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Believing in ‘us’: Exploring leaders’ capacity to enhance team confidence and performance  
by building a sense of shared social identity

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26 **Abstract**

27 The present study examined the impact of athlete leaders' perceived confidence on their  
28 teammates' confidence and performance. Male basketball players ( $N = 102$ ) participated in  
29 groups of four. To manipulate leaders' team confidence, the appointed athlete leader of each  
30 newly formed basketball team (a confederate) expressed either high or low team confidence.  
31 The results revealed an effect of team confidence contagion such that team members had  
32 greater team confidence when the leader expressed high (rather than low) confidence in the  
33 team's success. Second, the present study sought to explain the mechanisms through which  
34 this contagion occurs. In line with the social identity approach to leadership, structural  
35 equation modeling demonstrated that this effect was partially mediated by team members'  
36 increased team identification. Third, findings indicated that when leaders expressed high team  
37 confidence, team members' performance increased during the test, but when leaders  
38 expressed low confidence, team members' performance decreased. Athlete leaders thus have  
39 the capacity to shape team members' confidence—and hence their performance—in both  
40 positive and negative ways. In particular, by showing that they believe in 'our team', leaders  
41 are able not only to make 'us' a psychological reality, but also to transform 'us' into an  
42 effective operational unit.

43 *Keywords:* athlete leaders, collective efficacy, team identification, social identity  
44 approach, coaching, sport psychology

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47 Leaders in fields ranging from sports, politics, to business, acknowledge that, in order  
48 to succeed, they have to strengthen team members’ confidence in the capabilities of their  
49 team. For example, the importance of team confidence was highlighted by the successful  
50 American college football coach, Joe Paterno, when he observed: “When a team outgrows  
51 individual performance and learns team confidence, excellence becomes a reality” (Benson,  
52 2008, p. 199). Yet, the question remains as to *how* leaders inspire such confidence among  
53 team members. Is confidence a bug that followers catch from the leader? In other words, is  
54 the confidence of leaders contagious such that team members will mimic the level of  
55 confidence that the leader displays? Or, can this process instead be explained by the ways in  
56 which leaders’ activities serve to strengthen team members’ attachment to, and belief in, the  
57 *team*? These are the questions that the present paper addresses.

58 Prior research has paid attention to the ways in which leaders’ mood has an impact on  
59 the mood of followers (Avey, Avolio, & Luthans, 2011; Bono & Ilies, 2006; Johnson, 2009;  
60 Sy, Cote, & Saavedra, 2005). This transfer of mood can be seen as a form of contagion, which  
61 has been defined as the tendency to automatically mimic and synchronize expressions,  
62 vocalizations, postures, and movements with those of another person and, consequently, to  
63 converge emotionally (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994, p. 5). Furthermore, research  
64 attention has been devoted to examining the impact of leaders’ self-confidence on followers’  
65 performance (De Cremer & van Knippenberg, 2004; De Cremer & Wubben, 2010). However,  
66 little research has examined the role of leaders’ expression of confidence in the *team* as a  
67 whole and, more specifically, whether (and how) this expressed leader confidence can  
68 influence followers’ shared belief in the team’s future success. In addition, little research

69 attention has been devoted to studying the impact of leaders' expression of team confidence  
70 on members' actual performance.

### 71 **Leaders' Confidence as Means of Enhancing Perceived Effectiveness**

72 Theory and research on positive psychological capital and transformational leadership  
73 suggest that a critical component of leaders' effectiveness derives from their positive  
74 psychological capital—that is, their “positive appraisal and belief in the situation, and  
75 available and/or potential psychological resources that can be used to attain success”  
76 (Norman, Avolio, & Luthans, 2010, p. 351). Along these lines, it has been argued that  
77 leaders' success in galvanizing followers' energies is dependent on the degree to which they  
78 possess and express positivity in the form of hope, resilience, efficacy, and optimism (e.g., see  
79 Avolio & Gardner, 2005; Youssef & Luthans, 2007). For instance, Bono and Ilies (2006)  
80 found that leaders' positive emotional expressions determined followers' perceptions of  
81 leaders' effectiveness (see also Walter & Bruch, 2009). In addition, leaders' displays of  
82 positivity have also been found to enhance team members' trust in leaders (Norman et al.,  
83 2010).

84 These insights from previous research pertain primarily to leaders' impact on team  
85 members' evaluations of leaders' effectiveness. However, leaders' impact on team members'  
86 own confidence and their capacity to perform has been largely ignored. To address these  
87 issues in more detail and to examine whether and how a leader's confidence in the *team* can  
88 impact followers, we now turn to an approach that places the meaning of the group for  
89 followers at the center of its analysis: the social identity approach to leadership.

### 90 **Leaders' Confidence in the Team as a Means of Strengthening a Sense of 'Us'**

91 The social identity approach is a psychological meta-theory that encompasses the  
92 principles and assumptions articulated within social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979)  
93 and self-categorization theory (Haslam, 2004; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell,

94 1987). This approach asserts that people’s sense of self can be defined in terms of both their  
95 personal identity (i.e., their sense of themselves as unique individuals) and their social identity  
96 (i.e., their sense of themselves as group members who share goals, values, and interests with  
97 others). In other words, the psychology and behavior of team members is shaped not only by  
98 their capacity to think, feel, and behave as individuals (as ‘I’ and ‘me’), but also—and often  
99 more importantly— by their sense of themselves as group members (as ‘we’ and ‘us’;  
100 Haslam, 2004; Postmes & Branscombe, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987).

101 In its more recent application to leadership, it has been argued that leaders are able to  
102 exert influence on team members (i.e., making them want to contribute to the achievement of  
103 shared goals) to the extent that they manage—that is create, embody, advance, and embed—a  
104 collective sense of ‘us’ (Ellemers, De Gilder, & Haslam, 2004; Haslam, Reicher, & Platow,  
105 2011; Hogg, 2001; Reicher, Haslam, & Hopkins, 2005; Steffens, Haslam, & Reicher, 2014;  
106 Steffens, Haslam, Reicher, et al., 2014; Turner & Haslam, 2001; van Knippenberg & Hogg,  
107 2003). In this way, the social identity approach points to particular social psychological  
108 mechanisms through which the leader’s confidence transfers to that of other team members.  
109 More specifically, leaders’ confidence should transfer to followers not through a mystical  
110 process of contagion (Reicher, 1987), but rather by means of group processes that strengthen  
111 team members’ collective sense of ‘us’, as manifested by their increased social identification  
112 with the team (i.e., the extent to which the group is valued and self-involving; Haslam, 2004).  
113 We therefore expect that leaders’ expressed confidence in the collective should be capable of  
114 shaping team members’ confidence in ways that lead those team members to identify with,  
115 and internalize, a shared group membership.

#### 116 **Leaders’ Confidence in the Team as a Means of Strengthening a Sense of “Yes, we can!”**

117 Previous literature has demonstrated that the more confident team members are in  
118 their team’s abilities, the more challenging goals they set, the more effort they exert, the

119 longer they persist when facing adversity, and ultimately, the better they perform (Greenlees,  
120 Graydon, & Maynard, 1999; Silver & Bufanio, 1996; Stajkovic, Lee, & Nyberg, 2009).  
121 Bandura (1997, p. 477) termed this confidence ‘collective efficacy’ and defined it as “the  
122 group’s shared belief in its conjoint capability to organize and execute the courses of action  
123 required to produce given levels of attainment.”

124 Collins and Parker (2010) identified two kinds of collective efficacy; ‘team process  
125 efficacy’ and ‘team outcome efficacy’. Team process efficacy pertains to the team’s  
126 confidence in their ability to work collectively, whereas team outcome efficacy refers to the  
127 team’s belief in achieving the team goals. In the domain of sport, this outcome-oriented  
128 confidence in winning or performing better than one’s opponent has also been termed  
129 ‘competitive efficacy’ or ‘comparative efficacy’ (Myers & Feltz, 2007). However, because  
130 this outcome-oriented measure is not congruent with the process-oriented nature of collective  
131 efficacy as defined by Bandura (1997), this measure has recently been labeled ‘team outcome  
132 confidence’ (Fransen, Kleinert, Dithurbide, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2014). We will adopt this  
133 recent conceptualization in the current research and therefore distinguish between the process-  
134 oriented ‘collective efficacy’ and the outcome-oriented ‘team outcome confidence’.

135 Leaders’ expressed team confidence may not only influence team members’ social  
136 identification with the team, but also strengthens team members’ confidence in their ability to  
137 successfully perform the team-oriented behaviors that are needed to achieve collective  
138 success. More specifically, a leader’s expressed confidence is likely to enhance team  
139 members’ confidence in the team’s abilities to communicate effectively with each other, cheer  
140 each other up following failure, and react enthusiastically following successful activities (i.e.,  
141 enhance process-oriented collective efficacy; Fransen, Kleinert, et al., 2014). Consistent with  
142 these ideas, previous research suggests that the more team members perceive athlete leaders  
143 to be of high quality (such that they act as a task leader, a motivational leader, a social leader,

144 and an external leader), the more confident they are about being able to achieve the team's  
145 goals (i.e., having high team outcome confidence; Fransen, Coffee, et al., 2014). This process  
146 was found to be mediated by members' process-oriented collective efficacy. In other words,  
147 perceptions of higher athlete leadership quality are linked to a team's belief that it can be  
148 successful, through a strong belief in the processes within the team. Building on and  
149 extending this research, we suggest that leaders' team confidence will feed into team  
150 members' collective efficacy and their team outcome confidence to the extent that leaders'  
151 behavior enhances members' identification with the team.

### 152 **Leaders' Confidence in the Team as a Means of Enhancing Team Members'**

#### 153 **Performance**

154 Increased confidence of team members in their potential to succeed as a team is likely  
155 to increase those members' internalization of the group's goals as well as their motivation to  
156 exert effort on behalf of the team, thereby ultimately enhancing their performance (Haslam,  
157 Powell, & Turner, 2000). Several studies have confirmed these predictions by demonstrating  
158 that the higher team members' confidence in the team and the stronger their identification  
159 with the team, the better they perform (Fransen, Decroos, et al., 2014; Solansky, 2011;  
160 Stajkovic et al., 2009). Based on the above reasoning, we expect that, by expressing team  
161 confidence, a leader will have a positive impact on team members' identification with the  
162 team and their team confidence, and that this in turn will enhance team members'  
163 performance.

164 In this regard, the Pygmalion and the Golem effect (i.e., two special cases of self-  
165 fulfilling prophecies) might further contribute to the impact of the leader's confidence on  
166 team members' performance. The Pygmalion effect refers to a phenomenon whereby the more  
167 that is expected from people, the better they perform. The opposite effect is termed the Golem  
168 effect, where low expectations lead to reduced performance. Although meta-analyses within

169 both educational and organizational settings provide support for Pygmalion and Golem effects  
170 (e.g., see Kierein & Gold, 2000), results in sport settings are more ambiguous. Moreover, the  
171 nature of the psychological mechanisms that underlie these various outcomes is poorly  
172 understood (Rejeski, Darracott, & Hutslar, 1979; Siekanska, Blecharz, & Wojtowicz, 2013;  
173 Solomon, Golden, Ciapponi, & Martin, 1998). In particular, this is because it seems that  
174 inflated expectations of performance potential can create stress for an athlete, and, as a result,  
175 have a *negative* impact on actual performance outcomes. Nevertheless, to date, research on  
176 the Pygmalion and Golem effects in sport settings is limited and has focused only on the  
177 impact of a coach. As a result it is also unclear whether Pygmalion and Golem effects also  
178 hold for athlete leaders when they try to shape the performance of those they lead. In other  
179 words, is it the case that team members live up to the expectations set by their athlete leaders  
180 by performing better (or worse) when their athlete leaders express high (or low) team  
181 confidence?

## 182 **The Present Research**

183 Consistent with the ideas outlined above, the present study tests the core proposition  
184 that leaders are capable of transferring their own confidence to other team members and that  
185 this increased confidence translates into improved performance. Rather than assuming that  
186 expressions of confidence by the leader will automatically affect followers (as was suggested  
187 by the more classical theories on contagion; for a critique, see Reicher, 1987), the present  
188 research also aims to shed light on the underlying mechanisms of so-called contagion effects  
189 by looking at the role of potentially relevant social psychological processes—in particular,  
190 members' social identification with the team. More specifically, the study tests the following  
191 hypotheses:

192 H1: Perceptions of team leader's confidence in the team will transfer to members'  
193 confidence in the team's ability to succeed. In this way, when the leader is perceived



194 to express high (rather than low) team confidence, members will feel more confident  
195 about their team's success themselves (H1a), and will perceive other members to be  
196 more confident too (H1b).

197 H2: The team leader will have a stronger impact on team members' confidence than  
198 other team members (in both positive and negative directions).

199 H3: The effect predicted under H1a (i.e., confidence contagion) will be mediated by team  
200 identification and collective efficacy. That is, when the leader is perceived to express  
201 high (rather than low) confidence in the team, this will increase members'  
202 identification with the team, which in turn will enhance those members' team  
203 confidence (H3a). Furthermore, when the leader is perceived to express high (rather  
204 than low) confidence in the team, this will enhance members' confidence in the  
205 processes within a team (i.e., collective efficacy) which in turn will make team  
206 members more confident in their team's ability to succeed (H3b).

207 H4: Team leader's perceived confidence in the team will affect team members'  
208 performance over time such that performance will increase when the leader is  
209 perceived to express high confidence in the team's ability to succeed. In contrast,  
210 team members' performance is expected to decrease when the leader is perceived to  
211 express low team confidence.

## 212 **Method**

### 213 **Procedure**

214 We contacted the presidents of 47 Flemish basketball clubs, inviting their players to  
215 participate in our experiment. Seven clubs agreed to participate. Informed consent was  
216 obtained from all participants. A reward (basketball shirts signed by elite players) was offered  
217 to the team that ended up winning the shooting contest. All participants were guaranteed full

218 confidentiality. After the experiment, participants were informed about the aim of the  
219 experiment and the outcome of the shooting contest.

## 220 **Participants**

221 Participants were 104 Flemish basketball players, on average 14.6 years old ( $SD = 1.3$ )  
222 with 6.3 years of experience as a basketball player ( $SD = 2.7$ ). Two players were excluded  
223 from analysis because their intellectual disabilities hindered an adequate understanding of the  
224 questionnaire (i.e., they did not understand the purpose of the questions despite further  
225 explanations by the experimenter). Twenty-six participants played at a national level in their  
226 club, the remaining players played at a provincial level. Participants were divided into 26  
227 groups of four. In order to rule out prior familiarity between participants, each group  
228 consisted of players from different club teams in the included age range (12 – 17 years old).

## 229 **Experimental Design**

230 Each experimental session lasted about 40 minutes and took place on one half of a  
231 basketball court. Each team of four players was complemented by a confederate (hereafter  
232 termed ‘team leader’), introduced as captain of the team, and unknown to the other players.  
233 Two confederates of the same age and with similar basketball skills functioned alternately as  
234 team leader, randomly appointed to a team, but in such a way that both confederates  
235 participated equally in the two test conditions. The results of the present study were similar  
236 for both confederates. To enhance the external validity of these newly-assembled teams, we  
237 facilitated team identification by giving all players identical basketball shirts. Furthermore,  
238 the team participated in a short quiz about technical and tactical basketball knowledge, in  
239 which they had to generate answers through team discussion.

240 The cover story was that each team was participating in a national free-throw shooting  
241 contest. As a team, participants had to aim for the highest team score (i.e., a sum of the  
242 individual scores). A pilot study revealed that this cover story was very convincing, and, as a

243 consequence, made the participants eager to obtain a high team score and to win the  
244 competition against the other participating teams. Both the warm-up and the test condition  
245 followed the same procedure: each player took two free throws after each other, followed by  
246 the next player, until all players had taken 10 free throws. To control for possible influence of  
247 the performance of the team leader, our confederates had to score 5 out of 10 free throws  
248 during the test session, both in the high- and in the low-confidence test condition. Because  
249 both confederates were very skilled basketball players, whose scoring ability considerably  
250 exceeded 50%, they were able to manage the number of scored shots (by deliberately missing  
251 free throws if needed).

252         In order to ensure that participants perceived the confederate as leader of their team,  
253 we introduced him as team captain. Furthermore, based on suggestions of previous literature  
254 (Glenn & Horn, 1993; Price & Weiss, 2011), our confederate was on average six years older  
255 than the other team members and had greater basketball experience and competence. Because  
256 our confederate knew the correct answers to the quiz questions, he was able to affirm his  
257 leader status even further.

258         Furthermore, we manipulated the level of team confidence expressed by the team  
259 leader. More specifically, during the test session, the team leader clearly expressed high team  
260 confidence in half of the teams ( $n = 13$ ; randomly selected) and low team confidence in the  
261 other half. To determine the behaviors and actions that indicate high team confidence, we  
262 relied on the sources of team confidence identified by Fransen et al. (2012). To standardize  
263 this manipulation, we developed a detailed script with all the actions (and their frequency)  
264 that the team leader had to perform. For instance, the script for the high-confidence condition  
265 prescribed that the team leader encouraged his teammates, communicated his confidence in  
266 outplaying the opponent, reacted enthusiastically when his team scored, and displayed  
267 confident body language. The prescribed behavior and communications were outlined by

268 standardized phrases, such as “Great play team! If we keep playing like this, we will easily  
269 outscore the other team!”

270 In the other half of the teams ( $n = 13$ ), the team leader clearly expressed low team  
271 confidence. Here again a detailed script was elaborated based on established sources of low  
272 confidence (Fransen et al., 2012). In these teams, the team leader was, among other things,  
273 recommended to react angrily and in a frustrated manner when teammates missed a free  
274 throw, to make demoralizing comments, and to display discouraged body language. This  
275 expression of low confidence was underlined by standardized phrases such as “This situation  
276 is really getting desperate. If we keep playing like this, we will never win this contest. Do we  
277 really have to keep on playing?”

## 278 **Measures**

279 A two-page questionnaire was completed after the warm-up session and after the test  
280 session. The following measures were included.

### 281 **Manipulation check**

282 *Perceived leader status.* The effect of instilling the team leader’s status as ‘leader of  
283 the team’ was assessed by means of the item “To what extent do you perceive each of your  
284 teammates to be a leader of your team?” Participants answered this item before the start of the  
285 test session for each of their teammates on a scale from -3 (*not at all*) to 3 (*completely*). The  
286 team leader’s score was compared with the leader status of the other players in order to obtain  
287 a manipulation check for the perceived leader status of the appointed team leader.

288 *Perceived leader’s team confidence.* To check whether the difference in the team  
289 leaders’ expressed team confidence (high versus low) was detected by the other players,  
290 participants responded to the item “To what extent does each of your teammates believe that  
291 your team will win the free throw competition?” Participants answered this question after the

292 warm-up and after the test session for each of their teammates on a scale from -3 (*not at all*)  
293 to 3 (*completely*).

294 **Relative impact of the leader on team confidence contagion.** To examine the  
295 influence of the leader on the confidence of his teammates relative to the influence of the  
296 other players, participants responded after the test to the item “To what extent did the  
297 behavior of each of your teammates affect your confidence that your team will lose/win the  
298 free throw contest?” on a scale ranging from -3 (*his behavior made me strongly confident of*  
299 *losing*) to 3 (*his behavior made me strongly confident of winning*).

300 **Process-oriented collective efficacy.** Process-oriented collective efficacy was  
301 measured after the test using the five-item Observational Collective Efficacy Scale for Sports  
302 (OCESS; Fransen, Kleinert, et al., 2014). Previous research stresses that, even though  
303 collective efficacy is defined as a shared belief, it still reflects individuals’ perceptions of  
304 team capabilities, and therefore should be measured by asking athletes to assess their own  
305 confidence in the team’s capabilities (Myers & Feltz, 2007). In line with these  
306 recommendations, all items in the OCESS focus on the individuals’ confidence in the team’s  
307 abilities. A sample item is “Rate your confidence, in terms of the upcoming contest, that your  
308 team has the ability to encourage each other during the contest”. Participants responded to the  
309 items on 7-point scales anchored by 1 (*not at all confident*) and 7 (*extremely confident*).  
310 Confirmatory factor analysis confirmed the psychometric structure of this 5-item scale ( $\chi^2 =$   
311  $4.20$ ;  $df = 3$ ;  $p = .24$ ;  $CFI = 1.00$ ;  $TLI = .99$ ;  $RMSEA = .063$ ;  $pclose = .34$ ). The internal  
312 consistency of this scale was excellent ( $\alpha = .93$ ).

313 **Team outcome confidence.** In accordance with previous literature (Fransen, Kleinert,  
314 et al., 2014) outcome-oriented team confidence was measured after the test by the item “Our  
315 team believes that we are going to win this free throw contest”, scored on a scale anchored by  
316 -3 (*strongly disagree*) and 3 (*strongly agree*).

317           **Team identification.** Based on previous research (Boen, Vanbeselaere, Brebels,  
318 Huybens, & Millet, 2007; Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995) team identification was  
319 measured using three items; “I feel very connected with this team”, “Being a member of the  
320 team is very important for me”, and “I am very happy that I belong to this team”. Participants  
321 responded to these items after the test on a 7-point scale anchored by -3 (*strongly disagree*)  
322 and 3 (*strongly agree*). As in previous research, these items formed a highly reliable scale ( $\alpha$   
323 = .95). In addition, confirmatory factor analysis confirmed the structure of the present scale  
324 ( $\chi^2 < .001$ ;  $df = 0$ ;  $p < .001$ ;  $CFI = 1.00$ ;  $TLI = 1$ ;  $RMSEA < .001$ ;  $pclose = 1.00$ ).

325           **Performance.** An objective measure of team performance was used by registering the  
326 number of free throws scored by every player. This resulted in a score between 0 and 10 for  
327 both the warm-up and the test session.

### 328 **Data Analysis**

329           We used the Shapiro-Wilk Test (Razali & Wah, 2011) to assess whether the  
330 distribution of our data deviated significantly from the normal distribution. Because the data  
331 were not normally distributed, the Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test was used as a non-parametric  
332 alternative to the Dependent *t*-test, the Mann-Whitney U-Test was used as a non-parametric  
333 alternative to the Independent *t*-test, and the Aligned Friedman Rank Test was used as a non-  
334 parametric alternative to a Repeated Measures ANOVA.

335           Furthermore, because the individual players are nested within teams, a multilevel  
336 approach would provide the optimal framework for data analysis. However, the rule of thumb  
337 proposed by Hox (2002) and Kreft (1996) suggests that multilevel analyses should only be  
338 performed when there are at least 30 groups and 30 persons in each group (or 100 groups and  
339 10 persons in each group). In the present case, the small number of players within each team  
340 ( $n = 4$ ) thus made it inappropriate to perform multilevel analyses.

341

**Results****342 Manipulation Check**

343 **Perceived leader status.** On average, the appointed team leader was clearly perceived  
344 to be the player who had the highest leader status in the team ( $M = 2.11$ ;  $SD = .72$ ). With the  
345 appointed team leader excluded, the average leader status of the best leader in the team was  
346 1.69 ( $SD = .62$ ). A Shapiro-Wilk Test (Razali & Wah, 2011) revealed that the distribution of  
347 the leader status of both the team leader and the other players deviated significantly from the  
348 normal distribution ( $p < .001$ ). Therefore, the non-parametric Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test  
349 was used and confirmed that the team leader was perceived to have significantly greater  
350 leader status than all other players ( $p < .001$ ).

351 **Perceived leader's team confidence.** Table 1 provides details of the extent to which  
352 players perceived each of their teammates (including the team leader) to believe that their  
353 team was going to win the competition (i.e., expressing team outcome confidence). The  
354 Shapiro-Wilk Test indicated that the distribution of these variables deviated significantly from  
355 the normal distribution ( $p < .01$ ). The Mann-Whitney U-Test revealed no significant  
356 difference between the perceived team confidence expressed by the leader during the warm-  
357 up in both test conditions ( $p = .09$ ), indicating a successful standardization of leader behavior  
358 across the test conditions. Furthermore, the Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test revealed that, in the  
359 high-confidence condition, the team leader was perceived to express significantly more team  
360 confidence than other players ( $p < .001$ ). In the low-confidence condition, the players  
361 perceived their team leader to express significantly less team confidence than their teammates  
362 ( $p = .001$ ). Moreover, when we compared the team confidence expressed by the team leader  
363 during the test with the leader's expressed confidence during the warm-up, the Wilcoxon  
364 Signed Rank Test revealed a significant increase in the high-confidence test condition ( $p <$   
365  $.001$ ) and a significant decrease in the low-confidence test condition ( $p < .001$ ). These

366 findings confirm that the manipulation of the expressed confidence of the team leader (high  
367 versus low) was successful.

### 368 **Team Leader's Perceived Influence on Team Members' Confidence**

369 Table 1 displays players' own team outcome confidence as well as their perceptions of  
370 teammates' team outcome confidence for the warm-up and both test conditions. The  
371 distribution of the data for both constructs deviated significantly from the normal distribution  
372 ( $p < .01$ ), as indicated by a Shapiro-Wilk Test. The contagion of leaders' expressed  
373 confidence to team members' confidence manifested itself in two ways.

374 First, a Mann-Whitney U-Test revealed a significant difference ( $p < .001$ ) regarding  
375 members' perceptions of their own team confidence (thereby confirming H1a). When the  
376 leader was perceived to express high confidence, players were more confident in the team's  
377 success ( $M = 1.14$ ) than when the leader was perceived to express low confidence ( $M = -.39$ ).  
378 To obtain greater insight into the difference between the positive and negative condition, we  
379 compared players' team confidence after the test session with their confidence after the warm-  
380 up (i.e., when the leader had acted in a neutral fashion). For this purpose, we used the Aligned  
381 Friedman Rank Test as a non-parametric alternative to a Repeated Measures ANOVA,  
382 following the procedure recommended by Beasley and Zumbo (2003). Time was used as  
383 within-subjects repeated measure (warm-up versus test session) and the perceived confidence  
384 expressed by the appointed team leader (high versus low) served as a between-subjects  
385 variable. The results revealed a significant interaction effect ( $F(1,100) = 35.14; p < .001$ ),  
386 which is presented graphically in Figure 1. Furthermore, one-tailed Wilcoxon Signed Rank  
387 Tests revealed that the simple effects for both positive and negative test conditions were  
388 significant. More specifically, when the leader expressed high team confidence, team  
389 members' team confidence significantly increased relative to the warm-up ( $p < .05$ ). In



390 contrast, when the leader expressed low team confidence, team members' team confidence  
391 significantly decreased over time ( $p < .001$ ).

392         Second, a significant difference ( $p < .01$ ) emerged regarding members' perceptions of  
393 their teammates' team confidence (thereby supporting H1b). When the leader was perceived  
394 to express high confidence, players perceived their teammates (with exception of the leader)  
395 to be more confident in the team's success ( $M = .99$ ) than when the leader was perceived to  
396 express low confidence ( $M = .17$ ). To compare the perceived team confidence of the  
397 teammates after the test session with their perceived team confidence after the warm-up, we  
398 performed an Aligned Friedman Rank Test. Here, as with participants' own confidence in the  
399 team (discussed above), there was a significant interaction effect for the perceived team  
400 confidence of other team members ( $F(1,100) = 26.34$ ;  $p < .001$ ). One-tailed Wilcoxon Signed  
401 Rank Tests again provided insight into the simple effects here. For the positive test condition,  
402 the perceived team confidence of teammates was higher after the test session than after the  
403 warm-up, but this difference was not significant ( $p = .13$ ). For the negative test condition the  
404 perceived team confidence of the teammates after the test session was significantly lower than  
405 after the warm-up ( $p < .001$ ). In conclusion, when the leader was perceived to express high  
406 team confidence, participants felt more confident about their team's success (H1a). Moreover,  
407 when the leader indicated that he had lost all confidence in his team, participants not only felt  
408 less confident about their team's success themselves (H1a), but also perceived their fellow  
409 team members to be less confident (H1b).

#### 410 **Relative Impact of the Leader on Team Confidence Contagion**

411         To explore these dynamics further, we compared the perceived impact of the leader on  
412 players' team confidence with the perceived impact of the other players. The Shapiro-Wilk  
413 Test indicated that the distribution of the perceived impact of the leader deviated significantly  
414 from the normal distribution ( $p < .001$ ). The Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test revealed that, if the

415 leader was perceived to express high confidence, players perceived the impact of the leader  
416 ( $M = 1.55$ ;  $SD = 1.05$ ) to be significantly more positive ( $p < .001$ ) than the impact of the other  
417 players ( $M = .95$ ;  $SD = 1.18$ ). In contrast, if the leader was perceived to express low  
418 confidence, his impact ( $M = -.75$ ;  $SD = 1.74$ ) was perceived to be significantly more negative  
419 ( $p < .001$ ) than the impact of the other players ( $M = .18$ ;  $SD = 1.36$ ). The team leader was thus  
420 perceived to have a greater impact on members' team confidence than other team members,  
421 both in positive and negative directions, thereby confirming H2.

### 422 **Mediating Role of Team Identification and Collective Efficacy**

423 The mediation model posited under H3, including the hypothesized mediating effects  
424 of both team identification (H3a) and collective efficacy (H3b), was tested by performing a  
425 Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) using STATA. To test the mediation effects in this  
426 model, we followed Holmbeck's (1997) Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) approach. SEM  
427 is the preferred method for testing mediation effects as a result of the information it provides  
428 concerning the degree of 'fit' for the entire model after controlling for measurement error.  
429 Table 2 includes the descriptive statistics and correlations between all variables included in  
430 the hypothesized model.

431 First, as outlined in the Introduction, we explored whether team identification  
432 mediated the relationship between the perceived confidence of the team leader and players'  
433 collective efficacy (H3a). The first pre-condition for a mediation model (a significant  
434 relationship between predictor and outcome variable) was fulfilled by the significant path  
435 between the leader's perceived team confidence and players' collective efficacy ( $\beta = .72$ ;  $p <$   
436  $.001$ ). Furthermore, the paths between team identification as proposed mediator and both the  
437 leader's perceived team confidence and players' collective efficacy were significant in the  
438 predicted directions ( $p < .001$ ), thereby fulfilling the second and third pre-conditions. The  
439 final step in assessing whether there is a mediation effect involved assessing the fit of the

440 model under two conditions: (a) when the path between the leader's perceived team  
441 confidence and players' collective efficacy was constrained to zero, and (b) when the given  
442 path was not constrained. A chi-square difference test between the unconstrained and the  
443 constrained model indicated a significant difference between the two models ( $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 25.36$ ;  
444  $p < .001$ ), suggesting that the constrained model was improved by adding the direct path  
445 between the leader's perceived team confidence and players' collective efficacy. These results  
446 support H3a in indicating that the relationship between the perceived team confidence  
447 expressed by the team leader and players' collective efficacy is partially mediated by team  
448 identification.

449         Second, we explored whether players' collective efficacy mediated the relationship  
450 between the leader's perceived team confidence and players' confidence in winning the  
451 contest (i.e., their team outcome confidence), as proposed under H3b. All direct paths  
452 between the included variables were significant ( $p < .001$ ), fulfilling the three pre-conditions  
453 for mediation as suggested by Holmbeck (1997). In the third step, the chi-square difference  
454 test between the unconstrained and the constrained model revealed a significant difference  
455 between the two models ( $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 14.87$ ;  $p < .001$ ), thereby providing support for the  
456 unconstrained model. These findings support Hypothesis 3b in showing that collective  
457 efficacy partially mediates the relationship between the leader's perceived team confidence  
458 and players' team outcome confidence. Similar analyses showed that collective efficacy fully  
459 mediated the relationship between players' team identification and their confidence in  
460 winning. Based on the results of the different analyses, the final model, as shown in Figure 2,  
461 provided good fit to the data ( $\chi^2 = 1.90$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p = .17$ ;  $CFI = 1.00$ ;  $TLI = .98$ ;  $RMSEA = .09$ ;  
462  $pclose = .22$ ). The standardized regression path coefficients and the proportions explained  
463 variance are included in Figure 2.

464 Besides the reported direct effects, further analyses revealed that the leader's  
465 perceived team confidence had a significant indirect effect (*IE*) on players' collective efficacy  
466 (*IE* = .32;  $p < .001$ ) and on players' team outcome confidence (*IE* = .34;  $p < .001$ ). In  
467 addition, the indirect effect of players' team identification on their team outcome confidence  
468 was also significant (*IE* = .24;  $p < .001$ ). The total effects are represented in Table 3.

#### 469 **The Impact of Perceived Leader's Confidence on Players' Performance**

470 Players' performance was measured objectively as the number of scored free throws  
471 out of 10 attempts. The Shapiro-Wilk Test indicated that the distribution of the performance  
472 both during the warm-up and during the test session deviated significantly from the normal  
473 distribution ( $p < .05$ ). Accordingly, analyses involved non-parametric tests. Here a Mann-  
474 Whitney U-Test indicated that players' performance during the warm-up did not differ  
475 significantly ( $p = .72$ ) between the two test conditions (high-confidence condition:  $M = 4.14$ ,  
476  $SD = 2.20$ ; low-confidence condition:  $M = 4.24$ ,  $SD = 1.87$ ), indicating a successful  
477 randomization of the participants across the test conditions. During the test session, players  
478 with a high-confidence leader performed better ( $M = 4.86$ ;  $SD = 2.17$ ) than players with a  
479 low-confidence leader ( $M = 4.47$ ;  $SD = 1.91$ ), but a Mann-Whitney U-Test revealed that this  
480 difference was not significant ( $p = .32$ ).

481 Because the leader behaved neutrally during the warm-up, the impact of the leader's  
482 perceived confidence on performance was expected to manifest itself only gradually over the  
483 course of the test session. To test this hypothesis, we conducted an Aligned Friedman Rank  
484 Test on the test session as non-parametric alternative to a Repeated Measures ANOVA,  
485 thereby following the procedure recommended by Beasley and Zumbo (2003). Time was used  
486 as a within-subjects repeated measure (first five versus last five free throws) and the perceived  
487 confidence as expressed by the appointed team leader (high versus low) as a between-subjects  
488 variable. Results revealed a significant interaction effect ( $F(1,100) = 7.77$ ;  $p = .006$ ), which is

489 presented graphically in Figure 3. In addition, one-tailed Wilcoxon Signed Rank Tests  
490 revealed that the simple effects within the positive and negative test conditions were both  
491 significant (both  $p < .05$ ). Thus, when the leader was perceived to express high team  
492 confidence, team members' performance increased significantly over the course of the test  
493 session. In contrast, when the leader was perceived to express low team confidence, team  
494 members' performance decreased significantly over time. These findings support H4 in  
495 showing that team members' performance varied as a function of the perceived leader's team  
496 confidence.

### 497 **Discussion**

498 The present experiment examined the impact that the confidence a leader was  
499 perceived to have in their team had on followers' responses in a basketball shoot-out contest.  
500 More specifically, it tested the core hypotheses that team members' perceptions of leaders'  
501 confidence in their team would affect both the confidence team members have in their ability  
502 to succeed (H1) and those team members' task performance (H4). Findings indicated that the  
503 level of perceived team confidence expressed by the team leader transferred to the confidence  
504 of team members such that team members were more confident in the team's prospects of  
505 winning when the leader was perceived to express high (rather than low) team confidence,  
506 thereby confirming H1. The team leader's perceived confidence had a greater impact on  
507 members' team confidence than the perceived confidence of other team members, both in  
508 positive and negative directions, thereby confirming H2. Moreover, our findings indicate that  
509 these effects were mediated by team identification (H3a) and collective efficacy (H3b)  
510 suggesting that team members adapted to the perceived confidence standards set by the leader  
511 to the extent that they (a) identified more strongly with the team (H3a; Haslam, 2004; Van  
512 Dick, 2001), and in turn, (b) experienced more process-oriented collective efficacy (H3b;  
513 Fransen, Coffee, et al., 2014). Finally, there was also evidence that, in addition to the impact

514 upon team members' psychological states (social identification, collective efficacy, and team  
515 outcome confidence), the leader's persistent expressions of team confidence also contributed  
516 to team members' capacity to perform (in both positive and negative ways), thereby  
517 confirming H4.

518         When critically evaluating these results, it should be noted that the present experiment  
519 did not contain a control group. As a result, it is unclear what the effect would be of having no  
520 leader or of having a leader who acts in a neutral fashion (i.e., with no clear expression of  
521 positive or negative team confidence). Without this neutral condition, we cannot conclude  
522 with certainty that the significant improvement in performance in the positive test condition  
523 was caused by the team confidence expressed by the team leader or by a learning effect.  
524 However, it should be noted that such a learning effect would imply that the negative impact  
525 of the leader on team members' performance is underestimated in the present study. For this  
526 reason, it seems appropriate to underscore the conclusion that a leader who expresses low  
527 confidence not only has a negative impact on team members' team confidence, but also brings  
528 about a decline in their performance.

### 529 **Theoretical and Practical Implications**

530         The present findings have a number of important implications. First, they extend prior  
531 research on leader confidence by demonstrating its significant impact on relevant outcomes.  
532 More specifically, findings indicate that leaders can inspire followers by expressing  
533 confidence in the team that they are leading. Moreover, whereas prior research has focused  
534 largely on the impact of leader's self-confidence on team members' reactions towards them  
535 (e.g., in terms of perceived effectiveness; Hoffman, Woehr, Maldagen-Youngjohn, & Lyons,  
536 2011), the present research revealed that, to the extent that leaders display belief in the  
537 capacities of the collective, and are perceived to do so by team members, they inspire  
538 confidence among members that they can make a difference as a team. At the same time,

539 though, the findings also point to leaders' capacity to have a negative effect on members'  
540 team confidence and performance to the extent that they are perceived to express low  
541 confidence in the team's abilities.

542         Second, and related to the previous point, the present research also contributes to  
543 research into leaders' emotional influence on followers. In particular, previous research has  
544 shown that leaders are capable of inducing 'contagion' such that their expressions and  
545 feelings have a significant impact on those of fellow team members—for example, because  
546 leaders' positive mood 'spills over' to the positive mood of followers (Avey et al., 2011;  
547 Bono & Ilies, 2006; Johnson, 2009). In this regard, a qualitative case study with a female  
548 curling team revealed that the team leader played an important role in the team by regulating  
549 the emotions of her teammates (Tamminen & Crocker, 2013). Furthermore, this leader was  
550 shown to engage in a high degree of emotional self-regulation (e.g., masking her own  
551 negative emotions) because she was aware of the contagious impact of her own expressed  
552 emotions on the emotions of her teammates. Likewise, in organizational settings, Wagstaff,  
553 Fletcher, and Hanton (2012b) highlighted the key role of leaders in a study showing that the  
554 new CEO of a sport organization was the catalyst for the spread of pride and passion for  
555 success throughout the organization.

556         Furthermore, evidence from a variety of domains (e.g., organizational, political) shows  
557 that team members' emotions are affected not only by the leader, but also by fellow team  
558 members (Kelly & Barsade, 2001; Moll, Jordet, & Pepping, 2010; Totterdell, 2000; Uphill,  
559 Groom, & Jones, 2012). For example, semi-structured interviews with members of sport  
560 organizations (players, coaches, and directors) demonstrated that individuals attempted to  
561 manage others' emotions through the deliberate expression or suppression of their own  
562 emotions (Wagstaff, Fletcher, & Hanton, 2012a). In addition, individuals who were better

563 able to manage their own emotions and the emotions of others were shown to develop and  
564 maintain more successful interpersonal relations (Wagstaff et al., 2012b).

565         Our findings thus confirm the suggestion by Tamminen et al. (2013) that the failure of  
566 team members to appropriately regulate emotions within a team can have negative  
567 consequences for performance outcomes. However, the present research extends this work in  
568 at least three ways. First, our findings provide quantitative evidence not only of positive  
569 confidence contagion but also of the potential for a negative confidence spiral, whereby  
570 leaders' expression of low confidence reduces the team confidence of other members. Second,  
571 the present findings shed light on the *processes* that explain how leaders' emotional  
572 expressions do (or do not) affect followers. Specifically, our findings show that leaders'  
573 perceived confidence spreads to the confidence experienced by their team members partly  
574 because confident leaders encourage team members to internalize a sense of shared social  
575 identity (a sense of 'us') and consequently to strengthen their confidence that they will be able  
576 to work more effectively as a unit. This also implies that when leaders are seen to give up on  
577 their team, team members may be adversely affected by leaders' lack of confidence because  
578 they distance themselves not only from the leader but also from other fellow team members,  
579 resulting in a weaker performance. Third, the results support the suggestion that beyond  
580 singular one-to-one relationships in which emotional expressions by the leader affect parallel  
581 expressions by team members (as encapsulated in the notion of 'contagion'), leader's  
582 behavior also has broader implications for team members' relationship with their team.  
583 Indeed, providing a more comprehensive view than the notion of 'contagion' would suggest,  
584 the present research indicates that team members' perceptions of leaders' team confidence not  
585 only determine team members' own team confidence (through their capacity to enhance team  
586 identification and collective efficacy) but also their performance.



587           It should be noted however, that this performance advantage was not apparent from  
588 the moment that the leader started to inspire confidence in team members but instead emerged  
589 steadily over time. In this sense, the findings are consistent with dynamic accounts of leader–  
590 follower influence processes, which point to the unfolding impact of leader expressions on  
591 team members’ affective tone and perceived effectiveness (Sy, Choi, & Johnson, 2013). In the  
592 present study, this meant that it was only in the final phase of the task that the leaders’ belief  
593 in ‘us’ was observed to impact the performance of team members.

594           The present findings can also be interpreted as examples of two special cases of the  
595 self-fulfilling prophecy — namely, a Pygmalion effect and a Golem effect. When the team  
596 leader was perceived as highly confident in the abilities of the team to win the game, team  
597 members lived up to the leader’s expectation and gradually performed better during the course  
598 of the test session, consistent with the Pygmalion effect. Nevertheless, it should be noted that  
599 because our experimental design did not include a control condition we cannot be certain that  
600 the observed improvement in performance was caused by the behavior of the leader (i.e.,  
601 consistent with the Pygmalion effect) rather than by a learning effect. At the same time, the  
602 negative leader condition provides very clear evidence of the Golem effect. When the team  
603 leader was seen to be convinced that the team would lose the game, team members gradually  
604 acted in the expected way and their performance decreased. Moreover, this pattern can be  
605 understood to have been even stronger to the extent it was potentially counteracted by a  
606 learning effect.

607           Overall then our findings accord with previous evidence of these self-fulfilling  
608 prophecy effects in educational and organizational settings (for a review see Kierein & Gold,  
609 2000). Significantly, though, unlike most previous literature, in the present experiment we  
610 observed such effects at the team level—with results flowing from the fact that the leader  
611 expressed high versus low confidence *in the team*, rather than in a specific individual. And

612 although these effects provide a useful descriptive framework for our results, it is also worth  
613 noting that by pointing to the role that team identification plays in this process, the present  
614 study advances beyond previous work which has hitherto shed little light on the psychological  
615 mechanisms that underpin Pygmalion and Golem effects. In particular, it helps us to  
616 understand why—when leaders fail to build team identification—such prophecies sometimes  
617 do not come to pass.

### 618 **Limitations and Future Research**

619         The present study provides experimental evidence of the impact of leaders' expressed  
620 team confidence as perceived by their fellow team members. Nevertheless, the study also has  
621 a number of limitations. Most obviously, our experiment involved a design that includes a  
622 highly structured task. Although the experiment was dynamic in relying not merely on one-  
623 time performance measurements but instead tracked performance over time, it would be  
624 interesting (although logistically challenging) to examine the present relationships in more  
625 dynamic performance contexts. Similarly, it would be worthwhile examining these  
626 phenomena in natural groups in different contexts (e.g., different sport disciplines, different  
627 kinds of competitions) with varying degrees of skill levels and task interdependence (Van der  
628 Vegt & Janssen, 2003). Indeed, when members have to interact and rely on each other to  
629 successfully complete their given task, we expect that the persistent demonstration of leaders'  
630 team confidence might have even more pronounced effects.

631         As noted earlier, the present experiment did not contain a control group. Adding a  
632 neutral condition to the experiment constitutes a fruitful avenue for further research for two  
633 reasons. First, this would help clarifying whether the observed increase in performance from  
634 warm-up to test session arose from the behavior of the team leader or instead resulted from a  
635 learning effect. Second, this neutral condition could provide insight into whether the strength

636 of the leader's influence, on both team members' team confidence and their performance,  
637 differs as a function of its direction (positive versus negative).

638         Moreover, as noted above, because individual players are nested within 26 teams of  
639 four players each, a multilevel approach would provide the optimal framework for analyzing  
640 our data. However, the small number of players within one team ( $n = 4$ ) made it impossible to  
641 account for the possible interdependence within this nested data structure. Future research  
642 may therefore benefit from using larger teams to shed further light on the processes examined  
643 here.

644         Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the onset of the strong manipulation of leaders'  
645 expressed team confidence from the warm-up to the test session was fairly abrupt. This may  
646 have initially led team members to resist any novel influence attempts by the team leader and  
647 may partly explain why team members' perceptions of the leader's expression of team  
648 confidence showed a time-sensitive and 'lagged' effect on performance (such that they had  
649 greater impact in the final phase of the experiment). Future research might employ  
650 experiments with more subtle and gradual changes in leaders' expressions of team confidence  
651 in order to allow for a more fine-grained understanding of their unfolding impact.

## 652 **Conclusion**

653         The present research expanded upon prior research by pointing to the impact that  
654 leaders' perceived expressions of team confidence have on team members' experience of  
655 team confidence and also on their ability to perform as a team. At the same time, we also  
656 extended upon prior work by suggesting that contagion phenomena are not mysterious and  
657 free-floating but can be explained in terms of relevant team processes. More specifically, our  
658 findings show that perceptions of leaders' team confidence transferred to the confidence of  
659 team members to the extent that leaders strengthened members' psychological connection to  
660 the team and fostered their belief in efficacious team behaviors. Finally, the present findings

661 demonstrate that by displaying disbelief in the team's ability to succeed, a leader can also  
662 undermine team members' capacity to perform on behalf of the team. Indeed, as alluded to at  
663 the beginning of this paper, it appears that the capacity to imbue team members with team  
664 confidence is a critical component of leaders' ability to create a winning team. More  
665 particularly, by showing that they believe in us, leaders are able not only to make 'us' a  
666 psychological reality but also to transform 'us' into an effective operational unit. It is by such  
667 means, we suggest, that teams of champions become champion teams.

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848 Table 1

849 *Perceived team confidence of both team leader and other players, as well as own team*850 *outcome confidence in the warm-up and both high- and low-confidence test conditions. The*851 *standard deviations are presented between parentheses.*

	Perceived team confidence of the...		Own team outcome
	Team leader	Other players	confidence
High-confidence test condition			
After warm-up	1.18 (1.21)	0.92 (1.25)	0.82 (1.52)
After test (high confident leader)	1.78 (1.38)	0.99 (1.43)	1.14 (1.44)
Low-confidence test condition			
After warm-up	1.52 (1.34)	1.01 (1.43)	1.14 (1.31)
After test (low confident leader)	-0.63 (1.82)	0.17 (1.61)	-0.39 (1.78)

852 *Note.* The perceived team confidence was rated on a scale from -3 to 3.

853 Table 2

854 *Means, standard deviations, and correlations between all variables included in the*  
855 *hypothesized model.*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4
1. Perceived team confidence of the team leader	.58	2.01	1	.63**	.72**	.68**
2. Team identification	1.29	1.35		1	.76**	.63**
3. Process-oriented collective efficacy	1.06	1.41			1	.72**
4. Outcome-oriented team confidence	.37	1.79				1

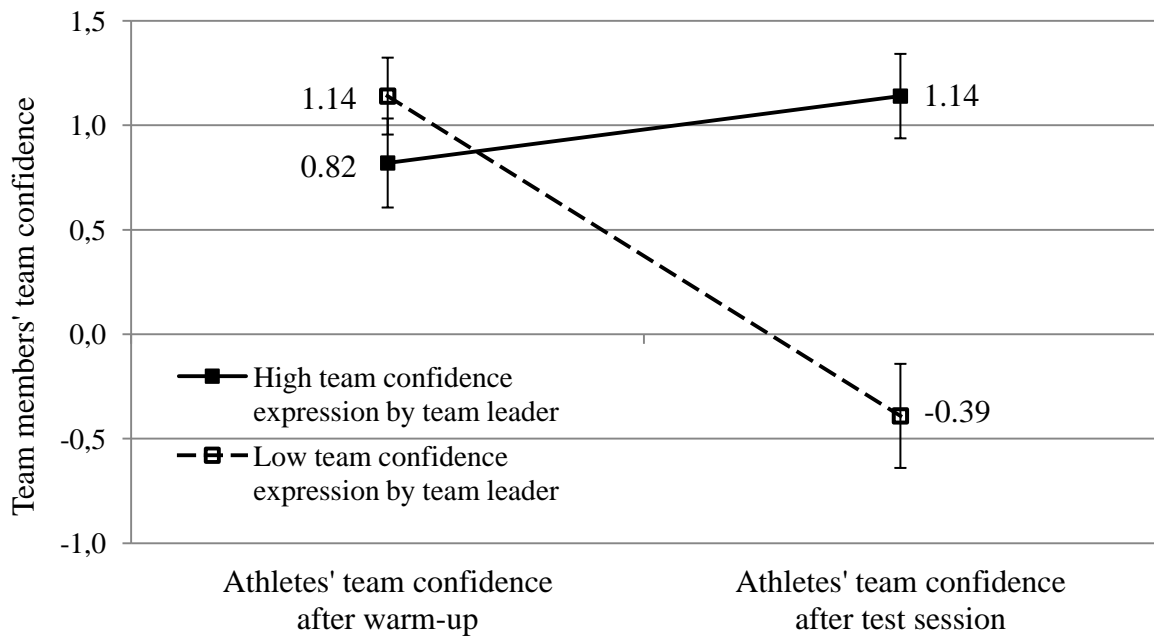
856 Note. \*\*  $p < .01$

857 Table 3

858 *Total effects (TE), standard deviations (SD), and confidence intervals (CI) for all paths in the*  
 859 *postulated model between predictors (in rows) and outcomes (in columns).*

	Team identification			Collective efficacy			Team outcome confidence		
	<i>TE</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>CI</i>	<i>TE</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>CI</i>	<i>TE</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>CI</i>
Perceived team confidence of the team leader	.63	.08	[.48; .78]	.72	.07	[.58; .85]	.68	.07	[.54; .83]
Team identification				.50	.07	[.36; .65]	.24	.04	[.17; .31]
Collective efficacy							.48	.09	[.30; .66]

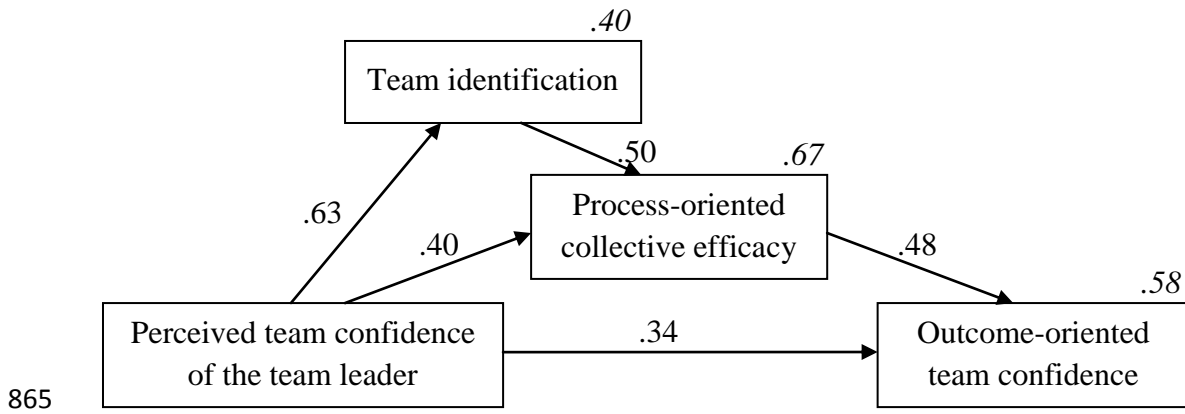
860 *Note.* All total effects were significant at the .001 level.



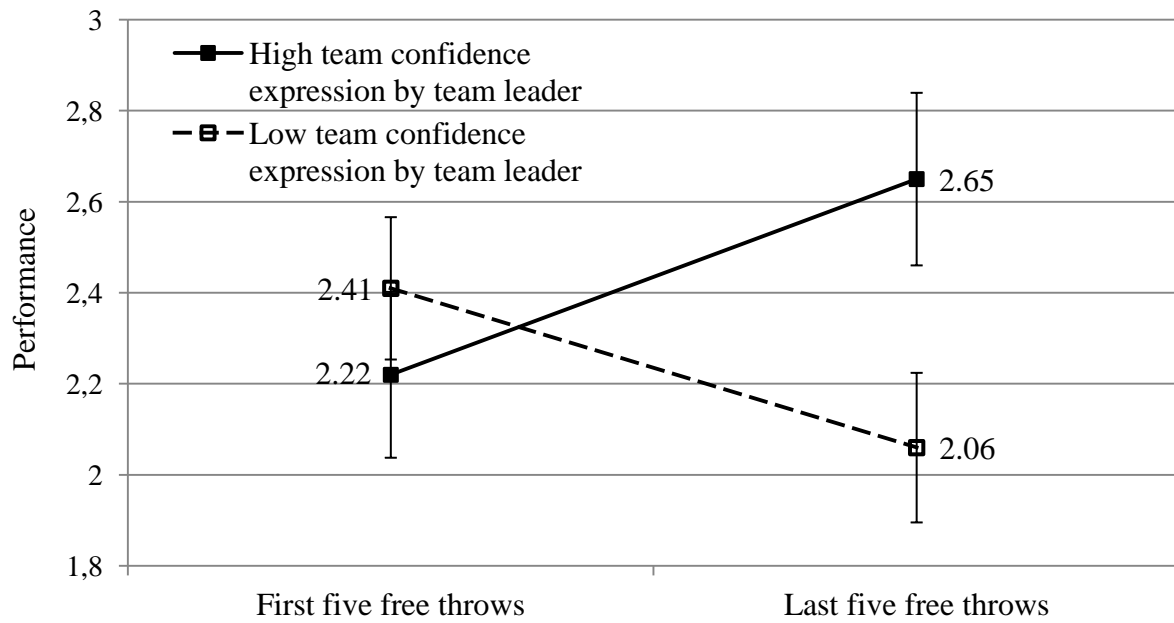
861

862 *Figure 1.* The mean values of team members' team confidence after the warm-up and after the  
 863 test session for both high- and low-confidence test conditions. The error bars represent one  
 864 standard error above and one standard error below the mean value.





866 *Figure 2.* The structural model of perceived leader's team confidence and players' team  
 867 outcome confidence, with team identification and collective efficacy as mediators. The  
 868 standardized regression coefficients are presented (all  $p < .001$ ), as well as the proportions  
 869 explained variance in italics.



870

871 *Figure 3.* The performance of the first and the last five free throws during both high- and low-  
872 confidence test conditions. The error bars represent one standard error above and one standard  
873 error below the mean value.