Bro or Kook? The effect of dynamic member evaluation on incivility and resources in surf lineups

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to explore processes of group member evaluation and the interpersonal behavioral consequences of perceived group membership, within the context of a temporary group with evolving members.

Design/methodology/approach – Based on data from an autoethnographic study, the author investigates individual socialization into a new group, with a focus on how gender influences interpersonal evaluation processes. The author analyzes the interpersonal organizing behaviors of surf lineups, which are a male-dominated group that is continually socially constructed through changing membership.

Findings – Findings support an association between denial of group membership and outcomes including incivility and denial of resources. The author develops a model of dynamic member evaluation, which identifies how group members continuously evaluate proximate individuals at the stage of impending membership, with identified outcomes of those evaluations.

Research limitations/implications – A limitation of this design is that it generalizes organizing processes from a non-traditional setting to more traditional organizations. The model predicts dynamic member evaluation as individuals organize into groups in a shifting environment, with implications for scholarship on intragroup dynamics, incivility, gender and inclusion.

Practical implications – Understanding dynamic member evaluation provides a path for aspiring or new group members to employ signaling behaviors, which can help to prevent incivility and enhance resource availability. Evidence suggests that the proactive act of signaling competence may help to foster inclusion at the stage of impending membership, which is particularly important given how impending member evaluation is subject to bias. Such understanding also raises the awareness of how majority group members can manage their evaluations and refrain from letting judgments of impending members impact interpersonal behaviors, which may prevent incivility.

Social implications – The findings and resultant model illustrate the process and experience of group inclusion, showing how incivility can manifest and resources can be limited toward impending members who are excluded.

Originality/value – This study contributes to scholarship by introducing dynamic member evaluation, including the content and process of evaluation at the stage of impending membership, how resultant selective incivility can be predicted, and potential contagion effects of such incivility.

Keywords Gender, Women, Discrimination, Organizations, Qualitative research, Industrial psychology

Paper type Research paper

Organizations and the groups that comprise them increasingly exhibit evolving forms, so as to remain nimble, flexible and competitive. Requisite with this, the observed ways that people organize to get work done have become less static and codified, and more dynamic and fluctuating. While some organizational structures (such as formally identified teams) may have strict membership boundaries, other groups have more fluid membership. To this point, Dibble and Gibson (2013, p. 764) stated that "a critical problem for organizational scholars of the twenty-first century is to begin to address the abundance of 'organizing' that takes place outside the realm of conventional teams embedded in organizations." Organizational members are also increasingly diverse, compelling the need for further understanding of how people can work well with different others (Bell, 2007; Van Dijk *et al.*, 2017).

Organizing inherently entails individuals using their available resources, such as one's own energy, time or attention. Bias and discrimination based on social categorization (Reynolds and Oakes, 2000) or demographic characteristics (Van Knippenberg and Schippers, 2007; Van Dijk *et al.*, 2017) can deplete individual resources. Increased exposure to demographically different others in diverse environments can yield wonderful benefits such as infused creativity and adaptability, yet also negative interpersonal behaviors such as discrimination and incivility. Incivility, rudeness and other forms of interpersonal mistreatment have long been identified as unfortunate aspects of exclusion. Such behavior often results from majority requirements being entrenched in the decision of who is included, and who is excluded, from group membership (Chattopadhyay *et al.*, 2004; Prasad *et al.*, 2006). Evaluations of inclusion are influenced by stereotypes and associations prompted by unconscious processes of social categorization, such as those based on gender (Hilton and von Hippel, 1996). When an environment is (for example) predominantly male, the process by which someone evaluates who should be included and who should be excluded often goes differently, depending on whether the target is male or female. Such stereotyping colors the member evaluation process.

This paper addresses how individuals can better navigate these complex social and organizing processes at a particular point in time: at the stage of impending group membership. This process may be particularly important to understand when membership of some collectivity is socially constructed. That is, there is value in not only actual membership that is explicitly defined, but also on perceived membership. I suggest that perceptions of membership can enable or constrain interpersonal treatment and ultimate success in goal attainment, as being perceived as a group member entails favorable behavior and access to resources (Allport, 1954; Levine *et al.*, 2005). Increasingly, demographic differences are noted as being associated with various forms of mistreatment, such as incivility (McCord *et al.*, 2018) which has been referred to as "selective incivility" (Cortina, 2008; Cortina *et al.*, 2013). Evaluations of potential members occur through a dynamic process, as there is variability and instability in group membership over time. Yet we still have little knowledge of the integration of this modern workplace context with scholarship on discrimination and interpersonal treatment, as these kinds of informal and evolving groups can be difficult to track and investigate in traditional organizations. This gap raises the two research questions addressed in this paper:

RQ1. How do members of an evolving group evaluate and ultimately choose to include or exclude impending members?

RQ2. What are the consequences of this dynamic form of group member evaluation?

I explore these research questions through qualitative and inductive methods, deriving autoethnographic data from my experiences entering surf lineups as a woman in male-dominated dynamic groups. During this time, I evolved from an often-excluded beginner with impending membership to, over time, being included as a member. During my fieldwork, I was continually intrigued by how surfers around me would evaluate others as "bros" who were accepted as legitimate surfers, or "kooks" who were excluded, denied access and mocked. Such language intentionally speaks to the masculine-dominant nature of this environment, as well, which I address in my analysis and theorizing. Offering an interesting combination of socialization, safety, gender and athleticism, this setting offers a unique yet generalizable environment in which to analyze dynamic group membership processes. The autoethnography is complemented by ethnographic data, which provides context of social processes associated with the surf community and the act of surfing. In the remainder of this paper, I first establish extant theory, before describing the setting that inspired this conceptualization, the methodology employed in the field, and my analytical techniques. I then share the results, from which I develop aggregate themes into a model of

dynamic member evaluation. Finally, I discuss applications of this model to scholarly understanding of incivility, the intersection of gender with intergroup dynamics and team inclusion, with directions for both future research and practitioners.

Theoretical foundations

Management scholars have studied group membership primarily from the lens of social psychological theories of identity and social categorization, which focus on how categorizations of others are shaped by demographic attributes. In a group setting, individuals enact the essential cognitions and behaviors that ultimately constitute within-group and between-group dynamics (Kozlowski *et al.*, 2013). One of the earliest examinations of this was in Allport's (1954) social psychological approach to intergroup behavior and prejudice, identifying how such cognitive factors associate with interpersonal behavior. A common assumption is that such categorizations result in biased behavior which favors in-group members over out-group members (Van Dijk *et al.*, 2017). Social identity processes are subject to biases and negative perceptions of other groups (Tajfel, 1982), as in-group/out-group categorization processes are a primary way for individuals to evaluate each other's expertise. When evaluating potential group members, individuals tend to rely on information derived from available stereotypes associated with social categories, rather than information gleaned from that individual (Hilton and von Hippel, 1996). In the example of a male-dominated environment, that stereotype of women would be negative; thus, social categorization processes would likely lead to negative attributions and negative interpersonal behaviors (McCord *et al.*, 2018).

In-group members are more likely to gain favor and resources, as compared to out-group members, who tend to be excluded from access to resources. As an example, this can happen through helping behaviors provided to in-group members (Levine *et al.*, 2005). Resource dependency theory addresses how external resources affect internal organizing behaviors, and how resources serve as a source of power. Standards or best practices ensure that limited or finite resources can be used as efficiently as possible (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). The act of resourcing also relies on schemas, which inform how actors make choices and behave in situations as they organize (Feldman, 2004). These schemas are informed by group and intergroup-related sources of information, such as stereotypes and biases. Thus, access to external resources influences a group's internal behaviors, including how group members treat each other and other forms of interpersonal power dynamics.

Social categorization based on group membership can result in mistreatment toward those excluded as non-members, such as bullying, harassment or incivility. Given the prominence of incivility evidenced in the data, I focus on that form of mistreatment here. Incivility is experienced as low-intensity negative behaviors toward someone else (Andersson and Pearson, 1999), such as being rude or discourteous. Subtle and often ambiguous, incivility can cause negative effects both personally and professionally, including decreased well-being and performance (Porath and Erez, 2007; Porath and Pearson, 2012, 2013; Schilpzand *et al.*, 2016), emotional and physical distress (Park *et al.*, 2018), insomnia (Demsky *et al.*, 2019), burnout and turnover (Taylor *et al.*, 2017). Importantly when considering group membership, incivility can serve as a way of masking pervasive discrimination, since discrimination is typically identified via covert and blatant actions (Cortina, 2008; Lindsey *et al.*, 2017). McCord *et al.*'s (2018) meta-analysis analyzing sex and race differences in perceptions of mistreatment found that women perceived more sex-based mistreatment as compared to men. Such selective incivility has been associated with unwanted outcomes, such as increased turnover intention (Cortina *et al.*, 2013) and negatively affecting proximate others via contagion (Foulk *et al.*, 2016; Miner-Rubino and Cortina, 2004, 2007).

Recent research on incivility in workplaces has shifted focus to the perceived intent of the perpetrator, and how it influences the effects on the recipient of uncivil behavior

(Marchiondo *et al.*, 2018), who perpetrates the incivility (Hershcovis *et al.*, 2017), and how uncivil experiences can change and evolve over time (Taylor *et al.*, 2017). Thus, what is still missing from this literature is a deeper understanding of what tactics individuals can engage in to prevent such selective incivility, with the hopes of fostering inclusion at the stage of impending membership.

Methodology

Given the process-orientated nature of these research questions, I chose a qualitative and inductive approach to investigate the social processes of dynamic group membership. My research entailed an in-depth ethnography, including primary data from autoethnographic evidence based on the social dynamics I experienced as a female surfer, and secondary data in the form of industry archival data, to complement and inform the primary data. Autoethnography refers to reflection on a personal experience via revealing and reflexive self-narrated texts (Ellis, 2004; Ellis and Bochner, 2000; Holt, 2003; Reed-Danahay, 2001). Such an approach situates the self in a specific setting to reflect and analyze how one's experience relates to the culture and context of a particular environment (Spry, 2001). Data derived from autoethnographic methodologies can reveal patterns through examination of field notes, introspection, comparing details of the self in the context of the setting, and thick description of one's experiences and one's relations with others (Ellis and Bochner, 2000). While infrequently observed in studies of organization and management generally, this methodology has been used in sports management scholarship (Cooper *et al.*, 2017) and in studies giving marginalized or devalued perspectives voice (Ellingson and Ellis, 2008; Spry, 2001). This is due to a fundamental difference from other forms of ethnography, as autoethnography embraces and openly acknowledges the researcher's subjectivity. This makes it an appropriate and helpful approach to employ in this study.

The autoethnographic data presented here were drawn from three main sources: my research records, personal field notes and recollections (Bochner and Ellis, 2016). I went back to each of these sources multiple times in an iterative way throughout the analysis process, maintaining ongoing notes to interpret my own experiences. The field notes included my own experiences as well as observations of social behavior of other surfers around me, who were not aware of this project. An institutional review board approved these procedures. The autoethnographic data were supplemented by my review of industry archival data. The reflection and evaluation of the autoethnographic and archival data combined to construct my experiences and their meaning, which I then compared to extant theory on inclusion, group membership and incivility.

There are identified risks of autoethnography, such as being self-indulgent (Holt, 2003) and an intertwining of the personal life with the research agenda (Andersson, 2006). During data collection and analysis, I followed the criteria for an analytic autoethnography as defined by Holt (2003), focusing on: a substantive contribution to our understanding of social life; aesthetic merit; reflexivity, in that the author is producer and product of the text impact on a reader emotionally or intellectually; and that the text embodies a real lived experience. I also followed Andersson's (2006) principles of conducting an analytic autoethnography, by participating fully in the setting, identifying myself visibly as such a member in written texts, and a demonstrated commitment to developing theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena. I incorporated each of these approaches to my research design in order to mitigate any risks of this methodological approach.

To inform and complement the primary autoethnographic data, I also collected secondary data related to the surf industry and surfing subculture. I gained this contextual knowledge by spending time in locations related to the surf industry, such as surf shops and coffee shops near surf breaks; collecting archival data in the forms of industry flyers, magazines, promotional pamphlets; and viewing websites of surf companies and related

non-profit organizations such as the Surfrider Foundation. I analyzed these data by reading, watching, listening and aggregating the themes and patterns I noted in the industry culture, such as typical behaviors, gender norms, language patterns and rituals (such as the hand-slap, fist-bump high five greeting that surfers engage in globally).

Setting
The surf community and surfing subculture served as an appropriate setting for several reasons. Individuals who ride waves for recreational and athletic activity refer to themselves as surfers. A group of surfers out at a particular space in the water where waves are breaking is referred to as a "lineup" out in the water. Surfers also gather and interact near the water (e.g. in parking lots) by surf breaks. Similar to temporary teams or changing groups within organizations, these lineups are dynamic, as the membership of this group constantly changes while surfers enter and leave the water. The group is temporary and evolving, but always boundaried by being proximate to the specific locations where waves are breaking. This boundaried group at any given time consists of individuals who are coordinating interdependently to achieve their goals (of riding waves). Lineups are loosely organized, yet they share behavioral norms which shape interpersonal treatment and access to resources. That is, this organizing process is complicated by unequal gender representation and by tacit, fluctuating membership.

Within a lineup at any given time, individuals become identified (temporarily or over time via reputation) as either a real surfer who knows what he or she is doing and is accepted, or identified as non-member who does not know what he or she is doing, often referred to disdainfully as a "barney" or a "kook." These evaluation processes happen quickly, as a surfer may have mere moments to determine how to react to another person in the water (i.e. should I pull back and give her that wave or should I charge forward and take it for myself?). The instantaneous nature of such evaluations likely leads to increased dependence on available stereotypes, due to the efficiency benefits for the perceiver (Cuddy *et al.*, 2007; Van Dijk *et al.*, 2017). There is a cognitive load entailed in the surf experience, given the constantly changing external environment (including weather, waves, swell, wind and other natural elements), the dynamic social setting and the physical nature of the activity. As evidenced directly from field notes:

> I realized that while surfing, you are constantly estimating the ability of every other surfer out there. Because your estimation of their abilities will dictate how you behave; whether you paddle-battle them or not, whether you automatically pull back if you see them paddling for a wave because you can safely assume they will get it; if you see them fall a lot and kook out then you both paddle battle them for waves and also stay out of their way so their board doesn't fly and hit you. Your reactions and behaviors are completely shaped by your estimation of the ability level of the other people in the water. You have to change and adapt how you act based on this estimation. Which is why it is so frustrating when (1) people don't know what they are doing and they make mistakes, and (2) when there are a lot of people in the water. The more people, the more estimations you have to make. The more estimations, the more cognitive load, and the more you have to pay attention to people, and less attention is left for the constantly changing conditions and waves. (Session 106)

Surfing is social and rife with interpersonal experiences. While one person could surf alone, surf breaks are very rarely uncrowded when there are surfable waves (which serve as the most highly valued available resources). Individuals are trying to accomplish their own individual goals (I want to surf my wave), yet for some, there are also tacit group goals (we all want everyone to get waves). Interdependence of action is constant in the midst of a changing external environment with limited resources, as surfers must navigate paddling around each other, share waves, back off of each other, share information and communicate. Upon arriving at a surf break, surfers stand and gaze at the water to gather information: how crowded it is, where to paddle out, where there are currents, what the wind is doing,

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and what the lineup looks like. This information helps inform the actions taken upon entering the lineup. A part of this data gathering is also social, including talking to other people in the parking lot, on the beach, or coming to or going from the water. This allows for yet another opportunity for individuals to choose to include others by sharing information, or exclude others by withholding or giving false information.

Surfing is male-dominated (Ford and Brown, 2005; Olive *et al.*, 2015). The International Surfing Association identifies a gender-based participation gap in the sport, estimating only 19 percent of surfers worldwide as women (SurferToday, 2018). In an ethnography of female surfers, Olive *et al.* (2015) identified frequent patronizing and marginalization of women in surf lineups. Being a member of a typically undervalued and marginalized group gave me a unique perspective in my attempts to gain membership and entrée into the setting.

The physical setting is also dynamic in nature. The external environment – the wind, waves, swell, current, weather, wildlife, sunlight, fog – is turbulent and constantly shifting. Experience with such turbulence and anticipation of it (such as being able to predict a wave's movement) serves as an indication of membership. Environmental conditions dramatically affect surfer behaviors. For example, it can be foggy to the point of severe visual impairment, such that one cannot see more than a few feet ahead. This impairs not only the ability to see waves coming, but also the ability to see and evaluate other surfers. If there is a huge swell (i.e. frequent, big or "heavy" waves), more experienced surfers tend to fill the lineup, as less-experienced surfers cannot even paddle out. This is evidenced by a common saying in the surf community that "nature is the best lifeguard." Non-members tend to struggle with large waves, sustained paddling or timing the paddle out between wave sets. Thus, demonstrated experience with the dynamic nature of the setting associates with success in gaining membership.

Finally, fundamental to surfing is the acquisition of scarce resources: waves. During a surf session, there are only so many waves that are able to be ridden by an individual on a board. Surfers compete for these waves, yet also operate interdependently by taking turns or reacting to each other's positioning. Sometimes waves are plentiful, while sometimes it is "flat" and waves are scarce. Wasted rideable waves can frustrate surfers, particularly when a novice tries to paddle into a wave and does not make it, pulls back or falls. An experienced surfer would observe this, interpret this as confirmation of the novice's ability level, and then treat them differentially. This then can also prompt others to act more competitively, further denying the novice of access to resources. As this evaluation of competitors for scarce resources happens continually throughout a surf session, these scarce resources end up being most available to those who accurately interpret the ability levels of other surfers in the lineup.

Procedure and analysis

Over the course of two years, I gained access to surf breaks across Southern California. Nearly exclusively, across all of my sites, I was either the only woman or one of very few women in a lineup. Through participating in this male-dominated athletic activity, I personally experienced the transition from being a presumed non-member and novice who was excluded and marginalized, to a member who was given access to resources and treated with civility, and ultimately accepted as "local" by most lineups at one particular surf break. Also during this transitional time period, I started as someone who was (unknowingly) being evaluated during my participation, to someone who was then performing the evaluation and judging of others. Throughout this experience, I also witnessed the differential behaviors of other individuals in the lineup, which inspired me to transform this personal athletic experience to a study of inclusivity, group membership and incivility.

In the early stages of the research design, I took notes after surf sessions about the social processes I was observing and what I personally experienced. After often being taken aback

by the differential behaviors I was observing and experiencing as a beginner, my curiosity was enhanced as to why. After every surf session or any time spent at a surf site, I would go home and type field notes on that same day, usually immediately afterwards and always within 24 hours. This resulted in 163 single spaced pages of field notes, from 148 different surf sessions. Over the course of my fieldwork, I myself transitioned from being a beginner who was learning (and fumbling through the social norms of the surf community) to one who was more advanced and ultimately gained acceptance as a "local" in an established surf break. While I observed and reflected my own experience of transitioning from one who was excluded to one who was included, I simultaneously witnessed the treatment of other individuals as well. I tracked evidence of consequences of acceptance (such as surfers giving waves or sharing information) and incivility (such as stealing waves, ignoring, undermining or being rude), as well as social composition and demographic diversity of the lineup, with a particular focus on gender-based comments and behaviors. I also observed environmental context, such as how intense the external environment was (i.e. heavy waves) and weather conditions. I wrote detailed memos of my experiences (such as behaviors of others, the results of those behaviors, how individuals treated me), as well as my own behaviors and emotional reactions during the surf session and in the hours afterwards.

I initially focused my analysis on my observations of behaviors of other surfers. In doing so, I followed Miles *et al.* (2014) and Creswell (2013) to generate codes for observable patterns across sessions. Through multiple rounds of coding and discussing with a trained research assistant, I aggregated these themes into thematic categories. I also engaged in member check-ins after sessions with experienced surfers that I knew personally, to help inform my reflections and in comparing data to theory. Throughout this time period, I continuously collected and reviewed the archival data I collected, in the form of flyers, magazines, advertisements, websites and trade show pamphlets, to help supplement my experiences through knowledge of the industry and subculture. As data analysis proceeded, I shifted focus to my notes about myself and my experience, representing the autoethnographic forms of the data, including the field notes that focused on my own experiences, reactions, emotions and thought processes. The analytical purposes included to reveal shared patterns across the numerous surf sites and sessions, to explore consistent and divergent patterns across sites and sessions and to unpack the process of member evaluation and the consequences that I experienced. As a part of my analysis, I continuously compared what I was experiencing in the field to extant theory (Lofland *et al.*, 1995; Miles *et al.*, 2014). As incidents of incivility became increasingly apparent in the data, I coded for incivility referring to foundational incivility literature, including Andersson and Pearson's (1999) definition and description of incivility and the content of Cortina *et al.*'s (2001) scale items for workplace incivility. I focused on specific incidents of incivility rather than generalized perceptions of its occurrence. I tracked times when I felt, observed or myself exhibited disrespectful, rude or condescending behaviors toward other individuals in the surf lineup.

Results
I present the findings from this study in three levels. First, I explain generalized patterns of membership surf lineups. Next, I share detail of the interdependent social behaviors, evaluation processes and signaling processes that I observed. Finally, I share themes of the moderating effects of the external environment, awareness and relationships that influence these processes. In doing so, I develop the process model of dynamic member evaluation (Figure 1).

Generalized patterns of surf lineup dynamics
In my early days participating and observing social behavior in surf lineups, I learned that a part of surfing is evaluating the competence of everyone else out in the lineup, on an
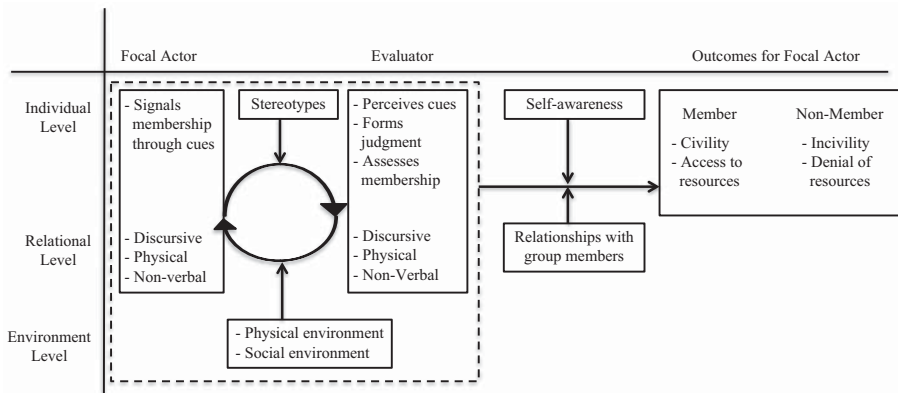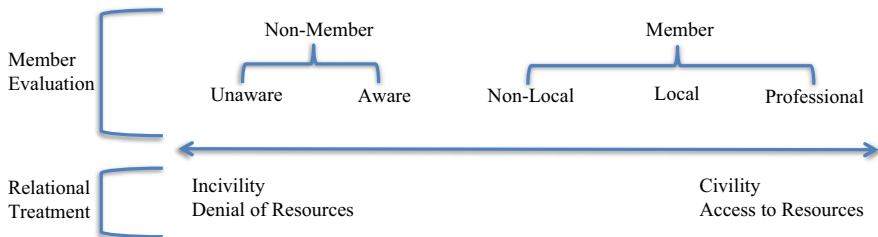
Figure 1.
Model of dynamic
member evaluation

ongoing basis. Though the fluctuating group of surfers in any given lineup may be assumed to be loosely organized, tight rules for membership are actually enacted as a consistent practice. These rules, known as the "etiquette," are typically known by experienced surfers, and unknown by novice surfers. Though mostly uncodified, some sources such as books by current or former professional surfers are on websites such as Surfline.com. However, as I experienced in this fieldwork, the vast majority of surfers learn not by reading, but through transactive knowledge sharing in surf-oriented areas, or through experience – for example, by getting it wrong and receiving direct or indirect negative feedback from another surfer.

A social hierarchy is continually evolving based on who is in the water, that is continuously being socially constructed based on surfer behaviors. This hierarchy may be summarized as, from most powerful to least powerful: professional (with surf industry sponsorship or the highest level of skill), local (one who is familiar in a local surf break), surfer (a member who does not fit in either of the previous more selective categories; someone who is competent at surfing), an aware non-member (someone who is not skilled at surfing but is aware of their limitations) and an unaware non-member (someone who is not skilled at surfing and is not aware of their limitations). Professionals and locals obtain the best and most consistent access to resources, based on social deference and based on being the most dominant, confident and skilled individuals in the group. Among a group of surfers in a lineup, there is sharing of waves, taking turns and abiding by typical etiquette. Someone deemed as a non-member is met with incivility: ignored, dropped in on and deprived of the main goal of the surfing experience. This spectrum of social categorization is displayed in Figure 2.

In this shifting organizational field, membership fluctuated. Membership is of course not affirmed with a card or badge, but is rather continuously being socially constructed in surf lineups. As a result, impending members are continuously accepted or rejected by surfers. The number of surfers in a lineup is often in flux. The social environment of a lineup with

Figure 2.
Member evaluation
categories

rotating or shifting members is loosely structured, somewhat shaped based on members' knowledge of the implicit etiquette. This leads to shifting temperaments within lineups. For example, if there is one loud, obnoxious, negative, aggressive surfer in the lineup who is making loud verbal assertions, starts fights or is verbally accosting or outlandishly judging others, then the character of the lineup shifts. The collective mood becomes negative or overly competitive. On the other hand, if surfers in the lineup are generally friendly, polite, respectful, knowledgeable, following the etiquette and where there are visible or audible positive relational behaviors (e.g. laughing, making jokes, whooping or cheering), then a lineup develops a positive or friendly temperament.

Interdependent social behaviors

I identified patterns of interdependent social behaviors, where in this seemingly loosely structured social setting there were actually frequent ways that surfers interacted with, depended upon, collaborated with or competed with each other. Throughout my participation, I analyzed what those behaviors meant to my experience in this setting. A summary of these behavioral categories and explanations of their meaning is listed in Table I, and their role in the model of dynamic member evaluation is portrayed on the left side of Figure 1. The three forms of interdependent behaviors are categorized as discursive, physical and non-verbal.

	Discursive	Non-verbal	Physical
What is evaluated			
Awareness of own competence	Verbally giving consent for someone else to take a wave; discussing novice experience level	Lifting head to let someone else go on a wave; pulling back; pointing	Sitting in appropriate spot (i.e. not on the peak of where the wave is breaking)
Physical competence	Discussing cross-training regimen, body types or injuries	Head tilts or nods during conversation about injuries or physical abilities	Demonstrating maneuverability when riding, sitting, paddling or duck diving under waves
Technical competence	Knowledge of equipment, upkeep, repair such as dings on surfboards; discussing equipment like fins, shape of boards	Lifting head to someone to indicate direction or intention	Correctly repairing a ding on a board, putting a leash on, sitting on a board, paddling technique
Nature awareness	Cheers at good empty waves, discussing wind and swell patterns	Gaze in appropriate direction, nodding at a big set, watching the water	Moving one's body in a way that is appropriate given wind, current, and swell patterns, paddle out in best location, timing of waves
Post-evaluation interpersonal behaviors			
Incivility	Mocking, calling off a wave, intentionally sharing misinformation, snarky or sarcastic comments of one's ability	Ignoring, faking or pretending to take a wave, disdainful facial expressions	Splashing water, snaking a wave, stealing a wave, dropping in on a wave, paddling away
Aggression	Verbally yelling, threatening, cursing	Angry or threatening facial expressions, flicking someone off with a middle finger	Fighting, hitting, striking person or equipment (car, surfboard)
Civility	Cheering, "whoop!," asking "How was it?" in the parking lot, sharing information, encouraging (Go! Go!)	Smiling, flashing a shaka sign, giving a wave, waving with hand, acknowledging a greeting	High five, playfully pulling on a leash, holding a board, sharing wax

Note: [a]Each of these examples are drawn directly from personal experiences experienced or observed in the autoethnographic data

First, there are discursive ways that I interacted with other individuals in this setting. This included projecting self-appraisals of own surfing ability (I got barreled); giving respect of complimenting someone else (nice one); verbally labeling someone (kook, barney, local, inlander, by geographical area code such as "no 909 s"), asking someone for information (how was it" "did you get any good ones?"); negative warnings (get out of my way!); giving advice or information ("The lefts are better" "It's walled out"); and chatting or gossiping (Kelly won the title again!). Second, there are physical ways that I interacted with individuals in lineups. This includes ways to use a body or equipment while interacting with each other surfers, such as paddling toward or away from someone, dropping in front of someone else already riding a wave, faking a movement, stealing a wave by paddling deeper than another surfer (snaking), blocking someone else from a wave, taking turns and out-paddling someone for a wave. Third, there are non-verbal forms of communication. This includes smiling or other emotional facial expressions, raising eyebrows, hand or arm waving or mouthing words. This form of communication can be important given that distance, noise or the use of earplugs can prevent verbal communication while in the water. A head nod is an important communication device used with particular frequency to indicate acknowledgment, awareness or consent. As an example from the data:

> I noticed how he and I acted with each other. We had all of southside [of the pier] to ourselves. We sat fairly close to each other, but not within talking distance. We met eyes and I smiled a couple of times. But we also looked 'past' each other as I looked south or he looked north. I was always north of him, and I am pretty sure that we each paddled to that side of each other because he was regular and I'm goofy [footed], so that we could split any peaks that came. So although we didn't talk or explicitly share any information, we did change where we sat and where we paddled out to based on each other, what information we garnered from each other, and so that we could both have a chance at getting any waves that came. Yet we didn't talk or chat or hang out; we were both just there to get waves, that was the focus. (Session 114)

The social system which supports the act of surfing is continuously enacted and recreated by surfer relational behaviors that constitute acts of civility, such as conversations, helping behaviors, or "whoots" and cheers when someone gets a good wave. These behaviors serve as resources that ultimately enable goal-oriented behaviors, such as paddling to get a wave. If deemed a member, one is met with civil and helping behaviors, which facilitate catching waves. Uncivil or aggressive behaviors (described in Table I), such as mocking, stealing a wave or sharing misinformation inhibit catching waves.

Given that the social environment was overwhelmingly male, I drew from my notes and recollections about how I experienced this setting as a woman. As one who is typically warm and socially outgoing, I was struck at how often I would withhold smiles in order to appear stronger, tougher, more resilient, or more confident. While friendly conversation would often occur, I managed how I engaged in such conversations, such that I was not being overly warm or friendly, to avoid being perceived as weak or easily taken advantage of. Research has evidenced how women often have to surmount minority status to gain opportunities in male-dominated environments. For example, Joshi (2014) found that in male-dominated settings, women tend to be evaluated as less competent, and are undervalued and discounted as a result. After frequently observing how being "nice" (such as letting someone else take a wave) would result in more established surfers taking advantages to secure more resources for themselves, I modified my own behavior accordingly. It took regulation on my part, as well as expenditure of my own personal resources, to behave in the somewhat non-natural way that was appropriate for the setting. This need was mitigated when there was a member present with whom I had a good relationship, which will be described ahead as a moderator in the model of dynamic member evaluation.

Signaling

As I interacted with other surfers in the water, I noted acts of signaling and evaluation, simultaneously and continuously occurring. As portrayed in Figure 1, this is how individuals engage in the dynamic member evaluation process at the stage of impending membership. Signaling occurs through various forms of demonstrating competence, including: behavioral (knowing how to paddle efficiently), social (norms for typical language and terminology), functional (wave riding performance) or technical (observable equipment). A series of signaling behaviors can indicate the extent to which one will be considered as a member. Importantly, these signaling behaviors can be recognized and actively managed, so as to increase chances for perceived membership.

Signaling behaviors intended to legitimize oneself as a member can be passively expressed or incidental, in addition to being actively managed. Upon first paddling out, I remained aware of how I paddled or spoke with other people out in the lineup, in order to manage their impressions of me as a legitimate surfer. While all individuals in a lineup arguably are engaging in some form of impression management, I experienced how, as a minority group member at the stage of impending membership, the stakes were higher for me to proactively and visibly demonstrate confidence and ability. Opportunity and access to resources were at stake if I made some error or did something that would lead others to exclude me as a non-surfer. This is demonstrated by the following examples from the data:

> I noticed that I was continuously classifying those around me. Could they surf? Do they charge? Do they back down? How are they paddling? Do they go after waves or just let them roll by? Do they know how to get out of peoples' way? All these indicators of legitimacy. When someone gives of a red flag of not knowing what they are doing, then they are surfer fodder. They will get dropped in on, snaked, and given dirty looks when they do something wrong. There was a time when a series of a few waves came in and I was paying particular attention to two guys on either side of me. Two times in a row they acted as if they were going for a wave, and I pulled back or didn't paddle in as a result of seeing their behavior, and then they pulled back. Frustrating. So I thought to myself, "I'm NOT going to pull back again on either one of them. I classified them in my head as "guys who don't go for waves." (Session 14)

> I took off and peeled right, went up the face, then saw another guy coming from the south going left, so I turned left, then went inside, I was still standing when I looked back and saw he dove into the whitewash. I kicked out. When I resurfaced, the guy immediately raised his hand to me, mouthed something (couldn't hear), and flashed a shaka. I smiled, and raised my hand back to him. (I wondered why he seemed apologetic; I mean, he didn't really do anything wrong, I was in his way as much as he was in mine? I was surprised and flattered, because if he thought that in any way I couldn't surf, then he wouldn't have reacted that way; he would have assumed from that situation that I was in his way). (Session 101)

Evaluation

Members currently surfing in a lineup and successfully catching waves evaluate others who enter the lineup, including any intentional or unintentional behavioral signals. With each pursuant perception and interaction, initial evaluations are molded so as to confirm or reframe initial evaluations. For example, when individuals in the lineup notice an unfamiliar individual getting a great wave and then subsequently using correct language and etiquette, their evaluation of that person will be updated. Evaluations are made quickly through initial first impressions and act as anchors. While initial evaluations are often based upon presupposed stereotypes (in this setting, such as gender, age, race, weight or body type), such evolving impressions can help expand stereotypes as well. For example, it may be assumed by members that a woman will not know how to surf or will be a weak paddler. Paddling constitutes the bulk of the physical endurance activity of surfing, and requires strong core and upper body strength and endurance. Thus, to many male surfers, it may take seeing a female

surfer paddling strongly and catching a few good waves to change that initial evaluation (as was my experience in the later stages of my fieldwork). Individuals draw on emerging social infrastructure to make sense of their immediate environment, to determine how they should respond and react. In such a dynamic setting, evaluations can be relatively stable, but they also change gradually as additional observations provide a member with more information – similar to what we know about the modifying of stereotypes (Cuddy *et al.*, 2007). Importantly, evaluations were shaped by initial perceptions of the person, and the extent to which they fit with stereotypes of a typical surfer (such as being male, fit, under 40 years old and Caucasian). Surfers attempting to gain access to a surf break who did not align with one or more demographic aspects of that stereotype may still gain membership when they exhibit all of the "right" behaviors, but they have a more challenging path to get there. One single transgression, such as failing to catch a wave or falling off clumsily while riding a wave, influences the evaluation process via a reinforced stereotype.

Evaluations are shaped by observations of what potential members do in the water. Arguably, what matters most is ability, and how that ability and skill level are signaled. Aligned with what Barton and Bunderson (2014) denote as "efficient but noisy schemas and heuristics," evaluation is based on signals that are interpreted quickly and with limited information. Evaluation in this setting is made of artifacts associated with an individual, such as gear or material equipment. These can include the type of surfboard, wetsuit, fins or leash, including the newness or brand of equipment. Behaviors are the strongest signal of membership, including how a surfboard is carried or sat upon, how one sits in the water, how one enters or exits the water, how one paddles and abiding to known "etiquette." Rules for behavior include pulling back from someone who is already positioned deeper on the wave, not cross-paddling in front of someone, not letting a board fly around or not dropping in on someone who is already riding a wave. While etiquette is expected of and given to members, it is socially permissible to not employ etiquette with a non-member, which in itself may constitute a form of incivility.

Reasons for evaluation. True to many social settings, the data suggested a mosaic-like nature of the motivations which drove interpersonal evaluations in this setting. One clear reason is safety, as it can be dangerous in the water when someone who does not know what they are doing. Members are wary of providing access to non-members due to the safety hazards, while paddling on and riding fiberglass and epoxy-shelled boards of hard foam with sharp noses and piercing fins. There are also more relational, personal and emotional drivers I felt and read through my field notes, including: anger, retaliation, dislike, spite, ego, superiority, pride, selfishness and greed. There was exclusion that I observed that was due to not liking someone, wanting to get back at someone who ruined a wave, or to teach someone a lesson as a means of power posturing in a lineup. There would be misinformation shared about how good waves are lining up at a particular spot just to keep others out of a lineup, and such misinformation would be directed particularly at those who were deemed as not real surfers (i.e. not members).

A potent reason for evaluation that emerged from the data is the effect of perceived membership on access to resources. Ongoing evaluations influence membership perceptions. These perceptions then shape relational behaviors, as I observed and experienced how individuals were treated differently depending on whether they were considered to be "real" surfers or not. The multiform dynamism of this setting – including shifting environmental conditions (e.g. swell size, wind, conditions, water and air temperature) and social conditions (e.g. perpetual flow of surfers in and out of the lineup, different people every time at surf spots) – both constrains and enables interdependent acts. As evidenced from the data:

> There was a 30-something guy sitting south of me. A good and big left came towards us both. We both paddled; he was deeper. I hadn't really seen him surf yet. I couldn't tell or decide if he could

surf or not; so I didn't know whether to pull back, or whether to try to still get the wave. So I paddled for it, but was staring right at him as I did so, watching his every move and flinch to estimate if he was going to get it or not. He paddled hard for it, and I pulled back, then he tried to take off and fell over, grunting. I hit my hand in the water, said (to myself mostly) awwww! I was bummed that I pulled back for him. I wondered in my head again if he could really surf or not; his paddling looked decent enough that he knew what he was doing, but the wave didn't seem that hard to catch and I'm not sure quite why he fell. (Session 104)

Moderating effect of external environment

Interestingly, the physical and social environments have ways by which they intersect and ultimately moderate member evaluation processes (as seen in the "Physical environment" and "Social environment" environment level moderators in Figure 1). On the one hand, when days are mellow, flat or have less intense or "heavy" waves, individuals tend to have more positive relational interactions. Surfers care less about getting waves when the waves are not as good, so there are fewer competitive relational behaviors. When conditions are more mellow, there is more forgiveness for transgressions from the etiquette and safety behaviors. When conditions are not mellow but instead "heavy," with better and larger waves that are more dangerous and difficult for surfers, more negative relational interactions were observed in lineups. In part, this is because there is more fierce competition for the scarce and increasingly precious resources. Higher quality waves (such as having great shape) engender more competition as well. There is also less tolerance for deviating from the etiquette under such conditions, as doing so makes it more dangerous given the environmental hazards. I analyzed this form of uncivil interpersonal feedback as motivated by the need to share such feedback to drive different behaviors that could facilitate a safe environment. In one set of notes from a surf session, I noted that it was a "Mushy day […] Some quiet talk/chatter but not much. Mood and conversation 'intensity' seemed to match the conditions" (Session 91). Another example from the data demonstrates this point:

> Once I got called off a wave (with a hoot); there had been another guy to my left who pulled back, so when I saw him pull back I started to go; but I didn't notice that there was another guy deeper than him. It made me think about how funny and primal the act of calling people off waves is. And it's not a bad thing; it's simply communicating; it's letting others know "hey, I already have this wave." But instead of those words, it's a hoot, a whistle, a "hey!", or something else short and communicative. (Session 93)

The limitation of desired resources leads to competitive and often uncivil behaviors. There is an implicit effort to keep the community small, and to keep lineups uncrowded, due to frequent overcrowding and scarcity of waves. This enhances competitive behaviors and places a premium on group membership, which can allow access to these desired resources.

Outcomes

Findings revealed how in-group members tended to be treated with favorable behaviors (as shown in Table I), while non-members tended to be treated with incivility. Just as the evaluations occur on an ongoing basis, so too are the outcomes experienced continually throughout a surf session. As portrayed on the right side of Figure 1, in dynamic groups with fluctuating membership, member evaluations will dictate such relational behaviors and access to resources. Based on these signals, expertise is interpreted, and this judgment drives ongoing relational behaviors, which then shape to constrain or enable pursuant access to resources. Valuable resources are transferred or withdrawn based on perceived membership, as members reap benefits while non-members are excluded. That is, they get more resources (more access to waves and information), they have more of a chance of attaining their goal of getting waves, and they are safer while doing so or incur fewer physical risks.

Incorrect evaluations can hinder attaining desired outcomes, such as when one assumes someone else is a member who can surf well and thus control their equipment, but then they let their board fly and it hits and injures another surfer. The acquiring of resources is enabled or constrained based upon successful evaluations. That is, if a surfer is able to successfully denote a proximate surfer in the lineup as a beginner who cannot surf, then they can legitimately take waves from him or her. They also know to get out of their way when a set of waves comes, as a beginner is more likely to let a board fly or engage in other unsafe behaviors. Accurate evaluations are more likely to lead to the acquisition of desired resources, whereas inaccurate evaluations can lead to resource waste or even physical harm.

I frequently noted and experienced disparity in treatment between those perceived as in-group vs out-group members. Clear portrayal of who is in and who is out, is enacted in surf lineups as readily as it can be viewed in the subculture's media. This is exemplified by an advertising campaign in the surf industry by the organizations Gotcha (in the 1980s) and Lost (in the 2000s). The left side of the ad stated "If you don't surf, don't start," adjacent to a picture of a man dressed unfavorably as silly or goofy, making some cheesy gesture. The right side of the ad would have a picture of a surfer surfing on a great wave or completing some advanced maneuver, with the statement "If you do surf, never stop." This ad clearly portrays in-group and out-group norms, identifying the separation between those who are considered surfers, vs those who are not included in the subculture. I observed such differential treatment in social behavior in every single session, except for three that had weather or social conditions that completely precluded social interaction. As an example, before paddling out, surfers will often ask questions of other surfers in a parking lot or on a beach, to find out information to help inform where or whether or not they paddle out. I noticed often how some people in the near vicinity are asked questions, while other people are ignored. A surfer will walk through the parking lot, and snub some people, while targeting others with questions "How was it?" or "Did you get any good ones?" I noticed this difference, as I myself would sometimes be asked such a question, and sometimes not.

Such determination of who is in and who is out influences how resources are accessed in a lineup out in the water. When I was perceived to be and accepted as a member, I felt part of the social system. There would be taking of turns, respectful engagement when I was deeper in a wave or already riding a wave, and I was acknowledged respectfully with head nods or conversation. I would have fair and access to waves, and even would have the opportunity to collaborate with others through the social system in obtaining those resources. As examples of this resource access from the data:

> I was getting closer to the north end where I paddle back in there were a couple of guys sitting just south of me; one of them paddled a bit deeper than me for a left; but I thought he was a wee bit too far back so I kept paddling; I had just started to stop paddling when he yelled "GO! GO! GO! GO!!" and I paddled two furious deep paddles and caught the wave at the VERY last second. I mean, I got so lucky. I went left and went for a couple of seconds before it started to close out and I dove over. When I paddled back out the older lady and the two guys were sitting there; all had beaming smiles, the guy said "yeah!!" I smiled, said thanks. (Session 95)

> On one of my rights, a 40 something guy was next to me, a set wave came, for some reason a couple of guys that could have didn't paddle for it, I started to paddle for it, and the guy next to me said to me "You're up!" I said "YEP!" and took it. I couldn't believe his encouragement! (Session 119)

Inclusion as a member provided positive interpersonal encouragement and civility, along with actual access to resources, such as the turn-taking in getting waves. I also noted how I felt motivated and encouraged to continue surfing, when I felt accepted and positively reinforced – indicative of a boost in my own psychological resources.

The times that I was not perceived to be a member, I felt excluded and marginalized. I would be dropped in on if I was about to paddle into a wave, I would be purposefully outpaddled if not in an optimal position, and I would be treated with disdain or ignored

when paddling past someone. The most important and valued resource (waves) would be denied to me or stolen from me when I was perceived as a non-member. Knowing my status, I learned over time to prevent such situations by pulling back or deferring to members (which will be addressed ahead in the moderator of self-awareness). Limited access to resources is evidenced by the following examples in the data:

> It was a head high nice left, and I blew it on takeoff. As I paddled back out I thought "Well, if anyone saw that, I sure won't get another wave handed to me like that." (Session 118)

> I notice how other guys let me have waves – I'm not sure if it's how I'm paddling, my presence/air of confidence, how I sit, how I look around/pay attention, if they've seen me there before, if they happened to see me take a good wave, or any combination of the above, but it happened a few times that guys would pull back in the early stages of paddling when I would visibly start paddling for a particular wave. And I do the same for certain other guys – if I notice that a guy really rips, if I see a lot of [sponsorship] decals on a board, or if a guy is older and I can just "tell" that he's been surfing forever, probably at that spot, and has "earned" his wave priority, I'll always pull back. In fact, I'll pull back with a smile and a nod of the head, to indicate to them "yeah […] that wave is all yours." It's almost a respect thing; that I estimate these indicators or legitimacy or expertise and based on those indicators, modify my own behaviors. For example, I did this today – there was an older 50 or 60 something guy that I know I've seen out there before. I saw him take a really good wave when I first got out. He is lithe, thin, quiet. Keeps to himself. We happened to be sitting by each other many times during the session. So I would always pull back if I saw him inch towards a wave. I reacted that way almost automatically. There were times that I paddled with intent towards a wave that came towards both of us if I didn't see him react/start paddling right away, so it is possible that I just beat him to the punch. But whenever I saw him act "with intent," I would pull back. Smile, cheer him on. (Session 94)

Reflecting back after considering how I evolved from an oft-excluded non-member to an included member at a particular lineup, I noted how I myself would treat others differently based on my evaluation of them. I too would engage in behaviors that resulted in others being excluded, as I had once been the recipient of. This cyclical nature of incivility has been characterized as a spiral (Andersson and Pearson, 1999), such that behavioral patterns are repeated during an individual's acculturation into a setting.

Moderating effects on outcomes: awareness and relationships
That just as Levine *et al.* (2005) found that signaling inclusivity can increase the likelihood of receiving help, I found evidence of signaling that increased the likelihood of perceived membership that translates into more civil and helping behaviors. An important form of signaling behaviors that I observed and experienced was self-awareness. Self-aware non-members are aware of the fact that they are not yet members, or authentic and competent surfers. This awareness causes them to engage in certain relational behaviors, including deferring or letting others take waves even if they have priority. Such awareness would often even prompt the decision of whether or not to paddle out, depending on how heavy the conditions are. An unaware non-member is actually dangerous. Their unawareness leads them to engage in behaviors such as surfing at breaks that are too advanced for them or surfing on equipment beyond their ability level. They do not know the etiquette, or the tacit rules for relational behavior in the water. Generally, they tend to disengage, not take off on waves, or miss catching waves they paddle for. They can engage in dangerous behaviors such as letting go of a surfboard with its pointed nose and sharp fins that can injure another surfer. Non-members who demonstrated awareness of their lack of membership were able to gain favorability or at least avoid the worst of the uncivil or aggressive behaviors.

A relational-level moderator of the association between evaluation and outcomes is the value and influence of personal relationships with other surfers out in a lineup. I often noted and experienced the benefit of having functional relationships with particular individuals,

as such relationships can enable access to resources in this setting. Having positive relationships with members can even supersede skill, as I experienced when I was called out to paddle out to sit in the lineup of a premiere point break by a personal acquaintance when I was a novice. This can happen in several ways. Members with whom you have positive relationships can give you insider information or advice. They can provide you entrée into situations that you otherwise would have been blocked from. Finally, there can be an association effect by being seen talking to them in the lineup. In dynamic groups with fluctuating membership, positive relationships influence the association between evaluations and outcomes, such that having positive relationships with other members will facilitate access to resources. Not having positive relationships can constrain access to resources. As evidenced in the data:

> I was REALLY happy that I know he (local surfer) saw me get quite a few decent waves – he is someone who is out surfing there quite a lot so it's good if he know you can surf. And if he's a fan of yours, then he is both cool and vocal in helping you out, giving waves, splitting waves, calling people off, etc. It's almost as if you always want a few key people to know that you are good – it increases your legitimacy with the right people who are already legitimate – and makes it more likely for you to be helped in the future. (Session 109)

Having inductively gleaned insights on how group members evaluate prospective members via continuous evaluation in the surf subculture setting, I summarize next how this process transpires. This process may be generalized to other organizational situations where there are temporary teams or loosely formed groups, where there is a dynamic or changing external environment, and where there is opportunity for social interactions through the course of achieving goals.

The process of dynamic member evaluation
Based on the above analysis, I develop the process of dynamic member evaluation, which builds on extant theory on group membership and discrimination to elucidate how current group members evaluate proximate others at the stage of impending membership in dynamic groups with fluctuating membership (Figure 1). First, an individual enters an environment with the intent of being included as a member. Current group members evaluate the individual's behaviors, actions and signals, which prompt their judgment and assessing of that individual's membership. Moderators which shape this evaluation process include the external physical environment, the external social environment and internal stereotypes held by individual evaluators. As a result, the individual is either included as a member or excluded as a non-member. This process happens quickly often through a first impression and is anchored. The outputs of this process are dependent on the evaluation outcome. If included as a member, the individual is met with civility and access to resources. If perceived to be a non-member, the individual is met with incivility (or in extreme cases, even aggression), and is denied access to resources. Such treatment is socially visible to others, such that the evaluation of membership incurs contagion effects on surrounding individuals. Finally, moderators of the process of dynamic member evaluation and its outcomes include an individual's self-awareness of membership status and relationships with current group members, such that both are positively associated with prospective membership.

Discussion
Dynamic member evaluation informs our understanding of novel forms of organizing, including groups with evolving members amidst changing environments. This study's findings and the resultant process model help explain how group membership is gained, and how this contrasts from when people are excluded as non-members. I focus next on three

ways that dynamic member evaluation contributes to scholarship: by providing a more nuanced understanding of incivility, explicating the intersection of gender with intergroup dynamics and incivility outcomes and positioning inclusion within evolving forms of organizational teams.

Preventing and understanding incivility
Understanding of dynamic member evaluation contributes to what we know about incivility, including how to prevent it and a more nuanced glimpse of its causes. The selective incivility I experienced and even enacted on others occurred as a result of interpretations of competence, based on interpreted signals that were often initial and influenced by stereotypes. Even though these interpretations may have been incorrect (such as estimating an individual's competence based on unsophisticated stereotypes), the interpretations still influence resultant behaviors. The findings presented here suggest two approaches for preventing incivility: from the perspective of the impending member and from that of existing members.

First, when at the brink of seeking group membership, more demonstrably signaling competence can help to enhance the chances of being perceived as a member and prevent selective incivility. As an example, incivility is witnessed when individuals act in discordance with presumed gender-based role stereotypes (Broverman *et al.*, 1972; Hilton and von Hippel, 1996). The process of dynamic member evaluation could be readily applied to particular time periods or stage in organizations that entail being an impending member, such as starting as a new hire or returning after a leave. Prospective members can actively shape their impression management and signaling. Working on those signals can lead to acceptance and increase access to initial resources. As I found evaluation of behaviors and artifacts to help potential new members signal expertise, organizational members would do this through storytelling, self-promoting with purpose, visibly demonstrating business acumen, showing expertise of a particular needed skill or knowledge area, sharing relevant information, using industry- or functional-appropriate tools or physical resources or employing effective technology. It may not be enough to just be competent, given how estimations of competence are often impacted by stereotypes. Applying the findings here would imply that the proactive act of signaling competence may help to reduce uncivil behaviors and foster inclusion.

Of course, the labor of preventing incivility should not rest on marginalized, stereotyped or excluded individuals alone. As a second point, existing and majority group members should be aware of the ways in which their evaluating of potential members can be influenced by their own stereotypes, and actively draw from that awareness in any decision making with regards to resources or behaviors toward impending members. Adding such knowledge to managerial development or diversity and inclusion training programs would help inform individuals how evaluation of others can influence treatment, and why this matters especially in evaluating those who are not of a majority group.

Interesting recent work by Foulk *et al.* (2018) explored how perceptions of psychological power between two people associates with perceived incivility. They defined psychological power as capturing one's perceptions of the ability to influence or control others, within a particular context. Drawing from Foulk *et al.*'s findings, the model of dynamic member evaluation developed here explains how members who are more skilled or have more expertise would likely have inflated expectations of how others should treat them, such as expecting others to be respectful, courteous or deferent. Their perceptions of incivility may be more "sensitive" compared to newer members, less skilled members or members who are lower in an informal social hierarchy (such as those who are further to the left in Figure 2). Given the male-dominated context of a surf lineup, these expectations may be even more inflated considering how men would treat women or the expectations that men have of how

women should treat them. As Foulk *et al.* found relationships between psychological power, perceived incivility, and abusive behavior in a majority-male sample, the current study suggests that the gender dynamics play a role in how these associations transpire as well. This likely influences dynamic member evaluation, and serves as an interesting area for future research.

Given what we know about the negative physical and psychological effects of incivility, a spiraling effect can occur when uncivil interactions lead to negative emotions that instigate further uncivil acts. As I experienced and observed in the physically draining and competitive environment, there may be more spiraling that occurs based on one's lack of ability to regulate when drained of personal resources. When one is treated with incivility and personal resources are devoted to managing that negative experience, one then has fewer personal resources available to self-regulate during the evaluation process. I argue that this is particularly important in situations that are physically taxing, such as the athletic nature of this study's setting and in jobs that entail physical work. After experiencing uncivil behaviors, one likely has fewer personal resources to engage in regulation, which may make reliance on stereotypes more prominent in member evaluation. This may also lead to a target of incivility becoming a perpetrator of incivility, as being treated negatively restricts capabilities to effectively regulate and evaluate in a sophisticated way. I experienced this during the fieldwork as I myself would behave in uncivil ways to others through the justification of "acting as if," fitting in to the setting, and preventing safety concerns. Hershcovis and Reich (2013) theorized how recipients of aggressive acts become aggressors toward others. The spirals of incivility during the evaluation process at the stage of impending membership and the extent to which uncivil treatment is "paid forward" when recipients become perpetrators are both areas ripe for future research.

The findings presented here intimate how interpersonal treatment is associated with gender stereotypes of behaviors in this male-dominated setting. I did not find much warmth in a typical lineup of surfers, as surf lineups constitute a context characterized by stereotypically masculine behaviors, emotions and communication styles. While I experienced civility once I was included as a member, that civility was more transactional and functional, such as information sharing or maybe an occasional laugh, joke or cheering others on. The socially acceptable and rewarded behaviors in any competitive surf lineup did not include being warm or positively expressive with others. In fact, in this gendered context, I rarely observed behaviors or emotional expressions stereotypically characterized as feminine, such as kindness, caring or warmth. As a woman, I noticed how the gendered context determined the appropriateness of member behavior, such that I knew if I was too friendly, kind or warm that I may be more likely to be excluded, not taken as a serious surfer (and thus denied access to good waves) and subject to incivility. Thus, I conformed to the expectations and norms of the male-dominated setting as a means of fitting in – acting as strong, tough and confident as I could, to enhance my chances of inclusion. McCord *et al.*'s (2018) meta-analysis identified that women perceive more sex-based mistreatment, including incivility at work, as compared to men. I observed and experienced how subjection to uncivil treatment differed for men (in the majority group) as compared to women (in the minority group). This evidence supports Cortina's (2008) theoretical development of selective incivility, suggesting that the extent to which the environment or group norms are dominant of a particular gender may shape incivility processes. That is, how incivility manifests and successful approaches to preventing or handling incivility may look differently in male-dominated environments as compared to female-dominated environments. These implications add novel insights to the theory-building of selective incivility and are promising directions to test in future research.

A more provocative implication of these findings has to do with potential causes and plausible reasons for incivility. While evidence exists regarding causes such as stereotypes and competition, this study offers an additional nuance to this explanation: preventing harm

or risk to the uncivil individual. In this setting, surfers often acted in uncivil ways due to safety concerns. So while not kind or courteous, such actions may be warranted in a quick, instinctive reaction to a dangerous situation. Yelling a warning could be perceived as rude, but serves as an effective way of transmitting quick drawing attention to information. Feedback can be a gift in the form of information that can be used to shape ongoing behavior and decisions (DeNisi and Smith, 2014). Incivility may have positive effects when it results in individuals receiving feedback to help shape pursuant behaviors. Marchiondo *et al.* (2018) identified target attribution and appraisal as key in explaining possible counterintuitive positive outcomes of incivility, such that attributions of a perpetrator's non-malicious intent and challenge appraisals (i.e. viewing the incident as an opportunity to learn or grow) link to satisfaction and thriving. According to the data presented here, surf lineups are arguably safer because inexperienced individuals are excluded and kept out of lineups that are too advanced for their ability level. Some individuals were pulled out of or called off of waves that would have been dangerously risky for them, had they been encouraged rather than affronted. There could be different approaches to providing such feedback in a way that is civil rather than uncivil, but would such approaches elicit the requisite attention and immediacy of response? When is incivility purely harmful, as compared to when it is harmful yet also helpful and warranted? Future research on incivility can unpack these assumptions about cause, so as to understand uncivil behaviors that may be ultimately helpful, even if they are perceived as (and may objectively be) insulting or unkind.

Gender in dynamic member evaluation
The experiences captured in my autoethnographic notes and the tracked recollections raise the question of the role of gender in dynamic member evaluation. Even despite having all of the signals, behaviors, relationships and skills indicative of membership, I still occasionally faced discrimination and acts of incivility. I knew that if I performed poorly on one wave or in some way gave a wrong impression, that I would be relegated to "kook" status, excluded and treated differently as a result. Research on gender evaluations in predominantly male group settings suggests that female team members are often perceived as less qualified than male team members (Ibarra, 1992; Joshi, 2014). Men may assume that women who seek membership are less qualified and capable, such that gender is likely associated with how dynamic member evaluation proceeds. These findings align with how gender stereotyping associates with member evaluation based on perceived experience level.

Integrating the evidence from this study with extant theory on the intersection of gender with intergroup relations and evaluation (or expertise recognition), women at the stage of impending membership of a male dominant group likely experience a higher bar for evaluation. That is, women are tasked with more work to do as compared to men in establishing legitimacy. Perceived value, perceived competence and perceived fit with membership are tinged by gender role expectations and gender-based stereotypes. The findings also align with what we know about women who break beyond traditional gender roles (such as by being a female surfer to begin with) or those who demonstrate atypical abilities (Joshi, 2014) (such as being a strong paddler): that they tend to be penalized even more strongly by members. That is, there are different categorization and evaluation processes for high-status as compared to low-status groups. There is also the safety aspect mentioned in the previous section, which can elicit varied forms of sexism given how some men feel the need to protect women (such as in the form of benevolent sexism; Glick and Fiske, 2001). This is important for majority group members to bear in mind when faced with impending new members, to maintain awareness of this tendency as a first step toward mitigating the influence of stereotype-based bias.

An autoethnographic lens gave voice to a source of mistreatment, which adds a diversity lens to member evaluation processes. Here, given the focus on evaluations that are likely

biased based on the demographic characteristics of gender, this serves as another example of a modern form of discriminating. That is, no one in the water said "I'm going to drop in on you because you're a woman!" but I refer to specific statements and recollections of mine which occurred that allude to decisions being made based on such quick evaluations occurring. Disdainful comments and glances were more readily bestowed upon me, and other women, as compared to men. As acknowledged by Cortina *et al.* (2013), the ambiguity inherent in uncivil behaviors can make them more palatable and socially acceptable. Being condescending, providing misleading information, stealing a wave or mocking someone's paddling style are all behaviors that could be attributed to any surfer out there, but tend to be attributed more to those who are perceived as non-members – which just so often happened to be those who do not fall within the category of the typical surfer (such as a woman). This research is novel in how we apply the concept of this modern form of discrimination developed by Cortina *et al.* (2013) and others to an evolving, dynamic social context.

Future research could continue to unpack the ways that gender and incivility intersect in several ways. There are likely opportunities for applying other theories to help explain such social processes. As examples, impression management processes are likely associated with the signaling behaviors observed as a means of attaining group membership (Leary and Kowalski, 1990). Status and power, already identified as playing a consequential role in shaping incivility and inclusion processes (Foulk *et al.*, 2018; Hershcovis *et al.*, 2017), have theory bases that could help further understanding of the power dynamics that shape these processes in dynamic situations. Perceptions of one's social identity may shape how both signaling and evaluation stages of dynamic member evaluation, as well as the ways that relational identity and identification can influence the development of relationships that can help engender group acceptance (Sluss and Ashforth, 2007).

Team membership and inclusion

I draw from this setting's version of ongoing member evaluation to explore how dynamic member evaluation can manifest in a more common organizational situation (as an example, see Quinn and Worline, 2008). This may be relevant to organizational environments that have temporary teams, workgroups with evolving membership or environments that are either highly masculine or highly feminine. Dynamic member evaluation helps to explain how the results of these evaluations shape pursuant interdependent behavior and the moderators of this process. As an illustrative comparison, a common collectivity that involves membership is a team. While earlier organizational scholarship on groups and teams focused primarily on stable teams, it has been more recently recognized that more emergent types of collectivities with fluctuating members may be increasingly prevalent in real organizations (Dibble and Gibson, 2013). Thus, these findings add to our understanding of how members of fluctuating teams (e.g. temporary, short-term assignment or unstable teams) evaluate each other's skills, knowledge and abilities in these dynamic situations. This may be particularly helpful for organizations and industries that incur frequent change, have short-term team lifespans, have workgroups with rotating members or who have safety issues which rely on effective interdependent coordination (Dibble and Gibson, 2013; Quinn and Worline, 2008). It may help for such teams to receive guidance on the likelihood for signaling and evaluation processes to be expected as new members enter a setting, for the bias that can influence these impactful interpersonal decisions, and for the expectation that outcomes such as civility and access to resources can result from evaluations. For new members who are entering in as a minority group member (such as a woman entering a highly masculine team environment), the moderators that affect the evaluation processes can be actively managed. These include being aware of initial level of competence at the individual level and actively building positive work relationships with group members at the relational level. As alternate forms of interdependence are

increasingly apparent in organizations, dynamic member evaluation sheds light on how these alternate forms of collectivities that are not teams *per se*, but are nevertheless interdependently operating.

As this setting is more of a non-traditional form of organizing, there is a need for further empirical testing of the process of dynamic member evaluation in a more common setting. Future research could further explore the perspectives of varying stakeholders of such teams, such as prospective members, clients or customers, contractors or suppliers, external leaders or higher management or former members, to further understand how the process of dynamic membership evaluation unfolds. Organizations would clearly benefit from having effective, nimble, sustainable and flexible team processes, including onboarding and quick ramping-up of new members in a way that is inclusive and fair. Team formation is complicated or slowed due to dynamic member evaluation being influenced by undue bias or inaccurate stereotypes, which can lead to erroneous evaluation choices and unwanted consequences on that team's functioning toward desired goals. Dynamic member evaluation as developed in this paper is a start to help unpack the complicated and fast-paced processes of organizing in modern and dynamic teams.

Conclusion

The study of inclusion and exclusion from groups, particularly in environments with scarce resources facing a changing environment, is increasingly important to maintain relevance to what real organizational members experience in practice. Understanding the process of dynamic member evaluation informs the research question of how members of an evolving group evaluate and ultimately choose to include or exclude impending members. The identification of incivility and denied access to resources helps to inform the second research question on the consequences of this dynamic form of group member evaluation and raises the stakes for further understanding of these processes. Such scholarship is important and helpful for individuals who are on a group's fringe, for minority group members who aspire to join work with a majority group or for new members who are demographically different from extant group members. The process of dynamic member evaluation is just as important for those in the majority group or for current group members to be aware of, so as to consciously counteract evaluation processes that marginalize or unfairly assess potential group members. With such understanding, member evaluation processes may be increasingly efficient and beneficial for all involved, even in the most dynamic of environments.

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