

## SWIFT SENSE OF COMMUNITY: RESOURCING ARTIFACTS FOR RAPID COMMUNITY EMERGENCE IN A TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION

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**Relational sense of community (SOC) research suggests that SOC depends on the depth of relationships cultivated between members over time. The rise of temporary organizations—transient work arrangements with limited expectations for future interactions—implored us to consider how a swift SOC can emerge in temporary organizations, where the cultivation of relationships may be challenging. We introduce a broader relational approach and draw on high-quality connections and resourcing theories to examine how a swift SOC emerges. Utilizing rich data sources, our qualitative analyses present a swift SOC cultivated in five days in a sleepaway summer camp. We find that this swift SOC was built on brief supportive connections that were made durable by resourcing artifacts. Resourcing artifacts creates scaffolds that mobilize actors to create a web of connections, leading to an organization-wide swift SOC. We propose that a swift SOC can emerge through four intertwined resourcing artifact phases: initial resourcing, embracing resourcing, reinterpreting resourcing, and expanding resourcing. During these phases, individuals imbue artifacts with new meaning and resource artifacts for (a) dyadic connection, (b) staff coordination, and (c) membership in a subgroup and (d) an organization-wide community. We demonstrate symbolizing and momentary connections as novel resourcing mechanisms enabling this process.**

Modern society is plagued by fragmentation (Block, 2008) and social disconnection (Mintzberg, 2009), challenging humans' fundamental need to belong and to be a part of a community (e.g., Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Maslow, 1943). The changing nature of work—particularly, the rise of temporary organizations (Burke & Morley, 2016)—offers limited opportunity to create the conventional social glue that binds us together, and thus exacerbates disconnection. Temporary organizations bring together a group of strangers in order to complete a time-bound task via functional-based encounters (Bakker, Cambré, & Provan, 2009; Bechky, 2006; Fernandes, Spring, &

Tarafdar, 2018; Valentine & Edmondson, 2015). Such organizations represent a flexible, ad hoc manner of organizing that have an *ex ante* determined termination point, “fixed either by a specific date or by the attainment of a predefined state or condition” (Bakker et al., 2009: 203), and are thus transient and of limited duration. Evidence suggests that, in the last biennium, temporary organizations have ascended to common practices in many industries (Burke & Morley, 2016). A number of scholars have called our attention to the movement toward a “project society,” reflecting a broader societal shift from an industrial society, marked by traditional organizations and stable work settings, toward a projectification, marked by temporary work arrangements wherein there is limited shared work history and no expectation for future interactions (Lundin, Arvidsson, Brady, Ekstedt, Midler, & Sydow, 2015; Schüßler, 2017). Work accomplished in these forms of organizing is achieved by encoding individual responsibilities into roles, making the coordination between relative strangers possible (Valentine & Edmondson, 2015). While such organizations have numerous

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advantages for employees (e.g., greater flexibility, expanding one's professional network, gaining new skills; Bechky, 2006; Camden, 2003; Carre, Ferber, Golden, & Herzenberg, 2000), central drawbacks include a lack of social connection and limited sense of community (Hulin & Glomb, 1999; Naylor, Williamson, & Österberg, 1996).

Management scholars have been increasingly concerned with the promotion of a sense of community (hereafter, SOC) in organizations (Block, 2008; Boyd & Nowell, 2014; Mintzberg, 2009). According to Boyd and Nowell (2014), SOC consists of five properties: (a) membership, (b) bidirectional influence (i.e., bottom up and top down), (c) fulfillment of needs, (d) shared emotional connection, and (e) responsibility. Cultivating a SOC in organizations is important for a number of reasons: it increases organizational commitment, job and organizational involvement, and organizational citizenship behavior, reduces employee turnover, improves psychological empowerment, and increases collaboration among employees (Blatt & Camden, 2007; Boyd, 2014; Boyd & Nowell, 2014; Burroughs & Eby, 1998; Rego & Cunha, 2008).

Theoretical and empirical work examining the conditions and processes enabling a SOC demonstrate that it depends on the depth of relationship cultivated between members (Gusfield, 1975). It has been asserted that deep relationships are built on repeated sets of social interactions (Miller & Stiver, 1997), and are strengthened through time spent together (Boyd & Nowell, 2014; Dawson, 2008; Festinger, 1950). Thus, this framework assumes that continuity or endurance of social interactions is a necessary condition for the creation of a SOC (e.g., Blatt & Camden, 2007; Garrett, Spreitzer, & Bacservice, 2017).

The present study aims to re-examine this assumption and explore how a SOC can be cultivated in transitory, temporary organizational structures in which members' interactions are short lived. Our exploration of the processes underlying the emergence of a swift SOC is grounded in a broad, relational perspective that proposes that a social order is achieved via mutual constitution unfolding via moment-to-moment encounters (Feldman & Worline, 2016; Garrett et al., 2017). We draw on high-quality connections (HQCcs) (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003), or short-term, dyadic interactions that are positive in terms of the subjective experience of the connected individuals, to examine how moment-to-moment encounters enable the creation of a swift SOC. To unpack the process underlying the emergence of a swift SOC, we turn to resourcing theory (Feldman, 2004) for insight

regarding the dynamic that can amplify micro-adjustments into system-wide change.

We explored the processes underlying a swift SOC in a summer camp that operates five days a year, and is marked by low familiarity and limited tenure across both staff members and campers. In contrast to a SOC that is built on relationships that are deepened through repeated interactions, time spent together, and the expectation to continue to share time together, we find that a swift SOC is grounded in momentary experiences of positive regard—instantaneous experiences of being known or being loved (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003)—that are made durable and expansive. Unlike a SOC, we find that a swift SOC also extends beyond bidirectional influence (top down and bottom up) and also includes lateral (or peer-to-peer) influence, which we find to be crucial for the emergence of a swift SOC. Building on these findings, we advance the following definition:

*A swift SOC is a state of felt inclusion and joint responsibility for members' well-being and needs experienced within a group of people through the seeding and rapid amplification of experiences of momentary positive regard and widespread sense of influence.*

We develop a process model that shows how a swift SOC can emerge in temporary organizations. We demonstrate that a swift SOC can be created through four intertwined phases of resourcing in which a mundane artifact (e.g., a bread tag or bread clip, a device used to keep plastic bags of sliced bread closed; see Figure 1) is transformed into a new resource in use that serves as scaffolds for the formation of a swift SOC. Our research uncovers symbolizing, or individuals imbuing meaning into a potential resource, as a novel mechanism that can increase the scale, scope, and speed by which organizational members are mobilized to connect with one another, and thus leads to the spontaneous emergence of a swift SOC.

## SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Our study is grounded in the relational perspective to the study of community. This perspective prioritizes the interconnectivity within the social realm and proposes that a SOC is built on the depth or "character of human relationship[s]" (Gusfield, 1975: xvi) that individuals experience with a larger social group (Boyd & Nowell, 2014). According to Boyd and Nowell (2014), SOC consists of five properties: (a) membership, (b) bidirectional influence, (c) fulfillment of needs, (d) shared emotional connection, and (e) responsibility. Specifically, "membership"

**FIGURE 1**  
**The Bread Tag Artifact**



pertains to feelings of belonging or of sharing a sense of personal relatedness. “Bidirectional influence” captures a bidirectional sense of mattering wherein the community has influence over members (top down) and members influence the community (bottom up). “Fulfillment of needs” captures members’ perceptions that the group meets their needs, they feel rewarded for being a part of the group, and they are motivated to be involved in the group. “Shared emotional connection” refers to the belief that members have and will continue to share time together, common places, and have endured or identify with similar experiences. Finally, “responsibility” reflects members’ commitment to the well-being of the group and its individual members. When these five properties are experienced in tandem, a SOC emerges.

The literature on SOC has examined the construct at different levels of analysis—from the individual, where the focus of the construct is the individual’s cognitive or emotional state (e.g., Boyd & Nowell, 2014), to the aggregate, as an eventual co-constructed property of a collective (e.g., Block, 2008; Garrett et al., 2017; McKnight & Block, 2012). Given that our focus in this paper pertains to SOC as a social order that spontaneously emerged in our research setting, we examine SOC as a relational aggregate property of the collective. SOC as a collective construct complements but also departs from related constructs such as social belonging and swift trust. First, social belonging “refers to the state in which an individual, by assuming a role, is characterized by inclusion in the social collectivity” (Pollini, 2019: 1) or a sense of “relatedness” (Ryan & Deci, 2000: 73) that arises from “lasting, positive, and significant interpersonal relationships” (Baumeister & Leary, 1995: 497). Whereas bidirectional influence and sense of responsibility are conceptualized as necessary properties of

SOC, social belonging on the other hand does not require these components. Moreover, while social belonging represents an individual-level construct that captures an individual’s experiences of connection with their social setting (e.g., work unit, division, or entire organization), SOC, as defined in this paper, reflects a macro-level construct that captures the sense of connection as a property of a collective. Second, it has been suggested that temporary organizations “require ‘swift trust’ on the part of their members to make up for the limitations of working in the organizational equivalent of a ‘one-night stand’” (Bechky, 2006: 3). Unlike SOC, swift trust is more likely to emerge when “interdependence is kept modest” and through the “avoidance of personal disclosure” (Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer, 1996: 191). Rather than cultivating enduring emotional connections, as is the case with SOC, swift trust is “less about relating than *doing*,” as it places “less emphasis on feeling ... and more emphasis on action, cognition, the nature of the network and labor pool” (Meyerson et al., 1996: 191). For these reasons, SOC is considered to be a distinct construct.

Literature on SOC proposes that organizational members are traditionally tied together into community by continuity of social interactions that enable members to cultivate and deepen relationships (Blatt & Camden, 2007; Garrett et al., 2017; Gusfield, 1975). For example, Reis (2001:61) wrote that “‘relationship’ implies that these persons have established an ongoing connection with each other ... and that they expect to interact again in the future.” Researchers posit that social connectedness is not a momentary or temporary state (Lee & Robbins, 2000), and cannot occur in a short period of time (e.g., Yoon, Lee, & Goh, 2008). Rather, connectedness is based on interpersonal interaction that takes place in the context of

a temporally stable and enduring framework (Feldman & Rafaeli, 2002). Research demonstrates that, the more people interact with one another, the closer, more connected, and bonded they feel, and a greater SOC appears to emerge (Dawson, 2008; McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Likewise, Klein and D'Aunno (1986) proposed that a longer tenure with an organization provides more opportunities to become integrated with others. Some suggest that establishing belonging is dependent upon the amount of time spent in a given community, which helps "cement membership in a group" (Suddaby, Foster, & Trank, 2016: 301).

Temporary organizations that are transient in nature offer limited ability to cultivate deep relationships between employees that could preclude the development of a SOC and may in fact contribute to the general disconnect and alienation that employees feel (e.g., Breu & Hemingway, 2004; O'Leary & Mortensen, 2010). A remaining question is that of how a SOC can be cultivated under conditions in which social interactions are short lived and opportunities to cultivate relationships are limited.

### RELATIONALITY AND A SWIFT SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Relational theorists propose that the world we inhabit and our relations to it "are not simply and evidently 'there'" but, rather, people "actively construct the world of everyday life and its constituent elements" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2008: 3). Relationality is centered around the idea of mutual constitution, rather than independence, and proposes that "phenomena (including people, events, ideas, institutions, and material things) have meaning in relation to one another, rather than in isolation" (Feldman & Worline, 2016: 308). In this view, social order is a product of moment-by-moment encounters in which people act in ways that may close down or open up relational possibilities (Hosking, 2011; Miller, 1986; Miller & Stiver, 1997). This perspective draws our attention to momentary interactive practices and their influence on individuals and collectives. We propose that HQCs offers a generative theoretical lens through which momentary interactions and their impact can be examined. Relationality draws our attention to ongoing daily practices or actions that seed, maintain, or change dependency in an organizational context. Thus, we draw on resourcing theory (Feldman, 2004; Feldman & Worline, 2012), a process theory that illuminates how the interplay between actions, schema, and resources can influence stability and change in organizations. Together, these theories offer valuable

sensitizing tools that begin to outline how the interplay between the social and material can influence organizational life and hold the potential to create a new social order (Boxenbaum, Jones, Meyer, & Svejenova, 2018).

### High-Quality Connections

HQCs are short-term, dyadic interactions representing the connecting tissue between two individuals that is perceived to be generative and life giving (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003; Stephens, Heaphy, & Dutton, 2012). Connections are considered to be small units of relational micro-events or micro-moments (Collins, 2004). In contrast to deep relationships built upon repeated interactions, which are central for a SOC, HQCs represent brief encounters and do not imply an enduring or recurring bond (Blatt & Camden, 2007; Dutton & Heaphy, 2003; Gutek, 1995; Reis, 2001). Specifically, HQCs are characterized by a sense of vitality and positive energy in connection (Quinn & Dutton, 2005), a shared sense of positive regard (Rogers, 1951), and felt mutuality whereby those involved are fully engaged in a connection, and demonstrate mutual vulnerability and responsiveness (Miller & Stiver, 1997).

Relational scholars propose that HQCs enable relational formation. A number of scholars demonstrate the role of the quality of initial connections in shaping how newcomers learn and are assimilated into organizations (e.g., Ashforth, Saks, & Lee, 1998; Louis, 1980; Morrison, 2002). Similarly, Blatt and Camden (2007) demonstrated that HQCs enable temporary employees to become socially embedded and feel emotionally related and included in traditional organizations in which the majority of employees enjoy permanent, long-term employment. These studies uncover HQCs as "relational anchors, mooring and stabilizing people's sense of attachment to their work organizations" and existing communities (Dutton, 2003: 14; see also Blatt & Camden, 2007). Although these studies have laid an important foundation to explain how individuals may assimilate into *existing* organizational communities, they have yet to capture the full spectrum of the relational processes that explain how a *new* social order can emerge in organizations. We propose that HQCs are particularly useful to unpack relational processes leading to a swift SOC, as they are generative and spark the desire to cultivate more mutual connections with others (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003; Miller & Stiver, 1997). Thus, we argue that HQCs have the capacity to explain not only the connecting tissue that swiftly forms between two

individuals, but also the social glue that can swiftly bond collectives together. We propose that a central feature of HQCs—openness to relational possibilities (Stephens et al., 2012)—can help explain how a swift SOC can be formed through a growing web of generative positive connections. By studying how a swift SOC can emerge, the present study advances HQC research on relational formation and HQCs outcomes more broadly, and demonstrates the process by which brief moments of interpersonal contact can influence a new social order. Although HQCs usher us to consider the formation of a web of HQCs as a foundation for a swift SOC, this perspective sheds limited light on the process by which this pattern can unfold. Thus, we turn to resourcing theory for further insights.

### Resourcing Theory Perspective

Resourcing theory (Feldman, 2004; Feldman & Worline, 2012) represents a process relational theory that posits that resources (e.g., material, relational, etc.), actions, and schemas—frameworks representing mutual understanding by members of an organization or a group (Schutz & Luckman, 1973)—are dynamically connected in recursive relationships. According to resourcing theory, schemas can justify the use of specific actions (prescribed or improvised) that can turn potential resources into resources in use. Because all three dimensions (resources, actions, and schemas) are connected in recursive relationships, a change in resources in use can change or stretch an existing schema, which, in turn, will shape the specific actions enacted in the system (Feldman, 2004; Sonenshein, 2017). This approach suggests that resources, actions, or schemas are not stable or static, but, instead, are fluid and continuously changing. For this reason, a change in one dimension can bring about an entire system-wide change. The theory further proposes that resourcing cycles can be ampliative, such that local micro-adjustments of resources, actions, and schema can create more or different resources, thus enlarging the outcome of the process (Feldman & Worline, 2012; Nigam & Dokko, 2019).

A resourcing perspective has been primarily used to unpack how individual action and interactions effects organizational change (e.g., Feldman, 2004; Howard-Grenville, 2007; Howard-Grenville, Golden-Biddle, Irwin, Mao, 2011; Sonenshein, 2014; Wiedner, Barrett, & Oborn, 2016). This body of work offers insights into the bottom-up change created when individuals adjust their actions, resources in use, and schema in everyday practices, and recruit others to support change. A remaining puzzle is that of understanding

how and why individuals' actions and interactions can bring about the *emergence of a new social order*. Nigam and Dokko's (2019) study of career resourcing begins to shed light on the processes underlying emergence. They proposed that actions taken by actors who were initially disconnected helped to create a community of people who eventually constituted a specific type of institutional structure: a new profession (Nigam & Dokko, 2019). Importantly, Nigam and Dokko (2019) demonstrated that the emergence of a new social order is achieved via the process of accretion, which refers to the process of growth or increase—typically, by the gradual accumulation of additional layers or matter, when actions (self- or community-building oriented) generate resources that accumulate over time, across individuals, and across generations. Missing from this exploration are insights into the process by which the emergence of a new social order can be achieved swiftly. We propose that a rapid emergence of a new order does not represent a change in rate, but uncovers a qualitatively different process. The current study is designed to explore the resourcing dynamics, mechanisms, and scaffolds that can rapidly erect a new social order. We will demonstrate that it is not the gradual connections of individuals to the emerging collective but the rapid connection of individuals to one another that brings about the swift emergence of a new social order.

## METHOD

### Research Setting

We use a single case study design (Yin, 1994) and examine the emergence of a swift SOC at a sleepaway summer camp. Services at this camp are not offered on a recurring basis throughout the summer, but, rather, its activities are limited to five days within a year. Camp Magic (a pseudonym) is a seasonal non-profit organization founded in the Pacific Northwest in 2011, with the purpose of “supporting children through and beyond a parent’s cancer” (Training #V1: 1). To this end, this camp offers a combination of fun-filled programs and reflective activities. Camp Magic consists of engaging programs similar to most sleepaway summer camps, including games, craft activities, rock climbing, archery, pool or river activities, campers’ talent shows, and counselors’ skit night.

Camp Magic was founded by, and is still currently led by, undergraduate students who serve as camp directors, coordinators, cabin leaders, and counselors for a limited duration. Camp Magic is designed (in part) as a leadership opportunity for these students. Students in these roles are routinely replaced by new

undergraduate students after one season in a given role, in an effort to “enable a new generation of students to hone and develop their leadership skills through impact work” (Archival document #11). The goal of providing leadership opportunities to students inherently creates a temporary environment for the staff, where turnover is embedded within the organizational design.

During the period of our study, Camp Magic was run by 50 staff members (51% female; average age was 21.2 years old,  $SD = 3.04$ ) from diverse educational backgrounds. Forty-seven staff members were undergraduate students, of which two served as camp directors overseeing the camp, nine served as coordinators for specific functions at camp (i.e., development,  $n = 2$ ; programming,  $n = 3$ ; training,  $n = 2$ ; outreach,  $n = 2$ ), six served as unit leaders, and 30 served as counselors. Staff also included three non-student staff members: one mental health specialist and two nurses. In keeping with the purpose of Camp Magic, tenure of personnel was intentionally limited. At the time of our study, the majority of staff (76%,  $n = 38$ ) had never attended this camp before, 11 (22%) were returning for a second year, and only one (0.2%) staff member had returned for a third year. Returning staff volunteered for new organizational roles. The incoming camp directors were nominated for these roles by the previous camp director, who stepped down upon her graduation from college. To ensure some sense of institutional continuity, the incoming camp directors shadowed the current camp director during the prior five-day camp season.

This camp served 120 children (40% female) who had either lost a parent to cancer, had a parent currently undergoing cancer treatment, or had a parent in remission. Campers’ ages ranged from 6 to 16 years old ( $M = 11.16$  years,  $SD = 3.52$ ). Campers were assigned to one of six units based on age—yellow unit (YU, ages 6–7), red unit (RU, ages 8–9), blue unit (BU, ages 10–11), purple unit (PU, ages 12–13), orange unit (OU, ages 13–14), green unit (GU, ages 15–16) ( $M = 20$  campers per unit;  $SD = 1.26$ )—and then split into two cabins based on gender. The majority of campers (74.2%,  $n = 89$ ) were new to this temporary organization, 25% ( $n = 30$ ) had attended camp the year prior to this study, and 1% ( $n = 1$ ) were attending camp for a third season.

**Appropriateness of research site.** Camp Magic represents an extreme case (Pettigrew, 1990) that we believe to be an appropriate setting for the exploration of the emergence of swift SOC in temporary organizations. First, it represents a temporary organization, in that its activities are seasonal and time bound (e.g., this

camp only offers five days of programming per year). As is common in seasonal temporary organizations, our context reflects a transient work arrangement characterized by intentionally high levels of turnover, coworker variety, and limited tenure (Birnholtz, Cohen, & Hoch, 2007). Camp Magic is marked by deliberate short tenure at all organizational levels; the tenure of the camp directors, coordinators, and administrators of this organization is intentionally limited to one five-day session. In addition to temporary staff members, the population served by this camp was also mostly new to this context. Moreover, campers came from diverse locations within a Northwestern state and rarely (6.6%,  $n = 8$ ) reported communicating with other campers prior to arriving at this camp, and most (85%,  $n = 7$ ) of these cases involved campers who had siblings who were also attending this camp. Due to the intentional staff turnover, staff members were advised to refrain from communication with campers outside of camp (Training materials, #D5). This organizational arrangement breeds conditions of low familiarity, common in temporary organizations characterized by few repeated projects (Van Emmerik & Sanders, 2004).

Indeed, we found that, prior to the launch of this camp season, most staff (88%,  $n = 44$ ) expressed concerns about working with their new colleagues, most of whom they had only met briefly during the pre-camp training. Half of the returning staff members ( $n = 6$ ) also shared concerns regarding low familiarity with other staff members. For example, one staff member returning to Camp Magic in a new role shared: “I was one of the few returning staff members; many of the counselors were new, the directors were green, so it is like coming into a totally new place” (Samuel, STF, GU, Int. #66). In the same vein, pre-camp surveys indicated that the majority of those served by this organization (89.1%,  $n = 107$ ) felt limited familiarity with staff and fellow campers. Limited familiarity with and low sense of relationship continuity was also evident among 96.7% ( $n = 30$  out of 31) of the campers returning for a new five-day season:

I came to camp last year. After check-in, I realized all the other kids in my cabin were first timers; we got brand new counselors and a different unit leader. The location makes camp feel sort of familiar, but the people, that is a whole new thing, which makes all this feel rather different. (Ted, CMPR, BU, Int. #53)

Second, in order to examine the process leading to a swift SOC, it was imperative to focus on a context in which a SOC could be plausible and human-to-human

connection could be cultivated quickly. Camp Magic's central mission is to "offer a warm and loving environment for campers, impacted by their parents' cancer, to experience the transformative power of connection with others" (Training materials, #D4). The focus on building connection in this organization provided an important foundation that could allow for connection to quickly grow, and an information-rich setting in which the emergence of a SOC could be observed. The short duration of camp (five days out of the entire year) offered clear and narrow temporal boundaries in which a SOC that could otherwise evolve over an extensive span of time could emerge swiftly.

In many regards, this context is like many other temporary organizations in terms of structure, routines, and team dynamics. Camp Magic was relatively flat in terms of its hierarchical organization, offered considerable autonomy, and was built on role-based coordination, all of which are common in many temporary organizations. Similar to other temporary organizations, the staff training offered limited guidelines regarding how to facilitate a SOC, enabling the spontaneous (rather than prescribed) emergence of a swift SOC. For these reasons, we believe that this setting could serve as a platform in which a swift SOC might emerge.

### Data Collection Approach and Data Sources

Access to this site was enabled through the founder and first director of Camp Magic, who was a professional connection of the first author. The present study emerged from an observation the first author had during the second year of data collection in a larger longitudinal project designed to examine how teaming processes enable organizational regeneration. While tracking coordination practices in this temporary organization, the first author noticed the novel use of a mundane artifact (e.g., bread tag). This discovery led our team to focus data collection efforts on interactions involving this artifact (i.e., resourcing interaction), interpretations of such encounters, and emerging outcomes stemming from the use of this material at camp. Data collection involved prolonged engagement in the field, immersing ourselves in the camp experience and remaining open to many types of rich data.

We combined multiple sources of rich data pertinent to the emergence of a swift SOC at Camp Magic. We relied on participant observations as the primary sources of data and complemented it with staff meeting observations, informal interviews with campers,

and formal interviews with staff. We supplemented these materials with campers and staff pre-camp surveys, and naturalistic observations of pre-camp training. Table 1 summarizes the data sources used in this study.

**Participant observations during camp.** The first author and four research assistants conducted 50 hours of participant observations during camp, capturing 10 hours of daily camp activities each day throughout the lifespan of camp. To gain access to the natural social interactions at camp and to build rapport with and earn the trust of campers and staff, the first author and four research assistants served as camp assistants during various camp activities (e.g., name tag station, water balloon assistant, archery station assistant, climbing wall assistant, etc.). These positions enabled us to visit with all campers and staff members during activities' rotations on a daily basis and to float between camp units during the remaining time. We made every effort to document important social interactions in real time, and followed up with interviews to better understand those interactions.

**Staff interviews.** The first author and two research assistants conducted 47 formal interviews with 47 members of the camp staff (interviews lasted 1–1.5 hr;  $M = 81$  min,  $SD = 11.3$  min), which were audio recorded and transcribed. The majority of staff interviews (89.4%,  $n = 42$ ) were conducted at camp during staff break time, with the remaining interviews ( $n = 5$ ) conducted in person the week after camp. We asked staff members questions regarding their interpretations of the meaning of camp and invited them to share concrete events from camp that demonstrated how they or others attempted to address campers' needs. These questions elicited rich descriptions regarding the emotional needs of campers and staff members, and the staff's attempts to address these needs.

**Informal interviews with campers.** The first author and two additional research assistants informally interviewed 73 campers throughout camp regarding their experiences of HQCs and resourcing interactions throughout the day(s). Informal interviews lasted 10–45 minutes ( $M = 25$  min,  $SD = 5.1$  min). We utilized a contextualizing data approach (Fletcher, 1998) expected to elicit the intentions, beliefs, feelings, and assumptions that constituted the participants' sense-making around observed resourcing behaviors. In these interviews, we asked open-ended questions about specific interactions of interest. For example, when a camper was awarded an artifact, one of us reached out and, in private, asked questions such as "What was this about?," "What was going on here?," "What do you think about this?,"

**TABLE 1**  
**Data Sources**

	Yellow Unit	Red Unit	Blue Unit	Purple Unit	Orange Unit	Green Unit	Admin	Camp-wide	Total	Use in Analysis
Staff pre-camp surveys	8	7	6	6	8	6	9	N/A	50 surveys (100% response rate)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provided demographic and background information</li> <li>Offered information on staff familiarity with other staff members/campers at the onset of camp</li> </ul>
Camper pre-camp surveys	20	21	19	19	22	19	N/A	N/A	120 surveys (100% response rate)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provided demographic and background information</li> <li>Offered information on campers' familiarity with other staff members/campers at the onset of camp</li> </ul>
Staff interviews	8	7	5	5	7	5	8	2	47 interviews (94% of staff mapped)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Transcribed interviews provided foundational input from which we extracted data on bread tag resourcing dynamics data</li> <li>We engaged in multiple rounds of coding of these data for resourcing dynamics, its triggers, and perceived outcome</li> </ul>
Camper informal interviews	12	15	12	11	13	10	—	—	73 interviews (60.08% of campers mapped)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Detailed field notes provided foundational input from which we extracted bread tag resourcing dynamics</li> <li>We engaged in multiple rounds of coding resourcing dynamics, their triggers, hurdles, and perceived outcomes of these data</li> </ul>
Participant observations	Single unit		3 hr		3 hr		3 hr		50 hours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Informed our decisions about timing of interviews with additional critical informants</li> <li>Detailed field notes on observations provided foundational input from which the first author extracted resourcing data</li> </ul>
	Multiple units		15 hr		10 hr		—		5 hr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>We engaged in multiple rounds of coding of resourcing dynamics, its triggers, and outcomes of these data</li> <li>Provided additional information about triggers for resourcing, resourcing bread tag dynamics across all camp units, and perceived outcomes of resourcing dynamics</li> <li>Informed our decisions about timing of interviews with additional critical informants</li> </ul>
Staff meetings	11 hr		—		—		—		11 hr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provided foundational understanding of camp purpose, history, routines, and organizational structure</li> <li>Enabled us to cultivate rapport with camp staff prior to data collection at camp</li> </ul>
Training observations	12 hr		—		—		—		12 hr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provided foundational understanding of camp purpose, history, routines, and organizational structure</li> <li>Enabled us to cultivate rapport with camp staff prior to data collection at camp</li> </ul>

and "How do you feel about it?" We recorded the informal conversations in field notes during such conversations when possible, or promptly after these conversations took place. We made every effort to capture the campers' comments verbatim. As unit leaders, camp coordinators, and camp directors often took notes while conversing with campers as part of their organizing efforts, taking notes echoed normative behavior that campers came to be accustomed to and grew quite comfortable with.

**Staff meeting observations.** At the end of each day of camp, the first author and one research assistant attended the daily staff meetings (each was 1.5–3 hr long). Staff meetings included a debrief of the day, a preview of the following day's schedule, and an hour-long group reflection. Meetings were audio-recorded, transcribed, and supplemented with handwritten notes recorded during the meetings.

We used pre-camp surveys and naturalistic observations of training sessions to supplement data sources. We collected pre-camp surveys from all campers ( $n = 120$ ) and staff ( $n = 50$ ) at camp. Campers' pre-camp surveys included demographic and background questions including gender, age, address, current health status of the parent affected by cancer, camper's familiarity with others at Camp Magic, and questions about the camper's concerns and hopes for their camp experience. Staff pre-camp surveys included demographic questions as well as open-ended questions about staff members' motivation to join the camp, prior experience as a staff member in other camps, prior experience at Camp Magic, familiarity with other staff members, and concerns and hopes for their camp experience.

We conducted naturalistic observations of all 10 staff pre-camp training sessions (each was 1–1.5 hr long) that were held throughout the academic year leading up to camp. Observing the training sessions enabled us to view the socialization process used to prepare all staff members for the upcoming summer camp and afforded the first author an informal opportunity to meet all staff members and begin to build rapport with them prior to our arrival at Camp Magic. Training sessions were audio-recorded, transcribed, and supplemented with formal training materials used during these sessions.

Training sessions included information about Camp Magic's vision, organizational structure and culture, basic cancer terminology, and formal policies and routines used at the camp. In line with the centrality of care to the mission of this organization, training materials called staff members to take on a caring role ("demonstrate attentiveness and support"; training material, AA #11, OBS #3), and offered explicit insight

regarding *who, when, and how* to do so. Training materials highlighted campers as the primary targets for care and framed caring for any distressed campers within their units as an integral part of the staff member's role at Camp Magic. This training also highlighted key emotional cues (e.g., anger, withdrawal, irritability, sadness) that might signal expressions of campers' distress that should be noticed and responded to. Finally, training materials offered initial suggestions regarding ways to alleviate distress and called on staff members to demonstrate emotional availability. These materials encouraged staff to first inquire with the camper regarding the nature of and reasons for the distress they were experiencing. In the case of homesickness—one of the key types of distress expected to be exhibited at Camp Magic—the training materials outlined two methods staff could employ to alleviate homesickness (Training materials, #1–2). The first was a preventive approach to "help kids adapt to new routines, be available and supportive, keep campers active and involved, and integrate campers immediately into their groups' activities." If this approach was unsuccessful in alleviating distress, the materials recommended that staff attempt an intervention approach (e.g., develop a schedule for remaining time at camp, set short-term goals, etc.).

## Analysis

Data analysis consisted of five main stages. First, analyses began with the development of a narrative of the history of the case, integrating information from the various data sources at hand. To avoid potential bias in event recall, our analysis of interview data were built on evidence offered from multiple interviews conducted at camp, though post-camp interviews often offered additional support to themes we identified in the interviews collected at camp. Drawing on six data sources we brought to bear, the narrative of the history of the case illustrated that the impact of the resourcing artifact we saw in the field shaped the participation of other organizational members (e.g., artifact recipients), and eventually led to a new social order experienced within this context.

Second, we turned to the literature to examine possible relevant theoretical lenses that could explain the emergent social order we observed. We found SOC (Boyd & Nowell, 2014; McMillan & Chavis, 1986), HQCs (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003), and resourcing theory (Feldman, 2004) to be particularly useful and used those perspectives to further hone our research

question. Thus, we refined our research question to examine the following:

*How can a SOC be cultivated in transitory, temporary organizational structures where members' interactions are short-lived?*

To examine this research question, we employed a theory elaboration approach (Vaughan, 1992). We started with theory-driven qualitative coding of the data informed by literatures on SOC, HQCs, and resourcing theory as sensitizing instruments to focus our initial inquiry (Vaughan, 1992). For example, building on SOC research (Boyd & Nowell, 2014), the first author and two research assistants, who took part in the data collection, combed the data in search of evidence of the five properties of SOC (detailed above). Grounded in HQCs (Dutton & Heaphy, 2003), we searched for evidence of vitality, positive regard, and mutuality. Drawing on resourcing theory (Feldman, 2004), we searched for evidence of actions involving artifacts, artifact in use, and reinforced, adjusted, or new schema. When incoming data conflicted with the sensitizing theory in use, we engaged in additional inductive coding to better capture the dynamic at hand. Following Miles and Huberman's (1994) approach, we iterated between inductive first-order codes elicited from the evidence in the data and cycles of deductive reasoning, searching the existing literature for concepts that could help explain what we found in the data until theoretical saturation was achieved. For example, when coding for shared emotional connection as a property of SOC, we found evidence regarding members' belief that they would continue to share time together was often absent. Instead, our data pointed to a number of first-order codes capturing "moments of feeling loved," "appreciated," or "visible in a given interaction." Turning back to the literature, we were able to clarify our coding and conceptualized these data as evidence of positive regard.

Third, to identify the phases underlying the process we observed, we reviewed our coding again, asking generative questions about who was involved, how artifacts were used, and what the results were of such an approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1997). These questions helped us notice qualitative differences between four resourcing phases: (a) initial resourcing, (b) embracing resourcing, (c) reinterpreting resourcing, and (d) expanding resourcing. Next, we iterated between the detailed narrative history we wrote in the first step and the coding we generated in the second step to identify the temporal order and potential overlap between such resourcing phases. We found that

the initial resourcing launched the process we observed, and was followed by the embracing of resourcing by staff members. We also found that, while staff members, who first initiated artifact use, embraced resourcing that involved adjusting their actions and disseminating artifacts, artifact recipients first engaged in reinterpreting resourcing and then moved to expanding resourcing. Once a chain of phases was identified, we asked questions about why and how an initial phase led to a subsequent phase, to identify triggers of such phases. We iterated between the inductive first-order codes elicited from the data and cycles of deductive reasoning to hone our understanding of the triggers that explained the trajectory we observed. For example, initial coding of the data pointed to individuals paying wide attention, noticing broad types of distress, and feeling concern for others who were hurting. Circling back to the literature helped us notice that such experiences reflect common humanity, which refers to the notion that distress is a common human experience that can bind individuals together (Neff, 2003), which we identified as one of the triggers for expanding resourcing of the artifact.

Fourth, we returned to another round of coding to link the qualitatively different phases we identified with potential outcomes we observed. For example, we asked generative questions such as how and why initial resourcing might relate to fulfillment of needs. We compared and contrasted phases to examine the possibility that certain outcomes stem from certain phases and not others. We built on direct access to staff and campers' perspectives to inform our coding of the consequences of resourcing. We paid close attention to the possibility that the initial intention of resourcing might differ from its consequences in practice. We made sure to examine multiple sources involved to inform our understanding of these consequences. Moreover, we utilized member checking, and sought the feedback of four informants (two former staff members, two former campers) to test our preliminary model. Informants often shared additional personal examples they recalled from camp that supported our initial understanding of the process.

In the fifth stage, at the suggestion of reviewers, we returned to the data and reanalyzed it with a focus on examining any hurdles or possible setbacks that occurred during the process we observed. We combed through all staff and campers' interview data, as well as meeting transcriptions, to identify any potential setbacks in the process. We also re-examined our data to assess whether those who were initially not involved in the resourcing artifacts practice might have

challenged the practice, felt offended by it, or made any attempts to expand the focus of artifact recipients to include them in this practice. We found no evidence to support such possibilities in these data. We also reached out to our informants to ask whether they recalled such a pattern occurring at Camp Magic. Our informants did not recall such challenges, but instead called our attention to nuances in agreement within the subgroup of artifact recipients. Hence, we re-examined our notes from informal interviews with artifact recipients and identified doubt as an additional trigger for expanding resourcing. Together, this analysis enabled us to build on and extend resourcing theory, HQCs, and SOC, and to induce a process model for the emergence a swift SOC.

## FINDINGS

Evidence from pre-camp surveys and interviews reflected a limited SOC at the onset of camp, as staff and campers reported they were largely unfamiliar with one another and felt a high degree of social disconnection before heading to camp. However, within a period of less than five days, members reported a noticeable SOC that was built on organization-wide membership, influence, fulfillment of needs, felt responsibility, and instantaneous experiences of positive regard. How was this distinct form of SOC created in such a short timeframe?

Our analysis showed that a swift SOC emerged from four intertwined and qualitatively different phases of resourcing phases. Below, we discuss each of the four resourcing phases and their consequences for the emergence of a swift SOC within this organization. Throughout the findings, supporting data are tagged with pseudonyms for the informants as well as information regarding their role in the organization (e.g., "STF" for staff member, "CMPR" for camper), associated camp unit (e.g., "YU" for the yellow unit), and data source type (e.g., "INT" for interview, "OBS" for observation, and "SMTG" for staff meeting). Table 2 includes additional data supporting our analyses.

### Phase 1: Initial Resourcing—Resourcing an Artifact for a Dyadic Connection

**Performing paradox as a trigger for resourcing an artifact.** The process leading to the emergence of a swift SOC was ignited by a staff member's experience of a performing paradox—a tension that stemmed from the need to perform multiple and inconsistent roles or tasks. We found that such a tension arose after a comforting interaction shared between a staff

member and a camper, who was feeling homesick. Comfort from the staff member inadvertently peeked this camper's growing dependency and yearning for the staff member's attention. As the camper's dependency on the staff member grew and other campers' demands for the staff member's attention also increased, the staff member felt torn between her wish to be available to the individual camper and the need to be available to other 10 campers in her cabin. As she reflected:

I would love to spend every minute of my day with this kid [Virginia, CMPR], but we [STFs, OU] have 10 other campers to work with and attend to. When Margaret [CMPR, OU] came to me and needed to talk, I began to feel this overbearing burden of V's [initial camper] need of my attention. I really want to be there for her every moment of the day, but need to figure out a way to be as caring and attentive to my other kids who may need my undivided attention. How do I do that? Now that is complicated. (Sunny, STF, OU, Int. #23)

**Staff improvising action.** Performing paradox propelled the staff member to improvise action, which refers to the process of making, inventing, or arranging offhand ("Improvise," n.d., para. 2), in an attempt to meet the needs of, and demonstrate emotional availability to, multiple campers. We found that Sunny, a first-time staff member at camp, improvised a way to convey her emotional availability to one of her unit campers, Virginia, while simultaneously maintaining the necessary physical distance that could enable her to be available to the other campers in her unit. Sunny grabbed a bread tag from the cafeteria (which, up until this point, had only been used at camp for its original purpose—to seal bread), and, in private, handed it to Virginia. Sunny then invited Virginia to wear it on her shoelaces. In contrast to the artifact's original intended use, Sunny resourced this artifact and reinvented its purpose to aid in her connection with a struggling camper. As she shared:

I felt I had to do something to help her [Virginia, CMPR] see that I am available to her even when I need to be away, but did not have a go-to solution to lean on. I knew some folks were exchanging friendship bracelets but those lanyard things took forever to make. I needed something, but not just *anything* ... it had to be an out-of-the-box solution. I recalled seeing the giant mountain of bread at the cafeteria and figured, "I can totally do something with one of those bread tags." (Sunny, STF, OU, Int. #23)

**Artifact symbolizing a dyadic connection.** We found that, when Sunny handed this artifact to Virginia asked her to tie the bread tag on Virginia's shoe

**TABLE 2**  
**Additional Representative Quotes**

Aggregated themes	Second-order concepts	Evidence
<i>Phase 1: Initial resourcing</i> Resourcing an artifact for a dyadic connection	Trigger: Performing paradox	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “This whole thing got started because you were like ... wanting to be present to honor the bond you shared with a camper, but, then again, felt you needed to be there for your other unit campers at the same time.” (Anna, STF, OU, Int. #26)</li> <li>• “Sunny felt horrible. Virginia became more and more needy and Sunny did not know what to do. Of course, she wanted to be there for V—all the way, but we had so many kids in our unit, 10 other campers in her cabin alone, how could she possibly be present for all of them. She felt torn between these campers vying for her attention. I felt the same about the boys’ cabin campers too.” (Tom, STF, OU, Int. #29)</li> <li>• “Sunny took off for a bit and came back with some plastic thing. She gave her a bread tag—you know, like the one you use to seal the bread. Bread tags were not a thing we were using and nothing in training talked about it. I guess she was creative coming up with something she felt could help.” (Madelyn, STF, OU, Int. #31)</li> <li>• “Sunny invented this totally new thing: she got the bread tag and gave it to Virginia. She made it up on the spot.” (Alice, STF, OU, Int. #33)</li> <li>• “That bread tag has nothing to do with bread anymore; she [Sunny] gave it to Virginia to help her see she is there for her, especially when she needs to spend time with our other campers.” (Anna, STF, UO, Int. #26)</li> <li>• “These tags were about the bond they shared; it was a sweet visual reminder, they are connected.” (Madelyn, STF, OU, Int. #31)</li> <li>• “We wanted to be caring counselors for these homesick kids; [showing] them we are available and supportive was really important, we knew that. Sunny giving away a bread tag was a brilliant way to show she was available, even when she had to be away with our camper.” (Alice, STF, OU, Int. #33)</li> <li>• “We have some guidelines about it [homesickness] in place to give counselors initial ideas to work with. In general, you want to show them [campers] that you are there to support them so they can better transition into this foreign context. The bread tag that came up in the Orange unit by Sunny, I believe, was a cool thing. It offered a different way to help. V [Virginia] realized Sunny was available and eager to support her even when other campers kept her away.” (Allison, STF, PU, Int. #36)</li> </ul>
	Staff improvised action	
	Artifact symbolizing a dyadic connection	
	Staff reinforcing existing caring schema	
<i>Phase 2: Embracing resourcing</i> Resourcing artifacts for staff coordination	Trigger: Staff coordination crisis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “There was so much going on during the day, you could not squeeze in a second away from campers, which I think was the main reason why we were so off updating cabin counselors about issues that came up with campers. We checked in at nights. By that point, we missed the mark, upset our kids unintentionally ... we have to do better communicating in real time.” (James, STF, YU, Int. #39)</li> <li>• “We have to learn to communicate faster. I know it is challenging when you want to protect your campers’ privacy and not do it in front of others, but whatever method we are using now is clearly not working. We need to get this act together ASAP.” (Charles, STF, PU, #44)</li> </ul>
	Trigger: Sharing resourcing potentiality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Sunny told us about this thing with Veronica or Virginia and it seems like a cool thing she did there and the way V [Virginia] responded looked like it has such great promise!” (Samuel, STF, GU, Int. #66)</li> <li>• “You can totally imagine how this thing she [Sunny] shared [Sunny resourcing artifact] can move the needle and help us stream line communication, I am digging it.” (Caroline, STF, RU, SMTG #2)</li> </ul>
	Artifact symbolizing dyadic connection and a specific type of distress	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “We used those [bread tags] with our homesick kiddos so we know that, after we connected with a HS [homesick] child, they [camper] had one [bread tag] on and now other counselors in the cabins knew that kid is missing home just by looking at a camper’s shoe.” (Samantha, STF, YU, Int. #37)</li> <li>• “We use bread tag to flag the type of issue a kid was dealing with. Homesick kids got them, which pretty much helped other counselors in the cabin realize what those kids may be struggling with.” (Caleb, STF, GU, Int. #68)</li> </ul>
	Staff adjusting existing caring schema	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Adopting the bread tag refined the way we approached the homesickness issue at camp. We were still focused on supporting our homesick campers, but now we planned to get involved far earlier. We used to wait to see a kid crying or act out to reach out and chat about something, so now you did not need to wait for that to happen.” (Sarah, STF, BU, Int. #41)</li> <li>• “We had some basic idea about how to be a caring counselor from that HS</li> </ul>

**TABLE 2**  
**(Continued)**

Aggregated themes	Second-order concepts	Evidence
<i>Phase 3: Reinterpreting resourcing</i>	Staff adjusting actions	[homesickness] training. But, with these bread tag things, we tweaked it a bit. You really did not need to see a kid melt down before you realized something was off. If you had a tag on one of your campers' shoes, you knew something about home front was off and you reached out to them even if they were not animated." (Andy, STF, RU, Int. #94)
<i>Resourcing artifacts for membership in a peer subgroup</i>	Trigger: Artifact recipients' curiosity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "We made sure we had a few [bread tags] ready to use. We handed them out after we touched base with a camper and learned they were homesick. It also shuffled our approach to campers a bit. If someone else gave a camper a bread tag, I knew I could avoid asking nagging questions ... [it] reminded these campers I appreciate them being <i>here</i> when they were worried about home instead of milking what was wrong out of them in a conversation." (Tom, STF, OU, Int. #27)</li> <li>• "So, now we were handing out bread tags to homesick kids we bonded with ... This also helped adjust responses to campers who connected with other counselors. I could avoid poking campers with unnecessary questions. It freed me to play with [a] different way to encourage them and show them I cared too." (Samuel, STF, GU, Int. #66)</li> <li>• "I had my [bread] tag, but then I could see a few more kids with bread tag on their shoes. I was curious, what did they have a bread tag for?" (Julia, CMPR, RU, Int. #45)</li> <li>• "I got my bread tag a day ago, but now I was like, 'Huh? Where did the bread tags those other cabin campers got come from? Was there something we shared in common I did not know about?' Now that made me really want to find out." (Logan, CMPR, GU, Int. #52)</li> </ul>
	Artifact recipients improvising new actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Two campers came up with this super cool shoe kiss thing and those of us with bread tags took it from there. It was a fun way to show each other 'we got your back' kind of thing that was just ours. As more kids got bread tags, we did teach the new bread taggers how to do it so they could pass it forward." (Regan, CMPR, OU, Int. #97)</li> <li>• "A few bread taggers came up with that [shoe kiss] they were teaching each other as a way to connect with other bread taggers in the units but also with strangers, like bread tags from other cabins they did not used to chat with before." (Carter, STF, YU, Int. #96)</li> </ul>
	Artifacts symbolizing membership in a peer subgroup	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "It [bread tag] turned into something else with the homesickness club. That bread tag was like your entry ticket to our group; if you had one, we knew you were homesick and that made you a part of our group." (Owen, CMPR, OU, Int. #46)</li> <li>• "This whole thing started with Sunny, first just as a token of their [Sunny and Virginia's] bond. Then, we picked it up and used it to smooth our communication so we did not have delays between counselors' updates. Now, these bread taggers took it to a whole new level, turned these tags into a thing that was all about their private homesick camper club of campers who had a bread tag." (Ryan, STF, PU, Int. #98)</li> </ul>
<i>Phase 4: Expanding resourcing</i>	Artifact recipients energizing a new schema	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Connecting with bread taggers helped me discover how helpful I could be just being there for others. I came here needing support, but being a part of this bread tag club inspired me to step into a giving mode. I was not the only one to do this, for sure. This was us discovering that we could be caring campers and what we could do to show other bread taggers we cared." (Nathan, CMPR, GU, Int. #102)</li> <li>• "Staff were here to give them [campers] a good time, to support them, and that assumed they are in a needy place. They definitely came in with big needs, for sure. What was striking to me was the transformation they created with the secret club. They invented a whole new approach for them to operate at camp ... and figured out what it means to them to be caring campers. Pretty much reinterpret the way they saw their participation at camp when they took on caring for other bread tagger campers." (Adrian, STF, YU, Int. #93)</li> </ul>
<i>Resourcing artifacts for organization-wide community</i>	Trigger: Artifacts recipients recognizing common humanity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "The more I was paying attention to bread taggers around me, the more I realized others—campers, not bread taggers necessarily ... counselors and staff too—seemed to be down or challenged somehow. I figured everyone struggles with something and that's worth paying attention to." (Christian, CMPR, PU, Int. #100)</li> <li>• "On Day 1, I thought I was the only one in the world that felt bad about being away from home. Yesterday, I could see there are so many other kids that felt that too. But, today, I feel that's not the whole deal ... there are other kids here, even grown-ups, that have something really tough they go through; maybe not missing home, maybe it</li> </ul>

**TABLE 2**  
**(Continued)**

Aggregated themes	Second-order concepts	Evidence
	<i>Trigger: Artifacts recipients' doubt</i>	<p>is something else. But their eyes look just as watery as ours, their hearts are heavy like mine was ... it really doesn't matter if they are homesick or not everyone can be hurting in some way ... That's what makes us people and not robots, right?" (Maria, CMPR, YU, Int. #101)</p>
	<i>Artifacts recipients adjusting caring schema</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "I am not sure what others think about it, but I have to say I am not sure about this thing. The shoe kiss is good and all but I think we can do better than that ... like, what if someone doesn't have a tag but I feel they need one?" (Owen, CMPR, OU, Int. #46)</li> <li>• "Sometimes, you go with the flow and it feels great; other times, you may not be so sure about stuff. Today was that day—what if we have this totally wrong?" (Mateo, CMPR, RU, Int. #84)</li> <li>• "Looking around, realizing other folks here struggle just like we do, opened up my eyes, our eyes, to a new way of being caring. It helped me realize how important it is to do this caring thing, but bigger—like, it should be about more than homesickness. We also figured it is more than just following the counselors' lead. We notice folks struggling and we could make a point to be more involved in responding instead of waiting for a counselor to be the first to connect. Oh—and it was not just about campers, too ... like, you probably heard about Julian [STF, GU], supporting counselors here became a big part of what caring campers turned to be." (Jack, CMPR, RU, Int. #95)</li> </ul>
	<i>Artifacts recipients improvising actions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "The last day or two was all about bread taggers taking care of our own. Now, today was about caring in a different way. It was about us recognizing that other people outside our club needed support; it was about us reimagining how we could be caring at camp, about reaching out to someone who needs a pick-me-up moment rather than waiting for counselors to do that first. An upgraded recipe for being caring camper." (Lucy, CMPR, GU, Int. #80)</li> <li>• "Personalizing bread tags was our new deal. Paying attention to dudes around you, and, when you realized someone needed a boost, you reached out to your counselors and got a tag to give out. Each of us made a point to make those extra special so whoever got them knew it was specially made for them. This was a new twist that helped us connect with new folks who were not part of our club just yet." (Regan, CMPR, OU, Int. #97)</li> <li>• "She [Melanie, CMPR, BU] reached out to Queen to ask for a tag, to give away. She had a fresh take on it, convincing Queen, who was not sure he should follow along, to go for it. She picked up the tag and worked on personalizing it for quite some time, or so I hear ... She came by after dinner and gave me the tag she made with a tiny Melanie face she drew on it. I was like 'Wow!'" (Samuel, STF, GU, SMTG #4)</li> </ul>
	<i>Artifact recipients symbolizing care for broad types of distress</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Well, this tag was about missing home but today they really meant a totally different thing ... It was about how you were a part of our big family, all of us, no matter what was heavy on your heart, tied together like this little thing was tied on your shoelaces." (Hannah, CMPR, YU, Int. #43)</li> <li>• "I was a hot mess, it wasn't about homesick stuff ... just cancer crap chewing me from the inside. Elena [CMPR, RU] came by and gave me this [personalized tag] so I know she noticed I was off." (Julia, CMPR, RU, Int. #45)</li> </ul>
<i>Swift SOC outcomes</i>	Positive regard	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "I felt invisible before but this helped me feel I am loved even if my counselor is away." (Elena, CMPR, RU, Int. #34)</li> <li>• "Getting a tag was like a plastic hug, period. It was just beautiful to feel, for a millisecond of this crazy long day, that someone appreciates how hard this work is." (James, STF, YU, Int. #39)</li> </ul>
	<i>Fulfillment of needs</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "It was so lovely to be seen like this [in response to getting a bread tag from a counselor]. It felt damn good to know someone recognized I needed help." (Melanie, CMPR, BU, Int. #3)</li> <li>• "It is important to me to put myself out there in places where I can make an impact. Knowing I could help turn a sad face into a smile any time I connected with a camper and gave them a tag was a gift for me too." (Samantha, STF, YU, Int. #37)</li> <li>• "A day ago, I felt so lonely. My counselor saw through this, reached out and gave me a bread tag, which made me feel a million times better. Today, I was a part of this amazing group of campers who reached out, cheered me on, and cared for me. Now that just made my sadness fly out the window a million times over." (Julia, CMPR, RU, Int. #45)</li> </ul>

**TABLE 2**  
**(Continued)**

Aggregated themes	Second-order concepts	Evidence
	Bottom-up influence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “I felt I matter here. It was OK to admit that something doesn’t work quite right and brainstorm solutions that people will seriously consider following up on.” (Abby, STF, GU, Int. #69)</li> <li>• “We had lots of voice and it was nice to make suggestions and see others run with them. It made me feel I can really leave a mark, shaping how staff members operate here.” (Oliver, STF, RU, Int. #40)</li> </ul>
	Top-down influence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “I stayed behind to make ratio at the cabin when the kids went to bed. Oliver [STF, BU] came back after the meeting and said that they talked about all the hiccups we had today, and that Sunny talked about this idea, so, Admin were asking us to do the bread tag thing, starting today.” (Andy, STF, RU, Int. #94)</li> <li>• “I am using these tags today, Admin made sure we all had some to use and told us to just go for it. I understand it should help with the homesick kids, and the communication we clearly did not do well yesterday.” (Sarah, STF, BU, Int. #41)</li> <li>• “It would not take long for someone from the club to notice you got a bread tag. Someone will reach out, maybe share a bit about their story, and teach you the shoe kiss so you could participate in these little quirky gestures and pass it on to other bread taggers.” (Aaron, CMPR, BU, Int. #58)</li> </ul>
	Lateral influence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “A bunch of bread taggers from all across camp notice me, a few stopped by to teach me the shoe kiss. It was a rad thing to learn that I used any time I saw another bread tagger.” (Maria, CMPR, YU, Int. #101)</li> <li>• “I think it was really <i>rad</i> that there was a place for us to chat about what we wanted this club to be and who should be a part of it—all of these made it possible for bread tag campers to totally transform the club from the inside out.” (Amy, CMPR, GU, Int. #81)</li> </ul>
	Membership in a subgroup	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “These tags were like glue connecting all of us bread taggers together in this very special group where all of us homesick campers belonged.” (Mateo, CMPR, RU, Int. #84)</li> <li>• “I like how these tags spontaneously created this secret club we get to share—all the homesick kids ... It feels like a mini-family where I am always welcomed.” (Arianna, CMPR, OU, Int. #62)</li> </ul>
	Organization-wide sense of membership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “It doesn’t matter if they were homesick or not, campers or counselors. If you got a bread tag, you were one of us.” (Claire, CMPR, RU, Int. #50)</li> <li>• “It was mind-blowing to get to be a part of it. To be welcomed into this tight-knit group campers spontaneously created for homesick kids, and now opened up for all of us—counselors included to be a part of. It’s so amazing to know that they noticed we struggle too, to be embraced as welcomed members of this camp-wide togetherness ... I so appreciate their love and the honor to be a part of this bread tag community.” (Charles, STF, PU, Int. #44)</li> </ul>
	Responsibility for a subgroup	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “These tags were about a lot of things, they reminded to have each other’s backs. Seeing a random bread tag kid at camp—don’t matter if you knew them or not—deep down, you felt you had to do something to make their day better, you cared for them as if they were already your friend.” (Mike, CMPR, PU, Int. #57)</li> <li>• “The bread tag club is a caring group. Us wanting to help our tag buddies make a day away from home better, because you know being away can be really rough for us. Any one of us bread taggers wants to try and turn a frown of a bread tagger upside down; seriously, because we figured we are here to help each other through it.” (Ken, CMPR, BU, Int. #85)</li> </ul>
	Organization-wide sense of responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The bread tags we personalized were about us feeling we got to do something about other campers and staff members at camp ... they were clearly going through a rough patch but [they] were definitely not homesick. This was on us to step up and do something for <i>anyone</i>—bread tagger or not.” (Isabelle, CMPR, GU, Int. #79)</li> <li>• “When we started drawing on the bread tags and giving them away, it was a break-out point. We were not obsessed about homesick kids anymore; it was now about all of us, here at camp, whatever you are dealing with. We felt being there for everyone who needs us is super important. I am not kidding myself, we can’t fix everything, but we were totally into trying to, or at least wanting to show campers and counselors see that we are here for them.” (Margaret, CMPR, OU, Int. #86)</li> </ul>

laces and invited Virginia to view it as a symbol—a visible sign of something invisible (“Symbol,” n.d., para. 2)—of their special connection. This, in turn, transformed a mundane artifact into a symbol of a dyadic connection. As Sunny recalled telling Virginia:

“When you [Virginia, CMPR] feel overwhelmed by all those thoughts about home, look down [to see the bread tag on her shoelaces] and know that I am right there with you, just like I am now, holding your hands.” (Sunny, STF, OU, Int. #23)

**Reinforcing existing caring staff schema.** We found that resourcing an artifact to symbolize dyadic connection reinforced the existing caring staff schema, as it adhered to existing norms, rules, and guidelines regarding *who*, *when*, and *how* to respond to an individual’s distress. First, in line with the existing caring staff schema and the staff member’s role at camp, resourcing an artifact for a dyadic connection demonstrated the staff member’s response to a camper in her own unit to which the staff member was assigned (e.g., Orange unit). Second, as depicted by the caring staff schema, resourcing the artifact for dyadic connection was done in response to an explicit emotional distress cue (“After I wrapped up the conversation with Margaret, I could see Virginia was not doing great. She was not playing with the rest of our kids, sat alone by the rotary circle table, I could see she was upset”—Sunny, STF, OU, Int. #23). Lastly, resourcing an artifact for dyadic connection also reflected a path to demonstrate the staff member’s emotional availability to the camper with whom the staff member had already cultivated an initial sense of connection (aligned with the caring staff schema approach to the alleviation of campers’ distress). For example, as Sunny shared:

This bread tag thing helped me be the caring counselor I wanted to be. Campers were top of my mind and I would not want anyone of them struggling feeling left out. I saw V [Virginia, CMPR] tearing up after I took some time to address another camper’s need and I understood she needed more of my attention. This [bread tag] was not about turning my back to her, but about reminding her I am close, actually right there even when I had to be away ... It freed me to be the caring counselor I could be—not to one, but to many of my campers. (Sunny, STF, OU, Int. #23)

**Outcomes of resourcing an artifact for dyadic connection.** Resourcing a bread tag for dyadic connection amplified a sense of *positive regard*, and ignited a sense of *fulfillment of needs* of both parties involved. First, imbuing the artifact with the meaning of dyadic connection amplified the positive regard experience,

as it prolonged the initial brief positive regard experienced so that the care of others could be felt even in their absence. For example, as the first artifact recipient shared: “I was really touched by her giving me this [bread] tag. I know she cares for me and it [the bread tag] is just a super cool thing to have to remember she is there for me” (Virginia, CMPR, OU, Int. #25). Second, leveraging the artifact as a symbol of dyadic connection enabled mutual fulfillment of needs. On the one hand, this practice helped fulfill artifact recipients’ needs as re-invoked shared emotional support stored in the artifact. Virginia, who yearned for Sunny’s attention, reported feeling “comforted” and “at ease” having the bread tag as a token of the connection she shared with Sunny. On the other hand, using the artifact as a symbol of dyadic connection also met the staff member’s needs and offered a path by which she could address the performing paradox she experienced. For example, the staff member shared:

It [giving out a bread tag] is something, a small little gesture that made me feel present in V’s [Virginia’s] camp experience even when I needed to be away. She took really well to it, which was a big relief for me ... I was so nervous about letting campers down and this helped *me* [emphasis in audio] feel better about this. (Sunny, STF, OU, Int. #23)

## Phase 2: Embracing Resourcing for Staff Coordination

**Experiences of staff coordination crisis and sharing resourcing potentiality as triggers for embracing resourcing artifacts.** We found that a second resourcing phase was triggered by staff members’ experiences of a coordination crisis. During the daily meeting on Day 2, staff members uncovered important unit-level coordination challenges derived from limited information flow between the multiple staff members within their respective units. Several staff members perceived these coordination challenges as impacting their effectiveness in dealing with campers’ distress. For example, one staff member reflected:

Elena [CMPR, RU] was struggling to be here, away from her family, and I was super glad we chatted ... But then things took a turn, when other campers needed my help ... I wish someone else could pick up my slack and attend to Elena while I made time to chat with Dylan [CMPR, RU] but things moved so fast. I did not get a chance to chat with Caroline or Chris [STFs, RU] before this happened, so they did not know anything about Elena’s situation ... I really want to be the caring counselor I can be, but with so many kids who need our help it is super difficult. I asked Elena to give us [Dylan and Andy] some time alone ... her eyes welled in tears and

she walked away. That was the worst moment of my day for sure. (Andy, STF, RU, SMTG #2)

Likewise, another staff member shared:

I was quite shocked when Tony [CMPR, BU] blew me off when I asked what was wrong. It took me a while to realize that he spoke with Isaac [STF, BU] earlier this morning. He [Tony] was pissed off by my asking him. How would I know what was bothering him? We [staff] did make a point to reach out and update each other but that happened at the end of the day when the kiddos were away—and that, we learned, was way too late in the game. (Emily, STF, BU, SMTG #2)

In response to reports of experiences of a staff coordination crisis, a staff member publicly shared her experience and the potential embedded in resourcing—thereby, illuminating a possible path to address the crisis at hand. We found that, in response to her colleagues' frustrations, Sunny shared her improvised solution to a similar problem she experienced that day, and described her successful attempt to use a bread tag to deal with a performing paradox:

When I found myself in a bind with Virginia and others craving for my attention, I used the bread thing I came up with to help her [Virginia] see I am there for her no matter what. I did not know how well she'd take it, but it worked really great! She took to it, she seemed to appreciate it, and it freed me to tackle others' need in our unit. That was, for sure, *the highlight of my day.* (Sunny, STF, OU, SMTG #2)

Sunny's colleagues responded enthusiastically and shared their excitement about the potential of bread tags as a tool to solve the staff coordination challenges. One staff member shared:

This sounds like a fabulous idea for us to take on, don't you think? [*Looking around to other staff*] It could help the campers, for sure, but I am also thinking about us ... we had all these hiccups keeping each other in the loop, right? But this bread tag ... well, that could make things so much easier, so we can quickly realize that someone else already chatted with this child, and ... sort of know what they were initially struggling with ... I love it! (Carter, STF, YU, SMTG #2)

We found that the staff acknowledged the potential of the bread tag and unanimously decided to disseminate this resourcing practice. Seven staff members volunteered to gather bread tags from the cafeteria that evening for their unit staff members, handed out bread tags to each unit staff member, and informed the remaining staff members about this practice before Day 3 began.

**Artifacts symbolizing dyadic connection and type of distress.** We found that, at this point, staff members imbued the artifact (e.g., bread tag) with an additional meaning beyond dyadic connection—as a symbol of a specific type of distress endured (i.e., homesickness). This additional meaning helped other staff members to quickly grasp the *type* of distress artifact recipients were struggling with (e.g., homesickness), which facilitated the staff's sense-making processes regarding the distressed individuals. Imbuing artifacts with this new meaning aided staff coordination, as staff members who were not initially involved with a distressed individual were able to promptly notice and become aware of their distress without requiring any in-depth communication (with the distressed individual or other staff members). For example, as one staff member shared:

These [bread] tags were like fast track to the nitty gritty of campers' issues. Earlier at camp, I would look to see signs of campers showing their discomfort—guessing what is possibly wrong, maybe encouraging a camper to open up so I can try and help. The [bread] tags helped me see that something was off far faster and obviously cued me to homesickness as something a camper was dealing with. (Rob, STF, PU, Int. #28)

**Adjusting existing caring staff schema.** Imbuing artifacts with an additional meaning that conveyed the type of distress propelled staff members to adjust their existing caring schema and revise *when* staff ought to demonstrate care. Prior to the use of the artifacts, staff members activated their existing caring staff schema when they noticed campers' displaying salient distress cues (e.g., emotional expressions such as anger, sadness, withdrawal, irritability, etc.). Imbuing the artifact with a new meaning turned this materiality into an explicit signal of distress. Therefore, staff could be moved to connect with and respond to those wearing the artifact even when they did not explicitly express their struggles. For example, as one staff member shared:

Day 1 was all about tending to fires. When campers were upset, or angry, you knew something was off and did your best to handle it. But now [after the adjustment of the bread tag practice] you did not need campers to go all out and wear their emotions on their sleeves to get that something was off. If someone had a bread tag, you knew they were struggling, missing home ... and that was enough to reach out to them. (Ian, STF, OU, Int. #59)

**Staff adjusting actions.** Resourcing artifacts for staff coordination also included adjustment to actions utilized by staffmembers. First, as the resourcing practice was disseminated across camp, more staff

members revised their actions. This entailed staff giving artifacts to homesick individuals from their units, with whom they shared a brief supportive connection, in order to demonstrate their emotional availability (beyond their initial brief supportive connection). As one staff member put it:

After that meeting, we decided to ... jump on board and try this. We still took time to connect and talk with our campers. But now we also gave them the tag, so they knew our special "click" was not going away because we need to be elsewhere ... This [giving away bread tags] was not about pushing campers away, but about reminding them we are always right there with them. (Oliver, STF, RU, Int. #40)

Second, the use of artifacts also led to the adjustment of actions enacted by other unit staff members, who were not originally a part of the initial staff–camper dyadic connection. In contrast to the prior approach, whereby staff members probed to uncover reasons for distress, now, when staff members were responding to artifact recipients in their units, they calibrated their actions and withheld inquiry about the type of distress the individual was enduring. For example:

I used to ask campers [about their distress] all the time. I learned that this was a bulletproof way to make things worse. We did not force anyone to talk, but just asking was not great ... how the hell would you know what's wrong and how to help ... that's where bread tags were so incredibly helpful. When I saw a tag, I knew what it meant and I could avoid asking them about it—[I] just assumed they were missing home and could take it from there. (Abby, STF, GU, Int. #69)

**Outcomes of embracing resourcing.** Within three days, all staff members embraced resourcing—amplifying the seed of change planted by the initial resourcing of the artifact for dyadic connection (Phase 1) into wide-ranging change. This resourcing phase increased the scale (i.e., a number of individuals) of staff members activated to forge brief, supportive connections with homesick campers, and mobilized 48 (96%) staff members to adopt this practice and cultivated an initial connection with 53 homesick campers in three days' time.

This phase of resourcing had a number of outcomes. First, in this phase, staff members responded to artifact recipients from their units and thus amplified the experience of *positive regard* beyond the initial boundaries of the initial staff–camper dyadic connections:

I saw Victor's [CMPR, OU] bread tag. I didn't chat with him before and I think it was Will or Ben [STFs, OU] who gave him that tag. He seemed OK now, but I

knew, wearing that tag, he was missing home ... and a good word could help make this OK day better. "How about I just stick around and we can just *be* together," I asked ... He looked at me and smiled. We sat together in silence and then just started to chat and then giggles followed. (Mason, STF, OU, Int. #15)

Second, this phase also amplified experiences of *fulfillment of needs*, as it enabled staff members to improve coordination by disseminating information without the burden of extensive communication. For example:

It was great to move away from the feeling that I can't be there for kids who needed me. These bread tags were as comforting to me as they were for the kids, you know ... like, it helps staff get to the same page faster, saved us a ton of drama finding private time to walk people through things in the middle of a super-busy day. (Elijah, STF, GU, Int. #70)

Third, embracing resourcing seeded a sense of *bottom-up influence*, when staff members who first communicated their frustration with the staff coordination crisis felt capable of promoting change and demonstrated their ability to influence their organization from the ground up. As one staff member shared:

There was something awesome knowing you could say something at staff meeting and it meant something. People really listen and, when a good idea came up, like how we deal with homesickness—folks were open to take it on ... It made me feel my voice matters here. (Emily, STF, BU, Int. #47)

This phase was also notable due to staff members' *top-down influence*. Staff meeting observations (SMTG #2) suggest that, once artifacts were embraced as a viable solution for the staff coordination crisis, administrators prescribed it as a new staff routine to be disseminated to all staff members.

They [unit staff] came back from the [staff] meeting with a word from Admin. So, from now on, Admin had us use tags to flag homesick kiddos, which was supposed to help us work together faster. They told counselors to get tags for everyone. James and Liz [STF, YU] brought us extra tags we could keep in our pouches and use the next day. So, we did. (Carter, STF, YU, Int. #96)

### Phase 3: Reinterpreting Resourcing for Membership in a Peer Subgroup

**Curiosity as a trigger for reinterpreting resourcing.** As the dissemination of resourcing artifacts spread, more individuals who expressed a specific distress (i.e., homesickness) were attended to by their unit staff members who invited them to wear the artifact on their shoelaces as a symbol of their initial

connection. This included 17 artifact recipients on Day 3, 24 artifact recipients on Day 4, and 12 artifact recipients on Day 5. The dissemination of artifacts sparked the artifact recipients' curiosity and allowed for ice-breaking and quick connections between individuals (both *within* the same units and, for the first time, also *across* various camp units) who had not interacted beforehand. One artifact recipient reflected:

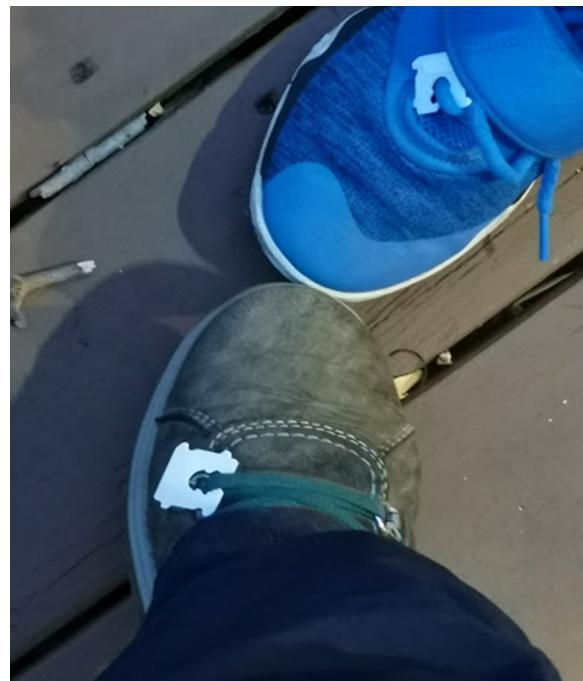
I had my bread tag ... I realized Margaret [CMPR, OU] had a bread tag too ... I didn't really have a chance to speak with any of the girls in the Orange unit till then, but figured "I'll try." I came by to sit next to her, introduced myself, and the conversation took off. I was curious to know about her bread tag ... "What's the story of your bread tag?" she asked ... "I am homesick" ... I said. "Me too!" she said. (Ethan, CMPR, PU, Int. #72)

Conversations shared between artifact recipients helped them uncover the similarity of their struggles with homesickness and propelled artifact recipients to feel a sense of responsibility toward fellow artifact recipients. For example, one artifact recipient shared:

When I saw Alex [CMPR, OU] pass by with that bread tag, I sort of wanted to know what's up ... he sort of said he is homesick. I was deep in that mess myself, with my mom going through chemo and all ... You know that feeling when someone is sad about the same thing ... you can't just let this go or move on, like ... I felt, "Geez, what can I do to help him out?" (Sophie, CMPR, OU, Int. #17)

**Artifact recipients improvising actions.** We found that artifact recipients' curiosity sparked their creativity and led them to improvise actions in support of their fellow artifact recipients. For example, by the end of Day 3, high fives, which were previously used in staff-to-camper interactions, were replaced with a "shoe kiss," a term artifact recipients coined to refer to bread tag campers clapping each other's shoe soles together (see Figure 2), which was a gesture invented by two artifact recipients, as a form of greeting and encouragement. One artifact recipient shared: "[We were] throwing them a teaser of that [shoe] kiss ... You know, to put a smile on their faces" (Alex, CMPR, OU, Int. #63). The shoe kiss was thereafter used exclusively between those who wore the artifacts (OBS #Days 3, 4, 5). Furthermore, we found that, during Day 4, artifact recipients engaged in purposeful socialization activities. These activities included artifact recipients reaching out to others who recently received the artifact, demonstrating the shoe kiss to them, and inviting them to connect with and share

**FIGURE 2**  
**Shoe Kiss**



this gesture with other artifact recipients (OBS #Day 4). For example:

We kept an eye for new bread taggers, and hit them up when we saw a new bread tagger pass by. Definitely made a point to check in with them, sort of showing them the ropes, telling them about the shoe kiss ... and telling them to keep it up with other bread taggers so they know what to do when they see a tag. (Alex, CMPR, OU, Int. #63)

**Artifact symbolizing membership in a peer subgroup.** Once artifact recipients realized the similarity of the type of distress they endured, they imbued the artifact with an additional meaning reflecting their membership in a group made up of individuals who shared the same distress, which they termed "the bread tag secret club." Membership in this club elicited individuals' feeling of belonging or sharing a sense of personal relatedness. For example, one member of the bread tag secret club reflected:

These little pieces of plastic started off with a bond with your counselor. But, as more of us had a chance to touch base and realized we are sort of dealing with the same deal [homesickness] ... we clicked ... Then the shoe kiss came along and the secret club just popped up out of that ... It was our way, the bread tag campers, to feel we are all in it together whether you were in

my unit or not. If you got a bread tag, you were part of us. The club was just our way of sticking together, connecting on a different level. (Amy, CMPR, GU, Int. #81)

**Artifact recipients energizing a new schema.** We found that acknowledging bread tags as artifacts that symbolized membership in a group of individuals struggling with a similar distress (i.e., homesickness) propelled artifact recipients to energize a new schema, redefining *who* offered care, *reasons for care*, and *to whom* care was extended. First, we found that transforming artifacts into a symbol of membership in a subgroup of peers who were dealing with a similar type of distress mobilized artifact recipients to reinterpret their role in this organizational context and embed care as an integral part of their tasks in this organization. In pre-camp surveys, 87.5% of campers identified their role at camp as “*recipients of care or support*,” in light of their families’ struggles. For example, an artifact recipient shared:

I came to camp knowing this is a place where I could get the support I needed. Now that sounds like a “me, me, me” kind of thing, which it was at first, 100%. (Henry, CMPR, BU, Int. #56)

However, once artifact recipients recognized the artifact as a symbol of shared distress that unified them, they felt a sense of responsibility toward others in their subgroup and took on a *caregiving* role, which had thus far only been taken on by staff members. A member of the peer subgroup shared the following about this transition:

This was us showing up really differently. We came here needing support ... the counselors were the dudes that sort of had that part covered. But this club [the bread tag club] ... made me think about ... how none of us would like to be left alone with this ... how we could also do something ... to show we care. (Vicky, CMPR, PU, Int. #73)

Second, embracing artifacts as a symbol of membership in a peer subgroup resulted in members reinterpreting *who* should receive care, mobilizing artifact recipients to engage in care for their peers (e.g., fellow artifact recipients). For example, one artifact recipient shared:

This entire thing with the secret bread tag club really opened my eyes and inspired me to think about things. Being a part of this group, I really wanted to give back and support other bread taggers. (Henry, CMPR, BU, Int. #56)

Likewise, another artifact recipient shared:

This bread tag thing opened my heart to these people. I felt their pain ... I totally wanted to help out ... showing my bread tagger brothers and sisters I cared. (Jacob, CMPR, PU, Int. #76)

Third, responding to the distress of artifact recipients demonstrated the legitimacy of offering care in response to the *specific type of distress* (e.g., homesickness) as the central focus of mutual attention. As one artifact recipient shared:

The bread tag secret club was all about this homesickness ... That’s where our eyes were drawn to, [where] our heart was at ... if you missed home being here, felt it was too much to be away from your mom or dad, you know, who were in chemo or radiation or whatever ... we had your back. (Amy, CMPR, GU, Int. #81)

Importantly, energizing a new schema ignited a dynamic cycle—mobilizing more artifact recipients to forge brief supportive connections (e.g., check in with other artifact recipients, throw a shoe kiss, socialize newcomers to this club) toward other artifact recipients, and therefore reinforce the use of the artifact as a symbol of membership in their peer subgroup.

**Outcomes of reinterpreting resourcing.** This phase expanded both the *scale* (i.e., including 18 campers on Day 3 and 42 campers by Day 4) and *scope* (i.e., type of actors; e.g., involving bread tag campers of all units) of individuals engaged in forging brief supportive connections with other artifact recipients.

This phase of resourcing had a number of outcomes. First, we found that, during reinterpreting resourcing, artifact recipients established a sense of *membership within their subgroup*; artifact recipients first reconnected with their fellow artifact recipients and welcomed new artifact recipients into their peer subgroup. For example:

I was touched by Madison’s [CMPR, OU] gesture. She was kind to reach out and remind me I was not alone in this struggle. That was huge! Little did I know that this was just the beginning of something much, much bigger. Walking at camp with this beautiful bread tag on, other bread taggers waved at me, shared kind gestures, threw a few shoe kisses my way—that was the new thing they taught me. Basically, welcomed me into their universe, which now turned into my universe. (Elanor, CMPR, PU, Int. #78)

Using artifacts as an explicit symbol of specific distress surfaced others’ distress and moved artifact recipients to feel mutually *responsible* for and respond to those *within* the peer subgroup:

We were fast to catch that the bread tags were about being homesick. It did not take much, no one really needed to tell you their whole life story, seeing it [bread

tag], you just knew. And, if we are going to be honest about it, when you know someone is hurting like you, being scared to be away from our sick parents—you just feel like you want to make sure they are OK too. It was not just me, it was all of us bread taggers—wanting to make sure taggers were hanging in there and do what we can to make the days we had here count so a tagger's day was a good day not a crappy day missing home. (Sophie, CMPR, OU, Int. #17)

During this phase, *positive regard* experiences were amplified, when artifact recipients leveraged the artifact as scaffolds, which enabled them to acknowledge one another and share encouraging gestures with those in the peer subgroup. For example, one artifact recipient shared:

Every shoe kiss was a tiny “pick me up” kind of thing. Random bread taggers I never knew saw me, stopped by, went out of their way to cheer me up ... made me smile even just for a few minutes. Now that is very special! (Grace, CMPR, RU, Int. #30)

As reinterpreting resourcing involved artifact recipients offering supportive actions toward one another, this iteration amplified the mutual *fulfillment of needs* of bread tag recipients beyond the support offered by staff. One bread tag camper recalled:

Madison [CMPR, GU] and I riffed off each other, talking about how stuff was complicated when we were away from home. That connection took a lot of weight off my shoulders. It was comforting to know I was not insane to feel this way. (Jacob, CMPR, PU, Int. #76)

Lastly, reinterpreting resourcing amplified the sense of influence, when artifact recipients demonstrated *lateral influence* and persuaded their subgroup of peers (e.g., bread tag club) to take a caring role for other artifact recipients and adopt and diffuse prescribed activities such as the shoe kiss in response to other members of their emerging peer subgroup. For example:

What was phat about this bread tag club was that we got to sort of chat with other bread tag campers and make this our own thing. We got to talk with other [bread] taggers, learn they are homesick too and teach each other stuff to do to help each other. Like the shoe kiss or just telling a new bread tagger what to do with new taggers. (Hannah, CMPR, YU, Int. #43)

#### **Phase 4: Expanding Resourcing for an Organization-Wide Community**

**Acknowledging common humanity and doubt trigger expanding resourcing for an organization-wide community.** We found that, as artifact recipients engaged in forging brief supportive connections with

fellow artifact recipients who were struggling with a specific type of distress, their awareness of others' distress expanded. As one of the artifact recipients mentioned: “Connecting with homesick kiddos, I could not help but notice the sadness of other people too” (Mike, CMPR, PU, Int. #57). Likewise, another artifact recipient shared:

Caring for someone is like opening a window: you get to see so much more around you, not just that person, but faces ... eyes ... random looks that were invisible before ... little clues that tell you someone is exhausted, someone is having an “eh” of a day ... helping others make you see more not less. (Lily, CMPR, GU, Int. #11)

As artifact recipients' attention was drawn to the distress of others outside of their peer subgroup (e.g., secret club), they discovered that distress and struggles are common, and can stem from a variety of circumstances. This discovery led artifact recipients to acknowledge pain as a common human experience that can *bind* individuals together rather than isolate them from one another (i.e., common humanity). For example, an artifact recipient shared:

Throwing shoe kisses to bread taggers, sharing comforting moments with [them] ... did not lock me into this group ... it made me more sensitive to the sadness, just like the one I experienced, showing on faces of others who were here. I was not the champion of helping others back home ... after a few days of helping out, all those things kind of jumped at me and I could not help but notice others were dealing with tough stuff ... not homesick stuff necessarily ... Taking care of people here, I learned that everybody hurts. (Logan, CMPR, GU, Int. #52)

Recognizing distress as a unifying human experience reflected an uncomfortable realization that raised *doubt*, or a feeling of uncertainty or lack of conviction, among several artifact recipients, who thus far demonstrated a shared focus of attention and propelled to respond to individuals who have been struggling with one type of distress (i.e., homesickness) but not another. At this point, several artifact recipients reported feeling unease (e.g., “I felt weird about it [focusing on homesick campers]”—Vicky, CMPR, PU, Int. #73; “You know, you feel this rumbling in your tummy sometimes, that’s how it felt doing something that did not feel right to me ... you know, helping someone but not this other one”—Jack, CMPR, RU, Int. #95), and uncertain about the emerging purpose of the subgroup, which inadvertently excluded others who were

experiencing different types of distress. For example, one artifact recipient shared:

I like the bread tag club, don't get me wrong ... But it did not take me much time to see that this sadness we felt ... was something other people felt too ... How can we be caring, really, if we just pass by someone [who is] super sad but not homesick like that ... Something did not feel quite right about it. (Zoe, CMPR, PU, Int. #75)

When artifact recipients' awareness of common humanity increased and their doubt grew, their felt responsibility to respond to others outside of their subgroup of peers who were struggling also increased (e.g., "We have to do something about this"—Owen, CMPR, OU, Int. #46; "You can't just ignore someone who is struggling"—Natalie, CMPR, BU, Int. #49). This led artifact recipients to adjust their schema and actions and resource the artifact for an inclusive organization-wide community.

**Artifact recipients adjusting caring schema.** Acknowledging common humanity and growing doubt about their initial framework propelled artifact recipients to revise their assumptions about (a) the *reasons justifying their care*, (b) the legitimate *targets for care*, and (c) *their role* in this organizational context. First, enhanced recognition of common humanity and increased doubt led artifact recipients to reassess their assumptions regarding the *type of distress* required for care. In contrast to the sole focus on a specific type of pain (i.e., homesickness) in resourcing artifacts thus far, conversations about the appropriateness of such a focus led artifact recipients to reassess its legitimacy. These conversations resulted in artifact recipients adopting a broader definition of distress as a justification for caring for others:

We were all tight because we were homesick, and that was the glue that drew us to one another. What if this glue was not about homesickness after all? Everyone experienced these big emotions here—maybe for different reasons. If you ask me, if someone is struggling—that should be good enough reason to reach out to someone to show you care ... Hannah [CMPR, YU] and Ken [CMPR, BU] agreed. (Matt, CMPR, OU, Int. #64)

Second, at this point, artifact recipients also revised their perceptions regarding *who* should receive care and thus reframed *whom* artifact recipients should feel responsible for. Increased awareness for the various struggles of others sparked conversations among artifact recipients about the targets of care. For the first time, we observed a role reversal: artifact recipients, who were originally the targets of concern, were

discussing *staff members*, who thus far had been sources of support for the campers, as actors who may be in need of care. For example:

Counselors were always these people we were supposed to lean on for help. But, we could see that some of them were struggling, [which] made us think—"why not, why shouldn't we help out someone who is having a tough time, so what if they are counselors?" (Joe, CMPR, PU, Int. #77)

Notably, legitimizing staff members as targets of care was not built on reciprocity, but, instead, reflected an openness to staff distress, even when the individual extending help did not interact with the distressed staff member beforehand. For example, one artifact recipient shared the following about his experience reaching out to support a staff member:

I saw Julian [STF, GU], but never talked with him before. He was on break, I could see his eyes were all watery ... he looked super sad to me and I felt bad just walking away ... It did not feel right to ignore him just because he was a counselor. I felt I had to do something. (Mark, CMPR, RU, Int. #60)

Third, during this phase, artifact recipients also revisited their assumptions regarding their role in the organization. Artifact recipients were moved to take initiative in responding to others' distress, and thus expanded the definition of their role to reflect a proactive caregiving role whereby artifact recipients were creating, rather than supplementing, brief supportive connections (which were initially only cultivated by staff members). This involved artifact recipients' initial identification of others' (campers' or staff members') distress and extending care toward individuals who were not initially flagged by staff members as experiencing distress. For example, one artifact recipient shared:

If the secret club was all about us creating a tight group that was sort of built for us by counselors, Wednesday evening and Thursday [Days 3 and 4] were all about us taking a more active role ... not just following counselor lead and checking in with bread taggers but also making an effort to meet whole new people that have a tough time at camp. (Lucy, CMPR, GU, Int. #80)

**Artifact recipients improvising actions.** As the original artifact recipients (e.g., bread tag campers) noticed staff members' and campers' distress and felt moved to act, they engaged in a new set of actions. These actions included (a) proactively seeking to secure artifacts (e.g., bread tags) to be awarded to individuals in need, (b) personalizing artifacts, and (c) connecting with distressed individuals outside of

their peer subgroup and giving them the personalized artifacts.

First, we found that the original artifact recipients turned to the staff members who first awarded them their own bread tag to ask for their help in securing a new bread tag that the original artifact recipient could then award to someone (camper or staff member) in need. Drawing on their initial connection, the original artifact recipients felt at ease asking for these staff members' help (e.g., "I felt comfortable to hit him [staff] up about a bread tag"—Levi, BU, CMPR, Int. #92; "I was chill about asking for his [staff] help"—Grace, PU, CMPR, Int. #30), and favorably assessed the likelihood of these staff members' cooperation. One of the original artifact recipients shared: "I know I could count on her [staff member who awarded her a bread tag] pulling through. I knew that, if I ask her to help me help someone else, she will go for it" (Mateo, CMPR, RU, Int. #84). We found that, when the original artifact recipients reached out to the staff members (who first awarded them their own artifact) for help in securing new artifacts, staff members initially displayed various degrees of hesitation to this request. Staffmembers' hesitation was due to their worry that bread tag campers would dilute their caring practice. For example, one staff member shared: "I did not want this to spiral out of control, and become a toy that took away the caring that was the gist of the bread tag thing" (Ian, STF, OU, Int. #59). Despite this initial hesitation, all staff members eventually cooperated with the requests made by the original artifact recipients, once they were convinced the bread tag campers would not use this artifact in a harmful manner. One staff member shared:

David came to me to ask for a bread tag for a friend who was not doing well. I was hesitated [*sic!*] at first, thinking I don't want this to turn into their [CMPRs'] game or a joke ... But David was convincing and reassured me this is not going to turn into a prank. I had a few extra bread tags in my pouch; I pulled one and gave it to David. (John, STF, BU, Int. #90)

Second, once the original artifact recipients secured a new artifact, they *personalized the artifact* with a handmade drawing (e.g., a little heart, little arms to illustrate a hug, a flower, a butterfly, to name a few) or words of encouragement (e.g., "You got this!," "One step at a time," or "Here4U") that demonstrated creative expression of individualized support. For example, one of the original artifact recipients shared:

I made an effort to turn this generic plastic into something unique looking, so he [Snowman, STF, PU] knew this was not just a random cookie-cutter gesture.

Writing my personal mantra on it I felt was a good move to show him I cared. (Wyatt, CMPR, GU, Int. #83)

Third, with a personalized bread tag in hand, the original artifact recipients reached out to connect with other individuals, both staff members and campers who were outside of the subgroup, whose distress cues they noticed. Connecting with others involved short check-in conversations that attempted to help others share their challenges and articulate their needs. For example, one original artifact recipient shared:

I reached out to Carter [CMPR, PU]; he seemed off his game, seemed sad or frustrated. I came closer and said, "Dude, you were always such a magnet of laughter at Treetop ... Something seems off ... How are you doing?" (Shirely, CMPR, OU, Int. #72)

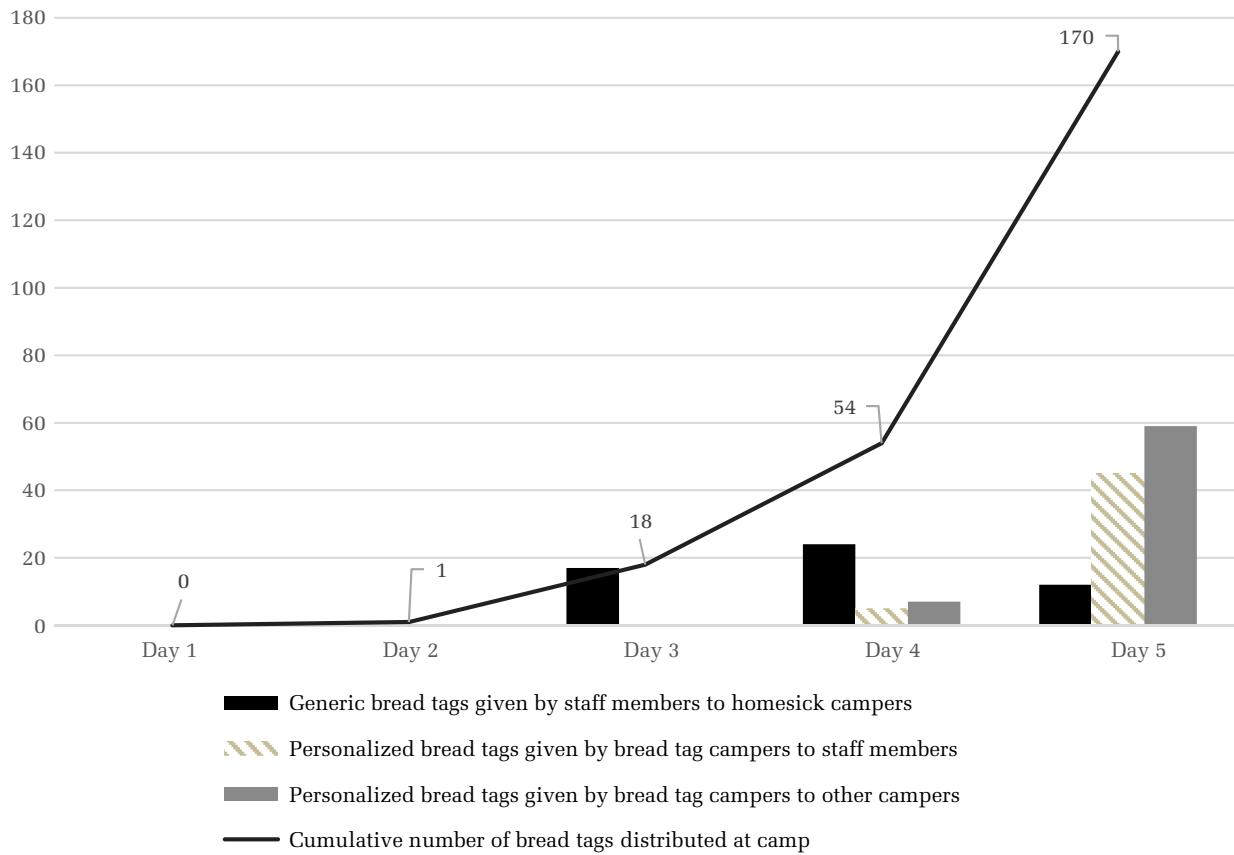
Promptly after such conversations, recipients of the original artifacts gave away the personalized bread tag they prepared for the distressed individual, in an effort to demonstrate positive regard toward the new personalized artifact recipient. For example, one recipient of the original artifact shared: "They [bread tags] were little gifts of love you gave away so someone knew you cared" (Claire, CMPR, RU, Int. #50).

**Artifacts symbolizing care for broad types of distress.** In this iteration, the original artifact recipients imbued this artifact with a broader (i.e., more expansive) meaning indicating their care for broad types of distress. For example, one original artifact recipient shared: "The [bread] tags were no longer about homesickness at all—they were about the care you felt for other folks who were not doing well" (Naomi, CMPR, BU, Int. #51). Another recipient of the original artifact, who responded to a staff member's distress, shared:

These little plastic thingies are not about missing your mommy or daddy or your dog at all—they are hugs you take everywhere you go, so you know you are not alone, no matter what you are really sad about. (Mark, CMPR, RU, Int. #60)

**Outcomes of expanding resourcing.** Expanding resourcing increased the *scale* (i.e., during this phase, 116 individuals, 66 campers and 50 staff members received a bread tag artifact acknowledging their distress from artifact recipients; see Figure 3) and expanded the *scope* of actors offering and receiving support. Increasing the scale and scope of individuals involved accelerated the *speed* by which connections were forged within this organization and led to the emergence of a swift SOC.

**FIGURE 3**  
**Distribution of Bread Tags by Source, Target, and Time over the Course of Camp**



This phase had a number of outcomes that led to the emergence of a swift SOC in less than five days in this temporary organization. First, symbolizing the artifact with a broad definition of distress turned the artifact into a portal of inclusion and a lever for the cultivation of an *organization-wide sense of membership* and belonging:

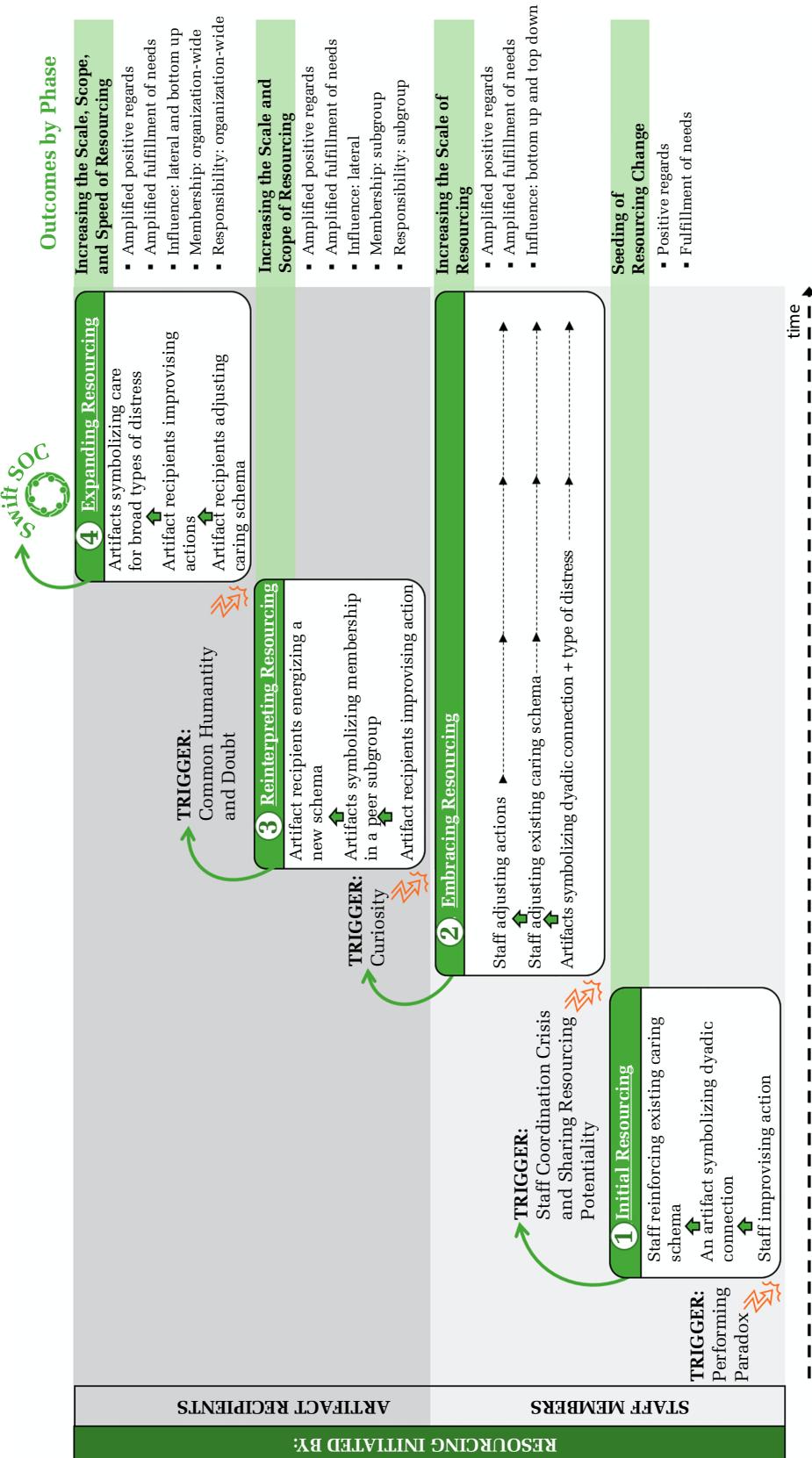
[Bread] tags today were about our community—how *all* of us are connected in this powerful web of friendships. Is it silly ... it is just a ridiculous little plastic thing I would throw into the recycling trash can before I came here, and suddenly it turned into your most prized possession, a precious reminder that we are there for each other. (Jacob, CMPR, PU, Int. #76)

Second, caring for selective others (e.g., original artifact recipients struggling with homesickness) elicited awareness of common humanity that further amplified the sense of mutual *responsibility* and commitment to the well-being of *all* organization members rather than a subset. For example, an original artifact recipient shared:

Throwing shoe kisses to bread taggers helps me see more dudes outside our club who really hurt. Ignoring them felt not right. So that got us thinking that caring should not be about a tiny group of homesick campers; it could be and should be about everything and everyone who needs help. Giving personalized bread tags was all about that. (Hannah, CMPR, YU, Int. #43)

Third, expanding resourcing also amplified an initial sense of influence into an organization-wide sense of *influence*. Here, members favorably assessed their ability to influence their organization both within and outside their peer subgroup to adjust its schema and actions. We found that members who began to feel discomfort and doubt about the focus of their emerging peer subgroup of homesick individuals were able to (a) encourage the peer subgroup to redefine members' role in the organization; (b) adjust their actions (gain artifacts from staff members, personalize artifacts, and connect with those in need, regardless of their position in the organization); and, thereby, (3) expand the boundaries of the original peer subgroup

**FIGURE 4**  
Resourcing for the Emergence of a Swift Sense of Community



from the inside out. For example, one artifact recipient shared:

This was not just a gang where they told you what to do and expected you to follow their lead. It was a place where you had a voice, and people can make a difference ... Look at Mark [one of the first bread tag campers who proactively responded to a distressed counselor] ... He felt something needed to be done, had a different take on doing things ... and *bam!* This took off in no time ... this tells me [that] if you have a good idea going—you can make it stick. (Naomi, CMPR, BU, Int. #51)

Moreover, expanding resourcing artifacts also demonstrated the organization-wide *lateral influence*. New members whom the original artifact recipients proactively connected with and invited into their inclusive group were socialized to take part in a series of prescribed actions that offered guidance about the desired behaviors of artifact recipients and encouraged new artifact recipients to follow suit. For example, as a recipient of a personalized artifact shared:

Margaret [CMPR, OU] shared my first shoe kiss with me, told me what to do. I was throwing shoe kisses and met new bread taggers all afternoon ... even got to give my personalized bread tag to Tim [YU, STF], who I thought was having a really hard time today. I am not the one to get out of my way to chitchat with other kids, but it seems easy enough and actually good to try this new thing. (Levi, BU, CMPR, Int. #92)

Fourth, symbolizing artifacts with a broad type of distress further amplified experiences of *fulfillment of needs*, as it activated the original artifact recipients to adjust their organizational role and attempt to address the emerging needs of other organizational members beyond their peer subgroup. For example, a staff member who received a personalized bread tag from an artifact recipient with whom he had not interacted before recalled:

I was struggling today [Day 5] and did not expect a camper seeing through me like this, let alone doing something to help me collect myself ... Getting a bread tag with that little heart on it, specially made for me, just blew my mind ... I was exhausted, super drained and he just made it all go away with that magical moment. (Julian, STF, GU, Int. #71)

Likewise, a camper who received a personalized bread tag shared:

I was not missing home, one bit. I am glad to be here to just get away from it all, or pretend I can. My family is falling apart, my dad had to quit work to get my mom to treatments. It doesn't look good for her. I am scared thinking about my life, our family, and everything

going on after she is gone. This [*pointing at his personalized bread tag*] may not be much. It may not up her [mom] chances or make it, make this shit go away. But it does make me feel like I am not alone in this, you know? And that's huge to me! (Claire, CMPR, RU, Int. #50)

Fifth, expanding resourcing also amplified experiences of *positive regard*, when artifact recipients leveraged the artifact as scaffolds, which in turn enabled them to acknowledge one another and share encouraging gestures with those outside of the peer subgroup. We found that, during this phase, artifact recipients reached out and connected with 66 campers and 50 staff, substantially expanding the experiences of positive regard forged by counselor–campers' connections (see Figure 3). Indeed, we found that, by Day 5, 170 (100%) individuals in different positions of the organization (campers and staff) were mobilized to connect with others (e.g., give or receive a bread tag, share a shoe kiss, and create brief moments of connection) and address various types of distress. Individuals frequently reported a positive regard enabled by the personalized bread tags resourcing. For example, a camper who received a personalized bread tag recalled:

I hope you too can feel the magic ... what happens here in five days will be in my heart forever—these are my people, my tribe, and I know they are with me wherever my bread tag goes. (Zoe, CMPR, PU, Int. #75)

### Theoretical Model: Resourcing artifacts for a Swift SOC

Weaving our findings with the relevant literature, we propose a process model of the emergence of a swift SOC in temporary organizations. Figure 4 presents our theoretical model. As stated above, we define a swift SOC as a state of felt inclusion and joint responsibility for members' well-being and needs experienced within a group of people through the seeding and rapid amplification of experiences of momentary positive regard and widespread sense of influence. This definition highlights the five properties of a swift SOC previously delineated; namely, (a) membership, (b) fulfillment of needs, (c) responsibility for the collective, (d) positive regard, and (e) widespread influence (bidirectional and lateral). We propose that a swift SOC in temporary organizations emerges through four intertwined resourcing phases. Each phase demonstrates a dynamic interplay between artifacts (i.e., "material manifestations encoding social meanings"; Bechky, 2008: 99), actions, and schema. Below, we describe each of these resourcing phases, including

its triggers (see lightning icons at the bottom left-hand side of each phase in Figure 4), dynamics (see contents inside the white rectangles in Figure 4), and outcomes (see column on the right-hand side of each phase, linking each one through a wide, solid band in Figure 4), for the eventual emergence of a swift SOC.

We argue that the emergence of a swift SOC begins with initial resourcing (Phase 1) in which a fleeting experience of positive regard is made durable via staff resourcing of an artifact as an enduring symbol of a dyadic connection. A performing paradox, demonstrating a tension that stems from the demands of multiple stakeholders (Smith & Lewis, 2011), triggers this phase. Actively confronting this tension leads staff members to improvise action, whereby a mundane artifact is imbued with a new meaning—as a symbol for a dyadic connection between a staff member and a stakeholder. Because an artifact can be emotionally charged (Collins, 2004), when individuals access an artifact, the felt emotional connection can be evoked even in the absence of others, thus making the momentary experiences of positive regard it symbolizes more durable. Although resourcing can facilitate schema change (Howard-Grenville, 2007; Howard-Grenville et al., 2011; Wiedner et al., 2016), we find that resourcing can also foster stability or endurance of schema. At Camp Magic, we found that resourcing bread tag artifacts as a symbol of dyadic connection reinforced existing caring staff schema that outlined when, how, and who ought to offer care for others during times of distress. As resourcing the artifact makes the brief supportive connection more durable, it seeds experiences of positive regard and mutual fulfillment of the needs of those involved.

Next, we propose that, as competing demands continually recur, staff members engage in embracing resourcing (Phase 2), involving staff adjustments and prescribed dissemination of resourcing artifacts for staff coordination. In our study, recurring competing demands that surfaced a staff coordination crisis, coupled with the sharing of resourcing potentiality by a staff member, which depicted resourcing as a viable solution, triggered this phase. Embracing resourcing entails staff imbuing artifacts with an additional meaning—as a symbol of dyadic connection and a type of distress—adjusting existing caring staff schema, and adjusting staff actions. Imbuing artifacts with this an additional meaning transforms this artifact into an identity object (Elsbach, 2003), which, in the case of our study, explicitly signaled a specific and otherwise implicit distress. At Camp Magic, staff members imbued the bread tag artifact with two meanings: as a symbol of dyadic connection and as a symbol

of homesickness—a specific type of distress campers were dealing with. Imbuing artifacts with layered meanings propelled adjustments of staff members' existing caring schema. We found that symbolizing bread tag artifacts with a type of distress led staff to adjust existing caring schema and revise *when* and *how* to provide care. In line with prior resourcing research (Howard-Grenville, 2007; Howard-Grenville et al., 2011), we found that change brings about more change, and that adjusting schema leads to changes in actions taken. For example, adjusting the caring staff schema led staff to adjust their actions—giving bread tags to homesick campers and withholding inquiry regarding the reasons for campers' distress (as the meaning imbued into the bread tag artifacts enabled rapid sense-making by staff members). We argue that embracing resourcing expands the *scale* of resourcing. This phase involves staff members engaging in resourcing on an ongoing basis, as depicted by the dotted arrows in Phase 2 in Figure 4. Mobilizing staff members to engage in this process amplifies initial experiences of positive regard and fulfillment of needs. Moreover, embracing resourcing seeds bottom-up influence in the form of staff voicing and persuading administrators to adopt resourcing, as well as top-down influence taking root in the form of prescribing resourcing in the organization.

Wiedner et al. (2016) proposed that the ability to use resources is shaped by how they are valued. In contrast to the prior literature's focus on actors engaging in resourcing and the value they associate with resources (Howard-Grenville, 2007; Howard-Grenville et al., 2011; Sonenshein, 2014, 2017), our study uncovers the generative role resourcing recipients, who engage in valuing resourcing enacted by others, play in forging a system-wide change. We propose that embracing resourcing, which involves staff members disseminating artifacts, sparks curiosity in artifact recipients and triggers them to engage in reinterpreting resourcing (Phase 3). This phase involves artifact recipients developing an understanding of the artifacts given to them by staff members and redefining their role in this organization. Because curiosity ignites creativity (Hagtvedt, Dossinger, Harrison, & Huan, 2019), it leads artifact recipients to improvise actions. We found that bread tag campers' curiosity led them to invent the shoe kiss (Figure 2), a practice new bread tag campers were socialized to take on, as a new way to acknowledge one another. Increased moments of connection between artifact recipients (made possible via improvising actions) leads artifact recipients to imbue the artifact with a new meaning—as a symbol of membership in a subgroup of peers bound by similar distress—

and in turn energizes a new schema. We found that, in contrast to their role as recipients of care, artifact recipients reinterpreted their role in the organization as caregivers (e.g., engaging in brief supportive connection with peers in their subgroup). Reinterpreting resourcing expands the *scale and scope* (i.e., type of actors) of individuals involved in tending to others within this peer subgroup, and thus amplifies experiences of positive regard and fulfillment of needs. Moreover, we posit that socializing peers to connect with fellow artifact recipients demonstrates lateral (i.e., peer-to-peer) influence and seeds a sense of membership and responsibility centered around the well-being of peers in their subgroup.

Lastly, when artifact recipients engaged in care for others within their peer subgroup, their attention to the distress of *all* others expanded and ushered them into the final resourcing phase—expanding resourcing (Phase 4). This phase involved artifact recipients re-evaluating the resourcing enacted by staff, proactively expanding the boundaries of its purpose, use, and their role in this organization. Common humanity, which refers to the understanding that, regardless of the specific circumstances, at an abstract level, everyone experiences some kind of distress, and this common human experience is what *connects* us with others rather than what isolates us from others (Neff, 2003), triggers this phase. Common humanity is said to be the first step in expanding our “circles of concern” (Jinpa, 2015). We found that acknowledging distress as a common human experience that binds individuals together raised artifact recipients’ doubt regarding the focus on a specific type of distress when responding to others. In response, artifact recipients (a) adjusted their caring schema, (b) improvised actions to care for others whose distress had not been addressed thus far, and (c) imbued artifacts with a new meaning—as a symbol of broad types of distress. We propose that symbolizing the artifact with a broad definition of distress turned this artifact into a portal of inclusion. At Camp Magic, artifact recipients adjusted their understanding of who deserves care and who could offer care, and then turned to securing and customizing bread tags to give to staff or campers in need. This in turn expanded the meaning imbued into the bread tag to reflect an inclusive community of individuals (staff members and campers alike) who were struggling with various types of distress. We posit that expanding resourcing artifacts for an organization-wide community expands the *scale and scope* of individuals involved in connecting with others and thus enhances the *speed* by which individuals involved tend to others within and outside the peer subgroup, including all

organizational members. Prior research suggests that the initial intention of resourcing may differ from its consequences in practice (Feldman, 2004; Feldman & Worline, 2016). Indeed, we found that resourcing that was initially designed to make momentary positive regard experience more durable (Phase 1) and improve staff coordination (Phase 2) was amplified when it was caught, reinterpreted (Phase 3), and expanded (Phase 4) by artifact recipients. We found that, in less than five days, all staff and campers had a bread tag adorning their shoelaces, signaling their connection to a web of individuals with whom they shared moments of positive regard. We propose that expanding resourcing amplifies experiences of positive regard and mobilizes all organizational members to forge brief supportive connections with one another. Expanding resourcing also amplifies fulfillment of needs of organizational members, demonstrates widespread influence, and expands the seeds of membership and mutual responsibility to reflect an inclusive, organization-wide phenomena.

We argue that each of the resourcing artifact phases described above seed or amplify the scale, scope, and speed by which members are activated to forge brief supportive connections with one another, and thus expands a subset of the swift SOC properties. We propose that, at the end of expanding resourcing (Phase 4), in which all organizational members are mobilized to forge brief supportive connections, a swift SOC, built on the five properties aforementioned, emerges.

## DISCUSSION

Our study aimed to unpack how a swift SOC could emerge in a temporary organization characterized by limited shared work history and no expectation for future interactions (Lundin et al., 2015; Schüßler, 2017). Our process model demonstrates that a swift SOC can emerge in a temporary organization when artifacts are resourced by multiple organizational members to create an inclusive web of brief supportive connections. We assert that resourcing artifacts, through which members imbued new meanings into a mundane artifact, (a) made brief, supportive, HQCs more durable, and (b) served as scaffolds that mobilized all organizational members to engage in forging such connections with others. In this section, we discuss how our findings extend and enrich theory and practice.

### Theoretical Contributions

**Implications for SOC literature.** The findings of this study extend the literature on SOC in a number

of ways. We found that a swift SOC does not simply represent a difference in rate (built on difference in speed only), but also demonstrates a qualitatively different type of SOC (built on new properties). Our analyse showed that a swift SOC closely echoes three of these five SOC properties—namely, sense of membership, fulfillment of needs, and responsibility—but diverged in two meaningful ways. We found that a swift SOC is cultivated through the seeding and amplification of *momentary positive regard* and *widespread influence* (bidirectional and lateral). In contrast to a SOC, which depends on the depth of relationships between members (Boyd & Nowell, 2014; McMillan & Chavis, 1986), we found that a swift SOC was built on brief supportive connections, in the form of instantaneous experiences of positive regard. How might momentary connections between organizational members seed a SOC? Collins (2004) proposed that symbols can be emotionally charged; therefore, when individuals access such symbols, the felt emotional connection can be evoked even in the absence of others. We found that resourcing artifacts helped prolong experiences of brief supportive connections beyond their typical limits of time and place, thus making them more durable. Moreover, we propose that instantaneous experiences of positive regard open rather than block connections with additional others. Prior research on HQCs has argued that experiences of positive regard are elicited when human-to-human encounters confirm each other's worth and sense of competence (Dutton, 2003). Feeling valued and worthy during HQCs is associated with psychological safety and increased learning behaviors that entice people to explore and take in new experiences (Carmeli, Brueller, & Dutton, 2009). Others have suggested that dignity, which refers to the state or quality of being worthy of honor or respect, in connections empowers individuals to seek opportunities to forge connections with others (Miller, 1986). Thus, we propose that brief positive regard experiences can breed a willingness for individuals to connect with others and presents a fertile ground for a swift SOC.

Second, prior research on SOC has proposed that bidirectional influence (top-down and bottom-up influence) is central to this social order (Boyd & Nowell, 2014). However, we found that, in addition to top-down and bottom-up influence, lateral influence, whereby peers influenced each other, was crucial for the emergence of a swift SOC. Only when artifact recipients socialized each other to respond to other artifact recipients (reinterpreting resourcing, Phase 3), and were moved to respond to others dealing

with broader types of distress (expanding resourcing, Phase 4), did the number of individuals connecting with others grow exponentially (see Figure 3), leading to a wide web of connections. This finding suggests that, while bidirectional influence may be sufficient to sustain an *existing* social order, it appears necessary but insufficient in creating a *new* social order. We argue that lateral influence as an aspect of a swift SOC advances the SOC literature as it uncovers a new type of power necessary for the creation of a new social order. Whereas bidirectional influence represents experiences of power *over*, in which individuals exercise control of others, lateral influence represents conditions in which individuals exercise power *with*, in which individuals experience mutuality and growth together (Miller & Stiver, 1997).

The SOC research has long focused on antecedents or consequences of SOC uncovering *when* and *where* a SOC is likely to be demonstrated (Boyd & Nowell, 2014), but this line of research offers little insight into *how* SOC comes to the fore. Our study examines the process leading to the emergence of a swift SOC and shows that one emerges in a temporary organization through four intertwined resourcing phases: (a) staff initial resourcing, (b) staff embracing resourcing, (c) artifact recipients reinterpreting resourcing, and (d) artifact recipients expanding resourcing. We found that, when artifacts were resourced, individuals were awakened to others' distress and were moved to cultivate moments of positive regard with others, which eventually led to the creation of a web of supportive connections that enabled the emergence of a swift SOC. We argue that resourcing materiality can serve as scaffolds that help activate and mobilize organizational members to create and amplify brief supportive connections. Collins (2004: 99) proposed that symbols can be circulated, emotionally charged, and reinforce a sense of membership and solidarity within a group when individuals access such symbols alone, "like a religious person carrying an emblem." In contrast, we propose that the *public* (rather than *private*) display of the artifacts enabled others to notice and respond to other artifact recipients. As resourcing materiality helped make otherwise invisible aspects of members' lives visible, resourcing afforded the swift expansion of the scale and scope of connections between members, and thereby helped expedite the development of a swift SOC. In contrast to the current SOC relational perspective that centers on the *social* realm (Boyd & Nowell, 2014; Garrett et al., 2017; Miller, 1986; Miller & Stiver, 1997), our study offers a broader relational perspective that acknowledges that all things are connected, and that the social and

the material are inextricably related (Boxenbaum et al., 2018; Feldman & Worline, 2016; Orlitzki, 2007). We propose that widening the relational prism by which we examine the emergence of a SOC to capture the interaction between social processes and materiality casts light on aspects that are critical for the formation of a swift SOC that have been hidden from sight thus far.

**Implications for resourcing literature.** Our findings also help advance knowledge on resourcing, in a number of ways. We shed light on symbolizing as a new resourcing mechanism. Symbolizing involves agentic actors intentionally imbuing meaning into a potential resource, akin to the process of sense-giving, by which individuals attempt to influence their own and others' sense-making (Maitlis & Christiano, 2014; Maitlis & Lawrence, 2007). We observed that symbolizing came to life through *reflexive practices or enactment*. For example, during embracing resourcing (Phase 2), staff members engaged in reflexive practices that enabled them to acknowledge the challenge they faced and consider solutions to solve it. Through these reflexive practices, staff identified the potential of resourcing the artifact, and adjusted its meaning (e.g., from a symbol of dyadic connection to a symbol of dyadic connection focused on homesickness) to better address the challenge at hand (e.g., staff coordination crisis). Moreover, we found that symbolizing was also achieved through enactment. For example, repeated enactment of improvised actions (e.g., diffusion of shoe kiss in reinterpreting resourcing; Phase 3), propelled individuals to connect with other artifact recipients, discover their similarity, and, in turn, led them to imbue the artifacts with new meanings reflecting artifact recipients' membership in a peer subgroup.

Symbolizing as a new resourcing mechanism advances the resourcing literature in a number of ways. First, the resourcing literature calls our attention to examine *how* resources are used and *what* they are used for. Symbolizing brings increased attention to the actors working purposefully to influence social construction. Considering the role of symbolizing in resourcing ushers us to explore "agency that is more fluid, situational, heterogeneous, and relational" (Lawrence & Phillips, 2019: 9). The shift from an individualistic and unitary agency toward a relational and heterogeneous one uncovers the unintended consequences of resourcing that are achieved through the "social–symbolic work" (Lawrence & Phillips, 2019) of intentional, reflexive efforts by a variety of actors. For example, we observed that, during embracing resourcing (Phase 2), staff members

resourced an artifact and imbued it with an additional meaning representing a specific type of distress, in order to enhance staff coordination. Following this, an unintended new social order was created, when artifact recipients responded to these resourcing attempts and imbued this same artifact with new meanings—first, as a symbol of membership in their peer subgroup bounded by a specific distress (reinterpreting resourcing, Phase 3), and later as a symbol of care for *anyone* experiencing broader types of distress (expanding resourcing, Phase 4). By acknowledging the possibility of heterogeneous actors' involvement in the process of resourcing more broadly and symbolizing more specifically, we begin to notice how new possibilities embedded in artifacts are unveiled when diverse agentic actors creatively build on and transform them. Moreover, we found that, when diverse actors imbued artifacts with layers of additional yet complementary meanings (e.g., dyadic connection at the dyad level, type of distress at a staff level, membership at a subgroup or organizational level), a range of individuals were mobilized to expand brief social connections into a new social order.

Second, resourcing theory introduces three possible resourcing mechanisms: (a) mutual adjusting (Jaqith, 2009), (b) juxtaposing (Howard-Grenville et al., 2011), and (c) narrating (Quinn & Worline, 2008)—each of which explains how and why the dynamic interplay between actions, schema, and resources can bring about change. While these resourcing mechanisms illustrate how resourcing can facilitate change, symbolizing as an alternative resourcing mechanism sheds light on how resourcing can enable stability *and* change. For example, we found that symbolizing facilitated change in actions but also fostered stability in schema. When one staff member (Sunny) imbued an artifact with a new meaning, as a symbol of a dyadic connection with an individual, she was able to improvise a new action (e.g., give artifacts away), which in turn reinforced the staff member's existing caring schema. We argue that symbolizing as a resourcing mechanism goes beyond the typical dualism that depicts stability and change as separate and opposing concepts, and instead demonstrates the duality of stability and change as two concepts mutually constitutive of each other (Farjoun, 2010; Feldman, Pentland, D'Adderio, & Lazaric, 2016).

Feldman and Worline (2012) proposed that resourcing cycles could connect everyday actions to something larger, and enable the creation of ampliative cycles in organizations. Yet, the resourcing literature offers limited insights regarding how ampliative

cycles can be created. Nigam and Dokko (2019) proposed that a new social order could emerge through the process of accretion, representing the gradual accumulation of resources. They further demonstrated that gradual accumulation of resources could be achieved via a combination of self-oriented and collective-oriented actions. In contrast, our study found that a new social order can emerge rapidly. We further demonstrated that such a process is not generated by individual- or collective-oriented actions, but instead comes to life via actions that create HQCs that are rapidly accumulated into a web of human-to-human connections. These findings are important, as they demonstrate the critical role dyads play in the emergence of a new collective form.

## Future Directions and Limitations

The present research opens up a number of future research directions. The introduction of a swift SOC invites further research to unpack its possible impact. For example, it has been proposed that interdependent work can be achieved in temporary organizations via role-based coordination, which refers to work that is built on structured role systems whose nuances are negotiated (Bechky, 2006). In contrast, relational coordination is built on shared goals, knowledge, and mutual respect (Gittell, 2002, 2016). As positive regard encounters are marked by dignity and mutual respect (Dutton, 2003), swift SOC that is built on such encounters may enhance relational coordination and transcend the typical barriers of status, hierarchy, and assigned roles. Future research could also examine the impact of a swift SOC on employee voice. We propose that a swift SOC marked by an organization-wide sense of personal relatedness (i.e., membership) and felt responsibility deepens individuals' attachment to the collective. Prior empirical work suggests that such attachments can motivate people to engage in voice behavior (Burris, Detert, & Chiaburu, 2008) and increase constructive voice delivery (Romney, 2020), in an attempt to uphold cherished collective values and enhance the ability to achieve collective goals. Thus, we propose that a swift SOC that creates a rapid social glue within an organization is likely to enhance constructive voice behavior within the collective. Future research could also examine the impact of a swift SOC on word-of-mouth behaviors (see Berger, 2014), and, at a macro-level, the trajectories of the organization's reputation over time (for a review, see Lange, Lee, & Dai, 2011). It is possible that organizations that can successfully create conditions for the emergence of a swift SOC will, in turn,

have members (or former members) who share more positive sentiments about the organization, which can result in the organization being viewed more favorably.

Future research may also explore the antecedents that make the emergence of a swift SOC more likely. For example, at the organizational level, organizational culture that explicitly legitimizes vulnerability, where the norm is to be open and forthcoming about distress and suffering rather than to hide, suppress, or feel ashamed about these experiences, may be important for the emergence of a swift SOC. Vulnerability is especially important to facilitate the emergence of a *new* social order as it is the birthplace of creativity, innovation, and change (Brown, 2015). In organizations that embrace vulnerability, members do not incur punishment or consequences (e.g., taking away responsibilities, withholding opportunities, etc.) when disclosing experiences of distress or suffering. Thus, members may be more likely to disclose their challenges and explore new ways of relating. When considering service providers, we assert that heightened present-moment attention or awareness may be important for the emergence of a swift SOC. This present-moment attention may assist service providers with noticing the emotions of others and being able to then respond in the moment with customized solutions to connect with and address the needs of others. While present-moment attention naturally varies from employee to employee (for a review, see Mesmer-Magnus, Manapragada, Viswesvaran, & Allen, 2017), it is a trainable skill that can be enhanced in employees with practice (for a review, see Eby, Allen, Conley, Williamson, Henderson, & Mancini, 2019).

The present research also demonstrates a number of possible research avenues for the field of resourcing. First, we found that the creation of an organization-wide social order was enabled when layers of complementary new meanings were imbued into a single artifact. Although we observed actors imbuing the artifact with complementary new meanings, it is reasonable to assume that new meanings can also be contradictory (or incompatible), and thus may negate or challenge the initial resourcing intent. Might contradictory meanings introduce additional steps required to resolve contradictions to enable ampliative cycles? Or, alternatively, might contradictory meanings lead to depleting cycles that can unravel the process we observe? Future research could examine how contractionary symbolizing may shape resourcing processes. Moreover, our study highlights the new social order sparked by symbolizing artifacts with new meaning.

However, one could imbue an artifact with a familiar meaning. Might such a process lead to the regeneration of a social order? This line of research has the potential to demonstrate additional ways by which resourcing artifacts can create stability, in contrast to previous studies of resourcing artifacts that illuminate how resourcing can cultivate change (Feldman & Worline, 2012; Jaquith, 2009; Howard-Grenville et al., 2011).

Importantly, while the present study unpacked the process underlying the *spontaneous* emergence of a swift SOC, we know little about the process that may lead to a *planned* emergence of a swift SOC (i.e., intentionally resourcing materiality to cultivate a swift SOC). If organizations or individual members of organizations intentionally engineer the conditions for the emergence of a swift SOC, the process at play may look different. It will be important for future research to examine if, how, and when a swift SOC can emerge through deliberate means.

Like all studies, this study is not without limitations. Although the present context may be similar to that of other temporary organizations, it may qualitatively differ from other settings, thus pointing to a number of possible limitations as well as illuminating future avenues for research. One concern might be that, while this setting may represent a seasonal organization characterized by limited repeated work, it was also characterized by a caring ecology (Lawrence & Maitlis, 2012), whereby care and human connection were enabled rather than disabled (Frost, Dutton, Worline, & Wilson, 2000). It is worth noting that a focus on care is also pronounced in crisis-based temporary organizations such as grief summer camps, emergency refugee aid, or temporary emergency rescue teams. Future research may consider less extreme contexts (e.g., contexts where the caring ecology is less pronounced, such as those working on movie sets, seasonal festivals, construction sites, etc.), as the emergence of a swift SOC might look different in these alternative contexts. Importantly, this work may also be relevant in professional development in temporary organizations such as professional retreats and developmental workshops that are centered around personal growth.

Second, our context operated in a secluded location, which is common in other seasonal organizations, emergency rescue teams, and professional retreats that offer in some degree parallel organizational settings to the one we explored. Low permeability enabled the exploration of a swift SOC while limiting the potential effect of external forces that may shape the likelihood of a swift SOC to emerge. This choice echoes previous research on solidarity

and experience of membership in a collective that found that such experiences are partially associated with barriers for outsiders (Collins, 2004). Focusing on a set of actors engaging in resourcing *within* a secluded organization afforded us the opportunity to examine the micro-foundation of resourcing for a swift SOC. However, this approach limited our ability to capture the possible spillover effect of a swift SOC. Future research might examine the spillover effects and illuminate the possible wide-reaching ripple effects that may go beyond the new social order emerging in this context. For example, expanding the impact of a swift SOC beyond the initial context in which it emerges can demonstrate if and when common humanity shapes how individuals relate to others *within* the organization, and their ability to notice and cultivate brief supportive connections with others *outside* of their organization.

Third, the present research focused on how a swift SOC can emerge in temporary organizations. In doing so, we centered our attention on the micro-processes leading to the emergence of a swift SOC, but have not explored the extent to which a swift SOC can endure over time. On the one hand, Rousseau (1998: 220) argued that some connections may erode over time when the “situational cues reinforcing it are removed.” On the other hand, Collins (2004) proposed that experiences of membership in a collective may not be confined to the duration of physical co-presence, but can be prolonged when individuals re invoke the shared emotional experiences stored in the group symbols. Future research may examine what happens to organization members when their time together expires—whether a swift SOC erodes or endures, and, if it does indeed endure, examine the conditions that enable its persistence over time.

### Practical Implications

The present study points to a number of practical implications for both temporary and traditional organizations. First, we see that the cultivation of a swift SOC was in part enabled by organizational openness, which refers to “the flexibility and adaptability of organizations in responding to new ideas and changes” (Ruvio, Shoham, Vigoda-Gadot, & Schwabsky, 2014: 1006). We found that organizational openness in this temporary organization was necessary in order to allow staff members (service providers) and artifact recipients (service receivers) to promptly recognize challenges and actively engage in problem-solving, which quickly led to improvisation of actions and, importantly, a willingness to disclose difficult

emotions and accept new ideas. Organizational openness empowered the service providers and service recipients to co-create a process that led to the eventual birth of a swift SOC. Some have suggested that the rules related to materiality tend to restrict the range of organizational responses (Raaijmakers, Vermeulen, & Meeus, 2018). We discern that a high degree of openness in the form of the *absence* of extensive rules and a high receptivity to a range of possibilities for resourcing enabled the ampliative cycles observed. For these reasons, organizations should consider how they implicitly or explicitly promote (or impede) a culture of openness among their members, as this may have important implications for if, how, and when the conditions for a swift SOC can emerge.

Second, materiality is typically used to connect individuals to their organization and to signal organizational identity (e.g., via organization uniforms, logos, company-branded swag, etc.). Using artifacts, organizations have the opportunity to proactively facilitate the process that can rapidly connect people within the organization to *one another*. Organizations may consider coupling activities that promote self-disclosure with materiality to forge HQCs between employees as a seed of a swift SOC. For example, organizations can make artifacts available to employees such as ribbons, buttons, stickers, digital public badges, or “e-artifacts” for virtual platforms (which the employee could customize with a personal message) and encourage employees to give the artifact to someone in the organization they feel connected to, and then encourage the recipient of the artifact to pass the gesture on to others in the organization. Such a practice can stretch momentary connection beyond its initial temporal boundary, and mobilize people to connect with others.

## CONCLUSION

From Silicon Valley to Seoul, and across the globe, the nature of work is changing. More organizations and employees are embracing the notion of conducting work in atypical conditions. Given the epidemic of social disconnection employees are experiencing (Cigna, 2020), the present research is encouraging as it illustrates how, through the utilization of resourcing artifacts, a sense of community can occur swiftly and expansively. In an age plagued by fragmentation, we hope this study inspires scholars and practitioners to explore ways a swift sense of community can be cultivated across a wide array of organizational settings.

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