiveness. A group must also have the skill to develop relationships that help to secure the resources. We have identified the norm of building relationships with external sources as representative of this category of GEI.

A study of group boundary-management activity and its link to team effectiveness conducted by Ancona & Caldwell (1992) determined that the most effective teams employed norms and strategies that involved engaging in what the researchers labeled ambassadorial activities, e.g., communicating frequently with those above them in the hierarchy, persuading others to support the team, and keeping others informed about the team's activities. The least effective teams were those labeled isolationists because they avoided engaging in boundary management activities including communicating with those outside the team about the team's activities. Druskat (1996) also found that highly effective teams build good relationships with other teams. Some of the effective teams in her study went out of their way to help a team that was having equipment problems or was far behind in its production schedule. One team even nominated another team for the organization's "team of the month" award. It is important to note that these teams knew that their help and respect would be reciprocated. Emotionally intelligent groups recognize they are part of a

larger social system and work to develop contacts and relationships that can facilitate their effectiveness.

DEVELOPING GROUP EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE

We have defined GEI as the ability to develop a set of norms. An important question is how these norms emerge and get enforced. Symbolic interactionism (see Layder, 1994; Stryker & Statham, 1985) proposes that group norms emerge through group member interactions. Through interaction and negotiation, members actively create expectations about how they should think and act in their group. Sherif (1936) was the first to conduct laboratory experiments examining the emergence of social norms. To study norm formation he made use of the autokinetic effect, which is the visual perception that a small stationary light is moving when it is seen in a dark room. When experimental subjects were tested one-by-one in a dark room, they each established their own consistent estimate of how far the light moved. When the same subjects were placed in a room in groups of three or four where they could then hear one another's responses, their individual judgements changed, converging into a group judgement. Postgroup tests in the individual condition showed that even when alone again, individuals' thinking continued to be influenced by their former group's norm. The research also revealed the resilience of group norms. In the group condition, even when old group members left and new members were entered into the group one at a time, group norms lasted for four or five generations.

Subsequent research and theory provides important information about the specific processes that occur as group norms develop (see Bettenhausen & Murnighan, 1985; Feldman, 1984; Festinger, 1954; Weick & Bougon, 1986). This research suggests a four-phase process through which norms characteristic of group emotional intelligence would emerge.

In the first phase of norm development, members come together and base their behavior and expectations on their prior experience in similar situations (Bettenhausen & Murnighan, 1985; Feldman, 1984). Thus, for GEI norms to develop, some individual members need to arrive with the competencies required for emotional intelligence and a belief that behaving in emotionally intelligent ways will serve the group's well-being and effectiveness. If all members have had similar past experiences and believe in using emotions to think intelligently and in thinking intelligently about emotions, then GEI norms will develop with little need for negotiation or challenge. However, when members have differing expectations, discussion and negotiation will occur in the phases that follow.

The second phase starts as members begin to interact. This involves a series of actions, observations, and reflections through which members begin to create and make sense out of common experiences that start shaping their expectations (Bettenhausen & Murnighan, 1985). According to Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory, the ambiguity experienced in this early phase causes members to turn to one another to seek information about the correctness of their behaviors and beliefs. Thus, social

comparisons move the group towards convergence and uniformity by creating comfort and validation for individuals when they behave and think alike. Member sensemaking in this phase also involves experiments with risk-taking behavior and reflections about their consequences (Weick & Bougon, 1986). Members can learn by participating in such experiments, or by merely observing as others take the risks.

An example of how GEI norms would emerge from a series of interactions, observations, and reflections is seen in the relationship building process (Gabarro, 1987; Golembiewski & McConkie, 1975). Self-disclosure can be important for building close relationships and involves a series of reciprocated risk-taking behaviors (Jourard, 1971). One person takes the risk to self-disclose. The second person responds so as to indicate the disclosure will not result in harm, and then demonstrates approval by reciprocating with his or her own self-disclosure. The cycle repeats with each person growing to trust the other more deeply through each iteration and over time the relationship becomes defined through the repeated patterns of behavior. We propose that the same type of iterative, reflective process is involved in the development of group norms that characterize GEI. That is, as members exhibit emotionally intelligent behaviors such as perspective taking which involves seeking awareness of one another's points of view and emotions, the behavior is reciprocated and eventually, if approved of by the group, incorporated into a norm.

In phase three of the norm development process, members begin to challenge the emerging status quo of the group and voice alternative preferences (Bettenhausen &

Murnighan, 1985). This type of challenge occurred in most of the groups studied by Bettenhausen and Murnighan. They found the challenge could take two courses: It could provoke discussion and negotiation ending in an altered group path; or it could be dismissed, thus, confirming the perceived suitability of the group's direction. It must be noted that norms develop only for those behaviors and attitudes that are viewed as important by most group members (Hackman, 1976). Thus, during this phase, if GEI norms are emerging, they are likely to be challenged and must come to be supported by a majority of group members if they are to endure. Alternatively, if GEI norms have not emerged, this is an important point for group members to make interventions in support of GEI norms, and to try to influence group members in that direction.

We propose five forces that can leverage the importance of emotionally intelligent behavior in the eyes of the group majority. These involve the influence of: (1) formal team leaders, (2) informal team leaders, (3) courageous followers, (4) training, and (5) organizational culture. The first three involve interventions by individuals that believe in the importance of GEI norms and champion the cause of thinking intelligently about emotions and using emotions to think intelligently. These individuals can be formal team leaders that use their formal authority to intervene in the group's early norm building process to encourage emotionally intelligent behavior (see Bass, 1990). These leaders can also encourage GEI by providing individual coaching to members who need to build the competencies necessary to support GEI norms. Informal leaders, defined as high status, influential group members can also

play a critical role in developing GEI because they are likely to be those to whom members turn when seeking insight into appropriate behaviors and attitudes (De Souza & Klein, 1995; Wheelan & Johnston, 1996). Courageous followers (Chaleff, 1995) are not high status members, but are members who believe strongly enough in the importance of behaving in emotionally intelligent ways that they are willing to step forward and argue for norms that support GEI. Training programs provided early in a team's development could advocate developing GEI norms and can help to build the individual and group competencies necessary to support such norms. Indeed, training interventions have long been known to have an important influence on norm development (see Hackman, 1976). Finally, an organizational culture that supports and rewards emotionally intelligent behavior can promote and reinforce the emergence of emotionally intelligent group norms.

Finally, in phase four, group members start behaving according to the group's expectations instead of those they came in with to the group (Bettenhausen & Murnighan, 1985). Once norms are formed they are a strong influence on member behavior because deviations are usually met with sanctions (McGrath, 1984).

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

Our final model is presented in Figure 6. The model takes theory on group effectiveness one step closer toward explaining how to build effective work groups. Although several current theories describe the kind of behaviors a group needs to

display to be effective, they have not been fully useful for practicing managers interested in knowing how to build those behaviors (Cannon-Bowers et al., 1995; Donnellon, 1996). We propose that building effective groups requires building group trust, identity, and efficacy. We further suggest that how a group deals with emotion in the individual, group, and cross-boundary arenas is critical to building these collective beliefs.

Insert Figure 6 about here

Our model also has several practical implications for managers wishing to develop effective work groups. First, we provide a clear direction that involves two main destinations: Group-level emotional intelligence and cooperation/collaboration. Second, we provide a detailed map for getting to those destinations that outlines the group norms and behaviors we suggest to support those dimensions.

In sum, like other group theorists (see Cohen, 1994; Shea & Guzzo, 1987; Hackman, 1987; Sundstrom, DeMeuse & Futrell, 1990), we believe factors in a group's context (e.g., reward systems, culture, educational systems) to be important for setting up a group for success. However, we differ from others in our belief that the information age and current emphasis on cross-functional and empowered work teams means that group interaction processes and group member relationships are fast becoming the critical determinants of a group's level of effectiveness. As such, we

believe that groups play a role in creating their own context by actively choosing and constructing norms that prescribe how members will treat one another, work together, and deal with those outside of the group. By incorporating norms that build group emotional intelligence, groups can create self-reinforcing spirals of heedful interrelating, strong emotional attachments, effective interaction processes, and group effectiveness.

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FIGURE 1: The Emotional Process

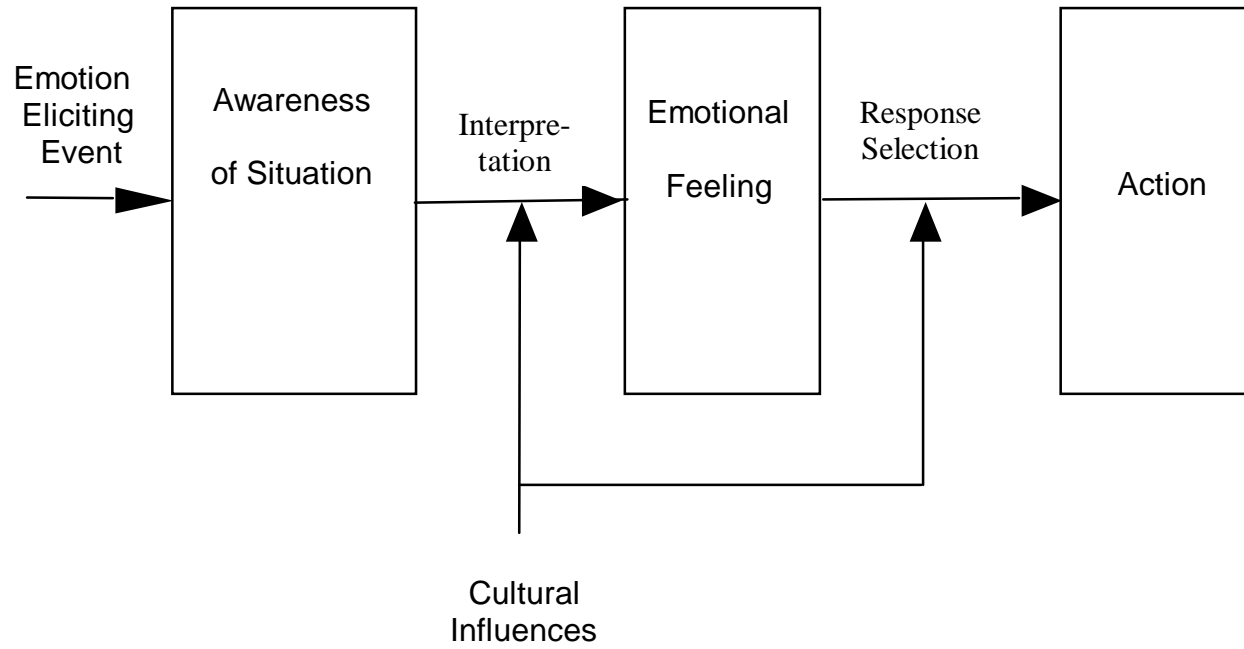


FIGURE 3: The Connection Between The Emotional Process and Collective Beliefs

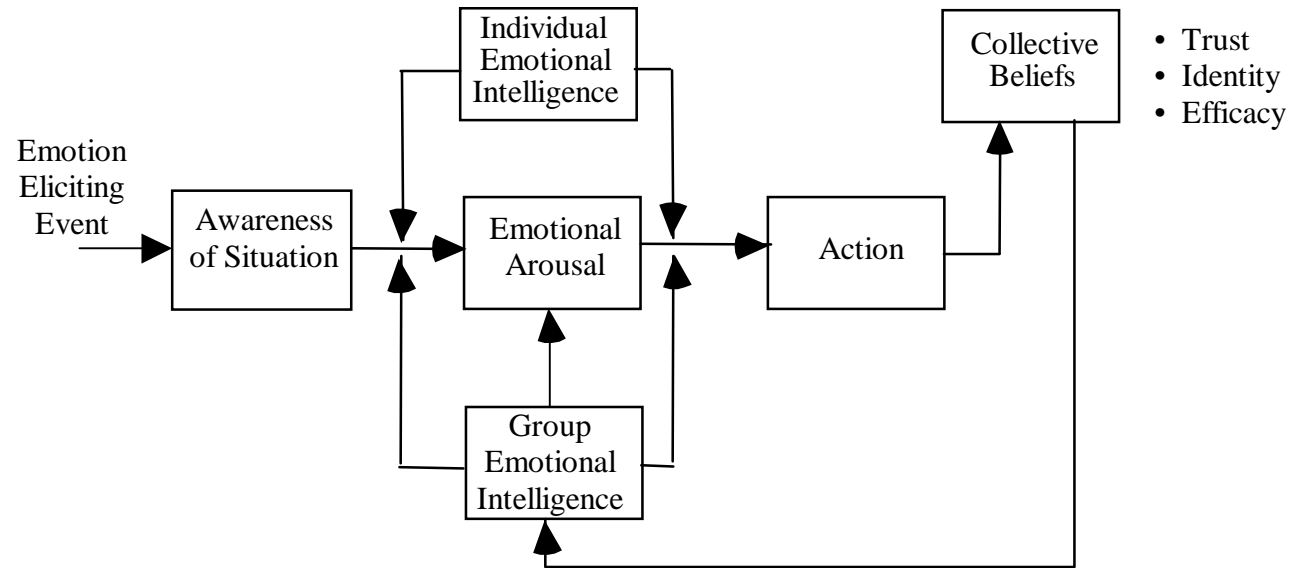


FIGURE 4: Dimensions of Group Emotional Intelligence

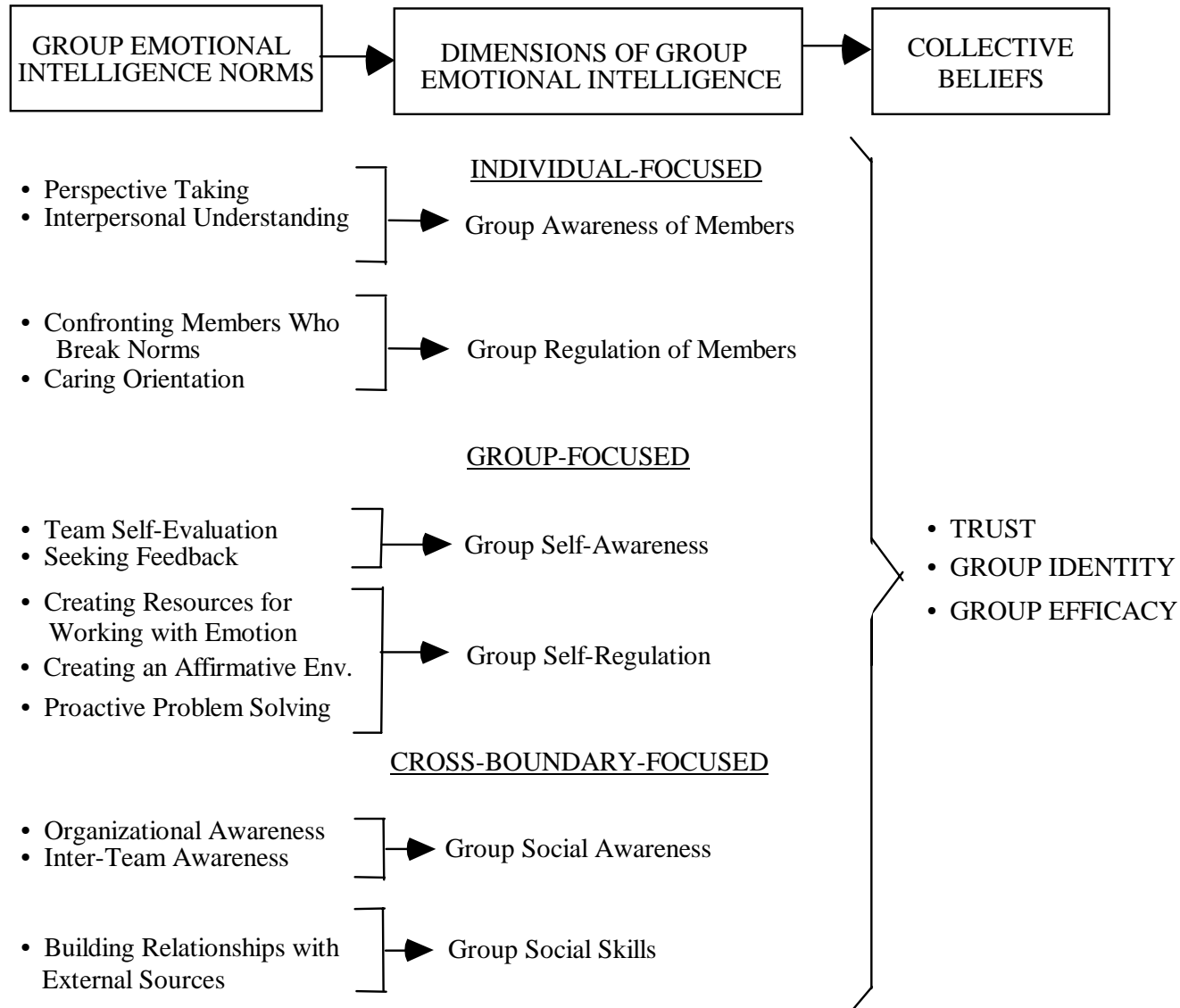
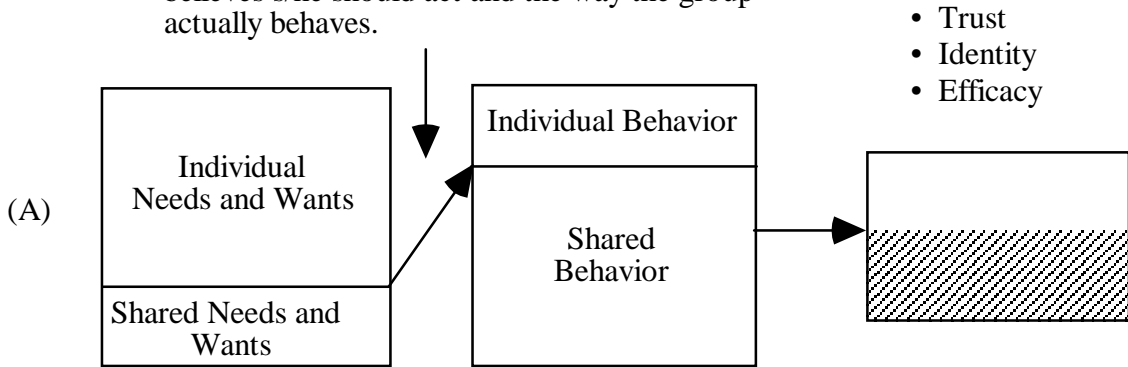
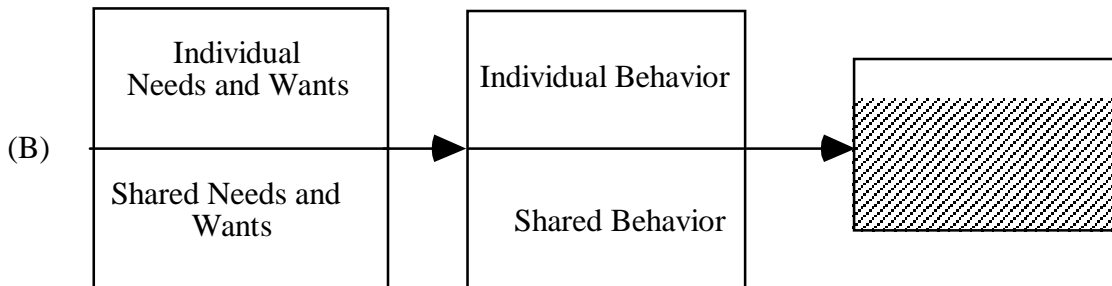


FIGURE 5: Managing Group Member Cognitive Dissonance

Cognitive Dissonance/Emotional Tension exists in the difference between how the individual believes s/he should act and the way the group actually behaves.



Trust is either used or created in the process of resolving the tension. The emotionally intelligent group resolves the tension in a way that builds trust, identity, and efficacy (e.g., confronting members in a caring way).



The non-emotionally intelligent group will either a) resolve tension in a way that drains social capital (e.g., coercion, relenting, and/or rebellion), or b) it will not be able to resolve the tensions.

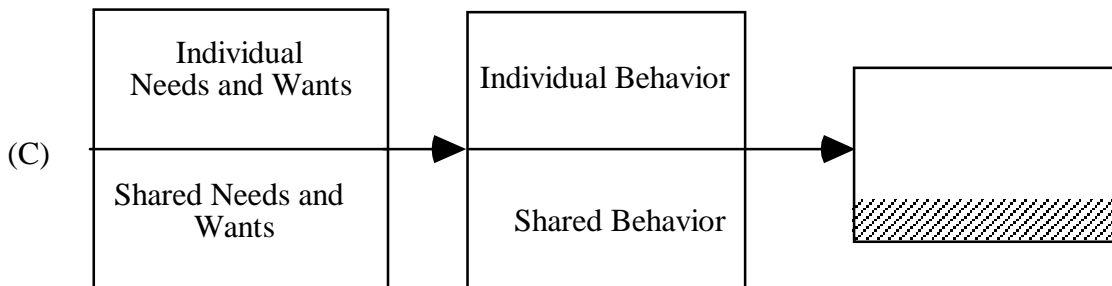


FIGURE 6: A Model of How Group Emotional Intelligence Influences Cooperation and Collaboration in Groups

