Using A Social Identity Approach to Reconcile Opposing Debates on Teamwork: An Examination of Manufacturing and Software Development Teams

Abigail Marks

Thesis submitted to the University of Strathclyde for the Degree of PhD

Department of Human Resource Management
University of Strathclyde, Glasgow.

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ABSTRACT

Existing theories and conceptualisations of teamwork fall into two broad categories. Firstly, the psychological or managerialist accounts which view teamwork as the answer to all organisational ills, by enhancing productivity, flexibility and efficiency, as well as improving employee satisfaction, motivation and commitment to the organisation. Secondly, there are the sociologically influenced accounts, usually provided by more 'critical[1]' writers who view teamworking at best as the latest in a succession of management fads and, at worst, a covert mechanism by which management intensify their control over employees.

It would, however, be naïve to accept either of these extreme accounts as the necessarily true version of events. Hence, it is the central aim of this thesis to reconcile these competing perspectives by using a framework which provides sufficient flexibility and openness to house a wealth of theoretical positions. An adapted version of what is called the *social identity approach* is adopted for this purpose, as this body of work allows both the acknowledgment of context and scepticism present in more critical accounts and the methodological and theoretical rigour associated with psychological work.

Empirical support for this approach is provided by the detailed examination of fourteen teams. Ten teams working for two manufacturing organisations. Four teams working for two technology companies. A combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques is adopted in order to gain a rounded understanding of the experiences for the teams and the context in which teamwork and identity are enacted. The findings from this empirical work show that the extent and form in which employees identify with the team can explain whether teamwork is a positive experience for employees or a mechanism for controlling behaviour by management.

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[1] Although the term 'critical theory' technically refers to the school of thought represented by the "Frankfurt School," which is body of theorising that combines psychoanalysis and Marxism. This thesis, along with other work, uses the term critical to refer to work that is influenced by radical or Marxist thinking.

LIST OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims and Objectives

The main aim of this thesis is to use a modified social identity approach to reconcile competing debates emerging from psychological and sociological literatures concerning the experience of teamwork for employees. The purpose of the current work is to develop the social identity perspective in order to form a lens through which it is possible to view teamwork from multiple standpoints. That is, in this thesis, the social identity approach is modified in a way which pulls together both the macro-level concerns of social reality and organisational structures from the sociologically informed literatures, and the more micro-level social interactions and interpretative actions of individuals and groups from the psychologically informed work.

This thesis trawls the landscape of social theory in order to find the best mechanism for reconciling these competing debates and supplementing the work of social identity theory (SIT) to develop a more comprehensive framework for examining teams. Existing theoretical paradigms are located within their historical context. Indeed, by reflecting how social theory has changed over the past quarter of a century, it is possible to see a more general move in social psychology to acknowledge the impact of personal agency, social membership and social awareness, and a more limited focus on individualistic reductionism. In the current work there is an emphasis on understanding real-life psychology in its social context.

In order to progress theoretical and conceptual development of a (modified) social identity approach to examining teams, a series of eight propositions[2] were developed. These were evaluated using multiple methods including interviews, surveys, and observation. Fourteen teams were examined in four organisations, across two industrial sectors. This empirical work developed the terrain of teamwork research by expanding the observed focus away from the traditional narrow landscape of

manual workers in a production setting (Marks and Lockyer, 2004; Mulholand, 2002). The data in this thesis contrasts the experience of employees within software development teams in Information Technology (IT) companies with that of workers operating in traditional production organisations. The knowledge-based work of the software development teams is thought to be in contrast to the routinised work of the manufacturing teams and the diversity of work and team functioning potentially contributes to the breadth of the findings.

1.2 Developing the Terrain

This introductory chapter aims to establish the central theoretical and empirical territories that inform this thesis; That is, to open up the debate as to why a variant of social identity theory is a useful way forward in the examination of groups and teams. Primarily, this section sets the scene in terms of establishing the rationale for the adoption of specific philosophical and theoretical positions. Discussion commences with a summary of the teamworking research to date, and how this is frequently divided between work from a psychological perspective and work located within a sociological framework. Resulting from this, the origins and premises implicit in the disciplines and sub disciplines are considered along with the specific features of each that are viewed as relevant to the current thesis. Discussion continues with an evaluation of social psychological positions, specifically the social identity approach. Importantly, the social identity approach, unlike other psychological theories, sees the group as an entity in its own right, rather than another context in which individual behaviour takes place. In reality, it is only really possible to understand the strengths and weaknesses of the social identity paradigm[3] adopted as part of this thesis, by examining how it differs from, and can be enhanced by other perspectives.

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[2] Seven propositions were derived from the review of the literature. An eighth proposition was added after the analysis of data from the manufacturing study. This process is compatible with the data analysis strategy of analytic induction.
[3] The use of the work paradigm in this instance is deliberate. Although it is understood that the term paradigm has specific meaning for many social science academics in terms of the broader philosophy of science e.g. work by Kuhn and Burrell and Morgan (Kuhn et al., 2000; Burrell and Morgan, 1979), paradigm in used in this thesis when referring to Haslam's (2004) social identity approach, as he labels this approach as a paradigm.

Examination of the differences in terms of understandings between disciplines highlights how social science is not a unified body of thought. Nowhere is this played out more than in terms of perspectives on methodology and the philosophical positions underpinning methodological choice. It is essential therefore, as a result of the adoption of a theoretical approach that pays attention to insights from multiple disciplines to reflect this within the methodologies used. The next step in this section is to introduce how the methods relate to theoretical positions and explore the potential of methodological choice.

The current chapter concludes with a summary of the issues raised within this section and a synopsis of all forthcoming chapters.

1.3 A Brief History of Work Organisation

Groups and teams have traditionally been a major focal point of psychological and sociological theory and research. An understanding of groups is necessary for almost every analysis of social behaviour, including, leadership, majority-minority relations, status, role differentiation and socialisation (Levine and Moreland, 1998). Furthermore, small groups provide important contexts within which other behaviours occur e.g. attraction, aggression and altruism (Geen, 1998, Batson, 1998). At a functional level, people spend much of their lives in collectives of some kind; e.g. families, school classes and sports teams, and these groups provide members with vital material and psychological resources.

Yet, the formal use of teams in organisations is a relatively recent phenomenon. Traditional work arrangements attempted to remove the power of the informal team and preferred a more individualised form of work organisation. This can be traced back to Adam Smith and his discussion of the benefits of the division of labour. Smith, in his 1776 work, 'An Inquiry into the Nature and Cause of the Wealth of Nations,' argued for the splitting of broad tasks into subtasks, each of which was to be assigned to an individual employee who would specialise in carrying out that subtask. He believed that the concentration and specialisation of workers on a single subtask would lead to increased skill and greater productivity.

Adam Smith's ideas influenced the work of Fredrick Winslow Taylor, the man generally considered to be the founding father of Scientific Management. Taylor argued that the application of scientific methods to workers could greatly improve productivity. Taylor promoted the use of time and motion studies to determine the most efficient method for performing each work task, a piece-rate system of compensation to maximize employee work effort, and the selection and training of employees based on an analysis of their personalities and skills. Hence, under scientific management, work was designed to be precisely measured and repetitive, with workers having little control or discretion over their work. One of the desired outcomes of this way of organising work was to reduce 'soldiering'. This was described by Taylor as manifesting itself in two forms. The first, from the nature instinct and tendency of men to take it easy - termed natural soldiering. The second form of soldiering – systematic soldiering – was viewed as being more intricate, and evolving frominteractions with other men (Taylor, 1947, p.19). Taylor was recognising the occurrence of naturally formed workgroups and was concerned with their elimination. He believed that 'collusion' between employees reduced productivity.

Some supporters of Taylor applied scientific management in work settings, other than manufacturing, including the office (e.g. Gilbreth and Gilbreth, 1917). However, research on the development of manufacturing within the USA found that the application of Taylorism was by no means commonplace (Hounshell, 1985). In fact there are some writers who believe that Taylorism was, in reality, a failure (e.g. Palmer, 1975, Edwards, 1979). For the most part, Taylorism was difficult to introduce due to employee resistance and employer suspicions. This has produced arguments that Taylorism is only significant as a management ideology (Burawoy, 1979). Indeed, the power of the informal workgroup that Taylor wished to break down, failed to be eliminated from the industrial environment.

However, the use of teams and workgroups within organisational settings has rapidly increased within the Western industrialised world (Waterson et al., 1999). The rise of

quality circles in the UK in the 1980s and the subsequent prevalence of self-managing teams have come to embody this movement in terms of work organisation. This transition was predominantly a response to lack of flexibility in more Taylorised forms of work, which led to decreased competitive ability. Teamwork was primarily introduced in order to find a more effective way to recruit and better utilise employees to achieve organisational goals. Teamworking was also viewed to fulfil the needs of employees for control over their work environment (Doorewaard, van Hootegem and Huys, 2002).

Teamwork is frequently described amongst the package of practices included in Human Resource Management (HRM). Indeed, the message behind the move from traditional personnel management to an HRM agenda was principled on the notion that Western employers should copy the Japanese approach by integrating flexible production and quality management practices with related employment practices. These include the development of a workforce willing and able to learn new skills and an emphasis on teamworking (Sisson, 1993). Teamwork was seen as allowing individual workers to share their knowledge and skills and develop them in a way that enhanced economic success. Teamwork was not only perceived as being able to help the firm's achievement, but also to ensure employment security (West, 1994). Modern management 'fads and fashions' such as business process re-engineering (BPR), total quality management (TQM), lean production, socio-technical approaches and HRM, all support the core principles of team based work (Benders and van Hootegem, 1999; Womack et al., 1990).

There are a number of ways in which the literature interprets teamworking. The popular literature tends to focus on the creation of successful teams and the relationship with productivity and effectiveness (Proctor and Currie, 2002). An alternative approach is to examine the broader experience and meaning of teamworking for employees. However, further struggles lie in teamwork research. There are distinct research agendas, emerging from either the more positive psychological/managerial tradition or from more critical, frequently, sociologically influenced scholars. Positive, or managerialist accounts of teamworking would view

it as a powerful force that brings the benefits of political democracy into the workforce (e.g. Dachler and Wilpert, 1978). However, contradictory versions would suggest that teamwork is just another management technique to control workers (e.g. Barker, 1993). Sociologically informed writers believe that by fostering a sense of participation in the organisation on the part of the employees, there is a destruction of collective solidarity among workers, which makes them vulnerable to high levels of management control (Edwards, 1979; Burawoy, 1983). Despite the vast quantity of writing on teamwork, these distinct and even contradictory research itineraries have materialised, with very little assimilation of the understandings of each other. As Batt and Doellgast (2004, p.156) note, 'at a time when firms have embraced team structures to break down the bureaucratic organisation, academic researchers have continued to operate in disciplinary and theoretical silos.'

Nonetheless, some attempts have been made at combining differing approaches. Both Marchington (2000) and Thompson and Wallace (1996), have developed integrated frameworks in order to understand teamwork. Specifically, Thompson and Wallace's (1996) exploration and definition of the technical, normative and governance dimensions of teamwork has received considerable empirical attention and validation (e.g. Findlay et al., 2000a, 2000b; McCabe, 2000). Yet, Batt and Doellgast (2004) suggest that this integration of perspectives could be taken a stage further. They propose that scholars from the managerialist/psychological school should incorporate a richer understanding of organisational context and some of the scepticism found in the more critical teamwork literatures. The more critical scholars, who are strong on context, but weaker on theory, would benefit from stronger conceptualisation of constructs and associated methodological rigour. The distinctive feature of this current work is an attempt at the integration of the two perspectives, with a specific acknowledgement of Thompson and Wallace's (1996), technical, normative and governance dimensions of teamwork within a social identity paradigm.

1.4 Theoretical Positions and Paradigms

Sociologists, economists, anthropologists, historians and political scientists are all interested in the work of organisations and groups. Researchers from these disciplines make an important input to our understanding of organisations. However, as has just been observed, there is little discussion between differing theoretical perspectives. Although this thesis is rooted in concepts prevalent within social psychology, it is the intention to integrate useful insights from other disciplines or sub-disciplines. This thesis is not encyclopaedic and therefore cannot include every insight from every theoretical position. Hence, an informed decision was made following arguments of Batt and Doellgast (2004) and Thompson and McHugh (2002) as to which influences are of relevance and have the potential to be assimilated.

The following section will outline the main theoretical positions which are viewed as relevant to this thesis - from both sociology and psychology. There is an assessment of theories such as symbolic interactionism. This is an approach which starts to bridge the gap between the macro-level structures (e.g. societies and organisations) studied by sociologists, with the more micro-level concerns (e.g. the individual) studied by psychologists. For reasons of logical argumentation alone, this discussion commences with macro-level sociological postions followed by micro-level, psychologically influenced work.

1.4.1 Industrial Sociology

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, advances in science and technology encouraged people to believe that there could be a rational explanation for everything and that scientific study could lead to the solving of all of the problems faced by human beings. The natural sciences presented explanations of life on Earth with the Darwinian theory of evolution and the origin of the species. At this time, it was anticipated that the social sciences would extend this 'enlightenment project' into explanations of the collective activities and relationships of human beings. In fact,

Auguste Comte, who gave the name to sociology, expected that as a discipline, it would provide the highest level of scientific explanation in establishing laws of human society itself.

From its original purpose as the 'science of society', sociology has moved on to more reflexive attempts to understand how society works. It seeks to provide insights into the many forms of relationships, both formal and informal, between people. As such sociology is the study of social life, social change, and the social causes and consequences of human behaviour. Within this, sociologists investigate the structure of groups, organisations, and societies, and how people interact in these contexts.

There are a number of disciplines that have been influenced or belong to the body of work or research encompassed within the field of industrial sociology, from the more orthodox Weberian social-action strand and systems theory, to what Thompson and McHugh describe as critical alternatives, e.g. Labour Process Theory (LPT), and Radical Structuralism. Despite Grint (1998) contending that it is only the critical perspectives that explore the power relations underpinning organisations, it has been argued that from all branches of industrial sociology that power is the focal point of investigation, with the employer being the most powerful agent in the labour process (Palmer, 1983). Nonetheless, the two main perspectives that influence the current work fall under the body labelled 'critical' (Thompson and McHugh, 2002), and as such will be described in this way.

1.4.1.1 Marxian Labour Process Theory

The expansion of capitalism developed the widespread study of work organisation. This interest was stimulated by two groups of individuals. Firstly, those who by broadly scientific methods sought to improve the effectiveness of production (Smith, 1937; Babbage, 1963; Taylor, 1964); and secondly, those who criticised the processes of capitalism due to its perceived negative impact on its effects upon employees' skills and experiences and have challenged the rhetoric those who claimed that the development of capitalism benefits all (Marx and McLellan, 2000;

Braverman, 1998; Edwards, 1979; Friedman, 1977). It is within the latter perspective that Labour Process Theory (LPT) is located.

The labour process was defined by Marx as comprising three elements, independent of any particular social formation. These are firstly, purposeful activity (that is work itself); secondly, the object on which work is performed; finally, the instruments of that work (Marx and McLellan, 2000). The human and technical elements interact during the labour process and require the worker to conceptualise how to perform the required task, prior to its commencement. According to Marx the conscious and purpose of human labour is its defining characteristic - differentiating it from animal labour (Marx and McClellan, 2000).

In brief, Marx claims that through work humans lose their 'humanness' and become an object in themselves. They become alienated to the social world that they have created. The product of work becomes a commodity, and because of waged work, the employee himself becomes a commodity. The wage worker becomes a slave of his own product. Waged work, therefore, alienates humans from their product and productive activity. Waged work also contains a social alienation, where humans become alienated in their relations to other humans. In the end, humans also become alienated from society, even though society is borne of human actions. Society thus becomes a power, which develops on its own, and that no one is able to control.

Although the original work of Marx was not specific to organisationally based work, Marxist-influenced theory and research has dominated sociological research on work organisation in the last three decades. This was broadly due to the publication of 'Labour and Monopoly Capital' by Braverman (1974), which came after a 'long and largely barren period when work became a forgotten issue' (Thompson, 1989, p. 67). The impetus for revised interest in the labour process came at a time when industrial conflict was increasing across Europe. However, its focus moved to qualitative issues such as the quality of working life (QWL). This increase in levels of dissatisfaction with work came at a time when industrial sociologists were writing about the ever-

9

increasing skill levels required from modern work. To Braverman such a contradiction required investigation and provided a motivation for his research.

The contribution made by Braverman essentially highlighted two main theoretical concerns. Firstly, work under the capitalist mode of production is increasingly degrading and dehumanising to the people who perform it in order to survive. Secondly, such an organisation of work results in an ever increasing number of workers who are subjected to these tendencies and which results in the emergence of two classes, one that is 'powerful and whole' and another 'scarred and angered' (Sattel 1978).

In developing Marx's notion of control, Braverman provides an insightful review of Taylor's version of scientific management. He describes Taylorism as the dominant approach utilised by the owner of the means of production to maximise control over the labour process in search of surplus value (the difference between the value of the product produced by workers and the actual employment costs paid out in wages). For Braverman, Taylor promoted the issue of managerial control over production to unprecedented dimensions and asserted management's right to dictate to workers the precise manner in which work should be performed.

Partly, as a response to the widespread emergence of teamwork over the last two decades, it is the nature of change within these control structures that have more recently formed a key debate from a labour process perspective. Friedman (1977), who examined the evolution of managerial strategies as a response to transformation in work organisation due to labour market changes, believed that there are two ways that employers can control the labour process; termed 'responsible autonomy' and 'direct control' (Friedman, 1977). In the former, workers are given some freedom to make decisions on their own, but are then held responsible for their actions by management. The latter follows the Taylorist model, simplifying the job so that it can be more tightly controlled by management.

As already stated, pressures of global competition and deregulation have led many companies to develop new forms of organisation and adapt alternative models for managing people: Taylorist or Fordist production regimes are often incompatible with market demands. Restructuring processes can lead to a new balance of power. The decrease of direct control (Friedman, 1977; Edwards, 1979) and explicit forms and bases of power (e.g. authority) do not imply the disappearance of power itself. There is a shift towards a new control structure in team based organisations based on responsible autonomy (Friedman, 1977). This new control structure can be labelled as `participatory regulation', meeting the organisational demands to cope with permanent `dynamic complexity' (Chouraqui, 1993).

Although there has been some concern as to the exact terminology and definition adopted by Friedman (e.g. Thompson and McHugh, 2002), the fundamental principle behind the work is that control structures change according to changes in the nature of the economy and subsequent changes in work organisation. Indeed Thompson and Smith (2000, p.12) view the 'path to renewal' of labour process theory as being an attempt to study changes in control strategies which is 'sensitive to the interaction between structural, national and other institutional dynamics.'

1.4.1.2 Sociology and Postmodernism/ Poststructuralism

There is a stream of research which some would argue is within the boundaries of labour process analysis (e.g. Knights and Willmott, 1990), and others would argue is not (Smith and Thompson, 1999). This work is loosely based on Foucauldian perspectives on the labour process and is rapidly being accepted as part of conventional wisdom within organisational research.

This body of work falls into an even broader volume of research and theorising within management which is influenced by poststructuralism and postmodernism and aligns these perspectives with that of critical theory as influenced by the Frankfurt School. However, this broader field of work although generally amassed within theoretical debates, is based on a variety of relative contributions from the three

perspectives. For example, Alvesson and Deetz (1996) call for an association of postmodern and critical theory; Alvesson and Willmott's (1997) and Mills and Simmons (1995) texts are a cross betwee poststructuralism, postmodernism and critical theory and Hassard and Parker (1993) focus on a more sceptical postmodern position.

Arguably, much of this work, and specifically the labour process positioned work was originally driven by Burawoy's (1985) work entitled 'The Politics of Production', which suggested that the labour process could not be reduced to inexorable laws of capitalism, and where the interests of capital and labour are assumed as being in opposition to each other. Furthermore, Burawoy suggested that class interests are defined and made real in shop floor politics, where expedient – albeit unstable – equilibriums are struck. In effect he rejects the main premise of LPT, that is, employees and employers meet as opposing classes.

Postmodernism has its roots in the French intellectual tradition of poststructuralism, an approach which places the consideration of human language and how it is used at the centre of the study of all aspects of human existence (Watson, 2003). Postmodern and poststructuralist perspectives are said to 'decentre the subject' in that they question the notion of an autonomous thinking and feeling human subject who acts upon the world from a position of confident belief in an essential and unique personality or 'self'.

One of the key points of contention which is regularly debated between Marxian and postmodern labour process writers is the notion of subjectivity. Employees' subjectivity or 'their ability to make decisions in the context of social constraints' (Grugulis and Knights, 2001, p.17), is believed not to come from an imbalance of power relationships, but from social situations where external forces such as organisational power and control strategies act on the body and psyche to shape human behaviour. Employees are thus rendered passive, compliant and useful, which is said to occur as the result of organisational change programmes and take the form of symbolic manipulation and the reintegration of mental and physical work found in

teamwork. Employees are perceived as being controlled as much by HRM discourse and technology as they were once controlled by the threat of harsh discipline or long term unemployment (Knights et al., 2001).

However, it is the notion of subjectivity that has provoked the most powerful attack. Thompson and Smith (2001) suggest that this changes the focus of labour process analysis from the political economy of capitalism to some existential 'self' which is viewed as a diversion from the importance of understanding the role of human agency within the constraints of capitalist employment relationships. Thompson and Smith (2001) strongly argue against the notion of the 'self' as being entirely socially constructed, acknowledging at least some 'biological' basis for the development of identity.

One of the strengths of postmodern analysis is the notion of discourse and language as displaying the essentials of reality. Hassard and Parker (1993) suggest that the world is constituted through shared language and that we can only understand the world through particular forms of discourse our language creates. However, there is a more moderate version of postmodernism that does not reject the existence of a social world beyond language (Tsoukas, 1992). It retains a concern with reason and analysis but recognises the limits of formal rationality. In a sense, this moderate version of postmodernism may be viewed as a mechanism for incorporating poststructual insight about language and discourse into sociology.

Regardless of the conflicting arguments of the usefulness of a postmodern/poststucturalist approach, it can be argued that the concept of discourse which has emerged from it is a useful addition to the conceptual vocabulary of sociological thought. Furthermore, for this particular thesis it is the progressive element to postmodernism, that is the exploration of multiple identities, and the making of multiple interpretations of the world (Watson, 2003), that provide most interest.

Traditional Marxist LPT provides a useful framework for the consideration of issues of power. Postmodern insights provide interest in terms of ideas of the self and identities. However, neither perspective provides an entirely useful way for mediating between the macro-level concerns of social reality and organisational structures, and more micro-level social interactions and interpretative actions of individuals and groups.

1.4.1.2 Symbolic Interactionism

Interactionism, based on a philosophy of pragmatism and focusing on the small group and on meaning, is one of the few branches of sociological thinking which can contribute in a meaningful way to the study of micro-level social interactions that occur between individuals and within groups. Symbolic interactionism developed from the work of Charles Horton Cooley (1864-1929) and George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) from the 'Chicago School' (sociology department of Chicago University). Its basic premise is that people inhabit a world that is largely socially constructed - that the individual and society are inseparable units. Their relationship is a mutually interdependent one, not a one-sided deterministic one.

In particular, the meaning of objects, events, and behaviours comes from the interpretation people give them and interpretations vary from one group to another. Cooley, in his theory of a 'looking glass self,' argued that the way we think about ourselves is a reflection of other people's appraisals (or more accurately, our interpretation of other people's appraisals) and that our self-concepts are built up in the intimate groups that he called 'primary groups.' Mead emphasised that human beings do not react directly to events; they act based on their interpretation of the meaning of events.

One of the main contributors to the symbolic interactionist stream of work was Erving Goffman (1922-1982). Goffman (1959, 1961, 1971) focused on dramaturgy, a view of social life as a series of dramatic performances, and he was interested in how the self is shaped by the dramatic interactions between social actors and their

audiences. The basic unit of analysis in Goffman's work is the group or team, which is defined as any set of individuals who co-operate in staging a single act or routine. The central theme in his work is impression management. This is the techniques that social actors use to maintain images of themselves when encountering problems during interactions. As a general rule, Goffman believed that most individuals feel the need to hide certain aspects themselves when they are engaged in a performance. Goffman used the concepts of front stage, personal front, setting, appearance, manner, and back stage to discuss the theatre of social life. According to Goffman, fronts tend to become institutionalised and are therefore selected rather than created. Personal fronts consist of appearance, or expressive equipment that tells the audience what kind of role the performer expects to play in a particular situation. The back stage is where actors engage in informal action that is suppressed when on front stage.

Clearly, the interactionist strand of industrial sociology pays considerable attention to individuals and their role in social life, and it pays necessary attention to the human interpretative process, insufficiently acknowledged within other sociological paradigms (Watson, 2003). However, a number of criticisms and limitations have been identified with this approach. For a sociological framework it pays little attention to social wholes, and as such does not fully explore the structures of power and material interest, which provide context to the social role. Yet, it has also been argued (e.g. Gergen, 1999) that symbolic interactionism is not sufficently microscopic as it has a tendancy to ignore psychological factors.

1.4.2 The Social Psychology of Work

Sociological perspectives remain essential for understanding behaviour and identity at work, but since the aim of the current thesis is to develop the social identity approach, it is imperative also to provide a full evaluation of social psychological approaches. Indeed, a number of sub-disciplines in psychology are concerned with the study of people within the workplace. These are classified by Pfeffer (1997) and Haslam (2001) within four main categories; individual differences/person-situation interaction and fit; economic; cognitive and human relations. Organisational

psychologists often acknowledge the human relations paradigm specifically in relation to groups; yet continue to focus on an individualistic approach to the examination of work. Furthermore, within the human relations paradigm - despite the consideration of the group - there is little analysis of the psychological processes that occur within the group or intra-team relationship (Haslam, 2001).

Yet the world of work has been one of the main spheres studied by social psychologists outside the laboratory. In fact, social psychologists have been examining behaviour at work since the 1930s (Argyle, 1972). They have traditionally been concerned with behaviour in work groups, the relations between managers and supervisors and those supervised, and the organisational structures associated with work. Social psychologists are interested in the way that individuals interpret the world, in that they emphasise the person's own phenomenology. As such, social psychology and sociology offer different levels of explanation as a result of different levels of analyses. Sociology's target is the larger scale entities such as society and the organisation, and their structure and functions. Social psychology, on the other hand, emphasises the individuals, or rather individuals, who belong to social groups. However, unlike occupational or organisational psychologists, social psychologists are not really interested in biological, developmental, or personality factors. In other words, social psychologists are unconcerned with what makes people behave differently in a given situation, and focus on similarities.

Through its concern with social groups, social psychology is more appropriate for looking at teams than other psychological approaches. Indeed, in studying teams or groups it is important to apply both theoretical and methodological frameworks that are appropriate to the level of analysis. As Pfeffer (1985) suggests, although any treatment of organisation studies will be arbitrary in both coverage and structure due to the scope and diffuseness of the subject matter, material should be organised depending on the level of analysis.

1.4.2.2 Introducing the Social Identity Approach

Outwith the field of social psychology, when psychologists attempt to look at the group, they tend to adopt the broad rhetoric of the HRM agenda of commitment and participation. Hence, the work is often viewed as being a reformation of Taylorist principles using collective forms of work organisation (e.g. Parker, 1993; Baldry, Bain and Taylor, 1998).

Despite the focus on collective work, most theory and practice within psychology is highly individualistic. The determination to welcome individualism has inherent ideological underpinnings. Pfeffer (1997, 1998) notes that a preference for individualistic examination concurs with a view that organisations are collections of individuals which are devoid of political division, social tension or group conflict. He argues that taking a position of methodological individualism denies the reality of the institutions and organisations being examined. Pfeffer (1998) further explains,

'Social models emphasise that one's behaviour is rarely explicable without reference to previous and persisting effects of interaction with others and the overall pattern of such interaction in groups.. to understand the behaviour of an organisation you must understand the context of that behaviour.. Organisations are inescapably bound up with the conditions of their environment.' (Pfeffer, 1998, p 744-745).

Since it is the aim of this thesis to adopt a perspective that takes into account group memberships and social relations, it was decided to use the social identity approach as the foundation for this work. Although there are alternative social psychological approaches that could be adopted or adapted for the current work e.g. persuasive arguments theory and social comparison theory (Myers and Lamm, 1976; Wetherell, 1987), the social identity paradigm, allows a better focus on the reality of the group. The social identity approach avoids the psychological reductionism of other techniques, in that it steers clear of a position, which 'is essentially a . . . (strategy) which seeks to derive events occurring at one level of organisation from those occurring at another, presumably both a simpler and a more fundamental level' (Rapoport 1968, p.452).

The overall premise of the social identity approach is that groups are not only an external feature of the world that people encounter and come into contact with, but they are also internalised so that they contribute to a person's sense of self (Haslam, 2001; Turner, 1996). The social identity paradigm (Haslam, 2001) is founded on two distinct theories: social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979, 1986) and self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1985; Tuner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell, 1987). Social identity theory addresses the way people perceive themselves within a group and focuses on the psychological foundations of intergroup relations and intergroup conflict. On the other hand, self-categorisation theory looks more generally at the role of social categorisation activities within group formation and action. This theory examines the processes which determine whether groups of individuals believe that they do or do not share group membership and how this group membership affects their perceptions and behaviours.

Although early work on social identity focused on social psychological concerns within predominantly laboratory settings, more recently there is a body of literature which examines behaviour within organisations based on broader social identity principles (e.g. Hogg and Terry, 2000; Turner and Haslam 2000; van Knippenberg and van Schie, 2001). The social identity approach embodies the interface between social identity theory and self-categorisation and has been particularly concerned with the understanding of group norms, attitudes and influence within the workplace (Turner, 1991). However, although Haslam (2001) uses social identity as a theoretical paradigm, it is only really adopted as an explanatory framework for earlier research. Critics of the approach further argue that the discussion of the 'social' only pays lip service to the term (Brown and Lunt, 2002). They further argue that there is a lack of detailed consideration of context within the traditional social identity approach.

Yet, the social identity approach, at least within psychological work, appears to be the most realistic method for looking at teams. It appears to acknowledge context, and the interplay between catagorisation as a team member and behaviour within the

team, as more than other approaches and bodies of theory within the field. Nonetheless, there still appears to be a requirement to expand social identity research - as well as developing the broader perspective - to include a deeper understanding of the impact of both 'the social' and contextual factors.

1.4.2.3 A Critical Social Identity Approach

Distinct from most branches of psychology, social psychology has historically encompassed a wide variety of critical traditions, which vary predominantly on their concerns for internal critique of methodology and content, as opposed to a broader critique of the socio-cultural relations of the knowledge that they produce (Thompson and McHugh, 2002; Wexler, 1983). Researchers such as Moscovici (1972), Gergen (1973) and Rosnow (1981) highlight the methodological limitations of social psychology and its frequent lack of relevance to social issues. Much of this critical body of work emerges from discussions of psychology and postmodernism. Although this has provided some much needed progress in terms of dialogue about adoption of new methodologies - specifically qualitative techniques such as discourse analysis - it has made only a limited contribution to the more mainstream debates within social psychology.

The perspective which has been variously described as sociological social psychology or postmodern social psychology (Brown and Lunt, 2002) is limited in terms of its theoretical contribution (at least to 'real' organisational issues), as it has focused on the socially constructed nature of the self and consciousness. However, postmodern perspectives on psychology have made a substantial contribution in terms of the adoption of qualitative techniques within the discipline (e.g. Gergen, 1999, Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Symon and Cassell, 1998). Similar to the symbolic interactionist approach, psychological postmodernism is viewed to have emerged from the work of the Chicago school, specifically that of Mead. Again, In parallel to sociological postmodernism, this work is premised on the idea that there is no thinking or indeed, any sense of self that is independent of social processes (Gergen, 1999).

Postmodernism is said to offer psychology: ' ... new ways of conceptualising itself and its potentials.' (Gergen, 1992, p.25). Postmodern psychology promotes Russell, Wittgenstein and Whitehead's philosophy of language as picturing the world process over the implicit Cartesian basis for contemporary psychology (Griffin, 1988). Within the Cartesian tradition, it is taken as fundamental, that there is a distinction firstly between the mental and the physical, secondly between the mind and the world, and finally, the subject and the object. A postmodern appraisal of psychology supports the following critique: nature is an organic whole, but modernist science reduces our image of it to mechanistic fragments. The fragmentation central to what Weber called the 'disenchantment' of the world, marginalises consciousness and the human condition. As such, the traditional positivist or Cartesian view of psychology is debated with the postmodern view on the basis of realism versus relativism, and their particular analysis on social construction and ideology.

The main difficulty with this approach is the lack of concern for the traditional topics of social psychology. The field is overwhelmingly focused on methodological development and metatheory, and therefore fails to provide a badly needed critical evaluation of more mainstream theories. Thompson and McHugh (2002) suggest that there have been some developments in terms of the progress of other more critical branches of social psychology; for example, Hollway's (1991) movement towards a work psychology that reflects the relations of knowledge, power and practice, and Hosking and Morley's (1991) cognitive/political psychology of organising.

There have also been attempts to develop a 'Marxist' psychology, which is aimed at understanding subjectivity at work. However, after several generations of work in this area, there are concerns at to their degree of coherence and success (Mather, 2003) Indeed, suggesting that Marxism and psychology could be unified bodies of work is naïve. Mather (2003, p. 470) explains this as follows,

> 'Marxism might be treated as the theory of social causation par excellence, the claim
> that human life and self-understanding is, in large measure, the outcome of the mode
> and method by which society produces its means of subsistence. Psychology might be

treated in neo-Weberian terms, as allowing a theoretical space that negotiates a course of action based on information from incoming environmental stimuli. Psychology in this sense avoids characterizing that negotiation in terms of a pre-existing structure (personality) or negating its operations entirely (behaviourism). Rather it might be seen as occupying an unstable locus of contradictory relations, or a collision of agency and constraint. Subjectivity is, on the one hand, agentic, and, on the other hand, limited, but very rarely capable of ambidextrous modes of expression. More usually, intellectual sleight of hand is detectable, in the shape of social constraints that reduce themselves to memory-traces within individual heads or agency that is largely the product of 'habitus'. Equality and simultaneity always seem to elude our intellectual operations.'

There have been three broad points of departure or positioning for a 'Marxist' psychology. Firstly, there is a psychology which is based on the human potentiality of Marx's early work. An example of this is the work of Séve (1978) and the Berlin School of critical psychology which combines the humanism and biologism found in Marx's early work. Secondly, there are 'second level' psychological theories. The most famous of these is psychoanalysis, which will not be discussed here (e.g. Marcuse, 1969; Reich, 1972; and to a lesser extent Deleuze and Guattari, 1983). Finally, there is the psychology of hegemony, which spells out the means and mechanisms in which the ideas of the dominant ruling economic class are the dominant world view, a philosophy of life. The key concept of hegemony could be agued is not strictly Marxist. Theorists of radical politics have found in the writings of Antonio Gramsci a convenient bridge between Marxist and poststructuralist social theory. For some this bridge permits the development of a 'post-Marxist' socialism based on the recognition of the plurality of social antagonisms. Yet some (e.g. Mather, 2003) would argue that this is a bridge too far. In reality, Gramscian work has been overturned by the Foucauldian, and the replacement of hegemony by the reproduction of social practices. This provides further evidence for the movement of postmodernism into social theory.

Nevertheless, Thompson and McHugh (2002) argue the main problem with developing a critical psychology from Marxism, is the dearth of adequate tools for understanding how alienated social relations are subjectively experienced and acted upon by individuals. Although Marx at viewed individuals as biological entities, he

explicitly rejected any psychological explanations of behaviour. This explains why attempts to use psychoanalysis and postmodernism as conduits between psychology and Marxism have been relatively unsuccessful. Both these approaches entirely reject the notion of the human as a biological entity.

Knights and Collinson (1987) point out that Marxist and labour process writings tend to produce critiques of social structures that make implicit assumptions about the given nature of behavioural practices reproducing concerns with identity. However, without full accounts of identity, analyses of structure and the power relations and strategies through which they are maintained are always going to be deficient.

> 'The absence of this social psychology from labour process theory means that it is unable to recognise how individuals...... seek security either through controlling, and/or subordinating themselves to, others' (Knights and Collinson, 1987, p.171).

Thompson and McHugh (2002) note that in Marxist psychologies, this is further extended, with the labelling of individuals who do not recognise their common class interests as manifesting false consciousness. As such, this denies true identity or the validity of a true identity, because it does not correspond to a set of interests that they are supposed to possess. Again, the attempt at least, for postmodernist work to address issues of identity, may explain the increasingly common discussion of issues of power and control in relation to psychology from this perspective (see for example, Billig, 1985; Wetherell and Potter, 1992).

A discussion of identity as a way of addressing issues that arise in and across mainstream and critical theories and research - hand in hand with the reassessment and integration of material from multiple approaches - may provide a mechanism for developing at least in part, a more realistic critical social psychology. Within sociology 'critical' refers to an ethos guiding the praxis of 'critical' sociologists which tends to be associated with a declaration of an adherence to a particular theoretical position. However, in this instance, critical social psychology is used as a term to indicate a commitment to being an agent of social change. That is, using a

toolbox of ideas and perspectives, with social psychology at the core. The ideas can then be drawn upon to consider issues in a way that is possible to analyse the mechanism that power operates in specific contexts, situations and settings. Specifically acknowledging the concerns regarding the consideration of context from a social identity perspective, recognising insights from a labour process or Marxian influenced approaches can only enhance the contextual understanding of any evaluation of teams from a social identity perspective.

1.5 Philosophical and Methodological Contradictions

By challenging some of the assumptions of social psychology, a number of ontological and epistemological paradoxes emerge. As Batt and Doellgast (2004) note, different theoretical assumptions mould alternative research methodologies. Broad or general social science theories, labelled paradigms by Burrell and Morgan, (1979) draw on basic differences in the philosophy of science and social theory to enable the world to be seen in fundamentally different ways. The epistemological models underpinning disciplines emerge from radically different assumptions about the linearity of relationships among phenomena, the role of the researcher and the validity and generalisability of qualitative versus quantitative methodologies.

The majority of psychological research is located within what Burrell and Morgan (1979) would label a functionalist paradigm and focuses on the establishment of causal relationships between variables and linking the results of this to hypothesis and theory using positivist methodologies – this is known as logical empiricism. Positivism is aimed at discovering knowable truths by attaining objectivity and achieving the ability to predict and control.

This epistemology has, predominantly, operationalised through, experimental, survey and other uses of quantitative methods (Lamiell, 2000). This is demonstrated by the individual differences approach of Münsterberg and his associates i.e. the focus on measuring psychological or personality traits and correlating them with attitudes and behaviours. However, there are a number of limitations of the quantitative model.

One of the concerns of the current research is the impact of context which is broadly viewed as being inaccessible if the sole research tool is a questionnaire survey. Thesee tend to focus on relationships between quantifiable variables (Smith, 2003).

The most common methodologies for determining identity and the identification process have been similarity ratings and Likert-scale questionnaires (e.g. Ashfoth and Mael, 1989; Haslam, 2001; van Knippenberg and van Schie, 2000). Likewise, much of the field research on teamwork from a psychological perspective has used quantitative techniques for the acquisition of data (e.g. Parker, Wall and Jackson, 1997; Wall et al., 1986; West and Poulton, 1997). However, it has been suggested that due to the complexity and multi-dimensional nature of the identity process for teams, that quantitative techniques do not present a sufficiently thorough assessment method (e.g. Kraiger and Wenzel, 1997).

The view of logical empiricism has been challenged by a framework called social constructivism (Glassman and Hadad, 2003) which argues that no observation has a truly neutral meaning. Instead, its meaning is derived from the broader framework within which the theory exists. Social constructionists believe that theories (and indeed paradigms) change for social reasons. The main representatives in this debate from psychology have been the forementioned postmodern work on narratives and discourse. The debate between logical empiricism and social constuctionism is, in all likelihood, irresolvable. As with many debates, the truth probably lies in the middle. That is, social processes influence the acceptance of theories - just as perceptual processes influence their creation. As has been noted, however, it seems extreme to suggest that there is no order to the world beyond what we impose upon it.

Indeed, as Ackroyd (1992, 1994) points out, much of the best research is not led by a commitment to paradigms. It is stimulated by exchanges between them. Sometimes, behind different languages, writers make the same fundamental point. In other cases different paradigms focus on different levels of analysis, and a combination of approaches, between the structural and the micro allows the viewing of more aspects of organisational life (Thompson and McHugh, 2002). In the current work, there is a

movement between paradigms to find insights to apply to identity and teamwork. This approach can be termed as pragmatic pluralism (Hassard, 1993; Watson, 1997), as it involves use of concepts and ideas from a range of social science perspectives. However, this advance is undertaken with caution and as rigorously as possible. The current work progresses by firstly choosing concepts helpful in understanding identity in teams. Secondly, it brings together these theories and perspectives in a clearly expressed manner, presenting both internal conceptual consistency and methodological integrity.

Such an approach is compatible with the work of a growing number of social psychologists who adopt alternative research perspectives which are not tied into the ideas of logical empiricism or positivism. Yet nor are they entirely constructionist in nature. This research frequently uses qualitative and participatory research methods to produce complex, socially useful knowledge about human psyches, identities, processes, behaviours and relationships (e.g. Jones, 2003, Piran, 2003). This thesis adds to that growing body of work.

Hence, the current work not only addresses an innate requirement of the subject under investigation for the use of alternative methodologies; it also addresses other researchers' pleas for the expansion of multiple method research e.g. Lamiell (2001). However, the research needs to be able to generate formal theory, be empirically grounded and credible, produce findings which can be transferred to other settings, and be internally reflexive in terms of taking account of the effects of the researcher and the research strategy produced (Hammerslay, 1992). A critical realistic perspective (Bhaskar, 1979, 1989, 1993, 1994, 1998) is adopted as a way of addressing these issues. Moreover, in order to comply with these broad criteria, eight research propositions have been established which focus on the social identity process for individuals working in teams and the effects of organisational structures and control systems on identity formation.

1.6 The Structure of the Thesis

This purpose of the next seven chapters in this thesis is to addresses the aims stated at the beginning of this chapter. The following chapter, Chapter Two, presents a more detailed discussion and analysis of the state of play in teamwork research from sociologically and psychologically influenced positions. Much of the discussion within Chapter Two considers teamwork within its historical location.

Chapter Three builds upon the framework presented in Chapter Two and explains the usefulness of the social identity approach as a way of examining how people identify with collectives, specifically teams. The chapter addresses both SIT and self-categorisation theory as way of looking at the origins of SIT as well as examining the role of Tajfel - the founding father of SIT - in the development of both the theory and perspective. Discussion starts to address some of the criticisms and weaknesses of the social identity approach.

Chapter Four develops the discussion of SIT by further evaluating some of the limitations of the theory and the broader social identity perspective. This chapter also scrutinises other relevant theories from both psychology and sociology which are seen as being able to contribute to the theorising of identity and the identification process. The role of control structures feature prominently within this section. Chapter Four also looks at the application of these theories in organisational settings and concludes with eight propositions that are the focus for the current research, which are the product of the insights developed within Chapters Two, Three and Four. The propositions centre on the idea that identity can be divided into *acted identity* (the presentation of identity with a team, rather than the internalisation of teamwork), and *internalised identity* (the conscious or unconscious adoption of the principles and beliefs associated with teamwork). *Acted identity* is broadly associated with ideas discussed within the impression management literature and *internalised identity* has a closer connection with traditional SIT.

The research propositions are as follows:

Proposition 1: When working within a team environment, or reflecting on teamworking experiences, individuals present a salient aspect of their social identity, which can be interpreted as team identity

Proposition 2: Team identity operates on two levels: *acted identity* and *internalised identity*

Proposition 3: *Acted* team identity takes the form of behaviours associated with the technical, normative and governance domains of teamwork

Proposition 4: Team identity (both *acted* and *internalised*) is affected by the structure of the team and processes within the team, e.g. the degree of interaction with other team members, perceived status of the team, and the location of the team compared with the employing organisation

Proposition 5: Team identity (both *acted* and *internalised*) is affected by the control structures imposed upon the team

Proposition 6: If team members accept the structures of control they will be more willing to develop *internalised* team identity

Proposition 7: If team members cannot accept the structures of control, but have a level of self-interest in continuing to work within the team, they are likely develop *acted* team identity

Proposition 8: If team members are hindered in their opportunity to perform *acted identity*, this will lead to negative perceptions of teamwork and the organisation

Chapter Five discusses both the rationales and exercise of the qualitative and quantitative research tools used to examine the research propositions. This chapter also explains the epistemological and ontological assumptions underpinning this thesis. The research was conducted within two distinct industrial sectors – manufacturing and IT - which were thought to represent diversity in both the intellectual and practical nature of work. However, both industries centre the organisation of their work in teams. Analytic induction was used in order to develop the theory at the same time as interpreting the data. Hence, the data is presented in two separate chapters. Chapter Six, which looks at the findings from Study One (two

manufacturing organisations; Manu 1 and Manu 2) and Chapter Seven which is concerned with the presentation of the data from the two IT organisations (Tech 1 and Tech 2). Chapter Five also describes the mechanisms and beliefs used to interpret the data from both studies.

Chapter Six presents the findings from the first empirical study - an examination of ten teams, located within four spirits' bottling plants, owned by two larger organisations. The chapter provides background information about the organisations and the plants under investigation and describes how teamwork was introduced in both companies on the back of organisational change agendas. The substantive part of this chapter involves a description of both qualitative and quantitative data describing identity, teamwork and issues of control on a team by team basis as a path for the analysis of the research propositions.

Chapter Seven reports the findings from Study Two, which is the analysis of the identity process within four teams working within two technology based organisations. This chapter has a similar structure to Chapter Six, in that it presents the profiles of the two organisations being examined and follows this with a report of the interview and survey findings from these teams.

Finally, Chapter Eight interprets the findings of the current research in terms of both the research propositions and existing theory. This chapter underlines the contribution of the present research to both teamwork and identity theory and also explains how work of this type can help bridge the divide between diverse theoretical and methodological positions. Chapter Eight addresses some of the limitations of the current research and establishes the need for and makes suggestions as to the possible direction of future research.

CHAPTER TWO: GROUPS AND TEAMS IN ORGANISATIONS

Teams are perhaps the most common form of work arrangement in contemporary organisations. The academic and practitioner literature highlights the centrality of this form of work organisation in present-day organisational discourse by the frequency with which collective work practices are reported and investigated. Indeed, Cohen et al. (1996) reported that nearly half of US organisations used self-managed work teams for at least some proportion of their workforce. Similarly, in the UK, the 1998 Workplace Employee Relations Survey (WERS) indicates that 65% of workplaces report using some form of teamwork (Cully et al., 1998) while a review by the Institute of Work Psychology found team based working operating in 70% of the organisations examined (Waterson et al., 1997).

The surge in interest in teamwork has been seen as a response to increased competitive pressures, specifically as a mechanism for improving flexibility, responsiveness and quality (Lloyd and Newell, 2000). Groups and teams have been at the core of programmes to reform routine work in manufacturing – partly as a response to Human Relations theory in the 1930s, sociotechnical systems theory in the 1950s and Japanisation and lean production in the 1980s. Indeed, managerialist and psychological accounts view teamwork as the answer to all organisational ills, as it not only enhances productivity, flexibility and efficiency, but improves employee satisfaction, motivation and commitment to the organisation (e.g. Jackson, Parker and Sprigg, 2000; Wall and Jackson, 1995). However, the more critical, sociologically informed writers view teamworking as the latest in a succession of management fads or as covert mechanism by which management intensify their control over labour (e.g. Barker, 1993; Sinclair, 1992).

Considering the longevity of the practice and the sheer volume of work on teams, it is remarkable that parallel streams of research across disciplines have progressed with little assimilation of the insights from different traditions (Batt and Doellgast,

2004). The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to examine the extensive body of work on teams and to attempt to locate both common themes and the relative strengths of different perspectives, with a view to suggesting a more realistic and informed research position. However, considering the wealth of work in this area, this chapter is not encyclopaedic; rather, it focuses on two broad, but quite different, research traditions: those based in psychology and those located in sociology. The present chapter outlines the intellectual terrain of each perspective and highlights areas of agreement and disagreement. The final objective of this chapter is to locate a realistic theoretical paradigm which permits a cross-disciplinary approach to the examination of teams.

2.2 Matters of Definition

Exploration of groups has a long-standing history in social research; accordingly the number of definitions of groups is also fairly extensive. Of these definitions, there is little agreement as to which is best. Levine and Moreland (1994) describe a group as several people who 'interact on a regular basis, have affective ties with one another, share a common frame of reference, and are behaviourally interdependent.' (p.306). Characterisations describe the key feature of groups, which distinguish them from other entities which are not groups; however, the sources from which these definitions derive, are generally unclear. Even Levine and Moreland (1998) admit their definition derives from pre-conceived ideas about prototypal groups such as the family, and that separating groups from non-groups by means of a definition is misguided.

Nevertheless, it is broadly accepted that, as levels of social interaction increase, individuals feel, think and act more like team members and less like individuals (Borgeoota, Cottrell and Mayer, 1956). It is not so much the definition of group versus non-group which is important, but the need fir examination to focus on the degree of 'groupness.' McGrath (1984) identified several important factors determining levels of social integration including group size, degree of contact time, and type of activities in which they engage. He found that smaller groups whose

members engage in a wider variety of activities and spend more time together have higher levels of social interaction.

Levine and Moreland (1998) argue that it is wiser to be inclusive in terms of definitions of groups rather than adopt a polarised 'group' vs. 'non-group' dichotomy. Similar arguments have been made in the teamworking literature. Benders and van Hootegem (2000) suggest that in order to avoid exclusive definition, anything called a team should be accepted as a team. This leads us to the question: what is the difference between a group and a team?

Thompson and McHugh (2002) differentiate between groups and teams by suggesting that effective teamwork is the final stage in group formation. They cite Tuckman's (1965) four stages of Forming, Storming, Norming and Performing as leading to successful teamwork Similarly, Procter et al. (2004) differentiate teamworking (broadly team roles and interaction) from the mere existence of individuals as a notional team.

In much organisational based research the terms 'team' and 'group' tend to be used interchangeably and generally cite interdependency of tasks, shared goals, social interaction and relatively stable structures as key characteristics (Furnham, 1997). Although not resolving the distinction between groups and teams, for the purpose this thesis the terms group and team will be used interchangeably. They refer to formal collectives within organisations unless otherwise specified.

2.3 Origins and Progression of Teamwork

Much of the popular management literature reverts to historical sources to validate the team as a 'natural' form of work organisation in order to boost its appeal. In contemporary organisations teams are represented as an ideal of both independent and collaborative empowered workers. The most clichéd depiction of this thinking was by Katzenbach and Smith (1993), who promoted the idea of teamwork by

referring to pre-industrialised production where work was undertaken by independent craft workers operating in loosely controlled, co-operatives, or informal teams.

Although teamwork as a form of work organisation has existed for hundreds of years, the introduction of teams as a formal method of work organisation is a relatively new phenomenon and, as such, needs to be located in the history of job or work design. Research on teams in social psychology and organisational behaviour developed some of the earliest critiques of the assumptions underpinning scientific management. In fact, it could be argued (e.g.Batt and Doellgast, 2004) that much of the historical discussion of teamwork reflects work from a psychological position, from military research in the 1920s to sociotechnical systems theory to group effectiveness theories such as the Job Characteristics Model (JCM). The benefits of group work on morale and productivity were re-discovered by the Industrial Fatigue Research Board in Britain in the 1920s. Researchers working for the board were examining issues arising from the long working hours demanded of civilians to sustain the military effort in the First World War and the assumed consequences of job simplification (e.g. Burnett, 1925; Wyatt, Fraser and Stock, 1928, Wyatt and Ogden, 1924). The advantages of the informal team were also a key finding in the Hawthorne studies.

These studies commenced in 1924 at Western Electric's Hawthorne plant, just outside Chicago. They proposed the idea of autonomous work groups (AWGs) as a way of simultaneously satisfying psychological and task needs (Whitehead, 1938; Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939). The Hawthorne Studies were intended to bring about a greater understanding of the effects of working conditions on worker productivity. Early experiments centred on varying the lighting for two groups of female employees. However, no conclusion was drawn from this study as productivity increased irrespective of the level of illuminations. It also increased for the control group who had no changes made to their work environment. It was later believed that the real change had been the segregation of the groups, who had thrived under special attention and treatment. This was called the 'Hawthorne Effect', which recognises that research intervention is an independent variable in its effects on

human behaviour. The confusion regarding the results of the first set of experiments led to a further stage of examinations. In this case women were selected to work together based on their levels of friendship. Again external variables were manipulated (e.g. lighting, rest breaks, group bonuses) - yet consistently productivity rose. Again, the only constant factor was the special effect of creating a group whose identity was strengthened by the replacement of two 'less co-operative' members. For the researchers involved in the study (e.g. Mayo, 1933, 1945), the key finding was the strong peer group pressure that exists for impelling employees to comply with group norms in the workplace.

Although Mayo's work in the form of the Hawthorne studies is frequently presented as progressive in its perspective on issues such as the QWL and the psychological impact of work, he was really only motivated by a desire to reduce workplace unrest and increase productivity. In a sense, Mayo's work made scientific management even more scientific, because he brought the new behavioural sciences, like social psychology, to bear on the problems of organising work and the employment relationship. It encouraged the development of human-factors engineering and ergonomics, disciplines which attempt to design 'user-friendly' equipment accommodating itself to the human physiology and nervous system. In reality, the work of Elton Mayo and other Hawthorne researchers was only marginally different to that of Taylor. Their model of work organisation still provided professional mangers with the control to determine working practices and work was still analysed and organised on an individual basis, with the informal groups identified by the studies only being marginally acknowledged in the work design process (Clegg, 2001). However, the contemporary idea of teamworking as a management technique emerges from two bodies of work - sociotechnical systems theory and the concept of autonomous work groups made popular with the wave of Japanisation techniques in the 1980s.

Socio-technical systems design was the product of the work of group social scientists who came together at the end of the Second World War and, in 1946, formed the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations in London. Eric Trist, a founder member of

'The Tavistock', became aware of technology's influence on people when he was working in the jute industry in Scotland in the late 1930s. He was a member of a small interdisciplinary team studying unemployment resulting from the rationalisation of the jute industry. Trist found that changes in technology were causing unemployment, deskilling and alienation; the technical and social systems were acting against each other.

In 1949, the Tavistock Institute made its first major contribution to the theory of socio-technical design with a number of field projects in the British coal industry whilst looking at the dysfunctional social and psychological implications of the introduction of long wall mining methods (Trist and Bamforth, 1951). The study was based on issues such as low morale and high incidences of psychosomatic disorders amongst miners. The research team recognised that the new technical systems had created an inferior and damaging form of social organisation.

One of the case studies that Trist and Bamforth (1951) described was called the 'Manley Innovation', named after the pit under investigation. This research showed how the miners had developed a teamwork approach to short wall mining, as a reaction to underground conditions that made it dangerous to sustain and work long coal faces. Management attempted to revert to conventional long wall methods of working to reduce costs, but the men resisted and were allowed to continue with their method of work organisation, which was based on self-selected, multiskilled groups, which were responsible for the whole work cycle on one shift and had elected team captains. This differed substantially from the long wall working methods in which each miner had one task to undertake with limited opportunities for development.

The 'Manley Innovation' prompted the Tavistock researchers to formulate one the most important principles of socio-technical design: if a technical system is created at the expense of a social system, the results obtained will be sub-optimal. When work is being designed, the goal must always be the joint optimisation of the social and technical systems. The researchers at the Tavistock Institute recognised, documented and evaluated autonomous group working – while also emphasising the

importance of the social organisation of work. As Buchanan (2000) notes, the studies undertaken by the Tavistock Institute reinforce the fact that teamwork has not been invented by management consultants in the same way as other management techniques, such as Business Process Re-engineering. Rather, it is a naturally occurring phenomenon, an intuitive response by employees to certain working conditions which they adopted naturally. Maintaining group membership is entrenched in individuals' socio-psychological functioning as it acts to provide a sense of belonging and identity, affiliation with others and provides guidelines for behaviour (Schein, 1985).

The findings of the Tavistock researchers have been particularly pervasive within Northern Europe. Sociotechnical ideas were developed in the Netherlands as an expert-oriented form of sociotechical systems theory – modern sociotechnology (Benders and van Hootengem, 1999). Despite never developing its own sociotechnical approach, within Germany during the 1970s, there was extensive humanisation of work and significant changes in production systems (Harvey and Von Behr, 1994). However, sociotechnical ideas were adopted predominantly in Scandinavian countries, the most reported example of the use of autonomous work groups being from the Volvo plants Kalmar and Uddevalla (Berggren, 1993; Sandberg, 1995). Volvo had had a tradition of work group autonomy in its Kalmar plant since the 1970s. At Kalmar, employees were responsible for clusters of tasks, with some variation on the production line concept (Berggren, 1989). Berggren argues that Kalmar still relied on centralised control and autonomy was limited. Yet, in Uddevalla, Volvo's most team-oriented plant, teamwork involved a more socialised form of production, which contained 51 independent assembly workshops.

Bernstein (1992) examined the progression in teamwork in Volvo from its inception in 1966 until the close of the Uddevalla plant in 1993. Volvo began trialling teamwork as an attempt to remedy the problems of absenteeism, excessive turnover, recruitment costs, ergonomic issues and changed work expectation. In Udevalla, teamworking even centred on the building of a learning environment. However, Uddevalla was closed in 1993 due to lack of sales, excess capacity and cash flow

issues. Production was moved to a non team based plant (Carmona and Grönlund, 1998). For Volvo, teamwork was adopted only when it was economical to do so. Hence it was not as embedded in Swedish society as some researchers would like to believe (Carmona and Grönlund, 1998).

In the US, teamwork in the form of autonomous work groups (AWGs) was adopted as part of the QWL movement during the 1950s and 1960s. This movement viewed AWGs as a key technique in the pursuit for improving working conditions to meet the aspirations and expectations of a more affluent, better educated workforce - and to meet the standard organisational requirements of improved performance and efficiency (Buchanan, 2001).

There was a resuscitation of the QWL movement in the 1980s, going hand in hand with the re-conceptualisation of teams. The 1980s style teams, particularly within the UK, were not the 'naturally' forming teams of the Human Relations tradition. They were, in fact, engineered by management to satisfy their own interests (Benders and van Hootegem, 2000). In Britain, cellular manufacturing played a pivotal role in the re-introduction of AWGs in the country where they were first identified (Benders and van Hootegem, 2000). Many of the teamworking initiatives during this period were based upon 'teams' in Japanese industry. During the 1970s and 1980s Japanese industry was considered to have a substantial competitive advantage over other manufacturing economies in the developed world. Indeed, in 1979, American broadcasting company NBC produced the documentary 'If Japan can do it, why can't we?' The programme focused on the growing awareness that Japanese manufacturers could produce and sell better quality goods with higher productivity than many of their US competitors (Kochen and Gershenfeld, 2000).

Initially Japanese teams referred to quality circles, where employees met on a regular and voluntary basis in small groups to discuss, propose and implement improvements to the production process in their work area (Proctor, Fulop, Linstead, Mueller and Sewell, 2004). Although manufacturing organisation in the UK, USA and other Western economies adopted quality circles extensively, their use was relatively short

lived. Hill (1991) believes the reason quality circles were not enduring was 'organisational dualism' – whereby, rather than providing the basic unit of the organisation, quality circles were wedged onto and scored across existing organisational structures.

More recently, the Japanese production system known as lean production (Womack et al. 1990) has introduced the most commonly adopted version of teamwork and overcome the issues of organisational dualism by identifying the team as the basic unit of production (Benders and van Hootegem, 2000). Despite the emphasis on this type of team for organising production with the lowest possible inventories (Just in Time or JIT), it has also been claimed that 'it is the dynamic work team that emerges as the heart of the lean factory' (Womack et al., 1990, p99).

The nature of these Japanese teams has been scrutinised by many researchers such as Benders and van Hootegem (2000) and Delbridge et al. (2000). Drawing on Dore's (1973) and Cole's (1971) classic studies, Benders and van Hootegem (2000) established the following as the key characteristics of the Japanese model: the focal position of the foreman; the minute description and rigorous regulation of work using standard operating procedures; and the use of continuous improvement (kaizan) techniques in the standard operating procedures. Delbridge et al. (2000) confirmed these findings and furthermore found the role of production workers was actually quite limited, specifically in terms of maintenance and production management - and that substantive responsibility was held by the team leader.

One of the most salient accounts of attempts to adopt Japanese practices outwith Japan is Adler's report of the General Motors-Toyota joint venture car assembly plant in the USA (Adler, 1992, Adler and Borys, 1996). Research carried out in The New United Motor Manufacturing Inc (NUMMI) plant in Fremont, California, provides a clear depiction of the possible advantages and disadvantages of teamwork. Fremont's reputation was as one of General Motor's (GM) least productive plants, with low quality manufacturing and poor industrial relations (Adler, 1992). For Toyota, implementing Japanese production and human resource techniques was an

opportunity to see whether a U.S workforce and a U.S supply base could support the Japanese system (what was to be known as the Toyota Production System) (Kochan and Gershenfeld, 2000).

The NUMMI story is a legend in management studies and in the automobile industry (Adler, 1992: Levine, 1995; Wilms, 1996). Within two years of the restart of the plant, NUMMI had become the most productive (and highest quality) auto producer. NUMMI was operating under Toyota's management, production systems and employee relations, yet with the same union leaders, largely the same workforce and the same, relatively aged technology.

The NUMMI interpretation of teams was somewhat different from the self-selecting, self-managing teams of the Human Relations movement. Despite the extensive use of teams with NUMMI, Adler (1992) refers to 'standardisation' and 'regimentation' to characterise the organisation of work. Adler suggests that, at least in the case of this plant, there is no paradox between Taylorist principles of routinisation and the use of teams. The function of the team in this case was to improve upon standardized work and, contrary to Taylorism, planning responsibility was delegated to the team and was no longer the sole responsibility of management (Adler, 1992).

As Adler (1992, p103) notes, 'team members themselves hold the stopwatch'. Within NUMMI, team members also had to learn the techniques of work analysis and improvement, that is, a re-introduction of some of the 'brain work' that Taylor attempted to remove from employees' discretion. Yet the amount of autonomy afforded to employees with NUMMI was limited and management were still responsible for the actual operationalisation of any innovations made within the team. Sewell (1998) describes this as the 'double-bind' of discretion. That is, teams need to be managed in order to direct members' efforts to the resolution of problems. Yet, in order to solve these problems effectively, employees must be grated high degrees of autonomy. Within NUMMI, the reality was closer to the standardizing practices of Taylorism coupled with the knowledge–finding and motivating possibilities of teamwork (Berggren et al., 1994). The NUMMI plant was, however,

characterised by intense machine pacing (sixty seconds to complete tasks on the assembly line), close surveillance, rigid production quotas, regimentation and hard driving management practices (Berggren et al., 1994).

NUMMI was by no means the sole example of the application or introduction of teams from the 1980s, nor was it the sole example of the adoption of teams under the guise of Japanisation. Lawler (1986) wrote about the 'new design' plants based on multiskilled self-managing teams. Buchanan and McCalman (1989) illustrated how Digital Equipment Corporation developed a high-performance work system in its manufacturing plant in Scotland.

Proctor and Muller (2000) argue that the AWGs of the sociotechnical tradition and the teams of the Japanese tradition have come together. However it can also be argued that, despite gestures towards the socio-technical systems tradition, it is the Japanese lean production model which has tended to dominate. Ramsay (1991) remarks that teamworking in its recent 1980s-1990s guise has its origins in the practices of companies such as Komatsu, Hitachi, Nissan and particularly Toyota. There is little question that the competitive success of Japan in the automotive and electronics industries has played a role in the breakthrough of teams. This has been further encouraged by the establishment of Japanese transplants in the US and Western Europe where the basis of shopfloor organisation is teams.

In more recent years, there has been much discussion of alternative work arrangements and how these arrangement relate to teamwork. Frequently alternative work practices refer to home working and telecommuting and tend to be considered in relation to increased flexibility as a way of managing the work-family conflict (Powell and Mainiero, 1999). However, there is another set of alternative working arrangements, which are emerging as a response to cost reduction and organisational expansion. In addition to sending out individuals or teams of employees to work at home, organisations are expanding into satellite offices, mobile employees and the transfer of employees to work in the field with customers or other organisation constituents (Barnatt, 1995; Rock and Pratt, 2002). While there has been a

considerable amount of work looking at the effect of dispersion on the individual employee (e.g.Gainey, Kelley and Hill, 1999; Weisenfeld et al., 2001), there has been little work that examines the effect of dispersion on entire teams of employees, and the impact of this on identification.

Dispersion is clearly going to affect many of the antecedents of organisational identification, such as organisational socialisation, rituals and symbols. Moreover, the actual distance between the dispersed employees and their employing organisation will reduce the visibility of their organisational membership, and their exposure to organisational structures and processes that determine individuals' perceptions of belonging to the organisation (Wiesenfeld et al., 2001).

2.4 Opposing Descriptions of Teamwork

As Batt and Doellgast (2004) argue, any historical discussion of teams is broadly going to focus on managerialist or organisational psychological accounts of teamwork. These perspectives are overwhelmingly concerned with the advantages and usefulness of team. Accounting for this, and for the fact that it is fundamental to the aims of this thesis to attempt to reconcile competing debates about teamwork, it is also important to look at contributions to the analysis of teams from alternative perspectives. As such, the following discussion will focus on what is considered to be both the main contributions to the teamworking debate, and those of the most relevance to the current thesis. The following section will commence by examining social and organisational psychological accounts of teamwork and follow with sociologically informed explanations. Although these descriptions do not always fully represent the content of the debates, for ease of discussion, and following the work of Batt and Doellgast (2005), Harley (2001) and Thompson and McHugh (2002), the psychological and managerial approaches will be labelled 'positive' and the sociological 'critical'.

2.4.1 Psychological (Positive) Accounts of Teamwork

In discussing psychological accounts of teamwork, for the purpose of organising, a crude distinction is made between the social psychological accounts of group decision-making, and organisational psychological discussions of teamwork and its concern with productivity and efficiency. Within the body of work described under the heading of 'social psychological' are theories that have a strong cognitive base. This is a result of early and indeed, much traditional social psychological work, having a close alliance with what are now viewed as cognitive concerns (Hepburn, 2003).

2.3.1.1 Social Psychological and Associated Accounts of Teamwork

From a social psychological perspective, one of the most important relationships between individuals and their groups is seen as being that of participation and decision-making. The American researcher, Kurt Lewin, who is widely regarded as the 'father of group dynamics', conducted one first studies on group decision-making. Lewin was employed by the US government during the Second World War to try and persuade the civilian population to eat less popular (though nutritious) cuts of meet, such as brains, hearts, lungs and kidneys (offal). Lewin (1958) undertook a series of studies employing six groups of housewives. Three of the groups were given a lecture that talked about the influence of nutrition on the health of the family, the war effort and saving money. The lecturer handed out recipes using offal at the end of the lecture.

The other three groups were employed in a discussion based on a group leader's introduction of the same topics, which attempted to elicit the specific contributions that members of the group could make when they went home. The women in this half of the study were encouraged to discuss the reasons for resistance to change in eating behaviour. The recipes were then distributed.

A week later it was found that only 3% of the lecture group had tried an offal recipe, but 32% of the discussion group had done so. Lewin concluded that participation in group discussions had allowed a new group norm of eating behaviour to develop. Similar findings have been noted for employees who participate in decisions affecting their jobs, leading to increased enthusiasm, commitment and productivity (e.g. Coch and French, 1948; Lawler and Hackman, 1969).

A great deal of attention has been focussed on the particular kinds of decision-making that groups go through when they have to make a judgment. This is thought to be central to both team and organisational success. To further understand decision-making processes within collectives, Janis (1972, 1982) developed an influential theory that he labelled *groupthink*. Groupthink is deemed to be a way of thinking in which maintaining group cohesiveness and solidarity is more important than considering the facts in a realistic manner. In one sense, groupthink is a result of the cohesiveness in groups, as discussed by Lewin.

Janis's (1972) theory on groupthink was founded on an analysis of the decision of the group chaired by President John F. Kennedy to invade Cuba in 1961 at the Bay of Pigs. A decision, which was, referred to later on as 'stupid' by Kennedy himself. Groupthink parallels earlier thinking within social psychology, which suggested that group decisions, are less conservative than individual decision. This followed research evidence for a 'risky shift' in attitudes to the group situation (Kogan and Wallach, 1967).

Later studies showed that groups could also be more conservative in their decisions than individuals, which is why the term 'group polarisation' (Moscovici and Zavalloni, 1969) is now used to describe the shift in attitude between the individual and the group decision. However, referring back to Janis (1982), there is evidence to suggest that the direction – whether risky or cautious - seems to depend on the views first expressed by each group member, with the majority view forming the norm (Lamm and Myers, 1978).

The potential for group processes to impact on the quality of decision-making has led to issues such as group composition receiving much attention, most frequently within management development circles. There has been a strong focus on the skills and personality traits required to produce a successful team. The most well known of these techniques and processes are the Belbin Self-Perception Inventory (1981), which its typology of personality based team roles and the Margerison and McCann Team Management Wheel (1985), which links teams roles to job functions. Hosking and Morley (1991) present a number of criticisms of both models in terms of reliability and validity, and the Belbin inventory has received specific criticisms, not least because it has been based on data obtained from training courses, but also because legend has it that Belbin's original data was destroyed in a fire. Thompson and McHugh (2002) acknowledge the contradictory nature of using inductively derived personality constructs to develop processes dependent on group interaction rather than individual characteristics. Other writers (e.g. McKenna, 2000) have highlighted the impracticability of matching individuals to required roles within 'real life' settings.

Nonetheless, the explanation of Bay of Pigs fiasco was ultimately blamed on workings of the group rather than the personalities of its members. This perspective has also been left open to criticism. The polarisation effects have been explained predominantly as a response to persuasive arguments theory and social comparison theory (Myers and Lamm, 1976; Wetherell, 1987). Persuasive arguments theory proposes that polarisation arises from information sharing within a group that exposes it to novel and persuasive arguments (Burnstein and Vinokur, 1973). Assuming as part of the Bay of Pigs situation, that each member of the group had a slightly different reason for wanting to invade Cuba, advocates of persuasive arguments theory would suggest that polarisation will occur under these circumstances as each individual would now have access to all these arguments. Therefore their initial propositions would be strengthened.

However, persuasive arguments theory has been challenged in that groups can make polarised decisions without any exchange of ideas at all (Cotton and Baron, 1980).

Other challenges to this theory focus on the fact that polarisation is typically accompanied by some convergence of form. While more moderate group members become more extreme in their views, extreme members generally become more moderate (Turner, 1991; Wetherell, 1987).

Evidence regarding convergence is also damaging to the analysis of group polarisation presented by social comparison theorists (e.g. Lam and Myers, 1978). This theory suggests that group members will compete to express opinions that are felt to be valued within society at large. On the basis of such an analysis, members of the Kennedy government would have arrived at their option because they were trying to 'out do' each other in terms of anti-Cuban sentiment. Yet, the evidence provided by Janis and other research (e.g. Whyte, 1993) would argue that group members are driven more by a desire for consensus than for a desire to be different.

What really emerges from all these perspectives is a perception of deep-seated irregularities between individual inputs and group outputs, in that it is implicit in these theories that any analysis of group decision-making that is based on a consideration of inputs of values that exist independently of the group in question is likely to be limited. From a social identity approach, Turner (1991) would argue that these individualistic assumptions facilitate researchers on group and teams to ignore the distinct psychological properties of group decisions as social products. It is the character of a particular group within a particular context that makes specific arguments persuasive and that leads to particular positions.

As such, an alternative mechanism for the examination of teams at the level of the group, rather than solely at the individual level is the embryonic work on information processing and social or shared cognition. Research in this area is primarily concerned with the relationships between individuals' knowledge and the groups' knowledge. This work is concerned with the nature of the mental life or 'mind' of the group, and how is it similar to, or different from, the mental life of its individual members (Batt and Doellgast, 2004). Three main theoretical approaches have emerged: team mental models theory (Cannon-Bowers, Salas, and Converse 1993),

group information sharing theory (Stasser and Titus 1985), and transactive memory systems (Wegner 1987).

The first approach views shared knowledge as a collective good, with each team member working from the same set of premises or team 'mental model' (e.g. Cannon-Bowers et al. 1993). Traditional organisation theories suggest that teams generally co-ordinate via task organisation and team communication (March and Simon 1958; Thompson 1967; van De Ven et al., 1976). However more recent theories and research also suggest that as collaborators develop familiarity with both the task and the team, they develop team knowledge that enables them to co-ordinate implicitly (Endsley 1995; Wegner 1987; Weick and Roberts 1993; Wellens 1993). Shared mental models are a type of team knowledge that members have in common about the task and each other (Cannon-Bowers et al. 1993, Klimoski and Mohamed 1994, Kraiger and Wenzel 1997). It is suggested that these models help manage sub-task interdependencies effectively, thus positively affecting co-ordination and performance. However, while much has been written about shared mental models, the literature lacks clarity in terms of definition and there is very little empirical evidence supporting these theories beyond experimental laboratory based explanations (Batt and Doellgast, 2004).

The information sharing literature, by contrast, is focused on how individuals in groups deal with shared and unshared information (Stasser and Titus 1985; Stasser 1992). Information sharing within workgroups as previously mentioned is one of the fundamental premises on which the advantage of teams over individuals is founded. The performance of cross function teams and project groups is reliant on the transmission of unique or diverse information held by individual team members. The assumption behind much of the literature on teams (as in sociotechnical systems theory, and group decision-making) is that groups with diverse members should be able to pool their information and thereby have access to a wider array of ideas and solutions than would otherwise be possible. However, research in this area has tended to show that decision-making groups often fail to exchange this information, and instead discuss information that members have in common in order to make their

decisions (Stasser and Titus, 1985, 1987). This process, referred to as biased sampling, may undermine the creative problem solving assumed to be the source of performance gains in teams at work. Yet the empirical trajectory of this work parallels that shared mental models, in that there is a dearth of field research. Subsequently, there is still limited understanding of the conditions under which individuals do or do not share information (Williams et al., 1998).

The third approach, transactive memory, refers to a collective memory system in which individual group members know the domains of expertise of other members and are able to access and/or utilise that information for the group's benefit (Batt and Doellgast, 2004). Wegner (1987) was especially interested in the use of people as memory aids. He speculated that a transactive memory system might develop in some groups to ensure that important information is remembered. This system combines the knowledge possessed by individual group members with a shared awareness of who knows what. So, when group members need information, but cannot remember it on their own - or doubt that their own memories are accurate - they can turn to each other for assistance. A transactive memory system can thus provide group members with both more information and better quality information than they possess on their own. Despite, limited empirical work within organisational contexts (Lewis, 2003), outwith a training setting, it has been suggested that transactive memory systems and socially shared cognitions both develop in conjunction with a common sense of social identity (Haslam, 2001). The central point therefore is that individuals will only have the motivation and ability to develop socially shared cognitions when they define themselves as a common group.

All these theories of groups put knowledge sharing, information exchange, expertise, and learning in the foreground of research interest, paralleling a growing focus on these more 'intangible' tools in the organisational behaviour and business management literature (Batt and Doellgast, 2004). However, whilst showing potential, they are all at a very early stage in their development. Most of the work is either purely theoretical or based on laboratory studies. Mechanisms for understanding and measuring key constructs such as group mental models or

transactive memory systems, specifically within 'real life' contexts are in their infancy. Although work on the social identity approach has inferred potential relationships (see Haslam, 2001), to date, work has not examined the conditions under which teams perform better with shared understandings, and what motivates workers to share their knowledge. Finally, these cognitive approaches lack the normative lens of many of the other psychological works on groups and show little learning or incorporation of the findings from other psychological or more critical disciplines (Batt and Doellgast, 2004).

Hence, from the analysis of the psychological literature so far, it can be argued that there are some bodies of work that would suggest that groups are not always the best solution to resolving an organisational issue, and other areas of research, that in principle make teamwork look promising but as yet are under examined or under theorised. Without clear evidence as to the benefits of teamwork, it is difficult to fully understand why teams are replacing the individual as the basic unit of work organisation at shopfloor level and why project teams are increasingly used as a mechanism for co-ordinating managers and professionals (Thompson and McHugh, 2002).

2.3.1.2 Organisational Psychological and Managerialist Accounts of Teamwork

Positive accounts of teamwork are frequently, (although not exclusively), embedded in an organisational psychological or managerialist tradition. They tend to focus on the organisational and employee benefits of teamwork and suggest that workers not only enjoy greater task variety and complexity from teamwork than from more traditional forms of work organisation, but that they also gain additional skills (Findlay et al., 2000a). Teamwork practices are frequently supported by high-trust, high-involvement HR policies (McDuffie, 1995). Critical approaches challenge these positive accounts and often view teams as a mechanism for enhanced monitoring of employees, standardisation of work, and view involvement in continuous improvement as a form of work intensification. Psychological accounts tend to view

delegated responsibilities as a re-organisation rather than reduction of control (Findlay et al., 2000a).

The rationale for increased performance and employee empowerment in part derives from justifications from sociotechnical systems theory (e.g. Trist and Bamforth; Cummings, 1978) which suggests that the extent to which teams can self-regulate or self-control can also lead to team members using their knowledge, skills and judgements to solve production processes and thereby improve performance (Harley, 2001). Other positive accounts of increased performance emerge from organisational psychology literature, such as the job characteristics approach (JCM) which believes teams have a positive effect on employee attitudes because enhanced discretion leads to increased motivation, satisfaction and commitment (Pil and MacDuffie, 1996, parker and Jackson, 1993).

The job characteristics approach to work design was most significantly influenced by Karaseck and Theorell's (1990) Control-Demands Model and the Job Characteristics Model (JCM) devised by Hackman and Oldham (1976). Karaseck and Theorell's (1990) control-demands model predicts that high-strain jobs are those characterised by high work demands and low control. Although there is little evidence for the interactive effect of control and demand (van der Doef and Maes, 1999), there is considerable empirical verification that lack of control and high job demands are predictors of job-related strain (O'Driscoll and Cooper, 1996).

The more widely cited JCM proposes five core job dimensions (autonomy, skill variety, feedback, task identity, task significance) which are viewed as determinants of three 'critical psychological states': autonomy to experience *responsibility*; feedback to *knowledge of results*; and skill variety, task identity and task significance to experience *meaningfulness*. The critical psychological states are seen to impact upon work satisfaction, internal work motivation, performance, absence and turnover. There is some proof that these core job characteristics have an effect on affective outcomes such as satisfaction and motivation. However, there is limited evidence (Parker and Wall, 1998) that they have an impact on worker behaviour (e.g.

performance, absence and turnover). The motivating potential of job design is a central issue in the job characteristics approach to work design and is also central to debates on modern working customs and high commitment HRM practices.

Indeed, positive perspectives frequently go hand in hand with discussions of HRM, and are generally located within broader accounts of management practices labelled as 'empowerment', ' high involvement management' or 'high performance work systems,' (Wood, 1999; Appelbaum et al., 2000; Ramsay et al. 2000). The accounts often focus on organisational performance as the main rationale for teamwork. This approach is prominent in much of the US based managerialist literature on teams. In their 1993 volume 'The Wisdom of Teams,' Katzenbach and Smith state that 'performance.. is the primary objective.. a team remains the means, not the ends.. will deliver results beyond what individuals acting alone in non teamworking situations could achieve' (p.12).

The positive accounts of teamwork strongly endorse its benefits to both employees and employers (Wall et al., 1986, Parker and Jackson, 1993). One of the most often cited and in depth analyses of teamwork from a psychological perspective was undertaken by Wall et al. (1986). Wall and his colleagues from the Social and Applied Psychology Unit at the University of Sheffield (now The Institute of Work Psychology) undertook a long-term study of autonomous work groups in a manufacturing setting. The study looked at the movement in the organisation from production lines to semi-autonomous workgroups. The transition was premised on the belief that the change in work organisation would lead to enhanced employee satisfaction, higher performance, increased commitment, improved employee well being and reduced turnover of workers.

The findings of this study indicated that 'employees clearly appreciated the autonomous work system. On balance managers did too, though clearly there were costs in terms of personal stress arising from the difficulties in managing and maintaining the system' (Wall et al., 1986, p 298). Yet, of the anticipated outcomes, only job satisfaction and productivity were significantly increased, along with

reported perceptions of increased autonomy. Employee turnover increased as a result of dismissals of those that would not, or could not, comply with the new regime. Productivity improvement resulted from reduced indirect labour costs due to decreased need for supervisory grades rather than enhanced individual productivity. Thompson and McHugh (2002) argue the findings of this study are representative of organisations being persuaded of the 'bottom-line' benefits of teamwork - less a case of enhancing the QWL for employees, more one of enabling greater flexibility, problem-solving and continuous improvement.

2.4.2 Critical Accounts of Teamwork

Critical scholars in sociology have provided an alternative to the generally optimistic assessment of teams and teamwork found in the psychological and managerialist literature. For the most part, this work has focused on the outcomes for employees and is sceptical of the extent to which the introduction of teamworking has really altered the employment experience for most workers. This has been described as 'the *dark side* of new production systems' (Smith and Thompson 1999, p.210). This critical and opposing account of teamwork emerges from the more sociologically inspired labour process theory and Foucauldian influenced work (e.g. Sewell, 1999; Barker, 1993, 1999). While there are significant areas of disagreement between the two, they share a common concern with dynamics of conflict, coercion, and consent in the workplace. As Batt and Doellgast (2004) note, it is between these two traditions that interdisciplinary debate and dialogue have occurred.

The central concern of labour process theory is to explain how management controls employee effort and appropriates the surplus value of labour i.e. the accumulated product of the unpaid labour time of the producers (Braverman, 1974; Burowoy, 1979; Thompson, 1983). The concern is whether the introduction of workgroups represents meaningful change for employees. In tandem with much of the psychological literature on work organisation, the speculation of labour process theorists (e.g. Braverman, 1974), developed as a critique of Taylorism. Braverman's (1974) classic portrayal of the deskilling of clerical work presents management as controlling the labour process through the separation of the conception of work from

the execution of work as undertaken by most employees. Although the fundamental premise of teamwork is the reintegration of managerial responsibilities with the undertaking of the tasks, much of the work from the labour process perspective perceives teamwork as an alternative management strategy to undermine and broaden control over employees' effort and output.

The broad argument of the more critical studies is that teamwork can disempower employees by enhancing managerial control and intensifying work activity (e.g. Parker and Slaugher, 1988; Garrahan and Stewart, 1992). This perspective also articulates fears regarding the coercive nature of teams (Barley and Kunda, 1992) and how these new forms of control assist management in extracting labour from employees using work intensification (Marchington, 2000). Critical theorists have relied heavily on evidence from lean production settings, arguing that the use of off-line quality circles, multi-skilling and JIT production techniques involve little redistribution of responsibility to employees. They claim that as well as intensifying work, lean production settings are also an attempt to mine employees' tacit knowledge for the purpose of continuous improvement[4] (Batt and Doellgast, 2004). Indeed, Adler's (1995) study and Parker and Slaughter's (1988) examination of the NUMMI plant depict teamwork as a form of 'democratic Taylorism' and 'super-Taylorism,' respectively.

Writers from both positive and critical perspectives are aligned in at least one belief. They both understand that teamworking initiatives are a response to the 1980s economic legacy of downsizing and, as such, the responses to this process are frequently viewed as warranting examination. Examples of this type of work from a critical perspective are Casey (1999) and Sewell (1998). However, one of the most reported and frequently cited critical accounts of teamwork is Barker's (1993, 1999) examination of structural change in ISE Communications in the USA, as summarised in Table 1.

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[4] Some researchers examining high performance work systems (e.g. Lawler et al. 1995) view this as enhancing skills and building knowledge rather than abusing employees' knowledge

Before the Change	After the Change
1. Three levels of managerial hierarchy between the vice president and the manufacturing workers	1. Managerial hierarchy extends directly from the manufacturing teams to the vice president
2. Manufacturing assembly line organises the plant. Workers manufacture boards according to their individual place on the line	2. Team work areas organise the plant. Teams are responsible for complete fabrication, testing and packaging of their assigned circuit boards
3. Line and shift supervisors form the first managerial link	3. Teams manage their own affairs, elect one person to co-ordinate information to them
4. Workers have little input into work-related decisions. Managers make all decisions and give all directions	4. Team members make their own decisions within guidelines set by management and the company vision statement. Teams have shared responsibility for their own production
5. Management disciplines workers	5. Team members discipline themselves
6. Management interviews and hires new workers	6. Team members interview, hire and fire their own members

Table 1: The structure of ISE before and after the change of teams (source, J.R. Barker (1993), 'Tightening the Iron Cage: Concertive Control in Self-Managing Teams.' Administrative Science Quarterly)

Barker demonstrates that values of control systems in teams appear to be internalised by some groups of workers in specific circumstances. Based on Tompkins and Cheney's (1985) terminology he characterises control in this organisation as 'concertive control,' which involves employees monitoring their own, and each others' behaviour to an extent far beyond more traditional supervisory/managerial processes. Barker suggests that both the organisation and employees adopt a 'new substantive rationality' and a 'new set of consensual values'. Crucial to his argument is the notion that

> 'Members of the old teams responded to these changing conditions by discursively turning their value consensus into normative rules that the new workers could readily understand and to which they could subject themselves' (Barker, 1993, p424)

Barker argues that the new rules were being formalised into a system not dissimilar to the old bureaucratic structure. The formalisation of abstract values into specific behavioural guidelines was seen to provide a sense of stability. It was not interpreted as a bureaucratic regime because the rules were formalised by the teams themselves. As such, Barker called the teams 'their own masters and their own slaves,' (1993, p.433). Indeed he concluded that these self-managed teams only served to bind employees further to the system, and employees were unlikely to resist for fear of risking their dignity by being made to feel dishonoured as a team member. This conclusion is not dissimilar to that of Adler (1992) from his work on NUMMI.

Here management have changed the context of control by altering the structures through which it is enacted. Although Barker (1999) argues that this represents a new form of internalisation and identification, there is little concrete evidence to suggest that it is any more than compliance to a new locus of control (Thompson and McHugh, 2002). It could therefore be argued that these employees may not be committed to the new system but they at least present the appearance of being committed - irrespective of the impact on any personal values or meaning.

2.5 Emerging Themes and Issues

At the extreme, there are competing accounts of teamwork from the 'co-operative', psychologically informed work and the 'coercive' sociologically informed literature. Yet, there are two areas where criticisms from both bodies of work converge. The first issue is that the development of teamwork and related academic literature largely reflect production processes in manufacturing (Jenkins, 1994; Marks and Lockyer, 2004; van den Broek, Callaghan and Thompson, 2004). The second concern is poor definition of criteria, characteristics and context (Buchanan, 2000; Marchington, 2000).

Starting with the first point, research has tended to focus on manual, unionised workers undertaking routine and repetitive work in the motor industry and electronics. This has provided the basis for the majority of concepts and

classifications concerning teamworking. The question arising from this narrowly constrained research is whether existing conceptual frameworks for analysing teamworking can be translated to any white-collar work beyond the merely routine. (Lloyd and Newell, 2000; Marks and Lockyer, 2004).

The extent to which teamwork has actually been examined with any rigour among non-production employees is limited. It has focused on areas such as healthcare where teams are multi-disciplinary and issues such as collegiality, hierarchy and professionalism emerge (Griffiths, 1997; Lloyd and Newell, 2000; West and Poulton, 1997). More recent work has, however, focused on employees undertaking relatively routine service sector tasks, which often imitate teamworking models in manufacturing (e.g. Kinnie and Purcell, 1998). In a study of two call centres, Kinnie et al. (2000) argue that teams in this service setting are managed by a combination of tight control and high commitment management, which involves teamwork as well as other features such as low value incentives. Despite assertions that high commitment management systems are compatible with low task discretion, they say little about teamwork in such a highly controlled context. This differed from the work of Baldry, Bain and Taylor (1998), who found that teamwork in the finance sector only paid lip service to the terminology. Teams did not produce job enrichment, but rather routinisation and control - so much so that Baldry et al. (1999) labelled the process 'Team Taylorism' to illustrate the low levels of job satisfaction and the tight physical and technological surveillance.

In their examination of the introduction of teamworking in a pharmaceutical sales force, Lloyd and Newell (2000) found that, if evaluated against the standard list of practices and objectives generally described in the literature, teamwork for this group of workers increased neither flexibility nor commitment. Nor was there any real evidence that it increased internal discipline or performance levels. This study further suggests that existing models of teamwork are relatively narrow and unlikely to reflect the reality of teams across occupational contexts.

By suggesting that existing concepts fail to provide acceptable frameworks for the understanding of non-manufacturing evaluation of teams, one would assume some uniformity in frameworks for research and theorising focusing on production employees. Yet there are indications that the broader notion of teamwork itself is infinitely flexible and problematic to define (Buchanan, 2000). One reason is the considerable variation in the size of teams and of the scope and range of issues over which the team exercises discretion. In the studies reported by Rice (1958, 1963), the teams comprised six members. Trist et al.'s miners, meanwhile, worked in groups of more than forty. Buchanan and McCalman's (1989) high performance teams typically had between eight and twelve members. At a further extreme, Proctor et al. (2004) reported that The Economist (1997) detailed car manufacturer Fiat's creation of a three hundred strong international 'team' to create a new vehicle. Similar extremes occur when describing the function of the team, where teams may exercise discretion over trivial matters (e.g. timing of breaks) or responsibility for major issues (e.g. selection and training of new members) (Buchanan, 2000; Findlay et al., 2000a). This forms the core issue feeding the second substantive emerging theme in teamworking literature – how variations in teams can be accounted for in theoretical models and debates. Moreover, since the IT sector was chosen as one of the industrial sectors for the current study, it is important not only to understand debates on the applicability of terms and models to non manufacturing teams, but also structural and contextual variations occurring between traditionally based manufacturing teams and project/service sector groups.

Marchington (2000) believes that 'we need much greater precision in our definitions of teamwork and more explicit criteria than is currently used to evaluate teamwork' (p. 63). Indeed, one consequence of the term's flexibility is the risk of teamwork becoming imperceptible and assuming a variety of customs over different time environments. Both academics and practitioners use teamwork to define a number of organisational forms – indeed, any form of work where individuals have to interact at some level, or where the organisation wishes to infer a level of collectiveness. Consequently the term 'teamwork' suffers from its breadth of usage and often describes and explains little (Buchanan, 2000).

Both Buchanan and McCalman (1989) and Banker et al. (1996) recognised that a range of practices are labelled 'teamwork' and constructed templates/continua respectively in order to explain how the processes of teamwork can be evaluated. Banker et al. (1996) echo Buchanan's (2000) argument and believe the actual existence of teamwork tells us very little in itself. They suggest it is valuable to ask a series of questions to make the definition in itself more precise. Marchington proposes an assessment 'of both the range of activities which is delegated to the team and the degree of control that is devolved to team members in relation to each of these activities' (2000, p.66).

In a recent review of interdisciplinary perspectives on the organisation of work, Batt and Doellgast (2004) argue that the way to develop more inclusive and coherent understandings of teamwork is to increase awareness and learning across disciplines and theoretical traditions. They argue that although management academics often contend that their research on groups at work must incorporate a richer understanding of organisational context - few have done so in a credible manner. Batt and Doellgast (2004) also suggest that psychological researchers would benefit from the scepticism found in the critical literature on teams, and that the critical literature would benefit from input from psychologists who are trained at defining and measuring central concepts more precisely. However they manage to locate only two structures that start to bridge the gap between disciplinary boundaries; Marchington's (2000) framework provides one alternative and Thompson and Wallace (1996) provide a second framework capturing the technical, governance and normative dimensions of teams at work.

Firstly, Marchington's (2000) framework captures the degree, scope, level and form of teamwork. Marchington developed a matrix (see Figure 1) to be used as a device to focus on how teamworking may vary between organisations. The vertical axis of this matrix draws upon a categorisation outlined by Gospel and Palmer (1993) which distinguishes between work organisation, employment relations and management-employee relations. 'The first of these is concerned with the organisation of work

within the team, the second with the formation and management of the team, and the third, with issues of representation and governance relating to the team and beyond' (Marchington, 1999 p. 66). The horizontal axis provides categorisation of the degree of employee involvement, which moves from a relativity minimal degree of participation at one end, through to employees exerting control at the other. Although this matrix represents some interesting ideas, Marchington acknowledges:

> 'it does not claim to be exhaustive........ This has been used by the author in a number of studies... (but the matrix) focuses solely on issues that are subject to some degree of employee involvement, and as such excludes those that are retained exclusively by management.' (Marchington, 2000, p.66)

However, Thompson and Wallace (1996) provide an alternative framework for the examination of work teams. One of the advantages of this model over Marchington's is that it acknowledges managerial prerogatives for the introduction of teamwork. Furthermore, it recognises the benefits of a combination of labour process analysis and psychology in examining teamwork. Thompson and Wallace's model has been supported empirically by further studies (e.g. Findlay et al., 2000b; McCabe, 2000).

Degree / Scope	Communication	Consultation	Co-determination	Control
Work Organisation				
Methods of working				
Allocation of work				
Pacing of work/targets				
Working time				
Improvements to the process				
Employment Relations				
Selection of team leader				
Recruitment of team members				
Review performance of team members				
Discipline of team members				
Management-employee Relations				
Grievance resolution				
Representation by the team				
Payment and rewards				

Figure 1: The Teamwork Matrix (Marchington, 2000, In S. Proctor, and F. Mueller, (eds), Teamworking, Palgrave, 2000)

2.5.1 The Team Dimensions Model

Indeed, the model with the most flexibility and therefore the greatest potential to assess both production and non-production teams is Thompson and Wallace's Team Dimensions Model (TDM). Its development was based on their 1996 study of teamwork in Volvo and was further developed by Findlay et al. (2000a, 2000b) in research examining bottling teams in the Scottish Spirits Industry. These researchers suggest a framework which acknowledges the views of commentators (e.g. Proctor and Mueller, 2000) that teamwork is not necessarily a package in which value-orientations, task functions and capacity for self-government are all mutually re-enforcing. Although both psychological and critical bodies of work have a tendency to present teamwork as this all-inclusive entity, Thompson and Wallace (1996) view teamwork as being able to take on many forms depending on context. As such, this framework potentially affords a mechanism for examining production teams, project teams and groups of service sector employees (van den Broek, Callaghan and Thompson, 2004). The TDM is presented in Figure 2. This displays the content of what Thompson and Wallace (1996) describe as the Technical, Normative and Governance dimensions of teamwork. The competencies associated with the TDM are detailed in Figure 3.

This multi-dimensional approach enables the variety of managerial objectives of teamwork and configurations of actual practice to be identified and more accurately understood (Findlay et al., 2000a). In one sense the TDM could be described as a pragmatic mechanism for the evaluation of teamwork and, as such, has influenced a number of other writers (e.g. Delbridge et al., 2000; McCabe, 2000; Bélanger and Edwards, 2002), as it enables researchers to develop an assessment of teamwork without being forced into defining teams according to pre-existing classifications.

This model has acknowledged the results from an evaluation of the broader teamwork literature and taken into account the fact that the overwhelming rationale for the introduction of teams by organisations is instrumental and realistic. There is therefore, a strong focus on what can be described as the technical dimension, such as the application of knowledge and employee flexibility.
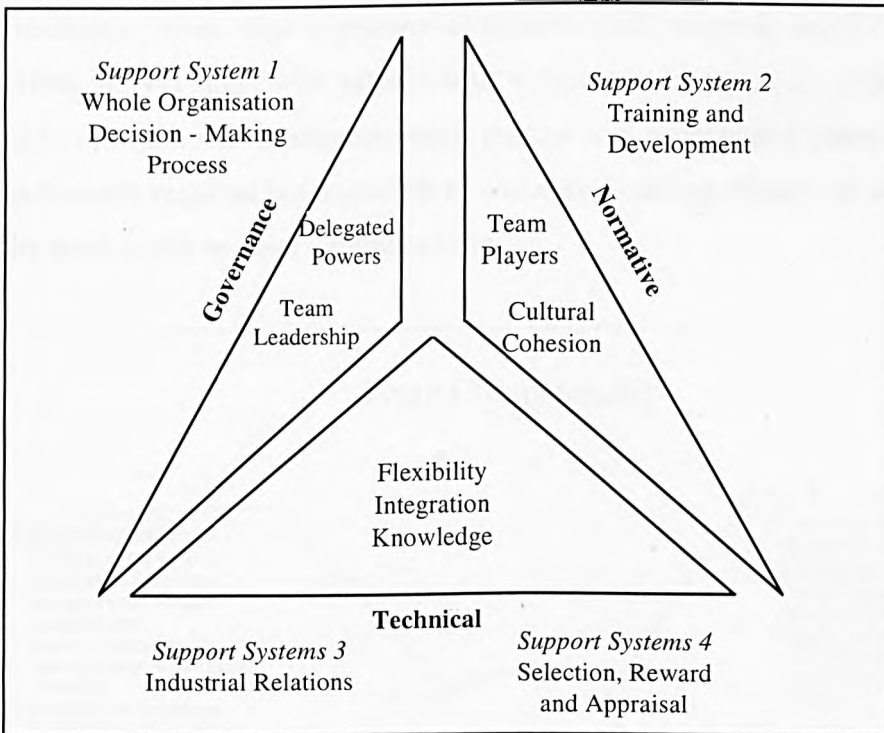
Figure 2: The Team Dimensions Model (Thompson and Wallace, 1996; Findlay et al. 2000a 2000b)

In Thompson and Wallace's (1996) model, the technical dimension is concerned with the team's ability to offer degrees of 'flexibility and self-regulation', which does not occur on the traditional production line. Thompson and Wallace believe it was the technical dimension that persuaded the managers in their initial study of Volvo to engage with teamwork. However, as Findlay et al. (2000b) note, the relative absence of discussion in the broader teamworking literature on the technical dimension of work is surprising considering the primary driver for the introduction of teamwork in the 1980s was the productivity crusades of enhanced efficiency and innovation, both within the Japanese lean production and the sociotechnical models.

Most writings in this area agree at least in principle that one of the managerially driven rationales for teamwork is the application of employees' skills, problem-solving and innovation capacities (Findlay et al., 2000a). Although there is an emphasis on task variety, skill development and enhanced complexity of work

(predominantly from the positive literature), the reality of teamwork for many is based on a reaction to previous restrictive practices, inflexible mindsets and lack of flexibility, rather than a positive alternative skill structure. Indeed, Reinhart et al. (1994, p.344) state, with reference to a Japanese transplant in Canada: 'we found nothing in the lean production work process that necessitated teams. They were not technically required but a product of social engineering. Nearly all operations within the plant could be done without a team.'
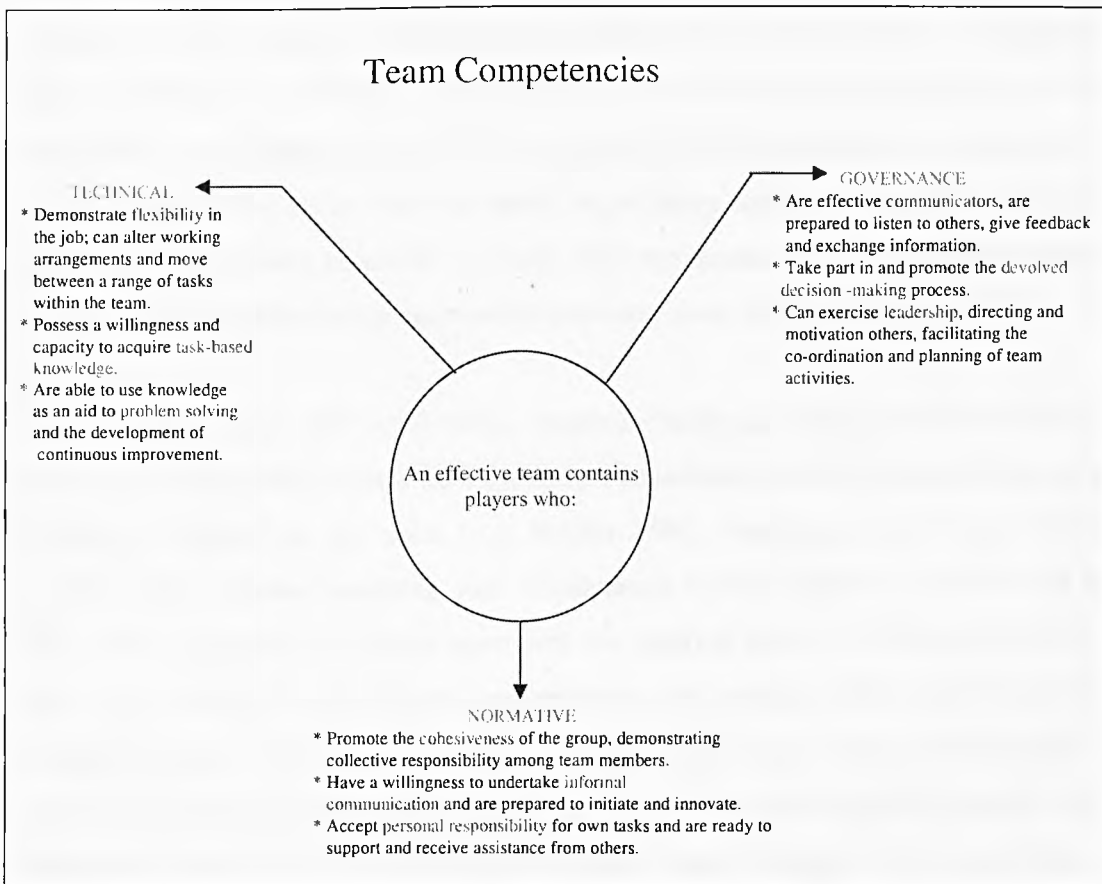
Figure 3: Team Dimensions Model: Competencies (Findlay et al. 2000a 2000b)

Yet Findlay et al. (2000a) believe there is a degree of common ground in the managerial agenda concerning the technical dimension, regardless of the actual outcomes of teamwork. It is the normative dimension, however, that requires the most theorising. Findlay et al. (2000b) note that writers from both positive and critical streams emphasise the expanded opportunities for normative integration.

Findlay et al. identify three ways in which the normative is invoked: a focus for corporate socialisation, the creation of team players and self-socialisation.

One of the principal discussions regarding the normative dimension of teamwork is the use of the team as a mechanism for instilling corporate values into individual team members. Mueller (1994) argues that teamworking is frequently used as a socialisation vehicle for resolving tensions between individual goals and organisational rationality. Whereas Robertson et al. (1992) and Sharpe (1996) discuss how the teams are adopted as a device for communicating management values, Findlay et al. (2000a) were somewhat sceptical of the ability of teams to be used in this way. Team members in the two manufacturing organisations examined in their research were aware that the teams were being used as a form of corporate socialisation, yet were prepared to accept only the facets of the corporate message which were both perceived as reasonable and consistent with practice.

However this idea of self-socialisation, which is clearly associated with the notion of devolved responsibility, would be viewed by Foucauldian influenced work as leading to self-surveillance in the team (e.g. Barker 1993; McKinlay and Taylor, 1996; Sewell, 1998). Studies reporting such occurrences include Barker's (1993) work in ISE, which suggested that under teamwork the internal culture of the team becomes defensive, resents deviation from new practices and punishes those who break the normative rules. McKinlay and Taylor's (1996) well-known study of Phoneco, a Scottish electronics plant, demonstrated that employees reacted against internal self-discipline which led to a demolition of the new work structures. However, from a broader perspective, Findlay et al.'s (2000b) findings were more moderate. Team members were aware of surveillance mechanisms enforced on the team and were highly critical of any practices going beyond the boundaries of what the team deemed acceptable.

Despite much of the argument in this section focusing on an examination of the more critical literature, it is clear from the previous review of the psychologically oriented literature that both perspectives, in part, view teamworking as a framework for

controlling independence. However, the psychological literature tends to believe that a collectivist orientation is essential for developing productive teams (e.g. Eby and Dobbins, 1997), while critical accounts view teamwork as a coercive device through which employees are socialised and subordinated to corporate power (Casey, 1996; Findlay et al., 2000a).

The final dimension of the TDM, the governance dimension, addresses the role managers and experts have traditionally played in the work process. It specifically focuses on direct supervision - that is, the shift from one manager overseeing one hundred employees to a team leader with responsibility for far fewer team members (Procter et al., 2004). The governance dimension is predominantly concerned with the expanded managerial and organisational roles that employees need to adopt. Yet, in reality, only a few teams have the opportunity for autonomy. For the most part, involvement initiatives are introduced as a mechanism for exploiting employees' tacit knowledge and skills in order to enhance efficiency.

2.6 There Must Be Some Way Out Of Here? Unifying Conflicting Debates

This chapter has attempted to chart the progression of teamwork both in terms of the history of work organisation and as a vehicle for highlighting the differences across research traditions. Although it can be seen that there are substantial and sometimes incompatible theoretical positions across these traditions, there are also some dimensions across which wisdom between disciplines can improve theory and further develop both methodological and empirical insights.

Acknowledging some generalisation in the following argument, the major focus in the critical analysis of groups and teams is their role in restricting output and group solidarity (e.g. Thompson, 1989, Edwards, 1986), as well as management control and discipline through teams (e.g. Sewell, 1998, Barker, 1993). However, this perspective fails to acknowledge internal dynamics that alter behaviour. As such, groups and teams have been treated as simple aggregates rather than negotiated collectives with their own logic of conflict, control and resistance (Thompson and McHugh, 2002).

Thompson and McHugh admit the lack of preoccupation with group processes leads to a practice of under theorising more micro-level issues in labour process analysis. This is a point which developed further by Marchington (1992), who acknowledges that a lack of focus on internal structures may make labour process analysis more dependent on social psychological explanations. Marchington (1992) notes that one of the most central features to socialisation of employees in a work context - that is, 'doing a good job' - is not accounted for by this perspective due to the failure to recognise personal motivation and objectives. The idea of groups as regulating mechanisms is more familiar in labour process analysis than the theme of the group as a mechanism for individual and collective expression (Thompson and McHugh, 2002). Whyte (1957), however, recognised that the concept of groupness was often incidental in many situations, even when people may not think of themselves as a group. For example, in a committee, the collective could still operate as a disciplinary vehicle.

The role of the group in the work context, whether conscious or subconscious, is an important regulatory force, which is under theorised both from a labour process and from other sociological perspectives. However, an exclusive focus on psychological processes as the explanation for work group activity fails to take seriously the economics of production systems and how these vary across industry and institutional contexts (Batt and Doellgast, 2004). By focusing on the work group, or individuals operating within the work group, as the unit of analysis, researchers in psychology have failed to capture workers in relation to the whole organisational context. In a study of self-managed teams of technicians, for example, Batt (2001) showed that the teams absorbed the tasks of supervisors in two-thirds less time, reducing indirect labour costs without affecting objective performance outcomes. A focus on teams as the unit of analysis alone would have failed to find these effects and come to inaccurate conclusions about the mechanisms through which teamwork contributes to outcomes in this setting.

From the highly individualistic work of organisational psychology, employee outcomes are equally narrow in their conceptualisation and examination. Little attention is paid to issues such as wages, work hours, overtime pay, and conflict at work, and there is only scant appreciation of job-related stress and employment security. As was evidenced from Wall et al.'s work (1986), there is an overly optimistic view about the potential for teams to produce mutual gains by solving production problems and simultaneously creating intrinsically interesting jobs. The conflict between formal structures and informal group relations, as found in the Hawthorne studies, is largely absent in recent theory and research.

As Batt and Doellgast (2004) acknowledge, however, reconciling competing perspectives is at best problematic and at worst impossible. At the extreme, it is almost unimaginable that synergy would be found between the social constructivism of postmodern writers and the individualism of the 'hard line' organisational psychologist. Nonetheless, where some disciplines have at least started to overlap is in the use of broader frameworks to examine dimensions of teamwork, specifically Thompson and Wallace's (1996) discussion of the technical, governance and normative components of teamwork. This framework includes the clarity of definition of central concepts from a psychological tradition, particularly in discussions about team competencies, yet acknowledges the impact of context on the organisation and the experience of work from a more sociologically informed view (Batt and Doellgast, 2002). This work nevertheless needs to be advanced and moved beyond a description of management's requirements of teamworking to explain why, for example, as Whyte (1957) and many other social psychologists point out, people identify with and think as part of a group even when they have only a loose association with the collective.

In one sense, what is required is an analytic device allowing us to gauge the extent to which teams exhibit the social effects of groups and examine the impact of the context and control structures of the organisation. The work on transactive memory systems, shared mental models and information sharing would potentially offer one mechanism for this type of analysis. Yet the lack of conceptual clarity of these

approaches and the limited empirical work outside laboratory settings constrain their usefulness at the present time.

Another mechanism for analysing the social effects of teams may be through social identity theory, which argues that groups are not solely a passive context for individual behaviour, but that the psychology of the individual is a product of group life and its distinct psychological and social realities (Haslam, 2001, 2004). What the social psychology literature offers, specifically in terms of social identity theory, which is contrary to both the sociologically informed work and the organisational psychological literature, is the belief that individuals will identify with a collective, regardless of external (managerial) input. As such, this approach may start to reconcile the arguments from the extremes of the sociological and psychological camps as to the extent to which teamworking benefits employees, and the extent to which it is a product of managerial or organisational control. Thompson and McHugh (2002) argue for the coupling of a social identity approach with the TDM in order to gauge the extent to which there is room for identity salience in a teamworking system

In response to this discussion, Chapter Three will examine the body of literature on social identity theory and associated debates in the belief (or hope) that it is thereby possible to find a mechanism or lens through which to recognise and understand these polarised debates concerning teamwork.

CHAPTER THREE: THE SOCIAL IDENTITY APPROACH

3.1 Introduction

Chapter One observed that most social psychological paradigms used for examining behaviour take the individual as the primary unit of analysis. Considering theoretical and methodological deficiencies in the individualistic and unitarist approaches to teamwork, it is clearly necessary, as identified in Chapter Two, to find an alternative framework for social psychologists to use to scrutinise and examine teams. It has been suggested that the primary vehicle for engaging with a 'non-individualistic' mechanism of analysis, as part of a social psychological examination, is social identity theory (Tajfel, 1970, 1978, 1981, 1982). As already noted, SIT is distinct from other social psychological approaches in that it adopts the group as the basic unit of analysis.

Although social identity was originally developed as a distinct theory, as opposed to a theoretical perspective or paradigm, it has been argued by Haslam (2001, p.26) that social identity theory can 'lay the foundation for an alternative way of approaching' the study of behaviour in organisations, in that the psychology of the individual can not be separated from the psychological and social reality of the groups. Social identity, therefore, affords a mechanism for examining behaviour at both individual and group level.

This chapter begins with an examination of social psychological accounts of identity and identification, specifically social identity theory and self-categorisation theory. Locations for work based identities at the organisational and team levels are then approached. This is followed by a discussion of social identity theory as a theoretical paradigm. Finally, the chapter concludes with an analysis of the limitations of social identity theory and the social identity paradigm.

3.2 Social Identity and Self-Categorisation Theory

As noted in Chapter One, SIT has been described as a concept lying at the intersection of social psychology, sociology and political science. It is rapidly gaining prominence in all these fields (Sanchez-Mazas and Klein, 2003). An examination of identity enables an understanding of how social interaction is bound up with individuals' social identities i.e. their definition of themselves in terms of group memberships, as opposed to their definition of themselves as individuals (Haslam, 2001).

Albert and Whetten (1985) first discussed social identity in the workplace. Their work, and much of the subsequent psychologically informed work on collective or social identity, was based on Tajfel et al.'s (1971) concept of SIT. This theory emerged from post-war European Social Psychology (Tajfel, 1972) and has its roots in Tajfel's early work on categorisation and social perception, his research on intergroup behaviours and his lifelong pursuit of social psychology. Tajfel belonged to a group of academics, European refugees and survivors of the Shoa, for whom the search for meaning in the sense of loss is poignant. It has been argued that, like many of these academics, e.g. Bettelheim, Moscovici and Bauman, his career was heavily influenced by his wartime experience (Billig, 1996; Brown and Lunt, 2002; Wetherell, 1996). However, unlike the aforementioned theorists, Tajfel's work did not include specific discussion of wartime Europe. Rather, he presents his legacy as a personal struggle through different types of psychological theorising (Wetherell, 1996). Brown and Lunt (2002) argue that SIT simultaneously completes Tajfel's personal journal and the development of social psychology as a distinct discipline.

Possibly as a consequence of Tajfel's experiences, SIT was originally developed in order to understand the psychological basis for inter-group discrimination, centred on the 'individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership,' (Tajfel, 1972:292). The origins of SIT can, however, be attributed to much earlier research,

specifically Sherif's seminal work in the 1950s and 1960s (e.g. Sherif, 1966; Sherif and Sherif, 1953). Sherif believed that intergroup conflict stems from realistic competition between groups, which intensifies ingroup bias and outgroup hostility. Later research modified this perspective. For example Rabbie and Horwitz (1969) were the first to examine empirically whether being a member of one group (based on, for example, nationality, religion, class, ethnicity) in and of itself, generates predictable orientation towards members of another group. They reasoned that the essential condition for the arousal of group feelings was the perception of some degree of interdependence of fate amongst the group members. They based this on the work of Lewin (1948) whose contribution to the study of intergroup relations was to demonstrate that human behaviour is the product not simply of personal characteristics, instincts and other forces within us, but also of the complex, dynamic environment we inhabit. He also contended that we all occupy a 'life space' comprising both internal and external factors, including other people.

Rabbie and Horwitz (1969) arranged for schoolchildren - who had never met - to be divided at random into two groups of four people. Members of each group were given identification badges (green or blue) and were initially seated either side of a screen so that they could see only members of their own group. The coloured badges were the only determinants of group membership within the control conditions. However, in experimental conditions, the groups further experienced a 'common' fate either by being given or deprived of transistor radios. In all conditions, the screen separating the groups was removed and each child was asked to stand up and read out some personal information about themselves, while the other children rated them on a number of scales. Rabbie and Horwitz (1969) discovered that in experimental conditions these impressionistic ratings were markedly affected by the child's group affiliation. Ingroup members were consistently rated more favourably than outgroup members. However, in the control conditions, no differences were found.

In a later experiment with a larger sample size some biases between groups were found in the control experiment (Horowitz and Rabbie, 1982). Nevertheless, it was

concluded from this experiment that classification into a group by itself exerts little influence on group members' judgements. Only when that classification coincided with some common experience of reward or deprivation did group-related perceptions evolve.

In order to scrutinise these findings a stage further, Tajfel and his colleagues performed a number of experiments in the early 1970s (later named the minimal group studies) which sought to identify the minimal conditions that would lead group members to discriminate in favour of the ingroup to which they belonged against an alternative outgroup (Tajfel, Flament, Billig and Bundy, 1971). Tajfel's first empirical exploration of SIT was undertaken in 1970. It involved allocating schoolboys to two groups based on relatively frivolous criteria (preference for the abstract painters, Kandinsky and Klee). In order to ascertain the impact of social identity, Tajfel eliminated a number of factors previously thought to play a significant role in intergroup discrimination, such as interdependence and a history of conflict and personal animosity, as part of the experimental process. Economic gain and self-interest were removed as potential triggering factors. This was achieved by asking the participants to perform tasks which involved assigning points (each signifying a small amount of money) to anonymous members of both their own group and the other outgroup but never to themselves (Tajfel, 1978).

The results of Tajfel's first set of experiments revealed that, even in these minimal conditions, the boys tended to award more points to people who were ingroup members, which suggests ingroup partiality. He subsequently developed these studies by broadening the choices participants could make. He divided the rewards fairly between the two groups, giving the maximum total rewards to both the ingroup and outgroup members to maximise both the total reward to the ingroup and the difference in rewards in favour of the ingroup members (Tajfel, 1978). Findings from these second experiments showed that participants again adopted an unfair tactic. However, in this experiment, instead of maximising the gain for their own group, participants actually developed a strategy that maximised the differences between the

ingroup and the outgroup. Doing well was not the driver; rather, it was doing better than the other group.

The principles behind these studies have been replicated in organisational environments. Brown's (1978) research showed that aircraft engineering manufacturing workers were more concerned with safeguarding wage differences between groups of employees than increasing their own earnings. Indeed, Brown (1978, p.423) comments:

> Their responses showed almost total unanimity. ..... There is no doubt that they were primarily concerned with establishing the largest possible difference over the grade 5 groups, even if this meant a sacrifice of as much as £2 a week in absolute terms. They were highly articulate men and recognised the problems associated with this strategy. As one steward realised:
> 'Your sectarian point of view is going to cost you money and save the company money'
> Which completely contradicted his duty as a shop steward: '... to extract the maximum from an employer for the labour we sell.'

Tajfel's experiments challenged established intergroup theories (e.g. Sherif, 1966) by demonstrating that the mere act of individuals categorising themselves as group members is sufficient to lead them to display intergroup favouritism. Further studies attempting to establish whether the minimal group findings were in fact a product of methodological artefacts or the results of implied interdependence between participants have produced few conclusions (Bourhis, Turner and Gagnon, 1997; Haslam, 2001).

One of the most salient features of the minimal group studies is the demonstration that when participants categorise themselves as members of a group, it gives their behaviour a distinct meaning (Haslam, 2001). In fact, Tajfel argued that the minimal group studies demonstrated that 'social categorisation required the establishment of a distinct and positively valued social identity' (Tajfel, 1971, p.37). He defines social identity as 'the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership,' (1972, p.292). Tajfel sees social identity as a product of any

internalised group membership and believed that it can be logically separated from the idea of personal identity.

Taking into account the affect that social identity has on constructing and defining people's place in society, Tajfel and Turner (1979) developed a further explanation of the minimal group studies. By doing this they formulated the 'SIT of intergroup behaviour' which is an integrative theory concentrating on both the cognitive and motivational basis of intergroup differentiation. Tajfel developed the theory beyond its limited focus on stereotyping and prejudice to a more general consideration of how the self is conceptualised in inter-group contexts, i.e. how a system of social categorisations 'creates and defines an individual's own place in society' (Tajfel, 1972 p.293). As Turner (1975) notes, social identity lies in intergroup social comparisons that seek to confirm or establish ingroups favouring evaluative distinctiveness between ingroups and outgroups, motivated by an underlying need for self-esteem (Turner, 1975).

SIT (e.g. Ashforth and Mael, 1989, Turner, 1982, 1984) looks at the degree to which people define themselves in terms of their membership of a collective, and how their feelings of self-worth are reflected in the status of the collective. It suggests that the key function served by membership of a collective is not the provision of resources, but the provision of social identity information helping the development and maintenance of a favourable self-concept (Tyler and Blader, 2001). SIT recommends that individuals self-categorise in order to reduce uncertainty. Uncertainty reduction, specifically about matters of value that are self-conceptually relevant is viewed as being a core human motivation (Hogg and Terry, 2000). Certainty is seen to be important as it brings confidence in how to behave and what to expect from a particular social situation.

One method of examining social identity is to define identification as the degree to which people cognitively merge their sense of self and the collective. That is, the extent to which people think of themselves and the collective in similar terms or define themselves in terms of the membership of the collective (Rousseau, 1998;

Tyler and Blader, 2001). Hence, organisational identification is defined as members' perception of belonging to the organisation (Ashforth and Mael, 1989), or the strength of members' psychological link to the organisation (Tyler and Blader, 2001). This link may be implicit or explicit for the person involved. An individual may, for example, say that being the IT director at Widgetco is very important to their sense of themselves as a person. However, even if they are not aware of the merger of the self and the collective, they may, when asked to talk about themselves, say for example: 'I am John Smith, I am the IT director at Widgetco', and subconsciously refer to themselves in terms of the collective.

On the other hand, individuals do not always operate as a collective. From 1974 onwards, Tajfel, recommended the addition of an *a priori* distinction between two poles in social behaviour. At one extreme, there can be found interactions between two or more individuals. These individuals are wholly determined by their interpersonal relations and by their individual characteristics, not by the groups or social categories to which they belong (Deschamps and Devos, 1998). At the opposite pole are interactions between groups of individuals which are entirely determined by their respective membership of different groups, not by inter individual relations among the relevant persons (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

However, Tajfel (1978) noted that while he categorised interaction at one extreme to be determined by the motivation of the individual as an individual, and at the other extreme to be determined solely by the person's group membership, he also acknowledged that these extremes are hypothetical forms of behaviour as membership of social categories always plays some role in shaping interaction. Tajfel suggested that social identity processes start to be performed more when behaviours are defined as being nearer the intergroup extreme of this continuum. That is, individuals define themselves in terms of their group membership when the context in which they find themselves is defined along group-based lines. For instance, if two departments in an organisation merge, each employee is more likely to define themselves in terms of one department or the other rather than as an individual.

Consequently, Tajfel (1978) developed an important set of premises, that the more behaviours become defined in intergroup terms, the more members of the group will react similarly to members of the outgroup. This process and the factors viewed as determining identity salience are displayed in Figure 4. A number of other writers have supported these premises. Heightened group salience is associated with an increase in perceptions of homogeneity of the ingroup and heterogeneity of the outgroup (Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty and Reynolds, 1998). David and Turner (1999) found that extreme ingroup members were more likely to influence more moderate group members in an intergroup situation as opposed to an intragroup situation. Similarly, Abrams et al. (2000), suggested that intergroup context is important to convey that the ingroup is distinct from the outgroup. Hence, group members evaluate other members of the team that deviate from the group norm more negatively.
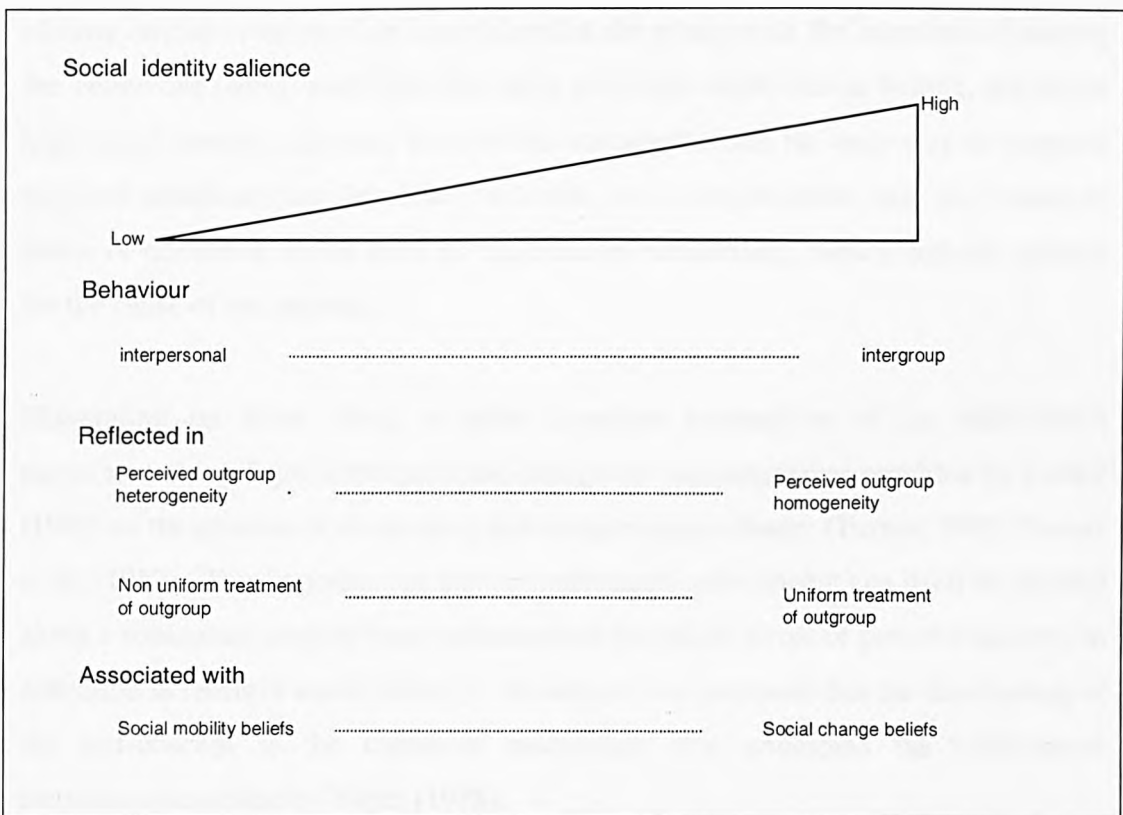
Figure 4: Psychological and behavioural continuum associated with the interpersonal-intergroup continuum (adapted from Tajfel, 1978)

The position in which individuals locate themselves on the interpersonal-intergroup continuum was considered by Tajfel (1978) to be a result of the interplay between social and psychological factors. Social factors are related to the objective features of the world that an individual confronts and psychological factors are associated with the individual's interpretation of that world (Haslam, 2001). The way individuals view themselves depends not only on the events that occur but also on the individual's interpretation of those events.

Tajfel (1975), believed that one of the fundamental components of this perspective is an individual's belief structures, which also lie on a continuum from a philosophy of social mobility on the one hand to social change on the other. As long as membership of a group enhances one's self-esteem, one will remain a member of that group. But, Tajfel argues (1978), if the group fails to satisfy this requirement the individual may try to change the structure of the group (social change); seek a new way of comparison which would favour his/her group, and hence reinforce his/her social identity (social creativity); or leave/abandon the group with the intention of joining the 'better' one (social mobility). For those with high social change beliefs, and hence high social identity salience, there is the assumption that the only way to improve negative conditions lies in collective action. In an organisation, this may relate to forms of collective action such as trade union membership, which actively presses for the cause of the ingroup.

Elaborating on these ideas, a more complete explanation of an individual's movement along Tajfel's interpersonal-intergroup continuum was provided by Turner (1982) in the process of developing self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1985; Turner et al.., 1987). This hypothesises that an individual's self-concept can itself be defined along a continuum ranging from definition of the self in terms of personal identity to definition in terms of social identity. Moreover, it is proposed that the functioning of the self-concept is the cognitive mechanism that underpins the behavioural continuum described by Tajfel (1978).

Self-categorisation theory postulates that sometimes individuals perceive themselves as distinct entities and at other times as group members and that these two are equally valid expressions of his or her identity. It is proposed that social identities (deriving from perceived group membership) are as true and basic to self as personal identity (derived from views of oneself as a distinct individual) and that the extent to which individuals define themselves at either the personal or social level is both flexible and functionally antagonistic. So, for example, if an individual defines him or herself in terms of group memberships such as 'an employee of Widgetco' in a particular situation this means that at that time they perceive themselves to a lesser degree as unique individuals. Self-categorisation theory suggests the possibility of more than two levels of identity (referred to as levels of abstraction), not just the personal and social. It is this flexible change in self-perception that provides the cornerstone of self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1982).

The extent to which a categorisation is applied at a particular level is referred to as its salience. Importantly, salience relates not just to the general relevance of a group membership but also to a selective change in self-perception whereby individuals actually define themselves as distinct beings or as members of a group (Turner et al., 1987). When individuals define themselves as a member of a group they perceive themselves to be interchangeable with other members of that group and distinct from members of other groups.

Turner also discussed the psychological processes associated with the switching on and off of social identity. He referred to this as depersonalisation - the process by which the self can be perceived as being categorically interchangeable with other members of the group. In effect, self-categorisation theory suggests that group behaviour is associated with changes in the structure of the self – a change in self-categorisation (Haslam, 2001).

The self exists at different levels of abstraction. Self-categorisation is assumed to be a hierarchical system of classification operating at different levels of abstraction and inclusion (Turner, 1987). Levels of abstraction include the superordinate level of

one's self concept as a human being, intermediate levels of self concept based on ingroup/outgroup membership and subordinate levels of self concept as a unique individual. According to Turner (1999) it is the relative salience of different levels of abstraction that determines the degree to which self-perception is personalised or depersonalised. In situations where social identity is more salient than personal identity, self-categorisation occurs at the intermediate level of in/out group membership and involves a cognitive process of depersonalisation. In these contexts individuals perceive themselves less as unique personal identities, more as similar, prototypical representations of the in-group category relevant to the context (Turner, 1999). When individuals categorise themselves and others in terms of in- and out-group membership, group prototypes, stereotypes and norms are accentuated, and the individual is perceptually and behaviourally depersonalised (Hogg and McGarty, 1990). According to the social identity approach, this depersonalisation of self-perception as a result of self-categorisation is the basic process underlying group behaviour.

However, the formation and salience of any particular category of identity is determined by the comparisons required or stimulated at a particular time. For example, John Smith (the IT Director of Widgetco), and Peter Jones (the Marketing Director of Widgetco) are likely to share an identity as directors of Widgetco when they are encountered in a context that includes non-directors in the organisation. Yet, when only the company directors are present, John Smith is more likely to define himself in terms of his IT role rather than his director role.

It can therefore be seen that self-categorisation theory is not solely focused on issues of intergroup relations. It is also concerned with the cognitive process involved in an individual's social identity and their social identity salience (Turner and Oakes, 1997). That is, self-categorisation theory recasts some of the ideas of SIT and social identity research in a broader explanatory framework (Haslam, 2001). The arguments from self-categorisation theory help to explain the factors that impel individuals to act in accordance with a particular self-categorisation or social identity. What determines, for example, whether a Widgetco employee acts and perceives him or

herself as a member of the organisation, a member of their profession, a member of their team or department or as an individual? Clearly, John Smith has the capacity to take on all these roles, but the level at which he defines himself at any particular time has substantial implications for his behaviour and his functioning in his organisation. The next sections will therefore examine the dimensions and antecedents of organisationally based identifications.

3.3 SIT in the Workplace

Organisational identity transfers the basic premises of SIT, taking the organisation as the group or group prototype (Albert and Whetton, 1985). Generally, organisational identity comprises those characteristics of an organisation which its members believe are central, distinctive and enduring (Ashforth and Mael, 1996). Employees identify with the organisation through cognitive processes of categorisation, where self categories of organisational membership are formed (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell, 1987). Hence, Dutton et al. (1994, p.242), define organisational identification as 'the cognitive connection between the definition of an organisation and the definition a person applies to him- or herself.' This self-awareness of belonging to an organisation is one way that a person achieves a social identity.

As self-categorisation theory describes, the more one identifies with an organisation, the more individual employees' self-perceptions become depersonalised, leading members to view themselves as transposable representatives of the organisation (Turner, 1985). Organisational members absorb the goals of the organisation as their own (Simon, 1947) and as Dutton et al. (1994) suggest, 'common attributes' form the sources for identification.

This has a number of supposed advantages for the organisation, specifically in terms of the attitudes and behaviours of employees. Researchers have found greater identification in higher status organisations which leads to higher levels of the 'need for achievement' dimension of work motivation (Parker, 1997; Haslam, 2001). Similarly, organisational identification has been found to be a useful predictor of

organisational commitment and organisational citizenship behaviours (Bergami and Bagozzi, 2000).

Yet the relationship between identification and behavioural and affective outcomes is not necessarily straightforward. van Knippenberg and van Schie (2000) found that in two local government samples (local government workers and university employees) individuals identified more with the immediate workgroup than with the organisation as a whole. They also found that identification with the workgroup was a much better predictor of work motivation, job involvement, job satisfaction and intention to continue working for the organisation than organisational identification.

Identification within the workplace cannot, therefore, be a simple, narrowly defined or narrowly existing construct. Potentially, individuals can have as many identities as they have group memberships (Tajfel, 1981; Hogg, 1996, pratt and Foreman, 2001). Importantly, organisations themselves comprise a number of social categories, including work groups, professional groups and departments and these groups provide the basis for many nested identities (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Hennessy and West, 1999). Each of these identities can be a salient source of social identity driven attitudes and behaviours (Grice, Jones and Paulsen, 2002).

3.3.1 Social Identity Theory and Organisational Collectives

Much of the existing empirical, rather than experimental, research on social identity in organisations concentrates on the organisation as a whole as the focus for identification. Research on other organisational subgroups such as work teams and professional groups is only in its infancy (e.g. Hogg, 1993; van Knippenberg and van Schie, 2000). On the one hand, application of the theory to smaller organisational collectives is straightforward. People in small groups categorise themselves as members of that group, contract a contextually appropriate ingroup prototype, form salient ingroup-outgroup comparative information, perceive themselves and others in terms of this prototype and conform attitudinally, behaviourally and emotionally to the prescriptions of the prototype. However, specific features of small groups may raise problems. For instance, in small groups, interpersonal relations among all

members are not only possible but relatively more salient, and so interpersonal and group processes may interact in ways not yet explored by SIT (Hogg, 1996).

Although a number of writers have looked at the team as the primary focus of employees' identification (e.g. Barker and Tompkins, 1994; Kramer, 1999; Lembke and Wilson, 1998; Marks and Lockyer, 2005), from a psychological perspective, this theme of the workgroup as a focal point is more extensively explored in the commitment literature. Reichers (1985) argues that divisions, departments, work units and more informal groups in the organisation may be just as likely foci of commitment as the organisation as a whole.

Despite the attention they have received, there is still considerable disagreement as to the relationship between commitment and identification. Although commitment refers to the affective, normative, and continuance bond between organisation and employee, and is therefore distinct from identification (van Dick, 2001,2004), some authors (e.g. Ashforth and Mael, 1989) have argued that the two constructs tend to predict or be determined by similar factors, specifically affective commitment and identification (Gautam, van Dick and Wagner, 2004). Hence, the affective commitment literature is an appropriate point of departure to examine employees' attachment to collectvities.

The 'multiple foci of commitment' approach derived from work undertaken over the last half century by a number of theorists who examined organisational constituents from a variety of perspectives. One of the first considerations of organisational subgroups was by March and Simon (1958) who portrayed organisations as political entities in which subgroups or coalitions compete for the organisation's attention to their own goals and interests. This perspective was adopted by Pennings and Goodman (1979) who developed the term 'constituency' to refer to all groups, both internal and external to the organisation, which contribute to the organisation's effectiveness in one way or another. There has been empirical support for this approach in the teamworking literature. Pollock and Weiner (1995) revealed that a

global perspective on group performance could not be represented without taking into account the interests of its constituent groups e.g. customer and managers.

On a similar theme is Lawler's (1992) choice–process theory. Lawler (1992) notes that individuals form different degrees of attachment to the multiple, nested collectives of which they are members. The proximal rule proposes that actors develop stronger affective ties to subgroups in a social system rather than the system itself, and to workgroups rather than the organisation itself (Lawler, 1992). This means that the empowering effects of corporate decentralisation increase attachment to other organisational entities, specifically workgroups (Kanter, 1968). Lawler continues by suggesting that highly proximate groups are those with which the actor interacts face to face. This strongly influences the development and maintenance of shared definitions of choice opportunities, referential standards etc.

Mueller and Lawler (1999) summarise Lawler's choice-process theory by stating that greater choice, self-determination and sense of control produce (repeatedly) positive emotions about the task or job. They also contend that these positive emotions increase commitment to the groups and organisational units which members perceive as responsible for the choice and emotion. Commitments to local or more proximal organisational units are increased more than commitment to more distal units, and thus members yield to and act in the collective interests of the local units to a greater extent than distant, overarching units.

In summary, commitment researchers (e.g. Reichers, 1985, 1986; Mueller and Lawler, 1999; Boshoff and Mels, 2000) suggest there are a number of foci that collectively constitute the organisation, including co-workers, trade unions, and customers, and that employees have multiple memberships depending on their position in the structure of the organisation. Each membership leads to a different form of work related commitment (Zaccaro and Dobbins, 1989). Commitment must therefore be seen as an aggregation of multiple commitments to various groups in the organisation.

This perspective is also reflected in identity and identification literature. Mead (1934) first suggested that a 'parliament of selves' exists within each person. This idea has been developed by organisation theorists who also conceptualised organisations as having many selves (e.g. Ashforth and Mael, 1996; Cheney, 1991). For example, Pratt and Foreman (2000) examined how multiple identities can be managed in the organisation and Scott and Fontenot (1999) considered how identifications with different facets of the workplace affect behaviour in team meetings. Many of these studies have found a number of factors may influence the extent to which an individual identifies with a specific nested collectivity. SIT suggests that, through identification, the group's standing reflects on the self. As discussed previously, because people desire a positive self-image (Tajfel, 1978), they prefer to identify with high status groups (Ellemers, 1993) and organisations (Mael and Ashforth, 1992). In order to gain a positive self-image the size of the group with which the individual identifies is also significant. van Knippenberg and van Schie (2000) believe identification with a large group implies sameness and poses a threat to individual distinctiveness. Therefore employees prefer to identify with a relatively small group, which is also more likely to fulfil a need for inclusiveness. Turner et al. (1987) found that the more similar people are to other group members, the more likely they are to identify with the group. This is because identification is based on the categorisation of the self as similar to others within the category. van Knippenberg and van Schie (2000) believe this also holds true for similarity between groups' activities.

Another factor impacting upon workgroup identity is the relationship between the team and the employing organisation. Dispersion will clearly affect many of the antecedents of organisational identification, such as organisational socialisation, rituals and symbols. Moreover, the actual distance between the dispersed employees and their employing organisation will reduce the visibility of their organisational membership and their exposure to organisational structures and processes determining their perceptions of belonging to the organisation (Wiesenfeld et al., 2001). The evident markers of identification are less visible when working in a satellite office or on a client site where people start to develop their own rituals and

ceremonies or start to adopt those of the people around them (Gainey, Kelley and Hill, 1999).

One might intuitively think that the lack of direct exposure to organisational processes and structures would decrease organisational identification, yet the minimal group studies (Tajfel, 1982; Turner, 1984; Ashforth and Mael,1989) found that in cases where members have little or no contact with each other they still exhibit identification to the collective. Indeed Wiesenfeld et al. (2001) found employees who are isolated from their employing organisation still identify with the organisation as a consequence of their need for affiliation. Rock and Pratt (2002) believe that where individuals are working in an organisational team located away from the employing organisation, there will be an increase in the salience of their identity as an organisational member. This maintains or strengthens their organisational identification. In fact, Rock and Pratt (2002) judge that this context will make organisational roles more salient and suggest that members of offsite teams will have greater organisational identification than members based in their employing organisation.

3.4 The Social Identity Paradigm

In theory, then, the social identity approach allows human behaviour to be examined at many different levels, e.g. individual, group, organisational, professional. As such it represents the reality of human behaviour in a work setting. The very fact that SIT views the employment experience from a number of levels is consistent with the substantial body of work suggesting that context is a key factor in individuals and group behaviour in organisations (e.g. Mowday and Sutton, 1993; O'Reilly, 1991). As first noted in Chapter One, several researchers believe context is a dimension frequently ignored in psychological research. For example, Cappelli and Sherer (1991, p.97) state:

> 'What is unique about behaviour in organisations is presumably that being in the organisation – the context of the organisation – somehow shapes behaviour, and is impossible to explore that uniqueness without an explicit consideration of the context.'

Similarly, Pfeffer (1998) acknowledges:

> 'Although we know that organisations are, fundamentally, relational entities and that the environment of an organisation consists of other organisation, many theories and analyses fail to incorporate ideas or measures of social structure into research, which is invariably a weakness in the analysis,' (Pfeffer, 1998 p.746)

Importantly, the social identity approach provides a mechanism for analysis of behaviour in organisations which suggests the interdependence of individual cognition and a social context with structural, comparative and normative dimensions (Turner et al., 1994). Although a piece of research may focus on one particular workplace unit, e.g. department, team or organisation, the approach acknowledges the fact that self-categorisation processes serve to represent, and are indeed shaped by, the various forms of social reality that challenge the individual (Haslam, 2001; Turner and Oakes, 1986). As such, the social identity paradigm, at least in theory, is unequivocally interactionist in that it acknowledges that an individual's reality includes behaviour that transpires at many different levels - individual, group, organisational, societal and cultural (Haslam, 2001).

On a practical level, this means the way in which various dimensions of organisational life impact upon the behaviour of an individual will be contingent on the meaning of those characteristics for organisational members. That is, the self-categorisation process is a critical mediator between organisational contexts and organisational behaviour (Haslam 2001). For example, in a management departmental meeting, a marketing lecturer may view his or her identity as closely aligned with other marketing staff and distinct from that of other members of the department and, as such, portray that identity and represent the perceived interests of the marketing group. Yet, at a meeting of, for example, the University Senate, when confronted with scientists and members of the arts faculty, the same individual may start to identify him or herself more as a member of the management department, or

even as a member of the social science faculty, than as a member of the marketing group.

Changes in context affect the identity of the individual in accordance with the extent to which they see themselves as categorically interchangeable. Similarity and difference are the most important outcomes of the categorisation process (McGarty, 1999). As such, groups and their influence are a powerful force - as valid a representation of the self as individuals in isolation. Groups are necessary for a number of appropriate organisational behaviours to occur, including industrial protest for example. These organisational behaviours are dependent on the capacity of the individual to depersonalise the self and judge whether action is beneficial or not to the group being represented (or the group that is the focus of identity).

Hence, SIT purports to make connections between issues of theory, practice and indeed politics which are critical to any analysis of behaviour in organisations yet frequently avoided in the psychological literature. SIT also claims to help understanding of political processes in organisations by considering the motivational underpinnings of a group's behaviour. Organisational Psychology - or psychology within the workplace - cannot be separated from the social and political purposes of organisations and the social identity approach helps to address this.

It should be acknowledged, however, that the social identity tradition (e.g. Tajfel and Turner, 1986: Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherell, 1987) has relied predominantly on a phenomenological definition of identity, focusing on the cognition, evaluations and emotions associated with group membership (Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1982). From this perspective, group behaviour is often considered as a consequence of this self-definition rather than a determinant of group identity. However, identities are not only defined cognitively, they are embedded and constructed in action (Sanchez-Mazas and Klein, 2003). Groups will draw upon historical and political references to actively construct their identities, both in terms of their political understandings and their levels of political involvement in societies

outwith the organisation. Indeed, identities are not solely self-evident consequences of particular social contexts; they are constructed through debate in the public sphere. Take the example of a team of lawyers who are members of The Law Society. Their Membership of this professional body and the political message and identity associated with it will affect their behaviour within the team. This in turn will impact on their identity as professional lawyers and their behaviour as members of the legal profession.

This reinforces the argument presented in Chapter One - that adopting individualism as an approach may not be beneficial because it weakens the political process by serving largely to further establish the advantaged position of the powerful stakeholders in organisations and society. Both scientific management and human relations theorists rejected the idea of competing social identities, believing it would open the door to conflict and unrest. Indeed, Taylor (1911) and Mayo (e.g. 1933) encouraged 'friendly' relationships between managers and employees. However, organisational theory must acknowledge competing social identities and potentially antagonistic group based action to understand fully the power dynamics and behaviours in organisations (Haslam, 2001).

The prevailing view of managers and many organisational theorists, specifically from a perspective of individualisation, is that worker behaviour should be encompassed by a singular organisational identity. This is seen to be achieved either by individuating the workforce (e.g. in the mode of Fredrick Taylor) or by creating one all-embracing superordinate organisational identity (Haslam, 2001). Not only is this unrealistic, but it also results in a workplace where power, rights and resources are left in the hands of those who control the reins of the organisation. It leads employees to focus on a strategy of individual mobility (Mills, 1970; Robinson, 1995), thereby reducing the opportunity for large-scale organisational innovation and social reform. This process of individualisation contrasts starkly with the 'group-based' rhetoric espoused by representatives of organisations and organisational theorists.

3.5 Limitations of the Social Identity Paradigm

Despite considerable positive appraisal and empirical verification of the social identity approach, several writers have identified problems and inconsistencies in SIT, even from a psychological perspective (e.g. Brown and Lunt, 2002; Robinson, 1996; Wetherell, 1996). Many of these concerns centre on the initial conception of SIT, specifically Tajfel's interpretation of the minimal group studies. It was obvious from a fairly recent festschrift that Tajfel's ghost still haunts the tradition (Robinson, 1996). In spite of substantial progress in the development of SIT (e.g. Haslam, 2001), this continued reference to Tajfel is not limited to retrospectives. Rather, it is a central feature in much of the writing in the SIT tradition. Hence any problems with the initial theory remain bound within the paradigm.

In any discussion of SIT it is therefore important at least to consider the relationship between Tajfel himself and SIT - that is, the association between the autobiographical and the theoretical (Robinson, 1996). The relationship between the two dynamics is articulately demonstrated by Amélie Mummendey (1995) who, by recalling a personal interaction with Tajfel, helps the reader see the work through the eyes of the theorist himself. Mummendey recalls;

> 'A trip from Düsseldorf Airport to Münster (during which) Tajfel narrated me the following episode. At a gas station somewhere in England where he had stopped to take gas, he noticed that the employee, a young man of 16 to 17 years, wore a necklace with a golden swastika. Henri got out of the car, addressed the young man, and asked him whether he really knew the meaning of this symbol and then pulled a substantial British pound note out of his wallet. While presenting the bank note he taught the boy a lesson about Nazi-crimes, discrimination, hostility, torture, murder and even genocide. As a result of this lesson his pupil promised to throw the necklace away and never wear swastikas or symbols of this kind ever again' (Mummendey, 1995, p.657).

In Mummendey's extract, Tajfel tells a story of social discrimination - operating from his role (and identity) as a Jewish émigré. Prejudice appears symbolically in the form of a swastika worn by the man in the petrol station. Tajfel confronts the wearer not by explaining the mechanics of social categorisation and intergroup

differentiation, but instead by recounting the life of the symbol and events with which it was associated (Brown and Lunt, 2002).

However, Mummendey (1995) follows this sound bite with a technical description of the results of the minimal group studies:

> 'the mere perception of belonging to two distinct groups - that is social categorisation per se - is sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination favouring the ingroup. In other words, the mere awareness of the presence of an outgroup is sufficient to provoke intergroup competitive or discriminatory responses on the part of the ingroup (Tajfel and Turner, cited in Mummendey, 1995, p. 659).

In the first quote, Mummendey discusses Tajfel directly in the context of social discrimination. However, in the second, social discrimination is present only by analogy. That is, discrimination is only one interpretation of events that occur when people are invited into laboratories and asked to do unusual things (Brown and Lunt, 2002). It could be argued that the description of the minimal group studies presents a plausible representation of discriminatory behaviour only because there is further documented evidence for the well-established theoretical structure that supports it. In one sense, the origins of SIT could be interpreted as a process of attribution by Tajfel, based on his wartime experiences.

What Mummendey attempts to do by highlighting these two extracts is illustrate the paradoxical departure of Tajfel the émigré and Tajfel the social scientist. This concurs with the argument presented by Billig (1996) who notes the 'particular background' of Tajfel's work and the subsequent tendency to 'universalise' the ensuing theory of intergroup discrimination. As SIT has developed over time, it has become markedly experimental (Brown and Lunt, 2002) and theoretical (e.g. Haslam, 2001), and less and less likely to focus on the 'real life' instances of discrimination and fascism that were close to Tajfel's heart. This is certainly a problem for a tradition reliant upon an analogy between a specific set of experiments and a particular set of social acts. As Hacking (1995, p.47) notes: 'the fact that a given phenomenon is tractable enough to serve as an example of a theoretical

position does not in any sense lend weight to the theoretical argument, since it is likely that such a phenomenon may well prove equally tractable to other opposing positions.'

One of the consequences of moving from 'real life' instances of discrimination and group behaviour to an overarching concern with laboratory study findings is an implicit elimination of context and social structures as causal factors. Despite Tajfel's (1978) assertion that traditional theories of conflict overemphasised the roles of biology and personality – 'psychological individualism' - approaches deriving their apparent power from experimental work only reinforce this reductionism. Without context, social phenomena such as conflict and discrimination can be viewed merely as the cumulative effects of individual behaviour.

Despite criticism of 'psychological individualism', much of Tajfel's work and subsequent studies on SIT preserve a distinction between the power of the individual and the social order in which they find themselves. Tajfel suggests that work in social psychology has moved too far from the social and towards the individual. Indeed, his belief is often restated by modern social identity theorists (e.g. Hewstone and Jaspars, 1982; Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Turner et al., 1987) and forms one of the foundations of Haslam's (2001) social identity paradigm. Nevertheless, SIT implicitly suggests that what is mean by 'the social' can only be understood by a psychological definition of 'the individual'. This is most salient in the areas of Tajfel's work which influenced self-categorisation theory. This work views the individual as an entity distinct from society and capable of categorising sense data into consequential, notional and conceptual units.

It is the self-categorisation dimension of the social identity paradigm that has attracted the strongest criticisms (Billig, 1985; Wetherell and Potter, 1992). These critics argue that the idea of the rational subject at the heart of self-categorisation theory creates a tension. Although the individual is invested with cognitive powers, these powers are purely formal, and the individual itself is empty. It is meaning which forms the content of cognitive powers, and these meanings are pre-existing

social categories made up of elements such as 'power, status, prestige and social group differentials' (Tajfel, 1981, p.14). Turner and Oakes (1997) describe the mind as 'socially structured', in that people become social beings when cognitive powers are bounded to social meanings, allowing them to represent themselves in relation to others.

For example, Tuner and Oakes (1997) present the following argument in terms of the gender categorisation of being male:

> '(being male is) an active process of judgement in which the self-category of male is given a specific meaning and form as a function of a set of relations being represented. It is not the activation of some stored, invariant generic concept of 'maleness'' (Turner and Oakes, 1997, p.366)

This understanding of 'maleness' makes the assumption that the individual is indistinguishable from the social, and that social relations are somewhat separate from the whole process. This relies on the premise that the social relationship between 'male' and 'female' is dependent upon a prior division of humans into two genders. On this analysis, then, it is possible to argue that SIT suffers from a lack of understanding of how processes of categorisation and representation are embedded in a complex process comprising wider cultural practices and actual material settings (Billig, 1985, Condor, 1996; Michael, 1990; Wetherall and Potter, 1992). *The problem with the way SIT relates the individual to society is, then, the artificial separation of individual rational agents from wider processes of power and representation* (Brown and Lunt, 2002).

Separating the rational individual from social practice also destabilises SIT's explanation of social change. SIT relates social arrangements between groups to beliefs about the stability and legitimacy of these arrangements. In turn it relates these beliefs to strategies aimed at affecting change (Billig, 2001; Reicher, 1996). However, if the role of the rational individual as part of this process is overstated - as suggested by Turner and Oakes (1997) - then too much emphasis is placed on the role of cognition in accounting for change. As Brown and Lunt (2002) suggest, an

individual may leave an organisation not only because of a discredited social identity, but also as a result of processes of globalisation, flexibility and temporal specialisation in developing labour markets or as part of emergent social networks.

The strength of Haslam's (2001) depiction of the social identity approach is the understanding of the individual's self-categorisation at a number of levels of abstraction and the impact of these levels on self-categorisation (e.g. the individual as a human being, as a member of an organisation, as a team member and as an individual). Yet there remains a failure not only to examine the inter-relationships between these categories and identity, but also to analyse the impact of social structures on these identifications. Self-categorisation theory in particular recognises personal identity as being separate from social identities, and suggests that behaviour and the level of identification with a collective are determined by self-categorisation processes. The theory also proposes that the degree of self-categorisation is reflected in the perceived salience of the group and the perception of any outgroup (Jenkins, 2000). Tajfel correctly assumed that an individual's identity is a product of interplay between social and psychological factors. However, neither Tajfel's original interpretation of SIT nor further developments of SIT reflect on the interplay between social identities. That is, one's identity as a professional, a member of an organisation, or even as a man or woman cannot entirely be separated from one's identity as a team member. This is illustrated in Haslam's (2001, p.55) statement: 'self-categorisation processes serve to represent - and are shaped by - various forms of social reality in the work that confronts the perceiver. This reality encompasses human behaviour that occurs at many different levels: individual, group, organisational, society and cultural.'

The ontological status of the individual, group and organisation is obscured by Haslam and other social identity theorists because their work fails to depart from the functionalism embedded in organisational psychology. If the social identity approach is genuinely interpretivist, as Haslam suggests, it would recognise individuals as active expressers of a socially and culturally formed identity, albeit with a personal attachment to a collective conscience and a sense of personal and shared agency

(Carr, 1998). As Laplanche and Pontalis (1998, p205) note, '(identification is) a psychological process whereby the subject assimilates an aspect, property or attribute of other and is transformed, wholly or partially, after the model the other provides. It is by means of a series of identifications that the personality is constituted and specified.'

It could be argued that individuals have an 'objective identity' which is filtered through subjective constructions which translate and define behaviours and interactions according to the individual's values. A person's identity is shaped by social contexts. A social learning perspective would suggest that individuals possess a core identity relating to what they value about themselves (Miller and Dollard, 1941). In common with SIT, this perspective perceives identity as being a source of meaning which links us to others in a social structure through perceived similarities and processes of identification (Thompson and McHugh, 2002). Identity from this point of view distinguishes us from others and forms the basis of social comparison. A social learning perspective also separates personal identity from social identity. Personal identity, on the one hand, involves the values and imagery people have previously found effective in defining themselves. Social identity, meanwhile, is viewed as comprising the navigated position between personal identities and the way in which people believe they should be perceived in a social setting.

The study of behaviour in organisations is established in social structures; Consequently individual identity in the work context is likely to be driven by social identity rather than personal identity. Due to people's constant engagement with social structures, we are continually representing our social selves rather than our personal selves. Using a symbolic interactionist framework, Erving Goffman (1971) explored how individuals represent this aspect of the self. He employed a dramaturgical metaphor to represent social identity as a performance analogous to that of an actor. The image presented is not necessarily that of the 'real' self, but that which the individual perceives as appropriate for the actor and the audience. The audience work with the actor to enable them to present a consistent social identity and one that is appropriate to the context. An individual working in a team will, to a

certain extent, present an image they perceive as appropriate for a 'team member' and this performance as a 'team member' is reinforced through interactions with other members of the team.

3.6 Summary and Conclusion

Social identity is the concept linking different levels of explanation (Thompson and McHugh, 2002). Identities are acquired through our interactions with social structures and social environments. These groups provide us with a mechanism to locate, compare and define ourselves and, as a result, are directly shaped through social structure. As such, Miller and Dollard (1941) saw identity as the foundation of the links between social structure and personality.

Yet, useful though SIT may be, it is not without limitations. As discussed, the theory does not acknowledge sufficiently the inter-relationship between identity and social structures. Moreover, although SIT explains how different dimensions of one's identity can become salient at different times, it again fails to explain how these different identities interact and influence who we are and how we behave as individuals. Also problematic is the fact that SIT further separates out the individual from society as whole and assumes the existence of structures that provide a false division between the individual and broader courses of command and representation. This point will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

For SIT to become useful, it seems necessary to inspect other theories in the broader social sciences for work that can develop the social identity approach and be incorporated into it. This may tackle some of the limitations of both the approach and the theory identified in the current chapter. Chapter Four examines relevant sociological theory to address these weaknesses. It also delves into literatures that help to explain how identities can vary between occupational groups. This will enable a better understanding of the impact that occupational definition may have on software development teams, which form the focus of Study Two.

CHAPTER FOUR: RE-LOCATING SOCIAL IDENTITY -
reconciling theory, paradigms and application

4.1 Introduction

Social psychology is positioned at the point where psychology meets the broader arena of social science. Yet, despite its proximity to social science disciplines such as sociology, it still fails to address the limitations of individualism (Brown and Lunt, 2002). Social psychologists have frequently been criticised for treating the processes they study as universal and thereby ignoring the context in which they are embedded (Gergen, 1973; Israel and Tajfel, 1972; Tajfel, 1981). While this may not present a problem when examining 'deep' cognitive processes, it is a key issue when social psychologists study contextually dependent phenomena: group processes and intergroup relations (Reicher and Hopkins, 2001).

Psychological positions on identity tend to treat the individual as having a distinct personality, and patterns of motivation (Thomson and McHugh, 2002). To consider the notion of identity is to implicitly address questions of social structure. Yet the failure to consider wider social dynamics leads to a narrow and possibly inaccurate understanding of identity. As seen in the previous chapter, Tajfel's (1970, 1978, 1980, 1984) work on social identity is a case in point. Despite his explicit calls for a bridge to be built between the study of the individual and societal processes, Henri Tajfel himself, the founder of the social identity tradition, limited his theoretical account by excluding the work of some of the most prominent social theorists e.g. Marx, Parsons and Durkheim (Brown and Lunt, 2002). More recent work on social identity has again explicitly referred to the need to acknowledge context to understand the social identity process as part of a rejection of individualism (Hewstone and Jespars, 1982; Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher and Wetherall, 1987). Yet, this acknowledgement of the importance of context has been described as being solely 'a gesture'. Those describing it as such argue that the definition of the social in this body of work can be understood only in

relation to a narrowly defined psychological definition of the individual (Brown and Lunt, 2002).

There are, however, other perspectives on identity which better acknowledge or account for the social, despite being less comprehensive in their definition of identity and the identity process (e.g. Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Whetton and Godfrey, 1998). These alternative perspectives emerge from the sociologically influenced stream of organisation theory and focus on the notion of groups acting according to economically determined interests. Importantly for this thesis – given its concern with software workers - they also examine social identity in knowledge-intensive firms (e.g. Alvessson, 1993, 2000; Alvesson and Kärreman, 2001; Kärreman and Alvesson, 2004). However, microsociological approaches are a point of compromise between the psychological and critical standpoints since they acknowledge the relationships between the individual and the context (e.g. Goffman, 1959; Jenkins, 2000).

All these perspectives show only part of the picture. As Thompson and McHugh (2002, p.252) note: 'objective reality is filtered through subjective constructions which interpret and shape our world in terms of what we value about ourselves.' The ideological message from SIT in terms of linking the individual and collective processes, specifically the integration of paradigmatic conceptions of organisation, social context and psychological processes should be carved out. A more critical social psychology can try to engage with essentialist theory and positivism at a meso or middle level. This would follow the advice of Batt and Doelgast (2004) and incorporate the scientific rigour of psychological approaches with the cynicism inherent in more critical bodies of thought.

The current chapter develops existing conceptions of SIT by integrating it with the work of other social theorists whose roots lie in sociological or more macro-level traditions. Then it deals with some of the limitations of the teamworking literature addressed in Chapter Two by discussing social identity as a way of understanding

and aligning different positions on teamwork. This leads to the formulation of the research propositions for the thesis.

4.2 Identity, Structures and Control – Alternative Perspectives on Social Identity

As established in Chapter One, a number of perspectives can be adopted when looking at organisations. There is no doubt that social psychology provides the most detailed description of social identity and social identity processes, but it would be naïve, and indeed, contrary to the principles of this thesis to ignore insights from other branches of learning. An examination of alternative paradigms enhances overall understanding of identity. Furthermore discussion of identity in 'real life' settings compensates – at least in part - for the domination of experimental methods used in social psychology.

The sociological writings on identity are considerably more diverse than in social psychology. They range from postmodern perspectives on identity (e.g. Clegg, 1990 Hardy, 1998) to microsociological thoughts (e.g. Goffman, 1959; Jenkins, 2000) which, owing to their focus on the individual, can be more closely aligned with readings in psychology. Due to the breadth of the writing in this area it is impossible to provide a discussion of all debates. Therefore, only work relevant to the issues under examination will be considered.

Unlike social psychology research and theorising, the diversity of thought in sociological work is not centred on one specific approach to identity. Indeed, in what this thesis describes as macro-level perspectives on identity, there is less concern with the definition and construction of identity itself than there is with the process of identification. Conceptualising the phenomenon is therefore of less consequence. As already noted, where these more macro-level perspectives are valuable, at least in broadening the ideas regarding identity, is in the understanding of the process of control in the organisation and how it impacts upon identity. These perspectives also address a more consistent representation of subjectivity and its structural location than social psychological theories. Microsociological approaches, on the other hand,

start to reconcile the contextual input of sociological approaches with the theoretical 'solidity' of social psychology.

4.3 Macro-level Discussions of Identity and Control

From the human relations movement to later work on job involvement, psychology has viewed the issue of organisational control as outdated and unnecessary. Psychologists proposed the introduction of autonomous workgroups because they were self-managing and increased job satisfaction and productivity. As a result traditional control mechanisms were considered irrelevant (e.g. Wall et al., 1986). This movement is reflected in the contemporary management literature (e.g. Katzenbach and Smith, 1993) which has focused on two dimensions: empowerment and commitment. This work suggests organisations delegate control to project groups and work teams so that they become self-managing.

Although mainstream and psychological writers on management dismiss the impact of control on identity in organisations, as Pfeffer observes: 'the ambivalence about the effects (if not the effectiveness) of social control is in part responsible for the development of a critical perspective on organisations and their control practices' (1997, p.135). Sociological discussions of identity are primarily (although not exclusively) concerned with the mechanisms of organisational control and the way they are used to 'manipulate' employees' identities. As noted in Chapters One and Two, critical accounts generally view control as being achieved by designing and applying appropriate structures (e.g. work teams), procedures, measures and targets.

Earlier chapters illustrated that organisations can be characterised by their attempts to control the performance and behaviour of their employees. Yet organisations cannot simply brainwash employees in order to create the identities they require. Thompson and McHugh (2002) believe identity is the basis of individual involvement in organisations. They suggest that there is a conflict between the manipulation associated with organisational strategies of control and individual strategies for securing identity. They develop this point by arguing that organisations which try to manipulate behaviour must also acknowledge that they are interfering with the self-

perceptions and judgements that define us. 'If manipulation goes too far, it may do no more than to encourage employee identities more resistant to organisational control' (Thompson and McHugh, 2002, p. 339).

Indeed, referring back to Chapter One, issues of control are central to both the traditional Marxian influenced labour process debate and postmodern perspectives on industrial sociology. Braverman (1974) argues that managers perpetually seek to control the process by which a workforce's labour power is directed towards the commodities of production. In essence, his belief is that managers try to control the way that work is organised, the pace of work and the duration of work because these factors affect profitability. According to Braverman, in order to maintain control over the workforce and limit employees' discretion, managers pursue a strategy of organisational and technological de-skilling.

From sociological work influenced by postmodernism, control is also viewed as being accomplished through the 'self-positioning of employees within managerially inspired discourses about the organisation with which they may become more or less identified' (Alvesson and Wilmott, 2002, p.3). This work argues that organisations (or their agents) use teamwork to manage the 'insides' of employees by the manipulation of valued terminology. For example, they replace the label 'foreman' with that of 'team leader' (Deetz, 1995; Alvesson and Willmot, 2002). The use of language and meaning in managerial discourse is considered indicative of efforts to acquire organisational control. Tompkins and Cheney (1985) describe organisational identification as a less obtrusive mechanism and more effective means of controlling employees than reliance on external stimuli. Management of identity through corporate culture is seen by many to be the contemporary approach to workplace control, where traditional bureaucratic controls are considered insufficiently reactive and flexible to escalating competitive pressures (e.g. Barker and Tompkins, 1994; Cheney, 1991; Tompkins and Cheney, 1985).

This perspective could be described as the opposite extreme to the wholly reductionist beliefs of many psychologists. In this postmodern influenced stream of

sociology, identity is viewed as being entirely socially constructed, and as such is a philosophical construct. It has been argued that, from this point of view, identity is a symbolic representation. In Barker's (1993) work on ISE, (which devotes an entire chapter to the identity process), no definition of identity or the internal process of identification is offered. Barker's work and others of a similar orientation use identity as a proxy for discussing all practices outside the material (Thompson and McHugh, 2002).

Some postmodern authors, however, acknowledge the possibility that identity is not unreservedly socially constructed. Alvesson and Willmott (2002) employ Mead (1934) and Giddens' (1984) notion of the self in order to understand the identity process. The construction of identity and the social milieu within which individual identity exists is, in this model, dependent on interaction with others and, through others, with the self. Their work partly reflects this by suggesting that subjectivity is predominantly a product of intersubjective processes and is constructed via the negotiation of social rules and norms. Other writers from this perspective e.g. Casey (1995, 1996) use a psychoanalytic model to interpret self or personal identity. However, Kärreman and Alvesson (2004), who note the relevance of social identity theory (but barely explore the relationship between the theory and the mechanisms of identification), suggest the psychological dimension of identity is only a temporary identification with a group or company.

Nonetheless, the work from the postmodern perspective is particularly significant in understanding the role of context and structures of control. Empirical and theoretical evidence indicates that both direct forms of control, such as the introduction of partnership programmes and teamwork and the manipulation of managerial discourse, can involve the organisational regulation of identity (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002).

Indeed, focusing on research on group-based work, specifically Barker's (1999) work on ISE, teamwork is perceived as a mechanism for bonding individuals through identification. He borrowed from Burke (e.g. 1937) in suggesting that identification is

a process by which individuals become functional 'we's' in order to form useful, collective organisational knowledge. Barker (1999) believes the key is identification with the team's power relationships, and from this identification (the sense of becoming a functional one with the team) arises the individual perception of being attached to the team and its power relations.

> 'ISE's team members had to identify with their value-based power relationships and reconstruct their own personal identities in terms of these relationships. Then they would have the knowledge of how to 'do' teamwork, and a personal commitment to do teamwork 'right'... this shared knowledge, their shared identification with their power relationships, bonded ISE's workers together as a community of believers in teamwork.' (Barker, 1999, p. 120).

Burke (1937, 1950) and Barker (1999) argue that formally constructed teams in the organisation lead to functional identification. Ultimately functional identification is constructed to achieve maximum productivity from the workforce (Barker, 1999). The team members in ISE became 'one with the team' because it was the easiest way to keep out of trouble and have a pain free working existence (Barker, 1999). Barker further suggests that one of the reasons employees were willing to identify with the new organisational power structures was that they were an improvement on the traditional bureaucratic style of management that had gone before.

Indeed, as Sewell (1998) elaborates, under contemporary approaches to teamwork, which advocate a recombination of mental and manual work, the traditional frontier of control associated with the labour process is becoming harder to delineate. This is especially so when autonomy and enhanced managerial control are mutually supportive. This debate is extended in writings on knowledge-intensive firms. Kärreman and Alvesson (2004) argue that a new form of control - cultural-ideological control – in part, provides the means for regulating social identities. They assert that HRM systems and practices interact with other forms of normative control in producing strong and consistent forms of inputs to identity formation. Kärreman and Alvesson (2004) echo Andrews et al. (2005) in arguing that knowledge-intensive firms mirror the processes described by Friedman (1977). Knowledge-intensive firms

typically draw on both traditional bureaucratic and cultural-ideological modes of control. These methods of control are represented in organisational forms, e.g. teamwork, which use social identity and the corporatisation of the self as a mechanism for managerial control.

4.3.1 Identity and Knowledge Workers

The above discussion starts to introduce a body of work on identity and identity construction which is partly influenced by postmodern and poststructural perspectives. It focuses on knowledge-intensive work and workers[5] (e.g. Kärreman and Alvesson, 2004; Alvesson, 2000). It is important to address this body of work not only for its contribution to theory, but also because the second study in this thesis focuses on knowledge workers (software employees).

Indeed, for professional or knowledge-intensive workers, the relationship between forms of control and identity become increasingly complex. Although management may allow workers autonomy over the process as a form of cultural-ideological control, it does so because it is viewed as being in their own the best interests. As Barrett (2005, p188) notes, managers are 'facing the heightened indeterminancy of creative employees' labour, walking a tightrope between autonomy and getting profitable work done by the deadline.' Take the example of software workers. The introduction of greater routinisation and more formal control structures may improve profitability, but employees would resist it because the process would be at odds with their sense of self (Andrews et al., 2005). The social identity of knowledge workers is founded on intrinsically challenging work (Berine et al., 1998; Friedman and Cornford, 1989).

In knowledge-intensive industries the movement away from the traditional hierarchy and bureaucratic ideologies has been more marked than in other organisations. This places a heavy reliance on the need for extensive communication for co-ordination

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[5] For the purpose of this thesis, knowledge-intensive workers are defined as being those whose work does not involve production of goods, but necessitates non-standard problem solving at a high level. It is not within this work to enter into a detailed debate about knowledge work and knowledge-intensive workers. Software employees are viewed as examples of this type of worker.

and problem solving (Kunda, 1992). In turn, this has increased the importance of the immediate workgroup. Alvesson (2000) found that workgroup loyalty and identity were so strong for knowledge-intensive teams that in one case study he observed a whole department leaving to form a new organisation. In a second, he found that an entire offsite team defected to work for a competitor.

In managing knowledge-intensive workers, there is a fine line between the needs of the organisation and the needs of the employee. Alvesson (2000) suggests that the possibility of professional identity makes it likely that ties to the organisation will be even weaker. Belonging to the organisation, he argues, is less essential for these workers' self-identity than belonging to the profession. This is particularly the case in times of tight labour markets when knowledge-intensive workers have the power and opportunity to develop their professional identity over and above their organisational identity - or any other identity the organisation may wish to impose on them.

Careers and the profession are traditionally seen as central sources of identity formation (Thompson and McHugh, 2002). For knowledge-intensive workers, the tension between the profession and organisation is a sizeable issue. This tension is best addressed in sociologically informed work. In fact, in Haslam's (2001, 2004) comprehensive review on the literature on SIT, there is no mention of the profession or the occupation and only very basic allusion to the associated notion of the career.

Yet research into occupational culture and communities explains how occupations act as strong social groups with which members chose to identify. Occupations and professions tend to form their own cultures distinct from an organisation's culture (Trice and Beyer 1993). This separate ideology is based on the occupation's (or profession's) unique set of codes, such as norms, values and language from which members develop their specialities of expertise (van Maanen and Barley, 1985). Occupations establish 'rigorous socialisation experiences... underscoring that the knowledge, skills and abilities are not easily learned by just anyone and that they require a special learning experience and a special person to grasp them' (Trice,

1993:26). Members of the occupation tend to use one another as a reference group both for admitting new members and understanding the contribution of existing members. This helps create an internal value system that guides the norms and behaviours of its members (Walsh and Gordon, 1999). In fact, in many professions, members develop relationships with one another that spill over work boundaries, making the occupation a lifestyle (van Maanen and Barley, 1984). As a result professionals' work identities are very salient to their self-image.

However, for 'new professionals' such as IT workers and Management Consultants, professional/occupational[6] identification presents another tangential factor in the workplace identification debate. New occupations generally do not possess the features ascribed to a typical profession, such as a code of ethics, single qualifying entry route and certification, a strong professional association, and monopolisation of a particular market (Alvesson, 2000). As discussed above, they are also subject to dynamic organisational structures such as out-sourcing and they are required to buy into the needs of flexible labour.

People construct their professional identity in order to achieve a feeling of a coherent and strong self, which is necessary for coping with work tasks and social relations (Alvesson, 2000). However, in situations where the professional status is more imprecise, employees become increasingly concerned with impression management through presentation skills and techniques (Feldman and Klich, 1991). Failure to convey the correct impression - or image consistent with the professional role - not only diminishes their effectiveness in the role but also may cause others to question the position of the profession in the organisation or, indeed, in society as a whole (Goffman, 1959). Intuitively, work structures and working arrangements will also impact upon professional identification.

There is an argument that identities are managed through social interactions both in terms of individual relations and managerial practices (Knights and Willmott, 1989). This may be the case for 'typical' professional work where the conventions are clear

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[6] For the purpose of this thesis, the term occupation and profession will be used interchangeably

– that is, where there are professional bodies, formal rules of conduct and expert systems to guide and manage behaviour. However, for 'new professionals' or 'non professional' work, identification may be less simple.

4.4 Sociologically influenced Micro-level Discussions of Identity

In this section, three bodies of work will be addressed. Firstly Cohen and Taylor's (1992) identity work will be examined. Then there is a discussion of Impression Management (IM). Finally Jenkins' (1996, 1998, 2000, 2004) interpretation of social identity is appraised. This by no means assumes that these are the only microsociological theories relevant to identity - rather that these three can all contribute substantially to the current work.

4.4.1 Identity Work

Thompson and McHugh (2002) attempt to reconcile issues of social constructionism with social psychological understandings of identification. They believe the emphasis on situated meaning in the construction of subjectivity is a necessary methodological focus for providing a reflexive account of organisational behaviour. They further argue that this emphasis is the key to understanding the process of securing and reproducing identity. Thompson and McHugh (2002) discuss what Cohen and Taylor (1992) call 'identity work', which is an individual response to pressure. It involves coping strategies which use instrumentally derived tactics, but still accommodate the dominant culture. Identity work also embraces various types of resistance. Instead of necessarily being controlled by the organisation, individuals are viewed as managing in the best fashion they can in the given circumstances. Thompson and McHugh, suggest that the mode of response is 'determined in subjective terms by available scripts and what appears to work' (2002, p.346).

Cohen and Taylor's (1992) understandings of identity mirrors the work of social identity theorists in that it is concerned with more than just an understanding of identity in the workplace. Moreover, identity work is strongly influenced by impression management and the work of Eriving Goffman, and tackles the

relationship between self-consciousness and performed roles. At an organisational level, identity work is a mechanism for regulating individual identity with the identity requested by the organisation. Cohen and Taylor argue that individuals re-define meanings and manage impressions in a way that not only leads to social recognition and approval, but can also lead to a self-justified identity. Indeed, Thompson and McHugh (2002) use the example of identity as a leader to illustrate their position. They believe that pressure to define identity in line with assumed leadership qualities can lead to subjectively supportive behaviour and self-perceptions. Similar arguments can be transferred to other work-based identities.

This notion of identity work operates on a number of levels and starts to reconcile the macro with the more micro approaches. Identity work is premised on the idea that it is a mechanism for organisational survival, that it is part of an escape from the mundaneness of our everyday existence. Cohen and Taylor (1992, p.26), start at the level of the *regularities which we happily accept as part of life.*' These are scripts which individuals unreflectively accommodate as a method of managing the reality of daily work (Thompson and McHugh, 2002). However, under this model, an individual's capacity for self-reflection affords a *zone for self* or *identity domain* (Cohen and Taylor, 1992 p.32), which enables the individual to understand but distance himself from these scripts. Affiliated with this self-reflexiveness is the escape to fantasy, where life conditions (at least in our heads) can be altered as we see fit (Cohen and Taylor, 1992). However, Thompson and McHugh (2002) argue that self-reflexiveness carries its own internal contradictions. They claim that distancing ourselves from the roles we play is, ultimately, a passive strategy that tends to conform to existing organisational structures.

In order to escape from the vicious circle of continually reconstructing identity concerns, Cohen and Taylor (1992) identify the strategy of self-conscious reinvestment - where individuals become recommitted to the very regularities of work from which they were attempting to escape. It could, in fact, be argued that it was through this process that Barker's (1993, 1999) team members constructed their identity as team members. However, this leaves a precarious balancing act where, on

the one hand, organisations must avoid overstepping the boundaries of the acceptable by monitoring and controlling identity work and, on the other, employees must find an appropriate method of escape from the prevailing objective and subjective conditions (Thompson and McHugh, 2002).

4.4.2 Impression Management

A more explicit examination of the way individuals manage their identity can be found in the literature on Impression Management (IM) which greatly influenced Cohen and Taylor's work. IM was founded by Erving Goffman (1959), a product of the Chicago School, who wrote from a symbolic interactionist perspective. Through a microsociological analysis, Goffman explored the details of individual identity, group relations, the impact of the environment and the movement and interactive meaning of information (Hewstone and Stroebe, 2001). Though limited, his perspective re-conceptualises and provides new insights into the nature of social interaction and the psychology of the individual.

As noted previously, IM uses a dramaturgical metaphor which portrays the individual as an actor attempting to maintain a consistent and believable performance for the audience. In this case, the audience can be seen as all those who have a significant influence over the role the individual plays. Interaction is viewed as a 'performance,' shaped by environment and audience, constructed to provide others with 'impressions' consistent with the desired goals of the actor (Burns, 1992). IM is distinct from SIT in its dismissal of any biological basis for motivation or identity. Rather, IM proposes that the performance exists regardless of the mental state of the individual. This is because a personal front is often ascribed to the individual in spite of his or her lack of faith in or occasional ignorance of the performance.

From an IM perspective, the process of establishing social identity becomes closely allied to the concept of the 'front,' which is described as 'that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance' (Goffman, 1959, p22). The front acts as the vehicle of standardisation, allowing others to understand the individual on

the basis of projected character traits with normative meanings. As a 'collective representation,' the front establishes a proper 'setting,' 'appearance,' and 'manner' for the social role assumed by the actor, uniting interactive behaviour with the personal front (Goffman, 1959, p. 27). In order to present a compelling front, the actor is forced both to fulfil the duties of the social role and communicate the activities and characteristics of the role to others in a consistent manner. Goffman described this process as dramatic realisation. He considered the believability of the performance to be dependent on both verbal signification and non-verbal signification. However, as Thompson and McHugh (2002) note, although we all use IM, we do not all manage the process equally well - or rely on it to the same extent.

It can be argued that Goffman's work starts to explain the responses of the team members in Barker's (1999) study of ISE. In Goffman's seminal work, 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life' (1959), he explores the nature of group dynamics and the relationship between the performance and audience in a team. Goffman suggests that each team member maintains his or her front in order to promote team performance, and that this reduces the possibility of dissent. While the unifying elements of the team are often more superficial and less complete than the requirements of the performance, the individual actor feels a strong pressure to conform to the desired front in the presence of the audience, because failure to do so destroys the credibility of the entire performance (Barnhart, 1994). As a result, disagreement is carried out away from the audience (management), where ideological and performance changes can be made without threat to the team or the individuals. Hence there is a clear division between the team and the audience.

Goffman expands the dramaturgical metaphor by describing the role of setting in the differentiation of actions taken by individuals. The official position and stance of the team being frontstage, in the back stage the impression fostered by the presentation is contradicted as a matter of course, i.e. the process of conflict is explored, and is contingent upon the absence of the responsibilities of the team presentation. To be outside the stage, means that it is not possible to gain access to the performance of

the team, allowing the team and individuals within the team to preserve proper relationships in the interaction and establishments to which the interactions belong.

Goffman's work highlights the fact that social identity is by no means unilateral. Individuals have some control over how they are perceived in the interaction order – that is the social situations or environments in which two or more individuals are physically in one another's presence (Goffman, 1983). However, the nature of their categorisation by others is generally moot - hence the importance of the art of impression management. As individuals we identify ourselves, but we are also identified by others in what Jenkins (2000) calls the internal-external dialectic of self-image and public image. Jenkins work, is a useful extension of Goffman's earlier thinking.

4.4.3 Jenkins' Interpretation of Social Identity and Self-Categorisation

Richard Jenkins is a Professor of Sociology at Sheffield University. Following on from the work of Mead, Goffman and Barth, Jenkins' interprets identity in the broad sphere of sociology, taking a predominantly micro-level structural analysis of the construct. Indeed, Jenkins' (1996, 1998, 2000, 2004) understanding of categorisation, identity and social process provides a possible prospectus for reconciling perspectives on teamwork. Jenkins' work is influenced by Marx's distinction between a 'class in itself' and a 'class for itself' – which has recently resurfaced in Bourdieu's notion of the 'practical group and the 'instituted group' (Bourdieu, 1991). Jenkins' work on social identity supports the notion of collective identifications from a sociologically inspired perspective.

In brief, Jenkins (2000, 2004) recommends that individual and collective identification be viewed as similar in so much as the two are routinely entangled. Contrary to SIT, he argues that both individual and collective identification come into being only through interaction and that the processes by which the two are produced are comparable. Importantly, Jenkins believes theorisation of identity and identification must therefore accommodate the individual and the collective equally.

This method of conceptualising identity reaches into one of the main ontological tensions between psychology and sociology: the relative importance of individuals and collectives. For the most part, psychology - even social psychology - privileges the individual over the collective. Although most sociologists do not hold the same degree of radical individualism as psychologists (apart from those who adhere to ethnomethodolgical frameworks), there is still a tendency to frame work around the individual or aggregates of individuals. Following in this tradition Jenkins, adopts *pragmatic individualism* - that is, the view that the analysis of identity at the level of the individual allows 'actors to construct a first line of sense and defence in a human world, which, whatever else, is peopled by embodied individuals, of which we are each one, and with whom we have to deal' (2004, p.17).

Influenced heavily by Goffman and Giddens, Jenkins (2000) suggests it is impossible to separate out entirely how the collective is viewed externally compared to how it is viewed internally. This is explained in three orders of social phenomena: the *individual* order - the world of embodied individuals and 'what-goes-on-in-their-heads'; the *interaction* order - the world of co-presence and relationships between embodied individuals, or 'what-goes-on-between-people' and the *institutional* order, the world of patterned, organised and symbollically-templated 'ways-of-doing-things.'

Not dissimilar to social learning perspectives on identity, the individual order is believed to develop in early life, and is assumed to provide a foundation of 'ontological security' (Giddens, 1984). Jenkins (2000) suggests that much of this sense of self comes from routine and unreflective habit and is created in the course of early interactions between the child and significant others. This is viewed to be the core of the 'self'.

The integration of the self and the public image emerges at the interaction order. At the interaction order there is seen to be a reflexive adjustment between the self-image (the way we see ourselves and the way we would like to be seen) and the public images (how others categorise us). It is the continued regulation of the two that

Jenkins (2000) considers to be the ongoing process of the making and re-making of social identity. This stage can be related to active decisions such as career choices. Careers are as much the products of categorisation as of self-identification and self-determination.

The final dimension is institutional order. Under Jenkins' (2000) typology, institutions are viewed as aspects of local-and wider-social reality in terms of, and with reference to, how decisions are made and resources and penalties distributed.

> 'All groups are ... institutions: patterns of identification that have become established over time in a particular social context, and of which many people in that context are conscious. Social categories, however, may or may not be institutions, or institutions in only a weak, rather one-sided sense. It is possible for people to belong to a social category without being aware of its existence, or their membership of it...... the process of categorisation, however, is likely to be, at least in part, institutionalised as a conscious practice of the categorisers.' Jenkins (2000, p.20)

Jenkins' description of the identity process determines that identification is implicated in social categorisation and vice versa. The social contexts of external categorisation are therefore significant in processes of internal definition. The question is why an external definition should be internalised and by what process it occurs. Jenkins (2000) lists five possible situations or scenarios explaining why and how this occurs (Table 2). By examining these scenarios it may be possible to understand why, for example, an organisation has the capacity to categorise a group of individuals as a team and why the individuals subsequently identify with the notion of the team.

Although from an organisational perspective the attempts to engender identification with the team is more than likely a strategic act, any intervention into the world of an individual will have consequences. As Weber (1978) understood, these consequences are not always intended. However, it is partly the cumulative reinforcement of unintended consequences that produces patterns of history and identification (Jenkins, 2000). When an organisation defines an individual as a member of a workgroup or team, it will have a more permanent impact on their social identity.

	Scenarios of Categorisation
1	If the external categorisation is the same as, or approximates to, an aspect of existing group identification, they will simply reinforce each other. Some external recognition is probably necessary for the successful maintenance of any group identification. This suggests that categorisations may be less likely to 'stick' if they differ markedly from existing identifications.
2	Long-standing, but relatively unproblematic contact between groups may produce incremental and mutual shifts in identification. We may gradually and imperceptibly come to define ourselves somewhat differently in the light of how they appear to define us, and how they treat us (and vice versa)
3	External categorisation may be received as legitimate; implying some shared political framework and understanding of authority
4	The internalisation of an external categorisation may result from of its imposition by power (physical force or its threat)
5	The categorised may resist. Striving for autonomy of self-identification, is, however, every bit an effect of categorisation. The rejected external definition is internalised but, paradoxically, as a focus of denial

Table 2: Categorisation, identity and power (adapted from Jenkins, 2000 p.21)

4.5 Reconciling Theories and Paradigms – Expanding the Teamwork Debate

The aim of this chapter was to describe the theoretical developments and empirical evidence on identity, and to explain how SIT can be merged with other understandings of identity and developed as a concept for analysing small group behaviour. Despite documenting a number of concerns with social psychology, the concerns are debated only because of the belief that social psychology can make a significant contribution to our understandings of organisations and people who work in them. On this note, it seems of value to quote Tajfel. Indeed the extract below depicts a view of the world which will emerge in the following sections.

'Individual autonomy as the core of the political process, and of many aspects of social behaviour is a myth. In many social situations, we are buffeted here and there by powerful social forces beyond our control... individual autonomy (deciding not to steal) has strict limits for a child living in a vast slum of an immense city. Or when you have internalised, as a soldier, the powerful social prescription that the enemies are not quite human. Or - as a guard in a concentration camp - that the inmates are a virus in the social 'organism'. These are, of course, extreme cases. My point is that they are no

more than one end of a long continuum. Any society which contains power, status, prestige and social group differentials (as they all do), places each of us in a number of social categories, which become an important part of our self-definition. In situations which relate to those aspects of our self-definition which we think we share with others, we shall behave very much as they do' (Tajfel, 1977, p.654, cited in 1981, p.14.)

Starting, as Tajfel has above, with the individual, social learning theories (e.g. Miller, and Dollard, 1941), theories of identity work (e.g. Cohen and Taylor, 1992) and microsociological approaches (e.g. Jenkins, 1998, 2000), all acknowledge in one way or another that we possess a core identity. The question is the extent to which this core identity is reflected in the way we behave in social contexts, and how it interacts with social structures to create a social identity? Even Tajfel would acknowledge that one's identity evolves according to contact with institutions and social contexts, which suggests the development of social identity is a process which continues every second of every day. That is not to say that identity is entirely socially constructed, or that some institutions or collectives do not impact on identity more than others. However, the distinction between the personal and the social identity is distinctly blurred.

From all but the strictest postmodern perspectives on identity, it can be understood that individuals have a core identity. Yet, from all but social identity perspectives7, it can be understood that this core identity is moulded and changed and developed by social structures and social interactions, through both conscious (e.g. Goffman's impression management) and unconscious mechanisms (e.g. Cohen and Taylor's self-conscious reinvestment) to create a social identity. This social identity in itself is constantly changing in accordance with our interests and the interests of others around us. Through processes such as the zone of self or identity domain (Cohen and Taylor, 1992) or Jenkins' (2000) process or scenarios for internalisation, these loci for identification, and for creating aspects of social identity develop differential meanings or saliencies.

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7 the social identity approach makes clear distinctions between levels of abstraction and identities, but fails to acknowledge the iterative relationship between levels of abstraction and the self (Haslam, 2001)

In order to understand fully an individual's social identity - and how the social has affected the personal - one first has to understand all the structures, experiences and groups with which an individual interacts and has interacted. It is possible (without falling foul of pitfalls of reductionism as discussed in Chapter One) to acknowledge that most individuals encounter the same type of groups - or at least the same categories of groups - both in their personal and in their professional lives, and that their experience of these groups will affect their social identity.

In as much as we have a social identity, the fact that it is fluid and changing will mean that the idea of different social identities - implicit in SIT - is not necessarily inaccurate. Indeed, much of the evidence and discussion in this and the previous chapters confirms that aspects of our social identity become more or less salient depending on the specific context we are in. When we are working with a team, or asked by another to talk about our experiences of working in a team, the aspect of social identity which defines us as a team member will clearly become more salient at that time. While acknowledging the interactive nature of identity for the purpose of this thesis, this dimension of social identity will be called team or group identity.

The central question is this: how can the social identity approach be used to reconcile psychological and sociological debates on teamwork? In comparison with other positions on identity SIT certainly provides the most comprehensive analysis of the identity or identification process, particularly at a micro-level. Irrespective of the accuracy of Tajfel's (1970) original thesis on the relationship between conflict and social identity, there is substantial evidence from social identity literature and macro and micro sociological literatures that people do identify with collectivities. It may therefore be problematic, to argue against the core principle of SIT - that social interaction is bound up with individuals' social identities and that people self-categorise for uncertainty reduction (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Furthermore, there is also substantial evidence to suggest that proximity and the degree of interaction with other members (e.g. Lawler, 1992), the status of the group (Ellemers, 1993) and any dispersion from the employing organisation (e.g. Rock and Pratt, 2002; Wiesenfeld

et al., 2001) affect the salience of team identity. The sociological literatures present no evidence to contradict these beliefs.

If identification is based on uncertainty reduction, it is likely that identification with a group, serves some self-interest. Alvesson's (2000) work on knowledge-intensive workers and Marks and Lockyer's (2005) research on software developers suggests individuals identify with the team not only because it provides them with a mechanism for securing identity, but also because it brought benefits such as the opportunity to develop new skills. As such, self-interest can also reinforce identification with the team. Take the example of knowledge intensive workers. When the team was seen to be a source of knowledge acquisition and a development opportunity for its members' professional role or status (Alvesson, 2000; Marks and Lockyer, 2004), employees were more likely to identify with it over and above alternative sources of identification.

SIT in terms of identity salience, believes that a group becomes more or less important to identity depending on perceived similarities between the individual and other members of the collective, and their perceived similarity or difference with the outgroup (e.g. Haslam, 2001). Moreover, there is very little dispute that when individuals are placed in a collectivity they will 'naturally' identify with the group. However, to accept this as the only interpretation of identity is to ignore insights from microsociological theories - specifically those from Impression Management. From an IM perspective, it can be argued that there is not always a 'natural' basis for identity, and that often the identity behaviour (and this is to some extent reflected in Cohen and Taylor's 1992, identity work) is a 'front' - a performance to give the impression that the individual has identified with the collective. This idea is to some extent reflected in Cohen and Taylor's idea of identity work). It is a social role rather than an internalised process. Individuals will often behave as if they identify with a collective - particularly in an organisation - as it serves their best interest. It may increase their chances of promotion, for example, or reduce the risk of being labelled a troublemaker.

This thesis argues that there are two levels of identity that occur in a group: *internalised identity* (broadly taken as identity from a SIT perspective) and *acted identity* (identity as a 'front' from an IM perspective). *Internalised identity* is the more enduring form. It requires a change in the individual's self-definition have congruence between the self as a member of a team and broader self-concepts (e.g.see Turner, 1978). *Acted identity* is not a 'real' change in identity as it involves no change in self-concept and is determined by acting out cues that appear to signal group identity.

Returning to matters explored in Chapter Two; organisations have requirements of teamwork – specifically in the domains of the normative, the technical and the governance. Research by Findlay et al. (2000a, 2000b) found that team members were well aware of the requests from managers within these domains. As such, it would be reasonable to assume that *acted identity* will be explicitly expressed as technical, normative and governance behaviours. *Internalised identity* is less likely to be the product of a managerially constructed ideal or controlled by the explicit requirements of the organisation. As such, it will not be acted out in terms of the normative, technical and governance spheres.

This leads to another dimension of the current work that deviates from a traditional SIT paradigm. As has been identified, one of SIT's main limitations is its failure to acknowledge the impact of organisational structures of control on the identity process. Whether through traditional bureaucratic models or cultural-ideological models - or a combination of both - organisations use social identity for the corporatisation of the self as a means of managerial control (see e.g. Kärreman and Alvesson, 2004). It has been suggested that teams are introduced to fulfil the need for management to control the labour process in order to maximise labour input (Harley, 2001). However, as Sewell (1998) would argue, contemporary teamwork represents both bureaucratic and cultural-ideological forms of control. The alignment of mental and manual work demarcates both autonomy and managerial control. Although macrosociological writers - particularly those influenced by Foucault - have

acknowledged this phenomenon, there is little explanation in any bodies of work as to how these forms of control affect the identity process.

Jenkins' (2000) possible scenarios for internalisation of external definitions start to illustrate how categorisation is related to the process of identity. If the provider of an external categorisation were seen as a legitimate authority, Jenkins' (2000) scenarios would indicate identification with that categorisation. That is, if employees are categorised as team members, and see this both as a legitimate and useful categorisation and as an acceptable form of control, they will have a salient identity as a team member. Alternatively, if the categorisation is – or perceived as – the result of imposition by power, identification with that categorisation or collectivity will be substantially less salient or not salient at all. Hence, if employees perceive that management or their employing organisation has forced them to work in a team, and that team presents little advantage to the workers, they are unlikely to identify with the team. However, if, over time, the categorisation as a team member is relatively unproblematic, team members may collectively acknowledge the lack of threat from a team identity and develop a greater attachment to the collective. Furthermore, if employees view the definition of themselves as members of a team as illegitimate (e.g. they believe teamwork represents exploitation by the organisation) yet for reasons of self-interest still wish or need to continue working in the organisation, they will develop *acted identity*. This is fairly similar to Cohen and Taylor's (1992) description of identity work as a coping strategy for self-protection.

4.5.1 The Relationship between Acted and Internalised Identity

Some researchers believe that it is necessary to have symbiosis between impressions and identity in order to avoid dissonance (Gioia et al., 2000). Consequently, it may be assumed that there needs to be some degree of mutuality between *acted* and *internalized identity*. However, looking at teamwork research, there is evidence that the feelings of collectivity implicit in *internalized identity* do not always lead to a performance of *acted identity*. Townsend (2005) and Richards and Marks (2005) found several examples of cohesive teams which resisted managerial control

strategies. Furthermore, Leary and Kowalski (1990) suggested that although impressions created by people may reflect internal thoughts (e.g. individuals who seek to be viewed as dedicated to their organisation may truly be decided to their organisation), on other occasions the impression maybe entirely false. The relationship between *acted* and *internalised* identity can also be developed by returning to Cohen and Taylor's (1992) 'identity work'. Within the *zone for self* or *identity domain*, individuals can distance themselves from organisational scripts. So what they are feeling is separated, or can be separated from their performance.

It can therefore be argued that there is some evidence, which would suggest, both in terms of the theoretical contribution made by identity work, and the empirical evidence from the teamworking examples (Findlay et al., 2000a, 2000b; Richards and Marks, 2005; Townsend, 2005) that *acted identity* and *internalized identity* at the extremes can have little or no relationship or impact on each other, however, there are occasions when employees can hold both *acted* and *internalized identity*.

One of the greatest uncertainties that emerges in the theorising of organisational identity is the degree to which employees embrace the values of the organisation. The adoption of values – or internalisation – is often treated as a separate construct to identity but on other occasions is viewed as the same. This confusion tends to emerge as both Tajfel (1981) and Mael and Ashforth (1989) either adopt or infer internalisation in their definitions of identity. Mael and Ashforth (1989: p.312) specifically state that 'identifying with the organisation, people often internalize there attributes as their own'.

By name, *internalized identity* clearly points to the adoption of ideals, however, it is not concerned with the adoption of the *organisation's* ideals. Rather, *internalized identity* focuses on an unconscious feeling of unity of members of the organisation. This is similar to the work of Kelman (1961) who distinguishes identification from internalisation by differentiating them of the basis of degree, performance and motivation. In one sense, the current typology could be argued to be a development of Kelman (1961) and Aronson's (1992) work. Aronson – borrowing from Kelman -

believes that compliance, identification and internalization are all responses to social influences. Internalization involves the adoption of values and beliefs and is driven by the need to be right rather than any social need. However, identification is driven by attraction and involves the adoption of some of the values and beliefs of members of the social group. Finally, compliance is seen to occur when the individuals follow the dictates of an individual or group because of perceived valued rewards.

Although conceptually, compliance can be paralleled with *acted identity*, the nomenclatures hold fundamentally distinct meanings. At an organisational level, the term compliance infers obedience or compliance to the organisation or at least the aims of the organisation. This is not however, the meaning behind *acted identity*. *Acted identity* is solely a performance demonstrating identification and holds *no* assumption regarding acquiescence. As such, this leads us to an already raging debate within postmodern and labour process literatures about identity and organisational control. That is, to what extent does acting as if one is compliant to the aims and goals of the organisation mean that one really is compliant?

Indeed, as part of a journey that considers employee responses to managerial requests for identification, it is almost inevitable that the issue of control be considered. However, it is not necessary to review the full range of contemporary debates on this issue. These debates are summarised from post-structuralist, psychoanalytic, emotion and labour process perspectives more effectively elsewhere (e.g. Gabriel, 1999; Newton, 1998; Thompson and Ackroyd, 1995; Wray-Bliss, 2002). What is important, is that there is a great deal of work which implies that employees are docile, and that management have the capacity to 'colonize the individual from within' (Rosenthal, 2004; p.605). Studies have claimed to find cynicism leading to a lack of critical detachment from management power (Fleming and Spicer, 2003; Kunda, 1992), moral degradation (Willmott, 1993) and high levels of internalization of organisational values forming an inability to resist (Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992a, 1992b). The outcome being a body of work which views employees as 'programmed automatons who diligently perform logic of the dominant regime as it is engineered by senior management and consultants' (Fleming and Sewell, 2002: p. 858).

The work on cynicism is particularly verbal in arguing that control mechanisms, such as teamwork, manage employees from within. For example, du Gay and Salaman (1992) and Willmott (1993) construe cynicism as reproducing power relations because cynical employees give the impression that they are autonomous individuals yet still practice corporate rituals. Willmott (1993) further argues that where individuals dis-identify themselves from these rituals this mode of cynical dis-identification can actually incorporate workers further into the relations of power that they are seeking to escape.

Indeed, there is evidence from recent research that employees are becoming more accommodating of managerial controls (e.g. Frenkel at al, 1998; Guest 1999; Findlay et al. 2000, 2001). However, Rosenthal (2004: p.606) notes that critical researchers see this accommodation as reflecting 'false consciousness, obsessional neuroses, discursive colonization or on a bad day, moral degeneracy' rather than the other possibility, which is that workers may be reacting rationally to these control mechanisms. If employees are not over throwing the system, it is not representative of simple conformity. It is argued here, that the process is more likely to reflect what Fleming and Sewell (2002) describe as the separation of behaviour form ideas as a process as disengagement – the ability to comply without conforming.

Hence, maybe performing *acted identity* because it is in their interest to do so. They have not internalized the goals or values of the organisation. Yet, employees possess many needs and preferences and use the resources made available to them to pursue these self-defined interests (Rosenthal, 2004). In effect, can it really be argued that an employee who is acting out a prescribed identity - because they live in an area of high unemployment, have a family to support and have few other employment options – does so because they have internalized the values of the organisation? It is far more likely that instead of an inability to distance him/herself from managerial controls, this employee is performing as if they identify with the organisation because it is in their best interests to do so.

4.6 Developing the Research Propositions

From previous discussion it is evident that several interrelated themes link to team identity. In order to further examine the nature of team identity and assess the accuracy of the argument presented in the current work, seven propositions have been developed. These form the basis for the empirical work.

Neither this thesis nor associated research propositions attempt to cover all possible aspects of identity – the explicit inter-relationship between team identity, professional identity and organisational identity, as well as the impact of gender, age and sexuality, could command many doctoral theses in themselves. However, it should be noted that in order to understand the broader relevance of this work all propostions are examined within the two distinct sectors (manufacturing and software) which form the focus of the current work. These two sectors are distinct in terms of both control structures and the nature of work. As a result the research findings will have greater generalisability.

The research propositions progress numerically from micro to macro-level concerns. Propositions 1 and 2 are concerned with the existence and structure of identity. They focus on the presentation of team identity as a distinct phenomenon and examine the accuracy of the assumption that identity can be divided into two separate constructs - *acted* and *internalised.* Proposition 3 develops this conceptualisation further and assesses whether *acted identity* conforms to the normative, governance and technical dimensions of teamwork.

Proposition 1: When working within a team environment, or reflecting on teamworking experiences, individuals present a salient aspect of their social identity, which can be interpreted as team identity

Proposition 2: Team identity operates on two levels: *acted identity* and *internalised identity*

Proposition 3: *Acted* team *identity* takes the form of behaviours associated with the technical, normative and governance domains of teamwork

Proposition 4 moves towards an examination of broader contextual factors. It focuses on the features that Tajfel and his colleagues consider to be important determinants of identity salience (Figure 4). It also takes into account the work of other theorits. Mullen (1991) and Mullen, Brown and Smith (1992) found that attention is frequently focused on smaller groups, thereby increasing subgroup identification. Moreover, recent studies (e.g. Dutton, Dukerich, Golden and Shortell, 2002; Mael and Ashforth, 1992) have found that the higher the status and prestige of a group the greater the potential increase to self-esteem through identification. In the same study, Mael and Ashforth (1992) also found that close interpersonal relationships are positively related to the level of identification. This corresponds with earlier work which found the extent of an individual's social involvement in an organisation relates directly to their organisational identification (e.g. Rotondi, 1975; Sheldon, 1971).

Proposition 4 deals with an issue of specific relevance to the software teams: the effect on identity of location outwith the employing organisation. As noted earlier in this chapter, researchers have found oulocation affects both organisational and team identity (e.g. Marks and Lockyer, 2005).

Proposition 4: Team identity (both *acted* and *internalised*) is affected by the structure of the team and processes within the team, e.g. the degree of interaction with other team members, perceived status of the team, and the location of the team compared with the employing organisation

The focus of propositions 5, 6 and 7 is the relationship between team identity and organisational control strategies, which was addressed earlier in this chapter (e.g. work by Sewell, 1998; Friedman, 1977). There is, however, a dearth of existing work looking at the explicit relationship between control mechanisms and social identity. One of the few examples of work in this area is Barker's (1993, 1999) examination

of ISE, which analyses the impact of team governance structures on team identity. The model of control is likely to affect the extent to which employees feel positively about their teamwork experience and, in turn, their team identity. As noted earlier, if team members accept the organisation's control methods they are more likely to present *internalised identity*. However, if they do not accept them but still wish to work in the team, employees will engage in *acted identity*.

Proposition 5: Team identity (both *acted* and *internalised*) is affected by the control structures imposed upon the team

Proposition 6: If team members accept the structures of control they will be more willing to develop *internalised* team identity

Proposition 7: If team members cannot accept the structures of control, but have a level of self-interest in continuing to work within the team, they are likely develop *acted* team identity

In summary, social identity assists in the understanding of the competing narratives on teamwork from sociological and psychological perspectives. As the psychological research on teams suggests, employees naturally identify with collectives, particularly if it is in their best interests. Sociological accounts cannot be discredited, however. Teams are frequently forced upon employees as a means of controlling behaviour, forcing employees to enact - superficially at least - identification with the team.

The purpose of the last three chapters was to outline the strengths and weaknesses of established positions on identity and teamwork and demonstrate how sociological perspectives and insights can augment work rooted in a social psychological tradition. This two-fold mode of analysis will enrich understanding and explanation of teamwork and identity in teams. Moreover, it will set apart the current research from anything produced before.

Chapter Four discusses the methodology used to explore the research propositions. It includes an analysis of the different philosophical traditions underpinning sociological and psychological approaches and their impact on the operationalisation of methods. This chapter also highlights the choice of two contrasting industrial sectors – manufacturing and technology – and illustrates how the choice of industry determines the methods employed to collect data.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

As Moll (2004) notes, being a psychologist in the current time is fraught with difficulties - most significantly because there are two dominant but contrary theoretical positions in the discipline. The first concentrates on the material discovery and biological compulsions in which psychology is said to exist. The second takes the culturalist or discursive turn, suggesting that, ultimately, social relations or even linguistic relations constitute reality. Previous chapters have noted the influence of the latter perspective in sociology, in the guise of poststructuralism and postmodernism. They did not, however, examine its influence on social psychology in any detail. That is not to say it is not influential in psychological research - rather that its influence is limited in the field of social psychology at work. However, the most visible response to postmodern work is the debate on the validity of the ontological assumptions underpinning the discipline of psychology. The debate is frequently leads on to a discussion of appropriate methodologies.

It is therefore essential to look at the alternative ontologies and methodologies available in the psychological literatures. This is especially important in the current work because an examination of the spectrum of methodological paradigms may prove expedient in finding an appropriate means of operationalising the current research. Moreover, it also is important to use methods that reflect both the ontology of this research and the theories and paradigms in which the current work is embedded.

After a discussion of epistemological and ontological positions and associated methodological choice, this chapter details the specific methods adopted in collecting data for this thesis. Several research tools were applied, including interviews, surveys and focus groups. The methods adopted reflect a combination of logical choice and pragmatic adaptation to the requests and structures of the participant organisations. It should be noted however, that any use of quantitative methods was not within a conventional psychometric position. The critical realist ontology held by this work,

allows the adoption of many different research tools, but does not necessitate the adherence to formalised experimental and statistical analysis that is required from a positivist position (Shostak, 2002). This does not mean that all forms of mathematical strategies are excluded, rather that the constraints of traditional psychometrics are neither necessary nor appropriate (Byrne, 2002).

The fieldwork for this project was carried out over six years across four organisations. The research design and methods of analysis needed to account for this variation and time scale. Hence, a method of data analysis known as analytic induction provided an opportunity to redefine ideas responding to both the empirical data and the theoretical advances in the field. Both analytic induction and the use of a range of data collection techniques enhanced validity, reliability and generalisability across cases and across the data. Moreover, the data collection methods allowed analysis at a team level and across teams. It was possible, therefore, to establish whether themes occurred both across cases and across contexts.

5.2 Changing Positions in Psychological Research

Traditional views in psychology are predominantly concerned with the cognitive and neurological processes in the brain and how these processes translate to the abstract idea of the mind. Moll (2004) believes these traditional views reduce the idea of the 'mind' to computational programmes in the brain, or to neurophysiological networks forming the substance of the brain. By and large, the perspective he describes represents a Cartesian position on the nature of human thinking. This view assumes that the subject matter of psychology comprises internal states or processes, which are themselves observable and must be inferred from outward behaviour. Narrow and traditional perspectives are reflected in the belief empiricised by organistaional psychologists that it is possible to specify attitudes and then measure them quantifiably.

This position forms the basis of positivism – for the last century or so, the dominant paradigm in the discipline of social psychology. Auguste Comte invented the term as the title for his 19th century book 'The Positive Philosophy', the aim of which was to

provide a systematic survey of all knowledge. Positivism is premised on a natural science methodology and assumes that, using quantitative methods, it is possible to accumulate data that allows the researcher to arrive at a neutral understanding of external and independently existing social/natural realities. Hence, the belief among positivists is that this paradigm makes it possible to separate the researcher from the research through the deployment of a theory-neutral observational language (Symon and Cassell, 1998).

Positivism claims to represent the application of science to philosophy. Implicit in this philosophy is the doctrine that only that which can be verified by scientific observation should be part of any rational discourse. Positivism is opposed to and rules out metaphysical speculation. It eliminates any topic that is not, or cannot be, couched in terms verifiable by observation and measurement. In psychology, positivism leads to an approach which deals with concepts in terms of operational definitions. The positivist is interested only in things she/he can measure as being present or not present. Many psychological constructs are neither visible nor tangible (e.g. attitudes, personality, intelligence) - so to keep them out of the realms of metaphysics they have to be defined in terms of operations (e.g. self-descriptive/evaluative statements in the case of attitudes and performance in tests in the case of personality and intelligence).

Some critiques of positivism argue that this method of research is particularly flawed when applied to social psychological phenomena. This argument is often centred on the phenomenon of 'psychological reductionism'.

> '(psychological reductionism is) a form of.... explanation in which complex social phenomena are reduced to a number of basic psychological components or principles and then identified or explained solely in terms of those constituent parts. The basic assumption.... is that all propositions about social systems can be reduced to propositions about ... individual social actors' (Jette, 1986; p.228).

In other words, when searching for causes of social patterns or actions, psychological reductionism looks only at the mental and emotional make up of the individual.

Reductionism tries to distil the essence of a phenomenon to an oversimplified set of determinants.

Nowhere is this phenomenon of reductionism more apparent than in the empirical examination of social identity. The commitment of Tajfel and subsequent social identity researchers to social analysis sits uncomfortably with other key principles in their epistemology (Wetherell, 1996). These principles and this tension sometimes produce modes of explanation and theoretical choices that, in retrospect, appear paradoxical. Despite a commitment to a broad social analysis, their work is highly psychologised and individually focused (Henriques et al., 1984; Micheal, 1990). Tajfel's concern with ideology and cultural and group-based frameworks for making sense of people's interpretations of appropriate conduct suggests an affinity with anthropology and with ethnography. Tajfel was adamant, however, that a descriptive science of this kind was not sufficient for social psychology (Reicher, 1986). Despite suggestions by commentators such as Haslam (2001) that the social identity approach allows an understanding of identity in a social context, his methodological choices do not reflect this claim. For the most part, his research and the research he describes in his 2001 and 2004 texts are highly reductionist and quantitatively based. This makes much of the traditional social identity work too constrained by science and measurement to provide a full portrayal and understanding of the subtleties and nuances inherent in contextual analysis.

Social Identity theorists' reliance on quantitative techniques may explain why the advancement of SIT has been limited over the past twenty-five years. Moreover, Henwood and Pidgeon (1995) believe psychologists' traditional overemphasis on theory testing means too little attention is paid to the systematic generation of new theory. This is, in fact, one of the primary arguments for the introduction of qualitative methods (e.g. interviews, narratives, and storytelling) to the psychological research process. The reductionism inherent in the quantitative tradition fails to provide the richness and significance of the participants' own experiences. As a result there is a growing body of researchers in psychology who regard the 'mind' as simply a privatised aspect of discursive relations in society. From this perspective,

the mind is not located in the individual's physical being. It is an ethereal entity constituted through social activity - especially conversation. Discursive and postmodern psychology is heavily influenced by the work of the philosopher Wittgenstein who held that language does not directly represent a psychological state – rather, words must be understood in terms of the social practice governing their usage. In this branch of psychology there is a greater acceptance of the socially constructed nature of psychological phenomena.

This is the essence of one the most heated debates in contemporary psychology – the qualitative/quantitative debate, or QQD. This debate originated from those subsections in psychology where a greater emphasis was placed on the relationship between the researcher and those being researched (e.g. psychology of women and psychology of gender, race and sexual orientation). Qualitative methods in these areas were perceived as being superior because they took a more critical position towards power relationships than more traditional psychological research.

> 'Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape the nature of inquiry... In contrast, quantitative studies emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes. Inquiry is purported to be within a value-free framework' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

A central issue in the QQD debate is whether quantitative and qualitative approaches represent inherently different and irreconcilable world views – or whether they simply represent different strategies at the disposal of any well educated researcher. However, quantitative and qualitative researchers take very different views on this issue. From the qualitative side, the discussion of meta-issues such as world view, paradigms, epistemology and ideology usually ensues (e.g. Denzin and Lincoln, 1994), whereas more traditional scientists tend to be silent on these issues, preferring to talk about the reliability and validity of particular research methods (e.g. Reicherdt and Rallis, 1994).

However, the QQD is really a diversion from wider debates about epistemology and ontology in social psychological research. More significant are the conventions by which knowledge is described and accepted (epistemology) and perspectives on the nature of social reality (ontology). The QQD in psychologically influenced discussion of identity reflects two philosophical positions. On the one side there are the quantitative, traditional positivists. On the other, the qualitatively influenced, who are often sympathetic towards postmodernism.

The traditional and dominant paradigm for social psychologists looking at SIT is positivism. Social identity processes are considered to develop from measurable, individual principles (e.g. cognitive processes of judgement and decision-making). However, this perspective is criticised for its assumptions about truth, reality and knowledge (Symon and Cassell, 1998). Nonetheless, many of the quantitative entries in the QQD believe the criticisms of positivism to be excessive, inaccurate and unfair, and question why the two positions cannot be reconciled (e.g. Reicherdt and Rallis, 1994).

The ever-growing body of postmodern work on identity considers that individual principles derive from social processes e.g. communicative acts such as the use of language. The postmodernists' focus then turns to those social processes - because they believe meaning comes from discourse rather than objective reality. They see knowledge as an ongoing process of creation, rather than something deduced from absolute laws and principles (Symon and Cassell, 1998). As such, postmodern methodologies tend to focus on how truth and reality are continually revised through the richness of context. Consequently, many of those influenced by this body of work use research methods that focus on text as a source of data. They view the research process as socially constructed (Potter and Wetherell, 1987).

Psychological research is so entrenched in positivism that the radical departure of postmodernism is seen as extreme almost beyond the point of reconciliation. Postmodernism is the rebellious child reacting against the Victorian parent of positivism. As previously noted, psychologists' choice of methodology is entirely

dependent on their philosophical position: positivism or postmodernism. In psychology, it seems, there is an informal doctrine tying postmodernists with qualitative research and positivists with quantitative techniques - and never the twain shall meet.

Yet many discussions of research methods note that methodological pluralism is the hallmark of good science. In the natural sciences, which use both qualitative and quantitative methods, there are no such raging debates over methodology. Other social sciences, such as sociology and anthropology, long ago resolved these arguments by adopting 'triangulation' – the use of multiple methods for their research (Kidder and Fine, 1987). Over and above other social science disciplines, psychology seeks scientific status. It therefore faces a dilemma: should it embrace 'non scientific' or qualitative methods and risk losing its foothold in the pure sciences and associated funding opportunities? Or should it remain a quantitative discipline aligned with the pure sciences and suffer the consequences of reductionism? Hence, psychology is especially and uniquely challenged by the QQD (Rabinowitz and Weseen, 2001).

Despite calls from some psychology researchers for the use of multiple methods (Kidder and Fine, 1987), specific mechanisms for the integration of methods and the subsequent management of diverse forms of data have only recently begun to receive serious attention (e.g. Crawford and Kimmel, 1999). These efforts have, for the most part, met passive resistance. Qualitative and quantitative methods in mainstream research may have been combined – but only in the most basic, perfunctory way. Quantitative researchers will attempt to make their findings more 'sexy' by adding a few quotes from interview data; those in the qualitative camp, meanwhile, will try to make their research more 'scientific' by throwing in a few numbers along with qualifiers such as 'many' or 'most' (Rabinowitz and Weseen, 2001). As a result, inadequate attention has been paid to such factors as the sequencing of quantitative data, the methods which work best together, the amalgamation of quantitative and qualitative plots, and the reconciliation of ontologies. Some research on the exploration of identity (e.g. Marks and Lockyer, 2005) has integrated qualitative and

quantitative techniques, but this work is the exception rather than the rule. Most researchers remain in their own ontological ivory towers and present either traditionally positivistic, quantitative data (e.g. van Knippenberg and van Schie, 2000) or postmodern influenced, highly qualitative, or discursive information (e.g. Wetherell, 1996).

Any move towards methodological pluralism must also be a move towards pragmatism - which recognises that good research is principally about selecting the right technique. Yet, despite the calls for a middle ground in terms of methods, there is limited evidence for this in theoretical positions. The previous four chapters were largely concerned with highlighting the limitations of psychological and sociological theories and positivist and postmodern ontologies in explaining social identity processes occurring in teams. Chapter four concluded with a suggestion for combining theoretical positions in the guise of seven research propositions. Accordingly, the remainder of this chapter explains how these propositions are empirically operationalised.

5.3 Critical Realism

Although some would argue that American sociology has been dominated by a quantitative bias since the 1950s, sociologists are, for the most part, more consistent in methodological choice. One way in which sociologists have avoided either methodological 'hijacking' by postmodernists or reductionism by positivists is by the adoption of a critical realist ontology. Critical realism refers to a body of thought, largely originated by Roy Bhaskar, who developed a general philosophy of science that he described as transcendental realism and a special philosophy of the human sciences that he called critical naturalism. Other authors combined the terms under the umbrella of critical realism. Bhaskar's critical realism (Bhaskar 1979, 1989, 1993, 1994, 1998) may be seen as a reaction to the postmodernist belief that the only thing which is certain is one's own existence, and that true knowledge of anything is impossible. Critical realism holds a reality exists independently of our representation of it, but it accepts that our knowledge of reality is subject to various historical and other influences. It draws a clear distinction between reality and our knowledge of it.

Bhaskar criticises much postmodernist work for failing to distinguish between the two. Critical realism views reality and our knowledge of it as operating in different dimensions.

While the social world is a product of human action, it is not necessarily the product of human design or discourse. As Ackroyd and Fleetwood (2000) point out, while phenomena such as class relations exist only in and through human activity, there is no necessity that the human beings involved are in any way conscious of the part they play in reproducing these class relations. As such, social phenomena can exist without the individuals involved having any knowledge of them, conceptualising them, or creating them in discourse. Critical realists would suggest that social phenomena exist independently of people's recognition of their existence.

DOMAIN	Entity
Empirical	Experiences, perceptions
Actual	Events and actions
Deep	Structures, mechanisms, powers, relations

Table 3: A structured ontology (source, Ackroyd, S., and Fleetwood, S., (2000), Realist perspectives on management and organisations, London: Routledge, p. 13)

The ontology of critical realism, then, recognises a complexity which both postmodernism and positivism fail to see. It rejects the existence of the constant combination of occurrences that positivists believe exist in the social world. This and associated notions of causality are dismissed as mere regularity. Critical realism also overcomes the weaknesses associated with postmodernism by rejecting the theory that the social world is exclusively socially constructed. Critical realism is concerned with the causal mechanisms, social structures, powers and relations that govern events. Accordingly, Ackroyd and Fleetwood (2000) argue that critical realism is concerned with three fused domains: the actual, the empirical and the deep (Table 3). This triumvirate enables researchers to achieve an understanding beyond the level of experiences and perceptions to allow them to account for connections at the level of structure. Indeed, it could be argued that although Jenkins (2000) states that his work

on social identity is based in a different body of philosophical thought (which he calls pragmatic individualism) the three domains of critical realism tie in with his three orders of social phenomena: the individual order, the interaction and the institutional order.

Ackroyd and Fleetwood (2000) consider the relationships between their three fused domains. They suggest that they are out of phase with each other because it is almost impossible to connect, for example, a power or causal mechanism to its materialisation at the level of events and perceptions in one go. They believe that power and causal mechanisms act transfactually. That is, critical realism emphasises thinking rather than experiencing. This is particularly the case in the process of abstraction from the domains of the actual and the empirical world to the transfactual mechanisms. Once power is set in motion, it continues to hold sway even when its influence is not wielded. For example, a football referee still has the power to send a player off even if, in practice, he rarely shows the red card.

In one sense, critical realism manages to redefine the relationship between structure and agency. Agents do not generate or manufacture structures from the beginning; rather they rebuild or convert pre-existing structures. As Bhaskar remarks:

> 'People do not create society. For it always pre-exists them and is a necessary condition for their activity. Rather society must be regarded as an ensemble of structures, practices and conventions which individuals reproduce and transform, but which would not exist unless they did so. Society does not exist independently of human activity (the error of reification). But it is not the product of it (the error of voluntarism)' (Bhaskar, 1989: p. 36)

Critical realism is very useful for many social psychological positions. Indeed, some critical social psychologists have started to adopt it as a way of interpreting the role of knowledge (e.g. Parker, 1997). The doctrine acknowledges the complexity and unpredictability of human behaviour and recognises the social context in which cognitions and emotions occur. Critical realism also takes into account the fallibility of traditional forms of knowledge generation in social psychology (Hepburn, 2004).

Its recognition of the inter relationship between individual actions and social phenomena in terms of power, structures and human agency, further demonstrates critical realism's usefulness for studying social identity at a 'meso' level. Critical realism's application to social identity centres on states of awareness and action – or, in the language of the previous chapter, *acted* and *internalised identity*.

The unique object of the study of psychology is the mind and, as such, the discipline has a distinct ontological status. The mind is, in the first case, psychologically manifest in (and substantiated by) the property of consciousness (Bhaskar, 1979). However, as Moll (2004, p.65) notes, 'it is not exhausted by consciousness, and its substantive mechanisms include both non-conscious psychological mechanisms and non-psychology mechanism, notably biological and social ones.' As such the mind is a set of powers, historically emergent from and present only in association with certain complex form of matter, and necessarily constrained by social relations in one form or another. Hence, by establishing the status of the mind, it in this way it is possible to challenge the two forms of reductionism within psychology, that is reduction of the mind to biology or more specifically neurological structures, and the 'upward' reduction of the mind to being a socially constructed and played out entity.

By seeing the mind in this way, there is the avoidance of the conflation of the epistemological and the ontological. This conflation is specific within postmodern theorising, which adopts the position that there is no mind at all that exists independently of theories of socially constructed discourses that we use to describe them (Edwards et al., 1995). That is the notion that mind is but a construct in a theoretical system, removes the substantive requirement for ontology. However, if a realist stance is adopted, then it is necessary to assert that objects exist in the real world independently of what is thought about them. The mind exists regardless of whether anyone thinks or denies that the mind exists. In this case, the distinction between ontology and epistemology is primary. As Ackroyd and Fleetwood (2000, p.15) discuss,

> 'this ontology informs an approach to developing theory that seeks explanation as its goal. Explanation is conceived in terms of revealing the mechanisms which connect

things and events in causal sequences and requires the elaboration of structure mechanisms, powers and relations that alter the condition and the continually reproduced and/or transformed outcome of the human agency to be achieved'.

Despite considerable number of positive endorsements of critical realism, it must be pointed out, as with every position, it is has limitations. Most significantly is the notion of 'real' (Schostak, 2002). Whilst critical realism does provide a very good exposition of the relationship been the social world and the natural world, it does not fully tackle the assumptions made by the use of the word 'real'. Postmodernists are criticized by critical realists for having no notion of real and for being relativist. However, critical realists have been condemned for not acknowledging the symbolic processes underpinning the social world and how this relates to the difficulties in defining objective reality (Byrne, 2002). Indeed, Schostak (2002) goes on to argue that critical realism is in danger of ending dialogue by its conception of real. Critical realists present a definition of real which is definitively discovered, described and activated under definable conditions.

Nonetheless, critical realism does have a great deal to offer the study of identity, although not perfect, as Archer (2003) discovered, it allows a much more detailed exploration of the relationship between personal identities and social identities as it allows the discussion of both structurally emergent properties as well and culturally emergent properties. If we therefore recognize the potential problem with the notion of real and allow some acknowledgement of reflexivity in the research process (see Appendix V), critical realism is accomplished is allowing analytic dualism between structure and agency (Potter, 2003).

Although critical realism has its limitations, it provides the most valid ontology within which social identity can be addressed as it complies with the principles that have emerged from the last three chapters. Identity can be described as conscious (*acted identity*) and sub- or non-conscious (*internalised identity*), which emerges from the individual as a biological entity, yet it is modified by the social world.

5.4 Analysing the Data: Analytic Induction

The current research can be described as novel, both in terms of its theoretical and empirical approach to social identity and teamwork. It is therefore important to identify research tools and analytical frameworks rigorous enough to cope with such a fresh approach. Importantly, because the theoretical approach is progressive and, as yet untested, it is useful to have an analytic strategy capable of handling any redefinition of theory and methodology as the research progresses. Analytic induction (AI) allows the intensive examination of a strategically selected number of cases in order to establish empirically the causes of specific phenomena (Johnson, 1998). Fundamental to this approach is the readjustment of definitions, concepts, hypotheses and modes of data gathering as part of the research process (Manning, 1982). Although labelled 'induction', this technique is not strictly inductive because it is premised on an *a priori* understanding of the phenomenon under investigation and is compatible with a realist ontology. AI is a set of procedures which attempt to redefine and generate theory and methodological practice grounded in the observation of the empirical world. It rejects a purely deductive process in which conceptual and theoretical structure is entirely constructed prior to the observation, then tested through a cognitively accessible empirical world (Wallace, 1971).

AI was originally introduced by Florian Znaniecki (1934), who named it and systematised many of its associated ideas. However, Znaniecki was careful to note that the essence of AI has been used repeatedly throughout history, particularly in the physical sciences. In his discussion of procedures for generating categories from data, Znaniecki provided a formulation for practising AI. This was subsequently viewed as rather impractical (Johnson, 1998). Cressey (1953) re-formulated this rather complex and detailed description of AI in the form of six steps. These are:

1. A phenomenon is defined in a tentative manner
2. A hypothesis is developed around the phenomenon
3. A single instance is considered to determine if the hypothesis is confirmed
4. If the hypothesis fails to be confirmed either the phenomenon is redefined or the hypothesis is revised so as to include the instance examined

5. Additional cases are examined and, if the new hypothesis is repeatedly confirmed, some degree of certainty about the hypothesis results

6. Each negative case requires that the hypothesis be reformulated until there are no exceptions.
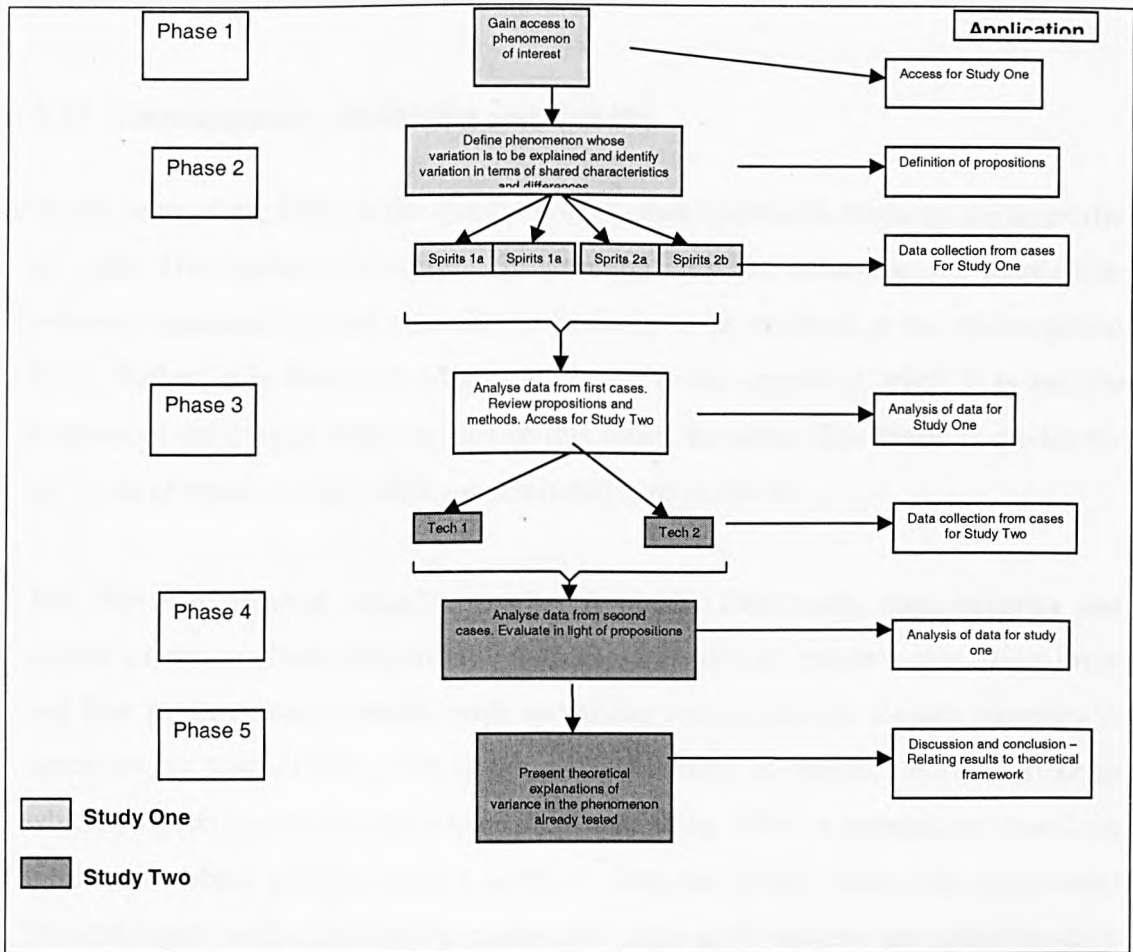
Figure 5: The research process: Adaptation of Bloor's approach to AI (from Bloor, M. (1976) 'Bishop Berkeley and the adenotonsillectomy enigma: an explanation in variation in the social construction of medical disposals.' *Sociology*, 10 (1), 43-61.

In response to criticisms by Robinson (1951), Bloor (1976) reformulated the approach to AI. He not only developed a mechanism which categorises the phenomena to be explained in terms of similarities and differences, but also rejected the need for specific hypotheses. By eliminating this need, he assumed more flexible *a priori* understandings of the phenomena under investigation. An adapted version of Bloor's approach to AI is used to guide data analysis in the current thesis. This is described and represented in Figure 5.

However, it is important to bear in mind that the choice of data analysis strategy was also pragmatic. AI allows the researcher to respond to the limitations of existing theory and methods and takes account of the extended timeframe and associated variations in methods adopted in this thesis.

5.4.1 Generalisability, Reliability and Validity

At the heart of the QQD is the question of whether qualitative methods are scientific or valid. This question, however - in common with the debate on the association between epistemology and method – is unlikely to be resolved at the philosophical level. Rather, it is based on pragmatic choice at the empirical level. It is not the purpose of the current work to resolve this issue, however. The thesis is guided by the work of others on the validity and reliability of methods.

The choice of method impacts on what Bonoma (1985) calls *data integrity* and *results currency*. *Data integrity* refers to those aspects of research that affect error and bias in the research results, such as validity and reliability. *Results currency is* described by Vogt (1993, p.99) as the generalisability of results, i.e. 'the extent to which you can come to conclusions about one thing (often a population) based on information about another (often a sample)'. Bonoma (1985) claims that positivistic methodologies such a laboratory studies and large scale surveys are higher in *data integrity* than the more qualitative research. However, qualitative research is higher in *results currency* because it has contextual relevance across measures, methods, paradigms, settings and time. In most research work the researcher tends to make a trade off between the two.

Fundamental to the process of AI is reliability. That is, the findings must be repeatable. Indeed, the data is analysed until there is consistency of findings. Furthermore, using AI as a method of data analysis increases validity as the process requires a large sample and a variety of methods of data collection that are constantly re-evaluated. As such, any findings should accurately reflect what is really happening in the research situation.

The use of a multiplicity of research approaches and methods in the same study – triangulation – also overcomes the potential bias and barrenness of a single-method approach. Denzin (1970, p. 277) argues that triangulation i.e. 'the combination of methodologies in the same phenomenon,' should, if the conclusions are same, lead to greater validity and reliability than a single methodological approach.

Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (1991) identify four types of triangulation:

- Data triangulation, where the data is collected at different times or from different sources in the study of a phenomenon
- Investigator triangulation, where different researchers independently collect data on the same phenomenon and compare the results
- Methodological triangulation, where both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection are used
- Triangulation of theories, where a theory is taken from one discipline and used to explain the phenomenon in another discipline

As independent research is central to a PhD thesis, the use of investigator triangulation is clearly unacceptable. However, the process of AI and the large number of teams being investigated (ten) clearly represents data triangulation. Methodological triangulation is addressed by the use of multiple methods. Inherent in the multidisciplinary nature of the research is the triangulation of theories.

5.5 Operationalising Paradigms, Theories and Positions: Study One

The aim of this thesis is to apply social identity theory as a means of understanding or resolving competing perspectives on teamwork. Hence, the concern is to construct a research design that allows for both the observation of identity operating at the team level and the impact on identities of organisational control structures.

To reflect the complexity and theoretical diversity of the issues under investigation, it is necessary to engage with a plurality of research methods, as briefly described previously (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). A pluralism of approaches will allow the

understanding of both the structural factors and the identity processes that the individual experiences – either on his or her own or through interactions with other team and organisational members. The team was used as the level of analysis throughout both Study One and Study Two. Many of the research tools required individual responses. This is consistent with research from a social identity perspective (e.g. Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Robinson, 1996) and a discourse approach to identity (e.g. Pottern, 1996; Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Where individual responses were required or solicited, it was with the approach of pragmatic individualism discussed in the previous chapter (Mills, 1959; Jenkins, 2004). That is, the individual was asked to reflect on or discuss his or her experiences and perceptions of collectiveness and collective phenomena.

Proposition	Method
Proposition 1: When working within a team environment, or reflecting on teamworking experiences, individuals present a salient aspect of their social identity, which can be interpreted as team identity	Focus Groups
Proposition 2: Team identity operates on two levels *acted identity* and *internalised identity*	Focus Groups
Proposition 3: *Acted* team identity takes the form of behaviours associated with the technical, normative and governance spheres of teamwork	Focus Groups and Survey
Proposition 4: Team identity (both *acted* and *internalised*) is affected by the structure of the team and processes within the team, e.g. the degree of interaction with other team members, perceived status of the team, and the location of the team compared with the employing organisation	Management Interviews and Focus Groups
Proposition 5: Team identity (both *acted* and *internalised*) is affected by the control structures imposed upon the team	Management Interviews, Focus Groups and Survey
Proposition 6: If team members accept the structures of control they will be more willing to develop *internalised* team identity	Focus Groups and Survey
Proposition 7: If team members cannot accept the structures of control, but have a level of self-interest in continuing to work within the team, they are likely develop *acted* team identity	Focus Groups and Survey

Table 4: The relationship between methods and propositions for Study One

The research techniques used are presented in detail, and in the sequence they were used, below. A summary of the way in which the various research techniques addressed the propositions is displayed in Table 4. The current section includes a discussion of the methods used for Study One. Modifications to the research tools

and process to be used in Study Two, which resulted from AI, are addressed in later sections.

TEAM	COMPANY	PLANT	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	NUMBER OF MALES IN TEAM
A	Manu 1	Spirits 1	9	1
B	Manu 1	Spirits 1	9	2
C	Manu 1	Spirits 2	10	0
D	Manu 1	Spirits 2	9	0
E	Manu 2	Spirits 3	5	1
F	Manu 2	Spirits 3	3	0
G	Manu 2	Spirits 4	10	4
H	Manu 2	Spirits 4	8	4
I	Manu 2	Spirits 4	8	3
J	Manu 2	Spirits 4	9	4

Table 5: The location, size and gender distribution of the Study One teams

Study One focused on 90 employees from 11 shop-floor teams working in bottling halls in the Scottish Spirits Industry (for details of the work process, see Appendix 1). There were two teams from each of the Manu 1 plants, Spirits 1 (labelled Teams A and B), and Spirits 2 (labelled, Teams C and D), plus two teams from Manu 2's Spirits 3 plant (labelled, teams E and F) and four teams from Manu 2's Spirits 4 plant (labelled teams G to J). The composition of these teams is displayed in Table 5. The fragile employee relations' situation in Spirits 4 made it impossible to exclude any of the teams working on the days the research was carried out - which is why there are four teams under examination in Spirits 4 and only two in the other plants.

Spirits 1 and 2 were the focus of a larger study in which the researcher was involved. The project was an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) funded project which was part of its Innovation Programme entitled 'The Manufacturing of Workplace Innovation' (Award Number L125251029[8]). This project examined the restructuring of work organisation and employment relations in the Scottish Spirits Industry. It ran from January 1996 until February 1999[9] and focused on both the development of networks of innovation through self-managing teams on the shop floor and collaborative support systems among managers. Some of the data collected for this thesis was separate from the data collected for the ESRC and associated

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[8] The members of the research team were Patricia Findlay, Alan McKinlay, Abigail Marks, Paul Thompson and Jim Hine.

projects. Other data used for this thesis was collected for the project, however the analysis and interpretation of the data – and the theoretical basis - is distinctly different.

5.5.1 Observation of Work

In order to gain an initial understanding of the work process and meet the participants, several days were spent in the research sites prior to the actual data collection. It was assumed this would improve the quality of the data (see Appendix VI). This period could be described as non-participant observation in that the researcher was able to study the normal behaviours of people in their work environments. However, if it is overt, even non-participant observation can impact on the research process. In many cases researchers who were supposedly at pains to remain complete observers have found themselves participating in and changing the outcome of the research. The most potent example of this phenomenon can be found in the Hawthorne studies (see Roethisberger and Dickson, 1939) where the productivity of the employees in the Hawthorne works of the Western Electric Company in Chicago increased because they realised they were being observed. As the relationship between the researcher and those being researched develops, so levels of mutual disclosure also develop – often to a point where the research becomes overt and the responses much less guarded. In this kind of situation it is the responsibility of the researcher to understand the reality of power dynamics in the research process. This process of observation was undertaken with sensitivity to the participants and sensitivity to the potential impact on results.

However, the benefits of observation for the current research outweigh the disadvantages. Nason and Golding (1998) argue that observation can provide very valuable data over a period of time. In accordance with the principles of data triangulation, observation can improve the validity of the dataset as a whole. Moreover, observation can also increase the validity of the data as participants can clarify issues which appear unclear to the researcher.

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[9] The project initially ran for two years, but was extended for another 13 months and funded by contributions from the two

5.5.2 Semi-Structured Interviews with Managers

Bresnen (1988) suggests that at the beginning of an empirical investigation it is important to understand the general characteristics of the research object. In addition to observation for this thesis, it was also essential to appreciate the rationales for team composition (e.g. whether they were created to combine specific individuals according to experience, personality, skill levels etc), the location of the team in the organisational hierarchy, reward and career schemes and organisational mechanisms and strategies used to control employees.

Hence, semi-structured interviews were undertaken with thirteen managers from Manu 1 and five managers from Manu 2. Further details of the participants in these interviews can be found in Table 6. In order to gain a breadth of perspectives and information, interviews were undertaken with a range of managers at different levels, with a variety of functional responsibilities and located throughout the research sites. By interviewing a number of participants in each company it was also possible to improve the generalisability of the findings, at least across the individual organisations. The interviews broadly focused on the relevant change programmes, the introduction of teamwork and employees' attitude to teamwork.

Semi-structured interviewing provides greater flexibility than the conventional structured interview, survey or questionnaire, as the researcher is able to follow up particularly interesting avenues emerging in the interview and the respondent is able to provide a fuller picture (Bresnen, 1988; Bryman, 1989; Smith, 1995). This technique also allows the richness of the themes emerging from interviews to be captured rather than reduced to quantitative categories of the type seen in questionnaires. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim and then proof read to check the accuracy of the transcription.

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organisations being studied

ORGANISATION	POSITION	SITE
Manu 1	Organisational Development Manager	Head Office
Manu 1	HR Director	Head Office
Manu 1	Commercial Director	Head Office
Manu 1	Director of Material Supply	Head Office
Manu 1	Director of Production	Spirits 1
Manu 1	Technical Director	Head Office
Manu 1	Employee Development & Communications Manager	Spirits 1
Manu 1	General Manager	Spirits 2
Manu 1	Team Leader/Personnel Officer	Spirits 2
Manu 1	Managing Director – Operations	Head Office
Manu 1	Production Manager	Head Office
Manu 1	Human Resources Director	Head Office
Manu 1	Personnel Manager	Spirits 1
Manu 2	Director of Production	Sprits 3
Manu 2	Head of Logistics	Head Office
Manu 2	General Manger	Spirits 4
Manu 2	HR Director	Spirits 4
Manu 2	Managing Director	Head Office

Table 6: Details of management interviews for Study One

The transcripts were then analysed for keywords and phrases and common themes across cases. This is a form of content analysis, a technique social psychologists have traditionally used to deal with qualitative data (Holsti, 1968; Lindkivist, 1981). Although the generation of categories and themes implicit in content analysis may not be ideal for understanding some of the subtleties of the discourse in the interviews, the method gave this study an understanding of the broader culture and work structures in the organisations.

5.5.3 Focus Groups with Team Members

The original research design included the use of semi-structured interviews with team members. However, because the organisational change programmes in both companies had led to all teams operating with skeleton crews; access to the teams was possible only during periods of down time when line maintenance work was being undertaken. It was decided, therefore, to adopt a focus group methodology, running group sessions with either half the team or the whole team depending on its size. For the smallest teams, (E and F) one focus group was held. For the remainder, either one or two focus groups were organised depending on availability and access to team members. Each focus group lasted approximately one hour.

Focus groups are a useful tool for looking at team identity. They are a valuable for gaining insights into shared understandings and beliefs, while still allowing individuals to voice differences of opinion. They also allow participants to hear the views and experiences of their peers and prompt reflection on their own experiences and thoughts (Morgan, 1993; Steyaert and Bouwen, 1994).

Overall, twelve focus groups were run. Each group had between three and seven participants. As such, the operationalisation of the focus groups adhered to Brown's (1999) recommendations that groups have three to ten participants and sessions last one to two hours. Fewer than three participants limits the interaction and dynamics of the group and more than ten participants can prevent quieter members from having 'airtime' to express their views.

The greatest challenge in running focus groups is moderating them. Good moderators require both observational and facilitation skills to allow all participants to engage in the discussion. They also need to promote lively interchange and be able to temper conflict while following the interview schedule (Brown, 1999). All participants should be allowed to express their views but moderators have to be able to explore whether or not the participants share similar perspectives. In this instance the main focus was on teamwork and identification and it was useful to have the same moderator – myself - for all focus groups as it enabled standardisation across cases.

Essential to the focus group method is the careful development of a semi-structured interview schedule (Steyaert and Bouwen, 1994). The interview schedule is reproduced in Appendix 2. The questions were divided into two sections. The first section was concerned with the day-to-day practice of teamwork (*acted identity*). The second was much broader in scope. It explored general issues surrounding the change programmes and went on to focus in detail on people's attachment and attitudes towards the team (*internalised identity*).

It is important to start focus groups with a broad open-ended question (Brown, 1999). Based on the assumption that management used teams to satisfy technical, normative and governance requirements, three introductory questions were asked:

1. Why do you think management introduced teamworking?
2. What kind of knowledge and skills do you think management is looking for in team members?
3. Do you think that management wants you to have a different attitude towards your work now that you are working in a team?

Morgan (1998) believes that interview schedules help 'negotiate the terrain' in focus groups. More structured guides give precise answers to the questions, while less structured schedules and groups help to reveal the perspectives of the groups' participants. In order to disentangle team identity, the discussion centred on the broad theme of attachment to the group. Prompts or probes were used to obtain further explanation or detail on the topic. These included questions such as 'Can you explain in more detail?', 'Can you give an example?' or 'How did that make you feel?'. Employees were then asked about the behaviours required of them. These questions were generally framed in the language of Thompson and Wallace's (1996), and Findlay et al.'s (2000a, 2000b) team competencies. Prompts were again used to explore further the meaning behind these practices.

As with the management interviews, the focus groups were all recorded on audio-tape and transcribed verbatim. Keywords, phrases and common themes were identified across the teams as part of the analysis. Where possible, each team member was identified in the transcript by a letter (e.g. team member a, team member b, etc). In some cases it was difficult to distinguish between employees' voices because most were female and those belonging to the same plants tended to have similar regional accents. Where quotes presented in the text provide examples of the same issue, care was taken to ensure that they came from a variety of team members.

It should, however, be noted that focus groups are subject to the same process concerns as any other group situation. That is, Janis's groupthink (1972) is as applicable to focus groups as it is to workteams and project teams. It is important to be aware that members of a focus group may attach themselves to the first opinions that are offered for discussion and not explore alterative ideas. Moreover, as with Persuasive Arguments Theory (Burnstein and Vinkur, 1973) and Social Comparison Theory (Myers and Lamm, 1976), focus group members may be influenced more strongly by dominant group members and react in a way that they perceive is desirable to the focus group moderator. For the current research, in order to verify that the identities portrayed by the focus groups were accurate, the information generated was compared to that acquired during the observation process (see Appendix VI).

5.5.3.4 Assessing Identity from Qualitative Data

It has already been noted that there are a limited number of empirical studies examining identity from a social identity perspective and even fewer that use qualitative methods. As a result, careful consideration must be given to finding ideas and themes representing identity. *Acted identity* is easier to interpret than *internalised identity*. The assumption is that *acted identity* is performed in the normative, governance and technical domains. It is therefore anticipated that any explicit discussion of a conscious performance of competencies in these categories shows some level of *acted identity* or *acted identification*. When team members explained their behaviour and justified it in terms of teamwork practice, it was seen as further evidence of *acted identity*. Accessing information that demonstrates *internalised identification* is more problematic

In the first instance, it was assumed that five central themes or behaviours would embody or typify *internalised identity* or *internalised identification*. These were adopted as markers in the content analysis. Hence, when the data was analysed and reported, these were the topics sought out. These key matters were: explicit

discussion of identity and attachment, use of collective language, humour and banter, effective communication and, finally, social interaction and social activities.

Despite the fact that the term identity was rarely used in the content of the questions in the focus groups in Study One (and interviews in Study Two), explicit reference to identity was sometimes made by participants. However, it was more common for people to use collective pronouns rather than use the term 'identity' openly. Many writers focused on the use of the pronoun as a way of expressing proximity between individuals and other entities (e.g. Goffman, 1959; Harré 1989, Malone, 1997). However, Rousseau (1998) cites Robert Reich and what he describes as 'the pronoun test' - a strategy for evaluating identity in the companies he visited as the U.S. Secretary of Labour during the first Clinton Administration;

> 'I'd say, 'tell me about the company'. If the person said 'we' or 'us' I knew people were strongly attached to the organisation. If it was 'they' or 'them', I knew there was less of a sense of linkage' (Reich, 1997).

This approach in part forms the basis of much of the quantitative work on identity. That is, explicit reference to oneself in terms of the collective is used as the basis for many of the scales that measure identity (e.g. Ashforth and Mael, 1989). To use an entirely quantitative approach, however, is to overlook the antecedents and subtleties of the identification process. The communication process provides one key mechanism for fostering group development which cannot be explored by statistics alone (Putnam, 1983).

A more specific form of communication – humour - has been shown to be a potent and pervasive communication medium for fostering a sense of belonging and meaning (Terrion and Ashforth, 2002). Yet, the use of humour in organisations tends either to be viewed in a functionalist or interactionist way. The functionalist approach can be seen in managers using light-hearted banter as a means to promote organisational goals (e.g. Morreall, 1991) and in employees using humour as a form of resistance (e.g. Taylor and Bain, 2003). The interactionist perspective views

reality as linguistic construction and sees humour as a means by which reality is created through social action (Heidegger, 1959).

The use of humour is not the central focus of this thesis. It may be helpful, though, to summarise briefly how other researchers have examined humour and its usefulness for examining identity. Holdaway (1988) undertook a two-year study of the police in the UK. He concluded that the police often use humour to help define and maintain their reality and build cohesion. Moreover, Fox. (1990), as a participant observer, found humour could be a device for exploring and constructing definitions of reality. However, Holdaway's research is consistent with studies in other organisational settings in its finding that humour helps individuals define situations and normative experiences and express latent tensions in a non-threatening manner (e.g. Hatch, 1997; Linstead, 1988). Hence, humour fosters and negotiates shared identities.

Other research has suggested that humour can work against group identity and solidarity. Putdown humour (deriving humour at the expense of someone else through demeaning jokes, insults, taunting, sarcasm or self-depreciation remarks), in particular, has been found to have a negative effect on group development and to impair group bonds rather than strengthen them (e.g. Duncan et al., 1990).

Yet, Alberts (1992) and Gruner (1997) argue that putdown humour may not always be offensive and, when the framework is clear, can even allow interpersonal bonds to develop. From a social identity perspective, Terrion and Ashforth (2002), found what they called 'exclusionary' putdown humour to facilitate solidarity. That is, when a shared set of rules regarding its use is created, even putdown humour can facilitate and demonstrate strong group identity. In the current work, humour (including putdowns) was examined in context. It was considered to represent a salient team identity unless there were explicit clues indicating it was being used as a form of social barring.

Humour is used for a variety of functions in everyday social interaction. It frequently serves as means of expressing friendship. It would therefore be expected that those

groups that 'laughed' together also socialised together. There is surprisingly limited work on this subject. However, Sawyer and Guinan (1998) suggest that, for knowledge-intensive workers, the extent to which socialisation outside work occurs reflects the salience of identity in a group. It is therefore assumed that any form of informal (that is not defined by the organisation) collective social activity represents *internalised identification*.

5.5.4 Team Member Questionnaire

As part of the process of triangulation, a questionnaire survey was designed to assess the degree to which team members were satisfied with the performance of *acted identity* in their team. Although this work is predominantly qualitative, it was felt that a brief questionnaire for all participants would help produce a better understanding of identity. The questionnaires consisted solely of the questions listed in Table 7 and were distributed after the focus groups - hence the 100% response rate. As the researcher was present in the room at the time of distribution, it would have compromised the anonymity and confidentially assured to participants if the survey had included questions on age, length of employment etc.

The questions were developed on the basis of the competencies for teamwork (Figure 3) produced by Findlay et al. (2000a, 2000b) from the TDM. Each question was based on one of the nine competencies listed in Figure 3. Findlay et al. (2000a), and other writers (e.g. McCabe, 2000) have associated these competencies with managerial requirements for teamwork. Hence, they were seen to form the core behaviours for *acted identity*. Once the questions were developed they were piloted on employees working in a small manufacturing plant just outside Edinburgh. Any questions that were seen as confusing were subsequently changed.

The nine statements in the survey again focused on the governance, normative and technical dimensions of teamwork (labelled, G, N, and T accordingly in Table 7). All statements were prefaced by the question: 'in your work is it important for you personally to be able to....?' Participants responded to the statements by circling the

statement that best agreed with their position on a five point Likert scale from 'Yes, Definitely' to 'No, Definitely Not'.

		Yes, Definitely		Uncertain		No, Definitely Not
1	Move between a range of tasks (T)	1	2	3	4	5
2	Continue to learn about the tasks that you perform and to develop new skills (T)	1	2	3	4	5
3	Use your knowledge to help solve problems (T)	1	2	3	4	5
4	Trust the other members of your team (N)	1	2	3	4	5
5	'Chat' informally with other team members (N)	1	2	3	4	5
6	Accept responsibility for your own tasks and give and receive support from others (N)	1	2	3	4	5
7	Exchange information and give and receive feedback from other team members (G)	1	2	3	4	5
8	Take part in the making of decisions (G)	1	2	3	4	5
9	Help co-ordinate and take a leading role in certain team activities (G)	1	2	3	4	5

Table 7: Study One survey questions on *acted identity*

The returned questionnaires were coded and analysed using the statistical package for the social sciences SPSSx version 12. The use of this package would have made it relatively easy to apply a number of statistical tests on the data generated. However, with an overall sample of 92 employees spread among a number of teams, advanced analysis would have little meaning. As such, the analysis was left as an examination of means and frequencies in the form of a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and a Bonferroni post hoc test. Differences between the teams were analysed by collating the responses for the three statements representing each dimension of teamwork. The responses were also analysed together to establish an overall measure for each team.

For both Study One and Study Two it was felt that undertaking confirmatory factor analysis or any examination of internal reliability would not provide meaningful results for such a small sample. However, as all results were being triangulated, the

findings from the survey data were validated by the focus group and interview responses. Similarly, it is acknowledged that for a proper use of a one-way ANOVA, the number of observations should be larger than $a + 10$, where a is the number of levels of repeated measures (Maxwell & Delaney, 1990). Hence the survey findings again require validation from the qualitative results.

A one-way ANOVA is a statistical test performed to determine whether there is a reliable (statistically significant) difference between three or more means. The procedure involves calculating a test statistic called 'F'. The larger the F value the more likely it is that the difference between the means is reliable. For this study, as with most applied social science, a probability of $P \leq 0.05$ is the lowest that is accepted. That is, there is less than a 5% probability that the result occurred by chance.

However, a significant F value shows only that the aggregate difference among the means of the several samples is significantly greater than zero. It does not explain whether any one sample mean is significantly different from any other. In order to establish which pairs of means differ significantly, a two-sample t test for each pair could be performed. However, when several means are tested pair wise, the probability of finding one significant difference by chance alone increases rapidly with the number of pairs. That is why a post hoc test needs to be applied. The Bonferroni test is probably the most common post hoc test used in social sciences. It identifies where the differences between cases lie and the statistical significance of the differences[10].

5.6 Rethinking Research Design and Propositions: Study Two

One of the principles of AI is the opportunity to refine and redefine the research aims, propositions and methods following analysis of the first cases. Without entering into too much discussion on the nature of the results of Study One, it was

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[10] There are of course further issues associated with statistical testing including Type 1 vs. Type 11 errors, power of relative tests etc. However, since this research is predominantly qualitative and is not working within a positivistic framework, discussion of these factors is seen to have limited relevance.

found that the propositions provided an acceptable platform for defining and understanding the research. However, the one dimension which was problematic in terms of both method and theory was the use of the questionnaire as a way of accessing *acted identity*. Although the results were, on the whole, interesting, they were less precise than anticipated. There was a broad consistency between the qualitative findings and quantitative findings, but the congruence was not as good as hoped. For Study Two this research instrument was revised.

Proposition	Method
Proposition 1: When working within a team environment, or reflecting on teamworking experiences, individuals present a salient aspect of their social identity, which can be interpreted as team identity	Team questionnaire, semi-structured interviews
Proposition 2: Team identity operates on two levels *acted identity* and *internalised identity*	Team questionnaire, semi-structured interviews
Proposition 3: *Acted* team *identity* takes the form of behaviours associated with the technical, normative and governance spheres of teamwork	Team questionnaire, semi-structured interviews
Proposition 4: Team identity (both *acted* and *internalised*) is affected by the structure of the team and processes within the team, e.g. the degree of interaction with other team members, perceived status of the team, and the location of the team compared with the employing organisation	Management Interviews, Team questionnaire, semi-structured interviews
Proposition 5: Team identity (both *acted* and *internalised*) is affected by the control structures imposed upon the team	Team questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, management interviews
Proposition 6: If team members accept the structures of control they will be more willing to develop *internalised* team *identity*	Team questionnaire, semi-structured interviews
Proposition 7: If team members cannot accept the structures of control, but have a level of self-interest in continuing to work within the team, they are likely develop *acted* team *identity*	Team questionnaire, semi-structured interviews
Proposition 8: If team members are hindered in their opportunity to perform *acted identity*, this will lead to negative perceptions of teamwork and the organisation	Team questionnaire, semi-structured interviews[11]

Table 8: The relationship between methods and propositions for Study Two

Furthermore, because of the nature of the industry and work processes in Study Two, changes in other methods were also necessary. Neither organisation in this study would allow access to full teams or even half teams at any one time. As a result the information on teamwork practice and identity collected by focus group in Study One was collected by semi-structured one to one interviews and open ended survey questions in Study Two. Although some may argue that changes in methods at this stage is not ideal, it as a natural process in AI and other iterative research designs. A summary of how the research tools were amended to address the propositions is displayed in Table 8.

Study Two examined two dedicated software houses located in Scotland's Central Belt. All team members were software developers, software programmers, software analysts or testers. The first, Tech 1, is one of the largest independent Scottish-based software houses and, at the time of the research, operated from one main site in Scotland and another in southern England (about 250 employees in total). They specialise in IT services and solutions, predominantly for the public sector, including applications development, knowledge management, resourcing, testing and client support. Work in Tech 1 is organised around project teams. Projects vary in duration from two or three months to several years. However, the dominant pattern is that the off site teams are involved in the longer term projects, or maintenance initiatives spanning extensive periods, while the projects based at head office tend to be shorter in duration, with almost all the team members involved to a greater or lesser degree throughout the life of the project. The three teams examined in Tech 1 (teams L to N) comprised eight to fourteen members each. Within these teams, the majority of team members worked on their projects on a nearly full-time basis.

Tech 2 produced software for law firms. The products were either sold as 'stand alone' goods or linked to other business applications. The organisation had around 57 employees at the time of the study and intended to expand. Of these employees, eleven were software developers, programmers and systems analysts and three were quality analysts in supporting and testing roles. There were also two sales staff based

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[11] This proposition was added as the result of findings from Study One

in the south of England. The business is divided evenly between England and Scotland, with additional clients in Wales, Eire and Nairobi. Because the company was relatively small, only one team was examined. This team (team O) had ten members who spent most of their working day on one specific project. The details of the composition and size of the teams examined in Study Two are displayed in Table 9.

Team	Company	Number of Members	Head Office or Client Site	Average Tenure in Team (in Months)	Gender
L	Tech 1	16	Head Office	24	10 Male 6 Female
M	Tech 1	11	Client Site	16	6 Male 5 Female
N	Tech 1	8	Client Site	52	2 Male 6 Female
O	Tech 2	10	Head Office	23	6 Male 4 Female

Table 9: Composition and location of teams in Study Two

Both Tech 1 and Tech 2 were also case study organisations in a larger ESRC funded Future of Work project with which the researcher was involved. Access to the teams was therefore easy to organise. Some familiarity with the organisations also made the research process easier. The ESRC project (Award number L212252006[12]), undertaken between January 1999 and January 2002, focused on the nature of employment and the experience of work in two relatively new and fast growing sectors - call centres and software development. The project examined employees' experiences of work and employment, focusing in particular on patterns of recruitment and retention, pay and rewards, and work organisation and control. The central aim was to go beyond the boundaries of the workplace to develop an understanding of the ways in which household, social networks and locality impact on the meaning of work.

Participation in the Future of Work project afforded access to other software organisations outwith the current study. This was essential not only for piloting the research instruments for this thesis, but also for gaining a more detailed

understanding of the nature of software work. The survey instruments were piloted in the software division of a large telecommunications organisation. As before, any questions that were seen as confusing were amended. As with Study One, some of the data collected for this thesis was separate from the data collected for the ESRC and associated projects. Other data used for this thesis was collected for the project, however the analysis and interpretation of the data – and the theoretical basis - is distinctly different.

5.6.1 Semi-Structured Interviews and Team Member Questionnaires in Study Two

Once again, a number of hour long, semi-structured interviews were undertaken with management in order to understand the organisational structure (5 in Tech 1 and 2 in Tech 2). Further details of the participants in these interviews and the team member interviews can be found in Table 10. Both the managers interviewed for background information and the team members interviewed were selected to provide diversity and perspective in seniority, function, gender and age variation.

At least a third of the members of each team were interviewed about their experience of work and teamwork (21 interviews in total). These interviews focused on broad career choices as well as each team members' experience of day to day work and issues of attachment and interaction in the team. This enabled employees to contrast their practice of teamwork within their existing organisation to previous work experiences. Six interviews were conducted with Team L, four interviews each with Teams M and N and seven interviews with Team O. Each interview took between forty five minutes and an hour. The full interview schedule appears in Appendix 3.

To ensure access to all team members (and methodological triangulation) all forty five participants were issued with a team questionnaire (see Appendix 4). Seven open ended questions attempted to elicit an understanding of the nature and practice of

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[12] Members of the full research team were: The late Harvie Ramsay, Peter Bain, Chris Baldry, Dirk Bunzel, Nick Bozionelos, Kay Gilbert, Gregor Gall, Jeff Hyman, Cliff Lockyer, Abigail Marks, Gareth Mulvey, Dora Scholarios, Phil Taylor, Aileen Watson.

identification with the team in terms of the normative, technical and governance dimensions of teamwork.

Interview type Management (M) Team Member (T)	Job title	Gender M/F	Organisation	Team
1. M	Managing Director	F	Tech1	
2. M	Business Manager	F	Tech 1	
3. M	HR Manager	F	Tech 1	
4. M	Business Manager	M	Tech 1	
5. M	Marketing Director	M	Tech 1	
6. M	Technical Services Manager	M	Tech 2	
7. M	HR Director	F	Tech 2	
8. T	Senior Systems Builder	M	Tech 1	L
9. T	Senior Systems Builder	F	Tech 1	L
10. T	Software Developer	F	Tech 1	L
11. T	Business Manager	M	Tech 1	L
12. T	Software Developer	M	Tech 1	L
13. T	Tester	F	Tech 1	L
14. T	Systems Tester	F	Tech 1	M
15. T	Software Analyst	M	Tech 1	M
16. T	Team Leader	F	Tech 1	M
17. T	Systems Analyst	F	Tech 1	M
18. T	Systems Builder	M	Tech 1	N
19. T	Senior Systems Builder	F	Tech 1	N
20. T	Senior Systems Builder	F	Tech 1	N
21. T	Developer	M	Tech 1	N
22. T	Software Programmer	F	Tech 2	O
23. T	Software Developer	M	Tech 2	O
24. T	Software Team Leader	M	Tech 2	O
25. T	Software Development Manager	M	Tech 2	O
26. T	Implementation Consultant	F	Tech 2	O
27. T	Software Developer	F	Tech 2	O
28. T	Software Programmer	M	Tech 2	O

Table 10: Details of Study Two interviews

The interview questions followed a similar theme to those asked in the focus groups in Study One. Similarly, these questions were analysed by looking for themes across cases. As with the focus groups in Study One, key themes were identified in the data which arose from the interviews and open survey ended questions. Particular attention was paid to examples of humour, the use of collective pronouns, socialisation, communication and the use of the term 'identity'.

The other section in the teamwork questionnaire was intended to be a more 'sophisticated' method of examining *acted identity* in teams (Table 11). Again, questions focused on the normative, governance and technical dimension of teamwork. The purpose of this section was to improve on the survey measure in Study One. The statements generated were, again, based on Findlay et al.'s (2000a, 2000b) teamwork competencies. However, to arrive at the final survey measure, this data was augmented with information from Study One and the pilot for Study Two. In a further development, the focus of these statements was on the observation and evaluation of *acted identity* for other team members, rather than evaluation of employees' own behaviour found in the Study One team survey.

a. Do you expect the following from other members of your team? Please rank the 5 most important in order of importance. 1 is the most important.	Rank from 1 to 5		b. Does your current team meet these expectations? Please circle the number, which best describes whether your expectations are met, for **all** the statements.				
			Not at all				Fully
Support with work problems (T)			1	2	3	4	5
Flexibility with working arrangements (T and G)			1	2	3	4	5
Good attendance (N)			1	2	3	4	5
Competence (T)			1	2	3	4	5
Acceptance of fair share of work load (G)			1	2	3	4	5
Support with personal problems (N)			1	2	3	4	5
Loyalty (N)			1	2	3	4	5
Friendliness (N)			1	2	3	4	5
Sharing of work related information (G)			1	2	3	4	5

Table 11: Measures for *acted identity* in Study Two

The factors required for successful teamwork were again separated into the Technical, Normative and Governance dimensions of teamwork (labelled, T, N and G respectively in Table 11). It was felt that flexibility in working arrangements fell into both the governance and technical domains. The understanding of what managers and team members in the software industry viewed as important for teamwork made a further adaptation of the original survey instrument necessary. As one of the aims of this work was to look at collective behaviours and understandings in terms of identity, it was also considered valuable to explore employees' expectations of fellow team members. This comprised the first part of the

quantitative measure. In the second section, employees were asked to report their levels of satisfaction with other team members' behaviours by responding to the list of statements.

In the first part of the questionnaire, only those statements ranked in the top three in any response were included. As the teams were relatively small, there would be limited validity or generalisability if each response were looked at in terms of individual ranking. Hence, the percentage in each team that had ranked the statement in the top three in terms of importance was the basis for analysis of the data. The results of the second part of the survey were analysed using SPSS (again using means to display the data) at a team level. This was to test for any similarities in identification between teams. As with Study One, the data was interrogated using ANOVA and Bonferroni tests. Unlike Study One, however, each statement was examined individually rather than being collated into the Technical, Normative and Governance domains. This was due to the crossover of one of the statements between domains.

5.7 Limitations and Concluding Comments

The aim of this chapter is to reconcile the research problematic identified in the previous chapters with the methods available to study the research propositions. The thesis involves the assimilation of many theoretical perspectives which are engaged in an equally large number of philosophical schools. Any method of study not only has to reconcile these positions but also adopt an ontology and epistemology in accordance with the theoretical postulations relevant to the work. For the purposes of this thesis, the most appropriate position to adopt is critical realism. This ontological position acknowledges the role of both structure and agency in identity formation, and therefore conforms to one of the beliefs central to this work - that identity is formed by a combination of organisational practices and structures and individuals' experiences and predispositions.

Critical realism, however, makes no prescriptions as to which research tools should be adopted. Consequently, a plurality of research methods were used, both to ensure

data was valid, reliable and generalisable and to allow for the exploratory nature of the studies. AI was adopted in order to identify themes across the data and facilitate revision of theory and methods. Since the areas explored in this thesis were hitherto uncharted territory, it follows that no accepted analytical tools or methods for the subjects under investigation. AI is a responsive technique that accommodated both the experimental nature of the research and the inevitable development to theory and methods that occurred over the two studies.

For some, the overall approach could be considered to be a case of methodological pragmatism (Rabinowitz, and Weseen, 2001). It may be argued that the use of fewer research tools involving greater replication over cases would have been preferable. An alternative view is that the research methods adopted were entirely compatible with the aims and ontological position of the current work. However, despite some necessary amendments to the research tools, the following two chapters are testament to the usefulness of both AI as a data analysis technique and the broad principles of the methodological choice.

Nonetheless themes emerge throughout the analysis which transcend the boundaries of specific research instruments. It can therefore be argued that the research was successful in reconciling the issues of theory, epistemology, ontology and research methods. Importantly, it also succeeded in providing a comprehensive picture of team level identity and its formation. The next two chapters present the findings of Study One and Study Two respectively, and start to unravel the ways in which team level identity is created and how it manifests itself in practice.

CHAPTER SIX: STUDY ONE

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the empirical data collected from the ten teams investigated within the two manufacturing organisations (Manu 1 and Manu 2). A representation of how the team codes relate to the four plants (Spirits 1 to Spirits 4) and the organisations is displayed in Figure 6. This chapter commences with a discussion based on company documentation and management interviews as a way of understanding how the respective organisational change agendas informed and impacted upon teams and team processes. The description of data addresses the research propositions stated in the previous chapter by firstly providing a general account of identity and variations in identity across the teams. Both the quantitative and qualitative data from each team are then employed to present a picture of identity and its relationship with mechanisms of control on a team by team basis. There are however, two exceptions this process; Team F and Team I. There is no focus group data available for either of these teams for reasons that are described below.

The reporting of the interviews, focus groups and survey data also serve as an important framework for examining the propositions and key issues identified from the literature in previous chapters. This data cannot be reported in its entirety, but is summarised below in terms of emergent themes. Each extract or quote drawn upon within this chapter is labelled according to the organisation, site and team within which the participant is based. Managers are also accredited with their functional responsibility. The gender, age and specific focus group from which the data are drawn are not identified. The majority of participants within this study were female. The organisations would not permit the acquisition of data in terms of age, salary and length of time working in the organisation, so this information is generally not reported. Although there was an attempt made to discover the longevity of each team this was problematic due to variations in team membership. Where the length of time

that the team has been together is viewed as being essential to the analysis or discussion it is noted.[13]

The data are presented in a predominantly descriptive way that will ultimately feed into the analysis and interpretations with regard the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis in Chapter Eight. However, the final section of this chapter provides an interim summary of the findings from Study One in order to reflect upon the usefulness of the propositions in a manner that is appropriate to analytic induction.
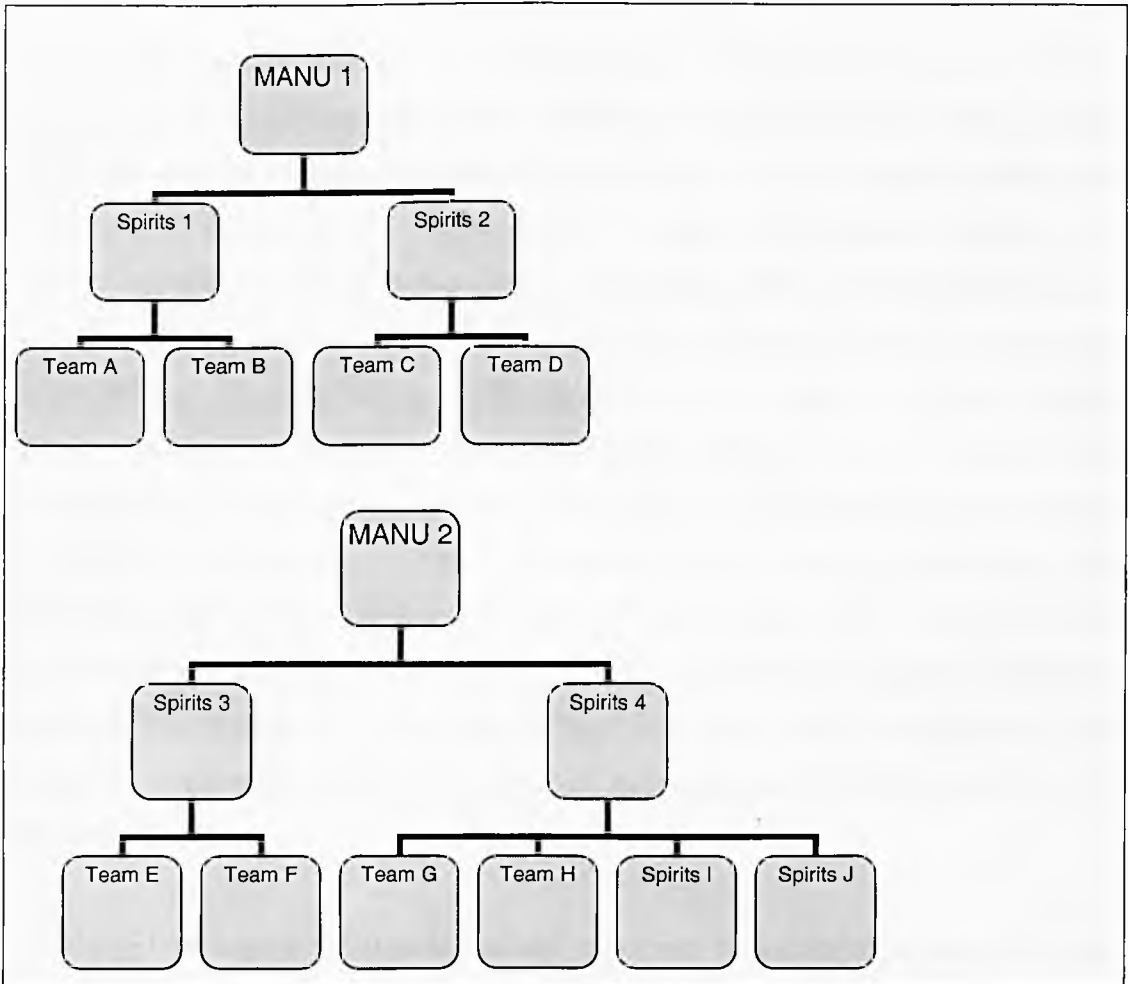
Figure 6: The location of the teams within the Study One organisations

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[13] All participants in both studies were ensured anonymity. They were are reassured to the confidential nature of the data

6.2 The Change Programmes

As noted in the previous chapter, both Manu 1 and Manu 2 introduced teamworking as part of a broader change agenda. Hence, is important to explain and assess the change programmes and their impact on the types of teams and mechanism of teamwork within the two organisations. Indeed, the change programmes themselves, *Manufacturing Excellence* (Manu 1) and *Strategic Results* (Manu 2), can be contrasted across a range of indices.

Manufacturing Excellence (1994 onwards) was intended to provide the structural and cultural framing for a process of rationalisation and capital investment, and to provide the focus and impetus to force modernisation at an operational level. Manu 1 pursued a holistic vision of strategic organisational change in which building and shifting the culture of the organisation was seen as being as important to competitiveness as economic calculation. In contrast, Manu 2's *Strategic Results* (1995 onwards) was not part of a picture of continuous evolution through an organisational change programme. *Strategic Results* was solely a strategic change process focusing on operational issues rather than culture change. It exposed the organisation's inadequacies to the most senior level of the corporate board, a forum dominated by questions of brand management and financial engineering, not operational efficiency. *Strategic Results* eventually gave way to the *Towards Partnership* initiative (1997 onwards) which, as its very name suggests, sought to establish the managerial and industrial relations infrastructure incorporating the necessary preconditions for the success of a programme with the objectives of *Strategic Results*.

In Manu 1 reshaping the institutions and processes of industrial relations was an integral element of *Manufacturing Excellence*, a quite different approach from that of Manu 2. After a period of plant closures and redundancies the idea of a closer relationship with the unions was central to the *Manufacturing Excellence* initiative and to the subsequent development of *Encouraging Partnership* in Manu 1. There had been no union involvement of any kind in the plant closure decisions and, despite consultations after the decision was announced, the unions were unable to

influence the numbers of employees involved or the redundancy package on offer (which was, however, substantial). Whilst concerns about job security meant that there was little will to fight the closures, employee morale and trust relations were significantly affected, particularly since the workforce at one of the plants to be closed had been extremely co-operative and compliant in changes in work organisation.

However, despite the difficult context, union officials and stewards claim that the initial response of employees to the substance of *Manufacturing Excellence* was favourable: whilst employees appear to have been unaware of the extent of line inefficiencies within the company, they were supportive of attempts to improve competitiveness, particularly owing to fears that the company would consider the bulk export of whisky to be bottled on site elsewhere.

Strategic Results foundered precisely because, in a company where communications strategy was in part reliant on union intermediaries, management pursued a change agenda without any union collaboration or consultation. Embracing culture change from the shopfloor to the boardroom was a key part of Manu 1's drive for improved competitiveness. But in Manu 2 the fragmented nature of managerial decision-making and the discontinuities in priorities between operational and executive levels relegated shopfloor cultural change to a residual issue for corporate executives. In both companies similar economic calculations were made about routes to competitive advantage; only Manu 1, however, regarded employees and the culture of the organisation as equal in importance to economic capital in determining competitiveness.

Those responsible for the change programmes differed significantly between the two organisations. Manu 1's change programme was devised and managed by a group of managers recruited specifically for the purpose, or selected from a complete reassessment of the existing management population. Managers were recruited on the basis of personal experience of managing major cultural change programmes. In this respect, the operations director represented the class of manager recruited right

across the business. He specifically brought the issue of the requirement for operational change to the boardroom.

(He) was a huge step forward for the company. Previous Heads of Operations have been finance guys who knew nothing about it, they could have talked until they were blue in the face, but nobody listened to them....... (the Head of Operations) actually knows something about it (Manu 1, Head Office, Director of Material Supply)

However, the content of *Manufacturing Excellence* was conceived by the entire senior operational executive team, which spent eighteen months in meetings, facilitated by consultants, until they arrived at a consensus concerning the character and content of *Manufacturing Excellence*. This period constituted both a crucial learning period for senior managers and an intensive socialisation into the new expectations of Manu 1 managers. From these meetings a number of characteristics of *Manufacturing Excellence* emerged. The most notable was the brightly coloured *Manufacturing Excellence* wheel, which provided a banner and signpost representing the content of the change programme, prioritising in six spokes: Assets, Competencies, Standards, Service, Suppliers and Culture as the foci for an integrated change effort. Each of the executive directors added a 'wheel' responsibility to their pre-existing functional roles; *Manufacturing Excellence* introduced a matrix structure into Manu 1, formalising cross-functional integration. At plant level, managers were delegated to each 'spoke' of the change matrix. The *Manufacturing Excellence* wheel became a vehicle which bound managers at all levels to become embedded into networks whose purposes was improved performance and learning and innovation.

Manu 2 had also undergone a period of physical restructuring, with the concentration of bottling processes in the highly automated Spirits 3 plant. Resulting from this, the Director of Operations, who has spent all of his working life in the distilling industry, invented *Strategic Results* as a means to force change through the establishment of teamworking and a greater emphasis on the way employees were managed.

However, this need for change, expressed by the *Strategic Results* programme and the operational objectives of introducing teamworking and altering working practices, was not articulated at Board level. *Strategic Results* was destined to become an isolated project squeezed between a sceptical board and ingrained working practices.

From the interviews with the managers in Manu 2, it appeared that the Director of Operation's interest in developing teamworking was inspired by participation in an advanced management course held at the London Business School. Most of the management population had had little training or education outside the organisation as most had climbed their way through the ranks of the organisation.

In Manu 2 a project management structure, composed of a Steering Group, an Operations Strategy Group and a Change Strategy Group, operated without clear objectives, guidelines or key performance indicators. Project management lacked the authority to deal effectively with obstructive line managers, and a lack of management control and clear reporting relationships permitted a degree of uncertainty and political behaviour to compound the problems associated with ad hoc planning and decision-making in the face of entrenched resistance. *Strategic Results* achieved none of the gains of *Manufacturing Excellence*: it did not force operational questions onto the corporate agenda; it confirmed the existing management culture rather than embedding new expectations; and it reinforced functional loyalties rather than developing innovative cross-functional networks.

The real effect of *Strategic Results* was to have 'unfrozen' Manu 2 internally and exposed the corporate level to the importance of building organisational capability in operations to complement marketing and financial expertise. The deficiencies of Manu 2's managers and management processes revealed by *Strategic Results* triggered a fundamental reconfiguration of management involving removal of many pre-*Strategic Results* managers.

Manu 1 not only recruited a new group of senior managers with experience of both cultural and operational change, but also forced a collective learning process through hours of meetings facilitated through consultants. This process helped to set the network of innovators and a set of communications competencies in the wider battle to change attitudes and behaviour amongst other managers and employees. By contrast, though *Strategic Results* provided a salutary learning experience. Until the 1996 recruitment of a new management population, there was no systematic effort to acquire and develop anything beyond a strategic process.

In 1997 there was the introduction of the *Towards Partnership* initiative in Manu 2. This attempted, in conjunction with the unions, to launch reform in terms of the managerial and industrial relations infrastructure, and to develop the necessary preconditions for transformation of the organisation of work. *Towards Partnership* was an agreement to work together to achieve joint the aims of management and the unions. As such it involved commitment and flexibility from employees: a commitment to attend, a commitment to work in teams, a commitment to learn and apply new skills and a commitment to continuous improvement. It also meant the introduction of more flexible working practices i.e. multskilling of team members. In return, employees were told that they would be given a voice through the employee forum, a chance to develop through skills training and through an outside learning opportunity and future rewards linked to performance. Partnership was based on close co-operation with the unions and aimed to provide greater job security.

6.3 The Change Agendas: Employees and Employee Responses

As the focus of the current work is on teams and team member identity, it is important to understand the impact of these change programmes on employees. The quotes below emerged as a by-product of the focus groups[14]. Although employees within Manu 1 had not been subject to an unforgiving series of redundancies in the same way as Manu 2 employees, they had experienced a voluntary redundancy programme. Despite the fact that the association between job losses and the change

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[14] All quotes in this chapter refer to data colleted from the focus groups unless quote is identified as coming from a manager.

programmes was not as clear cut within Manu 1 as it was in Manu 2, there was some concern over the true 'voluntariness' of the redundancies. As one employee notes,

> *There is one lassie that has been pressurised into taking voluntary redundancy... but there is nothing you can do. I've told the lassie just to hold on and not to take any notice of them. You are here to work and if they give you work you do it. If they don't that's all well and good...... she's been asked, asked, asked, every day by her team leader and her senior manager* (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

However, there was a more substantial threat to security for employees in Spirits 2. In September 1996, an operational change programme was launched within Spirits 2. Seeking to deliver a 50% reduction in production costs over the subsequent 3 to 5 years, this change initiative had emerged as a requirement of Manu 1's new programme of internal competition launched by the Operations Executive. All of Manu 1's bottling facilities would now compete, with the lowest cost plant winning supply contracts. This put pressure on Spirits 2's management to reduce the costs associated with their bottling lines.

The principal components of this operational change included a reduction in the number of shift crews, the introduction of continuous running throughout paid work breaks, and the termination of contractual overtime working. Both the removal of contractual overtime and the decrease in the number of shift crews would substantially reduce the wages of many employees (about 20% of their annual salary), thus reducing associated production costs incurred by the company. In addition to this, and probably the most contentious move by the plant management, a reduction in the number of operators per crew was announced. This further reduced packaging line costs and rendered about fifty employees surplus to core business requirements.

This excess workforce placed the plant's management in a quandary. Since the company had an employment security guarantee, no compulsory redundancies could

be made. Spirits 2's employees were therefore invited to apply for voluntary redundancy, with any 'surplus' employees being consigned to a reserve labour pool, called the *Resource Pool* by management, but more significantly, the *Dead Pool* by employees.

The criteria on which employees were selected for the resource pool were based on three performance categories: job skills, behavioural skills and 'other information'. Job skills consisted of competence, involvement and self-development. The behavioural dimension consisted of team skills, motivation, communication and problem solving. Other qualifying criteria included attitude, length of service, attendance, time keeping and disciplinary records. Although the members of the Resource Pool were retaining employment, they experienced harsher financial penalties than the rest of the Spirits 2 workforce.

You'll keep your grade, you'll be red circled on your grade over three years, but you will not get any increases and at the end of three years you will drop to, all at one trip, a basic grade (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team C)

Another argument is employment security means compulsory redundancy as some people have said. You might not be saying compulsory redundancy but by putting us on the resource team you are telling us you don't want us and therefore it's the voluntariness of redundancy isn't there. You are saying it because it sounds nice and it looks nice and it's a positive image but really you are making it so intolerable for us to stay that we are going to go (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team C)

If they turned around two months ago and said, you, you and you. I am sorry, but you are off you could have just come to terms with it. But at the moment, we have just got to sit here saying, is it me that's off? (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

Within Manu 2, there had been continuous rounds of redundancies throughout the previous decade, culminating with the concentration of the bottling process within Spirits 3 and Spirits 4. Not only did this result in some employees being transferred from closed operations, it allowed a mechanism for the transfer of redundancy stories from these closed plants to the existing operations. As a consequence both the *Strategic Results* programme and the *Beyond Partnership* programme were treated with some cynicism. Like Manu 1, the introduction of salaried work as part of the change initiatives was viewed as a 'backdoor' route to reducing not only costs but head count as well.

> *We are still the losers. I think that this is just a cop out by the company to get rid of us; they are eventually going to get rid of everything. This is a cop out. They will end up with temporary workers. They will never hire anybody permanent again. The drinks industry has peaks and troughs right? And they are trying to get rid of the peaks. The peaks mean they have to pay us overtime. They just want to run the factory cheaper and make the profit bigger so that the fat cats can get fatter* (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team J).

6.4 Introduction of Teamwork – Aims and Rationales

Teamworking was seen to be the main vehicle for shopfloor change within Manu 1, both in terms of improving efficiencies and changing the existing culture. The Spirits 1 bottling plant in Fife was the first of the Manu 1 bottling operations to introduce teamworking. Management believed that if the initiatives could be accepted here there would be no difficulty in directing change in work organisation in the remaining Manu 1 bottling facilities. Initially the reality of teamworking did not seem to meet the theoretical objectives. Teamworking had been introduced overnight in one 'big bang', but as far as the employees were concerned there was little change under the new regime. In the words of a senior HR manager,

> *we have made this really significant structure change, it's not going as well as we want...... we wanted better attendance levels at work, we wanted more*

peer pressure in a cultural context of things like that, we wanted better contributions from people, and we weren't getting them. We wanted people to participate in team meetings and it wasn't happening. We wanted different types of behaviours and weren't able to observe them (Manu 1, Head Office, HR director)

In January 1994, Spirits 1 management introduced Team Skills Training (TST) - a programme designed by a group of American consultants - in an attempt to rectify this situation, with compulsory attendance from all employees. The emphasis was on normative behavioural skills rather than technical skills, and particularly on helping individuals learn what makes a successful team.

However, it was found that team members in Spirits 1 were sceptical about the value of the behavioural skills training. They were described as 'just a waste of money'. Despite these reactions, management began to feel that there was an improvement in teamworking behaviours; this was seen as being manifested in improved communication, better behaviour in team meetings and more employee contributions. There was also significant progress in terms of the key performance indicators - enhanced line efficiency, improved customer service, and lower absence rates.

One of the principle concerns for the Spirits 1 team members involved their technical skills. There was a marked distinction between the general operators i.e. those who undertake the manual packing and checking tasks, and the 'machinists' who operate and monitor the bottling and packaging equipment. Historically the more experienced employees were trained as machinists when there was a vacancy. With the introduction of teamworking the majority of employees were trained to operate the machines and the wage differential between the operators and machinists was expected to disappear. As a result of financial constraints only a specific number of employees were permitted to be paid at machinist's rates. There were therefore employees undertaking machinist positions but being paid as general operators. Problems in eliminating the old grading system also led to employees who had been reallocated to new lines being paid as machinists but working as general operators,

whilst people working on the same lines were working as machinists but being paid as operators.

Spirits 2, Manu 1's high-volume bottling facility opened in 1979. It was the cheapest unit labour rate and the lowest overhead rate within the company's bottling operations. Over the past few years Spirits 2's previously consensual management-employee relations had been eroded. One of the most substantial reasons for this was the frequent rotation of senior plant management: *'Spirits 2 in the last 3-4 years has probably had 3-4 new head men. That does not exactly instil much confidence'* (Manu 1, Sprits 2, Team D). The experience of Spirits 2 with the company's *Towards Partnership* agreement and the relationship with the unions has also been tainted. At the end 1996 employees voted against partnership, and despite warnings that the agreement prohibited them to do this, employees decided that although in name they were bound to the agreement, in practice they would not abide by its principles. The announcement of the introduction of the 'dead pool' worsened relations in the plant.

TST was not introduced in Spirits 2 until 1996, despite the fact that the work reorganisation had been undertaken four years previously. Reactions were even more negative than they were in Spirits 1. Some employees thought of it as being pointless: *'I think it was things we were already doing anyway. Everybody knew what they had to do. It was kind of just reinforcing it a little bit'* (Manu1, Spirits 2, Team D)

This is not to say that the story from Spirits 2 was all doom and gloom. Despite maintaining a distinction between machinists and general operators in Spirits 1, same was not true in Spirits 2. All employees were technically multi-skilled, and the pay differential that caused so much animosity in Spirits 1 was not present in the Spirits 2 plant.

The aim of Manu 2's *Strategic Results* programme was fundamentally about shopfloor work organisation. The aim was a flatter hierarchical structure, with shop-

floor lines working as 'teams'. Skills development and education were to be provided for all employees. The anticipated outcome had a substantial normative component including team training and problem solving.

Manu 2 decided to embark on soft-skills training at the start of their teamworking schedule. The training consisted of a set of standard based training tools divided into modules. Managers seemed to endorse the training;

> *I thought the ideas were good that was (sic) coming from them. Just the empowerment and working in teams and getting along with one another, and taking time out to speak which was a thing that was never done. Yes, I quite liked the training. I thought their ideas were good. Maybe if it* (the training) *had been right across the hall* (bottling), *instead of falling at the first hurdle, where it did, it might have made a difference* (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team J Team Leader)

However, employees did not accept the message as readily,

> *I went on it* (team skills training course) *and I was coming back with all these ideas. They thought I was a person from another planet, When I looked at them then I thought well maybe I am* (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team G).

Where there was a stark contrast between Manu 2 and Manu 1 was in terms of the technical abilities and expectations of the line operators. As noted above, whereas Manu 1 employees had traditionally been graded as either machinists or general operators, Manu 2 employees had, for the past ten years, predominantly worked as multi-skilled employees. Unlike Manu 1, from the start Manu 2 had an integrated view of how to introduce teams. But by the end of 1996 there were still no employees operating in teams on the shop-floor of either Manu 2 bottling operations despite approximately 50 employees undergoing the teamwork training.

This situation was described by the plant manager in Sprits 3, *'There is the basic infrastructure for teamworking but there is still the need to change behaviour and attitude.'* In retrospect it was difficult for operations management to introduce such extensive changes without support from the HR department. This meant that though 'soft skills' training had been attempted, there was a lack of cultural preparation for the change.

Ironically, the fact that Manu 2 employees possessed the technical competencies required for teamwork did not actually help the company sell the teamwork message. The operators knew they were multi-skilled, knew they were flexible, but did not understand that this was part of the teamworking package. The *Towards Partnership* agreement between management and unions had further extended the technical requirements of team members. However the company also committed to 'Personal Effectiveness' training for all employees from the beginning of 1998 with managers being trained in 'facilitation, counselling and coaching etc.' In one way it could be argued that although Manu 2 could identify what they want to change, they actually had problems making the change itself.

6.5 Teamwork and Team Training: Employee Responses

The previous section starts to demonstrate some of the employee responses towards the introduction of teamwork. However a more detailed analysis is useful as a background to understanding the team identity process. Again, general responses to teamwork frequently emerged during the focus group sessions and are referred to within this segment of the thesis.

Although the companies started training at different times, in a different order and with different motives, ultimately the organisations launched similar training initiatives. Training for employees broadly corresponded with the technical, normative and governance dimensions of teamwork, as described previously. Technical training was concerned with multi-skilling all employees so that traditional demarcations between general operators and machinists disappeared and allowed flexibility for all employees. 'Team training' placed a greater emphasis on soft skills

and the 'new' behaviours required for teamwork, including normative competencies such as communication skills, and governance competencies such as decision-making.

However, the training not only failed to fulfil expectations and aims, it was often viewed critically by employees. Starting with the technical training, for many of the Manu 1 teams the move towards multi-skilling of all teams was piecemeal, with many employees still in effect functioning in terms of traditional demarcations. Within Manu 2 there were substantial differences between the plants. Within Spirits 4 all employees were undertaking the same work with the same skills set. For Spirits 3 employees, the progress of the technical training was slow. As one team member noted,

> *The core workers are just packing. It is taking so long to get round the training. The general operators are still stuck where they are. They are supposed to get multi-skilling, aren't they? (Manu 2, Spirits 3, Team E)*

Other concerns regarding technical training centred on the problem with transferring practical and often tacit knowledge via a formal training programme, as this extract from one of the focus groups shows

> *Interviewer: Do you think you learn a lot of skills from formal training?*
> *Team Member: The only way you learn things is from other people. Passing on your skills to other people if you get the chance (Manu 2, Sprits 4, Team G)*

There were some positive responses to the technical training, particularly when it gave team members the opportunity to acquire more control over their work and to develop skills that made the day-to-day work routine more interesting.

We have learnt to do work at the computer. We are doing the laser ourselves now. That was always as supervisor's job (Manu 2, Spirits 3, Team E)

There were also mixed views on team skills training. Some employees felt that it provided them with useful tools for teamwork; others felt that being taught normative skills was insulting as they already possessed and used these skills. There was also the perception the time put aside for team skills training was insufficient.

They want to do things like teaching you how to spell and write and talk, and how to have an interview. How much confidence you have got. Aye, let the monkeys out of the cage and they're gonna learn them how to write, you know. That is something else that is going to fall through as well (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team G)

It (the team skill training) *was a lot of rubbish. It was a waste of time. We just kind of sat about and talked for a couple of nights and got a certificate at the end of it. It never came to anything. It was another one that went by the by. You all got badges from this cracked mental case of a manager (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team J)*

(About team or soft skills training*) It taught you about working as a team together. Brainstorming. Coming up with ideas. See how many ideas you could come up with through a team. Just make a list* (Manu, 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

However, many employees were cynical about both teamwork and team training. They felt that re-training employees was another way of squeezing the maximum profit out of employees for the minimum cost.

See if we had any ideas that could make them another few bob. Do they get tax relief on that or something? (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

As with the technical training, there was a perception by employees that they were rarely given the opportunity to put their training into practice and that the training provided was insufficient to achieve the aims stated by the companies.

> *They go halfway through things and then abandon quite a lot and we never get to the end* (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team E)

Team training and the introduction of teamwork presented employees with expectations of an improved work situation. Yet, some of the negative responses from employees - when the expectations failed to be met - can be demonstrated in the following extract from a focus group with Team A.

> *Team member a: We are in to problem solving but we never ever carried that off.*
>
> *Team member b: The problem solving was actually people to go off every other week and have a wee meeting and have their wee quibbles on the line, but oh, that fell through.*
>
> *Team member c: It was just a farce. It was just for this company, Sprits 1, to look good in the eyes of the company.. to promote Spirits 1 as, Spirits 1 has had team training, Spirits 1 has been to problem solving. Spirits 1 does this, Spirits 1 does that. I mean where is it? It's not here anymore.*
>
> *Team member a: Problem solving is a two day course.*
>
> *Team member d: A waste of time.*
>
> *Team member c: Its something that really fell through, they were all full of great ideas. We had so many selected folk on the lines and we'll go home and draw a fishbone here and we'll do this and we'll brainstorm.*
>
> *Team member a: And it doesn't materialise.*
>
> *Team member b: And then you'll maybe have a team meeting and they'll say something like it – brain storming, it's like what planet does he come from? One minute they are all for it, saying this is the way forward and*

then the next minute you don't hear more about it (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

Vitally, management had created a set of expectations and a knowledge base about the aims of teamwork for employees, which gave team members the tools and information to be more critical of the work process and of management's delivery of this 'new' form of work organisation. However, team leaders were frequently gatekeepers to this process. The extent to which employees could enact what they had learnt during training was perceived to be determined by the team leader. This was most significant in terms of the practice of governance (and some technical skills). Despite having been trained to undertake some leadership roles, and some more skilled technical tasks such as monitoring production schedules and use of the line's computers, if the team leader did not let employees undertake these responsibilities the actual practice of teamwork was limited.

> *Some team leaders let you use your own initiative more than others. They will leave you to get on with a thing. Others will just say to you what they want done and leave you to it. There are some team leaders that double-check everything that you have done. That does not give anybody any confidence at the end of the day. Which is a bad thing. That is not what teamwork is about. To me that is not having any faith in your team whatsoever* (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team C)

> *I came from a team where I mean, they tell you to move on with the times, but working direct with chargehands that are still set in their own ways, maybe double-checking everything you do – so I have come from a team where everything that we done the team leader did not check. He had confidence in every person on that team, I feel coming from that I am coming back down* (Manu 1, Sprits 2, Team D)

> *Team Member: Last year it went from team manager to team leader and team leader to team manager.*

Interviewer : So aside from labels has anything changed in the way that they relate to you?

Team Member: Not really. We see less of them, we have less contact, but it is still their responsibility to make sure everything is running just the same (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team G)

6.6 *Acted identity*, *Internalised identity*, **Teamwork and Control: A team by team description**

It has largely been established that identity refers to the way that people see themselves and the groups they feel a part of, and to the significant aspects of themselves that they use to describe themselves to others. Identity, however, is related to identification i.e. the act of designating or identifying something, of who one is and how one fits into social groups. Because identification is the process by which one gains identity, both will be discussed within this chapter.

It is important, firstly, to examine whether there is any evidence of team-level identity (Proposition 1). However, identity is not a unitary or simple concept and there were clear differences in terms of the teams, not only in expressions of the relative strengths or salience of identity but also the way in which identity was interpreted or enacted. Therefore, a detailed examination of the empirical information to ascertain whether identity can be - as suggested on the basis of conclusions within Chapter 4 - described as acted and internalised is required (Proposition 2). The data was analysed on a team by team basis to understand both the identity process, and how identity and identification is affected by the size of the team, the status of the team, interaction with the team and the control structures to which the teams are subjected to (Propositions 3 to 7).

The propositions are addressed by reporting the findings from the survey that relate to each group. This is followed by a thematic presentation of the main findings from the focus groups for each team.

One of the main themes for examination is the practice of teamwork competences as described by Findlay et al. (2000a, 2000b). These behaviours, along with explicit references performing these behaviours are assumed to demonstrate *acted identity*. For *internalised identity*, the main themes being sought out were those mentioned within the methodology chapter (e.g. use of collective pronouns, humour, socialisation) plus additional themes or sub-themes that emerged as consistent within groups and between groups. Issues concerning control mechanisms and team composition are also reported as these matters are central to the research propositions. Further discussion centres on training, as team members frequently used this as a baseline for what they felt was required in practice. Any relevant data from the management interviews is included in the reporting of the team data if it is viewed as being relevant to the discussion.

First, however, there is a general description of the quantitative results for *acted identity*. Responses to the survey questions were analysed using a one-way analysis of variance across teams as described in detail in Chapter Five. Table 12 shows the differences between the teams in terms of what was perceived as being overall team identity and in terms of the separate dimensions - normative, technical and governance.

	Manu 1				Manu 2							
	Spirits 1		Spirits 2		Spirits 3		Spirits 4					
TEAM	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	F stat	Bonferroni result
Number in team	9	9	10	9	5	3	10	8	8	9		
Total	3.3	4.1	3.3	3.2	3.5	2.9	3.6	3.0	2.9	3.2	6.9**	B > F,I,H,J,D,C,A G > I
Normative	3.9	4.2	3.7	4.1	3.7	3.3	4.3	3.4	3.8	4.0	1.8	
Technical	3.1	3.9	3.1	2.9	3.6	2.7	3.3	3.1	2.7	3.2	2.1*	B > F
Governance	3.1	4.1	3.2	2.6	3.3	2.7	3.2	2.6	2.3	2.3	7.9**	B > I,J,H,D,A

*p<.01   ** p<.001

Table 12: Means and Results of One-Way Analysis of Variance for *acted identity* by Team within Study One

On the basis of the analysis of the survey, there is an indication that *acted identity* can be defined in terms of the three dimensions for all teams; there were clear differences between responses to the three domains. However, for all groups there

was a trend for normative identity to be perceived as more important than either the governance or technical dimensions. These findings are described in more detail within the following sections.

6.6.1 Manu 1, Sprits 1

Team A: Based on the quantitative data, the cumulative mean for *acted identity* was only a little over the midpoint (mean = 3.3) and there was only a slight difference between the strength of responses for each dimension. Although this would suggest that team members have some level of *acted identity*, the precise nature requires further qualification.

Superficially, however, the focus group data presented a clearer picture for this team regarding *internalised identity* compared with *acted identity*. There was frequent reference to the collective outside any discussion of 'practical' work issues, and a genuine concern with group cohesiveness. A further indication of *internalised identity* is again the references to the fact that the team had always worked collectively before the introduction of teamwork.

> *We have always all got on quite well on the line. We really do try and help one another eh?* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

However, with this team there was also a degree of 'acting teamwork'. Part of the identification with the team was based on the team members' knowledge of what is required for teamwork based on the training that they had received. The team members appeared to identify with the team for 'natural' reasons, but also because they knew that it was required of them and it also made their working day more interesting.

> *The job is more interesting because you come to your work. When we started dealing with all the supervisors and that, it was a wee bit boring because we didn't really ken what we were getting in to. Now your minds made up because you are taking in a lot more and its making it a wee bit*

more interesting, rather than just coming to your work and packing all day (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

Team member a: We all came here to work and there's no disputing the fact that's what we are in here for, to work and earn money and when we are learning new things, it is a wee bit better. But in saying that when you don't have a part to play in saying what you want, likes of doing the palletiser, you are getting told... that takes it outwith a team because you are no longer a team, you are getting told.
Team member b: That's your boss telling you what you are doing
Team member a: Really he should be considering everybody's aspects, whether it hurts Josie or hurts just me for a day or half a day, he should be considering us, that is what teamwork is supposed to be about. Considering one another
Team member c: Exactly (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

At least for this team, it could be argued that the idea of *acted identity* could easily be conflated with the idea of 'acting teamwork'. The team training gave team members information regarding its requirements and the principals of teamwork were frequently quoted during the focus groups, alongside discussions of how the teams adopted these behaviours.

It's strange they should have wanted us to work in a team, they've got a team there. Is this not what we are meant to be trying to do is work really close as a team and if you have got a team line which is five and six together, well its five being on their own and six being on their own. If they're on your line then they'll pick your team (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

Despite this team being aware of the mechanisms the organisation used to control their behaviour there was still some level of teamwork as a ways of increasing

productivity. When the members of the first focus group were asked what they thought that the company wanted out of team members, they replied;

> *Commit and motivate. They want more lines to work, but they want to develop people as well and to make the job more interesting* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

This group were clearly aware of the contradiction between having devolved responsibility and a controlling team leader. For Team A, the team leader was a gatekeeper to many teamwork behaviours. Despite understanding what was required from teamwork and a willingness to undertake it, the team leader constrained the team's ability to put team skills into place. This led to a restriction on acted team identity.

> *And it's down to team leaders, who they want to pick and chose. It wasn't so bad for me because I've asked for line 6 and I got line 6 but that's because if they are working with somebody at that time, it's really down to the team leader who he wants to take on his team, who he doesn't want* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

> *They've put us into business groups and so these team leaders will sit in a room and then you've got the team leaders from the other group sitting in another room and they make up their own wee ideas and their own wee rules. What they want to try out on their own wing you see, and if you say no or you are not in agreement, you have no option; you have got to do it, that's it, end of story* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

Team members, used to a tradition of charge hands, felt that the team leader was domineering, and believed that he was not in a position to lead the team and command the team if he could not undertake the work himself. There was a strong understanding that the control and command model is the antithesis of the principles of teamwork.

The team leaders can't even do the jobs themselves. Like with the palletiser. You are getting told what to do, and that stops it being teamwork 'cos you are no longer a team, you are getting told (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

That is your boss telling you what to and exerting his authority again (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

However, it could be argued that the broader change programme *Manufacturing Excellence* produced an even greater level of cynicism within the team than the role of the team leader. The new way of working was viewed as clashing with previously held activities and beliefs. For example, team members were encouraged to be flexible, but they believed that they were already flexible. Moreover, they possessed the skills to undertake a greater range of technical tasks than they were being permitted to perform.

There are things we can do and they don't want us to do it anymore. I'm a stand-in machinist and I could do the line changes. I know I could. But they won't allow me to do the line changes - if I did they would have to upgrade me and they don't want to do that (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A).

There's more on top of it and to what a supervisor done. And more, we do a lot more than supervision. At one time, your supervisor, that is what, but we do supervision plus change parts on the machine, paperwork, we do a lot more and we are still expected to do more. It really gets a bit annoying at times (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

Flexibility was introduced into the wage negotiations and I thought, God, we are flexible. It was flexibility that consisted of doing away with everybody's jobs (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

A recurring issue concerned employees being paid to undertake work for which they did not posses the skills, or being the same as people with fewer skills.

> *We just decided to go on a rota. Like, Kay, Mary and Margaret, they are on the machines....... But sometimes we just all take turns on the other jobs, other than machinists, we just take our turn* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

> *'I have been a machinist for twenty years and my line got shut down. I was put on to this line and they were doing line changes and I asked them if I could do the line changes and he (the team leader) went no and then he went, I'll maybe get you at the next one. I went how, you are leaving me back, if I'm a team member I should be going with the rest of the lassies, he definitely said no, but because I had spoken to my team members they stuck up for me, so he decided all right, we'll let you go in with them. Just one session before me that I was quite willing to go right in there and do it 'cos I knew everything about machines and I was only learning what they were learning but he was going to keep me back until my team members went, no, she's in this team, she should be coming with us turn* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team A)

For this team, therefore, it is difficult to assess the impact of control structures on identity. It can be argued that any organisational attempts to control team members were being further changed by the relationship with and actions of the team leader. However, team members indicated an awareness of the requirements of *acted identification* within all three domains, and presented some *internalised identification*.

Team B: As indicated in Table 12, the second team examined in Spirits 1 possessed significantly higher overall *acted identification* (mean = 4.1; F=2.74, p < 0.001), technical identification (mean = 3.9; F = 2.1, p < 0.01) and governance identification (mean = 4.1; F = 7.9, p < 0.001) than many of the other teams investigated. Again

there were minimal differences between the means for the responses concerning the three separate dimensions of teamwork.

A highly salient *internalised identity* was also apparent from the qualitative data. There were many references to how much the team cared about each other and how they supported each other.

> *Team member c: Our team is most important to us. If one of our team is upset then it upsets us too*
> *Team member b: Aye and we look after them if they have had something at home or work. You can tell them go and get a cup of tea, we'll cover your job, you get yourself sorted and come back when you are ready*
> *Team member d: If you are feeling ill*
> *Team member c: Anything like that*
> *Team member a: Or had a hard day* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team B)

> *We do fine among ourselves. We are a good team, we get on well together. But none of the training has come into it; it's how we feel about each other* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team B)

> *We all have our bad days, everybody has a bad day but the rest of the team will just sort of try and get you out of it or leave you alone until you come out of it yourself. I mean its not just with work, if you've got things at home that's bothering you, you bring it to your work and you're maybe quite down for a day but we've not got many disadvantages with teamwork, no. But that's us because we get on; we all get on good together. We see other lines that are not like that, there's always a couple of odd ones and there's friction there* (Manu 1, Sprits 1, Team B)

This team provided many examples of how humour was important to the team, and how they often confronted potentially awkward interpersonal issues in a relatively

light-hearted way in order to avoid conflict. One example given, left a team member on the production line when the rest of the group went for a tea break;

> Team member a: *Aye most of the time we communicate.*
>
> Team member b: *It is a strain changing. We have got a lot of time waiting on the whisky so we all go out and break, phone, tell everybody to phone through and tell Derek that we are going on a break. And we're sitting in the canteen eating our breakfast and we go, oh Derek isn't in the canteen (laughter)*
>
> Team member a: *But that was only the once. Just a wee lapse of memory. Aye we have very good communication usually* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team B)

However, this team were fully aware of the managerial objectives of teamwork and how this transferred to expectations of their behaviour. They provided an example of their interpretation of their training experience and how this translated into behaviour - particularly in terms of the three dimensions of teamwork. The example below relates to both technical (fault-finding and maintenance) and normative (communication) domains.

> *Just the other day when we got that bottle jammed, you know, Kenny was on the machine, the bottle jammed at the laser bit and I was on the other end. I went that's going to interfere with that laser and I looked up here the laser light was flashing but there was nobody there, just me and Annette. I went what I'll do is shut that laser off but that was a problem eh? We have the problem and I says maybe it will. Linda had told me before, let it clean itself and try and start it back up again. And it started back up and I went well, I'm need a gold star for that because I solved that problem. It was only because of what Linda had told me before* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team B)

Although they worked in the same plant, the experience, attitudes and behaviour of Team B were very different to Team A. Despite the two teams being subject to similar control mechanisms, Team B had both a higher degree of *acted identification* and considerably greater *internalised identification*. Team Be, at least on one level appeared to have been more conditioned to these control mechanisms specifically in terms of the broader aspects of the employment relationship. Specifically, the 'carrot' of productivity awards was accepted by Team B to a greater extent than by other teams within this study. The following discussion demonstrates this:

Team Member a: We get free shares every year. We also got 96% (productivity) and we got a cream cake – fudge donut.

Team Member b: That's good because we appreciate that. It is only a cream cake but still the thought is there. They acknowledged it. They have got value in people. The best team also wins their £25.

Team Member a: We've won that quite a lot the £25 (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team B)

This team however, were provided with more autonomy by their team leader than Team A. As a group, they also appeared to have a clearer sense of their own compatibility as a team and of what is important to make a team function well. They also presented few complaints about their work and their working conditions as the extract below indicates:

Interviewer: Are there other things wrong apart from money?

Team Member a: Nothing. Nothing wrong with the job. The company is quite good.

Team Member b: They've got better. Like praising you (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team B)

Team B also knew how to act as a team; they had control over governance, technical and normative dimensions of teamwork and performed in the appropriate ways.

> (In response to a question about the degree of latitude to make decisions) *Quite a lot, but it gets to the point and we say... It is out of our hands. We better contact the team leader and see what he says. But sometimes what he says we were actually thinking eh? We were probably right in the first place but we wouldn't like it to come back on us, you know* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team B)

> *If we've got a change of order, put an order of 200 cases, something else, you pass on the information to everybody and it isn't just our line, it's upstairs, it's through in the palletisers, it's the wet end, so you are communicating with the whole lot of people that's getting involved with what's going down that line. It's not just our team it's outwith as well* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team B)

On the one hand it could be suggested that Manu 1 had created the perfect team. However, both focus groups from this team had the ability to be critical of the organisation and of the way they were expected to work. Specifically, they were highly critical of the team training and its general efficacy.

> *(the team skills training) was just a waste of money. Problem solving - many knew that when they did the problem solving course a couple of years ago and never used it. But now it's coming in that we are using it a bit more now, eh, but not as much as we thought we would like* (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team B)

Nonetheless, this team worked well together and the whole of Manu 1 was aware not only of this teams productivity levels but their attachment to their group as well. Managers often attributed this to the 'strong' characters present within the team.

They have a strong identity. I am not sure if they see that. There is one or two strong individuals in there which I would say has prevented any one person coming to the top. I would say there is a good mix; three quite strong individuals (Team Leader: Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team B)

They see themselves as quite strong. They will, and I think it is quite a good thing, they are bonded as a team but I think they are beyond a normal team insofar as they will criticise one another and they will not necessarily defend one-another carte blanche against outside comments. Sometimes they will close ranks but other times they will have a go at one another (HR Manager: Manu 1, Spirits 1)

6.6.2 Manu 1, Spirits 2

Team C: Although this team worked in Spirits 2 rather than Spirits 1, the quantitative results for this group were similar to those of Team A. The overall *acted identity* measure was a little over the midpoint of the scale (mean = 3.3) and there was, again, only a marginal difference between the means for identification for the three separate dimensions (Normative = 3.7; Technical = 3.1; Governance = 3.2).

While there was some evidence of *internalised identification*, it certainly was not as strong as in other teams. There was little discussion of the team in terms of the collective 'we' and none of the humour or playfulness found in other groups. Nonetheless, there was, within this group, an awareness of the requirements for the normative aspects of teamwork.

I think that to work as a team you have to have a certain attitude anyway. There is no use being a bombastic individualist and working in a team. At the same time I don't think anybody, certainly not in here, would fit that description. We work as teams (Manu 1, Sprits 2, Team C)

This team were fully conscious of how to behave as a team both in terms of identification and in terms of teamwork behaviours. Indeed, it could be argued that this team more than any tried to display *acted identification.*

> *Surely the question is, did they introduce teamworking or have we always worked as a team? I mean these places did not exist without teamwork. It had to have teamwork. I do not see any difference You had the empty bottle store taking the bottles through onto the line. The person that fills the machine makes sure that the bottles are filled, who then feeds it to the labeller, who then feeds it on to the packer. And it is not as though in the past people used to come through that door as say, oh that line is empty I'll work there. You worked on a line with a team. Before they came up with teamwork, it was not as though you just piled in the hall and took any space* (Manu 1, Sprits 2, Team C)

However, the problem that this team encountered in terms of *acted identification* and indeed, demonstration of teamwork behaviours, were the constraints imposed by the organisation. They knew how to behave as a team member. They knew how to act as if they identified with the team - on all three dimensions; however they were actually prevented by the organisation and team leaders from performing these behaviours. This is demonstrated by these quotes from team members.

> *They did a big study into bottle waste. They brought some guy in with a computer and he sat there for six months and the only thing they could come up with was on every bin that you put glass into, they put a little label telling you how much it costs to throw the bottle away. But we told them, most of the glass wastage was caused by the capping machine. I would say 90% of it. But we still have the same capping machine and we still have exactly the same problem* (Manu 1, Sprits 2, Team C)

> *We decided at a team meeting that instead of working on one machine all day we would rotate round every so often. We decided that. So in that*

way you are flexible. But there is nothing we can actually do on the line (Manu 1, Sprits 2, Team C)

Spirits 1 traditionally had problematic industrial relations. However, the introduction of the resource pool within Spirits 2, hand in hand with the earlier redundancy programmes had led to worsening labour relationship within this site.

The irony of the celebrations of the production of the ten millionth case was not lost on the employees within Spirits 2 - particularly for the members of Team C. There was organisation wide competition to produce ten million cases of whisky within one year. This was clearly not feasible for the smaller plants, and was solely used as a motivatory device for Spirits 2 employees. This process emerged as a key theme in the focus group as the extract below demonstrates:

Interviewer: This 10 million cases. It was a record wasn't it?

Team Member a: We were told that half of it, well not half of it, a good percentage is still lying in storage. It was bottled for no other reason than a PR job.

Interviewer: A PR job for who?

Team Member a: I don't know if it was a PR job for the guy that was a senior manager. He has now moved on to another job. I do not know if it is Manu 2. I don't know if it was a PR job for him.

Interviewer: If it is a record breaking thing, what was the feeling like on the shop floor when you were producing the 10 millionth case?

Team Member b: It felt quite good in the bottling hall. You felt like you were doing something. But the bombshell came (the resource pool) *and it let you right down again.*

Interviewer: Did you feel good because you were breaking a record?

Team Member c: No, it was because you were actually producing more stuff. It was good for the company. Just battering on and getting it out.

Team Member b: They gave us all a free bottle of whisky with a special label saying blah, blah, blah, you done ten million cases. We got a glass as well. They piped the case round the line and all the senior management from all over the company came here to see it and all the rest of it. All the factory mangers that did not manage to do it were brought here to rub their noses in it to sort of give them a kick up the backside.

Team member c: It was quite embarrassing really. I think we were used a wee bit to shake other people up. It was pretty silly. The senior manager at the time was lifting this case and hauling it about like it was the world cup (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team C)

As previously mentioned, this team were accomplished at verbalising the contradictions between the theory and opportunity to practice teamwork.

Remember across the road, about the empty bottle store. Trying to change the machinery. What way we thought would be best. We put in our suggestions and we have still got the old machines. They have not done anything (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team C)

Well I don't think in any company actually that individuals can control their day-to-day work. Your work is controlled by the customer really, more than anything (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team C)

Many of the constraints to practicing teamwork were verbalised by reflections on allowable practice, comparing this to the theory presented as part of the team training programme. They were also cynical as to the longevity of any new practices.

I find management in here, in Spirits 2 in general, they say one thing in one breath and then say something totally different. They tell you, will do it this way and then when they put it into practice they don't do it that

way. They will say so and so is off; so and so is off. We have got to change this and we have got to change that. They don't see things through either. They start on things – like problem solving – but it never goes through (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team C)

They are starting something else just now. I said to (the team leader), this thing that they are doing, this asset thing, we are all going on that? It will be like problem-solving then? And she went bright red and started laughing (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team C)

As with other teams, regardless of what they were taught in team training, this team perceived themselves as having always worked as a team.

Team skills is what we were on about earlier. We were going in once a month and saying we don't understand why we are here. We all work as teams anyway. And we said it every time (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team C)

Again, Team C was also aware of the ability that the team leader has to determine working practices and in part, team identity. This team not only observed the practices (and limitations) associated with their own team leader, but observed events and degrees of autonomy and control within other teams.

All orders come top down through the team leader. They will say well, it is your decision and you can make as many decisions as you like, but until you decide what he (the team leader) wants to know, then you can forget it. He has already got it up here in his mind what he wants and he will ask you the same question every day of the week until you give him the answer he wants. Now if that is making decisions, then yes, we make decisions! (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team C)

A lot depends on your team leader. There is a lot of other team leaders that are quite happy to let their team carry on with it. But she is more

kind of set in her ways. She is just the old way. She is more like a charge hand. She goes back to the book (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team C)

Even senior managers were aware of how important the role of team leader is in terms of controlling employees. They readily acknowledged that some of the more established team leaders failed to promote the company agenda of devolved responsibility to the team. As the plant operations manager noted;

> *We have emphasised a style of behaviour towards people which is not about control. We are not here as managers to control people. However some of the longer serving team leaders are having difficulties with the concept* (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Plant Manager)

In terms of control and identity, this team were acutely aware that management introduced teamworking in order to improve efficiency and productivity. This lead to one employee describing the ideal team member as: *a big robot that will run up and down the line and maintain everything.*

However, Team C was the only team to explicitly discuss how they perceived teamwork as a way of manipulating their identity.

> *Interviewer: Do you feel that you have got more of an identity as a team now compared to your old work routine?*
> *Team Member a: Aye, wee names on your overall so everybody knows you.*
> *Team Member b: But the group was always quite a strong one*
> *Team member c: Before everyone had their own line. Instead of a line number now you have a team number. You are just a number. We are not a Motley Crew but we are a crew* (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team C).

Team D: The experiences of Team D are a magnification of those of Team C - possibly because they worked within the same plant. The survey responses indicated

very high levels of acted normative identification (Mean = 4.1), yet comparatively low levels of governance (Mean = 2.6) and technical identification (Mean = 2.9).

This salient normative identity was also evident from the focus group data. However, for this group, it was difficult to ascertain the separation between *internalised identity* and *acted identity*. Although there was a good deal of collective language and outlook, on occasion this was referred to as being what the company wanted. For example;

> *Team Member a: We are all good at helping one another really. We all got into that. Maybe I am doing something awkward and somebody else will say, oh maybe you would be as well doing it this way. People are good. At the one time they would maybe have left you struggling and maybe you would have never got there or you would have been awkward*
> *Team Member b: Maybe some people might think that we are queer* (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

Team D clearly demonstrated collectiveness and identity as a team but the actual practice of teamwork – or their understanding of teamwork - was affected by the ongoing industrial relations problems within the plant as well as their team leader allowing them only limited autonomy. For the organisation, informing teams of the requirements of teamwork (team training) and then placing them in a situation where this could not be operationalised, in all likelihood led to more negative attitudes than if the group's members had not been trained about teamwork. The organisation raised expectations without following them through. Yet, this did not necessarily take away from the team's identification.

> *They are telling you one thing then doing the opposite. So sort of mixed messages* (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

> *When they say they are going to focus on people they are not talking about training, everybody knows that. They are going to train us all up*

and put us in the pool and then out of the door. Everyone works well in
teams but, at the end of the day, we all know what is going to happen
(Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

What you can do depends on your team leader, if you are left to do it. We
are unlucky. We have got a charge hand. I am not saying she is a bad
team leader or anything but she is... She seems to be constantly wound
up. Everything has got to be done right and on time (Manu 1, Spirits 2,
Team D)

Working within Spirits 2, presented Team D with similar issues to Team C
concerning managerial control. There was the same awareness of managerial control
mechanisms and the confusion between acceptance and criticism of these devices.
There were more general complaints about the organisational change programme and
the competence of senior management that were also evident with Team C.

Sometimes I feel it is just change for change sake. You just get settled
and comfortable .. They are just keeping you on the razor edge all the
time (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

Constant change was perceived as a barrier to putting teamwork into action.
Management were seen as saying one thing and doing another.

They are always telling us that they have an 'open and honesty' policy at
one point, but I do not think they have been open and honest with us at
any point. They always tell you something that leads to something that
leads to something else. There is always a meeting in here. Every day
they are in at meetings and you never seem to get to know anything that
is going on behind closed doors sort of thing ... (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team
D)

They talk about teamwork but it doesn't happen. You have some people that have been trained up good and some that know nothing but it makes no difference. There is (sic) people that jump onto machines in here that say I can do that but they can't and it leads to a lot of animosity. A lot of people in here have been here for years and hardly know anything. You see them in situations where they cannot do the job. Someone has to fill in half the time ... (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

Again, one of the main criticisms from this group concerned their team leader. They felt that their team leader was constraining their ability to put teamwork into practice. The team felt that her command and control form of management had not reflected the changes in work organisation and culture. This constrained team identity both at the *acted* and *internalised* level.

We can't make decisions. We just come in and do what we are told in the morning... (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

We think she is getting paid for nothing. Other teams have said you know, we can do without her. We do not need her...We could do without her but...we don't get the chance. That is it. We could do away with them, because everybody knows the way that it should be done, but she does not seem to think so. We all get on with it... (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

She can tell you if you are out a minute after your time at the toilet and things like that. She can. She can. If you go out twice to the toilet in the one day, you have got a problem. Go to the doctor ... (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

I think if your team leader is relaxed that shows in your team. They are more confident and easy-going. Whereas, if your team leader is at you all the time, you kind of...... (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

All the same, this team not only presented a salient *internalised identity* but were also aware of the interpersonal skills and levels of tolerance required for teamwork. There was also a mention of how teamwork is easier the longer that the team has been together

> *I think if you have had a good day it's good, no arguments or whatever with anybody. But that is just down to people working together really. We all have our off days but it is not a lingering thing* (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

> *The longer you work with somebody, you get to know them that wee bit better. You get used to working with someone but it may take time to settle down* (Manu 1, Spirits 2, Team D)

6.6.3 Manu 2, Spirits 3

Team E: This team were consistent, at least in terms of the quantitative data, in their relative normative (mean = 3.7), technical (mean = 3.6) and governance (mean = 3.3) identification. The overall mean for *acted identification* was above the midpoint of the scale (mean = 3.5). However, Team E is a very small team (five members) and as such the quantitative data is limited in its reliability. There was also less information from their focus group than from the larger teams. This is consistent with much of the work on focus groups, which suggests that smaller groups reduce the extent to which information is exchange and ideas generated (Brown, 1999). Nevertheless, for Team E, the available qualitative data also showed a reasonable level of identification for this group

The team members understood that the notion of being a team and teamwork was separate from any normative training.

What I think happened is that people have always been working as teams.
We help each other. To me that is working as a team (Manu 2, Sprits 3,
Team E)

This team also emphasised that teamwork was about understanding how each other
worked, being able to trust each other's work abilities.

It is a good thing, in a way, being on a line and working with the same
people, because we are used to working with each other now. We know
what to expect of each other (Manu 2, Sprits 3, Team E)

It could be argued that this team presented a very strong *acted identity*. Much of the
discussion from employees centred on the technical requirements of work and how
this was demonstrated. However, those teams that expressed or displayed highly
salient *internalised identities* demonstrated much more affection and playfulness than
was found within this team.

We know now that we are working together, that Sheena is up the top
and I am at the bottom. I know that she will attend to the whisky and at
the end of that the labels. She knows that I will get the computer and
laser and that done down the bottom. I suppose we have learned that
through teamworking (Manu 2, Sprits 3, Team E)

There was only a limited amount of information gained from this team on the
relationship between control and identity. This may be a consequence of the
restrictions of focus for small groups or a product of the composition and dynamics
of the team.

We are pretty close as a group; we communicate because there are often
only two of us on the line at one. Whether it is me and Sheena or me and
Jessie or Sheena and Jessie (Manu 2, Spirits 3, Team E)

The main themes emerging from this team were the changes in work organisation and changes in the role of the team leader. Team E were very descriptive in their responses to any question regarding teamwork and focused on technical changes rather than broader reflection on the process of change. During the discussion there was reference to limited technical skills training, and some mention of the limited discretion that their team is allowed.

> *The general operators are still stuck where they are. They are supposed to be getting multi-skilling aren't they?* (Manu 2, Spirits 3, Team E)

> *We just run what we are told when we go in, and we just follow on the order. We don't go to them and say right, is this the next order? You are going to know what you are to do on to. If they decide to change that, they just come up and say look, we are cutting in here* (Manu 2, Spirits 3, Team E)

However, there were fewer complaints about the team leader than from other teams. This team took a very practical and pragmatic perspective on their relationship with their team leader.

> *We probably see them less (the team leader) because they are not coming up and saying right you have got a changed order or whatever, because we can read it from the computer ourselves. They used to come up and say right, you have got another order. We would know that ourselves now, so we have probably got less contact with them now than we ever had* (Manu 2, Spirits 3, Team E)

Team F: This team arrived for their focus group, completed the teamwork questionniare and then asked if they were required to be involved in the research process. When the researcher responded in the negative, they all decided to leave.

Along with Team I. this team had the lowest overall quantitative score (mean = 2.9). Although their normative score was above the midpoint (mean = 3.7), their score on the technical (mean = 2.7) and governance (mean = 2.7) were collectively lower than any other group.

6.6.4 Manu 2, Spirits 4

Team G: For this team, the quantitative findings accurately represented the discourse and themes that emerged from the focus groups. From the questionnaire, the overall mean was above the midpoint of the scale (mean = 3.6). However, this result was distorted by an exceptionally high normative identity (Normative = 4.3; Technical = 3.3; Governance = 3.2).

Team G showed a clear separation between *internalised* and *acted identification*. They also illustrated the potential impact of the organisation on the governance and technical aspects of identity. They were highly critical of teamwork. This disparagement was focused on the lack of opportunity to practice the skills they had learnt on training courses.

> *It starts off great and everybody has got these great ideas, and then it all tapers off, and that is why they all get pissed off. It sounds great at the start, but they never follow through on anything. It is written down more or less every week and we used to look back to February – the lassies will tell you – that's that there. It was repeated every week the same teamworking* (Manu 2, Sprits 4, Team G)

> *Team working is not really working as teams. They don't want you as teams. You are on line 12 rather than in a team* (Manu 2, Sprits 4, Team G)

However, Team G demonstrated a high degree of *internalised identification*. There was a great deal pf playfulness and banter within this group as well as considerable reference to themselves in terms of the collective (as the lassies).

We have not changed (since the introduction of teamwork). We are totally the same. We all get on great. We all hate each other's guts! We have all got on each other's boots but we still get on with it! They are all just being charming today because the order is cancelled (Manu 2, Sprits 4, Team G)

The lassies will tell you – that's that there, that's that here – it was repeated every week the same (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team G)

The abstract below from the focus group transcript shows perfectly how this group have a very strong sense of their worth. It also demonstrates the 'teasing' found in many of the groups with high levels of *internalised identification.*

Team Member a: I would say that we are the best team in the whole factory. There are other lines that just don't run like that.

Interviewer: What makes you a good team?
Team Member a: Because we are. We just all get on well.
Interviewer: What is it do you think that makes you gel like that?
Team Member b: Having a comedian! Hey Maureen shut up. You are speaking to too much (Manu 2, Sprits 4, Team G)

All the teams from Spirits 4 were highly critical of the implementation of both teamworking and of the rationales underpinning teamwork. There was some evidence that the changes in the economic conditions and the impact on profitability had not been explained to employees. This led to concern and confusion as the reasons for the changes in operations.

They are putting lines off for you to go and listen to all afternoon to this lassie talking. They are losing production. Now the whole idea is that to become a better company. We make more money. I remember a good few

years ago when the profits we made in here were unreal. So why not let it run the way it was? Why change it so that half your profits have just gone down the bloody drain? Know what I mean? It is crazy. And this is all team working, team management and let us all get together – and ruin the company. That is it (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team G)

Team G were not only critical of teamwork and the broader change programme, but presented concern as to the 'new' forms of managerial control. However, they were aware of management's desire for changes in behaviour and working practices, and although at the start appeared to defend the previous working practices, they recognised inefficiencies in the traditional work system.

When it was a core group, the job descriptions were for the jobs you were doing, you were to follow or whatever, you were to rebuild siphons and they would do your measure with the ruler and the bottle. You had to learn to sit on your bum. The biggest part of the day was sitting on your bum (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team G)

I think that the company fell on its arse and they blame us. So they go down the road of this change programme and it would not work, so if this place folded well it would well, we tried our best (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team G)

This team were once again critical of both their team leader and the training offered to them. The criticism of the team leaders centred on lack of experience and poor knowledge of the job. This team had limited access to training and were subsequently expected to perform work for which they had no training.

Learning new skills is the biggest laugh here. The training is non-existent. Every time somebody gets trained they are needed for another line, so there is never anybody left behind (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team G)

The new managers came in from other jobs, RAF, you name it, and they are learning from scratch and learning from us. It is totally different... Wing Commanders and things totally different thing (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team G)

The supervisor was somebody who knew the job that you were doing. Now your team manager has not got a clue what he is doing. So, for him to tell you how to do a job, and he does not know how to do it, it means when they changed from the supervisor to team manager, all the best supervisors left (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team G)

Although this team were aware of management's attempts to control employees, they were generally viewed as being unsuccessful. It could be argued that presenting *acted identification* was problematic for this group as there was a lack of awareness as to what was required from them. However, either through the specific mix of personalities or because of collective concerns about the organisation, there was a substantial degree of *internalised identification* within the team. As such, although organisational structures played a part in determining (or rather not determining) *acted identification* there was no evidence that it had an impact on *internalised identification*.

Team H: The overall mean for *acted identification* was only just at the midpoint of the scale (mean = 3). However, this mean was brought down by an exceptionally low governance score (Normative mean = 3.4; Technical mean = 3.1; Governance mean = 3.1).

Although all teams had higher normative identification than governance or technical this result was exaggerated within Spirits 4. For Sprits 4 teams, there was a clear indication that constant change and perceptions of poor management led to the inability to practice teamwork. This in turn caused low levels of identification with the governance and technical dimensions of teamwork. This was clearly reflected within Team H.

Team H had an interesting story to tell. They were, originally, members of a larger group which worked between two production lines. However, strategic problems, which in turn led to conflict within the team, forced the team to be divided into two.

> *There were two lines, we worked together, some of us liked the way it worked but others of us didn't. It was just a constant kind of wee boil. It was wee trivial things. Everyday we have to come to this, so they decided to split the two lines. So this is our team* (Manu 2, Sprits 4, Team H)

> *We have continually been split up and separated. It was never happy families I can tell you. But as I say, nine times out of ten we all have our ups and downs and our off days but it was ok* (Manu 2, Sprits 4, Team H)

In one sense, this may explain some of the findings from this team. The team had only been together in its present guise for six months (although all team members had worked together as part of the larger team for considerably longer). Despite feeling that management did not, again, allow them to perform as a team, they certainly understood the principles underpinning teamwork.

> *There is a lack of interest. They listen to us but they are not really interested. That is only my opinion though* (Manu 2, Sprits 4, Team H)

This team presented *internalised identification* and, as with the stronger teams, understood that conflict and sometimes lack of cohesiveness did not necessarily decrease the salience of the team or identification with it. Even their previous experience as part of the larger team did not distort their view teamwork.

> *We don't have a lot of problems. We work well together. If we have a problem on the line we will sit and discuss it. And that is the way it should be* (Manu 2, Sprits 4, Team H)

It does work if you have got the right team and we have got the team sussed out (Manu 2, Sprits 4, Team H)

I think that we have tried to get folk who are going to work in a wee bit of harmony. But life's life and we have our bad days and I can be the crabbiest bisom, but we do try to fix things within our wee team (Manu 2, Sprits 4, Team H)

Within Spirits 4, the practice of teamwork after the change initiative did not involve the same degree of change in practices or work organisation as in the Manu 1 plants. The awareness of teamworking practices versus non-teamworking practices was, therefore, not as clear cut. Team H, however, were exceptionally good at describing their perceptions of broader governance problems. Although not directly linked to the issue of control, it could be argued that this level of awareness is less likely to makes employees available to become pawns under the control of the organisation.

Knowing this company we'll get some more new managers next year. They have been changing that much. One says one thing and then he is away, then we get another new manager, and he is away. So you never know from one month to the next what is going to happen (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team H)

We were all part of Manu 2, and then another company they bought them over, and then they shut them off and brought their managers in here, and we changed our way of working. Fine if it had been a step in the right direction but it was okay. Then they bought over (another company) *so they brought all their management in, and they decided to do it their way. So all the way we had been taught and the way we worked was changed again. Then they bought over* (another company) *and they brought their management in and said – on no we don't do it that way, it works better this way. So let us change again. They then decided oh no you are all sacked and we will bring in hand picked management from*

the perfume industry, pregnancy testing, condoms. They don't know anything. It isn't like they aren't clever but they aren't equal (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team H)

It could also be argued, that from this team, the open criticism of management and normalisation of teamwork led to the broader critique of training - specifically normative training.

They sit you in a room and he would maybe grab someone at the back and say 'what does this mean?'. And if you got it right they would say well for being such a clever girl we will give Emily two stars... But really they just want us to go out there and work (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team H)

(Regarding training) *we have a got a big man who knows fuck all. And he is supposed to be treating us all as equals. We are all equal. He came in one morning, and this is the biggest insult, he got a picture of a cloth plus a pail equals clever. Then what is your IQ at the bottom. And that is what it says. And that is bloody insulting. Do they assume that we are not wise because we work in a factory? But we only work in a factory for the money and the fact that we want to finish our work at the end of the day and go home. That is what they are paid for –managing* (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team H)

Team I: There was very little information provided by this team during the focus group. The team answered the questions in a very straightforward manner, but with very little depth to the discussion. Consequently, the survey findings are the only valid data source from this team.

It is possible to draw parallels between this team and Team F. Both teams had equally low identification means (mean = 2.9). Although they reported a high normative identification (mean = 4.0) and a technical identity just over the midpoint (mean = 3.2), the mean for governance was exceptionally low (mean = 2.3). In all

likelihood, this is representative of the broader governance problems within the organisation.

Team J: The overall identification score for Team J was, again, only a little over the midpoint (mean = 3.2). However, the quantitative results from this team indicated high levels of normative identification and relatively low levels of governance identification (Normative = 4.0; Technical = 3.2; Governance = 2.3). This is contrary to the qualitative data, which provides evidence of a high level of *acted identification* within the governance sphere.

As reflects the general pattern within this plant, the principle of teamwork (if not the term 'team') was normalised within the factory before the change programme. Indeed, this team, a number of years ago, made the decision to perform job rotation.

> *Team Member a: At one point in time it used to just be one woman on a machine. That was her job all day. In the past, say about seven or eight years ago, we have all, the girls, moved round to every job. That is where they are getting flexibility*
> *Interviewer: That is interesting. A lot of companies introduce teamworking to get at what you have actually got.*
> *Team Member a: That was through the girls doing it themselves that we have got to the stage that we are at now. It was not through the company* (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team J)

> *We check running orders. If the team manager for example says you have 600 cases to do then maybe she goes to do something else. The operators on the line check the board anyway. They check the back of the line to see how many cases have been done, and then they take it from there themselves* (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team J)

The normalisation of this process of self-governance, could explain why that their quantitative score for governance was relatively low. Governance responsibilities

were taken for granted. It is therefore, difficult, to assess the extent to which the examples provided are examples *acted identification.*

> *Interviewer: The last bit I really want to talk to you about is team-working and how you feel about working in a team*
> *Team member: It is no different from the way they used to work ten years ago. You just work together* (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team J)

There was limited evidence however, of *internalised identity.* During the focus group the team mentioned that it is important to 'get on' and to 'solve problems', but for the most part, this was approached in a functional way and was manifested in terms of the types of behaviours associated with formalised teamwork.

> *We don't have a lot of problems. We work well together. If we have got a problem on the line and we bring it to the team briefing, Mary (the team leader) will sit and go through it with you. If there is something we will sit and discuss it. And that is the way it should be* (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team J)

Although there was some discussion of *internalised identification* which provided some interesting illustrations, these examples were not as explicit as with in some of the other teams. Examples tended follow discussions of working practices and arrangements.

> *Team Member b: You will not get everyone to agree. That is an impossibility.*
> *Team Member c: Everybody is an individual. We have all got personalities and lots of different things.*
> *Team Member b: I have got a great personality!* (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team J)

Team J, were very similar to the other teams within Spirits 4. The frequent churn within the management population produced strong critiques of the company. Nonetheless, there was little explicit discussion of control processes.

See the changes that are taking part in here a lot of the time. See if people would come down, the people making the decisions about what is going on. If they would come down to the place, like the bottling hall, the dry goods – whatever area it is they are going to change things - but they don't do that. They all sit up there writing on their bits of paper. But to me, if things are getting changed, they do not look at it enough to see the kind of problems you are going to get before the thing is done (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team J)

*Nothing happens here. People make suggestions, but no one listens so when it comes to the next time they say oh, well I am not going to say anything because I suggested this the last time – this is a better way to do this or this is a better way to do that – but nobody bothers so why should I? You get into a dangerous situation there (*Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team J)

Management say one thing and do another. That is where trust comes in, because of what has happened before we got it (Manu 2, Spirits 4, Team J)

6.7 Summary and Conclusions

The main purpose of Study One was to test out the seven research propositions. Although it is not the concern of this sub-section to provide a detailed analysis and interpretation of the results, it is useful at this point to locate some of the key themes and patterns that have emerged from this chapter. This is an essential process when using AI as a data analysis strategy.

As a starting point, Table 13 indicates the existence of, and relative strengths of, the two forms of identity across the teams. This summary is by no means scientific but is a useful baseline for broader and future discussion.

COMPANY	PLANT	TEAM	*ACTED IDENTITY*	*INTERNALISED IDENTITY*
Manu 1	Spirits 1	A	2	1
		B	2	2
	Spirits 2	C	1	1
		D	1	1
Manu 2	Spirits 3	E	2	1
		F	Insufficient Information	
	Spirits 4	G	1	2
		H	1	1
		I	Insufficient Information	
		J	1	1

Key: 2 = strong identity; 1 = some degrees of identity signified

Table 13: Summary data on identity for Study One teams

The data summarised within Table 13 starts to indicate that there is evidence for team identity. For the most part, the teams examined within Study One presented behaviours and attitudes describable as team identity, confirming proposition 1.

For most teams, there was also evidence for the confirmation of proposition 2. A clear division was frequently found between *acted* and *internalised identity*. Identity worked on two levels. On the one level participants behaved in a way they showed they understood the aims of teamwork. They enacted appropriate behaviours and attitudes which - superficially at least - made them appear to look as if they identified with teamwork (*acted identity*). There was also some evidence of a deeper level of identification where employees' presented a more subconscious attachment to the collective in a way that was not necessarily enacted in the prescribed terms of organisationally driven perceptions and requirements of teamwork. This was seen to represent *internalised identity*.

Acted identity, as proposition 3 suggested, was shown to present itself in terms of the technical, governance and normative spheres of teamwork. Yet, it was clear that all teams actively identified with the normative, to a greater extent than they did to the

technical or governance dimensions of teamwork. Again, it is not the intention to provide a delimitative discussion of the results; however this would suggest that the principles behind normative identification, that is communication, cohesion and personal responsibility, are more acceptable or more innate than the other two dimensions.

Proposition 4 focuses on how team structures and process can impact on identity. The most explicit demonstration of the impact of structures and processes, from virtually all the teams in Study One, concerned the role of the team leader and the effect that the team leader could have on both work processes and intra-team interactions. As the team leader of Team B noted,

Team leaders are the biggest blockage. They are the worst attenders (at team training) as a peer group. (Manu 1, Spirits 1, Team B: Team Leader)

This leads on to propositions 5 to 7 and the examination of the relationship between control structures and identity. There is some evidence that teamwork has become an implicit part of employment relationship which has forced a level of identification both acted and internalised with the teams. Employees within the most teams engaged in *acted identity*, yet were also aware that management required them to perform in this way. This led to a great deal of criticism. For the most part employees' tended only to perform *acted identity* when it was to their advantage.

The one team that appeared less conscious of formal or informal control mechanisms was Team B. This team also presented the highest degree of *internalised identity*. Sociologists may make the argument that these employees were socially engineered both covertly and overtly in order to create the perfect team. Psychologists may argue that this team was composed of the ideal mix of personalities, who were provided with the opportunity to operate under conditions that provided with enriched meaningful work. There could of course be an element of both. However, what was evident from this group was that this team not only got on well, but the

team leader gave them greater space than other team leaders, to undertaken teamwork behaviours.

It was difficult to ascertain from this team, or indeed from other teams under examination, the extent to which teams were dominated or influenced by one or two individuals. Although this 'domination was evident in some cases, the consistency between the findings from the quantitative and qualitative data, indicates that any domination of proceedings by particular individuals, did little to affect results.

One of the overwhelming features that have emerged, are the affects of team training programmes on employees' interpretations of teamwork and the subsequent impact *acted identity*. These training programmes have created knowledge about teamwork and appropriate teamwork practices. When employees are not given the space to adopt these practices this not only creates frustration for employees but also impacts on employees' ability to present *acted identity*. For those teams that were allowed to practice teamwork behaviours, it was possible to analyse the degree and nature of *acted identity*. For those teams that were not, this examination became problematic.

Moreover, as was exemplified in the broader discussion at the beginning of the current chapter, teamwork for many employees within the two manufacturing organisations held a negative association with redundancies and downsizing. Any efficiency gains were frequently coupled with a reduction of team size and / or an increased workload. In Spirits 2, with the creation of a surplus labour pool, and in Sprits 4, with the shrinkage of teams and the constant churn of the management, there were questions posed by employees as to the legitimacy of teams and teamwork. Another failure in transmitting a clearer teamwork messages is apparent in Manu 2. In contrast to Manu 1, despite possessing many of the technical competencies required for teamwork, Manu 2 employees' appeared to feel no greater compulsion to perform *acted identification*. The Manu 2 employees knew that they were flexible but had no idea that this was part of the teamwork package.

The propositions made assumptions on the impact of control structures on identity formation (specifically *acted identity*). However, they presented no supposition on the effects that a constraint in the performance of *acted identity* would have. One of the findings from Study One however, is that when employees are given the knowledge to perform *acted identity* but not the resources or the opportunity, this leads to negative employee's attitudes. These negative attitudes centre on interpretations of teamwork, team leaders and managerial motives. Hence, although there is sufficient evidence based on the results of Study One to suggest that the propositions are workable - and will therefore be carried through to Study Two – there is a requirement for the addition of a further proposition. Concurring with the process of AI - the opportunity to redefine research aims and research tools on the basis of findings - this final proposition relates to the clear confusion felt by employees between their teaching on teamwork and their opportunity to practice.

Proposition 8: If team members are hindered in their ability to carry out *acted identity*, this will lead to negative perceptions of teamwork and the organisation

CHAPTER SEVEN: STUDY TWO

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe the data collected from the four teams operating within the two software organisations (Tech 1 and Tech 2). The chapter commences with a description of software work and the process of software development. This sketch of work organisation and language development is essential for the understanding and interpretation of employees' experience of work.

The portrayal of software work is followed by a description of each case study organisation. This is based on company documentation and on information from both management and team interviews. The subseqent reporting of data addresses the propositions stated in previous chapters by providing an account of identity across the teams. Both the quantitative and qualitative data from each team is employed to present a picture of identity and its relationship with mechanisms of control. This occurs on a team-by-team basis. The description of each team commences with an evaluation of the open ended questions. The main focus of these questions is *acted identity*. The team descriptions are followed by an evaluation of the interview data. This representation of the teams is completed by an analysis of the quantitative data.

As well as addressing the research propositions, the reporting of the interviews and qualitative and quantitative survey data serve as a necessary framework for examining the theoretical debates central to this thesis. Each extract or quote from the qualitative data (both the interview and the open ended survey responses) are labelled according to organisational and team affiliation. Excerpts are also accredited with the job title and the gender of the employee. When quotes within this chapter originate from the interviews they are numbered according to Table 10 - Chapter Five. All other quotes originate from the open-ended interview questions.

Demographic information was easier to obtain from the software teams than from the manufacturing teams as a result of contributions being made individually rather than

in focus groups. However, job titles were based on self-definition by participants. Employee job titles and gender were only revealed with the consent of team members. Age is only discussed where it was made explicit by participants or where it was viewed as relevant by the researcher.

The data is presented in a predominantly descriptive. Theoretical and methodological implications of the findings are addressed in Chapter Eight. However, there is some interpretation of the data where it is viewed as relevant to the description, or seen as necessary for the understanding of subsequent narrative.

7.2 The organisation of software work

Software development encompasses a number of tasks including systems analysis, software design, programming and testing. It can also involve negotiations with users and, following implementation, maintenance and modification tasks. The development of a software system generally occurs within project teams, in which these various competences are represented. Not only does the process of building a team for a particular project requires the hiring of personel that possess these skills, the project also requires a considerable degree of communication and co-operation between this heterogeneous group of employees. It is important, therefore, for the software workers, in addition to familiarity with the tools and methods, to possess the normative skills that are demanded by teamwork (Khan and Kukalis, 1986).

The variety of roles within software work has emerged as part of the historical process of the development of the occupation. Because there was no clearly defined occupational model, early programming work required individuals to undertake all aspects of their trade including system design, programme design, writing code, testing and debugging, under the supervision of a more experienced specialist (Kraft and Dubnoff, 1986). Division of labour occurred within the industry when it was adopted by electronic engineering in the 1950s and 1960s. At this stage, separation of the intellectual task of designing the system from the more mechanical task of converting the design into lines of code occurred (Barrett, 1999). Analysis and design have become separated from the work of writing the code, testing it, and

writing documentation. Some have argued that the analytical separability of software development is analogous to mass standardisation techniques. Yet, counterclaims suggest that structured programming in a logical way is more about enhancing production than rigid division of labour (Bott et al., 1995).

However, the nature of work and the characteristics of employees within the industry have further changed as a response to language evolution, and created enhanced complexities in the division of labour. For development purposes, the third generation languages (3GL) of the 1950s such as FORTRAN and COBOL are relatively obsolete. Hence, employees with 3GL language skills, tend to be directed towards more routinised work such as systems maintenance. Object-oriented (OO) languages such as Java are increasing in popularity. OO languages are not only favoured for internet programming, but are starting to be used in more 'conventional' areas more commonly associated with well-established programming languages. Thus, developers with OO language skills are not as constrained as those professionals with 3GL language skills, with their esoteric and precise languages, commands and syntax (Barratt, 1999). They have the opportunities to move between spheres of work, possessing the skills to programme on virtually all currently available computer platforms.

There is an argument that the majority of forth generation languages (4GL) of the 1980s, including Java, have a vocabulary and syntax similar to natural language, which makes programming more accessible to a wide spectrum of people (Quintas, 1994). Hence, certain accounts suggest that the work of a software developer is being progressively deskilled, with work becoming more routinised and menu-driven (Ramsay, 1999). This perspective is further intensified by writers who believe that the introduction of CASE (Computer Aided Software Engineering) tools, which automate tasks such as testing and debugging, have additionally deskilled the process (Barrett, 1999).

However, a simple deskilling in the organisation of work is not evident. The division of labour has become considerably more complex since the inception of the

profession, with specialisms marking culture divisions and skill divisions between employees. Yet CASE tools have failed and are acknowledged to be of limited value and of little use (Ramsay, 1999). Similarly, OO and 4GL languages have not opened up all areas of development to the novice.

Whereas manufacturing teams are relatively stable both in terms of skills required and composition, the reality of most organisational groups, including software teams, is that they are not stable entities and regularly fade, inter-mix, and are reconfigured (Engestrom et al., 1999). The fluidity of work, with collaboration across shifting boundaries leads to learning and skills development between organisational members (Blackler and McDonald, 2000). This process is clearly reflected within software work, with knowledge sharing, knowledge acquisition and knowledge integration being significant activities within software teams (Walz et al., 1993). Co-worker relationships amongst knowledge workers are characterised by a high degree of interdependence. This emerges from the need for employees to supplement each other's expertise in order to analyse complex work problems (Tam et al., 2002). Indeed, Sonnentag (1995) found that those software professionals that can be described as excellent had no greater length of experience or enhanced training provisions than other employees, but they did have greater variability in their experience.

However, there may be problems for the organisation, with employees adopting the team as a vehicle for knowledge acquisition. The development of individual expertise both improves the value and reputation of the organisation and enhances the individual's reputation within the software expert community, leading to offers of 'more interesting' work. This results in significant tensions for the firm, between the organisational logic of using teams to undertake work efficiently and employee requirements to develop skills by moving between teams and projects and at worst moving to another organisation in order to develop further skills. Indeed, the consequences of this in its extremity are illustrated by the practice of head hunting individuals and even teams to acquire expertise or bring new clients to the firm (Rasmussen and Johansen, 2001).

A combination of these factors leads to two main issues for software teams. The first is a high degree of co-operation as a requirement for both the labour process and the need for interdependence between team members in terms of skills development. The second is low tenure as movement between organisations is fundamental to skills development. These two factors are, at least in part, evidenced within the two organisations which were the focus of the present study.

7.3 The Research Sites

7.3.1 Tech 1 – Company Profile

Tech 1 is one of the largest independent Scottish-based software houses. At the time of the research, Tech One operated from one main site within Scotland and one site in southern England. There were 137 permanent employees and 111 contractors (although not all these contractors were working at any one time) located in Scotland working on IT services and solutions, predominantly for the public sector, including applications development, knowledge management, resourcing, testing and client support. The 50 employees within the Southern operation (satellite office) focused on AS400 technology and a combination of new build and maintenance work, generally for commercial sector clients. The Scottish based Tech 1 operations generated much of their work from long-term links with government, health services and some financial sector organisations.

Tech 1's founders were both women who had previously worked for a 'female oriented' technology organisation. Tech 1 explicitly promoted the recruitment of females. At the time of the research one of the owners had recently sold the majority of her shares of the organisation to other managers; 33% of the employees in Tech 1 were female. Many of Tech 1's employees were recruited through occupational networks. Many other employees were related to the owners. The company was non-unionised, and at the time of the research, only recently started to document employment policies and working conditions (e.g. on training, appraisal, or pay scales).

Furthermore, an employee handbook containing a review of policies on redundancy, health and safety, parental leave, time off for dependants, unpaid voluntary extensions to parental leave, and other family friendly practices was being developed during the case study period. However, the HR manager had recently left the company to become a full-time parent, and it was many months before she was replaced. The company arranged quarterly review meetings to inform employees about any changes occuring, including bonuses, re-structuring and new contracts.

Because much of the recruitment of employees was based on a network of family and friends (including the window cleaner), the owners and other managers did not feel a need for trade union presence. Trust in the organisation was perceived to be high. However, there was a perception amongst the staff within Tech 1, that the organisation was controlled by the managing director and owner, and that nobody else had much say or power over activities and decisions within the organisation.

> *I have been given the remit to do that and I wanted to do that but I've been given very little support in terms of trying to get people recruited and having a plan or to say this is the stream of revenue that we see and therefore this is the resource that we need to have. It is just our infrastructure is non-existent. It takes a long time to get decisions, here you can get decisions, but one of the things that we don't have as business managers is huge amounts of authority. We have responsibility but not huge amounts of authority, but you get the blame anyway so it doesn't matter. You really need to see* (name of MD) *to make a decision.... I feel as if I am not in control of my work which for me is, I'm a control person..... I am not as committed as I used to be, I mean I'll always do a professional job here and I would never let that be seen, but I am considering looking elsewhere at the moment* (Tech 1, Business Manager, Female)

A significant proportion of Tech 1's work was undertaken on client sites and based around project teams. Projects varied in duration from two or three months to several years. However, the dominant pattern was that the off site teams were involved in the longer term projects - or maintenance initiatives spanning extensive periods of time. The projects based at Head Office tended to be of shorter duration with almost all the team members involved, to a greater or lesser extent, throughout the life of the project.

Many of the employees working on client sites were involved with the maintenance of old technologies. These employees tended to be older and as the remaining owner noted 'have different aspirations to those working with leading edge technologies.' Those employees working with 'yesterday's technology' were relatively secure in their employment positions, as fewer people possessed the same knowledge,despite a lot of organisations continuing to use the older technologies.

However, there was some sense of isolation for those employees that were based offsite and a resentment of the opportunities available to employees based at Head Office. The most frequent complaints were centred around losing out on opportunities to work on high profile projects and missing promotion opportunities because of lack of visibility.

> *I've been told I am making something out of nothing, I'm not being paranoid, but people offsite are completely forgotten about in terms of promotion, information and any available sexy work* (Tech1, Team N, Software Developer, Male; Interview 21)

However, others did see some advantage to working offsite

> *Many people feel disconnected from Tech 1 and this leads to some bitterness...But at least all the other project managers that work at Head Office seem to be trooping into the MDs office for a bollocking...Even though we bring in the majority of the revenue Tech 1 don't really care*

enough about what is going on offsite...When there is a lot of work to do they just bring in contractors, they don't ask me about it, and what they don't realise is the impact on team dynamics (Tech1, Team N, Business Sector Manager, Male)

7.3.2 Tech 2 – Company Profile

Tech 2 was founded in 1977 as a one-man business in Aberdeen. The current Head Office in Edinburgh was established in 1999. Tech 2 specialised in software for law firms and employed around 57 workers at the time of the study. There was an intention to expand. Of these employees, eleven were directly involved with software development and three were quality analysts who were involved with support and testing. Two sales staff were based in the south of England. The business is divided evenly between England and Scotland with additional clients in Wales, Eire and Nairobi.

The nature of the work for the organisation has changed considerably with the introduction of the PC. More recently there had been substantial investment in the software side of the organisation. Contact with customers begins with Sales employees. Then a 'case team' takes over, meeting the client before the majority of the work in undertaken. There are usually 3 'case consultants' who split their work between Edinburgh and London. 'Sales' and 'Implementations' both liaise with client user groups before development work begins and then 'Sales' links into the 'new release', when 'Installations' takes over. Once the product has been installed, 'support' takes over (this staff, who are mainly based in the office, may take calls or provide extra training if needed). Groups like Finance and Administration are standalone and have no involvement in this procedure.

There are no set shift patterns and no time sheets. Most employees work normal nine to five hours, except implementations who work long days, particularly if they are a working a long way from Head Office, or if there is a new release. They also tend to work many weekends and travel more than other departments.

The recently appointed HR officer had put into practice several new initiatives, including revised maternity benefits and 13 weeks parental leave. She was also in the process of developing an employee handbook as a way of increasing staff awareness of their entitlements. Although there is no union recognition in the company and there were no requests for recognition at the time of the research, the HR officer noted that she would be interested to see how the pressure for a union representing software staff in the US will affect the occupation in the UK.

The appointment of the HR officer along with rapid expansion in the year previous to the research period meant that there had been a substantial change in the nature and feel of Tech 2. There was a fairly clear separation between the more established 'old guard' who were quite negative about the changes, and the 'new guard' of younger employees who saw the need for expansion and the associated formalisation of policies and practices. Expressions of concern were common within the broader management interviews. However, there were a number of interviews from team members that also expressed strong opinions on these changes. The rate of change may have an impact on perceptions of the organisation, and in turn perceptions of teamwork.

> *One of the reasons I stay is because of the atmosphere. This is a really relaxed atmosphere, you do go down the pub on a Friday night and the company pays for a few drinks... Because it's grown from being a small company to now being a medium-sized company there is two kinds of schools in here, there is the old school who liked it when it was a small company and like the fact that you could do anything anytime and it was a bit mad and manic. And there is the new school who wants procedures in place and they want human resources and they want health and safely guidelines and all the things that have to be associated with a big company* (Tech 2, Team O, Software Team Leader, Male; Interview 24)

> *The fact that we've moved down here is changing again and the fact that we've got new management is changing again. We should have stayed as we were. Things are not so good now, I think a lot of people are still*

trying to find their feet with the new management set up we've got (Tech
2, Technical Services Manager, Male; Interview 6)

*We now have a much more formal manner with the HR department than
we would have. You know, before I put in a grievance, you know as she
called it before. Things have become more and more formal all the time.
It has gone from one extreme where it is just ridiculous, to the other
extreme where everything is documented* (Tech 2, Team O, Software
Programmer, Male; Interview 28)

7.4 Study Two Findings

7.4.1 Teamwork Questionnaire – Quantitative Data

The statements and the results of the responses to the teamwork questionnaire are
displayed on a team-by-team basis in Tables 14 and 15 below. Table 14 displays the
findings from the first part of the questionnaire, where participants were asked to
rank statements by importance. Employees were asked to rank the statements as it
was thought that by rating the competencies, information would be provided as to the
degree to which employees' views of the importance of teamwork behaviours
concurred with those of management. It should be noted that the statement was only
perceived as being important if it was ranked within the top three choices for each
team member. A one-way analysis of variance was applied across teams to examine
the extent to which team members were satisfied with the statements. Table 15
shows the differences between the teams in terms of these statements and the results
of the *post hoc* Bonferroni tests are also shown. This analysis helped address the
propositions concerning the nature of *acted identity* and how team context,
composition and control structures affects *acted identity* (Propositions 2, 3, 4, 5, 7,
8).

		TECH 1			TECH 2		
	Location of Team	Head Office	Client Site	Client Site	Head Office		
	TEAM	L	M	N	O		
	Number in Team	16	11	8	10	OVERALL PERCENTAGE	OVERALL RANKING
Support with work related problems (T)		80	71.4	71.4	83.3	73	1
Flexibility with working arrangements (T + G)		30	21.4	32.8	33.3	29.7	6
Good attendance (N)		30	14.2	0	0	16.2	=8
Competence (T)		50	71.5	85.7	66.7	67.5	2
Acceptance of fair share of workload (G)		50	42.8	28.6	83.3	48.6	4
Support with personal problems (N)		20	23.4	0	16.7	16.2	=8
Loyalty (N)		30	14.3	14.3	30	24.3	7
Friendliness (N)		60	28.5	28.6	33.4	37.8	5
Sharing of work related information (G)		50	57.1	85.7	83.3	64.9	3

T,G,N refers to the technical, governance and normative dimensions of teamwork respectively
Table 14: Percentage within each team that ranked expectations of *acted identity* within top 3 in terms of importance (Study Two)

	Tech 1			TECH 2		
Location of Team	Head Office	Client Site	Client Site	Head Office		
TEAM	L	M	N	O	F stat	Bonferroni
Support with work problems (T)	4.30	3.86	3.71	4.00	.67	
Flexibility with working arrangements (T + G)	4.00	3.43	4.00	3.86	.92	
Good attendance (N)	4.12	3.92	3.83	4.71	3.44	O >L*
Competence (T)	4.10	3.77	3.86	4.00	.63	
Acceptance of fair share of workload (G)	4.11	3.36	4.00	4.14	2.26	
Support with personal problems (N)	4.00	2.83	3.33	3.50	1.93	
Loyalty (N)	3.87	2.66	3.83	3.83	6.45	MNO>L*
Friendliness (N)	4.22	3.79	4.50	4.43	1.61	
Sharing of work related information (G)	4.10	3.21	4.10	4.14	2.54	

*p<.01 : T,G,N refers to the technical, governance and normative dimensions of teamwork respectively
Table 15: Means and Results of One-Way Analysis of Variance for *acted identity* (Study Two)

When asked about the factors that they expected to receive from their team members, for all teams there is a clear bias towards technical factors. Indeed, the two factors that were most frequently rated within the top three, was firstly, an expectation of

support with work-related problems and secondly, competence. The technical expectations were closely followed by governance expectations in the guise of sharing of information and acceptance of workload. The lowest ranked factors were all within the normative domain, with the exception of flexibility with working arrangements, which was ranked sixth overall.

There was however, a different story being presented when participants were asked to assess whether or not they were satisfied with the performance of these behaviours within their own team. Overall, the means for most factors - within all teams - were well above the midpoint of the scale. Employees were satisfied with normative factors despite low expectations of the normative from other team members (it may be because their expectations were low that they were more likely to be satisfied). The only team that appeared to be significantly less satisfied than other teams was Team M - specifically in terms of two of the normative factors, satisfaction with good attendance (mean = 3.92; F = 3.44) and loyalty (mean = 2.66; f = 6.45). Because there was little differentiation between teams on many of the quantitative measures there will be only brief consideration of these findings within the team descriptions.

7.4.2 Tech 1 – Acted Identity, Internalised Identity, Teamwork and Control: A team by team description

7. 4.2.1 Team L

Team L was located within the Head Office of Tech 1 and was involved in a project designing an electronic service delivery system for local government. At the time of the research, the team had been together for about six months although many of the team members had worked together on previous projects. However, it should be noted that this team had been together for less time than the many of the other teams within both Study One and Study Two. The data from the open-ended survey questions provides useful information on the degree to which the teams engage in teamwork behaviours and on *acted identity*.

As far as the technical dimensions of teamwork are concerned, flexibility was seen to be dependant on the type of role held within the team rather than a generic pattern. This is illustrated below.

> *Very flexible, it is more of a 'do what you can do to help' role but with defined goals to deliver as well* (Tech 1, Team L, Systems Developer, Male)

Other employees within the team felt that they were afforded little flexibility.

> *Not very flexible at all, find myself doing mundane and repetitive tasks* (Tech 1, Team L, Senior Systems Builder, Gender Unknown[15])

This project presented some team members with opportunities to move between tasks. However, for the majority of employees there was little prospect of undertaking a variety of work. Employees responded to the question on opportunity to move between tasks as follows:

> *All team members have to be very dynamic- particularly on this project where the technology is new and most of the team is learning* (Tech 1, Team L, Position and Gender Unknown)

> *...Range of tasks, but one is foremost at any one time, e.g. I am investigating a project, winding up another and answering developers questions about a third* (Tech 1, Team L, Position and Gender Unknown)

> *Members tend to have particular tasks on which they focus e.g. I tend to be given the task of computer generated reports* (Tech 1, Team L, Senior Systems Builder, Gender Unknown)

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[15] For some of the quotes obtained from the open ended survey questions the participants withheld their position and/or gender

Although some employees believed that their skills were being utilised to the maximum, over half the members of the team felt that they were not provided with the opportunity to fully use their skills.

> *Yes. I can't think of an example on this project where I haven't fully utilised my skills* (Tech 1, Team L, Systems Builder, Male)

> *My role does not utilise my development skills but it will be a useful exercise in the long run* (Tech 1, Team L, Project Manager, Male)

> *I feel that my skills have not been utilised very well. I have spent most of my time focusing on to very small areas* (Tech 1, Team L, Senior Systems Builder, Gender Unknown)

Knowledge and information tended to be pooled via email and, occasionally, team meetings. Although two thirds of the team perceived this process as being acceptable - or at least failed to present a criticism of this process - a number of other team members felt that this mechanism was insufficient for the transmission of information. One team member even argued that it was contrary to the principles of teamwork. Responses to the question on knowledge transfer - To what extent do members of your team share and circulate work-related knowledge and skills? - included the following:

> *Pretty well. Given the large amount to learn on this project. Combination of emails but largely mentoring and helping one another out when a problem occurs* (Tech 1, Team L, Senior Systems Builder, Male)

> *No formal knowledge dissemination, all word of mouth. A 'known' expert will be asked for advice. Project start up will define standards but this is not updated during project. Numerous emails fly around with code examples but no structure. Knowledge often remains at a per project level not at an E2 level* (Tech 1, Team L, Technical Architect, Male)

Insufficiently. The team is composed of too many individuals with insufficient team involving skills. Although some info is passed on by email (the primary sources), informal discussions and occasional formal briefings, the level of information sharing is low. I spend a lot of time trying to address this (Tech 1, Team L, Systems Builder, Male)

Various members of the team have written documents to distribute knowledge. However communication regarding these is poor and there often isn't the time to read them (Tech 1, Team L, Senior Systems Builder, Male)

As far as the broader governance dimensions of teamworking, specifically decision-making, two or three of the technical staff believed that they had considerable decision-making opportunities but again, the majority felt that they did not have a voice. Their responses to the question on - to what extent do you have control over how decisions are made within your team? – were as follows:

I have a high level of influence on the project based on my level of experience (Tech 1, Team L, Systems Developer, Male)

Responsible for many technical decisions. Design of solution architecture, estimating builds, management of technical watch team. Technical choices often rejected as 'easier' path taken by project manager over the correct path-often without sufficient justification (Tech 1, Team L, Systems Builder, Male)

None what so ever. I am frequently excluded from meetings where such things are discussed (Tech 1, Team L, Senior Systems Builder, Gender Unknown)

Reflecting this pattern of governance responsibilities, this project was clearly run along traditional lines with the project manager or team leader distributing most of the work. Employees had little opportunity to exercise governance skills.

> *Team leaders have authority to distribute work. It has been particularly dynamic in this project due to the technology problems. Probably seems chaotic to team members. Best mechanism under the circumstances* (Tech 1, Team L, Position and Gender Unknown)

> *The PM (project manager) and analysts have full authority, they decide who does what. I think everybody should have a say. The analysts do not fully appreciate what skills the developers have* (Tech 1, Team L, GA Assistant, Female)

Moving onto the normative dimension; some Team L members felt that the team did not communicate effectively. The concerns from these employees centred on competitiveness between employees.

> (we communicate) *insufficiently. Individual subgroups of 2-3 have worked effectively together, but team wide the communication is poor* (Tech 1, Team L, Position and Gender Unknown)

> *Communication tends to be quite poor within the team. Often someone can be struggling with a problem and the person next to them has the solution but is too busy to take an interest* (Tech1, Team L, Senior Systems Builder, Gender Unknown)

However, the majority of employees felt that communication was good within the team. As well as communicating through formal channels there was considerable informal support and transfer of information

(Team meetings are held) fortnightly. Full team meetings tend to be one sided. Most communication is ad hoc and person-to-person (sometimes via email). Communication (is) generally good but there have been occasions where a change one person makes causes a problem with another persons work and this could have been dealt with by better communication (Tech 1, Team L, Position and Gender Unknown)

Most communication is informal, neighbourly. New official channels include regular team meetings and monthly E2 report which help provide a corporate view (Tech 1, Team L, Systems Builder, Male)

The interviews provided more information within the team regarding the nature of identity, specifically, *internalised identity* within the team. Furthermore, the interviews helped to locate identity within the broader context of the nature of work and mechanisms of control. A number of employees commented on the nature of communication within the organisation and the principles behind this method of communication.

They (Tech 1) have also got a slightly different philosophy from most companies, they are a John Lewis Partnership basically, they are supposedly owned in kind of a mutual sense by the people that work for them. So they are very democratic and very into employee power. Whether that is real or imagined is a topic for debate in the company. At least that is where the heart it. So the Tech 1 comparison, yes it is certainly the best software development company I've worked for (Tech 1, Team L, Senior Systems Builder, Male; Interview 8)

Is information communicated down well? Well they certainly try very hard. It is difficult to comment I suppose because I don't know what information I haven't been told. Certainly there are things you learn around through talking to other colleagues who are in other departments. So information may come to you through less formal direct

routes. However, the information is there to find if you feel inclined finding it I suppose (Tech 1, Team L, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 9)

There was a clear reliance on the team as a mechanism for communication. Even those who felt that their work was fairly individualistic, acknowledged the need for collaboration and co-operation.

I work more on my own than with other people, although with a large amount of input from other people..... sort of need this to work out what is going on in your own project and other projects (Tech 1, Team L, Business Manager, Male; Interview 11)

It does work very much as a team. Sure you do your own bit of work or whatever but very, very rarely do you ever produce any of that work in complete isolation from anyone else. So you obviously have to talk to other people about what they are doing and how you are doing affects them and how it fits in with the overall project. Also in the position I've got I design, I mean I designated a lot of the stuff for one of the original projects. So I've got quite a bit of an understanding in the underlying architecture of what we are doing at the moment. So I get asked by lots of other people, how do we do this or what's going on here. So a lot of people come to me and some of the other ones on the team for that kind of resource. They say I am trying to do this; you have done something similar before, how do you do it? Or you adminstrated this thing - tell me how it works (Tech 1, Team L, Senior Systems Builder, Male; Interview 9)

The majority of participants discussed the importance of the team and their attachment to the team. The main exception to this was contractors in the early days of their employment with the organisation.

On my first project I found it a little bit antisocial. Ok antisocial is maybe not the right word, unsociable because people sort of went off at Friday lunch time and went down the pub. But I started with two other contractors so it was quite nice because we all just kind of looked at each other and went oh, it must be Friday lunch time, we are the only ones here. I mean now I've been here a while longer I would like to go to the pub (Tech 1, Team L, Software Developer, Female; Interview 10)

However, even contractors at later stages of their employment acknowledged the extent of *internalised identification* within the team.

Yeah we are a fairly close-knit team. Maybe that is actually a disadvantage because I am part of team, even as a contractor I feel as much of the team as anyone else. Maybe from the outside it looks a little bit cliquey. We occupy a large are of the floor and maybe other people on the floor find that quite difficult (Tech 1, Team L, Software Developer, Female; Interview 9)

Most of the members of this team referred to the degree of *internalised identification* within the group, and the effect that this had on communication. There were also frequent reference to the extent to which the team socialised together.

The focus is very much that you identify with your group and your group leader. Most people see themselves as project based with much less identity of their unit. Generally speaking almost everything that people do is part of a project and that I think is people's identities…………Perhaps because they work for one client, in a tight team they are down the pub, they're down the pub practically every day actually, they're down the pub quite a lot and they are more like a family unit (Tech 1, Team L, Business Manager, Male; Interview 11)

The qualitative information provides more information about identity within Team L. This group's expectations of teamwork were not that dissimilar patterns found in the other software teams. With the exception of a strong emphasis on friendliness, this team, like other teams, placed the greatest priority on the technical and the governance dimensions of teamwork. Although there were no statistically significant differences between the findings from this team and the other teams, this team scorded slightly higher than average on the three teamwork dimensions.

There was sufficient evidence, from the survey data at least, to suggest that a number of team members were practicing *acted identification*. This group, however, also possessed high levels of *internalised identification*. This was predominantly explained by way of degrees of team interaction; most frequently in terms of collective social activities.

7.4.2.2 Team M

Team M were based in a government organisation. They were working on a long-term contract. This team, in one form or another, had been located within the client site for over three years. Out of the eleven current team members, 9 were permanent Tech 1 employees and 2 were working on long-term contracts. There was also a Business Sector Manager and a Team Manager based on the client site. The average age of the employees in Team M was around 30.

The members of Team M were broadly autonomous in their day-to-day work. They were rarely visited by Tech 1 senior management. Team members took most of their orders from the host organisation and had frequent contact with their user group. The majority of employees felt that they had some influence over day-to-day operational decisions. Yet, they had little opportunity for involvement with higher level strategic decisions. However, some team members felt that they had little influence over any dimension of their work.

I have no control over how decisions are made (Tech 1, Team M, Business Sector Manager, Male)

All who are qualified will take part in any decision-making required. This may be overruled, however, by the external client (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Analyst, Female)

Similarly, work was viewed as being decided by, and allocated by, the team leader, the business sector manager or the client. Employees felt that they had very little opportunity to allocate their own work, although there was some perception of shared responsibility in terms of completing the task.

Targets are set by business needs. We as a team manage the work in our own way as long as targets are met. Project plans are drawn up and tasks allocated to each person in the team (Tech 1, Team M, Test Consultant, Female)

The team has full control of distributing the work. Brainstorming session/discussion of future work plan and allocate work in accordance to the business process priority schedule (Tech 1, Team M, Developer, Male)

Although each team member had a functional role, the evidence from the open-ended survey questions indicated that they all perceived themselves as being flexible and frequently working outwith their functional responsibility. Despite a perception of limited governance responsibility, there was the perception of engagement with the technical domain of teamwork.

Main tasks are analysis and testing, but may do coding if required to (Tech 1, Team M, Developer, Male)

As part of outsourcing team flexibility and a varying responsibility role is key (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Builder, Female)

Very flexible depending on which area of the system requires to be tested. I have the responsibility of testing 2 major systems- SIACS and FMR. If there are deadlines to be reached on both systems I may have to switch testing priorities (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Builder, Male)

When team members were asked whether they moved between a range of tasks, they provided a detailed picture of the flexibility required for their roles. This further highlighted the importance of taking on responsibilities of others within the team, despite having their own functional tasks:

We move between tasks. Because this is a support role working on a 'seasonal' system the roles and tasks vary at different times of the year (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Builder, Female)

Range of tasks, but one is foremost at any one time. E.g. I am investigating a project, winding up another and answering developers questions about a third (Tech 1, Team M, Business Analyst, Male)

We move between tasks. Anything from analysis, Design, Code and Test and System test (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Builder, Female)

When team members asked about utilisation of skills, the survey answers provided illuminating answers, both in terms of how team members felt about their current work and how employees perceived their contribution to team governance. From many of the responses, there was an indication that team members wished to have more opportunity not only to use their technical skills but also their managerial skills and so to have more control over team activities. In terms of the former concern, it was well known within the organisation that many of the offsite projects were viewed as being less challenging than the work that was undertaken at Head Office.

In the past I have had more responsibility. I feel a bit constrained by my role at the moment (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Builder, Male)

Not really fully utilised, due to the occasional lack of work/challenge (Tech 1, Team M, Team Leader, Female)

The role does not utilise all my skills - to date there has not been a situation in this project where I have been able to fully utilise them (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Builder, Male)

To commence any examination of normative issues including communication, it is useful to analyse the responses to the question concerned with knowledge sharing. For at least half the respondents there was the belief that knowledge was most often pooled in the team meeting.

This is generally discussed in Team meetings. Also, team leaders give guidance about the knowledge and skill, as and when required (Tech 1, Team M, Business Sector Manger, Male)

Weekly team meetings. In house seminars on different parts of the system (Tech 1, Team M, Business Analyst, Female)

However, other employees believed there was some informal discussion, particularly in asking advice from more knowledgeable team members. Email was also mentioned as a forum for sharing information.

Well, here knowledgeable members are often mentored by others (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Analyst, Female)

Certain individuals are known to have particular skills and are asked for advice where appropriate (Tech 1, Team M, Team Leader, Female)

Similarly, when asked about communication and to give examples of effective communication, many respondents returned to a discussion of team meetings as a forum for discussion. Communication was most frequently expressed in formal settings. Nonetheless, more than half the team believed that communication is good. However, there was common reference to functional divisions within the team and hierachical communication.

> *Within this part of the team we communicate well, but apart from weekly team meeting we have no communication with the other bit of the team as we are working on different areas of the business from them* (Tech 1, Team M, Test Consultant, Female)

> *A recent project brought together two separate strands of our work. This required effective communication between several team members* (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Analyst, Female)

> *Communication is very limited. There is a weekly team meeting to discuss current work progress. Business Analysts/management meet weekly but there is no input/ or output from their meetings* (Tech 1, Team M, Developer, Male)

This reflects the general patterns of responses from this team. Employees frequently focused on work related issues even when attempting to move beyond the surface. Efforts to understand identity therefore became problematic.

Employees frequently focused on the relationship between the employing organisation (Tech 1) and offsite staff. As previously noted, offsite employees often referred to the dearth of opportunities for both promotion and interesting work. Many team members were concerned with lack of inclusion in company mailings and missing out on documentation updates.

I have been here since May and for some reason I am not on the company mailing list (Tech 1, Team M, Tester, Female; Interview 13)

You hear stories because, like, people that work downstairs have got friends in Head Office and they seem to be getting a lot of training, but the ones that are offsite don't seem to be getting the training. It's a bit disappointing but that's the case. They (people at Head Office) *are kept more up to date, which came to light because there was a girl up form the southern operation and she was sent to work with me for the week and then she went to Head Office and said I was working with old versions of the manual* (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Tester, Female; Interview 14)

Those employees that had never worked at Head Office were often more integrated with the host organisation than they were with their employing organisation. As the Business Sector Manager noted, *'You'll never stop people going native'*. One employee made explicit reference to the lack of identification with Tech 1. He blamed poor management skills on the inability to integrate the team with the employing organisation.

There are people in here who have never been in Head Office other than to be interviewed. They will not feel part of Tech 1 (Tech 1, Team M, Team Leader, Female; Interview 16)

There is much less identification with Tech 1 with those working offsite, the only way round this is for the individual managers to be the company but these managers tend to be techies and have no business or management skills (Tech 1, Team M, Software Analyst, Male; Interview 15)

The lack of identification with Tech 1 did not in itself transfer identity to the team level. As was implied earlier, much of the work is highly individualistic in nature and

many employees discussed this when asked about relationships within the team - and how they felt about team members. Instead of focusing on identity issues, employees again, moved towards a discussion of individual control and autonomy.

> *It's a funny situation because I am actually in control of the work; nobody knows anything that I do, like basically I am left in charge of writing the system test, definition whatever. But actually controlling the projects I am working on,* (the business sector manager) *and I have no control. As far as all the work nobody shows an interest* (laugher). *You know, like I'm in control of that. I suppose it is different. It's just like, before I came in as a project leader, you were more involved with people than actual work but this time it's all work and no people* (Tech 1, Team M, Team Leader, Female; Interview 16)

> *I work as an individual. I don't report to anyone not even my team leader. She is really quite happy that I just get on and do it* (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Tester, Female; Interview 14)

The only real sense of any team identity or identification with the team, was based firstly on discussions about team cohesion, and secondly on conversations about socialising. There were, accordingly, a number of comments from team members about people being friendly and being willing to help each other.

> (Team M) *are very helpful and friendly, they take the time out to help you and to get to know the system* (Tech 1, Team M, Tester, Female; Interview 13)

> *The people I share a room with are friendly* (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Analyst, Female; Interview 17)

> *I think we are very willing to work as a team. There's so many changes to the system that go on every year. Yes, no, there's nobody really sort of*

possessive .....It's very friendly. The only thing I do miss is the open plan. You don't get to meet as many people that you are involved with workwise (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Tester, Female; Interview 14)

This last comment is central to the activities within this team. There was little indication of *internalised identity*, predominantly because the degree of interaction between the team members would not allow it. Software work is highly individualised and even more so within this group. Within the teams in Study One, - in addition to interacting more - there was also an increased awareness of how people should behave within a team because of the team training process. The only indication from this group, of *internalised identification,* was in terms of some socialising between group members: there were some collective activities - a few nights out, joint lunches and a lottery syndicate.

If something happens, like we won money in the lottery syndicate – not a lot – but we might go out to spend that. I had something to celebrate so everybody went to my house. We have been out for Christmas lunch, had team nights out (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Analyst, Female; Interview 17)

We went to the festival and we are going out for lunch in a fortnight's time but I don't socialise with anybody outside work (Tech 1, Team M, Systems Tester, Female; Interview 14)

Yet, apart from these few 'team' activities, there was little socialising within this group. There were no strong friendships, unlike within many of the teams in Study One, and some of the other teams in Study Two. This was explained in terms of the diversity of people working within the team, family responsibilities and commuting issues.

(the reason that people don't socialise) *I think that there is such a wide variety of different people within the office. There's quite a big age span*

as well in our office. There's an awful lot of part-timers, you know, that work Monday to Thursday so there's a lot of people off on the Friday who would maybe go out a and socialise for a drink you know, and there's girls that have got families, you know, they have other commitments. And also, I don't know if it's like contractors as well you know (Tech 1, Team M, Team Leader, Female; Interview 16).

The quantitative data suggested that this team also had relatively low levels of *acted identity* compared to other teams. However, it should be noted that on all but two of the statements, the responses were still above the midpoint of the scale. The two statements which were statistically lower than the other teams were both located within the normative domain. These were loyalty (Mean = 2.66; F = 6.45), and good attendance (Mean = 3.92; F = 3.44).

In practice, it could be that lack of team training and low levels of interaction with other teams lead to limited knowledge regarding 'good practice' in terms of teamworking. Moreover, the desire or ability to undertake *acted identity* due to limited surveillance of day-to-day work activities is also restricted. The organisation may not need to facilitate *acted identity* by implementing traditional control mechanisms. This is because the notion of professionalism or the idea and opportunity to be engaged in professional work is sufficient to at least achieve some attachment to the employing organisation by employees. There are a number of factors that would suggest there is very little *internalised identity*; this may also be that the nature of the work, although collective and collaborative in some ways, is still highly individualised and that the opportunities and desire to develop *internalised identity* is limited.

7.4.2.3 Team N

Team N was located within the offices of a client operating within the financial services sector. The team was relatively small with only eight members plus one

team leader. Team N was Tech 1's longest standing outsourced or 'outlocated' team. However, Tech 1's presence on the client site was not centred, solely, on this team. There were other Tech 1 contractors working within client teams on the same site. Only one member of the team was not on a full-time Tech 1 contract. The average age of the team was in the mid-forties. Team N members were predominantly female and the two males in the team were the more junior members of the group. The age and gender profile in this team was a function of the team being responsible for maintaining outdated systems using unfashionable languages. These languages are unknown by younger software professionals, who are generally unwilling to learn them.

> *A lot of what is undertaken at Head Office is new development and a lot of it is new technology. It's cutting edge. Here we are supporting applications that have already been written* (Tech 1, Team N, Systems Builder, Male)

Many of the women in the team were working part-time and found that the nature of the work was compatible with domestic responsibilities. Full-time employees Team N members worked the same hours as the client's employees - 34 hours a week. This was a shorter standard working week that that of Tech 1 Head Office employees. Moreover, Team N employees were not subject to the same overtime commitments as Tech 1 Head Office workers.

There was some indication that there was a greater sense of collective identity for Team N compared to Team M. Many team members, however, still argued that the work was fairly individualised. They also suggested that despite some interaction and interdependency between team members, work was very much on a personal basis.

> (In response to do you work as an individual or as a team) *A bit of both actually. It's quite hard to say. Most of the times you are doing your own work but the others come in to it when you have to ask for help or ask questions or phone people. So it's a bit of both. But I have specific work*

that I do so in that sense I am an individual. But I have to liaise with other people (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 19)

Similar to Team M, team members frequently referred to the limited amount of control that they had over their work. The working day was determined by the client. Although the work was individualistic, this did not lead to employees having any more control over their work

Don't really have much control over my work. It's more likely dictated by the others, by the users, by (client company) and by Trisha who is my boss. She's a nice boss to have anyway (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 20)

It's really just fairly standard contracting. At the end of the day it's an agency, an outsourcing team, it doesn't really matter. I mean the agency gets their cut of whatever it is they are getting from the company, they market you to the company and you go and work for the company but technically you are working for an agency, even though you never see anybody from them. It's a little bit more hands-on and it's a little bit more – there's nobody sitting over my shoulder watching me- but obviously because of the fact that I am working in an outsourcing team which works directly for Tech 1, it's more a case of Tech 1 has more feedback on what I am doing, which they wouldn't have if they were just a pure agency, which was what happened where I previously worked (Tech 1, Team N, Developer, Male; Interview 21)

In part, the nature of work, and the level of control over work, was related to the team being outsourced. The team were in effect a group of 'agency' contractors from Tech 1. As such, there were similarities in terms of the discussion of the relationship with the employing organisation and how working offsite related to their attachment and identity with Tech 1.

Specific issues relating to the connection between Team N and Tech 1 were focused on the level of communication, and the degree to which information was circulated from Head Office to the group. Like Team M, there was a contradiction between wishing to feel included in any broader organisational communication, but also feeling that they were often provided with information that was irrelevant to their work.

We have the email addresses and you get al.l the emails coming through, which are usually – I am leaving after five years – (laughter) so I suppose we are kept informed (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 20)

We did go through a spell where we felt totally isolated and didn't hear very much about what was going on, but they have improved, we have email now so we get emails from the office (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 19)

During the interviews employees were asked who they viewed as being their employer. Responses were generally consistent. The longer that people worked outside the employing organisation the more they felt detachment from Tech 1. Some members felt that their primary source of identity was with Team N and others felt an attachment to their host or client organisation. Some of the members of Team N had previously worked within other teams within the client organisation.

(Response to question: Do you see yourself as part of the organisation?) *Depends, I think, how long you have been working. Like Trisha has always been part of the outsourcing team. I have worked with* (host organisation) *team as well, so probably in all that time you were almost treated like an employee of* (host organisation), *but when you are stuck in an outsourcing team you are viewed as an outsider* (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 19)

(Response to question: Who do you work for?) *I would say Tech 1 outsourcing team in* (name of Client Company). *Believe me there are numerous options and its crazy work* (Tech 1, Team N, Developer, Male; Interview 21)

Visiting Head Office or at a meeting we appear to be outsiders, especially as the length of being outside increases that (Tech 1, Team N, Systems Builder, Male)

A specific example of the tense relationship between the outsourced teams and Head Office was provided by one member of Team N. He was trying to acquire information that would help him perform his work. However, employees at Head Office were reluctant to provide him with this information;

They really didn't want me to have any part in looking at their databases. Now they don't know me, and I don't know them, and maybe it is none of my business, and perhaps they are quite justified in that, but at the time I thought that we are all one big happy family and we solve the problem together kind of thing, and they didn't seem very willing to do that (Tech 1, Team N, Systems Builder, Male; Interview 18)

As with Team M, integration with the employing organisation was benchmarked according to inclusion in company social events.

I think in Tech 1 you don't really feel part of a team. I usually go the events like the barbeque, I see even less faces than I used to know. But then there's quite a few of them here. So we feel like an outpost (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 19)

The main office does organise stuff. I wouldn't call it team building because we don't actually work together. It was actually quite fun. It was

a good chance to meet people from the office because now the company has expanded so much I hardly know anyone from other there so it's a good way to meet other employees (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 20)

On the level of the team, socialising was also mentioned by most of the participants. Again, as with Team N, the limited amount of interaction between team members presented few opportunities for demonstrating either type of identity; the relationships within the team were often explained in terms of social interaction.

In socialising we go out for lunch together now and again. But we don't do much after work. We sometimes go out for an evening meal but that is maybe once every six months or a year or something (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 20)

I am not a particularly kind of social person, I suppose, not going out all the time. But there definitely is a relationship amongst other team members. The opportunity is available (Tech 1, Team N, Developer, Male; Interview 18)

We do that at lunchtime quite a lot. We might occasionally go out for a drink. But not really at night because everybody lives all over the place, so we don't really socialise after hours (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 19)

The interview responses portrayed Team N as a relatively cohesive team. Most team members - during their interviews - referred to the degree of co-operation between colleagues. This was frequently justified as a reaction to their isolation from their employer and their host organisation. They often refered to their attachement to the team as a response to the length of time they had been together.

From the point of view if I am working in any team, I think, you have a quite close team relationship and I can't imagine if we were a (host organisation) team, doing what we are doing, we would be any more integrated than the rest of (host organisation), *because we would still be a team* (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 19)

Q. *So most of the team have been here for about seven years?*

A. *Shona and Alison have only been here for about a year and a half I think. I'm not sure about Dale but he was definitely here when I joined two years ago.*

Q. *Does that make for a stronger sense of yourself a part of a team?*

A. *Yes definitely* (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 20)

There's no problem with the team things because of the fact that Tech 1 staff are essentially viewed as contractors anyway by the rest of the staff in (host organisation). *They are excluded anyway so if there was a bond in the team or any problem with the bond because of differences within the team the would be over-run by that very fact, because of the fact that they know that they are being excluded for the same kind of reasons, because they aren't permanent employees worked* (Tech 1, Team N, Developer, Male; Interview 21)

99% of the time is spent on the project, so people are much more focused on the project rather than Tech 1 as a whole (Tech 1, Team N, Project Manager, Female)

We all work together. All the girls in the team, almost all of them have been here for about seven years (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 20)

As well as mentioning that the length of time that the team had been together as having an impact on relationships within the team (which can be viewed as internalised team identity), other members of this team attempted to articulate what it is that makes a good team and why they get on well. In a similar manner to some of the teams in Study One, this was frequently articulated as a 'good mix of personalities' and lack of serious conflict.

I think I have been lucky. I think we have all been lucky. We all get on very well together. There's never been any major fallouts which you might expect. No animosity or anything. I think we all get on very well together (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 19)

We all seem to get on very well. I don't know why or how. There are no personality clashes. I don't know why but we have just done over the years... Although there's eight together there's a lot of one to one, one to two relationships that go around because we are not all doing the same thing (Tech 1, Team N, Senior Systems Builder, Female; Interview 20)

There was little additional insight into the nature of the team from the quantitative data. The pattern of responses regarding the relative importance of the technical, normative and governance dimensions was not dissimilar to broader patterns of responses from all teams. Once more, the technical and governance dimensions were assumed to take priority. Moreover, team members reported similar patterns of satisfaction as the other teams. Aside from being more satisfied with loyalty than Team L, there were no other statistically significant differences between this team and the other Study Two teams.

In summary, as with the previous team, there was little overt evidence of *acted identity*. Although the qualitative data indicated awareness of both the important elements of teamwork and the perception of this actually occurring within the team, there was no additional evidence for this from the interviews. Once more, the

assumption could be made that, owing to the individualised nature of work and the lack of specific team training, that the interpretation of teamwork by these team members was different to that of both Study One participants. Interpretation of teamwork could also be argued to differ from much of the academic and practitioner writing on teamwork. Nevertheless, at least in comparison to Team M, this team did display *internalised identity*. It was clear from the interviews that there was a great deal of affection between team members and this translated into identification with the team in terms of positive descriptions of individual team members and the activities and sociability of the working environment.

7.4.3 Tech 2 – Acted identity, Internalised identity, Teamwork and Control

7.4.3.1 Team O

Team O was the software development team within Tech 2. Tech 2 differed to Tech 1 in terms of the organisation of work within software development projects. In Tech 2 there was separation of the development team from the groups of employees who undertook the testing work and the analysis. Unlike the other Study 2 teams, this team had been presented with information from the organisation about teamwork and how teams should operate. In part, this was a response to the substantial changes that had occurred within the organisation in the year previous to the research period. The new HR manager had introduced 'good practice' in terms of teamwork, which included weekly team meetings called 'team huddles' where information exchange was seen as essential for effective team functioning.

Accordingly, all the members of Team O responded positively to the open-ended question about knowledge sharing within the team - both in terms of practice and usefulness.

> *We distribute knowledge via emails, huddles and meetings. We are all very friendly and can chat with each other easily. We also give presentations to the group if one of us attends a training course or*

conference (Tech 2, Team O, Software Development Team Leader, Male)

We share knowledge by having weekly team huddles or if this is not possible we meet when and wherever we can (Tech 2, Team O, Software Developer, Male)

All members of the team openly share knowledge whether that be informal chats, formal meetings to discuss new technology or presentation to development group (Tech 2, Team O, Analyst/Programmer, Male)

Again, unlike the other three teams, all members of this group felt that there was substantial flexibility in their work. The majority described how they moved between a variety of tasks within their job.

My role is very flexible and changes from day-day. This may involve being onsite, training, testing new software, implementing new software, advising clients (Tech 2, Team O, Implementation Consultant, Female)

My role is extremely flexible, sometimes I am training, the next I am project managing. I enjoy the variety (Tech 2, Team O, Software Development Team Leader, Male)

Although this team had two 'formal' team leaders, there was a degree of rotation of team responsibilities and this was reflected in terms of perceptions of role flexibility.

My role continually changes depending on the remit my team is given. I have responsibility for project management, recruitment and team management so my tasks are varied and interesting (Tech 2, Team O, Analyst/Programmer, Male)

*We all share responsibilities. Someone may do a demonstration one day
then hold a meeting the next, then the next person may be doing the same*
(Tech 2, Team O, Software Development Team Leader, Male)

With the exception of one team member (who just answered 'no' to the question), all respondents to the open-ended survey question on skill use felt that their job for the most part provided the opportunity to use their full profile of expertise. Some employees, however, noted the lack of opportunity to use specific programming languages.

*My role does fully utilise my skills in the programming area, although I
have not been able to use SQL skills a lot- mainly CTT* (Tech 2, Team O,
Programmer, Female)

*I feel my role does fully utilise my skills, and my role is changing to suit
my skills. I can't think of an example where I have not been able to utilise
my skills* (Tech 2, Team O, Software Developer, Male)

The responses to the question regarding control over decisions within the team - To what extent do you have control over how decisions are made within your team? - were more divided than responses to previous questions. Although over half the respondents felt that they had some rule over judgments within the group, the responses to the question on decision-making spanned the spectrum of potential responses from those that felt they had limited governance powers to those that believed that they worked within a highly democratic environment.

*I can influence decisions by approaching a leader with my opinion. I was
allowed to change a product after we had released it after I discovered,
what I thought was a major issue to some of our customers. I don't feel
like I have not been allowed to make a decision* (Tech 2, Team O,
Software Developer, Male)

Decisions within our team are generally made by the managers and sometimes team leaders. Everyone had input over the decision to implement flexible working hours in the company. I don't feel its part of my responsibility to make major decisions in the team so I have never felt deprived of that opportunity. It would have been nice to have known sooner about team changes (in structure) in Development (Tech 2, Team O, Programmer, Female)

Have never come across an opportunity (Tech 2, Team O, Implementation Consultant, Female)

As far as other dimensions of team governance were concerned, most team members felt that they had some opportunity to influence the distribution of work. The general perception was that those more experienced, or more senior members of the team, had a greater prospect of acquiring the work that they preferred. There were two members of the team who viewed themselves as having very little power over the distribution of work.

At the higher level, team members can request to work on particular projects. They will be generally given the work they want, depending upon skills. At my level, work tends to get assigned by managers/team leaders, who are aware of our skills (Tech 2, Team O, Programmer, Female; Interview 22)

If the work is better suited to someone else we're allowed to pass it onto them. The projects to be done are given to our team boss, who splits the projects into the relevant areas and passes them to us. I don't think there is a more appropriate way of doing it (Tech 2, Team O, Software Developer, Male; Interview 23)

This is one area where I do not feel I have a say. I would like more involvement across the department as opposed to just in our team (Tech 2, Team O, Software Developer, Male; Interview 24)

Moving onto the predominantly normative domain of communication, there was again a general belief that communication within the team was effective. However, some suggestions of limitations in communication were expressed by one or two team members. Typical examples of the range of responses to the question about effective communication - How effectively do the members of your team communicate with each other? - are as follows:

We communicate well within our team. Opinions on the company, issues are expressed freely at work and socially. If someone has a problem they are stuck with, there is usually no difficulty in telling someone and asking for help. No one in the team is afraid to tell the others what they think (e.g. about recent flexi-time decision, company changes, structural changes in development) (Tech 2, Team O, Programmer, Female; Interview 22)

We have recently overcome a product-wide database connection problem. To do this we all had to communicate the problem and suggested solutions to ensure that the solution was applicable to all product areas. When approaching a product release rate there has not been enough communication about our progress toward meeting that rate (Tech 2, Team O, Software Development Manager, Male; Interview 25)

Not very, until they often work on different projects (Tech 2, Team O, Implementation Consultant, Female; Interview 26)

As well as being broadly positive about what can be described as *acted identity*, many of these team members presented behaviours and attitudes which appear to represent a strong *internalised identity*.

> *I like the whole company, I really enjoy the company and I like everyone in the company; the software development team as a whole gets on very well, we all work really well together. There is no backstabbing or bitching or anything like that … If you've got problems you just go and speak to someone and they would be happy to help out, so I'd say it's a pretty strong team that we've got. Yeah it's a good team to be in* (Tech 2, Team O, Software Development Team Leader, Male; Interview 24)

> *It has got a good atmosphere, we have our tiffs but on the whole it is a good one…. We are a very close-knit group, work very well together* (Tech 2, Team O, Software Developer, Female; Interview 27)

> *You would let your peers down if you moved on somewhere else* (Tech 2, Team O, Software Developer, Male; Interview 23)

A number of explanations emerged from the interviews regarding the high levels of *internalised identity* within this team. Many employees noted that there were similarities within the team in terms of age profile, life style and interests. One team member used age differences between him and the rest of the team to explain why he did not feel that he fitted in, and did not feel the same level of attachment to the team as other members.

> *It's good. It can be a bit pressured at some points and stuff like that but on the whole it's good. I mean the thing is there is a lot of young staff here which is good. If it's people your own age, you tend to get on a bit better and stuff like that so yes, we had a night the other week where we had a 'who wants to be a millionaire' quiz thing, and I ended up getting home at like three in the morning, something ridiculous or something like*

that, but that's what it is because like it is everyone from the company. It means your bosses and everything right down to people who have just started like me, and things like that (Tech 2, Team O, Implementation Consultant, Female; Interview 26)

I think I fit in reasonably well. It is quite a lot of young people I suppose. We are all about the same age. I'm the only married person in the department, most of them are single men so in terms of things in common I think they have, there is a lot of sporting interests and stuff, but from a social point of view we all have similar tastes in music and similar discussions about books and movies and things like that. So I think we all are kind of the same sorts of people but just with different things going on. But because most of them are guys, sometimes I think I don't have anything in common with them at all. The Sun newspaper reading, looking at page 3 when you come in in the morning, discussing Kylie Minogue on MTV the night before, it gets a bit silly at times (Tech 2, Team O, Software Developer, Female; Interview 27)

I am probably the oldest programmer now. I am 40 and most of them are about 20 something. So I don't have anything in common with them.... Occasionally on a Friday night I go for a beer, but not at other times during the week (Tech 2, Team O, Software Programmer, Male; Interview 28)

This level of attachment to the team was surprising considering that the work of most of the developers seemed to be fairly individual by nature and required minimal interaction.

Probably a lot of the time I work as an individual (Tech 2, Team O, Software Development Team Leader, Male; Interview 24)

One of the problems I've had with the job that I'm working far too much as an individual. That's been a human resource issue. My project manager left on maternity leave, nobody else was taken on to replace her, the department was chronically under resourced and so I was left working as an individual (Tech 2, Team O, Implementation Consultant, Female; Interview 26)

I work as an individual, you know I work as an individual, maybe a small part of a team, and I think I'm more as an individual. When you are programming your always working as an individual because nobody knows what your doing anyway when you're programming, you know that's the thing, you can just sit there and work away (Tech 2, Team O, Software Programmer, Male)

Yet, despite the individualised nature of the work, there was a considerable effort to socially integrated employees. Almost all employees referred to these social activities and specifically the 'free' bar on a Friday night. There was, however, no mention of this being a way to control employee behaviour and employees that did not attend events did not appear to be discriminated against. Again, it appeared to be the younger and single employees that (for obvious reasons) were more likely to have a close relationship between work and social activities. There were, nevertheless, some social interactions between older employees, but these did not tend to centre on evenings out and trips to the pub. One of the older members of the team discussed how he went on holiday with one of the Tech 1 senior managers.

It's really sociable, the social side is there. We have a sports and social club and we have a night. You might have seen the mess in the kitchen with all the pizza boxes. Friday team time there is a free bar in the pub for an hour or so (Tech 2, Team O, Software Developer, Female; Interview 27)

I used to go out with one of the other developers, he's still here actually, and we're still friends, that's fine. So there was quite a lot of us socialising and Viv, one of the other girls, I see her quite a lot. I've got a good friendship and she is friends with all of my friends so... And there is Friday night and we all go to the pub and things and go for a drink. We also have team nights out and I go on those (Tech 2, Team O, Software Developer, Female; Interview)

Another guy and myself, we go skiing, we've been skiing two or three times now on holiday..... I go to the football with Jim as well. We are both Aberdeen supporters (Tech 2, Team O, Developer, Male; Interview 28)

This degree of social interaction was often used as a way of explaining informality within the organisation. Many of the participants mentioned how well they got on with the majority of senior managers and how approachable they were. This was frequently couched in terms of seeing them 'off duty' in the pub and as such giving both parties a 'human' face.

People pull together because after a few drinks at the bar the barrier drops and you find out what they are really like, although generally they (mangers) are quite honest with us anyway (Tech 2, Team O, Software Development Team Leader, Male; Interview 24)

I think because you personally know the directors of the company and they are out drinking with you on a Friday and that they ask you what you do on a Saturday, what your aspirations are. If you have respect for them then you've got respect for what the company are doing (Tech 2, Team O, Software Developer, Male; Interview 23)

More generally, team members believed that Tech 1 was a good place to work. There was a perception of having control over work, and most people indicated high levels

of commitment to the organisation. The main concern was regarding poor communication between teams.

> *I think that it is a good place to work. Probably the only criticism would be that the different departments don't sort of mix so you don't always feel as though all the information is being passed over that should be from different teams, but everyone's friendly* (Tech 2, Team O, Software Developer, Female; Interview 27)

> *If I do need to pop to the bank or anything like that, as long as I've not got anything on, I clear with Ian then I can just say 'look I never had time the other week, I need to go to the bank and stuff like that. Is it ok if I nip out for half an hour or an hour?' It was, like, flexible that way because I would also be expected if I was in the middle of doing something, not just to pack it in and say, 'oh that's 5.30 I'm away home'* (Tech 2, Team O, Installation Consultant, Male; Interview 27)

> *It's a strange organisation in the fact that you are committed to doing and wanting to do well. You do feel that you have a loyalty to this company to do well and you want to see it do well, and that's one of the reasons I want to stay, as much as I have issues with various people about various parts of the job. You do still have that thing where you get a buzz out of them doing well* (Tech 2, Team O, Software Developer, Male; Interview 24)

In terms of the quantitative data, this team differed slightly to the other three teams within Study 2 in terms of their perceptions of important factors for teamwork. They placed a far greater emphasis on some of the governance dimensions, that is, acceptance of fair share of workload and sharing of information. However, in terms of what they felt was occurring within their team, this group had a significantly higher mean on two of the normative dimensions; Good attendance (Mean = 4.71; F = 3.44) and Loyalty (Mean = 4.43; F = 3.83), than some of the other teams.

Overall, despite the low levels of interdependence in terms of day to day work, this team, far more than other teams within Study Two, displayed a high level of *acted identity* within all three domains; the normative, the technical and the governance. This is evidenced by the findings from the open ended questions and the quantitative data. This may be possible to attribute to a greater awareness about the nature of teamwork brought about by the new HR officer. Moreover, this team also demonstrated the highest levels of *internalised identification*, manifested in social activities and in broader attitudes and discussions about their team and other team members. Again, although it is not apposite to enter into any detailed analysis at this stage of writing, an initial proposal would be that the broader infrastructure and customs of the organisation facilitated this, specifically in terms of the designed social events. In addition the similarity between many members of the team may have been a factor in the high degree of *internalised identification*.

7.5 Conclusion

There are a number of issues and themes that have emerged from this chapter that are central to any further discussion. These concern the methods adopted, the nature and composition of software teams, team training and naturally, acted and *internalised identity*. However, as in the previous chapter, before these themes are developed, a condensed summary of the findings in terms of identity is presented in Table 16.

COMPANY	TEAM	ACTED IDENTITY	INTERNALISED IDENTITY
Tech 1	L	1	2
	M	0	1
	N	0	1
Tech 2	O	2	2

Key: 2 = strong identity; 1 = some degrees of identity signified; 0 no or very limited identity

Table 16: Summary data on identity for Study Two

The methods implemented to examine issues of control and identity within this study were, for reasons stated previously, different to those adopted within Study One. It could be argued that focus groups provide more insight, at least in terms of team

dynamics. Yet, there was a substantial amount of high quality data produced by using a combination of the open ended questions (specifically looking at *acted identity*) and the interview questions (specifically looking at *internalised identification*). By using interviews rather than focus groups, there were fewer explicit clues as to *internalised identification* because the banter and humour was non-existent. However, by using interviews the potential issue of dominant individuals leading the discussion was avoided. Other mechanisms were used to locate *internalised identity*, specifically an examination of collective language and socialisation patterns.

The quantitative data obtained broadly reflected the patterns of identity occurring within the teams, and were useful in the sense that they identified technical and governance as the most important dimensions of teamwork for employees. However, the questions on satisfaction indicated that the majority of team members, across groups and across organisations, were contented with most aspects of teamwork. There are a number of potential explanations for this, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. However, as a preliminary analysis, the two most likely rationales are the lack of awareness that team members had of the principles of teamwork and the fact that the work was very individualised so the requirement for teamwork was less and hence there was less to be dissatisfied with.

Although at this stage it is not appropriate to enter into a detailed analysis of the whys and wherefores, there may be an argument that there is little formal transfer of information about teamwork within the sector in general. However, for the teams working at Head Office there was clearly more information passed down from the organisation regarding good working practice in addition to a greater movement between teams and projects than occurred offsite. It can therefore be assumed that, to some extent at least, the Head Office teams had a greater awareness of what teamwork entails and were more able to undertake *acted identity*. Furthermore, being under direct scrutiny of the senior management (which offsite teams avoided), the need to perform *acted identification* was stronger.

One of the key points of comparison from this study is the onsite/offsite difference, rather than differences between organisations (problematic anyway as only one team from Tech 2 was examined). However, Team O stands out as being different from the other teams within Study Two in a similar way to Team B in Study One. Team O demonstrated high levels of both acted and *internalised identity*. For other teams in Study Two, there was a clear separation between acted and *internalised identity*, in that Team N demonstrated relatively high levels of *internalised identity* but comparatively low levels of *acted identity*.

A final point, which again Team O can be used to highlight, is the different roles that team members play within the team and the impact this may have, at least on individuals' interpretation on identity. Unlike the manufacturing teams, the software teams were frequently comprised of individuals with different jobs and consequently some team members spent more time interacting with other team members. Within Team O, one of the implementation consultants frequently made more negative comments than other members of the team. It maybe that the team member was less integrated into the team as their work required them to spend more time away from the team than other members.

Chapter Eight will engage with these points further and make comparisons between the results from this chapter and from Chapter Six. The following chapter will also reflect on the findings from Study One and Study Two in terms of their relationship with the literature reviewed within chapters 2 to 5 and the propositions stated in Chapter 5. Reflections on the limitations and appropriateness of the methods described within Chapter Six are also addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

It is the role of this final chapter to interpret of the findings reported in Chapters 6 and 7 and to analyse and interpret how the findings confirm, enhance and add to existing research. The chapter progresses through the findings from both studies and demonstrates how the results confirm or contest the eight propositions – listed below - which are central to this thesis.

Proposition 1: When working within a team environment, or reflecting on teamworking experiences, individuals present a salient aspect of their social identity, which can be interpreted as team identity

Proposition 2: Team identity operates on two levels: *acted identity* and *internalised identity*

Proposition 3: *Acted* team identity takes the form of behaviours associated with the technical, normative and governance domains of teamwork

Proposition 4: Team identity (both *acted* and *internalised*) is affected by the structure of the team and processes within the team, e.g. the degree of interaction with other team members, perceived status of the team, and the location of the team compared with the employing organisation

Proposition 5: Team identity (both *acted* and *internalised*) is affected by the control structures imposed upon the team

Proposition 6: If team members accept the structures of control they will be more willing to develop *internalised* team identity

Proposition 7: If team members cannot accept the structures of control, but have a level of self-interest in continuing to work within the team, they are likely develop *acted* team identity

Proposition 8: If team members are hindered in their opportunity to perform *acted identity*, this will lead to negative perceptions of teamwork and the organisation

This chapter includes a discussion of the weaknesses of the current research. Indeed there is very research in the social sciences that is without problems. Within the

present work, these difficulties can be demonstrated by the lack of co-operation of two teams with the research process in the manufacturing study. Furthermore, the necessary change in research tools to comply with requests made by participating organisations also illustrates a common constraint in management research. It is with these difficulties and associated limitations of the current research that this chapter commences. This is followed by an evaluation of the broader context of the research and the micro-contexts of specific organisations. Both limitations and contextual factors determine the way in which the findings can be interpreted.

After a detailed discussion of the empirical research reported in the previous two chapters, this section progresses with an explanation of the contribution of the work to the development of both the teamworking literature and to Social Identity Theory (SIT). There follows an analysis of the role of the Social Identity Approach as a 'new' paradigm in social psychological research. The chapter concludes with suggestions for further research, such as the extension of empirical research to include other organisational contexts and alternative loci for identification (e.g. professions, work sites). An overview of the location of the teams in the participant organisations is illustrated in Figure 7.
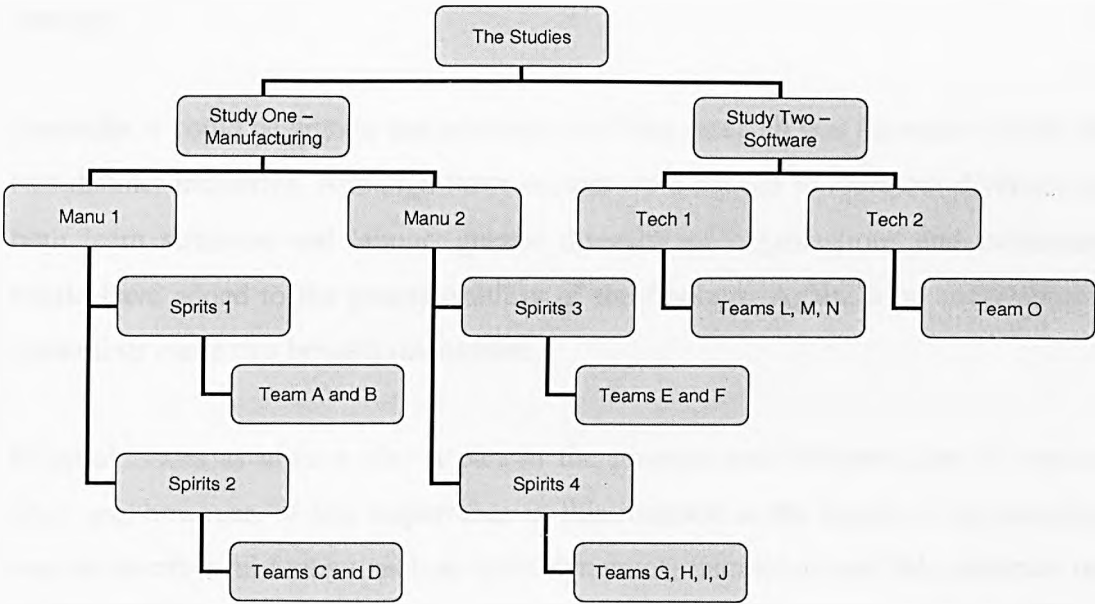
Figure 7: The organisations and teams – an overview

8.2 Constraints and Limitations

Any conclusions drawn from this study must be interpreted within the boundaries of the research methodology and the context and circumstances in which the research was undertaken. Hence, these limitations should be described before entering a detailed evaluation of the findings. The limitations broadly fall into six categories in no particular order; time constraints, research tools, missing data, choices of industries, the number of participant teams and team size.

First, the three year gap between the collection and evaluation of data from Study One and Study Two clearly influences the research process. The space was because the research was undertaken for part-time study and therefore it was difficult to find the time and opportunity to undertake two such large scale pieces of work. If both data sets had been collected within the same industrial sector, and had a stronger reliance on changing contextual and industrial factors this may be viewed as a more noteworthy problem that is was in reality. However, the time space between the two studies was actually of benefit to the use of analytic induction as a data analysis strategy.

Secondly, it could be argued that a limitation of this research was its narrow focus on two distinct industries. Although these sectors were chosen to represent diversity in both team structure and labour, greater diversity of organisations and industries would have added to the generalisability of the findings. Again, time and resource constraints made this breadth impossible.

External issues as always play a part in the practice and interpretation of events. They are, however, of less importance in this instance as the focus of the research was on micro-level factors such as team dynamics, interaction and the construal of these dynamics. Nonetheless, any impact that external factors may have on the research are discussed within the next section of this chapter.

The third constraint concerns the changes in research instruments between the two studies. As discussed in Chapter Five, the results of the analysis of Study One, along with variations in the nature of work in the two sectors, necessitated a change in both the qualitative and quantitative research tools. Some researchers may argue that this shows a weakness in the research and may compromise the reliability and validity of data. However, the broad consistency found in both studies between the qualitative and quantitative data clearly demonstrates that the change in research tools did little to affect data integrity. Due to the importance of the comparability of data, it is also necessary to understand any weaknesses of the research tools and analysis techniques.

Because the quantitative data analysis strategy considered only the comparison of means and percentages, there cannot be any claims made regarding causality. This would be viewed as problematic in traditional positivistic psychological research. This body of work believes that inferences can be made about relationships between phenomena through an examination of the probabilities that findings are due to chance. Longitudinal research using predictive models would have to be adopted in order to draw out any causal linkages. However, as explained in Chapter Five, the current work is located in a different epistemological school, where cause and effect models are seen as a narrow ways of understand the world. For both studies, the quantitative data was gathered using one questionnaire. Traditional positivists would suggest that this may cause common method variance which could potentially affect relationships. Again, this concern is not seen as important from the perspective of the current work.

If the sample were larger (or the average team size were larger) in both studies, a traditional positivist framework would endorse the benefits of exploratory factor analysis to establish the construct validity of the technical, governance and normative dimensions. Again for epistemological reasons, such intricacies of analysis were seen as unnecessary.

As a result of the research design – the personal distribution and collection of surveys by the researcher – there was a 100% response rate and no omitted responses to specific questions. The same however, cannot be said for the qualitative data. Within Study One, however, there was considerable variation in both the quantity and quality of focus group data. Moreover, the findings for Teams F and I have to be regarded particularly cautiously, as there is only quantitative data available for these groups. The full reasons for this were explained in detail in Chapters Five and Six.

For Study One, management were unhappy with the collection of demographic information about participants (e.g. age and job title). This was not the case within Study Two, although as indicated within Chapter Seven, some participants failed to provide this data. Although this is not catastrophic, to the integrity of the data, it does limit the extent to which patterns of identity and identification can be located by variations in demography. Furthermore, in Study One, despite attempts to identify individual team members from the focus groups it was extremely difficult (due to respondents being mostly female with similar regional accents) and was only achievable in specific cases.

Fourthly, despite fourteen teams being examined across the two studies (or twelve in the cases where data from teams F and I have had to be eliminated), the data would have been more powerful with the inclusion of more teams. This was, however, impossible due to limitations in terms of time and resources and the intensive nature of the research - specifically the amount information required from each team.

A final limitation which was virtually impossible to overcome was the small size of some of the teams. This reduced the extent to which generalisations can be made about patterns of identity, specifically by demographic factors.

8.3 Impact of Industrial and Organisational Context

Because of the reliance of the research on two industrial sectors, before embarking upon a discussion of the relationship between the findings and the research propositions, it is necessary to detail how the nature of the industrial and

organisational environment may have impacted upon identity and teamwork processes. The specific contextual and environmental factors that have emerged as having the greatest impact on identity formation and teamwork processes are the time period in which the research was carried out and the nature of work organisation.

The majority of the fieldwork within the software sites (Tech 1 and Tech 2) was undertaken prior to the impact of the 'burst of the dot-com bubble' at the end of 2000. Although the official burst of the dot-com bubble has been recorded as being on March 10th 2000, the impact was not truly felt in the UK until 2001 when the bubble's deflation was running at full speed. By this stage, the IT start ups had run out of the venture capital that was keeping them afloat. This was frequently viewed as resulting from the increase in interest rates, particularly in the U.S., when the six interest rate increases made by the Federal Reserve in 1999 and early 2000 finally affected the economy (Software Echo, 2004). Another often cited reason for the dot-com crash was the rapidly accelerated business spending in preparation for the Y2K switchover. Once New Year had passed without incident, businesses found themselves with all the equipment they needed for some time to come, hence business spending on IT equipment and software dried up.

Despite a substantial dip in the requirement for IT professionals particularly during 2001-2003 (Software Echo, 2004) throughout the period of the field research – some of which covered this period - the technology market in Scotland was still in good shape. There were still more IT posts vacant than IT professionals to fill them. Hence, employers had to find ways of retaining employees. Some of these retention mechanisms are self-explanatory; good terms and conditions along with a favourable working environment. Yet, organisations were also using more covert ways that organisations to hold onto employees. Tech 2 used social integration with free drinks on a Friday evening, staff bowling tournaments and pizza evenings. Tech 1 and to a lesser extent Tech 2, were working with the team structure and allowed the better employees to be involved with the projects of their choice. This allowed the 'chosen' employees to have greater exposure to skill development opportunities. Indeed, both

of these factors are likely to engender identity, or at least commitment, to the organisation and to the team (Haslam, 2001).

For the manufacturing organisations, the picture was very different. Decreased profitability, partly as a response to increased taxation as described in Chapter Six, had led to rounds of redundancies and extensive change programmes. The situation for the employees within the spirits organisations was to a degree, the reverse of that within the manufacturing sector. As a result of the redundancy programmes, there was a sizeable surplus labour pool in the majority of the regions in which the plants were based. Although the organisations were offering pay rises, these were associated with work intensification and the loss of overtime and other benefits. As a result of the high levels of unemployment in the areas, employees were forced into accepting these terms and conditions. It could be argued that there was an implicit pressure to buy into the new identities created by the organisations in order to cling to employment.

Yet, it was not only new organisational identities that were being re-created within the manufacturing plants. The workers within Manu 1 and Manu 2, as a result of the change programmes, found a more explicit change to their day-to-day work in the form of the organisation of work. That is, within both companies, the basic unit of work organisation was transformed from a traditional Fordist production line to semi-autonomous workgroups. The movement to semi-autonomous workgroups was not unique within this sector. As was established within Chapter Two, the progression towards this form of work organisation, particularly within the manufacturing sector, has become particularly prevalent since the 1980s, and is frequently associated with broader workplace change agendas (Waterson et al., 1999). The plants and organisations within the current study were no exception to the broader trends. The introduction of teamwork was response to the increased competition and taxation within the sector which led to greater pressures for enhanced efficiency and productivity.

Associated with the introduction of teamwork, management within both Manu 1 and Manu 2 introduced flexibility in the guise of employee job rotation. Yet the work was still predominantly individualistic with each worker being responsible for the functioning and maintenance of a small part of the production process. Despite some requirement for interaction between team members in terms of the job rotation, quality control, communication of faults and progress of orders - superficially at least - the work did not look like it would enhance identification with the group. The reality, conversely, was very different different. Many of the employees identified strongly with their team. A tradition of collective behaviour, frequently in the guise of trade union activity -and possibly as a result of team training – resulted in many of the manufacturing teams displayed high degrees of team identity.

The opposite was true for the software teams. Software work, superficially at least, appears to lend itself perfectly to teamwork. The nature of the creation of a product is based on collaboration and the acquisition of work by members of project groups in order to create a whole. Despite Sawyer et al. (1996) describing software development as a 'social process', the current research found little evidence of this. That is, although software employees worked in teams, many employees were not physically near to the other members of their group. Moreover, they spent most of the day engaged in highly individualised work in front of a computer screen.

Very few of the software employees had any experience of team or teamwork training. This limited their understanding of both the formal and informal requirements of teamwork. In the case of *acted identity*, they had less awareness than the manufacturing employees how to present an image of identification. If one were to take identity as solely a product of the organisation of work (with some influence from training) it would appear unlikely that software employees would show any identification at all. However, as was established in Chapters Three and Four, the process of identification is more complex than this. This is highlighted in the discussion that follows which demonstrates how the findings from both the software organisations the manufacturing teams relate to the research propositions.

8.4 Understanding the Nature and Presentation of Team Identity

This section is concerned predominantly with Proposition One. This proposition focused on the existence of a broad notion of team identity. Implicit in the idea of a team identity is the existence of alternative loci for identification. Hence, these are the two main themes to be addressed in the following discussion.

Looking at the summary tables presented in the conclusions of Chapters Six and Seven (figures 13 and 16) there is evidence of most teams having some degree of identity - either *acted* or *internalised*. However, this identity was presented in different ways and to different degrees for each team. Without making any assumptions at this point regarding *acted* and *internalised identity*, there is evidence of at least one truism from SIT (e.g. Rousseau, 1998; Tyler and Blader, 2001). By placing people in a collective, a degree of identification with that collective occurs. The current studies found that for all groups there was, to some extent, a merging of the self and the collective[16]. Despite Tajfel (1978) percieving that a strong identity leads to greater consistency in behaviour towards the outgroup, this was not found in the current work. There were teams such as Team G, who had a strong identity and reacted powerfully against management (the outgroup). Yet, other teams with a weaker identity presented an equally strong reaction (e.g. Team N and their relationship with Head Office).

Nevertheless, none of the teams within Study Two made any mention of being 'the best team' or competing with other teams. The only representation of any ingroup vs. outgroup thinking in Study Two was the relationship between the offsite and onsite employees for Tech 1 (Chapter Seven sections 7.4.2.2 and 7.4.2.3). However, this was not specifically a team issue, and appears to reflect broader issues regarding treatment by, and attachment to the employing organisation.

This highlights that on the one hand although team identity is a distinct form of identity, it cannot be viewed in isolation from other loci for identification. As Jenkins (2000) clarifies, external categorisation (in this case management defining a group as

a team), impacts on whether the individuals working in the collective view the categorisation as legitimate or as an imposition of power which they may potentially resist. For example, members of Team N noted that they did not feel like members of a team, or at least the notion of team imposed on the by Tech 1 management. However, although they reacted against the notional team label provided by Tech 1, they still identified with each other as a collective in their own right. Team M on the other hand, appeared to neither have a strong identity as a team, nor have a particularly strong notion of collectiveness - whether it was imposed or not.

Although the current study made no formal comparison between team and organisational identity, those teams with a high level of both *acted* and *internalised identity* also had a strong attachment to the employing organisation (e.g. Teams B and O; see Chapter Six section 6.6.1 and Chapter Seven section 7.4.3). However, for those teams that had a highly salient *internalised identity* but a weaker *acted identity* there was a greater attachment to the team than to the organisation (e.g. Team G; see Chapter Six section 6.6.3). This extends the findings of van Kinippenberg and van Schie (2001) who found that overall employees had a stronger identification with the team than the organisation.

For many teams team identity became either a refuge from the organisation, or an extension to a positive identity with the organisation. For example, Team G had little affiliation with Spirits 4, yet, had a strong sense of identity which was manifested, not only in the use of banter and humour, but also in a strong sense of the team being 'the best in the whole factory.' In Tajfel's (1978) terms, it is the organisation that was being treated as the outgroup. However, Team B, who perceived themselves as the best team in Spirits 1, neither reacted against a perceived outgroup nor felt that their team label was forcibly imposed by management (Jenkins, 2000). For this team, although not entirely uncritical of their organisation, the categorisation as at team was seen to emerge from a legitimate body (management). This was further emphasised by the strong connection with their team leader. This team has a strong sense of group identity which was reinforced through positive feedback from the

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[16] For those teams that chose not to participate with some of the research it was a collective decision

organisation (see Chapter Six section 6.6.1). A similar pattern of identification and behaviour was found for Team O, whose highly salient identity was, again, not seen as contradicting their identity as members of Tech 2 (Chapter Seven section 7.4.3).

There are multiple loci for identification (Hogg, 1996, Pratt and Foreman, 2001). However, for the teams in Study One work-based identity appeared limited to the team and the organisation. This was not the case for the Study Two teams. Because of their occupational status as software professionals, there was some spillage between their identity as a team member and their identity as a professional. This manifested itself in two ways. Firstly, there was a tension between team identity and skills development opportunities Secondly, there was a closer inter-relationship between team identity and occupational identity when the team was only comprised of software developers (Team O). The first issue was evident across a number of teams.

Software work is a collaboratively based activity where learning and skills development takes place primarily within project structures. Changing membership as employees move to new projects further facilitates the learning process (Marks and Lockyer, 2004). Generally, management create software teams based on the possession of relevant skill sets, however, employees see projects as a means to develop new skills. As such, membership of teams becomes the subject of career negotiation between the software developer and management or the result of informal networking (Riain 1998). Developers in Study Two were found using the contacts established in previous teams to try to aid their movement into new teams. This provided opportunities to acquire new skills. The impact this had on the expression of identity, was related to the 'profiles' of teams.

The employees that worked in 'high profile' teams tended to be the better qualified, younger, and frequently male, employees, who in addition to informal opportunities, are also given more career relevant training (Teams L and O). However, for the other group of software workers (usually older, female or less qualified employees in Teams M and N), who often had outdated skills and have been forced to remain on

projects for long periods of time, mobility and development opportunities were limited. As Mallon (1998) notes it is a combination of situational and personal factors that influence the strategies and typologies and attractiveness of the emerging career paths.

As such, when an opportunity to develop is not met, employees' loyalty and motivation to remain within the project and to work hard diminishes. They have a tendency to seek a more exciting project or move to a more 'cutting edge' organisation (Rasmussen and Johansen, 2001). This challenges both the logic of team work and causes a tension between team identity and professional identity. The extent to which an employee will identify with a team depends on their own personal development aspirations and requirements along with the extent to which these are satisfied by the team or project on which they are working.

Team O appeared to present the greatest satisfaction with development opportunities (see Chapter 7 section 7.4.3). This team however, was the team that was comprised solely of developers. The other software groups (e.g. testers and analysts) were working within other teams in Tech 2. Although it is impossible to infer causality from this information, Team O expressed the most salient identity of the four software teams. The notion of homogeneity of the ingroup (and possibly the associated difference of any outgroups) is entirely consistent with the thesis underpinning the social identity approach (Haslam et al., 1998). Perceived ingroup homogeneity is reflected in a high degree of social identity salience (Tajfel, 1978). Yet, for Team O, despite the obvious similarity in terms of professional status, it was age and social interests that were actually verbalised as being the points of correspondence in the group. It can be assumed that for this group the similarity in professional status was implicitly understood. Hence, occupation was not viewed, by employees, as a factor than would affect perceptions of similarity or difference between team members.

There is a further issue, which solely relates to the software teams and is necessary to highlight at this stage in the discussion. It was suggested earlier on in this chapter,

that for one of the dispersed teams, identity with the team was affected by the relationship with the employing organisation. Indeed both of the outlocated teams – Teams N and M – indicated that they felt neglected by Tech 1. However, there were different responses to this perceived neglect. Although Team M had quite a low level of identity, distance from Tech 1, nevertheless, appeared to have strengthened their feelings of collectiveness. However, Team N focused on similarities in terms of age and gender to explain their feelings of identity with the teams.

Even at this stage in discussion, it can be summarised that interpreting team identity is not straightforward. Moreover, strong or particularly salient identities are not necessarily a response to the same agents. On the one hand, the basic principles of SIT – by just placing individuals in a group, identification occurs (Tajfel, 1975; Tyler and Blader, 2001) - can be seen in many of the teams in both studies. Also in agreement with SIT, it has been found that identity can be developed or created as a response to an outgroup (Tajfel, 1978; Haslam, 2001). However, this outgroup may not be an obvious and direct point of comparison (e.g. another team working in the same organisation). It may be the management body or even the organisation as a whole. Indeed, this understanding can be further developed by looking at the work of Jenkins (2000) acknowledges that identity can be created through categorisation. Yet identity through categorisation is a response to extremes in perception. If the categorisation is viewed emerging from a legitimate body, identity will be enhanced. On the other hand, if there is strong resistance to the source of categorisation (e.g. management) people may identify with the category (in this case the team) as a focus of denial. Moreover, other factors enter into the identity process, such as whether the team meets specific needs (e.g. professional development requirements) or whether the group perceives itself as being comprised of 'similar' members.

Hence, <u>Proposition 1– When working within a team environment, or reflecting on teamworking experiences, individuals present a salient aspect of their social identity, which can be interpreted as team identity -</u> can broadly be confirmed. Although there were variations in terms of the degree and form of identification, there was evidence of identity with the team across all groups. In order to develop understanding, an

exploration of *internalised* and *acted identity* is necessary. This account forms the content of the next section.

8.5 One Step Further: Dissecting Acted and Internalised Identity

Section 8.5 addresses on of the central proposals of the current research and the theme of Proposition One. That is identity can be divided into *acted* and *internalised identity*. *Acted identity*, in short, is a social role rather than an internalised process, which in Impression Management (IM) terms (e.g. Goffman, 1983) is a performance by individuals, in order to give the impression of identifying with the collective. *Acted identity* serves in the best interests of employees. It allows them to receive the benefits of appearing to have identified (e.g. social acceptability, social integration) without engaging with what may be viewed as the 'brain washing' of *internalised identity*. Conversely, *internalised identity* occurs when individuals who are placed in a collective 'naturally' identify with the group, without the need to act or fake the impression that they have identified with the collective. This type of identity is seen to be closer to the traditional notion of identity located by the social identity approach (e.g. Haslam 2001). Hence, it is necessary to discuss whether this theoretical distinction between *acted* and *internalised identity* was found in practice within the two studies conducted as part of the current research. The last part of section 8.5 addresses Proposition 3 - whether *acted* team identity manifests itself in term of the technical, governance and normative dimensions of teamwork.

From the summary Tables 13 and 16 (pages 206 and 255), it can be observed that teams varied on their *acted* and *internalised identity*. For example, with the manufacturing study, Team B presented both strong acted and *internalised identity*, whereas team G whilst presenting strong *internalised identity*, offered much weaker *acted identity*. Similar variations were found within the software teams, with Team L for example, showing very salient *internalised identity* with a weaker *acted identity*, and Teams M and N, showing almost no *acted identity* and relatively weak *internalised identity*. Although the eight teams from Study One that provided both qualitative and quantitative data appeared to present identity within both domains – the same was not true for software group. Hence, sectoral variations need to be

accounted for when comparisons are being made. Nevertheless there is sufficient information from both studies for differentiation of teams on the basis *acted* and *internalised identity*. This suggests that the two forms of identity are separate constructs and can be distinguished from each other. The next step in the puzzle is to examine the nature of the two forms of identity and their manifestation.

Proposition 3 made an explicit assumption that *acted identity* would take the form of the normative, governance and technical dimensions of teamwork because the majority of 'standard' teamwork packages adhere to these elements (Findlay et al. 2000a 2000b; Thompson and Wallace, 1996). As *internalised identity* is viewed as being a more innate phenomenon, it is less likely to emerge in such prescribed terms. The assumption, however, was made in chapter 5, that *internalised identification* is likely to present itself in one of five ways; explicit discussion of identity and attachment, use of collective language, humour and banter, effective communication and finally social interaction and social activities. For this reason, it is these themes and the relative occurrence of these matters that is assumed to provide detailed evidence and understanding of *internalised identity*. These themes are discussed below followed by an analysis of the presentation of *acted identity*.

8.5.1 Presentation of Internalised Identity

Explicit use of the term identity was rare across all groups. Explicit reference to the word 'identity' generally emerged in the teams with the strongest internalised identity. For example, the team leader of Team B noted the presence of a 'strong identity' in the team (see Chapter Six section 6.6.1). A member of Team L mentioned the focus on the identification with the immediate project group (see Chapter Seven section 7.4.2). Similarly, there was much greater reference to the team as a focus for attachment for the groups with stronger *internalised identity*. Examples of this from Study Two include a member of Team L talking about working in a 'tight knit team', a term which was also repeated by a member of Team O, noting that they were a 'tight knit group' (see Chapter Seven, 7.4.1).

One of the factors that was assumed to distinguish the teams with the most salient *internalised* identities was the explicit reference to oneself and other group members in terms of the collective (Ashforth and Mael, 1989) or as Reich (1997) described it 'the pronoun test'. Referencing the self in terms of the collective is a central feature of self-categorisation. The more that one identifies with a group, the more that individuals' self-perceptions become depersonalised and the more they view themselves as exchangeable representatives of the group (Turner, 1985). This was evident in many teams. However, the manufacturing teams made greater reference to themselves in terms of the collective than the software teams.

This phenomenon is likely to be a consequence of both a higher degree of interaction between group members on a day to day basis within these groups and the use of focus groups for the data collection. Focus groups by design facilitate feelings of collectiveness (see Chapter Five section 5.5.3). More generally, the teams that presented the most salient *internalised identities* in both each sectors, made more explicit use of collective language than other teams. For example, from the manufacturing organisations, Team B discussed 'our team' and frequently used the pronoun 'we'. The groups in this sector with a less salient identity still used the term 'we', although it was less recurrent. These teams often used a more de-personalised strategy for referring to the group, for example, a member of Team C used the somewhat distant term 'the group' (see Chapter Six section 6.6.2). The variation in usage of collective language was evident in the software teams. Despite there being less reference to the group in the collective than in the manufacturing sector, the use of 'we' was still present. The use of collective pronouns was more common in those groups with a more salient *internalised identity*.

The use of humour and banter provided some very rich evidence on *internalised identity*. Again, because the data was collected within the groups, the demonstration of humour was almost entirely instituted within the Study One teams. The most notable examples concerned putdown humour. Team B described an incident where they forgot to notify 'Derek' of a tea break, and then proceeded to taunt him during the recollection of the scenario (see Chapter Six section 6.6.1). Contrary to the work

of Duncan et al. (1990) and Martin (1978) for none of the teams ware their any real evidence of maliciousness in the use of humour. More examples of the use of humour were found within the teams with the most salient *internalised identity*. This agrees with the work of Terrion and Ashforth (2002), who found that putdown humour, represents and develops social identity.

The teams that presented humour within the manufacturing study were often the teams that communicated effectively. Teams B, E and H presented relatively detailed information regarding communication. Communication as a manifestation of *internalised identity*, is more implicit that for *acted identity*. This was clearly presented within team E when they talked about 'knowing' what someone else needed or trusting that they would undertake specific tasks without being asked.

Within the software study, the distinction between formal and informal communication was made very explicit. A number of members of Team L for example, cited problems or limitations with communication patterns in terms of formalised working practices (see Chapter Seven section 7.4.2). However many team members talked about 'learning things' from chatting to other people. This type of response was response is evident in the data on Teams N and O (see Chapter Seven sections 7.4.2 and 7.4.3). This demonstrates the informality of communication in many of the software teams.

Communication was often taken out of the formal work domain, with many of the Study Two teams actively socialising together. Teams L and O went to the pub or engaged in other social activities together, often on a weekly basis. Although team N would describe their relationships as 'friendly', there was little socialisation outwith the workplace. It should be noted, however, that the semi-structured interviews placed a greater emphasis on socialising for the software teams, than focus groups with the manufacturing teams. For the manufacturing teams, it was assumed that *internalised identity* would be easier to ascertain as they were being questioned collectively and as such were not asked directly about socialisation with the team.

Generally, those groups that presented a strong *internalised identity* did not necessarily present a strong *acted identity* and vice versa. For example Team A and Team E in the manufacturing study presented highly salient acted identities but weaker internalised identities, and Team N within the software study presented a weaker *acted identity* compared to *internalised identity*. Overall, there was more demonstration of *acted identity* from the teams within Study One than the Study Two teams.

8.5.2 Acted Identity: Normative, Technical and Governance Dimensions

Nonetheless, there was substantial evidence from both studies that *acted identity* presented itself in terms of the technical, normative and governance dimensions of teamwork. Indeed, the responses to *acted identity* varied on both between teams and within the team in the relative practice and endorsement of the technical, normative and governance dimensions. Most notably however, there was a trend towards a stronger satisfaction with the normative dimension than the governance or the technical – most apparent in Study One. For this group there was also moderately greater satisfaction with the technical over the governance. These patterns were not reflected for Study Two. These findings will be explored in more detail below, as a means of addressing Proposition 3 – whether *acted identity* can be divided into the normative, governance and technical domains.

Looking first at Study One, two teams of particular interest are Teams A and E (see Chapter Six sections 6.6.1 and 6.6.3). These groups present a stronger *acted identity* than *internalised identity*. Both these teams had a clear understanding of the requirement of teamwork and appeared to endorse, at least most of the principles behind teamwork. Teamwork was seen to makes the job 'more interesting' by Team A. Team E explained it slightly different terms - 'we now know what to expect from each other'. However, there few indications of collective attachment for these teams, unlike those teams that presented strong *internalised* identities. This is highly consistent with both Impression Management (e.g. Goffman, 1957) and the notion of identity work (Cohen and Taylor, 1992) - concepts from which the construct of *acted identity* was developed. Team members were not only displaying systems for

organisational survival, but presenting mechanisms for escaping the prosaic nature of day to day existence (Thompson and McHugh, 2002). Moreover, there was evidence from the Study One teams in particular, that *acted identity* was being used as a strategy to accommodate to the dominant ideology of the organisation, without having to present too much of their selves.

There was less variation in survey responses on *acted identity* for the Study Two teams. Although these teams presented a positive attitude towards *acted identity* – illustrated in Chapter Seven Table 14 - this was not demonstrated in practice. In fact, the additional information collected within this study, concerning expectations, starts to explain why there is this space between reported satisfaction with their team experience and what appears to be *acted identity*. As can be seen from Table 14, the software group was more concerned with technical aspects of work than the governance and normative. These employees may be relatively satisfied with all dimensions; however, their expectations were low in the first place – particularly for the governance and normative. Because the work of software employees is relatively autonomous and career development almost solely reliant on technical factors that the technical would always be the emphasis for this group of employees. This is confirmed by the work of Rasmussen and Johansen (2001).

For Study Two, Teams L and O demonstrated the highest levels of *acted identity* (see Chapter 7 section 7.4.2 and 7.4.3). Superficially at least, it could be argued that the other two Study Two groups (Teams M and N) were displaced from their employing organisation and therefore had no real need to present *acted identity*. If employees were not visible to senior management - on a day-to-day basis - there was no need to 'act' a social role or present a front (Goffman, 1959). Yet, there is an additional or alternative explanation that can be offered. Team O, and Team L to a lesser extent, had been provided with information about teamwork and how teams were expected to operate. This information was presented at team training sessions, through internal bulletins and team briefings. Neither Team M, nor Team N, was privy to such information. Moreover, Teams O and L, being based at Head Office, had a greater

expectation to both enact teamwork and present an appearance of identifying with the team.

However, none of the software teams possessed anywhere near as much information regarding teamwork and teamworking as the manufacturing teams. The relatively high degrees of satisfaction with teamwork demonstrated from the survey responses (see Chapter 7 section 7.4.1) are likely to be a product of the participants having little knowledge of what is required form teamwork (as opposed to the survey instrument having poor construct validity). It is perhaps easier to be satisfied with performance of the team, when there is limited information provided as to what is actually required from the performance. As well as emphasising how important it is to contextualise all data by the use of multiple research tools, this demonstrates that *acted identity* really is a product of a clear knowledge of what is expected from the employees by the organisation. If the manufacturing teams had the motivation to perform *acted identity* without any constraints to their performance, they were better equipped with the tools and knowledge to do this. This knowledge is based on the substantial training provided for all the production teams included in the study.

The role of normative *acted identity* is the key to the further development of the constructs of acted and *internalised identity*. As noted earlier, particularly for the Study One participants, it was the normative dimension that provided the greatest satisfaction amongst all groups of employees. Moreover, the two teams in this study that presented strong *internalised identity* (Teams B and G) also presented the highest score on the normative dimension of *acted identity*.

On the one hand it could be argued that the normative dimension, with its focus on trust, communication and support is not dissimilar to *internalised identity*. However, this could only be argued on the grounds that these factors also form the basis of *internalised identity*. There is, however, a fundamental difference. As a subset of *acted identity*, the normative is a representation of the extent to which employees realise that communication, support and trust are all important dimensions of teamwork. Hence, it is the degree to which employees realise that these dimensions

need to be enacted to demonstrate they are identifying with the team and acting as a team player.

This leads to a related issue. It is essential to consider the difference between performing required teamwork behaviours - or acting teamwork - and *acted identity*. It was suggested at the start of the analysis of Study One, it was difficult - at least for one the teams (Team A) - to establish whether the behaviour or approach that employees' were engaging in was acting teamwork or *acted identity* (see Chapter 6 section 6.6.1). Although it is still unclear, at least for this team, whether they were engaging in acting teamwork or identity, it is important, theoretically at least, to distinguish between the two. It could be argued that acting teamwork is acting out or performing teamwork behaviours as part of ones day to day work. *Acted identity* involves a much greater consciousness of teamwork behaviours - particularly the normative behaviours. It is the normative behaviours that are explicitly required by management to look like a good team member and hence, demonstrate commitment to the organisation and its teamwork objectives.

However, the dimension that was most important for the software group was the technical dimension. Technical skill or competencies were viewed as demonstrating their worth or competence as a software employee - as well as representing being a good team member. As can be seen in Chapter Six, Table 12, for all the Manu 1 teams (apart from Team D) the technical dimension provided the lowest score for *acted identity*. The reasons for this were explained within the focus groups. For the Manu 1 teams, the contradiction in terms of grading and multi-skilling made the performance of many of the factors associated with the technical - such as flexibility and problem solving - impossible to engage with.

There was a display of discontentment with the governance dimension, for both the Study One organisations. This was because teamwork performance within this domain was frequently constrained by management structures, and more specifically, by team leaders. The Study Two teams, however, placed a greater emphasis on governance and showed a greater satisfaction with governance issues. Once more,

their high degree of autonomy was less likely to make governance an issue. For these teams self-management in terms of their own work, was such a natural part of the work process that they provided an automatic performance of governance skills – e.g. devolved decision-making and an ability to direct and influence other members of the workgroup.

Despite being complicated by the existence of acting teamwork, there is still plenty of evidence from both studies for the verification of <u>Proposition 2: Team identity operates on two levels: acted identity and internalised identity</u> and for the verification of <u>Proposition 3: Acted team identity takes the form of behaviours associated with the technical, normative and governance spheres of teamwork.</u>

8.6 Team Location, Composition and Homogeneity: Impact on Internalised and Acted Identity

This section addresses Proposition 4. That is, it focuses on how team structures and processes including team status and the level of interaction between team members affects both *acted* and *internalised* identity.

There were clear differences between the teams in terms of many of the contextual factors including - from the most obvious - the nature of and location of work, to perceived similarity of team members and degree of interaction. Possibly the most acute influence for Teams N and M specifically, was their location outwith the employing organisation (see Chapter Seven sections 7.3.1 and 7.4.2). It was clear from the findings of Study Two that these two outlocated teams had lower levels of both *acted* and *internalised identity* compared to the software teams. The low levels of *acted identity* can be explained in terms of lack of requirement to 'perform' team identity - due to decreased visibility to the employing organisation - as well as the limited information provided to these teams regarding the necessary behaviours and attitudes for teamwork and teamworking.

Yet, these factors fail to explain why Teams N and M had only limited *internalised identity*. Indeed the findings of the current research are rather surprising as other research examining outlocated software teams found high levels of identity. Work by both Alvesson (2000) and Kunda (1992) discovered that the requirement of software work for extensive communication (for co-ordination and problem solving) led to an increased reliance on and identification with the immediate workgroup.

However, Team M was engaged in low skilled work, operating in a fairly hierarchical environment with little interaction between team members. The working atmosphere was not unpleasant. Although there were not the feelings of closeness and goodwill found in other teams, neither were there the feeling of antagonism towards work and the employing organisation which have been recognised as leading to salient identities (Jenkins, 2004).

Any *internalised identity* that this team did possess appeared to be a reaction against their perceived neglect by their employing organisation. This in part concurs with the work of van Knippenberg and van Schie (2000) who found that work group identification is both stronger than organisational identification and more strongly related to work related attitudes. Yet other factors such as perceived homogeneity, which were apparent within this group (many part-time female employees with family responsibilities), did not enhance *internalised identification*. Ironically these similarities, in fact, pulled this group away from each other. This was because team members were part-time therefore rarely saw each other. Furthermore many had external responsibilities – specifically childcare responsibilities - that they deemed to be more important. This could quite easily add to the explanation for low levels of *internalised identity* for Team M.

Again, Team N was overwhelmingly comprised of part-time female workers. Although it this team had a marginally stronger *internalised identity*, the work was again low level and fairly individualised by nature. The slightly more salient *internalised identity* for this group was either exemplified by, or a product of, having lunch together.

As noted earlier in this chapter. For Teams L and O, social factors were frequently provided as a rationale for strong attachment to the team. These teams did not have any greater requirement for work based interaction. However, specifically for Team L, members had worked together on many projects. and in extreme situations had been made to compete against each other for cutting edge work. Indeed this resulted in the members of Team L being viewed as being the organisation's best employees, involved in a high status, elite project. This in itself, in part, explains why this group had a highly salient identity. Not only does a large body of work looking at organisational commitment explain that position and status within the organisation determines affinity with the group (e.g. Reichers, 1985, 1986; Boshoff and Mels, 2000), but one of the core principles of SIT – social mobility and social exchange beliefs - discusses the importance of status in shaping identity. Tajfel (1975) believed that one of the fundamental components of the social identity perspective is an individual's belief structures, which lie on a continuum from a philosophy of social mobility on the one hand to social change on the other. As long as membership of a group enhances one's self-esteem, people will remain a member of that group.

The relationship between status and *internalised identity* was not only a factor for the software teams. Team B specifically, was not only viewed by managers within Spirits 1 as the 'best' teams within the factory but also had the privileged position of working on one of the 'fastest' and most interesting production lines (See Chapter 6 section 6.6.1). This team provided an important example of another factor that emerged as significant for a salient *internalised identification* – perceptions of homogeneity.

Traditional SIT, views heightened group salience as being associated with an increase in the perception of homogeneity of the ingroup and an increase in the perception of heterogeneity of the outgroup (Haslam et al. 1998). Moreover, traditional psychological theory argues that individuals are attracted to people who hold similar views and beliefs (Horowitz and Bordens 1995). For Teams O, B and G, there was a strong sense of *internalised identity*, yet no real identification of an

outgroup. These teams frequently viewed their identity as a product of group homogeneity. Indeed, Richards and Marks (2005), looking at hotel catering teams, found where members perceive themselves as 'being similar', the teams had more salient social identities - whether there was the perception of the existence of an outgroup or not.

As a development from this, it was found in Study Two, that for all employees, the team is essential, both in terms of the organisation of work and as a social entity. Software work is essentially a social activity; it requires discussion with client's fellow developers, programmers and testers. As such identification with the team is important for the work process. Moreover identity with the team, specifically *internalised identification*, was impacted upon by this perception of homogeneity particularly for the onsite teams.

Hence, the evidence supports <u>Proposition 4: Team identity (both acted and internalised) is affected by the structure of the team and processes within the team, e.g. the degree of interaction with other team members, perceived status of the team, and the location of the team compared with the employing organisation.</u>

8.7 Evidence for the Relationship between Acted Identity, Internalised Identity and Structures of Control

The aim of this subsection is to address Propositions 5 and 8. These former considers the role of control structures on both *acted* and *internalised* identity. The latter looks at how constraints to the performance of acted identity can lead to negative perceptions of teamwork and the organisation.

Much of the sociologically informed work on identity is concerned with mechanisms of control and the way that they are used to manipulate employees' identities (e.g. Barker, 1993, 2000). Although this was discussed in detail in Chapters Two and Four, it is important to summarise some of the debates to contextualise the findings of the current research.

There is a broad assumption from this literature that there are new forms of control which are being adopted within organisations in order to manage employee behaviour. Tompkins and Cheney (1995) label this coercive control, an idea which was adopted by Barker (1993, 1999) as a mechanism for describing the relationship between identity, teamwork and control. Barker's argument is that teams formalise their own rules in order to control group member behaviour. This is a response to control being delegated to the team level - which Barker views as being similar to old bureaucratic structures. Barker (1999) goes on to argue that this represents a new form of internalisation and identification, in that the coercive control techniques force team members, to ease their working life, to become 'at one' with the team.

Barker's work was based within a manufacturing sector, yet in a similar vein for knowledge-intensive work, Kärreman and Alvesson (2004) argue that a cultural-ideological model provides the means for regulating social identities. Moreover, these more subtle forms of control often provide the corner stone for many of the criticisms of HRM systems which identify the corporatisation of the self as a mechanism for managerial control. Indeed, these arguments about control and identity make the assumption that people submit their personal identity for a collective identity imposed by the organisation. Yet, there is little evidence from the current studies of this occurring. Even taking an examination of *internalised* and *acted identity* separately, there is limited - if any - evidence that people are being indoctrinated to an extent that they internalise *any* imposed identity.

If there was one team that could be accused of being 'brainwashed' by the organisation it was Team B. Team B, more than any other, strongly endorsed the teamwork message. This team also presented an incredibly strong attachment to their group (see Chapter Six section 6.6.1). Team B, however, presented some cynicism specifically in relation to team training. Suggesting as much as they benefited from teamwork and bought into the message, they did not do this blindly. They had made a *conscious* decision to buy into teamwork and a team identity. The ability to critically reflect upon teamwork and the teamworking process was even more evident within Team G (see Chapter 6 section 6.6.4.). This team had a very strong

internalised identity but presented a slightly weaker *acted identity*. A weaker *acted identity* would suggest that the team did not feel it necessary to behave in a manner that conformed to the organisational ideal. Indeed, the members of this team carefully reflected on the teamworking process and were highly critical of teamwork and team training. Yet, this did not detract from their strong attachment to the collective. If it was the case that the governance process and the team training programmes forced employees into identifying with the team, then this team would present a much stronger *acted identity* and be unlikely to criticise the organisation.

For Teams L and O – the software teams with highly salient *internalised* identities - neither group presented a particularly prominent *acted identity*. However, both possessed a strong sense of the collective (see Chapter 7 sections 7.4.2 and 7.4.3). There were very few organisationally imposed mechanisms, for either group, explicitly attempting to engender team identity. Some writers arguing that the social process of software work- in terms of interaction and interdependency - is a covert mechanism for engendering identification with the group (e.g. Sawyer and Guinan, 1998; Kärreman and Alvesson, 2004). Yet, there was no evidence of strong communication within either of these groups. Indeed, most team members identified the fact that the work is highly individualised.

Hence, *internalised identity* - at one level - is an unconscious process, in a manner that is similar to traditional depictions of SIT (Tajfel, 1978). If team members benefit from belonging to a collective, as well as liking fellow team members, there is little reason for them to analyse the pros and cons of team membership. This was the case for Team B. Yet, for other teams or team members - specifically where there were problems with the team governance structures or the organisation of work - identification with the team is not necessarily an unconscious process. This type of scenario may well involve employees making a decision as to whether it is in their interest to identify with the team as shown by Team G. It can be suggested, therefore, that in these cases, *internalised identity* is based on self-interest, rather than the interests of the organisation as Barker (1999) would suggest. This is an idea that is

developed further in section 8.8 where Proposition Seven – the relationship between identity and self-interest is discussed.

Taking the two software teams that presented strong *acted identity* but weaker *internalised identity* – Teams A and E – helps to explain whether control structures determine the presence or strength of *acted identity* (see Chapter Six sections 6.6.1 and 6.6.2). Team A provided a perfect example of a group of individuals evaluating their working environment and making a decision as to whether to act in a way that indicates identification or not. Indeed, members of this group made comments that referred to that fact that they were only working to earn money and provided sufficient detail to suggest that they were aware of the implied rationales of teamwork. Yet, they made a decision, at least in part, to act as if they identified with the group. It can therefore be argued, that employees can be aware of the mechanisms that organisations use to attempt to control and define their behaviour. Hence, employees buy into the message of teamwork for highly pragmatic reasons. In one sense Barker (1993, 2000) was correct. He argued that control structures force team members to become 'at one' with the managerial rationales of teamwork. However this process is an active process by team members, having evaluation whether it is to their benefit to appear to identify with the collective. It is not the passive process that Barker depicts, nor does it represent what employees actually believe or feel.

The evidence provided by Team E further illustrates this argument see Chapter Six, section 6.6.2). Team E presented strong *acted identity* – this is substantiated both by the quantitative and qualitative data. Yet, in this group there was a sizeable degree of cynicism regarding the principles and implementation of teamwork. Nevertheless, this team decided to at least present a front of engaging with the teamwork process.

Perhaps the central factor for determining a team's ability to undertake *acted identity* is their knowledge of the managerial objectives of teamwork. To a great extent, for the manufacturing teams (and to a lesser extent the software Teams L and O) the message regarding teamwork was reinforced, if not presented, by the team training

process. Even though many of the teams in Study One seemed highly critical of team training - many called it a 'waste of time' (Team A) - when their practice of teamwork or teamworking was impeded, they complained. Indeed, this concurs within similar work undertaken by Findlay et al. (2000a, 2000b) who found that team members understood the contradiction between what they were taught as being teamwork, and what in practice they were allowed to perform.

However, there were two principal blockages for the employees in Study One to carrying out teamworking behaviour. The first was the grading structures and the second concerned the role of the team leader. The re-grading of employees as a consequence of the change programmes had the greatest affect for Manu 1 employees. Although Manu 2 was at an earlier stage in the teamworking process, they had a much stronger tradition of multi-skilling. For the Manu 1 employees was, historically, a much clearer demarcation between machinists (higher skilled) and general operators. Despite it being one of the aims of the change programmes to train all employees to the same level, the reality was very different. Frequently, the general operators did not receive the appropriate training and were still undertaking a narrow range of tasks. Even more significantly, there were a number of workers who had the skills of the machinists but were still being paid at the lower rate of general operator. Neither of these factors instilled any confidence in employees about the teamworking process. Indeed, there was evidence from the focus groups (see Chapter 6 section 6.6.1) that the 'up-skilled' general operators found the grading inconstancies demotivating.

The performance of *acted identity* was often (as previously mentioned) hampered by the team leaders particularly for the Study One teams. This impediment was most apparent for the governance and technical domains of *acted identity*. Even though employees had been trained to undertake a wider variety of managerial responsibilities and to perform higher level technical roles, if the team leader failed to allow discretion within these areas the opportunity to undertake teamwork or even act identity within was hindered substantially. Moreover, with a tradition of charge hands and supervisors, team members were fully aware that the team leader role was

distinct from their previous incarnations. Employees recognised that many of the traditional supervisory roles had been – technically at least – devolved to team level.

Most of the manufacturing teams made some complaints about management in general, and more specifically the team leaders. The teams that were, however, most fervent in their complaints about the blockages put into place by the team leaders were Teams A, C, and D. All these teams presented a limited amount of *internalised identity* and C and D also presented restricted *acted identity*. It is not necessarily the form of control that impacted on the performance of identity rather the contradiction between the espoused model of control and the actual model of control. Despite Sewell (1998) arguing that contemporary teamwork embodies both bureaucratic and cultural-ideological forms of control, more explicit within the managerial aims of the governance domain of teamworking initiatives is the idea of cultural-ideological control. Yet, many of the teams with low levels of *internalised identity* were confronted with traditional bureaucratic control structures. The team members were fully aware of the contradiction between the theory of teamwork and the opportunity that they had in reality, to present teamwork behaviours. Importantly, therefore, it was not really the degree of control that was preventing *acted identity*, rather the contradiction between theory and practice.

Team A, however, provided an exception to this phenomenon. Although not made explicit in Chapter Six, the team leader of Team A was relatively weak. From observation of both team meetings and the day to day working of the team, team members appeared to pay little attention to the instructions of the team leader. This may explain why they were able to present *acted identity*. The authority was not seen to be legitimate and therefore, had little impact on the identity of the team (Jenkins, 2004).

It is equally important to note that for those teams that presented few, if any, complaints regarding their team leader (for example Team B), there was a tendency towards a strong *internalised identity*. It is not necessarily the explicit control from team leaders that prevented the development of *internalised identity*. The opportunity

for team members to communicate, interact and self-mange may have been greater facilitators for the development of *internalised identity*. Indeed, much of the research on the impact of team leader behaviour on team interactions suggests that when team leaders are supportive and allow greater discretion and openness for team members, the team climate and commitment to the team is enhanced (e.g. Morrison and Milliken, 2000; Morrison and Phelps, 1999; van Dyne et al., 1994).

The discussion within this section, therefore, partially supports two propositions. Proposition 5: Team identity (both acted and internalised) is affected by the control structures imposed upon the team and Proposition 8 - If team members are hindered in their opportunity to perform acted identity, this will lead to negative perceptions of teamwork and the organisation.

8.8 Interests: The Missing Link?

This section addresses two research propositions. Firstly, Proposition 6 which concerns the relationship between control structures and *internalised identity*. Secondly, Proposition 7, which focuses on the degree to which self-interest effects *acted identity*.

Returning to the control issues discussed in section 8.8, it should be noted that the existence of cultural-ideological control, was not only present within the manufacturing teams. Tech 2's Team O, were showered with 'freebies' from the organisation, including 'beer and pizza nights', a free bar in the local pub and sporting competitions. They were, as found in other work on knowledge-intensive workers, subject to cultural-ideological control (Kärreman and Alvesson, 2004). Could it be that for these workers and for groups like Team B - who were rewarded with free cakes - that the cultural-ideological form of control was so strong and so uncontaminated by other negative forces within the organisation, that their level of 'buy in' really did lead to the construction of these highly salient *internalised identities*?

There were, however, other teams that had strong *internalised identity* but has avoided such obvious forms of cultural-ideological control e.g. Teams G and L (see Chapter Six, 6.6.4 and Chapter Seven section 7.4.2). For these teams it appears, that in part, what determines whether employees identify with the group - either in terms of *acted identity* or *internalised identity* - are *interests*. In the current work, the notion of interests, although mentioned in Proposition 7, was underplayed. This is because the majority of the work on interests, and specifically the relationship with identity, comes from the disciplines of international relations and anthropology (e.g. Barth, 2000; Brubaker and Cooper, 2000). The applicability of these fields of research to this thesis was viewed as limited. In fact, any work that has been undertaken from a social science perspective looking at the relationship between identity and interests has either been inconclusive or speculative (e.g. Jenkins, 2000, 2004). Indeed, Marchington (1992) notes that one of the key features of the socialisation of employees in a work context - that is 'doing a good job' - is not accounted for by the traditional teamwork literature. He argues that this is due to a failure to account for personal motivation and objectives (i.e. interests). Yet it would seem that the idea of interests is essential current debate.

Certainly, IM is underpinned by the assumption that individuals consciously pursue goals and interests (Goffman, 1959). This is argued by the idea that, 'they seek to 'be' – and to be 'seen to be' – 'something or somebody', to successfully assume particular identities' (Jenkins, 2004, p.20). Although the social identity approach, specifically in terms of identity salience, views identity - in part - as a conscious decision-making process, it is the self-conscious decision-making process that is fundamental to the idea of interests that has been omitted from traditional social identity theory. As noted throughout this thesis, Tajfel and his supporters, argue that placement in that group is (even if it is based on arbitrary criteria and placement is externally imposed rather than self-imposed), is sufficient in itself, to generate identification with that group. This placement is also viewed as sufficient motivation for the direction of behaviour towards ingroup favouritism and discrimination against outgroup members. Impossibly low levels of both acted and internalised *acted*

identity in some of the teams examined in this thesis show that this cannot be the case.

The only way that the social identity approach addresses the issues of interests is in terms of self-categorisation. Returning to the example given in Chapter 3 of this thesis, the lecturer in marketing who has a strong identity as a marketing person but changed his identity to that of a management department member when at a meeting of senate. Can it be argued, that the lecturer's identity was presented according to his best interests? Does the self-categorisation process form a mediator between contexts and behaviour which takes into account the meaning of the context for a particular individual?

Looking outwith the domain of management research, to the broader social science literature is a debate about the relative importance of interests and identities. Which of these two constructs is the more important source of human behaviour? Is it the pursuit of self (or collective) interest, or the crucial legitimacy of individual and collective identity? The relationship between the two constructs is summarised by Goldstein and Ranyer (1994, p. 367-8) below:

> in practice, interest and identity claims are closely intertwined. What I want is in some sense shaped by my sense of who I am. On the other hand, in clarifying my interests I may sometimes begin to redefine my sense of self. But there remains a fundamental distinction between my objectives that do not threaten my identity and those that do.

This quote suggests that interests and identity are not really alternatives to each other. Both are motivating factors which determine behaviour. Similarly they are both the result of a combination of external and internal influences (Jenkins, 2004). Moreover, interests and identification appear to be intimately bound together. Group membership has an influence on an individual's interests - and what is against their interests. How someone's group membership is defined, has an impact on what their interests are perceived to be. Moreover, the pursuit of a specific interest may result in someone being identified as belonging to a certain group both externally, and by the individual.

In an acute case, if a person has a single-minded calculative pursuit of material advantage then there is an assumption that self-interest is their sole driving force. However, in organisational terms, this individual cannot be defined or understood without a framework of identities and foci for identification – jobs, positions, reputations (Jenkins, 2004). It is not so much whether, or even the extent to which interests are subordinated to identities (or vice versa) that is the central concern. It is the relationship between these two factors that is important.

The degree to which employees identify with their team - and with teamwork - and the form that this takes, depends on the extent to which doing so does not work against their interests. If this process is taken to work on three levels - acting teamwork, *acted identity* and *internalised identity* - it is possible to begin to make assumptions as to how these different levels relate to employees interests.

Acting teamwork could be argued to occur when individuals working have almost no interest in working in their team. They may feel the need to present some impression that they are doing their job and engaging with the team, but the reality is highly functional, and there is a good chance that employees have an intention to leave team. Teams I and F could be argued to hold acting teamwork. There was little evidence of any attachment to, or engagement with team. However, they were still working in the team.

At the next level is *acted identity*. The teams that perform *acted identity* have a greater interest in working within the team than the acting teamwork participants. These groups of employees are actively pursuing sufficient interests - they want to present a strong impression of working as a team. In the cases where employees present strong *acted identity* but low *internalised identity* there is a lack of engagement with the collective at any level other than that of a superficial performance. These employees may wish to do well in the organisation, but may for example, feel that they are not getting great social benefits from their team (e.g. Team E, see Chapter Six section 6.6.3) or they are unhappy with some of the work

practices/control structures (e.g. Team A, see Chapter Six section 6.6.1). *Acted identity* is about identifying, or at least appearing to identify, with the principles of teamwork. This can occur both in conjunction with a high level of *internalised identity* (e.g. Teams L and O) or as an isolation practice, in a team with a weak *internalised identity* (e.g. Teams A and E).

Finally, *internalised identity* is about identifying with the collective itself, possibly in the way that Tafjel (1970, 1978, 1981, 1982) recognised. For these teams, there is little conflict between their interests, and working both in the group and performing teamwork in the manner prescribed by the organisation. As such, Team B may not be this brainwashed, culturally controlled group of employees, but rather there is little in their work environment that contradicts their interests. Groups either consciously or subconsciously account for factors such as control structures, social benefits, and the contradictions between teamwork teaching and opportunities for teamwork behaviour. If their interests are not contravened in any domain they are likely to present a high level of *internalised identity*. On this basis, it would be assumed that teams with high levels of *internalised identity* would also have very salient acted identities. In the current exploration this was often found to be the situation. Although the software teams did not perform *acted identity* to the same extent as some of the manufacturing teams, they performed it to a level to which their understanding of teamwork allowed. Further research may be able to more closely establish the relationship between high *internalised identity* salience and strong *acted identity*.

Consequently, Proposition 6: If team members accept the structures of control they will be more willing to develop internalised team identity – can be viewed as somewhat simplistic. Whether employees do, or do not, accept the structures of control, is in reality, dependant on whether it conflicts with their interests. The idea of interests has a stronger impact on teamwork and identity than assumed in the penultimate proposition. Proposition 7: If team members cannot accept the structures of control, but have a level of self-interest in continuing to work within the team,

they are likely to develop acted team identity. However, there is strong evidence for the confirmation of Proposition 7.

8.9 Theoretical and Philosophical Implications of the Current Research

The propositions that formed the basis for the current research were based on existing theory. Hence, the role of this research is to confirm, amend or reject existing accounts of teamwork and social identity. There were a number of limitations and contradictions located within both the SIT literature and the teamworking narratives, which clearly required further investigation, and were central to the aims of this thesis. As such, the following three sections show how the findings of Study One and Study Two contribute to understandings in these two domains.

8.9.1 Revisiting Social Identity Theory

Tajfel, whilst searching for an alternative to the prevalent concept of individualism in social psychology - and to develop his earlier research on social perception - fashioned SIT as a mechanism for understanding prejudice and conflict. The basic premise of SIT (e.g. Tajfel, 1970, 1978, 1981, 1982) and the social identity approach (Haslam, 2004) lies in the spirit of earlier theorists such as Mead (1934), in suggesting that the basis of identification is rooted in a natural human process that occurs just by placing people into a collective. This was typified by the findings of the minimal group studies which, in effect, suggested that placement into a group by external identification or categorisation is an important process which can contribute to group identification.

However, whilst three decades of research has generated considerable support for SIT (e.g. Albert and Whetton, 1985; Haslam, 2004), it has produced almost as much critical dialogue (e.g. Billig, 1996; Brown and Lunt, 2002; Wetherell, 1996). As already noted, one of the most frequent and powerful criticisms emerges from the empirical underpinnings of Tajfel's (and Turner's) foundation proposals derived from the minimal group studies. This method involved small and artificial coalitions

of subjects performing tasks which neither provided material, nor any other advantages. The findings showed that individuals identified with the collective even when there was no objective reason for doing so. Although other researchers have asked questions as to whether SIT can be generalised beyond this experimental context (e.g. Maass et al., 2000; Skevington and Baker, 1989), the current research has gone a stage further and started to look at the degrees of and variations in identity which can occur by placing people within a collective, and examined this within an empirical setting.

Despite this being a first attempt at using this approach, it is clear that identity is not as simple or straightforward as Tafjel and his colleagues would suggest. Placing employees in a team can lead to an identity being presented or performed in a number of ways. That is, from a highly conscious performance of identity to a genuine, internalised attachment to the group. Indeed, it could be argued that *internalised* and *acted identification* reflect the internal-external dialectic between self-image and pubic image.

This returns to the importance of what Goffman (1959) called 'the presentation of self' during interaction. It was first argued in Chapter Four that *internalised identity* can be paralleled with Tajfel's interpretation of social identity and to some extent Impression Management (IM) performs the same function for *acted identity*. IM draws attention the performance aspect of identity and the fact that identification is a routine dimension of everyday life. Moreover, the mechanism of *acted identity* performance also concurs with other work by Goffman (1959) and his theorising of similarities of behaviours in a group context. In his exploration of the dynamics within groups, Goffman termed each team member as both an actor and the audience. If each team member maintains his or her front, in order to promote team performance, there is a reduction in the possibility of dissent. Even though unifying elements of the team are relatively shallow, individuals within the group feel a strong requirement to conform to the behaviour. Not doing so would destroy the credibility of the whole performance (Barnhart, 1994). Indeed, in the current study, the majority of teams showed consistency in terms of attitudes and behaviour.

SIT explains this behavioural regularity on the basis of the previously mentioned social change and social mobility beliefs (Tajfel, 1978). If team members feel that they are not being satisfied by the team, they will leave the group. This eliminates any behaviour that involves dissent (social mobility). Those team members who feel that they can not or do not want to leave the group, will try and enforce change within the team (social change). The conditions of the group are changed by group action. Social mobility and social change beliefs are incorporated into Tajfel's (1978b) understanding of social identity salience in terms of the interpersonal-intergroup continuum (the psychological and behavioural continuum associated with the interpersonal-intergroup continuum is depicted in Figure 4, see p.73). This model also accounts for the degree to which similarities - or homogeneity - of team members affects social identity salience.

The emergent work on information processing and social or shared cognitions provides further clarification of the reasons for similarities of perceptions and behaviours found in the groups. Transactive memory systems and socially shared cognitions both develop with a common sense of social identity (Haslam, 2001). Hence, individuals will only have the motivation, and ability, to develop socially shared cognitions when they define themselves as a common group. Most theories in this body of work are focused on knowledge sharing, information exchange and expertise - all of which relate to teamwork and team identity. However, as much of this work is based in laboratory settings, a deep and comprehensive understanding of whether these constructs relate to both similarities within teams and the processes by which perceptions of similarities develop would require further research.

A final point concerning the development of SIT is the further recognition of the importance of context. Despite the acknowledgement of micro-level variations, as noted in Chapters One, Three and Four, SIT (along with other branches of social psychology) fails to recognise the extent to which context can impact of the formation and development of collective identities (Pfeffer, 1998). The current work has clearly acknowledged the impact that contextual factors have on identity,

specifically in terms of training programmes, control structures and variations in types of work. However, the key finding is that many contextual factors only come into play in the milieu of employee interests. As the previous section in the chapter explains in some detail, it is the idea of interests that forms the mediator between contextual factors, particularly control structures and employee identities.

8.9.2 Social Identity – A Paradigm?

The overall premise of the social identity approach is that groups are not only an external feature of the world that people encounter and come into contact with, but group membership is also internalised. In this way it contributes to a person's sense of self (Haslam, 2001; Turner, 1996). Indeed, the strength of SIT and self-categorisation theory was seen to so powerful, and all encompassing, that Haslam (2001, 2004) labelled it as a 'paradigm'. On the one hand this could be viewed as a very positive move within psychology. Critical social psychologists, plagued by a legacy of positivism, have repeatedly called for a 'new paradigm' (Hepburn, 2003). However, can the social identity approach live up to the challenge?

There has been considerable critique of SIT and the social identity paradigm in this thesis, which would lead to the conclusion that the social identity paradigm is not strong enough to provide a new culturally shared model of how to understand and examine knowledge. Moreover, by accepting it as a paradigm, there would also be the danger of it preventing the development of newer, better approaches.

More often than not, there is a close, if not almost incestuous relationship between paradigm choice and methods. In social psychology, this is most explicitly found for researchers using discourse analysis and conversation analysis. They tend to see these techniques as both a paradigm and a methodology. Indeed, Potter (1996; p.30) describes discourse analysis as 'not just a method but a whole perspective on social and life and research into it.' However, some writers have argued that instead of treating discourse analysis and conversation analysis as self-sufficient paradigms,

that they should be viewed as useful methods that should be combined with several other approaches (Hammersley, 2003).

This is in essence this is not dissimilar to the argument being presented here about identity, or rather the social identity approach. The social identity approach can be developed in such a way that it provides a middle ground between the psychological and the sociological. However, it needs to be augmented by other advances. In a similar vein to Jenkins' (2004) pragmatic individualism, social identity can provide an alternative ontological order. Whereas sociology privileges the collective and psychology the individual, social identity looks at the role of the individual within the collective. However, it cannot be seen as paradigm on its own – at least not yet. As was so clearly demonstrated in this thesis, in order to make it 'usable' it had to be combined with other approaches. Most obviously, at the philosophical level, the transformation of social identity from the theoretical to the empirical had to be performed through the use of critical realism. Specifically, critical realism was needed to operationally the inter relationship between individual actions and social phenomena, particularly in terms of power, structures and human agency. Hence, it has not yet been sufficiently developed to operate as a 'stand-alone' paradigm.

8.9.3 Revisiting Teamwork

Although the understanding of identity, its antecedents and its structures is a key component of the current work, it is important to remember that the principle aim of this thesis was to use social identity as a mechanism for reconciling teamwork debates. This thesis attempted to unify psychological perspectives that denote teamwork as a the mechanism for restoring all organisational ills – bringing both satisfaction to the employees and enhanced productivity for the organisation – with the sociological which has a tendency to view teamwork as a way of controlling employees and regulating individuality.

Indeed, one of the rationales for this work was to address pleas for the development of cross-disciplinary theory (e.g. Batt and Doellgast, 2004). The traditions discussed throughout this work differ in their theoretical assumptions, methods and foci of

interest. However, one would be hard pressed to argue that one perspective could have sanctity over another. A multi-disciplinary research agenda is likely to be the only way of resolving conflicts between perspectives. Moreover, as Batt and Doellgast (2004), note, and this work has established, this process 'encounters substantial challenges, but is rich in potential' (p.264).

Focusing on some the teams from this research can highlight the differences between research traditions. Indeed, what emerges is the phenomenon of polarised and competing accounts explaining the same outcome. Teams, B, G, L and O, all surfaced as having high degrees of both *internalised* and *acted identity*. At the extreme end of the critical perspective, we have Barker (1993, 2000), Casey (1999) and Sewell (1998) who would argue that the control systems of self-management and self-discipline have lead to these teams consenting to concertive control strategies (Thomkins and Cheney, 1985). Furthermore, they would suggest that these groups have internalised the new values associated with teamwork and become socially engineered employees. At the other extreme, psychologists such as Wall et al. (1986) and Parker and Jackson (1993) would explain the findings in terms of enhanced employee motivation and satisfaction, along with a more general increase in commitment and employee well-being.

Existing attempts to develop more moderate or more integrated accounts of teamwork such as Marchington's (2000) framework and Thompson and Wallace's (1996) Team Dimensions Model (TDM), demonstrate a move towards a more flexible interpretation of events and experiences. However, neither perspective takes a sufficiently detailed evaluation of the extent to, and mechanism by which employees engage with the teamwork process. A noteworthy report is, Findlay et al.'s (2000a) work based on the TDM. They found little evidence for the highly critical perspective. Findlay et al. found that team members were aware of the managerial aims and objectives of teamwork and as such teams were of little use in communicating management values. In fact, their findings were not dissimilar to the findings of the current study in that they noted that teams were only prepared to

accept the facets of the corporate message that were tolerable to them and consistent with practice.

It appears that the extreme perspectives are both assuming management to have a much greater power over employees 'selves' than this, or the Findlay et al. (2000a) study, can provide any evidence for. This is precisely why the social identity perspective is a useful tool for deconstructing practices occurring at the team level. Separating identity into *acted* and *internalised* and examining their relative salience provides an analytic devise that can be used to understand what it is about teamwork that employees are prepared to accept and what they are not. It also diminishes arguments made by the two extreme schools and takes account of context and variations that naturally occur within teams.

However, a final point which refers to one of the connections between the teamwork debate and discussions of social identity is the role of interests. It is precisely because of the lack of acknowledgement of this influence, that existing perspectives have failed to explain the full teamworking package. The extent to which employees' will work in a team, engage with teamwork and importantly, identify with the team is determined by the extent that doing so contravenes their interests.

Moreover, although earlier in this section the relationship between interests and identity was discussed, it is also important to recognise the impact the team can have not only identity, but on interests as well. It has been established, primarily through the impression management literature, that identity can be the subject of collective negotiation. That is, team members in part, put on a performance that is seen as appropriate to their audience which includes other team members. Similarly, it can be argued that interests are also a product of shared negotiation. Interests are regularly collectively defined, and even at their most individual can never be completely personal or divorced from the common sense and knowledge that is shared with others. While group identification – particularly *internalised identity* - is experienced individually and internally, it is sourced in the external wider human

world. Both interests and identity are definitively internal and external (Jenkins 2004), and consequently both partly created by, and enacted in the team context.

8.10 Future Research

This thesis opens up many opportunities for future research. In fact, some ideas for future work have been identified at appropriate junctures previously in this chapter. However, there are other areas that could be developed and are discussed henceforth. Consideration needs to be made of potential theoretical developments as well as issues of research methodology and design. The following section will be structured accordingly.

One of the most important directions for future research is an examination of employee interests and their impact on identity and teamwork. Indeed, both the role of interests and identity need much more detailed examination outwith laboratory settings, and in contexts that are greater that single organisation case studies. Starting where the last section finished, it is essential to further understand of the role of context on both interests and identity. Although interests and identity appear to be inter-related, it is easy to imagine situations in which who one is, might conflict with what one wants. There may be situations were one's identity in the eyes of others, will conflict with one's goals and desires and obstruct others achievement. Although there was little evidence for this, it would not be outwith the realms of possibility that a software developers' interests, in terms of professional development, may conflict with their identity as a 'good' team member. Returning to Goldstein and Rayner's (1993) quote about the relative importance of interests and identities, future work may wish to consider which will have the greatest impact on collective behaviour. Is it a threat to interests or a threat to identity?

Potential work needs to develop the concepts of *acted* and *internalised* identity to include other workplace identities over and above the team. As established in the first few chapters of this thesis, there are many foci for identification for employees such as the organisation and the profession. Future research should examine the

degree of applicability of *acted* and *internalised* identity to other foci of commitment. Developing these constructs to consider identities other than those within the teamwork domain will not only broaden their utility, but may also help explain other contemporary academic concerns such as the presentation of emotions within a work context.

Indeed comparisons can be drawn between some of the work on emotions and the current work on identity. Taking a distinction between real and portrayed feelings, Hochschild (1983) argues that emotions can be split into surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting is assumed to be an overt display emotion, where an individual does not actually experience the emotion. On the other hand, deep acting actively brings into play 'thoughts, images and memories to induce associated emotion' (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993 p.93). Surface acting could be construed performing a similar role to *acted identity* and although more of an 'active' process then *internalised identity*, there are some parallels that can be drawn between *internalised identity* and deep acting. Future work may wish to establish the links between the concepts and ascertain whether the same factors determine *acted identity* and surface acting and *internalised identity* and deep acting.

Moving on the empirical level - as this was a first attempt at the development of the constructs - there is an argument that they need refining based on extending field research across settings. Moreover, specific factors that were outwith the realistic boundaries of this study, such as the longevity of the team, the size of the team and gender balance and dynamics may provide greater insight into the identity process.

There are other dimensions of this study that it would be useful to adapt or change in order to develop the ideas and findings presented within the current work. The studies described in this thesis used a combination of qualitative and quantitative techniques. This was to improve the reliability of the findings and to separate the results for *acted identity* from results for *internalised identity*. However, research tools could be adjusted. By using structured interviews to ascertain the degree and nature of *acted identity* and semi-structured interviews or focus groups to analyse

internalised identity, there is not only greater opportunity for the redefinition of the terms, a greater depth of understanding of both is also likely to be achieved. Following suggestions by Hammersley (2003), there is also an argument to analyse the discourse produced either from focus groups or interviews – in conjunction with other data analysis techniques. This will be particularly useful for a more detailed understanding of internalised identity. The factors that were seen as demonstrating internalised identity, e.g. humour and the use of collective language, ideally lend themselves to the form of examination.

8.11 Practical Implications of the Current Work

There are three main implications of the current work for organisations. The first involves the extent to which management can actually control the behaviour of employees. The second is the cautionary tale of team training. The final point concerns the HRM issues for knowledge intensive organisations.

There is considerable evidence from the present studies that in as much as management attempted to control the behaviour of employees (particularly in the manufacturing organisations), that employees were fully aware of these objectives and would only submit to managerial control if they perceived that it was in their interests to do so. More importantly, if managerial authority was viewed as inappropriate, as it was in the case of a number of team leaders, the behaviour of employees was more likely to work against the aims of the organisation. In the face of adversity, teams (e.g. Team G) developed strong *internalised* identities, but this does not, in fact, help the day-to-day work tasks to be completed. Strong internalised identities (again giving the example of Team G) led to resistance against managerial authority.

In a similar fashion, there should be some advice presented for management attempting to 'create' or 'mould' the perfect team. At least one of the teams (Team N), on the face of it, presented the ideal model to create a strong social identity. The individuals came from a similar background, were predominantly female and had similar domestic circumstances. However, the factors that SIT would suggest would

hold this team together actually reduced their identity. Their similarities, particularly in terms of part-time working and childcare responsibilities drew them away from identification with the team towards a highly individualistic drive to 'get the job done'.

Whilst the Study One teams had a much clearer idea about what is required from teamwork, management were making themselves hostages to fortune by frequently presenting a picture of what was required from teamwork - and indeed, what could be gained for employees by working as a team - yet did not deliver on these promises. In both the manufacturing organisations employees were giver rigorous team training, were told about multi-skilling and re-grading, devolved responsibilities and normative values. However, when employees were not re-graded or allowed to take on more responsibility their motivation decreased. Although the intentions of management were appropriate, it is a lesson to organisations that all training programmes that involve enhancing employee's expectations *must* be delivered upon.

The HRM implications of Study Two for knowledge intensive organisations should be mentioned. There has been some academic recognition of the role of the team in studying human resource practices within the technology industry (Holm et al.. 2002; Jackson, 1999), yet there is little evidence that this has been applied within organisations. High tech companies still attempt to instil identification with the organisation based on artefacts such as logos on coffee mugs; distribution of t-shirts emblazoned with company motto etc. Based on this and other research (e.g. Alvesson, 2000; van Knippenberg and van Schie, 2000), organisations need to look at how to manage the team as the focus for commitment and identification. However, as Alvesson's (2000) case study organisations discovered, increased reliance on the team can lead to the loss of entire project teams and departments. Furthermore, a strong focus on the team may lead to competition between teams and potential hostility. Identification with the team could be so important to individual employees that it may impact upon internal mobility within the organisation.

Undoubtedly the way forward from a HR perspective is to look at how the team can be used to facilitate identification or at least attachment to the organisation as a whole in order to avoid the loss of complete groups of employees. These results would suggest that team identification is of particular salience to employees for two main reasons. Firstly employees identify with more proximate entities. Secondly employees identify with more stable entities in order to achieve uncertainty reduction. In order to produce attachment to the organisation rather than the team these two factors need to be addressed. There are a number of mechanisms for doing this. Offsite and satellite employees (if geographical and skills related constraints allow), should be rotated with head office employees once existing projects are completed. Indeed, all employees should move within the organisation to work within new teams on the completion of existing projects. Potentially the physical layout of the office should not arranged around projects, enabling employees to interact with members of the organisation outwith their immediate workgroup.

However, I would like to end with a word of caution. For the dispersed employees in particular, strong team identification has led to successful retention of employees and greater intrinsic job satisfaction. A product of allowing organisational identification to become more salient may have an impact on these outcomes.

8. 12 Conclusions

The aim of this thesis was to resolve the differences between the positions on teamworking from the managerial or psychological perspective and the critical or sociological perspective. Is teamwork - as the former view would interpret it - a way of 'getting the best' out of employees whilst improving their working existence? Or - as the latter view would suggest – is it just another mechanism for regulating and controlling employee behaviour?

The reconciling of perspectives was approached by the implementation of an adapted social identity framework. This thesis proposed that the form that identity took determined the extent to which employees 'bought in' to the teamwork process and the degree to which employees were controlled by the managerial objectives of

teamwork. It was suggested that one form of identity took the shape of the internalisation of team norms and led to a strong and genuine attachment to the team - *internalised identity*. The other form of identity - *acted identity* - was proposed as being a much more superficial form of identification and took the appearance of a performance of the behaviours and attitudes associated with the managerial aims of teamwork as described by Thompson and Wallace's (1986) Team Dimensions Model.

By conceptualising identity in this way, it was established that employees were broadly cynical about the aims of teamwork. This was particularly so if individuals were given information about how they were expected to perform within a team, yet not given any real opportunity to perform appropriately. Moreover, it was found that employees only identified with the team if it was in their interest to do so. For some teams there was a genuine attachment to the team and high levels of *internalised identity*. For these teams, there was a true friendship and camaraderie amongst the group. Indeed, for many of the teams (although not all) with a salient *internalised identity* there were few contradictions between the theory and practice of teamwork and little evidence of any undesirable control structures being imposed on them. There was nothing working against their interest.

It was established that the teams with a highly salient *acted identity* may also have had this high degree of *internalised identity* but the two types of identity were not always directly related. Indeed, for many of the teams with a strong *acted identity*, there far less 'closeness' than for the teams with high degrees of *internalised identity*. However, these teams had made a collective 'choice' to behave as if they had 'bought' into teamwork. It was in their interest to appear to perform appropriate team behaviours and provided greater benefit than being seen to resist the teamwork ideology.

The current research was undertaken within two substantially different sectors. It could be argued that for the manufacturing teams there were clearer guidelines provided as to the requirements of teamwork compared with the software teams. It

was therefore much easier for the manufacturing teams to perform and to be assessed on *acted identity*. However, much of the empirical and theoretical work in the area, from both all theoretical perspectives, tends to locates teamwork within a manufacturing paradigm - despite manufacturing teams not necessarily being the best exemplar of collective work organisation (Reinhart, 1998). The research was designed using a model – The Team Dimensions Model (TDM) – that was viewed as transcending a purely production based understanding of teamwork However, the TDM was initially designed on manufacturing teams, and as such, may be subject to some of the narrow assumptions based on this idea of teamwork.

Nonetheless, the research and theorising explained within this thesis, has, by virtue of the breath of the theory and flexibility in methodologies, created a new space for cross-disciplinary work on teams. This confirms the perspective of Ackroyd (1992, 1994) that much of the best research is not lead by a commitment to paradigms rather is stimulated by exchanges between them. In this case, this has transpired by taking the strengths of both critical approaches and psychological approaches and incorporating them in a more inclusive theoretical framework. If this work has even started to pave a road away from entrenched theoretical positions, then to a large extent, it has fulfilled its aims.

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Appendix 1: The Spirits Bottling Process

Whereas whisky production tends to take place in one of the many small distilleries across Scotland, the blending and packaging of whisky (and sometimes other spirits) is concentrated into larger operations. The four bottling halls examined in this research varied in size from Manu 1's Spirits 1, which operates 24 bottling lines and produces nearly 10 thousands cases a year, to Spirits 3 which houses only 12 lines.

The bottling lines themselves vary according to the type of product being bottled. Generally the high volume, lower priced brands are bottled on high-speed lines which are more heavily automated, thus involving fewer manual tasks and fewer operators. The premium, deluxe and non-standard bottles and sizes are bottled on slower production lines and tend to involve a greater range of manual tasks and require an increased number of operators. Thus the number of operators on a line can vary from being as low as three employees working on one of the Sprits 3 highly automated lines, or as high as twelve employees working on Spirits 1's premium brand, predominantly manual line.

Whatever the product being bottled, the first part of the production process involves the bottles being supplied to the line. The depalletiser feeds the bottles to the line. These are then cleaned using a jet of air or rinsed with the appropriate whisky. The bottles are filled automatically to a consistent fill level, guaranteeing a minimum bottle volume, followed by a visual check of the contents. Once filled, the bottles are capped. Bottle caps are placed in a hopper and fed to the capping machine. A sample of capped bottles is tested to ensure that the caps are secure.

The labels vary in size according to the product, and are glued by machine to the front and rear of the bottles. Extra labels are fitted to the shoulders and bottle necks according to the products. This process may be handled either manually or automatically depending on the dimensions of the label and the bottle. Again, for some products, tax strip seals must be fixed over the caps to meet market requirements or revenue regulations. This process may also be automated.

The final stage of this process involves packing the bottles into cases. Most cases hold 12 bottles (a few hold 6 or even 8). The cases are supplied from the manufacturer packed flat, and can be assembled either manually or automatically. Similarly bottles can be inserted into the cases either manually or automatically. Cases are sealed and assembled onto pallets. The number of cases on the pallet is varied to meet the needs of customers and the mode of distribution. This is the last point at which the line operators are involved. The complete pallets are stretch wrapped and the pallet moved by fork-lift truck to the warehouse for distribution.

The Bottling Process
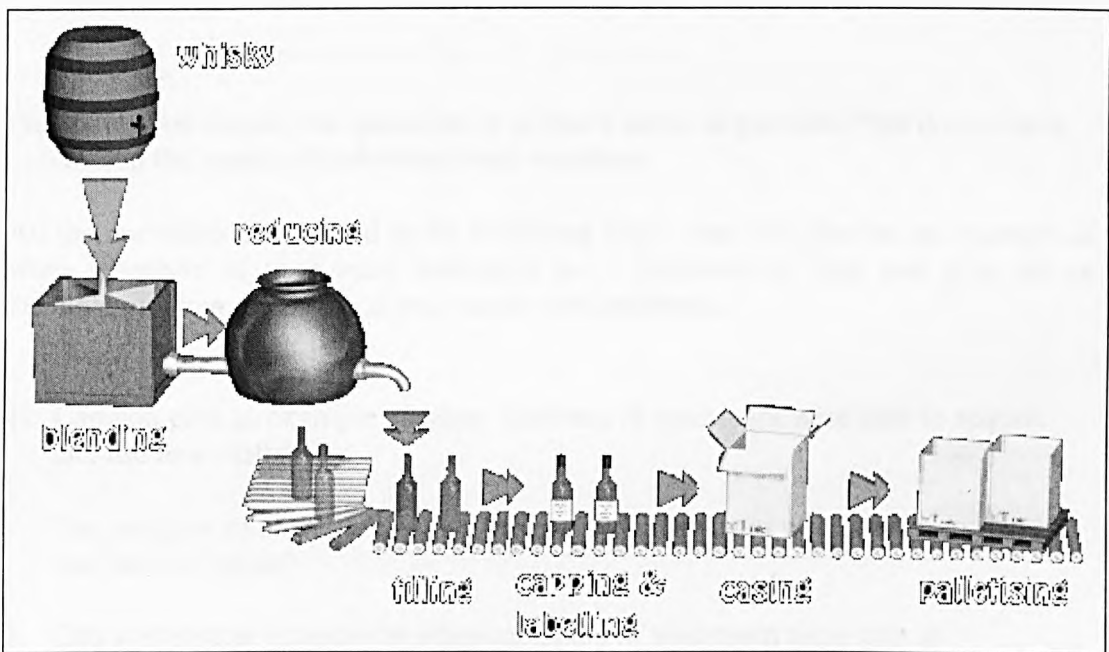
Reproduced with permission from Diageo

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR

MANUFACTURING TEAM FOCUS GROUPS

Interview Schedule for Study One Focus Groups

Part One: Working in a team

Why do you think management introduced teamworking?

What kind of knowledge and skills do you think management is looking for in team members?

Do you think that management want you to have a different attitude towards your work now that you are working in a team?

Please can you answer the questions in as much detail as possible. You do not have to mention the names of individual team members.

All the questions are phrased in the following way - 'can you give me an example of when members of your team were able to...'; followed by 'can you give me an example of when members of your team were unable to...'

1. Can you give an example of when members of your team were able to acquire and use new skills?

    Can you give an example of when members of your team were unable to acquire and use new skills?

2. Can you give an example of when members of your team were able to demonstrate flexibility, moving between a range of tasks in the job?

    Can you give an example of when members of your team were unable to demonstrate flexibility, moving between a range of tasks in the job?

3. Can you give an example of when members of your team were able to use knowledge to solve a work related problem?

Can you give an example of when members of your team were unable to use knowledge to solve a work related problem?

4. Can you give an example of when members of your team were able to make decisions about how work should be done?

   Can you give an example of when members of your team were unable to make decisions about how work should be done?

5. Can you give an example of when members of your team were able to take a leading role independently of the team leader?

   Can you give an example of when members of your team were unable to take a leading role independently of the team leader?

6 Can you give an example of when members of your team were able to communicate with each other in order to improve the way that things are done?

7. Can you give an example of when members of your team were unable to to communicate with each other in order to improve the way that things are done?

Part Two: Change and Commitment

1. Having been with the company for a while, you would you rate the changes that have occurred?

2. Do you feel as sense of loyalty or commitment to the organisation?

   If so how does this present itself?

3. How do you feel that the introduction of teamwork has changed your work?

4. Has it changed the way that the team interacts?

5. Do you feel a sense of loyalty or commitment to your team?

6. If so how does this present itself?

APPENDIX III: STUDY TWO SEMI-STRUCTERED TEAMWORK

INTERVIEWS

Question 1

Could you please start by telling me how you came to be in software work?
What other jobs have you done? / are you doing?
Comparisons between current job and other jobs you (may) have done?

Question 2

I'd like to talk more about this particular job/company -- about your experience of
working here and about how you feel about working here . . .
Do you work as an individual or as part of a team? (probe for team dynamics)
To what extent do you control the way you work? (e.g. organisation, pace, probe for
resistance)
If you are unhappy with something that is going on at work, are you able to do
anything about it? (probe: What? Does it make a difference?)
How easy is it to communicate and share information with other team members?

Question 3

I'd like to talk to you about your team and how your feel about your team
....

- ❏   Do you feel a sense of commitment to this job or your team members?
- ❏   Do you have contact with your team outside work?
- ❏   Do you feel a stronger sense of belonging to your team or the organisation?
- ❏   As an individual, how do you see yourself in relations to others here? Are you
  similar to other members of your team?
- ❏   Do you tend to keep your work life separate from the rest of your life?

Teamwork Questionnaire

The following questions are concerned with your team or workgroup. The aim of this questionnaire is to enable us to understand how you and your colleagues work together and interact within your team. You may be wondering what we actually mean by 'your team'. In part we leave this decision up to you! For example, you could be working within a project team and this is sub-divided into a development team and a delivery team and you are a member of the development team. Do you feel that you have a stronger identification with the development team or the project team as a whole? All we ask you to do when answering these questions, is to be consistent in terms of which team you are referring to.

About your team

1. What/who are you considering as 'your team' when answering these questions?
....
2. How long has your team been in existence? ....
3. How long have you worked in your team? ....
4. How many people work within your team? ....

5. The following question asks you to think about the expectations you have of your team members and the extent to which these expectations are met.

a. Do you expect the following from other members of your team? Please rank the 5 most important in order of importance. 1 is the most important.		b. Does your current team meet these expectations? Please circle the number, which best describes whether your expectations are met, for all the statements.				
	Rank from 1 to 5	Not at all				Fully
Support with work problems		1	2	3	4	5
Flexibility with working arrangements		1	2	3	4	5
Good attendance		1	2	3	4	5
Competence		1	2	3	4	5
Acceptance of fair share of work load		1	2	3	4	5
Support with personal problems		1	2	3	4	5
Loyalty		1	2	3	4	5
Friendliness		1	2	3	4	5
Sharing of work related information		1	2	3	4	5

Questions 6-12 are concerned with the roles, responsibilities and work allocation within your team. When answering these questions it would be useful if you could think of work related instances which illustrate some of the issues you are being asked about – so these may take a little longer to complete. For example, in the case of question 6, we would like you to provide examples which demonstrate how your team distributes knowledge and information within the group.

6. To what extent do members of your team share and circulate work-related knowledge and skills? Can you provide an example of how your team distributes knowledge?

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7. How flexible is your role within your team? Do you have more than one task or responsibility that you have to perform within the team?

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8. In general, do members of your team move between a range of tasks or does each team member have a particular task on which they must focus? Can you explain this by providing examples of working patterns?

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9. Do you feel that your role fully utilizes your skills? Can you think of an example when you have not been able to fully utilize your skills?

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10. To what extent do you have control over how decisions are made within your team? Can you provide examples of when you have been allowed to make an important decision? In addition to this, please provide an example of when you felt that you needed to make an important decision yet you were not allowed the opportunity.

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11. To what extent does your team have the authority to distribute its own work? Can you explain how work is allocated within your team and whether or not you think that there are more appropriate methods of work distribution?

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12. How effectively do the members of your team communicate with each other? Can you provide examples of when your team has communicated effectively with each other? In addition to this can you describe an occasion when communication could have been improved?

....
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....
....

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

APPENDIX V: RELFEXIVITY

Reflexivity is the awareness of the researcher of their contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process and an awareness of the difficulty of remaining external to the subject matter of the research (Nightingale and Cromby, 1999). As such, reflexivity urges researcher's to explore their involvement in a particularly study and how their involvement acts upon and informs research.

There are broadly two types of reflexivity (Willig, 2001). The first is personal reflexivity which involves reflecting upon the ways in which our own values, experiences, interests, beliefs, political commitments, wider aims in life and social identities have shaped the research. It also involves thinking about how the research may have affected and possibly changed those undertaking the research both as people and as researchers. Secondly, there is epistemological reflexivity which requires researchers to engage with questions such as: 'How has the research question defined and limited what can be 'found?' How has the design of the study and the method of analysis 'constructed' the data and the findings? How could the research question have been investigated differently? To what extent would this have given rise to a different understanding of the phenomenon under investigation? Thus, epistemological reflexivity encourages researchers to reflect upon the assumptions (about the world, about knowledge) that we have made in the course of the research, and it helps researchers to think about the implications of such assumptions for the research and its findings.

Most of the questions associated with epistemological reflexivity have been addressed in Chapters Five and Chapters Eight of the current thesis. The remaining issue in this domain that requires consideration is the impact of the researcher on the outcomes of the research process. This point will be discussed after dialogue about personal reflexivity.

When I started undertaking the work for my thesis many years ago I was relatively fresh out of an MSc course in Occupational Psychology. Consequently, I was

socialised into the belief that a broadly positivist approach to research was universally appropriate. Yet, my first research post at Edinburgh University in the mid 1990s 'landed' me in the position where I was working amongst sociologists, industrial relations researchers and critical theorists. Nonetheless, I spent the formative years of my research career holding on to my positivist perspective and my grounding in the scientific rigour of psychology. Ironically, it was only when I had left the project and started working as a lecturer at Strathclyde University over three years later, and was on Sabbatical in Australia that I afforded myself the intellectual space to consider the alternative perspectives to which I had been exposed to during my research career.

Although I had always set up my PhD research as an exploration of the influences of contextual factors on teamwork it was only when I started to explore the labour process literature and the work on social identity theory narratives I realised that I had found the missing link in my research agenda. Moreover, whilst social identity theory provided me with a conceptual devise that was compatible with my training in psychology, the Marxian influenced Labour Process Literature not only allowed me to fully engage with the concepts of power and control in organisations (and their role in teamwork), it was also more compatible with my personal political philosophy than much of the traditional psychological theorising.

With further irony, the use of this new conceptual framework also afforded me the opportunity to alter my own social identity. Whilst I inherently felt more synchronicity with more critical researchers than I did psychologists I had no real understanding why. However, by 're-creating' myself as a sociologically oriented social psychologist (with a greater concern as to how individual perceptions, belief systems identities and behaviours are determined by their position in social space) I could also alter my 'acted identity' to have greater compatibility with my 'internalised identity'.

At the time of the research being undertaken for Study One, I was adhering to a much stricter psychological perspective both empirically and theoretically. Hence,

the emergence of the data that clearly conforms to a more critical framework, to some extent pays testament to its authenticity. However, by the time that Study Two was underway, my cognitive framework in reference to how I viewed the construction and creation of knowledge had changed markedly. Although there was a stronger commitment to looking at the role of structure in this study, than there was in the previous study, I attempted to avoid conflation of my personal philosophy with my research practice. I hoped I could make the studies broadly comparable.

Whether consciously or sub-consciously the tools of my research changed between the studies to reflect my changing position. The extent to which my personal involvement in the two studies and my research philosophy affected the participant organisations is, to a great extent, unknowable. On a conscious level, all participant organisations were provided with feedback on their implementation of teams and the role of teams in their organisations (this is covered in detail in Chapter 8 section x). Any feedback given to them clearly informs practice. However, feedback to the organisations was always provided after the period of fieldwork was completed.

On a day-to-day basis, by asking participants questions about their role within the team and their identity will undoubtedly change the way that they consider their work and their identities. Although again this may only occur after the research has been complete. More importantly, is how the information that was provided to me by research participants reflected my relationship with them. I can honestly say that as a female researcher I was not aware of the outcomes of the research being determined by the gender of the research participant. However, as a final point in this appendix, it is important to acknowledge that some literature has found that other female researchers have experienced discrepancies between interviews with men and women in their research practices (Finch, 1984; Hertz, 1986).

According to Finch (1984) women are more enthusiastic about talking to a woman researcher because of the 'social experience of women and their expectation that the researcher, as a woman, shares with them this social experience and can, therefore, easily understand them. Women are more used than men to accepting intrusions

through questioning into the more private parts of their lives... Through their experience of motherhood they are subject to questioning from doctors, midwives and health visitors; and also from people such as housing visitors... who deal principally with women as the people with imputed responsibility for home and household. As subjects of research, therefore, women are less likely than men to find questions about their life unusual and therefore inadmissible. (p. 74)

APPENDIX VI: A SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE OBSERVATIONAL DATA

Study One

The observation of work for Study One was much more intensive than it was for Study Two. In order to familiarise myself with the work process I worked on one of the bottling lines for three days. For each of the teams I also attended and observed at least two team meetings and spent at least a day watching each team work on the production line.

What this process allowed was not only a much more detailed understanding of the work processes, but also a greater familiarity with the dynamics and presentation of identities for each team. In particular it enabled me to verify whether or not the presentation of identity in the focus groups was accurate.

Working with Team A (the team who allowed me to work on the line with them), helped me understand the relative power status between them and their team leader. All Manu 1 team leaders were responsible for two teams. They wore formal business clothes and were removed from the day-to-day production process. For a group of employees much more familiar with a tradition of supervisors and charge hands, the clear separation of the team leaders (who worked in an office elevated above the shopfloor) seem unfamiliar to team members and contradictory to the aims of teamwork.

For the Manu 2 teams, the division between team leaders and those working on the line was less obvious as the team leaders wore the same overalls and were not placed in an 'elevated' office. However, there were still tensions between the team and the team leaders which emerged as part of informal conversations taking place during the observation phase. The Manu 2 team leaders, for the most part, had been recruited after the change programme. The team leaders were not experienced in the industry and this caused some resentment amongst team members. The same was

true with Manu 1, where many of the team leaders, mostly graduates working as middle managers as part of their management training programme.

Observation in Study One also made me aware of the clear differences in the production lines, within and between the two organisations. There was twice the number of employees working on each line in the Manu 1 factories compared to Manu 2. This was because the Manu 2 lines were more heavily automated compared to the Manu 1 lines. Within Manu 1 however, there was greater diversity between the lines. For examples Teams A and B occupied the premium lines, which had newer technology and bottled the elite brands.

Study Two

Observation of the Study Two teams was much more limited. Because each team member spent most of their day in front of a computer screen with much of the interaction between team members taking place over email little could be learnt from observing the work. Nonetheless, at least two days was spent in each company talking informally to team members. Even if it had limited benefit in terms of understanding the work process, being seen in the organization and being familiar to the research participants probably led to high response rates to the survey and the willingness to participate with the interview process.