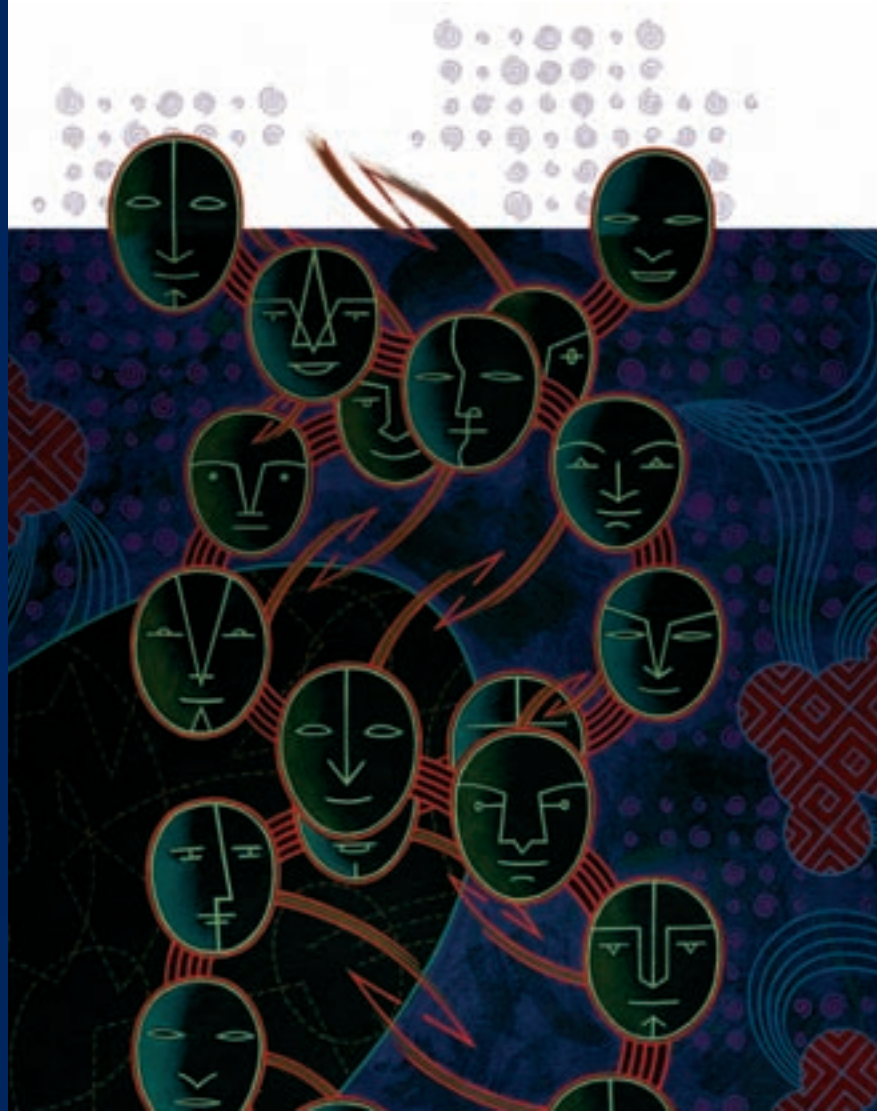MIRDITA N. ELSTAK

Flipping the Identity Coin

The Comparative Effect of Perceived, Projected and Desired Organizational Identity on Organizational Identification and Desired Behavior

Flipping the Identity Coin

The comparative effect of perceived, projected and desired organizational identity on organizational
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Mirdita N. Elstak

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Flipping the Identity Coin

The comparative effect of perceived, projected and desired organizational identity on organizational identification and desired behavior

Het tossen van de identiteitsmunt:

Het vergelijkende effect van gepercipieerde, geprojecteerde en gewenste organisatie identiteit op organisatie identificatie en gewenst gedrag

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
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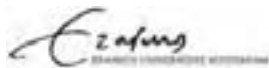en volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties.

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Mirdita Neruda Elstak
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Mirdita

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Ubuntu is an ethic or humanist ideology focusing on people's allegiances and relations with each other. The word has its origin in the Bantu languages of Southern Africa. Ubuntu is seen as a traditional African concept. There are many possible translations in English for ubuntu, including:

"Humanity toward others"
"I am because we are"
"I am what I am because of what we all are"
"A person 'becomes human' through other persons"
"A person is a person because of other persons"

Desmond Tutu

SECTION I

In this first section of my dissertation, I introduce my main concept of organizational identity, portray the conceptual field in which it lays, argue how I position my approach of organizational identity within this field and provide the groundwork for my three empirical studies. Chapter one captures my argument for why and how I believe my work contributes to the field of organizational identity. Here, I introduce the motivation and goal of this dissertation, its main research problem and the related research questions. In chapter two, I describe the conceptual field of organizational identity, provide an overview of its different ramifications and position this dissertation along these lines. In the final chapter of this section, chapter three, I specifically present the conceptual framework that is central to my two quantitative studies.

Chapter 1   INTRODUCTION

One of the core understandings in the managerial field is that who an organization is or what it stands for, i.e. an organization's identity (Albert & Whetten, 1985), is a central driver of organizational members' attitudes and behavior within the organizational context. Organizational identity is generally defined as those characteristics that are central to an organization, distinguish it from other organizations and have been part of the organization over a long period of time (Albert & Whetten, 1985). Scholars in the field of organizational identity have unanimously argued and illustrated that the identity of an organization has a significant role in shaping members' interpretation of (Gioia & Thomas, 1996) and behavior within (Dukerich, Golden, & Shortell, 2002) their organization. Organizational identity is shown to be crucial in understanding how organizational members define their organization's core capabilities (Glynn, 2000), cope with issues that threaten the organization (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Elsbach & Kramer, 1996; Rowley & Moldoveanu, 2003) and experience and deal with organizational change (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Fox-Wolfgramm, Boal, & Hunt, 1998; Gioia & Thomas, 1996).

In contrast to the unanimity with which identity scholars underwrite its significance in organizational processes, their conceptualization of organizational identity stems from two different, often presented as opposing, research traditions (Corley et al., 2006; Ravasi & Schultz, 2005). These research traditions stem from either an inductive or a deductive approach (Postmes, Haslam, & Swaab, 2005a; Postmes, Spears, Lee, & Novak, 2005b) to organizational identity. Social constructionists take an inductive, bottom-up approach, where the assumption is that organizational members, through processes of social interaction, collectively build a shared understanding of who their organization is (Gioia, 1998; Ravasi & Schultz, 2005). Scholars generally refer to this type of organizational identity as *perceived organizational identity*, which explicitly represents the *shared perceptions* that *organizational members* have of who their organization is (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994). Institutionalists take a deductive, top-down approach and regard organizational identity as a set of collective traits of the organization (Corley et al., 2006; Ravasi & Schultz, 2005). From this perspective, organizational identity exists as a "set of institutional claims" (Ravasi & Schultz, 2005: 435). Here, a collective organizational identity is explicitly communicated and claimed by an organization's (top) management and exists irrespective of the individual organizational members. This institutionalized organizational identity represents the collective identity framework within which organizational members develop their own organizational identity perceptions.

Scholars (Postmes et al., 2005a; Postmes et al., 2005b) who conduct research on the identity formation in social groups, argue that social psychologists have generally taken an antagonistic approach to the relationship between the individual and his or her social group; assuming that individual identity and group identity cannot be salient simultaneously. Postmes et al (2005a; 2005b) argue however, that both inductive as well as deductive processes are at work in identity formation, meaning that individuals

derive the social identity of their group both from expressions of the individuality of the different group members (inductively) as well as from collectively shared group characteristics (deductively). Inductive, bottom-up processes, grounded in individual identity, and deductive, top-down processes, grounded in superimposing collective identities, are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but interact in creating a shared group identity.

Most identity scholars draw upon Albert and Whetten's (1985) definition of organizational identity (Ravasi & Schultz, 2005) without explicit reference to these different research traditions. It is therefore not surprising that few attempts (Ravasi & Schultz, 2005) have been made to conceptualize organizational identity from both perspectives to see how the interaction between inductive and deductive processes can enhance our understanding of organizational identity. Similar to social psychology, the general approach in organizational identity is to treat both perspectives as mutually exclusive; organizational identity consists either of the collective organizational identity claims made by the organization's management (Whetten, 2006) or of the shared individual organizational identity perceptions (Dutton et al., 1994). Ravasi and Schultz (2005) argue however, that a more integrative perspective is warranted. They argue that by studying organizational identity from both a social constructionist and an institutionalist perspective, we get a more complete picture of the effects of both sensemaking and sensegiving processes in organizational identity formation. Organizational sensemaking (Weick, 1995) refers to the ongoing process by which organizational members try to understand, interpret and rationalize their organizational context. Sensegiving in an organization (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991) occurs when the dominant coalition attempts to influence both internal and external stakeholders by providing them with a preferred interpretation or definition of the organizational context.

1.1 Research Goal

It is within this force field of inductive sensemaking and deductive sensegiving processes that I position my dissertation by focusing on the inductive processes of organizational identity formation and on the interface between inductive and deductive processes.

First, most works in organizational identity take an inductive, social constructionist approach (for a comparison of both perspectives, please refer to Ravasi & Schultz, 2005) where the focus is on how organizational members develop a shared understanding of who their organization is and what it stands for. These works (e.g. Corley & Gioia, 2004; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991) have in common that they focus on the social identity dynamics that underlie members' shared organizational identity perceptions and how these perceptions subsequently affect members' interpretation of their organizational context and their dealing with organizational issues. Though vital to our understanding of the inductively build organizational identity, it does not provide us with insight into *how organizational members arrive at these abstract identity perceptions in the first place*. A process, which is vital to a more complete understanding of the inductive processes of identity formation as it informs us which cues members use from their organizational environment, to make organizational identity inferences.

To determine how organizational members arrive at their abstract organizational identity perceptions, I focus not only on their own organizational identity perceptions, but also on how they think *other* organizational members perceive the organization, i.e. how members make sense of *multiple* organizational identities. Since members are unaware of how others actually perceive the organization, a focus on multiple organizational identities provides insight into the cues that members use to make abstract identity inferences. I follow Pratt and Rafaeli (1997) who, in their study of a rehabilitation unit, illustrate that organizational members make sense of multiple organizational identities not so much through abstract identity characteristics, but through the more concrete means of organizational dress codes. That is, by arguing about what should be the appropriate work attire, nurses play out the dispute about the competing identities present in the unit. A focus on organizational dress, rather than on abstract identities, makes it easier for members to talk about and negotiate identity issues; i.e. "We are medical and health professionals…we should be dressed in scrubs" (Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997: 862). Building on their findings, I attempt to gain insight into the process by which members come to believe that their organization consists of multiple perceived organizational identities. In other words, how do members determine whether different organizational members, have different perceptions of who their organization is (Pratt & Foreman, 2000b). By mapping out the process based on which members conclude that their organization consists of multiple identities, we gain insight into the inductive process of how members make sense of perceived organizational identity and what role perceived organizational identity plays for them.

Second, most works that study the impact of perceived organizational identity on members' attitudes and behavior assume that perceived organizational identity is the central driver of attitudes and behavior. By treating perceived organizational identity as an unconditional driver of identification and behavior, one implicitly assumes that individuals automatically act upon their own perceptions and thoughts about their organization, without any influence of deductive forces, such as imposed or claimed identities on the part of an organization's top management. However, in addition to members' own organizational identity perceptions, top management may have its own ideas of who the organization is, which may even be different from the perceived organizational identity by members (Pfeffer, 1981; Pratt, 2000). In order to provide individual members with a shared, collective sense of who the organization is and what it stands for, organizational managers often engage in organizational sensegiving by projecting and communicating their "claimed" or "desired" organizational identity (Dutton et al., 1994; Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991). There is evidence that these deductive types of identity are also significant drivers of attitudes and behavior. The desired future organizational identity for example, which refers to the organizational identity that management envisions for the organization, is argued to play a crucial role in organizational identity change processes (Gioia & Thomas, 1996; Reger, Gustafson, DeMarie, & Mullane, 1994). Likewise, Rindova and Schultz (1998) argue that the organizational identity claims, which are projected and communicated by top management, should be part of our organizational identity landscape as these will most probably also influence identity and identification processes. Brown and his colleagues

(Brown, Dacin, Pratt, & Whetten, 2006: 96) for example, argue for more cross-disciplinary research that incorporates different "viewpoints" of an organization. Even Dutton and her colleagues (1994), who introduced the fundamental model of perceived organizational identity, argue in their suggestions for future research that researchers should extent the conceptual framework by including a broader range of organizational identity types, such as desired future identity.

Surprisingly, even though scholars have held these pleas and acknowledged that these sensegiving practices on the part of top management are an aspect of every day organizational life, no empirical work actually incorporates different identity types to test how their simultaneous impact affects members' attitudes and behavior in an organizational context. This is a remarkable void, because incorporating other types of organizational identities in addition to perceived organizational identity, could shed light on the relative importance of the inductive and deductive forces that appear to be part of the organizational identity landscape. Which identity type has more impact on strengthening the connection between organizational members and the organization, or on encouraging cooperative or citizenship behavior in organizations (Dukerich et al., 2002): the identity of an organization that is determined and communicated top-down, by a dominant coalition or the identity that is mainly influenced bottom-up, by the individual organizational members? The interface between these inductive and deductive identity types is prevalent, yet understudied.

To study this interface between the inductive and deductive forces in organizational identity processes, I incorporate two identity types in addition to the perceived organizational identity, which are characteristic of top-down imposed identities: the projected organizational identity (Carroll & Van Riel, 2001; Soenen & Moingeon, 2002) and the desired organizational identity (Gioia & Thomas, 1996). The projected organizational identity refers to the organizational identity characteristics that an organization's management claims and communicates. Desired organizational identity refers to the organizational identity that management regards as the ideal identity for the organization in the future; the identity that management believes the organization should strive to achieve. I test the significance of these three identity types by looking at their effect on organizational members' identification with the organization and their desired behavior within the organization. Organizational identification refers to the degree of overlap that organizational members perceive between their own self-concept and the characteristics of the organization and signifies the connection between an organizational member and the organization (Dutton et al., 1994). Desired behavior refers to the degree to which an organizational member displays behavior that is regarded as beneficial to the common goals of the organization and extends their functional role requirements (Moorman & Blakely, 1995). I focus on the effect on organizational identification and desired behavior, because within the organizational identity field, these two variables are regarded as valid thermometers of the significance of organizational identity for members (Dukerich et al., 2002; Dutton et al., 1994). A high degree of identification and a display of desired behavior are beneficial to an organization since these enable organizational members to function coherently (Pratt,

1998) and are fundamental to members' drive and motivation in their daily work (Ellemers, De Gilder, & Haslam, 2004).

1.2   Research Problem & Questions

Simply put, I would like to know what happens when we "flip the identity coin", in other words, how the different identity types play out against each other in determining members' organizational identification and desired behavior. Rather than simply adopting the approach that "who we are determines how we feel and what we do" we can gain a more in-depth understanding of the complex mechanisms of human motivation by including potential drivers of identification and behavior that stem not so much from our own sense of self, but are externally imposed. I test these relationships in two different organizational contexts, to gain insight into when, which types are prevalent. Identity works assume that members' organizational identity perceptions are the predominant driver of attitudes and behavior across different circumstances. By looking at the interrelationships in two different organizational settings, I am able to illustrate that this relationship between identity, identification and behavior is not static, but subject to change. The overall research problem of this dissertation is therefore:

How does the interface between the inductively perceived organizational identity and the deductively determined organizational identity types affect organizational members' organizational identification and desired behavior?

I divide this question into three research questions:

1.   *What are the inductive processes through which organizational members make sense of perceived organizational identity?*
2.   *What is the comparative significance of the perceived, projected and desired organizational identity on organizational members' organizational identification and desired behavior?*
3.   *What are the conditions that cause either inductive or deductive organizational identity types to become the main driver of organizational members' organizational identification and desired behavior?*

1.3   Research Design

My research design involves a combination of different methods, a form of triangulation as described by Jick (1979). Triangulation refers to a methodological approach that applies different methods, quantitative and qualitative, in studying the same phenomenon (Denzin, 1978). In my case, triangulation is not so much applied by means of using the multi-trait multi-method approach as a way to validate the variance and determine construct validity (Campbell & Fiske, 1959), as it is to achieve a more complete picture of the role that the different organizational identity types play for organizational identification and desired behavior. I use triangulation to look at the concept of organizational identity from multiple viewpoints by applying different research methods. The goal here is to use different research techniques as a way of complementing each other and balancing out their weaknesses. According to Jick (1979), combining qualitative fieldwork with quantitative survey techniques is the most common form of triangulation in this sense. Qualitative data is not only used as input for the quantitative survey,

but is also used to enhance the understanding and interpretation of the statistical results (Vidich & Shapiro, 1955).

My dissertation consists of three different studies, which I conduct in two organizational settings. I conduct my first study at "Pecunia", a European bank. Through a qualitative study that consists of open-ended interviews, I outline the inductive processes by which organizational members make sense of the perceived organizational identity. For this study I take a qualitative approach, because my goal is to get an in-depth understanding of how organizational members make sense of perceived organizational identity and according to Yin (2003), case studies are an especially appropriate research strategy when one needs to answer a "how" question. Through an iterative process that constantly proceeded between the data and relevant theory I aim to convey the underlying inductive processes of how organizational members themselves "see" the perceived organizational identity of their organization (Eisenhardt, 1989). For my second study, my focal organization is "Concrete", a large Dutch construction company. Here I combine qualitative and quantitative techniques. I conduct open-ended interviews and analyze organizational documentation; these results are input for a quantitative survey that measures the relationships between the different variables. Pecunia is again my focal company for my third and final study; part of the results of the interviews of the first study and additional content analyses of organizational documents serve as input for a quantitative survey, similar to that of my second study. I study the relationships between the different identity types and organizational identification and behavior not only by using different methods; in addition, I conduct these analyses in two different contexts. At the time of my studies, the construction company Concrete (study two) faced an external collective threat, which put pressure on Concrete's reputation and image, while Pecunia (study one and three) was in the midst of an internally initiated, company-wide change process. These two settings enable me to test the relationships in different circumstances, which might shed additional light on the underlying mechanisms at work.

1.4   Dissertation Overview

The dissertation is divided into three sections. Section I captures the introductory part, which includes this introduction of the dissertation and chapters two and three which respectively comprise the positioning of this dissertation in the broader field of organizational identity and the conceptual framework that encapsulates the foundation for my empirical studies. Section II consists of the three chapters four, five and six, each of which discusses an empirical study. Section III, which is the concluding part, consists of two chapters; in chapter seven, the insights and results gained from the empirical studies are incorporated to propose a renewed perspective on the relationship between organizational identity, organizational identification and organizational identity change. In the final chapter eight, I discuss the general implications of the findings of the different studies. For an overview of the different chapters, please refer to Figure 1-1 below.

Figure 1-1 Dissertation Overview

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┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐
│               Chapter 1                    │
│        Introduction to Dissertation        │
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┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐
│               Chapter 2                    │
│  Positioning of Dissertation in Organizational │
│              Identity Field                │
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┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐
│               Chapter 3                    │
│       Conceptual Framework Dissertation    │
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Chapter 4	Chapter 5	Chapter 6
Study 1:	Study 2:	Case 3:
Qualitative Study at Pecunia	Quantitative Study at Concrete	Quantitative Study at Pecunia

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┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐
│               Chapter 7                    │
│          Organizational Identity           │
│      Change: Theoretical Insights          │
│          from Empirical Cases              │
└──────────────────────────────────────────┘
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┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐
│               Chapter 8                    │
│          Discussion & Conclusion           │
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Chapter 2 POSITIONING DISSERTATION

Before I embark upon this endeavor to study organizational identity, I would like to provide an overview of the conceptual landscape that surrounds this concept and position my approach of organizational identity within the broader field. The concept of organizational identity embraces a spectrum that varies from the micro level dynamics, where the focus is on how organizational identity affects individual-level social identity processes, to the more macro institutionalized framework that characterizes an organization (Corley et al., 2006). One of the inherent dangers of the widespread applications of organizational identity is that the concept becomes so ubiquitous that it runs the risk of explaining everything (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000) and "that which explains everything, explains nothing" (Pratt, 2003: 162). In order to protect the meaningfulness of organizational identity as a fundamental concept in organization studies, scholars argue that it is crucial that applications of organizational identity are provided with a clear delineation and positioning of the concept (Corley et al., 2006; Pratt, 2003; Pratt & Foreman, 2000a).

Following Corley and his colleagues (2006), I focus on three aspects to delineate my approach of organizational identity. First, I address the definition of organizational identity and particularly how it is different from its closely related concepts of image, reputation and culture (Gioia et al., 1998). Second, as its definitional boundaries are set, the next questions concerns whether or not the concept is real or merely metaphoric (Haslam, Postmes, & Ellemers, 2003); as I will argue, I regard organizational identity as a real phenomenon. Third, if organizational identity is real, the next question concerns "how is it real?" (Corley et al., 2006: 90). I discuss this final question in terms of its level of analysis (micro versus macro), its theoretical grounding (social identity and self-categorization theory) and its research paradigm (social constructionist versus institutionalist). My particular choices for positioning the concept of organizational identity in this dissertation are consequential for how the concept is defined and subsequently operationalized.

2.1 Conceptual Landscape

The conceptual network that surrounds organizational identity is generally made up of image, reputation and culture (Gioia et al., 1998; Schultz, Hatch, & Larsen, 2000). The concepts of organizational identity, image and reputation are closely related since they all represent the main "viewpoints" (Brown et al., 2006: 100) of an organization. Culture functions more as an interpretative framework (Pratt, 2003) in which organizational identity is set. Scholars, when discussing the concept of organizational identity, generally attempt to distinguish it from organizational culture, due to the concepts' strong conceptual similarities (Corley et al., 2006; Hatch & Schultz, 1997; Hatch & Schultz, 2002). The challenging nature of distinguishing both concepts is characterized by the different endeavors and the constant struggle to separate them (Fiol, Hatch, & Golden-Biddle, 1998; Pratt, 2003). The strong, reciprocal relationships between these three concepts and organizational identity highlight their significant position in the

conceptual landscape, but at the same time warrant that these concepts are clearly distinguished from each other.

2.1.1 *Organizational Image*

Organizational image refers to what organizational members believe external stakeholders think about the organization (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991). Different labels are used to denote the concept of image. To emphasize that image refers to an internally held perception, Dutton and her colleagues (1994) specifically refer to it as *construed external image*. Perceived organizational identity refers to the perceptions organizational members have of who their organization is, while construed external image refers to the overall perceptions organizational members have of how outsiders perceive their organization. Smidts and his colleagues (Smidts, Pruyn, & Van Riel, 2001), adopt a slightly more narrow approach to image, and define it as *perceived external prestige*, which refers to organizational members' perceptions of how *prestigious* the organization is in the eyes of external stakeholders. Despite the different labels, (construed external) image and perceived external prestige, essentially refer to organizational members' perceptions of how external stakeholders regard the organization. Image is a powerful perception because organizational members use it as a "mirror" (Dutton et al., 1994: 249) to assess their own organizational identity perceptions in the light of external stakeholders' evaluations. A positive or prestigious organizational image reflects back to the organizational members (Cialdini et al., 1976). Next to perceived organizational identity, image is regarded as a central driver of organizational members' identification and desired behavior within an organization (Dukerich et al., 2002; Dutton et al., 1994). The underlying assumption is that due a lack of explicit boundaries between internal and external stakeholders, organizational members are continuously confronted with images of how others view their organization. In turn, organizational members incorporate these reflected organizational images into their own perceptions of the organization (Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000).

For my dissertation I draw on the concept of perceived external prestige (Smidts et al., 2001). Since construed external image refers to a broad palette of perceptions that organizational members have of how outsiders regard the organization, it does not necessarily incorporate an evaluative component. Perceived external prestige on the other hand, specifically captures an evaluative component by focusing on the *prestige* of the external image, which makes it a more straightforward driver of identity and identification processes. Throughout this dissertation however, in addition to "perceived external prestige", I use the term "image" in a general sense, with the implicit understanding that it denotes members' perceptions of how external stakeholders think about the organization. In my conceptual framework in chapter three, I elaborate on the relationship between organizational identity and perceived external prestige and on its role in the identity framework.

2.1.2 *Corporate Reputation*

Where organizational identity refers to the perceptions that organizational members have of what their organization stands for (Dutton et al., 1994), corporate reputation refers to the perceptions that external stakeholders have of the organization (Fombrun & Shanley, 1990; Fombrun, 1996). The main

difference between corporate reputation and organizational image then, relates to where these perceptions reside. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, image resides in the minds of the organizational members; reputation however, resides in the minds of the external stakeholders (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991). An organization's reputation materializes as external stakeholders use the information from the organization, external media or their own experience with the organization to construct an overall perception of what they believe the organization stands for. An organization's reputation consists then of the aggregated perceptions of the different stakeholders. An organization's reputation functions as a framework that enables external stakeholders to make sense of the organization's actions and to stabilize and simplify their interactions with the organization (Gioia et al., 1998). A reputation is of great value to an organization; a reputation indicates the degree to which an organization is regarded as attractive by external stakeholders, acts as a feedback loop that about how the external public receives an organization's performance and it provides insight into the hierarchical positioning of different organizations within the environment (Rindova & Fombrun, 1998). An organization's reputation is therefore considered a strategic asset; organizations that have a certain reputational status (Fombrun & Shanley, 1990: 254) have a competitive advantage.

2.1.3 *Organizational Culture*

The interrelationship between organizational culture and organizational identity is a complicated one. Not only do both concepts share conceptual overlap, their development and their role in organizational sensemaking and behavior exhibit strong parallels. Organizational culture is generally regarded as a collectively shared sensemaking framework (Martin, 1992; Pratt, 2003; Schultz, 1995), a social cohesive of shared values and beliefs that bind an organization (Smircich, 1983a). If one considers the four functions that an organizational culture serves (Smircich, 1983a), there is a striking similarity to organizational identity. It is said that organizational culture communicates a sense of identity for organizational members, presents members with the possibility of connecting to something larger than the self, strengthens the collective social system and serves as a sensemaking framework that guides collective behavior. Over two decades ago, around the time that the concept of organizational identity came into being, Smircich (1983a) sensed a shift in organization studies. Where organizational metaphors were dominated by physical objects such as machines, organization studies became infused with social phenomena and a cognitive perspective on organizations (Walsh, 1995). Smircich (1983a) observes that organizations are increasingly seen as collectivities of shared meaning; the cognitive sense of how members regard their organization as a collective, i.e. organizational identity, becomes central. This development in the late seventies/early eighties is interesting as it in a way signifies a turning point in the role of organizational culture and identity in organization science. Concomitantly with the introduction of culture in organization studies, a shift occurred to an increased focus on managerial and organizational cognition and more specifically on the role of cognition for collective behavior (Laukkanen, 1994; Meindl, Stubbart, & Porac, 1994). In this sense, organizational culture has been the forerunner of organizational identity, where organizational identity, which at its elementary level consists of cognitions (Pratt, 2003),

captures managerial and organizational cognition from the perspective of the collective self. So, where culture played a role in introducing managerial and organizational cognition to organization studies, the concept of organizational identity took this development one step further in turning this into "sensemaking targeted inward…understanding ourselves as an entity" (Pratt, 2003: 165). A feature of organizational identity, which also signifies its main difference from culture; organizational identity is a relational concept, which culture is not. In other words, culture can develop segregated from other cultures, organizational identity on the other hand cannot; knowing who one is, necessitates an understanding of who one is not (Pratt, 2003). Organizational identity involves sensemaking that is self-focused (Fiol et al., 1998; Pratt, 2003). Culture is regarded as the broader context in which organizational identity develops, evolves, is negotiated and changes (Bouchikhi et al., 1998). The way in which we make sense of who we are, or in other words, what our organizational identity is, is embedded in our cultural meaning system (Hatch & Schultz, 1997; Hatch & Schultz, 2002). Culture also does not have the relational, self-focused component that is so essential to the concept of organizational identity. This difference between organizational identity and culture is subtle but fundamental.

2.2   Metaphor or Phenomenon

From the conceptual landscape, I move on to the next step in positioning my approach of organizational identity, whether the concept is metaphorical or a real phenomenon that has attitudinal and behavioral consequences. A few scholars (e.g. Albert, 1998; e.g. Cornelissen, 2002; Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2002) regard organizational identity as a metaphor, another way of symbolizing organizational life. Metaphors (Cornelissen, 2005) are developed along two mechanisms: the comparison and the domains-interaction models. With the more traditional comparison model, a metaphor is established based on pre-existing similarities between the connected themes. In the domains-interaction model, which is developed by Cornelissen (2005), a metaphor can be created based on the development of new meaning that extends beyond pre-established parallels. Here the overlap between two semantic themes is less stringent and much more open to creativity and creation; the assumed commonalities are emergent rather than existent. The role of metaphors in organization theory is mainly in the early stages of theory development, as a way of stimulating theoretical thought and improvement with regard to a particular organizational occurrence. In an organizational context, the "machine" and "organism" metaphors dominate (Smircich, 1983b). Organizational identity as a metaphor assumes that the two themes of "organization" and "identity" are connected semantically and identity features are ascribed to an organization. From this perspective, Albert and Whetten's (1985) organizational identity criteria of centrality, distinctiveness and endurance are a projection rather than an organizational feature. Here, organizational identity is just another way of looking at an organization, which might offer a renewed insight into organizational life. According to Gioia and his colleagues (2002), organizational identity is such a valuable metaphor because in addition to its theoretical and abstract use by scholars, it is a central concept when it comes to how individual employees make sense of their organizational context.

In this dissertation I follow the social psychological perspective however, where organizational identity is not merely a metaphor but a phenomenon, an observable construct with real effects (Haslam et al., 2003). Haslam et al (2003) argue that organizational identity can be conceptualized and measured as a social psychological construct that affects organizational behavior. In this light, organizational identity is not embedded in individual identity, but in social identity theory. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1985) illustrates how individuals who tend to consider themselves as part of a larger collective are predisposed to align their attitudes and behavior with that of the collective and are motivated to act as a collective (Ellemers et al., 2004). In this sense, organizations are not treated "as if" they had a particular identity, they are assumed to actually have that identity, and even more so, this identity affects organizational attitudes and behavior. Organizational identity represents the interface of individual psychology and collective outcomes (Haslam et al., 2003). Haslam and his colleagues (2003) argue that organizational identity is the shared sense of being that enables collective communication, planning and action. They argue that "organizational identity makes organizational behavior possible" (Haslam et al., 2003: 365).

Now that I have motivated why I define organizational identity as a real concept rather than in metaphorical terms, I continue to explain what I mean by "real". I conceptualize organizational identity in terms of its level of analysis, its theoretical roots and its research paradigm.

2.3   Micro versus Macro

On the level of analysis, two main organizational identity approaches are distinguished: a micro versus a macro perspective. From the macro organizational ecologist perspective in which organizational identity is a more institutionalized phenomenon that exists regardless of the individuals or groups that make-up the organization, works on organizational identity are much more grounded in institutional theory and organizational ecology. From an organizational ecology perspective (Hsu & Hannan, 2005; Polos, Hannan, & Carroll, 2002) organizational identity consists not of the perceptions of individual organizational members, but of more macro level sets of forms, codes or characteristics that a particular organization population is expected to have, also referred to as archetypes (Fox-Wolfgramm et al., 1998) or frames (Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980). Rather than focusing on the organizational identity within one particular organization, organization ecologists take into account the entire organizational population. According to ecologists, the locus of organizational identity is not so much within the organizational population, but much more within the perceptions of the different groups of audiences, which represent more or less homogenous groups that can exert influence over the organizational identity claims of a population (Hsu & Hannan, 2005). Organizations who consist of the same set of core features, are then assumed to belong to the same form, which defines a population (Polos et al., 2002). The assumption is that a form is built on identity, in the sense that a form is the result of endorsed cultural and social categorization of entities into groups (Polos et al., 2002).

From this macro approach of organizational ecologists the focus is much more on those common codes and rules that exists across organizations (within for example, a particular industry) that

enable audiences to recognize and identify a group of organizations as belonging to one population and to differentiate between different types of organizations. Most scholars in the organizational identity field however, take a micro approach to organizational identity, where they are particularly interested in the shared perceptions individual members have of their organization (Dutton et al., 1994). From a micro perspective, scholars are interested in the social identity dynamics within an organizational context, which offers insight into the role that organizational identity plays for organizational members in their organizational sensemaking processes. Here, organizational identity processes are grounded in social psychology, and more specifically social identity theory and self-categorization theory (Hogg & Terry, 2001).

2.4   Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization Theory

It is by looking at the social identity dynamics within an organizational context that we gain an understanding of the role that the concept of organizational identity plays for organizational members. Social identity dynamics and organizational identity are so intricately intertwined because individuals define themselves not only based on their unique individual identity, but also on their relationships with others and their membership in larger social groups (Brewer & Gardner, 1996), i.e. the organization. As Tajfel and Turner (1985) argue, identity is comparative and relational by nature since individuals learn to understand who they are and make sense of their identity through social interactions with others and groups. Identity refers to the question of "who am I"; that which makes an individual unique in comparison to others (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Ashforth and Mael (1989) were the first to introduce social psychology theories in the realm of organizational identity. The authors argue how social psychological processes generally found in groups also apply to an organizational context.

Many organizational identity scholars have since adopted Ashforth and Mael's social psychology approach (Ellemers, Haslam, Platow, & Van Knippenberg, 2003) and the two fundamental theories of social identity and self-categorization have become paramount in the field of organizational identity. These two theories explicate the underlying processes and mechanisms that explain for the social identity dynamics found within organizations, in terms of how the relationship between an individual and a group constitutes group behavior and attitudes. For now, I provide a brief, general description of both theories. In the conceptual framework, I will take a more in-depth approach to these theories and their underlying mechanisms, as I embed the different empirical works in a social identity framework.

Fundamental to social identity theory is the understanding that individuals feel and recognize that they are part of larger social groups, which fulfill a cognitive and emotional need for them (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). A basic tenet of social identity theory is that individuals apply a process of social categorization, in which they categorize and divide their social world into (hierarchies) of social groups. Each of these social categories represents a social identity for the individual. When a social category becomes salient, its affiliated social identity becomes partly prescriptive for the individual in terms of attitudes and behavior; individuals tend to behave and think according to the norms of this particular social group. This leads to intergroup behavior where members of a social group ascribe stereotypical

characteristics to their in-group, as well as to the out-group, that highlights intragroup similarities and intergroup differences. Social categorization is a form of uncertainty reduction as it provides individuals with an understanding of the social world and of how to behave and think within that social world. Self-categorization theory, often referred to as an extension of social identity theory (Hogg & Terry, 2000), takes these social psychological processes a step further and refers to the underlying mechanisms that actually generate group behavior and group attitudes. According to self-categorization theory, a process of depersonalization occurs in which individuals regard themselves as representatives of the social group rather than as independent individuals. As a representative of the social group, individuals will be motivated to think and act according to the norms of the group. This process explains how collective, prototypical group behavior materializes. These theories are fundamental to our understanding of organizational identity processes, because they explain the relationship between social identity perceptions on the one hand and collective attitudes and behavior on the other.

2.5   Main Research Paradigms

"All theories of organization are based upon a philosophy of science and a theory of society"(Burrell & Morgan, 1979: 1), in other words: as organization researchers, we regard our object of study from different paradigms, which may merge to some degree. These paradigms are related to two main assumptions (Burrell & Morgan, 1979): ontology and epistemology. Ontology refers to the degree to which the "reality" that is being studied is objective and exists irrespective of individual perception or subjective and therefore under the influence of individual perception. Epistemology refers to foundations of knowledge: how one identifies that which is the "evidence" of the subject under study and how to disseminate this knowledge. At one extreme, there is the assumption that one can study the social world with the same rigidity and objectivism as the natural sciences. Here the goal is to look for commonalities and universal mechanisms in the social sciences. Scholars at the other end of the spectrum reject this assumption and believe that one should study the social world with a more tentative, subjective and flexible approach in which the goal is to understand the world as seen from different individual perspectives. Assumptions about ontology and epistemology determine from which paradigm one looks at his or her world of study and is consequential for the methodology, which I will discuss later on.

Based on the two-dimensional, four-paradigm structure introduced by Burrell and Morgan (1979), research in the field of organizational study is generally divided between two main research paradigms: the interpretivist and the functionalist paradigm (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Gioia & Pitre, 1990; Morgan & Smircich, 1980; Schultz & Hatch, 1996). The two research approaches I introduced in my introductory chapter one, social-constructionism and institutionalism, are embedded within these paradigms. I briefly discuss these two paradigms and explain where I position this dissertation on the paradigm spectrum and what the ontological and epistemological consequences of this positioning are.

2.5.1 Interpretivist Paradigm

Within the interpretivist paradigm scholars consider the formation of organizational identity mainly from a social constructionist view (e.g. Ravasi & Schultz, 2005). Social constructionists regard organizational identity as an ongoing process of identity creation, where the focus is to understand the process of social construction that leads to a collectively shared understanding of the organizational identity (Bouchikhi et al., 1998; Corley et al., 2006). From an interpretivist paradigm, one takes a subjective perspective, where the goal is to understand how the different individuals make sense of and construct their social world (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). The interpretive view also assumes some form of stability in these sensemaking processes, while at the same time acknowledging the subjectivity of social perceptions (Gioia & Pitre, 1990). Within an interpretivist perspective the relationships between concepts is not about causality, but association (Schultz & Hatch, 1996). The goal is not to test hypothetical assumptions, but to develop new theory by extracting the underlying sensemaking and social construction processes; to understand the meaning individuals attach to phenomena and events and how they use their perceptions to construct their own subjective social experience. This perspective is of an inductive nature, where the goal is to develop theory not based on predefined assumptions, but to let the data speak for itself, and let the theory emerge from a rich and thick description of the sensemaking processes of the individuals that attempts to guarantee their different perspectives and experiences. From an interpretivist perspective, quantitative analyses are inadequate, even unsuitable for analyzing the social world (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). Qualitative techniques such as grounded theory enable the researcher to try and understand the social world from the perspectives of the subjects under study; where the analysis should stay as close as possible to the language, categories or sensemaking schemes the informants use (Gioia & Pitre, 1990).

2.5.2 Functionalist Paradigm

Institutionalists take a functionalist perspective on organizational identity, where the assumption is that organizational identity exists as a set of identity characteristics that can be recognized, ascribed or rejected by organizational members; it is an observable phenomenon that affects organizational attitudes and behavior (Bouchikhi et al., 1998; Corley et al., 2006; Ravasi & Schultz, 2005). From this perspective, organizational identity processes exist irrespective of the individual members making up the organization. The focus of interest is to uncover organizational identity and determine its relationship with other organizational phenomena such as organizational cognition and behavior. A functionalist approach assumes an objective world, which is "out there" to be studied and dominated by stable relations (Gioia & Pitre, 1990: 586). Causality is key from a functionalist perspective (Schultz & Hatch, 1996); it is characterized by deduction and hypotheses testing where the goal is to test assumed relationships between the identity concepts and to determine the general mechanisms that underlie organizational identity phenomena. When looking at social sciences from a functionalist paradigm, the aim is to understand and draw out the assumed social structure of the different variables and their relationships (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). From a functionalist paradigm the focus is not so much on the generation of a

completely new theory; theory building is grounded in extant literature and is a more stepwise process of theory adjustment and refinement (Gioia & Pitre, 1990). From a functionalist paradigm, the appropriate methodology to study the social world is through quantitative analyses (Gioia & Pitre, 1990; Morgan & Smircich, 1980), which are grounded in the natural sciences. Through statistical techniques the goal is to take a static, momentary shot of the social phenomenon to determine its elementary "rules and regulations".

2.6   Implications Positioning

Figure 2-1 provides a tree-like overview of the positioning of this dissertation. In this dissertation, organizational identity is distinguished from its related concepts of image, reputation and culture and is taken to be "more than a metaphor" (Haslam et al., 2003); it is real, as are its effects on attitudes and behavior. In addition, I embed my research on organizational identity in the field of micro organizational behavior, where I am interested in the individual-level processes of social identity dynamics in organizations. So how do one's individual-level perceptions of the collective organization affect his or her attitudes and behavior? Grounded in social psychology, I draw on social identity and self-categorization processes to understand how the underlying individual-level mechanisms of social identity processes play out with regard to the organizational identity. When it comes to my assumptions about ontology and epistemology, I position this dissertation within both paradigms. I ground my first, qualitative study in the interpretive paradigm. From an interpretivist approach, I look at the inductive processes that members use to make sense about multiple organizational identity perceptions. I embed my final two, quantitative studies in the functionalist paradigm, where my goal is to take a closer look at the interface between the inductive, perceived organizational identity and the deductive, projected and desired organizational identity types; I am particularly interested in how the inductive and deductive identity types affect organizational identification and desired behavior.

In one of the seminal books on organizational identity (Whetten & Godfrey, 1998), Albert (1998) holds a vehement plea against the measurement of organizational identity. He argues that due to the nature of organizational identity as a "vague, hard to pin down, elusive, or multifaceted" (Albert, 1998: 2) concept, the goal should not be measurement, but a discussion of its significance and its potential answers. Albert argues that "identity may be the last refuge of the qualitative in a world of invading armies wielding rulers and compasses" (1998: 3) and constructs should only be measured in the final phase, only after agreement has been reached about its definition and its conceptual boundaries. Albert (1998) argues that empirical work should be part of the field of organizational identity, but not with the aim of fixating its definition and way of measurement; this can only be achieved after a long period of empirical and theoretical investigation.

Albert held his plea almost a decade ago, at a time when the field of organizational identity was still in an exploratory phase. In a more recent evaluation of the field, Corley and his colleagues (2006) take a more open perspective toward measurement. They argue that appropriate measurement can only take place if accompanied by a clear exposition of one's ontological and epistemological assumptions. Corley

et al (2006) make an important point, which is one of my main motivations and justifications for taking a measurement approach to organizational identity. The scholars remark that the lack of empirical research, in which organizational identity is operationalized and measured, simultaneously makes it more difficult to understand the challenges of organizational identity measurement. From Figure 2-1 it is evident that the focus of empirical works lies in the interpretivist paradigm. These past two decades, research on organizational identity has either been theoretical or focused on members' subjective understanding and interpretation of organizational identity. Very few studies (Dukerich et al., 2002) have gone as far as actually measuring the concept and its relations to other organizational variables such as identification and behavior. Of course, this is due to the developmental phase, which has mainly characterized organizational identity until recently. In their description of the field as "aged adolescence" Corley et al (2006) implicitly argue that organizational identity is a concept no longer in its infancy. Organizational identity is measurement-ready, not because it has reached the height of its theoretical expansion in terms of studying the concept's meaning and its boundaries (Pratt, 2003), but because theoretical development can take place simultaneously with attempts at measuring the concept. Further development of the field even warrants measurement, precisely for the same reasons that scholars advised against measuring identity earlier: because measurement forces a researcher to make assumptions about the concept and its potential relationships. In addition to a more interpretivist approach, maturity of a field requires that we simultaneously explore its potential effects on organizational attitudes and behavior and its relationships with other concepts. The field has achieved several milestones, works that pushed it to another level (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Corley et al., 2006; Dutton et al., 1994; Pratt, 2003; Whetten & Godfrey, 1998) and these works provide us with clear guidelines of how to, at least, make our assumption clear (Pratt, 2003). With a clear explication of the assumptions underlying my specific approach of organizational identity, I can cautiously but surely, engage in its measurement.

Figure 2-1 Positioning Dissertation

Organizational Culture

Organizational Image

Corporate Reputation

Organizational
Identity

Phenomenon

Metaphor

Albert & Whetten (1985)

Albert (1998)

Cornelissen (2002)

Gioia, Schultz & Corley (2000)

Micro

Macro

Empirical Works:

Fox-Wolfgramm, Boal & Hunt (1998)

Rao, Davis & Ward (2000)

Glynn & Abzug (2002)

Brickson (2005)

Hannan (2005)

Hsu & Hannan (2005)

Social Psychology

Social Identity Theory

Self-Categorization Theory

Interpretivism

Functionalism

Empirical Works:		**Empirical Works:**
Dutton & Dukerich (1991) Bartel (2001)		Carroll & Van Riel (2001)
Elsbach & Kramer (1996) Meyer, Bartunek & Lacey (2002)		Dukerich, Golden & Shortell (2002)
Gioia & Thomas (1996) Corley (2004)		Van Rekom, Van Riel & Wierenga (2006b)
Pratt & Rafaeli (1997) Corley & Gioia (2004)		
Pratt (2000) Ravasi & Schultz (2006)		
Pratt & Dutton (2000)		

Study 1	**Study 2 & Study 3**

Chapter 3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

As discussed in the introduction, the goal of my dissertation is to take a closer look at how the interface between inductive and deductive organizational identity types affects members' organizational identification and behavior. To achieve this goal, I take two separate paths. The first path involves an in-depth, qualitative study, in which I outline the inductive processes through which organizational members make sense of perceived organizational identity. To achieve this, I take an interpretivist approach to organizational identity and attempt to delineate how members make inferences about the abstract perceived organizational identity characteristics. The second path captures the two quantitative studies that test the relative significance of the inductive, perceived organizational identity compared to two deductive identity types, projected and desired organizational identity. As my qualitative study has been conducted without an explicitly predefined theoretical framework of perceived organizational identity and sensemaking, and the theoretical implications of my findings only become apparent after my data analysis, the conceptual framework discussed in this chapter applies specifically to my two quantitative studies.

To compare the significance of perceived organizational identity to that of projected and desired organizational identity, I apply a conceptual framework which is based on the model introduced by Dutton and her colleagues (1994). Concisely, this model treats perceived organizational identity and construed external image as the main drivers of organizational identification. The assumption is that the more attractive these two perceptions are to organizational members, the stronger their organizational identification will be since individuals are particularly motivated to be part of and belong to organization that extend their self-concepts and distinguish them positively from other individuals or groups (Dutton et al., 1994). Since the introduction of this model in 1994, identity scholars have continued to develop our understanding of perceived organizational identity and its relationship with organizational identification and desired behavior (for an overview see Corley et al., 2006; Pratt, 2003). However, these developments have taken place more or less independently from each other, which characterize the field by many loosely coupled expansions and applications of the concept. It is therefore not surprising that over the years, despite ongoing developments, after the model by Dutton et al (1994), no adjusted models that incorporate these advancements, have been introduced.

The main goal of this dissertation is to test the comparative significance of inductive versus deductive identity types for organizational members' organizational identification and desired behavior. With that in mind, I make two adjustments to Dutton et al's (1994) model. The first adjustment relates to the sole focus on perceived organizational identity. Rather than focusing on perceived organizational identity alone, I also include projected and desired organizational identity that specifically capture the deductive top-down imposed organizational identity types. The second adjustment concerns the role of image. Dutton and her colleagues (1994) treat construed external image as an independent variable, which together with perceived organizational identity, affects identification and behavior. However, due to

perceived organizational identity's "complex interrelationships with image" (Gioia et al., 2000: 64), treating identity and image as separate independent variables does not fully capture how these perceptions interact. Dutton and Dukerich (1991) in their study of the Port Authority, provide a process model that provides an overview of the interdependence between perceived identity and image, of how these two concepts feed back into each other, and subsequently affect issue interpretation and action. Similarly, Gioia and his colleagues (2000) provide a model of the reciprocal relationship between identity and image. This intricate relationship between identity and image suggests that both concepts are not merely two separate drivers of identification, but have a much stronger form of interaction. Hence, rather than including image as an independent variable, I look at its moderating role for the relationship between the identity types and identification. Before I discuss my conceptual framework, I discuss the different identity types that are central to it: perceived organizational identity, projected organizational identity and desired organizational identity. I then continue to discuss their relationships with the other concepts that are part of the framework: perceived external prestige, organizational identification and desired behavior.

3.1 Different Identity Types

Scholars (e.g. Balmer, 1998; e.g. Balmer & Greyser, 2002; Balmer & Soenen, 1999; Soenen & Moingeon, 2002) distinguish several types of identity that are present in an organization and influence members' organizational identification and behavior. Researchers assign different labels to these identity types; ranging from actual, communicated, ideal and conceived identity (Balmer & Greyser, 2002; Balmer & Soenen, 1999) to the experienced, professed and projected identity (Soenen & Moingeon, 2002). Refer to Table 3-1 for an overview of the different identity types and their labels. Upon closer inspection of these identity types, despite the different labels, their essential meaning comes down to two dimensions: private-public and current-future.

Table 3-1 Different Organizational Identity Labels

Balmer & Greyser (2002)	Soenen & Moingeon (2002)
Actual Identity	**Experienced Identity**
Current attributes of the organization. Include the set of characteristics that management and employees ascribe to the organization	What organizational members experience (un) consciously when it comes to their organization; the collective perception members have of who their organization is.
Communicated Identity	**Projected Identity**
Identity that is revealed through deliberate communication by management.	The identity characteristics that an organization uses in its deliberate presentation to internal and external audiences.
Conceived Identity	**Attributed Identity**
The perceptions of the organization that are held by external stakeholders	The characteristics that stakeholders ascribe to the organization.
Ideal Identity	**Professed Identity**
The ideal positioning of an organization in a specific time frame and context; based on research and analysis	The claims organizational members use to define their organizational identity.

Balmer & Greyser (2002)	Soenen & Moingeon (2002)
Desired Identity	**Manifested Identity**
The identity that an organization's management envisions; driven by top management's ego and personality rather than by rational assessment and evaluation of the "best" identity	Those characteristics that have typified the organization over a longer period of time; a "historical" identity.

3.1.1 Private - Public Dimension

In a similar approach to individual identity (Baumgardner, Kaufman, & Cranford, 1990) several organizational identity scholars distinguish organizational identity types based on a private-public dimension. In their landmark article, Albert and Whetten (1985) draw this distinction between public and private organizational identity, where public identity refers to the identity an organization claims when presenting itself to constituents and private organizational identity to the shared perception organizational members have of their organizational identity. The authors argue that an organization's public identity is generally more positive and less diversified than the private perceived organizational identity. Dutton et al (1994) also apply this distinction by separating members' perceptions of the organizational identity from the collective organizational identity that is projected by an organization's top management. The authors find that organizations are unable to completely socialize members to a collective view of organizational identity and that consequently the internally perceived organizational identity may diverge from the organization's publicly claimed organizational identity. According to Gioia et al (2000), the more public organizational identity selectively refers to those aspects of an organizational identity that are attractive to its stakeholders; and is thereby not necessarily a true representation of the private perceived organizational identity. The collective public symbols of an organization may not be a genuine expression of how organizational members actually perceive their organization (Cheney & Christensen, 2000: 246; Van Halderen & Van Riel, 2007); the collective organizational identity claims may not be representative of how organizational members actually behave and often do not correspond with reality (Ravasi & Van Rekom, 2003). This latter finding is supported by Martin, Feldman, Hatch & Sitkin (1983), who find that many organizations convey claims of uniqueness through examples of stories that are not unique to a specific organization. This tension between the private and public identity seems inherent to organizations in general; it is therefore even more interesting to see how the interface of private and public organizational identity affects members' attitudes and behavior.

3.1.2 Current - Future dimension

In addition to the private-public dimension, I include the current-future dimension. In social psychology, it is often argued that it is not so much "who we are now" that drives us, as it is "who we want to be in the future". Markus and Nurius (1986) argue for the significance of the future possible selves for the current attitudes and behavior of individuals. Possible selves refer to images, which individuals have of their potential future identities that can be both desired, as in someone you want to

become, and feared, as in someone you are afraid of becoming. These scholars argue that possible selves are an important motivational driver for current behavior and attitudes since they act as an incentive for future behavior; individuals will behave in such a way as to either attain (the desired) or avoid becoming (the feared) possible self. In this sense, a possible self offers a "means-end pattern" and acts as a guiding framework for future behavior (Bandura, 1978; Blanton & Christie, 2003; Brief & Aldag, 1981; Markus & Nurius, 1986: 955). It is in light of this possible self, that individuals will evaluate their past and current behavior and adjust their behavior with the aim of getting closer to their ideal future self or making certain that they are further away from their feared possible self. Possible selves also play an important role for current sensemaking processes because they offer an interpretative frame for the current self or "working self-concept" (Markus & Nurius, 1986: 957). One's current identity is not viewed in isolation; individuals make sense of their current sense of self in a context of possible selves. In other words, how you evaluate your current self and your current behavior and whether you are satisfied with who you are now, are for an important part determined by the ideas that you have about who you want to be in the future, by the possible selves that you have in mind. Borrowing from these social-psychological findings, I also include this current-future dimension to distinguish between different identity types, as it seems that how members currently think about their organization cannot be isolated from the desired future organizational identity.

Based on this private-public/current-future dimension, I distinguish four identity types. My main concept of perceived organizational identity can be positioned along the private-current continuum; it represents the private perceptions of organizational members about the current state of the organization (e.g. Dutton et al., 1994). The private-future identity type refers to the identity that organizational members themselves desire for their organization (Pratt & Dutton, 2000; Van Rekom, Van Nierop, & Van Beveren, 2006). The projected organizational identity represents the public-current identity type as it refers to the publicly claimed identity of who the organization is now (Carroll & Van Riel, 2001; Soenen & Moingeon, 2002). The public-future identity type is represented by the desired organizational identity, which refers to the identity that management desires for the organization; it is public because top management explicitly communicates this desired identity as ideal and as the benchmark for members' goals, attitudes and behavior (Gioia & Thomas, 1996). Of these four identity types, the private-future identity type of members' own desired organizational identity is not included in my analyses. For this dissertation, I am not so much interested in how members' own organizational identity desires affect their identification and behavior, as I am in how the inductive and deductive organizational identity types play out against each other. By focusing on the extent to which organizational members agree that the desired organizational identity is in line with their own organizational identity preferences, I capture the congruence or fit between members' private desired organizational identity perceptions and the collective public desired organizational identity. For an overview of these different identity types, categorized along these two dimensions, refer to Figure 3-1.

Figure 3-1 Categorization Identity Types

	Private	Public
Future	**Members' Desired Organizational Identity** Ideal Identity	**Desired Organizational Identity** Desired Identity Ideal Identity
Current	**Perceived Organizational Identity** Actual Identity Experienced Identity	**Projected Organizational Identity** Communicated Identity Projected Identity Professed Identity Manifested Identity

3.2 Perceived Organizational Identity

The concept of perceived organizational identity was first introduced by Albert and Whetten (1985) to capture the notion that organizations, like individuals, have identities that influence their members' attitudes and behavior. Organizational identity is generally defined as the shared perception that individual members have of their organization's central, distinctive and enduring characteristics. Centrality refers to those characteristics that comprise the essence of the organization; characteristics, which if removed, would alter the character of the organization. Albert and Whetten argue that it is impossible to determine a fixed and undisputed set of essential characteristics for any one organization, and that it depends on the particular circumstances and context which characteristics will be essential for an organization. Corley and his colleagues (2006) have identified three approaches to centrality. First, they define centrality as those characteristics that are ingrained into the organization to such a degree that the organization has more or less institutionalized these characteristics. Central characteristics are therefore almost impossible to disconnect from who the organization is. Second, centrality is referred to as those characteristics that are central in a network of all organizational characteristics (cf. Van Rekom, 1997). Van Rekom (1997) has developed a method to determine the centrality of an identity characteristic. Based on a means-end analysis, he determines how organizational characteristics are related. The more connected a characteristic is to other characteristics, the more central it is in this network of characteristics because if this characteristic would be removed, the entire network of characteristics would

fall apart. Thus, organizational identity is assumed to consist of those characteristics that have the most connections to all others. Third, centrality refers to the degree to which a characteristic is shared among members (Pratt, 2003). A characteristic is central to an organization when it is widely shared and recognized by its organizational employees as representative of their organization. So only those characteristics that are recognized as typical of their organization by a majority of the organizational members can be part of the organizational identity. Distinctiveness refers to those characteristics that differentiate the organization from other organizations, in particular its competitors. Distinction can be achieved by having characteristics that other organizations do not, or by taking a different approach to characteristics generally shared by organizations. The assumption is not that each characteristic needs to be distinctive on its own, but that the set of identity characteristics taken together, should differentiate the organization from others (Corley et al., 2006). The criterion of distinctiveness has increasingly received criticism from scholars who argue that due to processes of imitation and isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Labianca, Fairbank, Thomas, Gioia, & Umphress, 2001) organizations are increasingly similar in nature and that in some instances organizations may not even want to distinguish themselves from competitors in an attempt to gain legitimacy (Glynn & Abzug, 2002). Enduring refers to the criterion that organizational identity characteristics cannot be subject to the fad of the day, have been part of the organization over a long period of time and are resistant to change. With organizational identity change being one of the most hotly debated topics of the organizational identity field, several scholars challenge this assumption of stability (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Gioia et al., 2000; Meyer, Bartunek, & Lacey, 2002). They argue that in the current fast-paced environment it is impossible to assume that organizational identities remain stable, especially considering the strong interaction between organizational identity and image (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991). Even if organizational identity seems stable, it is more likely that the labels remain the same, while their underlying meaning is subject to change, a form of "adaptive instability" (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Gioia et al., 2000: 64).

In this dissertation, I define perceived organizational identity as the shared perceptions organizational members have of who their organization is in terms of those characteristics that are essential to the organization, distinguish it from other organizations and have characterized the organization over a longer period. Since a strict interpretation of these three identity criteria appeared difficult to uphold empirically (Gioia et al., 2000; Meyer et al., 2002), scholars have adopted a more flexible approach toward the definition of perceived organizational identity and the interpretation of its three identity criteria of centrality, distinctiveness and endurance (cf. Albert & Whetten, 1985; Whetten, 2006).

3.3   Projected Organizational Identity

Projected organizational identity stems from a more strategic-management approach of organizational identity (Van Rekom, 1998: 13) and refers to those identity characteristics that are projected or claimed by the organization and communicated to its stakeholders (Brown et al., 2006). Birkigt and Stadler (in Van Rekom, 1998: 14) also provide a fitting description of projected organizational

identity as "the strategically planned, operationally implemented internal and external self-presentation and actions of an organization. The self-presentation and actions are based on an explicitly defined corporate mission, a long-term setting of objectives and a well-defined desired image". Cheney and Christensen (2000: 250) call our attention to the organizational identity that is claimed through the collective "corporate voice". The authors argue that organizations engage in a form of auto-communication, where they project an organizational identity not only as a way to present themselves to stakeholders, but as a form of self-affirmation. It represents a more strategically well thought-out presentation of the organization to its constituents, which is expressed through behavior, communication and symbolism (Van Halderen & Van Riel, 2007: 68). Since the projected organizational identity is used as a managerial tool to present the organization to its stakeholders, these projected organizational identity claims tend to be of a positive nature and are not necessarily in line with members' organizational identity perceptions (Martin et al., 1983). Projected organizational identity is viewed as a consciously construed reference point used by organizational top management as a tool to mold and integrate organizational impressions in order to present the organization to internal and external stakeholders in a consistent and coherent way (Hatch & Schultz, 1997). Here, organizational identity is communicated through impression management processes with the aim of being supported by organizational members (Carroll & Van Riel, 2001). The concept is similar to Balmer and Greyser's (2002) notion of communicated identity: the organizational identity that is conveyed through more or less controllable corporate communication. Hatch and Schultz (2000: 17-19) refer to projected organizational identity as corporate identity, which is the organizational identity that management communicates through symbols such as logos, corporate brands and slogans and is aimed at enhancing the visibility and attractiveness of the organization. Corporate identity is a more design-oriented concept that concerns who the organization is in terms of its logo, house style, nomenclature, design etc. (Van Riel & Balmer, 1997) and stems from the field of marketing (Soenen & Moingeon, 2002). I refer to projected organizational identity rather than corporate identity, because corporate identity tends to have the more narrow connotation of the visual representations of the organizational identity through the design of organizational symbols, house-style and logos (Gioia et al., 2000). Projected organizational identity moves beyond mere symbols to include all the organizational characteristics that organizational management communicates, projects and claims (Dutton et al., 1994; Soenen & Moingeon, 2002) through different communication media such as Intranet, corporate brochures, presentations and annual and social reports.

It is important to acknowledge, as Hatch and Schultz (2000: 17-19) argue, that perceived organizational identity and projected organizational identity are interdependent. Projected organizational identity, which top management explicitly expresses, influences perceived organizational identity as organizational members absorb these projected identity characteristics in their own organizational lives. The other way around, the perceived organizational identity is input for top management as they determine the projected organizational identity. Rindova en Schultz (1998) argue for a more integrated approach of the concept of identity in organizations that captures both the behaviorally oriented

perceived organizational identity, as well as the more corporate and visual oriented projected organizational identity. They argue that the interrelationship between both concepts captures the inherent tension of an organization's identity between its internal and external features.

3.4 Desired Organizational Identity

In the field of organizational identity, several studies have shown the significance of the future desired organizational identity for organizational identity processes (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Gioia & Thomas, 1996; Reger et al., 1994). Desired organizational identity refers to the ideal organizational identity that management envisions for the organization in the future and communicates as such to internal and external stakeholders. Desired identities are found both with the individual organizational member (Pratt & Dutton, 2000; Van Rekom et al., 2006) and with the organization's top management (Gioia & Thomas, 1996). In this dissertation, I refer particularly to the latter form of desired organizational identity. In this I follow Balmer and Soenen (1999) who argue that desired organizational identity resides with the organization's dominant coalition; those decision makers who hold power within an organization. Since the dominant coalition exerts most control over an organization's communication, desired organizational identity can be a very influential driver of members' attitudes and behavior. In extant work, scholars generally refer to the significance of desired organizational identity in relation to organizational identity change processes (Gioia & Thomas, 1996; Reger et al., 1994). Scholars argue that by presenting organizational members with a vision of who the organization should become in the future, current identity perceptions are destabilized and opened up for change, which is indicative of the influential role of desired future identity. The argument here is that if members recognize the desired organizational identity as an extension of their own desired self-identity, they will be motivated to aspire that future identity (Foreman & Whetten, 2002). The gap between the current perceived organizational identity and the future desired organizational identity functions as a motivational trigger (Reger et al., 1994). It encourages members to strive for the desired identity and adjust their current identity perceptions and behavior accordingly. It is surprising that even though scholars recognize the significant role of desired organizational identity in organizational identity change processes; they have never made a structural attempt at understanding how desired organizational identity affects members' organizational identification and desired behavior.

For an overview of these three identity types and their conceptual backgrounds, refer to Table 3-2 below. Please note that this table also includes perceived external prestige, a concept to be discussed below. I have included perceived external prestige in this table, because it represents members' perceptions of the organization's external image, and identity and image are two closely related concepts. In my discussion of perceived external prestige, its intricate relationship with identity will become evident.

Table 3-2 Different Identity Types & Perceived External Prestige

Identity Types	Perceived Organizational Identity	Projected Organizational Identity	Desired Organizational Identity	Perceived External Prestige
Definitions	• Members' shared perception of the organization's central, distinctive and enduring characteristics (Albert & Whetten, 1985) • The shared perceptions members have of who their organization is or what it stands for (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Dutton et al, 1994)	The organizational identity that an organization's management claims and communicates to its stakeholders through language, symbols, rituals etc. (Carroll & Van Riel, 2001; Soenen & Moingeon, 2002)	The ideal organizational identity as defined by management, which also acts as a guideline for current attitudes and behavior (Gioia & Thomas, 1996)	The perception members have of the degree to which external stakeholders think of the organization as prestigious (Smidts et al, 2001)
Research Tradition	Inductive, social constructionist	Deductive, institutionalist	Deductive, institutionalist	Inductive, social constructionist
Identity Claimants (Pratt & Foreman, 2000a) **Who holds this identity?**	Organizational members	Top Management	Top Management	Organizational members
Identity Targets (Pratt & Foreman, 2000a) **What does the identity describe?**	Members' shared organizational identity perception	The collective organizational identity as determined by management	The collective desired future organizational identity as determined by management	The external prestige of the collective organization

Identity Types	Perceived Organizational Identity	Projected Organizational Identity	Desired Organizational Identity	Perceived External Prestige
Audience (Pratt & Foreman, 2000a) Who views the identity?	Organizational members	Organizational members and external stakeholders	Organizational members and external stakeholders	Organizational members
Temporal Nature (Pratt & Foreman, 2000a) Does the identity refer to the past, present or future?	Present	Present	Future	Present
Data Source	Member perceptions	Managerial Communication	Managerial Communication	Member perceptions
Grounded in	• (Individual) Psychology (Erikson, 1959) • Organizational Behavior & Social Identity Theory (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Mael & Ashforth, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1985)	• Marketing &Visual Design • Impression Management (Leary & Kowalski, 1990)	(Social) Psychology: Possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986)	Organizational Behavior & Social Identity Theory (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Mael & Ashforth, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1985)
Alternative labels/conceptualizations	• Collective understandings (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006) • Construed organizational identity (Corley et al, 2006)	• Collective claims (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006) • Collective Identity (Corley et al., 2006; Pratt, 2003)	• Desired (Future) Identity (Balmer & Greyser, 2002; Gioia & Thomas, 1996) • Desired Organizational	• Construed External Image (Dutton et al, 1994) • Perceived Organizational Prestige (Bhattacharya, Rao

Identity Types	Perceived Organizational Identity	Projected Organizational Identity	Desired Organizational Identity	Perceived External Prestige
	• Member organizational associations (Brown et al, 2006) • Actual Identity (Balmer & Greyser, 2002) • Current Identity (Foreman & Whetten, 2002) • Experienced Identity (Soenen & Moingeon, 2002)	• Corporate Identity (Balmer, 1998; Balmer & Wilson, 1998) • Institutionalized Identity (Fox-Wolfgramm et al, 1998; Whetten & Mackey, 2002) • Institutional claims (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006) • Intended associations (Brown et al, 2006) • Communicated Identity (Balmer & Greyser, 2002)	• Images (Gioia & Thomas, 1996; Scott & Lane, 2000) • Ideal identity (Foreman & Whetten, 2002) • Organizational Identity as desired by members (Van Rekom et al, 2006a)	& Glynn, 1995; Mael & Ashforth, 1992) • Construed associations (Brown et al, 2006)
Conceptual Framework	• Interaction with perceived external prestige • Drives identification and behavior	• Interaction with perceived external prestige • Drives identification and behavior	Trigger of organizational identity change	• Interaction with perceived organizational identity • Drives identification and behavior
Why relevant/underlying mechanisms	Social Comparison (Dutton et al, 1994): Self-continuity Self-enhancement	Carry-over effect (Rhodewalt, 1986)	• Incentive future behavior • Sensemaking context for "working self-concept" • Trigger for change (Corley	• Reflected appraisals (Scott & Lane, 2000) • Self-enhancement (Dutton et al, 1994)

Identity Types	Perceived Organizational Identity	Projected Organizational Identity	Desired Organizational Identity	Perceived External Prestige
	Self-distinctiveness		& Gioia, 2004, Fox-Wolfgramm et al, 1998; Reger et al, 1994)	
Measures	Organization-specific	Organization-specific	Organization-specific	• Organization-specific • Standardized: Mael & Ashforth (1992) Smidts et al (2001)
Empirical Studies	• Dutton & Dukerich (1991) • Elsbach & Kramer (1996) • Pratt (2000) • Dukerich et al (2002)	Carroll & Van Riel (2001)	• Gioia & Thomas (1996) • Foreman & Whetten (2002) • Corley & Gioia (2004)	• Dutton & Dukerich (1991) • Smidts et al (2001) • Dukerich et al (2002)

3.5 Conceptual Framework Dissertation

Which identity types drive members' identification and desired behavior in organizations? In the past two decades, management scholars have shown increased interest in this question (Cardador & Pratt, 2006; Pratt, 2001). To determine the significance and interaction patterns of the different identity perceptions, we look at their interaction with perceived external prestige, and their effects on organizational identification and desired behavior. To understand how the three different identity perceptions and perceived external prestige interact and affect identification and behavior, I use social identity theory, which I briefly introduced in chapter two and will discuss here in greater detail. Organizational identity and identification processes are embedded in social psychology and several scholars have shown how social psychological mechanisms extend beyond the social group to explain for organizational processes as well (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Ellemers et al., 2003; Haslam et al., 2003; Hogg & Terry, 2001).

3.5.1 *Social Identity Theory*

Social identity refers to that part of an individual's identity that is determined by his or her membership in a social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It applies specifically to those situations where individuals regard themselves as group members or representatives of a social group, rather than as independent, separate individuals (Ellemers et al., 2003). Social identity theory maintains that individuals have a natural tendency to categorize themselves and others into relevant social groups (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), which consists of those individuals that share a social category according to their own perception and that of others. More importantly, social categories enable individuals to compartmentalize their social context, which also enables them to determine their own place in the social world (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Members have a predisposition to in-group bias, where they regard themselves and consequently their relevant social group, in a positive light and thus strive for a positive social identity (Turner & Haslam, 2001: 28). In their pursuit of a positive social identity, members engage in "social competition" (Turner & Haslam, 2001: 28) and through intergroup comparisons, they aim to confirm their in-group's distinctiveness and prestige (Hogg & Terry, 2000). In line with this, three underlying principles of self-definition (Dutton et al, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) are identified: self-enhancement, self-distinctiveness and self-continuity. Self-enhancement refers to individuals' aim for a positive social identity. Individuals will continuously strive to maintain or enhance their group's prestige since an attractive group-identity "rubs off" on their social identity. Self-distinctiveness concerns individuals' desire to distinguish themselves from others. From a social identity perspective this means that group-members will engage in ways that positively or even, if necessary, negatively (Ellemers et al., 2003) differentiate their group from a relevant out-group. Self-continuity or self-consistency relates to individuals' need for continuity and consistency of their self-concept. Members will look for this consistency in their social group and are drawn to social groups that are in line with their self-concept. To maintain this continuity, they will

attempt to preserve their social group's identity (Van Leeuwen, Van Knippenberg, & Ellemers, 2003). Social identity in an organizational setting refers to that part of a member's personal identity that is derived from his or her membership in the organization. The organization represents their relevant social group and these abovementioned principles become fundamental to identity processes in the organizational context.

3.5.2   *Self-Categorization Theory*

Where social identity theory concerns the processes that underlie intergroup relations and in-group bias, self-categorization theory involves the processes fundamental to a psychological group, such as group cohesion and cooperation (Turner & Haslam, 2001: 26). Self-categorization (Hogg & Terry, 2000; Turner, 1999: 10-12; Turner & Haslam, 2001: 32-33) involves a process of self-stereotyping, where group members define themselves according to their shared social category rather than their own idiosyncratic characteristics, and depersonalization, where group members regard themselves less as independent individuals and more as prototypical representatives of their in-group. These two processes are fundamental to collective behavior, as members come to see themselves as group members rather than individuals and think and behave according to the shared collective identity; in a psychological sense, the collective group becomes the self. In line with this, Haslam and Platow (2001), distinguish four processes of self-categorization, fundamental to organizational behavior. First, members of a social category perceive of themselves as relatively interchangeable delegates of this in-group and therefore share perceptions, values and goals. Second, a salient social in-group converges perceptions across in-group members, which leads to a high degree of in-group agreement and mutual influential processes to achieve agreement. Third, members are motivated to behave in accordance to group norms, which means that a relevant social group not only unifies perceptions but behavior as well. Fourth, members are motivated to work together in order to achieve group goals, even if this means sacrificing personal goals. Self-categorization theory explains the underlying mechanisms that enable collective organizational behavior.

Based on these social identity and self-categorization processes, I will draw out the hypothesized relationships between the different identity types, perceived external prestige, identification and desired behavior.

3.6   Organizational Identification

Organizational identification is grounded in our social psychological understandings of group and social identification (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Organizational identification is a form of social identification, where the organization functions as the social group that offers an individual the opportunity to connect to something bigger than the self, potentially enhance self-esteem and have a sense of belonging (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Identification has often been confused with concepts such as commitment and loyalty (Pratt, 1998; Van Knippenberg & Sleebos, 2006). The main difference between these concept and identification is the element of 'perceived oneness" (Ashforth & Mael, 1989:

23); essential to identification is the understanding that the individual and organization have cognitive and psychological overlap, whereas for commitment both entities are considered distinct (Van Knippenberg & Sleebos, 2006). Commitment and loyalty refer to an individual's acceptance of the organization's goals and values and his or her willingness to behave accordingly (Pratt, 1998); identification refers to a perceived overlap between organizational identity characteristics and a members' personal identity characteristics. In line with this, organizational identification is also organization specific, whereas one's loyalty and commitment can apply across different organizations. Organizational identification refers to a psychological bond that an individual develops with his or her organization when he or she uses the characteristics that are central to the organization, to describe his or her own, personal self-concept (Dutton et al., 1994). Therefore, the stronger one's identification with an organization, the more one's own personal identity overlaps with and connects to the organizational identity. Pratt (1998) argues that organizational identification takes place when the characteristics that an individual ascribes to their organization become self-defining to them as an individual; the organization's characteristics become ingrained into one's self-perception. It refers to the degree to which organizational members recognize an overlap between the perceived organizational identity of their organization and their own individual identity characteristics (Pratt, 1998). The greater the degree of overlap, the stronger the cognitive connection between the individual and his or her organization (Dutton et al., 1994), i.e. the stronger one's identification with the organization. Based on these aforementioned conceptualizations of organizational identification, I define organizational identification as the extent to which an individual recognizes and feels that he or she is "one with" or in other words, an indispensable part of the organization.

Several scholars have made a case for the link between organizational identity and identification and their subsequent effect on members' behavior (e.g. Dukerich et al., 2002; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; e.g. Foreman & Whetten, 2002). Engendering organizational identification is one of the primary responsibilities of contemporary organizations (Pratt, 1998); a high degree of identification functions as a form of insurance that individuals will be motivated to behave with the collective organizational goals in mind (Ellemers et al., 2004). Ashforth and Mael (1989) delineate four factors that increase the likelihood of identification. First, the more distinctive the group's identity characteristics the more the group stands out from its peers, which makes it a more attractive identification target. Even negative distinctions can enhance identification as it makes the social group unique and makes it stand out as different (Ellemers et al., 2003); the negative association to the group enhances a feeling of belonging and connection (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). Second, the more prestigious the group, the more it offers opportunities for self-enhancement, which is an important driver of identification. Third, the presence of a salient out-group increases one's awareness of the relevance of the in-group, which also enhances identification. Finally, basic mechanisms of group formation such as interpersonal similarity, liking and common backgrounds are also believed to affect identification, even though they are not required for identification to actually occur.

3.6.1   Perceived Organizational Identity Impacts Identification

A core understanding of social identity theory is that members engage in social comparison, where they are particularly motivated to hold their own social group in high regard, and to consider their group as more prestigious and distinctive in comparison to other groups (Turner, 1999). This enables them to "bask in the reflected glory" (Cialdini et al., 1976: 366) of their social group. The attractiveness of a social group for an individual, is based on the extent to which it satisfies the different identity motives that include self-enhancement, self-verification, self-continuity and self-distinctiveness (Chen, Chen, & Shaw, 2004; Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, Golledge, & Scabini, 2006). Of the many different identity motives that are identified in psychology, works in organizational identity generally regard three of them as overall principles of self-definition (Dutton et al., 1994): self-consistency, self-distinctiveness and self-enhancement. Vignoles and her colleagues (2006) argue that identities, which satisfy these identity motives, are (unconsciously) linked to positive emotions and regarded as particularly central to an individual's sense of self. As a consequence, individuals desire to be part of social groups that fit with their self-concepts (self-consistency), enable them to distinguish themselves from others (self-distinctiveness) and offer them prestige (self-enhancement) (Dutton et al., 1994; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1985). Groups with attractive identities, i.e. which satisfy these three self-definitional principles for an individual, become appealing targets for identification. In other words, the more attractive members find the identity of their social group, the stronger their need will be to belong to this group, which will intensify their identification. Bringing this back to the organizational context, I argue:

Hypothesis 1: The more attractive organizational members find their perceived organizational identity, the stronger their organizational identification.

3.6.2   Projected Organizational Identity Impacts Identification

Several works in social psychology argue that the public self, how an individual presents him- or herself to the external world, also has an important impact on the privately held identity perceptions (e.g. Blanton & Christie, 2003; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Tetlock & Manstead, 1985; Ungar, 1980). Several works in psychology illustrate the effect of self-presentations on the private self-concept. Rhodewalt (1986) refers to this as the "carry-over effect": when individuals engage in self-presentation, their self-concepts tend to shift in the direction of the presentation, which means that the public self can have an important effect on current attitudes and behavior. Self-presentation has self-regulatory effects and requires some degree of behavioral adaptation in the individual's effort to project a specific identity (Vohs, Baumeister, & Ciarocco, 2005). The assumption is that owing to the public nature of the behavior, an individual becomes committed to this behavior (and image) due to the need to portray some degree of reliability and consistency to the audience. Private perceptions, which are only known to the individuals themselves, can be ignored or manipulated, whereas perceptions that are made known to an external group can influence or even prescribe subjects' attitudes (Roberts, 2005; Ungar, 1980).

In line with these findings in social psychology, several organizational identity scholars have claimed that we need to pay more attention to the projected organizational identity (Soenen & Moingeon, 2002). Projected organizational identity is important, because it incorporates those identity characteristics that are consciously and explicitly communicated and projected throughout the organization; it occupies a central role in the sensegiving and sensemaking process of who the organization is (e.g. Albert & Whetten, 1985; Hatch & Schultz, 1997; Pratt, 2003). Hatch and Schultz (2000) argue that because members are in a position to compare their own identity perceptions, based on their experience as an employee, to the identity claims projected by top management, they incorporate the projected organizational identity into their own identity perceptions; as a consequence, projected organizational identity becomes a crucial factor in the identity and identification processes. An important aspect of identity processes is the need for self-consistency (Cross, Gore, & Morris, 2003); individuals aspire toward a consistent sense of self because that provides them with a sense of being authentic and integer (Dutton et al., 1994; Gecas, 1982). As a result, individuals strive toward consistency between their private and public self-concepts. Discrepancies between these identity perceptions would negatively affect individuals' well-being (Cross et al., 2003). Linking this to organizational processes, I argue that a match between members' own organizational identity perceptions and the projected organizational identity would intensify their connection to the organization:

Hypothesis 2: The more organizational members agree with the projected organizational identity, the stronger their organizational identification.

3.6.3 Desired Organizational Identity Impacts Identification

In social psychology, Markus and Nurius (1986) argue why possible selves, which are images individuals hold of their future identities, either desired or feared, are considered an important mechanism between cognition and motivation. Other scholars refer to the effect of the aspired identity, as individuals have a need to attain, or at least attempt to attain, their ideal self (Brunstein & Gollwitzer, 1996; Haslam, Powell, & Turner, 2000; Katz & Kahn, 1966: 362).

In organization science, several scholars illustrate the significant role of a desired future organizational identity as a driver of change (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991; Gioia & Thomas, 1996). The presentation of a desired future organizational identity is an important sensegiving mechanism that enables members to identify with a future vision of who the organization should become (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991) and has been shown to act as an important mode for members to remain strongly connected to their organization, while engaging in change processes (Reger et al., 1994).

Gioia and Thomas (1996) and Corley and Gioia (2004) illustrate the significant role a desired future identity plays in triggering change in organizational identity. The desired organizational identity refers to a future state of who the organization should become or who it wants to be. This type of organizational identity is a crucial mechanism for members' current identity interpretations and

sensemaking processes. The assumption is that presenting members with a vision of the organizational identity in the future acts as a behavioral motivator; a future goal for members to which they can strive. In order to attain this future organizational identity, members adjust their attitudes and behavior. Corley and Gioia (2004) illustrate that merely presenting members with a desired future identity is not sufficient. In their study of a change process after a corporate spin-off, the authors illustrate how the desired future identity became effective in convincing members of its merit and attainability only when intensive communication and behavioral examples from management instilled members with a deeper understanding of what management meant with this desired organizational identity. Internalization of this desired organizational identity only occurs if organizational members actually endorse it. If members agree with the desired organizational identity, they are more willing to commit themselves to this future identity, which will subsequently intensify the connection they have with their organization. I therefore argue:

> **Hypothesis 3:** The more organizational members agree with the desired organizational identity, the stronger their organizational identification.

3.7   Interaction Organizational Identity Types and Perceived External Prestige

In social psychology, scholars incorporate the effect of what Gecas (1982: 5) refers to as "reflected appraisals", the effect of our interpretation of others' evaluation of us on our self-perception. Likewise, in addition to perceived organizational identity, members' perceptions of how outsiders regard the organization is also considered as a central driver of identification and behavior (Gioia et al., 2000). Perceived external prestige (Mael & Ashforth, 1992; Smidts et al., 2001) refers to the perception organizational members have of how prestigious the organization is in the eyes of external stakeholders. Perceived external prestige is generally included as an antecedent of organizational identification as several identity scholars believe that organizational identity cannot be isolated from perceived external prestige due to the strong interrelationship between identity and image (e.g. Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Dutton et al., 1994; Elsbach & Kramer, 1996; Gioia et al., 2000). A lucid example is the study conducted by Dutton and Dukerich (1991) on the New York and New Jersey Port Authority, where they illustrate how the perceived identity of the Port Authority on the one hand and its deteriorating image on the other, simultaneously affect members' subsequent issue interpretation and behavior. In a more recent study, Dukerich and colleagues (2002) illustrate how the attractiveness of both perceived identity and construed external image positively affect the identification and cooperative behavior of physicians. Organizational members incorporate the feedback from external stakeholders into their own identity perception; because of individual's need for self-enhancement, employees place value in working for a prestigious, well-regarded company as this prestige reflects on them as individuals (Cialdini et al., 1976; Dutton et al., 1994).

One of the most important reasons for members to identify with an organization is self-enhancement (Dutton et al., 1994); being associated with a prestigious organization reflects on the employees and indirectly enhances their own sense of self. Perceived external prestige is believed to

influence attitudes and behavior because members use this perception as a barometer to determine how external stakeholders think about the organization, which subsequently influences their own identity perceptions and how they feel about and behave within the organization. If members believe for example that the perceived external prestige of their organization is low, they are likely to adjust their behavior to ensure that their external image is a positive and prestigious one since it also affects members' own sense of self. The question then is: how do members take external prestige into account?

Interestingly, Smidts and his colleagues (2001) find that for organizations with greater external prestige, their internal communication climate is less significant for identification. They argue that these results imply that if employees work for a company that lacks in prestige, internal aspects such as communication become more significant. Likewise, if an organization enjoys a prestigious image, internal aspects become less significant. These findings suggest that members look for meaningful sources of identification either internally, within their organizational context, or externally, within the organization's image or reputation. Following this logic, the different types of organizational identity, which all relate to internal organizational aspects, could potentially be of lesser significance for prestigious organizations. If the organization has a prestigious image or reputation, internal aspects such as organizational identity, might be of lesser significance for identification since members can feed off the organization's external prestige. The results by Smidts et al (2001) suggest that internal aspects such as communication climate, act as a substitute when an organization lacks an attractive external image. Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) for example, illustrate how the negative external image of dirty workers such as garbage collectors only strengthens their identification with their occupational identity. The threat of a negative external image to a social group tends to strengthen members' sense that they belong together, hence increasing the connection to their social group (Stein, 1976). In addition, perceived external prestige functions as a benchmark for organizational members against which to compare their own perceptions of the organization (Gioia et al, 2000). Therefore, contrary to most studies that test a model of identification (Dukerich et al., 2002; Dutton et al., 1994), I regard perceived external prestige not as a separate driver of identification, but as a moderator of the relationship between the different identity types and organizational identification. Taking these findings in consideration, I argue that organizational identity types will become particularly important for identification, when an organization has a low degree of external prestige:

Hypothesis 4a: The higher the perceived external prestige, the weaker the relationship between perceived organizational identity and organizational identification.

Hypothesis 4b: The higher the perceived external prestige, the weaker the relationship between projected organizational identity and organizational identification.

Hypothesis 4c: The higher the perceived external prestige, the weaker the relationship between desired organizational identity and organizational identification.

3.8 Identification Impacts Desired Behavior

In my conceptual framework, I assume that organizational identification mediates the relationship between the different types of organizational identity and organizational citizenship behavior. A variable mediates the relationship between two or more other variables if it forms a mechanism through which the independent variables impact the dependent variable (Baron and Kenny, 1986).

I conceptualize desired behavior in terms of cooperative (Dukerich et al., 2002) or organizational citizenship behavior (Moorman & Blakely, 1995). It refers to behavior that employees display in the organizational context, which exceeds the formal requirements of a specific job title or function. Individuals display desired behavior when they direct their efforts to the benefit of their colleagues, their tasks and the overall organization, even if this does not benefit their personal goals and interests (Dutton et al., 1994). This type of behavior is beneficial to the organization, as it signifies that members are willing to go that extra mile, despite the fact that they are not compensated for it. Citizenship or desired behavior refers specifically to behavior that benefits the collective organization. Prosocial behavior, where an employee for example, helps a colleague to cover-up his or her mistakes, even though prosocial, does not benefit the organization as a whole and is therefore not considered as citizenship or desired behavior (Moorman & Blakely, 1995). One of the key issues for scholars is to get a better understanding of why some individuals engage in desired behavior, whereas others do not. Moorman and Blakely (1995: 129) argue that citizenship behavior is particularly determined by a construct that they refer to as "Individualism-Collectivism". This construct refers to the degree to which an individual has a more individualistic orientation versus a more collectivistic orientation. An individualist is driven by personal goals and is less likely to engage in citizenship on behalf of the collective organization. A collectivist on the other hand, places a great deal of value in being part of the collective group and is therefore mainly driven by the goals and interests of the collective, maybe even without regard for personal interests. Even though the scholars do not refer to the concept of organizational identification, with their individualism-collectivism construct, they do capture the same mechanism as that of identification.

Identity scholars argue that identification is a driver of citizenship behavior, because it is a thermometer of the extent to which an employee is willing to act with organizational goals in mind (Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 2003). Members who identify strongly with an organization are particularly motivated to act on behalf of the collective organization (Ellemers et al., 2004). Dukerich et al (2002) assert that the concepts of organizational identity and identification offer renewed insight into why members engage in cooperative behavior. They argue that one's motivation to act on behalf of the collective organization, rather than based on personal interests is most likely embedded in how one thinks about and perceives the organization.

The more intensely members identify with their social group, in our case the organization, the stronger the processes of self-stereotyping and depersonalization (Hogg & Terry, 2000) become. As a

consequence, individuals increasingly align their behavior with the prototypical or normative behavior of the group and are much more motivated to behave according to group norms and work together to achieve common group goals (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Haslam & Platow, 2001). As Dutton and her colleagues (1994) argue, organizational identification leads to increased intragroup cooperative behavior due to the increased intragroup bias, whereby members have a heightened trust in and attraction toward other in-group members, which makes them more willing to engage in behavior that satisfies group goals, regardless of individual benefits. Identity and identification "provide a way of accounting for the agency of human action within an organizational framework" (Albert, Ashforth, & Dutton, 2000: 14); they offer an explanation for why individuals engage in desired behavior. I therefore argue:

> **Hypothesis 5:** The stronger the organizational identification of an organizational member, the higher the degree of desired behavior, he or she displays.

These hypothesized relationships are depicted in Figure 3-2 below and are tested in the two quantitative studies that are discussed in chapters five and six.

Figure 3-2 Conceptual Framework Dissertation
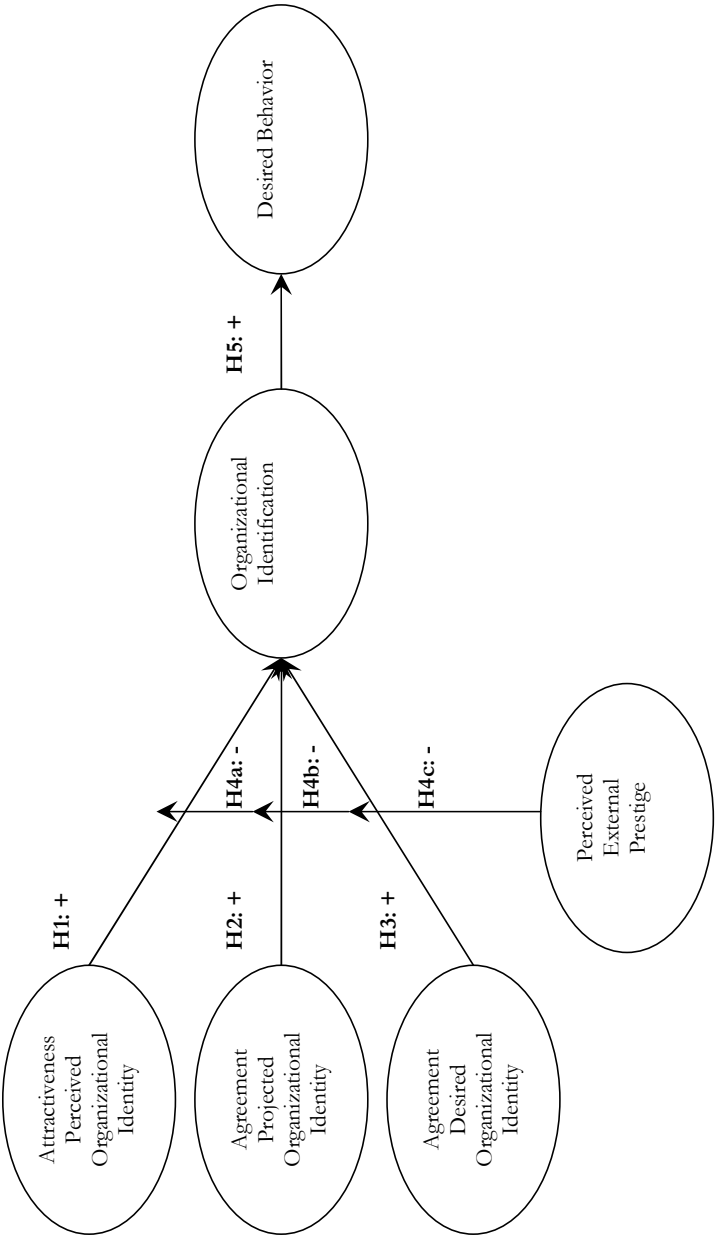
SECTION II: THREE EMPIRICAL STUDIES

In the following three chapters, I discuss my three empirical studies. With these studies, I illustrate how both inductive and deductive processes affect organizational identity. In chapter four, I present study one, which comprises the qualitative study I conduct at Pecunia, a European bank, in the midst of an extensive change process. With this study, I attempt to uncover the inductive processes organizational members use to make sense of perceived organizational identity. In each of the remaining chapters of this section, chapter five and six, I test my conceptual framework to determine the relative significance of inductive and deductive organizational identity types for organizational identification and desired behavior. The two different contexts in which study two and three are set, enable me to identify conditions in which either inductive or deductive organizational identity types become the more significant driver. In study two, conducted at Concrete, a construction company that faces a collective external threat to its public image, the focus will be on the private-public dimension, where the comparative significance of perceived and projected organizational identity is the focus. As the declining image affects the organization as a whole, different mechanisms might be at work in comparison to the third and final study. In the final study at Pecunia, the current-future dimension is of particular interest as the main goal of the organization is to attain a desired future identity; in addition to perceived and projected organizational identity, desired organizational identity is included.

Chapter 4   THE ROLE OF SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHICS IN INDUCTIVE ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY PROCESSES

In my first step[1] toward a better understanding of the role that inductive and deductive organizational identity types play for organizational members, I am particularly interested in the inductive processes through which individual members make sense of their perceived organizational identity; i.e. how members determine "what their organization is about" (Ravasi & Schultz, 2005: 435). I attempt to do this by delineating the process by which members determine whether their organization consists of multiple identities. I focus on multiple identities for three reasons. First, authors have increasingly moved away from perceived organizational identity as a single, unified concept, arguing that it is more likely that an organization's identity is made up of multiple, not necessarily conflicting, perceptions of who the organization is (Pratt & Foreman, 2000b). Second, by focusing on how members make sense of multiple identities you simultaneously gain insight into two processes: how members themselves conceptualize their organization's identity and how they draw inferences about how other organizational members think about the organization. Both processes provide us with an understanding of the way in which members make sense of perceived organizational identity. Third, my focal organization, at the time of this study, was at the pinnacle of a comprehensive change process, where the goal was to become a young, dynamic and fast-paced financial player. These developments, which covered a period of over fifteen years, have left visible marks on the organization's composition. Due to manifold structural changes and the subsequent influx of "young blood", the organization currently consists of different groups of employees, which are a remainder of both the "old" and the "new". This setting makes it even more interesting to see how these organizational members make sense of "who their organization is".

4.1   How Members Make Sense of Multiple Identities

An organization is said to consist of multiple identities if organizational members have multiple (not necessarily conflicting) views of what their organization stands for (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Pratt & Foreman, 2000b; Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997). In their study of multiple social identities, Pratt and Rafaeli (1997) illustrate how nurses in a rehabilitation unit use their attire to convey and deal with the multiple and conflicting social identities of their unit. In their article, the scholars outline an intricate network of multiple identities and issues that they have found. In a footnote they remark however that "[this complex web of identities and issues] *did not exist in the mind of any single organization member*…The web of meanings…*became apparent to us only when we, as outsiders*, tried to comprehend the meaning and implications of the dispute about dress on the unit" (emphases added) (1997: 874). What Pratt and Rafaeli (1997) underline in their footnote is that the way in which multiple organizational identities are manifested is not

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[1] An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the 2006 Annual Academy of Management Meetings, Atlanta, GA

necessarily in accordance with how organizational members make sense of it. Their findings emphasize that for an additional understanding of the role that perceived organizational identity plays for members, it is vital that we understand the process by which organizational members come to determine that their organization consists of multiple identities. I build on Pratt and Rafaeli's findings by extending their study's implications to an organizational setting, where a symbol such as dress (Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997) is less prominent. In other words, I am interested in how members make sense of (multiple) perceived identities, when explicit symbols that convey these different identities, are not available to them. If such symbols are not available, what means or processes do members use to make sense of multiple perceived identities?

To gain a better understanding of this process, I conducted a qualitative study at a European bank. In the past fifteen years, this organization has undergone major change from a bureaucratic government-owned institution to a highly commercial and competitive financial player. It presents a very interesting context to analyze how members experience multiple organizational identities because, due to all the different changes that have been taking place, it is likely that members may experience many different, conflicting forces. From my study, a very interesting finding emerged; organizational members primarily determined whether multiple organizational identities were present based on perceived differences on the demographic characteristics age, education, tenure, division and hierarchical position. My findings suggest that organizational members apply a process of self-categorization based on these more discernible demographic cues to categorize organizational members into different groups, and that these different groups and their relevant demographic distinctions, predominantly determine how members view their organization and its multiple identities.

This finding is significant as few identity studies (e.g. Lau & Murnighan, 1998; Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly III, 1992) make this link between social demographics and perceived organizational identity. From the perspective of organizational members, perceptions of their organization and its multiple identities are intricately linked to the perceived similarities or differences based on demographic characteristics. Therefore, if we, in our approach of perceived organizational identity, continue to exclude perceived group differences based on demographic characteristics, we risk overlooking a very important element of organizational members' sensemaking process. Before I elaborate on the findings and their implications for our approach of multiple organizational identities, I discuss its theoretical background.

4.2   Multiple Organizational Identities

Generally, perceived organizational identity has been treated as a holistic concept, but the majority of identity scholars acknowledge that organizations most likely consist of multiple identity claims (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Pratt & Foreman, 2000b; Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997). The multifaceted nature of modern organizations, the amalgam of different units, diverse groups of internal and external stakeholders, make it almost impossible for organizations to consist of a holistic, consistent and commonly agreed upon perceived organizational identity (Ashforth & Mael, 1996) and it is likely that the subunits of larger organizations, contain different divisional identities (Reger et al., 1994). As Hatch and

Schultz (2004: 1,5) argue, perceived organizational identity is a collection of the different experiences and expectations of a great many people, who perceive the organization from different angles and for different reasons. They assert that a conceptualization of perceived organizational identity as consisting of multiple identities is necessary in order to value its complex and dynamic nature.

An organization is said to consist of multiple identities if different perceptions exist with regard to what an organization's central, distinctive and enduring characteristics are (e.g. Albert & Whetten, 1985; Golden-Biddle & Rao, 1997; Pratt & Foreman, 2000b; Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997). If the distinct identity characteristics remain separate to different organizational segments, and the multiplicity of the perceived organizational identity is manifest across rather than within units, the organization contains an ideographic identity, whereas if they are disseminated throughout the organization, the identity is said to be holographic (Albert & Whetten, 1985). Foreman uses the analog of a chimera "a fire-breathing monster with a lion's head, a goat's body, and a serpent's tail" (1998: 132) to illustrate the concept of multiple identities, where dissimilar, sometimes incompatible, identities make-up a single organizational entity.

Managing multiple identities is one of the key tasks of organizations in this day and age (e.g. Pratt, 2003). At the individual level, multiple identities are associated with drawbacks such as role strain and conflict, and with advantages such as increased feelings of security and personal worth due to greater privileges and resources (Thoits, 1983, , 1986). Similarly, multiple perceived organizational identities are believed to bring both advantages and disadvantages to an organization (Pratt & Foreman, 2000b). The assumption is that organizations that contain multiple identities can be more flexible, attractive and accommodating toward both internal and external stakeholders. The drawback of multiple identities, however, is that it can lead to organizational apathy, due to an overburden of identity tensions. Therefore, successful management of multiple identities provides organizations with a competitive edge and enables them to distinguish themselves from competitors.

This conceptualization of multiple identities makes two implicit assumptions. First, the multiplicity is determined from the standpoint that one has a complete overview of the organization, its subgroups and their related organizational identity perceptions. Pratt and Foreman (2000b) for example, discuss management strategies for dealing with multiple organizational identities. The authors argue that successful management of multiple organizational identities requires that managers determine the optimal level of identity plurality, the appropriate number of multiple identities that is best for the organization, and the optimal level of identity synergy, the degree to which the multiple identities need to be merged or kept separate. These two dimensions of multiple identities, result in four general management responses to deal with multiple identities. Compartmentalization occurs when a high number of multiple identities but no synergy between them are desirable. Deletion refers to the strategy when both the synergy potential and the desired number of multiple identities are low and managers eliminate one or more multiple identities. Integration occurs when managers prefer a low number of identities that are merged due to high synergy potential. Finally, aggregation takes place when both the desired number of identities

and synergy between them are high, which implies that managers retain a large number of different identities, but simultaneously link them. Likewise, Pratt and Rafaeli (1997: 875) and Corley (2004: 1155) illustrate the multiple identities of their focal organization by means of a complex overview of how the different organizational identity perceptions are related to different identity issues and different hierarchical levels, respectively. In this approach to multiple organizational identity management, a bird's eye view of the different organizational identities and how these relate to each other is crucial.

Second, multiplicity is determined by comparing abstract organizational characteristics. One approach involves a predetermined multiplicity where the assumption is made beforehand that the nature of the organization holds an inherent duality. Like Albert and Whetten's (1985: 280-281) extended metaphor analysis. Their approach suggests that to determine whether an organization contains multiple identities, researchers should predetermine tentative metaphors that represent the multiple nature of the identity and subsequently test whether aspects of the perceived organizational identity support these different metaphors. Foreman and Whetten (2002) follow Albert and Whetten's extended metaphor analysis and presuppose that the nature of their focal organizations, rural cooperatives, incorporates an inherent duality. Through extended metaphor analysis, the authors then attempt to find aspects of the organizational identities that capture this duality. Another approach, which is found in the work by Golden-Biddle and Rao (1997), involves the researchers determining whether identity characteristics are incompatible. Based on members' statements about their organizational identity, the scholars determine that their focal organization is a hybrid, as they find that some statements support a family-driven identity, while other statements sustain a volunteer-driven organizational identity.

While these works provide us with critical insight into how multiple organizational identities are manifested, not many works, exceptions aside (Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997), attempt to explore how organizational members themselves make sense of multiple identities. Contrary to us researchers, organizational members generally do not have a bird's eye view of the different organizational groups and their identity perceptions. In addition, as the footnote by Pratt and Rafaeli (1997) illustrates, members do not necessarily make use of abstract characteristics, to make sense of their organization's identity, but might refer to more concrete means, such as organizational dress. Therefore, the goal of this study is to gain insight into the process by which members come to determine that their organization consists of multiple identities. By outlining this process, I attempt to accomplish an enhanced understanding of how members make sense of perceived organizational identity in general, and what role this concept plays for them in their daily organizational lives. The central research question I address in this study concerns: *What are the inductive processes through which organizational members make sense of perceived organizational identity?*

4.3   Methods

I conducted a qualitative case study at a European bank, which I refer to as Pecunia. According to Yin (2003) case studies are an especially appropriate research strategy when one needs to answer a "how" question. Through an iterative process that constantly proceeded between my data and relevant

theory I aimed to convey the underlying processes of how organizational members make sense of perceived organizational identity (Eisenhardt, 1989).

4.3.1 Research Context

Pecunia was founded in the 19th century as a government-owned non-profit savings-company in order to stimulate the general public to save money. This became such an enormous success that Pecunia grew into one of the largest financial institutions of the region. In 1990, after its privatization, Pecunia kept its own label, but became part of an international mother company. For the past fifteen years, Pecunia has made a transition toward a more commercially focused organization. Due to the transformation, Pecunia has undergone many cultural as well as structural changes in the past decade. At the time of my study, Pecunia was at the height of its transformation and was engaged in an extensive two-year, full-blown advertising campaign for a complete makeover of its image from a boring, big and bureaucratic institution, into a fresh, modern, young and hip financial player. In order to be able to live up to this newly created image, top management engaged in a change process of the organizational identity as well. Through a temporal identity discrepancy (Corley & Gioia, 2004), management introduced the new, desired organizational identity and image in attempt to trigger organizational members to change their organizational identity perceptions and their behavior accordingly. All management initiatives and internal communication endeavors such as road shows, magazines and brochures were built around this organizational identity change process. Currently, Pecunia has over 2500 employees, most of which are located at the headquarters, which also contains one of three call centers and 13 organizational units, divided between two divisions: Marketing and Sales. A distinction can also be made between the front-office, which consists of the Marketing and Sales units that deal with the development of the products, campaigns and sales strategies and the back-office, which is the largest organizational unit (approximately 1500 employees) and consists of the organization's three call centers, which handle all the transactions requested by clients. Due to its history as a government-owned institution, Pecunia is characterized by lifetime employment policies and, consequently, most employees have enjoyed a long employment history with the company. Recently however, due to drastic employment-policy changes and Pecunia's claim of being a young and modern institution, its employee-base has been "rejuvenated" with a substantial group of new, young recruits. My presence in this organization was during a period when these changes were taking place and the newly created images were taking in effect. This formed an appropriate context for an analysis of members' multiple identity perceptions, as scholars (Pratt, 2003; Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997; Reger et al., 1998:156) argue that multiple organizational identities are particularly salient during times of change.

4.3.2 Data Collection

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews, documentation analysis and unstructured observation.

Semi-structured interviews. I conducted a total of 52 interviews. Interviews were held with the entire top management team, which consisted of the two directors of the two divisions of the company

and the 13 directors of the different organizational units. In addition, I held 37 interviews with randomly selected non-managerial employees of all 13 units, varying from two to six employees per unit, depending on the units' size. The average interview lasted approximately one hour, was tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. For this study, I was particularly interested in members' own organizational identity perceptions and whether, and, if so how, they experienced multiple organizational identities in their organization. For an overview of my interview questions, I refer to Table 4-1.

Table 4-1 Main Interview Questions

Personal

1. What is your current function at Pecunia?
2. Can you elaborate on what this function entails, what are your responsibilities?
3. How long have you been working for Pecunia?
4. Have you worked at other departments at Pecunia or the mother company as well?
5. Do you like working for Pecunia? Why (not)?
6. What are the (dis) advantages of working for Pecunia?

Perceived Organizational Identity

7. If a family member or friend wants to know what your first-hand experience is as an employee of Pecunia, how would you describe Pecunia?
8. What are the characteristics of Pecunia, which you regard as essential, without which Pecunia would no longer be the same?
9. What are the positive characteristics of Pecunia? And the negative characteristics?
10. If you compare Pecunia to other banks, in what ways is Pecunia different?
11. What is sacred at Pecunia?
12. What are the values that employees at Pecunia share?
13. If Pecunia would be a person, which attributes would you ascribe to this person?
14. Has Pecunia changed in recent years? If so, how? For better or for worse?

Perceived Multiple Organizational Identities

15. If you look at Pecunia as a whole, do you think that all employees have a similar perception of Pecunia? If yes, what is this collective perception?
16. If not, do you believe that different organizational groups or members have different perceptions of who Pecunia is? Can you elaborate on the different identities you distinguish in Pecunia and how you recognize these differences?

Documentation analysis. For a general understanding of the organizational context and recent developments and change initiatives within the company, official and unofficial documents such as internal magazines, employee brochures, presentations, intranet documents, reports on internal employee

surveys etc. were collected and analyzed. For periodical documents, such as internal magazines, issues were collected from a five-year period from the beginning of 2000 until the beginning of 2005.

Unstructured observations. During the period of data collection, I also made random observations during the multiple visits made to conduct the interviews, discuss the project with my contact persons, search the company's intranet, collect internal documentation or while working on the project (e.g. transcribing interviews) at the company's site. Observations were made in the main offices of the different organizational units, including the call centers, and during lunch hours in the two company cafeterias. To have a first-hand impression of the interaction between the directors and the (lower-level) employees, I also attended one of the road shows, in which the two directors of the company communicated about and discussed the company's strategy, desired identity and image with groups of organizational employees. I made notes to get a better sense of the general setting and atmosphere of the organization and its different organizational units, the employees, their mutual interactions, and the way they interacted with clients on the phone. Observation periods ranged from fifteen minutes to two hours.

4.4 Data Analysis

The semi-structured interviews consisted of two overall central questions: what were members' perceptions with regard to their organizational identity and did they believe that their company consisted of one overall organizational identity or that different organizational groups had different perceptions of who Pecunia was. First, I conducted and initially analyzed the 15 interviews with the company's top management. With the aid of ATLAS, a content analysis program, I coded these interviews. Following Strauss and Corbin, I started my coding process by grouping those quotations that are similar in meaning and related these into categories (1998: 102). I coded the interviews mostly in-vivo (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 105) to establish a coding scheme that was in the language of the informants and when appropriate I created concise codes to capture the essence of the selected quotations. As I went through the 15 interviews, I used comparative analysis and if appropriate, used previously developed codes or developed new ones if necessary. Second, I conducted and analyzed the remaining 37 interviews, which resulted in an affirmation of existing codes as well as the development of new ones.

After coding all 52 interviews; I went through an elaborate, iterative process of merging all the different codes based on their meaning. This coding process resulted in codes referring to members' perceived organizational identity characteristics (e.g. Pecunia is bureaucratic, aggressive), members' description of themselves (e.g. marketer, college-educated), of other organizational groups (e.g. old, have worked for the company for ages, typical student types) and members' ascribed perceived organizational identity of the other group, i.e. how they thought the other group viewed the organization (e.g. ascribed as service oriented, arrogant, bureaucratic). To make the coding process more manageable, my next step involved grouping codes into a smaller subset of categories. Categories generally referred to aggregate attributes of informants' descriptions of their in- and out-group (e.g. codes as "we marketers are young and hip" were categorized as "in-group"; and codes as "they, the call center agents are passive and lackluster" were categorized as "out-group"); members' own organizational identity perceptions (e.g.

"Pecunia is commercial, bureaucratic" etc. were categorized as the "perceived organizational identity"); informants' perceptions of how other groups in the organization perceived Pecunia (e.g. "the older generation still thinks of this organization as a non-commercial, government-owned institution" etc. were categorized as "ascribed organizational identity"); and to concepts that captured the nature of the codes (e.g. codes such as "age, college-educated, division" were categorized under "demographics"). Subsequently, I linked categories to subcategories through axial-coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 124). This overall iterative process resulted in a pattern that not only conveyed the perceived organizational identity of each informant, but also how each informant experienced the presence of multiple identities. The first order codes, second order themes and overall dimensions that emerged from my analysis, are presented in below.

Figure 4-1 Data Structure: 1st Order Codes, 2nd Order Themes and Overall Dimensions

1st Order Concepts	2nd Order Themes	Dimensions

"Old" Pecunia   **"New" Pecunia**

"Old" Pecunia	"New" Pecunia
• Government owned	• Commercial
• Bureaucratic	• Young
• Service oriented	• Ambitious
• Rigid	• Dynamic
• Sound & safe	• Smart
• Job security	• Profit maximization
• Target group: elderly individuals with money	• Innovative
	• Target group: young

Organizational Identity Characteristics

Organizational identity characteristics inferred from social demographic make-up

Generation Gap:
- Younger vs. older generation
- Short vs. longer tenure

Division:
- Marketing vs. call centers
- Sales vs. marketing

Hierarchical Gap:
- Management vs. non-management
- College educated vs. non-college degree
- Salary scales

Social Demographic Divide

Self-categorization based on social demographics

- Us "Marketing" vs. them "Call centers"
- Us "Sales" vs. them "Arrogant Marketers"
- Us "Youngsters" vs. them "the Older Generation"
- Us "Who have been with Pecunia since the early days" vs. them "Who fly in and out and have no clue"
- Us "College educated high potentials" vs. them "At the bottom of the hierarchical pyramid"

Intra-organizational Subgroups

4.5   Findings

It became evident to me when questioning members about how they experience multiple organizational identities, that members do not ask themselves the questions "how do I think about Pecunia", "how do others think about Pecunia" and "how are their perceptions different from mine". I discovered that members more often than not tend to make use of one or more demographic characteristics to engage in a process of self-categorization (e.g. Hogg & Terry, 2000; Turner, 1999). Members answer the question of "who am I" (their in-group: e.g. "we as young Marketers") and then determine which organizational group(s) is (are) "not like I" (their relevant out-group: e.g. "the old call center agents"). These demographic descriptions of the intra-organizational subgroups were intricately linked to members' description of their own group (e.g. "we are young, eager and ambitious") and their perception of their relevant out-group (e.g. "they are old fashioned and bureaucratic"). More importantly however, I also found that this self-categorization process based on demographics predominantly influenced their perceived organizational identity (e.g. "Pecunia is hip, dynamic, commercial and profit is our top priority") and how they thought that their out-group perceived the organization (e.g. "they still think of Pecunia as service-oriented, where the client is our top priority"). Consequently, this self-categorization process influenced their perception of the multiple identities in the organization. Before I elaborate on the specific findings, I would like to point out that the fact that informants recognized multiple organizational identities does not mean that they did not recognize *any* overlap between the different groups. Some informants would comment on identity characteristics that different groups within Pecunia shared. Overall however, the informants did emphasize that despite some overlap, they believed Pecunia encapsulated distinct organizational identities. Of the 52 informants, only four believed that their organization did not consist of multiple identities. To illustrate:

> *"There might be different people here at Pecunia, but I do not think that this translates into different identities."*

> *"There are different types of people here at Pecunia, but I do believe that there is only one Pecunia-identity."*

> *"I believe that there is a great degree of correspondence [between different Pecunia groups]. Of course, top management uses different terminology than someone from administration. They would probably use different words and say less advanced things, but the essence of the story is the same."*

4.5.1   Demographic Divide

A consistent pattern is found, shared by all informants who perceived Pecunia as consisting of multiple identities (48 out of 52), of multiple organizational subgroups perceived predominantly along five demographic categories: age, tenure, educational level, division and hierarchical level, which sometimes aligned to create more distinct subgroups. According to Lau and Murninghan the presence of intra-organizational groups will be stronger if different demographic faultlines correlate (1998: 327). For example, if we have two organizations, A and B, where the two main demographic characteristics are gender and hierarchical position, the emergent subgroups in organization A where some managers are

female and some managers are male will be different than in organization B, where all females have managerial positions and all males have non-managerial positions.

Age. One of the main criteria members use to distinguish different organizational groups is age. This heightened relevance of age is most likely due to the recent developments that have been taking place at Pecunia. One of the main concerns of Pecunia is the relatively old age of its clientele. Even though this group represents the wealthiest of the population, their growth prospects are less than for those of age 25 and up. Banks place a high priority on setting foot in the younger market, since this group has the most potential for profit; they are in a phase in life in which they will acquire the "heavier" financial products such as mortgages. Access to this group usually means a client for life, and a market for other key products, such as life insurances. In the past two years Pecunia has been engaged in an intensive campaign, both external as well as internal, to try and rid itself of its image of being an old-fashioned, grey and boring institution, where "your grandparents are clients", and become a trendy, fresh and modern institution for youngsters. This rejuvenation has become such an important issue for the company that a focus on the "Young Potentials" market is one of its main strategic building blocks. During these past five years, in this process of modernization and change, a significant group of young employees has joined the company and individuals from this group of "fresh blood" occupy many of the key managerial positions. This is in stark contrast with the company's previous Human Resource policies; where historically the company predominantly reserved top positions for older employees, who had been with the company early on. As one of the younger managers explained:

> *"We used to have the more steady, boring and traditional type of employee. Recently however, we have employed a large group of younger employees, to turn this culture around. I am also an exponent of this policy; it used to be "not done" to have my position if you had not worked for our company for at least ten years; so Pecunia is definitely trying to change."*

Tenure. Related to the previous characteristic of age[2], Pecunia also has a relatively large group of older employees who have been with the company for twenty to thirty years. Due to its origin as a state-owned enterprise, Pecunia also had lifetime employment policies. In the last fifteen years, as the company has turned into a commercially driven, highly competitive organization, these employment policies have changed radically. There are still a large number of employees, however, who have been with Pecunia since its state-owned days. To the younger employees, this group represents an entirely different kind of people, "the old Pecunia". To illustrate:

> *"Yesterday we had a 45-year-old secretary, who celebrated her 25th jubilee. She was free to decide how she wanted to celebrate her anniversary. Her choice was to have, together with her parents, coffee and cake with the director of the company. And her father held a speech that he was so proud that his daughter was so appreciated and trusted by the company. She was extremely happy, but this is of course the complete opposite of being hip and modern."*

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[2] Even though one would aspect age and tenure to correlate, we include both categories because according to Pfeffer (1983), there is enough variance that both concepts do not share, to argue that they are conceptually distinct.

Educational level. Another prominent distinction is made on educational level. This distinction is emphasized by the fact that employees with a college degree are predominantly employed through a specific management trainee program in which they are "in training" to eventually occupy a managerial position. This relatively small group of employees with a university degree also tends to know each other through this network of trainees and the social circles in which they move; they tend to have a student-like air around them and other employees recognize them as such. For example:

"We increasingly have these wannabe fraternity and sorority student-types."

"Of course students are important, but there are other people in [country] besides students."

"Here at marketing it is almost like a fraternity or sorority, they are all so young and there is such a student-like atmosphere."

Division. The two main divisions of Pecunia are Marketing and Sales. The Marketing division occupies a rather privileged position. At Marketing, the products, campaigns, and market strategies are developed. Pecunia is enormously profitable, which means that the Marketing division has many resources at its disposal for new endeavors, new projects or new campaigns. As one marketing manager remarked, "If you would put a drill in our walls, it would not be cement coming out, it would be money". Due to the recent organizational changes, where the organization's new image and positioning are key strategic issues, the role of marketing is crucial to the company. Therefore, being part of the Marketing division also brings along a certain prestige. Pecunia is a financial institution, but extremely marketing driven:

"Most of our employees are boys and girls with a marketing background; they are definitely not bankers. Most of them would not even be able to understand a balance sheet. At other institutions you start with balance sheets, here we start with marketing. Our approach is much more marketing-driven, from the perspective of the consumer, rather than from our financial products and their technical properties. Our boys and girls could not be transferred to one of our competitors just like that, they lack the financial baggage."

"Marketing has a big budget and here at Pecunia Marketing has a higher priority than Sales. So if you are in Marketing, you are good."

Marketing believes that they are the creators within the company and that the Sales division needs to execute what they have conceived.

"Marketing equals Pecunia. Our work here is analytical and strategic; we have to think and create things for the company and then make sure that the rest follows. Marketing is leading here at Pecunia; we get all the means we need, which makes it so much more fun to work here of course."

Hierarchical level. With regard to hierarchical level, the informants usually distinguish between managers and non-managers. According to informants, Pecunia is not a very hierarchically oriented organization, but there is a system of echelons, where the first, second and third echelons represent the higher management levels. The concern from both sides is that there is a lack of communication between the higher and lower levels, which creates a divide between management and lower-level employees. Many informants corroborated the following description of the divide between managers and lower-level employees:

> *"Lower-level employees have a great time working together and managers have a great time working together, but the communication between the two groups, especially about our strategy, that leaves much to be desired."*

> *"Pecunia is schizophrenic; you see a clear divide between management and lower-level employees. Here at our communication department we are having a great time amongst ourselves, but have no clear vision of where we are headed."*

4.5.2 Organizational Subgroups

My informants used one or more of the five demographic criteria to characterize their in-group and their relevant out-group. These criteria and their corresponding subgroups are presented, as the informants perceive them. Consequently, the perceived intra-organizational groups are not necessarily mutual. For example, if subgroup A recognizes a particular out-group B based on certain criteria, this does not necessarily imply that group B also perceives group A as their relevant out-group.

Marketers versus call center agents. Marketers distinguish two subgroups in their organization based on a faultline of age, tenure, education and division. They describe their own in-group, the "Marketing group", as a small group of relatively young employees, who have been with Pecunia for a relatively short time, are college-educated and belong to the division that, in their opinion, does the thinking and the creating, is the organization's nursery for creative ideas. As marketing employees explain "We are the brainpower; we determine our company strategy, create campaigns, we are more or less at the top of the pyramid" or "Us marketers, we are a group of high-fivers. We are a group of 150 marketers who run the entire company". Their out-group is that of the call center agents. This group, which represents the largest in the organization, is described by the marketers as consisting mainly of older employees, who have been with the company for many years, do not have a college degree, and whose jobs generally involve the monotonous handling of client phone calls to take care of simple transactions, handling complaints or other simple actions. According to the marketers, their in-group represents the new and desired Pecunia. They symbolize the group of young high potentials that is also the company's target group. In their mind, the call center agents represent the old Pecunia of days of yore, and symbolize the old bureaucratic and old-fashioned image that Pecunia wants to change.

> *"Here in our marketing department it swarms with eager, young puppies, if you compare that to our call centers, there you have people who have been with our company for over 25 years. They started as civil servants; and even*

though they have changed along with the company, they still think differently from us, marketers…Our younger generation is much more commercial, they are just a bunch of aggressive marketers, selling, making money, cross-selling, deep-selling. Stuff the older generation wants nothing to do with. They are here for our customers, they do not want to sell; they want to deliver service. I mean, they have learned how to sell, but if you would look deep into their hearts, they are here for our customers."

"Here in marketing there are only young people, 30-35 years old. We all have a higher education and move around in certain social circles. If you compare us to the call centers, where there are people who have been working for our company for a really long time; they have been on the phone since 1910. That group has not made the mental switch of Pecunia as an innovative institution that wants to reach young potentials and be hip and modern. Those are more service-oriented, civil servants, who are better at passively answering questions than proactive selling."

Sales versus marketing. From the perspective of the Sales division, Pecunia consists of two subgroups based on division. The Sales division emphasizes that they are different from the Marketing division. This perceived difference is mainly build along two distinctions. The first is linked to the profession of marketing. Marketing involves trying to sell a company's products by advertising and promotion, using attractive packages and clever marketing ploys. The Sales division ascribes characteristics to the Marketing division that are related to (a stereotypical view of) this profession. The Marketing division is perceived as commercial, mainly profit-oriented, focused only on their latest campaign, more concerned about the external image and packaging rather than what it really means for the client. The Sales employees believe that Marketing thinks that because they have the position they have, and a big organization to back them up, the company and "even the world" is completely within their control. According to Sales, they are the division that takes care of the customer; they are there for the client, whereas Marketing is there to make money.

"There is a group, which thinks of itself as very hip, particularly the Marketing division. Here at Sales, we think of ourselves as much less trendy, also because this is not our main priority. If I look at my employees, they are not here because they are so modern and flashy, they are here because they love Pecunia, are very knowledgeable about our products and processes and really know how things work; they are professionals."

The second distinction is linked to the perceived privileged status that Marketing has within the company compared to Sales. One of the main differences informants perceive between Sales and Marketing refers to the arrogance of the Marketers. Arrogance is perceived in different ways; Marketers are perceived as arrogant in their worldview, as described by one sales manager:

"The marketers, they are a selective group of young, highly educated individuals, who look at the world from their own limited framework and their attitude turns into arrogance. [On a marketing initiative to visit customers in order to get to know the customer better] I mean, how arrogant do you have to be to call visiting your customers a

"Consumer Safari"? You might think that is funny and mention it as a joke once, but to use that as the official name for your project?! To me that says it all."

They are also perceived as arrogant in their approach of the business and in their cooperation with the Sales division:

"We are here for the customer; our people really stand up for the customer; that is our main priority. If you compare us with marketing for example, they are just very arrogant. They think that they can just develop ideas and concepts, without considering whether this makes sense in the interaction with our client. And if you try to explain to them that their idea lacks the incentives from a client's perspective, they just get even more steadfast."

And they are perceived as arrogant on a more personal level, as described by a sales employee:

"The Marketing division is very arrogant, they do not even say hello. They even have their own coffee corner and if you get your coffee there, they more or less freeze you out. They really think that they are more important than other departments."

The generation gap: young versus old. Another faultline, which divides the organization in two groups, is the combination of age and tenure, where younger employees generally have shorter tenure and older employees have longer tenure. Based on this faultline, many informants recognize a generation gap. Regardless of educational background, division or hierarchical level, younger informants tend to distinguish between the younger generation of employees who have not been with the company that long and a group of the older generation employees, who have been with the company for a very long time. These two subgroups however, are referred to both as conflicting as well as complementary. Where the two subgroups are perceived as conflicting, the younger generation feels that they are more commercially oriented, more dynamic and always ready to take on new challenges. The older generation, which stems from the time when the company was still state-owned, is perceived as passive, bureaucratic, not commercially driven and against change. Also, the younger generation feels that since they do not carry the historical baggage with them, they can go along with all the changes easier than the older generation, which has much more difficulty with all the recent developments. Extreme examples of the conflicting view:

"These elderly employees are of no added value to our company; they do not belong here anymore. We laugh at them; they are pathetic."

"These elderly employees cause a lot of pain and difficulty at our call centers; they suffer from burnout because they cannot keep up with our aggressive sales approach. This old generation does not want to put energy into their work anymore and will inevitably disappear."

On the other hand, part of the younger generation distinguishes their group from the old generation, but regards both groups as complementary. They feel that the older generation carries with them a lot of knowledge, that they are much more willing to help colleagues, compared to the more individualistic younger generation, and that they are very good at service to the client. Some informants even argued that there were too many young employees at their department:

> *"It would have been good for Pecunia if there were more elderly employees at our department. Those are the ones with a great deal of knowledge. All these young, ambitious employees also move on to other functions or units much too quickly. The older employees have more work experience, you can learn much more from them and they are also much more willing to share their know-how, compared to the younger, more competitive employees, who are all trying to push their way up."*

> *"The older generation has so much more knowledge; they know the company much better than we, the younger ones. I find it very soothing and calming that the older generation slows us youngsters down, when we tend to outrun ourselves."*

Old generation versus young managers. In addition to the previous faultline, the informants perceive another distinction when hierarchical position is included. The older, longer employed, lower level employees distinguish their group from the young generation, more specifically from those youngsters that are higher in the hierarchy (regardless of division). They believe that higher management consists mainly of young managers, who do not care about quality, only about figures, production and output. According to the older generation, these young managers are responsible for their new variable performance-based remuneration, which supposedly has a negative effect on quality. The older generation feels that they have contributed to the success of this company, and that the younger managers have no regard for this. In addition, they believe that these managers fly in and out, which is a detriment for the continuity of the processes and products.

> *"Every manager is here only for a short period; they come here only to score for their own career. Every manager also has a different vision, a different idea, of which we, who have been here much longer, know beforehand that it will not work. But we let those managers go around their business, because it is no use to try and convince them otherwise. They also take what knowledge they can from you and use it to their advantage."*

> *"All these younger managers pass over the older ones and since the older employees are much more focused on quality and service while young management focuses only on figures, these two groups clash. It is figures versus quality, which simply does not work."*

4.5.3 Multiple Organizational Identities at Pecunia

In Table 4-2 I have outlined the organizational subgroups' organizational identity perceptions. From this table it is evident, that the different organizational groups indeed have different perceptions of what Pecunia stands for, but also a certain degree of overlap (e.g. no-nonsense, professional, open).

Marketers and young managers seem to think of their company in much more audacious terms (e.g. innovative, ambitious, aggressive, arrogant, dynamic) than for example the Sales division and call center agents who ascribe more down-to-earth characteristics to Pecunia (e.g. traditional, solid, operational excellence, loyalty). Similarly, if I compare the perceived organizational identity of the Marketing division and the younger generation with the perceived organizational identity characteristics of the (lower-level) older generation, I find that the latter group is much less enthusiastic about Pecunia (e.g. degenerating work atmosphere, big brother is watching you, work-related stress, broken spirit).

Table 4-2 Perceived Organizational Identities of the Different Subgroups

	Marketing	Young Managers	Young Generation	Sales	Call Center Agents	Old Generation	Lower-level old generation
Traditional				+		+	
Arrogant	+						++
Enthusiastic	+	+	+				
Professional	+	+	+	+			
No-nonsense	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Open	+		+	+	+		
Job-security						+	+
Young at heart	+	+	+				++
Client is top priority					+		
Quality is top priority but suffers							+
Loyal			+	+	+	+	
Know-how				+		+	
Pleasant work atmosphere	+	+	+			-	-
Profit-oriented	+	+					
Service-oriented				+		+	
Aggressive	+	+					
Figures-driven	+	+					
Hip	+						
In-crowd atmosphere			+				
Stressful							+
Ambitious	+	+	+				
Bureaucratic				+	+	+	
Good fringe benefits						+	+
Commercial	+	+	+			++	++
Social						+	-
Dynamic	+	+	+				

	Marketing	Young Managers	Young Generation	Sales	Call Center Agents	Old Generation	Lower-level old generation
Individualistic	+		+				++
Collegial					+	+	
Creative	+						
Nepotism	+		+				
Innovative	+						
Eager		+					
Embrace "old culture"				+			
Solid				+			
Reliable						+	
Honest						+	
Broken spirit							+
Great career opportunities		+					
Little freedom for personal initiatives			+				
Efficiency				+			
Operational Excellence				+			
Cash cow					+		
Owes current success to history						+	
A way to earn a living						+	
Proud of our service					+		
Too target oriented							+
Big Brother is watching					+		+

+ = characteristic present

++ = too much

- = not enough

Also, in line with Wilder (1981: 225), it seems that members of the in-group assign a greater range of organizational identity characteristics to their own organizational identity and have a more limited, stereotypical view of the organizational identity of their out-group. Marketing, for example, believes that the call center agents perceive Pecunia mainly in terms of a "bureaucratic organization", with a "9 – 5 mentality" and where "serving the client is the main priority". According to the Sales division, Marketing perceives Pecunia as "an invincible organization" that is "on top of the world". One group of the younger generation believes that the older generation thinks of Pecunia as a company "where history and tradition are being crushed" by "an almost unethical drive for commercialism and profit". Another group of youngsters believes that the older generation has a more positive perception of Pecunia, where

the company is "highly knowledgeable" and this "know-how is transferred from employee to employee and even from generation to generation". Finally, the lower level older generation believes that the younger, higher managers perceive of Pecunia merely as a "cash cow" that is "driven by profits and sales" and where "ruthless ambition rules".

Through my analysis, it is evident that the demographic characteristics members use as a basis for self-categorization play an important role when it comes to the characteristics members use to describe their own organizational identity and how they believe the out-group thinks about the organization. Table 4-3 provides an overview of representative quotes that illustrate these processes. Figure 4-2 provides an overview of the demographics and the main identity characteristics that informants used either to describe their own organizational identity or to ascribe an organizational identity to the out-group.

Table 4-3 Themes and Representative Quotations

Themes	In-group versus out-group distinction based on social demographics:	Organizational identity characteristics linked to social demographics of the group:
Description	The first step in members' sensemaking process is their self-categorization based on social demographic characteristics: who is my in-group and who is my out-group? Informants describe themselves in terms of their organizational in-group and simultaneously set their group off against their intra-organizational out-group.	The second step in members' sensemaking process involves linking organizational identity characteristics to both their in- and out-group. Notable is that organizational identity characteristics are inferred from the social demographic characterization of the group. So informants perceive their own organizational identity in terms of the characteristics of their in-group and simultaneously ascribe organizational identity characteristics to the out-group (the organizational identity they believe the out-group has), which the informant believes matches the social demographic make-up of that out-group.
Representative Quotations	"The typical Pecunia employee does not exist. A marketing employee is completely different from our call-center employees…So there is definitely a difference [between the Pecunia groups]. I work with 22 college graduates, by no means is that representative of Pecunia. At our call-centers we have 1600 agents; they are in salary scales 5, 6, 7, whereas we are in scales 10, 11, 12. That is a world of difference. Here we have young, smart people who determine the course of Pecunia and are, so called, at the top of the pyramid; we have the top ten percent of best paid Pecunia employees here. The others carry out the plans that we make up. We have the brainpower, they are the manpower."	"Our marketing employees are all very young, very student-like; which brings a lot of dynamism [to Pecunia]. The fact that they are all so young at heart is an important characteristic of Pecunia and our organizational mentality. We really have a "young" culture." "[Our department] is the traditional heart of Pecunia; we represent that which has made the company into what it is today. You can see that based on the kind of people that work here, who are more stable, steady, maybe even a bit more boring…Typical for Pecunia is that we are very careful and conscientious, maybe even a bit too careful, too much on the safe side of things. Our structure is traditional, as are our products; there is not much innovation in them. There is a discrepancy between our ideal identity and image, and who our employees really are." The younger generation is particularly good at taking care of things quickly and cleverly;

Themes	In-group versus out-group distinction based on social demographics:	Organizational identity characteristics linked to social demographics of the group:
	"You have the old Pecunia, which is bureaucratic; it is a factory, the back-office. It is important, but we do not have any contact with them, there is a young group of trainees to manage [this older group] and we deal with them; they are quick."	they are dynamic. The older generation has the know-how; they are also much more service-oriented and find it hard to switch to actually selling products."
	"Especially at our department you have to be young at heart. If we look at some other departments; there are individuals who have been working at Pecunia for 30-40 years; that is completely different. You have civil servants versus young financial people. The rate of change is high and I'm not sure if the older generation will be able to keep up"	"All the power is here [location]. We have a lot of young people here, who interact socially and make time for parties; which results in social cross-over, you get to know each other. Due to their college background, our employees [at Marketing] are above-average interested in Pecunia's affairs, our profitability, and market-share. These are all elements that strengthen our Pecunia culture and experience…"
	"We have the call centers on the one hand, who are mainly service focused and Marketing on the other, a group which is young and college educated."	"Marketing has drive, ambition and shakes things up, people are enthusiastic; they are young and work hard. Our back-offices are here mainly to carry out our plans; their drivers are completely different. It is very difficult to get them going; you need stamina."
		"We have a very big group of older employees, who have been with Pecunia since the 1960s, when we were a government-owned institution and our services were much more affordable and even free of charge. For this group safety, job security and trustworthiness are core characteristics…I think that the group of employees which is college educated is much more concerned with innovativeness, smart and new products and autonomy for our clients. The younger ones don't care for safety that much and are much less loyal."
	"We are schizophrenic. There is a huge difference between management and employees. It depends on which salary scale they are in; I believe that salary scale is a very important differentiator."	"There are definitely subcultures. On the one hand you have Marketing, a group which is tougher, quicker and much more direct. On the other hand you have the back-offices, who do not want to take responsibility."

Themes	In-group versus out-group distinction based on social demographics:	Organizational identity characteristics linked to social demographics of the group:
		"The young ones tend to stimulate each other, which creates a very young and wild atmosphere. The older ones are more rigid"
		"The marketers, who are a selective group of young, highly educated individuals, who look at the world from their own limited framework…have no clue about the real world. The danger here is that they reflect their limited world view into our products and services."
		"Managers, who are an important factor in our Pecunia culture, don't stay with the company very long. The average life-cycle of a manager is 2-3 years. Things don't stick, which is manifest in our culture; it is almost like cowboy-country: we just come in, draw our pistols here and there, and then move on. [Managers] are also very opportunistic, that is part of the cowboy culture"

Figure 4-2 Demographics and Associated Organizational Identity Characteristics

Eager
Dynamic   **Age**   Traditional
Enthusiastic   Young vs. Old   Bureaucratic
Young at Heart   Collegial
Aggressive   ⟵————————————⟶   Job security
Individualistic   Owes current success
Future Oriented   to history

                                                                                          Solid
                                              Tenure   Job security
                                          Short vs. Long   Know-How
Individualistic   ⟵————————————⟶   Focus on Quality
Short-term focus   Owe success to
                                                                                        history

                                            Education
Innovative   College vs. Low   Production factory
Creative   ⟵————————————⟶   Way to earn a living
Nepotism   Good Fringe benefits

Innovative
Creative   **Division**   Cash Cow
Commercial   Marketing vs. Sales   Honest
Profit-oriented   ⟵————————————⟶   Reliable
Leading Marketing   Client-oriented
Company   Service-oriented

Profit-oriented   9-5 mentality
Ambitious   **Hierarchy**   Job security
Excellent career   Management vs. Lower-level   Big Brother is
opportunities   watching
Focus on Sales,   ⟵————————————⟶   Way to earn a living
figures & cost-   Good fringe benefits
reduction

4.6   Discussion

To understand how organizational members experience multiple organizational identities, I have conducted a case study at an organization that was going through an extensive change process of both its image and its identity. Based on my findings, I arrived at an interesting conclusion: in the organization, members' perception of their organization and their experience of multiple organizational identities, were mainly driven by their social identity and the self-categorization processes within the organizational context. For a better understanding of the implications of my findings, I will briefly discuss the main concepts of social identity and self-categorization that emerged as central to my findings and illustrate the process of how members experience multiple identities as it materialized from my findings.

4.6.1   Members' Sensemaking Process

As discussed in my conceptual framework, according to social identity theory (e.g. Tajfel & Turner, 1979) individuals do not exist as standalone entities, but feel that they are part of and emotionally connected to larger social groups. An individual's social identity refers to that part of his or her identity that is shaped by his or her membership in a social group. The underlying premise of social identity theory is that this social category to which a member feels he or she belongs, partly defines this members' identity through those characteristics that are prototypical for the social group. Identities, both individual as well as organizational, are socially constructed (e.g. Gioia et al., 2000) and individuals choose their relevant social identities based on the social categories available to them (Brewer, 1991). Self-categorization strengthens the perceived similarity with in-group members and the perceived difference with out-group members, which leads to behavior and attitudes prototypical for the social in-group.

In my focal organization, members engaged in a process of self-categorization based on demographic characteristics. Members established who they and their relevant in-group were and identified their main out-group. Through my analysis it became evident, that their description of the organizational identity and how they believed the out-group looked at the organization were strongly related to the main demographic categories on which the categorization was made. My findings imply that members' sensemaking of multiple identities in their organization has a more personal impetus, with their social demographic identity within the organizational context as their main conduit.

The way in which an individual makes sense of his or her world is grounded in his or her social identity (Pratt, 2000). In order to elucidate my findings and gain a better understanding of how members' social identity and their related self-categorization processes influence their sensemaking process of multiple identities, I use theories on social judgment and organizational identification. In their study on the social judgment processes of creativity experts in Hollywood, Elsbach and Kramer (2003) illustrate that an assessment of a person's creativity is based on a dual process. Creativity is assessed on the degree to which a person adheres to preexisting models of creativity and on the evaluator's categorization of his or her relationship with the target-person as an indication of collaborative potential. Their findings are important to my interpretation of how members make sense of multiple identities. The authors underline that when individuals attempt to evaluate others on abstract characteristics (such as creativity or in my

case organizational identity perceptions) they, in addition to assessing "to what extent their perceptions match mine or the organizational identity prototype", also evaluate the (potential) interpersonal relationship with that person. I argue that this phenomenon of evaluating others by incorporating the (potential) relationships is comparable to the self-categorization processes my informants engaged in when experiencing multiple organizational identities. To determine whether certain organizational groups think differently about Pecunia, members first determine how they and their in-group relate to other organizational groups.

Correspondingly, when we look at organizational identification, which refers to the degree to which members use their perceived organizational identity characteristics to also define their self-concepts (Dutton et al., 1994), scholars distinguish between two paths along which members can identify with their organization (George & Chattopadhyay, 2005). The first mode of identification, which organizational identity scholars generally refer to, involves members' identification with the more abstract organizational identity characteristics and fulfills members' needs for self-distinctiveness and self-enhancement (Dutton et al., 1994; Pratt, 1998). The second form assumes a more personal orientation, where organizational members' identification with an organization depends on the relationships they develop and their social interaction with other organizational members (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Mael & Ashforth, 1992). According to Flynn (2005), identity orientations, how a person defines him or herself, is influenced by the patterns of employee interactions and social exchange processes. Similarly, Pratt (2000) argues that a neglected aspect of identification is "…*the development of interpersonal relationships.* Forming an identification with an organization is about *more than creating a link with an abstract organization*, it is also about making sense of the self through one's relationship with members, non-members, or both" (emphases added) (2000: 484).

This distinction between abstract images of an organization on the one hand, and concrete interpersonal relationships with organizational members on the other, provides a crucial link in our understanding of the process by which organizational members make sense of multiple organizational identities. In this study, I find evidence that members use these more concrete, interpersonal cues, in the form of the essential role of organizational demographics, to determine whether multiple identities are present in their organization. Figure 4-3 provides an overview of this process. My outline of the process by which members make sense of multiple organizational identities has several important implications for the current approach of multiple organizational identities.

Figure 4-3 Multiple Identities: Members' Sense Making Process

Self-Categorization on Organizational Demographics

Who is my intra-organizational in-group?

Who is my intra-organizational out-group?

Perceived Organizational Identity: How do my in-group members and I think about Pecunia?

Ascribed Organizational Identity: How do I think that my out-group thinks about Pecunia?
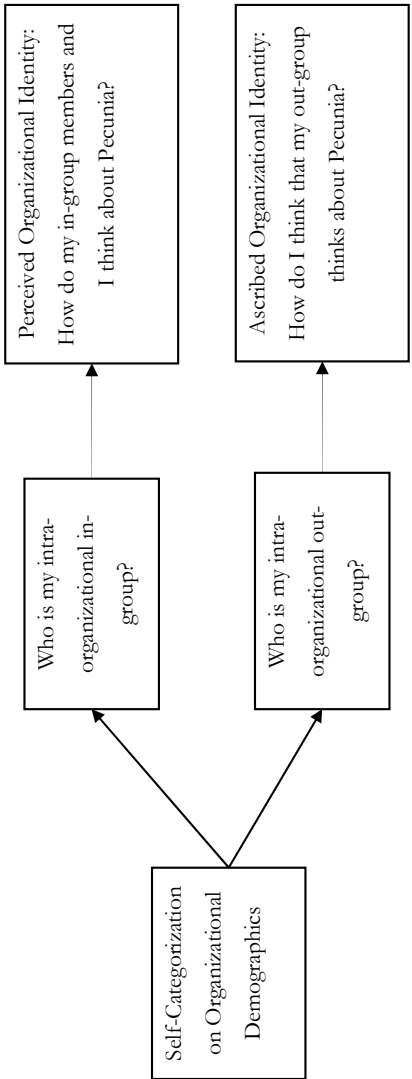
4.6.2 *Relevance of Organizational Demographics*

In my findings, organizational demographics (Pfeffer, 1983) occupy a central role in members' experience of multiple organizational identities. This is significant considering the lack of attention devoted to the potential implications of demographics in current works on perceived organizational identity. Despite the vast evidence of the relevance of the more observable demographic characteristics to intra-organizational group formation (Brickson, 2000; Brickson & Brewer, 2001: 49; Fiske, 1998; Hogg & Terry, 2000) and although organizational identity scholars do acknowledge that the easily accessible demographics are a more likely basis for self-categorization processes (Pratt, 2001: 25), the demographic composition of organizations is largely ignored in works on organizational identity. No structural research has been conducted to study the link between organizational demographics and members' (multiple) organizational identity perceptions as organizational identity scholars explicitly separate organizational identity perceptions from social identities based on demographic characteristics (e.g. Glynn, Barr, & Dacin, 2000).

The underlying premise to the separation of organizational identity and social identity based on demographics is the assumption that different social identities are ordered in a hierarchy of salience. Identity salience (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001: 32-38; Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 2003) refers to the likelihood that a specific identity will be elicited. The assumption is that individuals not only rank-order, but also separate the different social identities (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Chatman, Polzer, Barsade and Neale refer to "functional antagonism" (1998: 751), which implies that if organizational membership, and therefore organizational identity, is salient, social identity based on demographics will be less salient. It is in this light that Chatman et al explain for a negative relationship between the salience of social identities based on demographics and the salience of the organizational category. There are other researchers (e.g. George & Chattopadhyay, 2005) who challenge this assumption of "salience hierarchy" and illustrate how different organizational identities, of a similar hierarchical level, can be salient simultaneously. All of these examples have in common, however, that the different social or organizational identities are kept separate, in that even when concurrently salient, there is no interaction or mutual influence between the two. Similar to Pratt and Rafaeli's findings (1997), my study illustrates however, that different social identities (e.g. based on demographic characteristics) and organizational identity can not only be significant for organizational members concurrently, but even more so, that the salience of one social identity (e.g. age) can influence members' perceptions with regard to organizational identity (e.g. "we are young" and think of our organization as "hip, young at heart and modern"). I therefore do not dispute this distinction between organizational identity and demographic social identities, but argue that the presumed antagonism is not only unjustified, but that the salience of one social identity can influence members' perception of another, in my case perceived organizational identity. An implication which is underlined by Pratt and Rafaeli (1997: 889), who argue that "…sources of self-definition may influence embraced layers of social identity." I therefore maintain that a stronger link between demographics and

perceived organizational identity might carry important clues that could enhance our understanding of members' sensemaking processes when it comes to perceived organizational identity.

4.6.3   Multiple Identity Bias

Another important implication of my results is that since members' experience of multiple identities is predominantly driven by the perceived intra-organizational groups based on demographic characteristics, a sense of multiple organizational identities may exist in an organization, regardless of the actual organizational identity perceptions. Because members make their inference about the presence of multiple organizational identities based on the presence of different demographical groups, there is a risk of what I refer to as "multiple identity bias". This means that if members perceive other members as similar to themselves based on for example, educational level and function, they might assume, without explicitly knowing the other's identity perceptions, that their organizational identity perceptions are comparable. In a similar vein, members who perceive a difference between themselves and other organizational members (or groups of members) based on for example, educational level, tenure, age etc. might simply assume that these members probably also have a different perception of what the organization stands for or should stand for, even if this is not the case.

Explicit demographic faultlines tend to simplify members' sensemaking processes, as in-group members expect that other in-group members are similar to and out-group members different from themselves (Lau & Murnighan, 1998; Van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). This in-group bias strengthens the intra-organizational subgroups, which increases the potential for intra-organizational conflict and makes it more difficult to create a unified organization. In addition, demographic characteristics that make up the faultlines, tend to be interpreted as an indication of the other groups' general perceptions and interpretations, thus also of their perceived organizational identities. According to Pfeffer (1983) demographic characteristics influence identity perceptions since these social categories may be an indication of the degree to which individuals share similar experiences and backgrounds (and therefore similar perceptions).

Brewer and Gardner (1996) argue that the perception of a shared collective identity can encourage a feeling of liking for other in-group members, regardless of whether interpersonal relationships exist. I find that the relationship between interpersonal liking and the perception of a shared collective identity, can work in the other direction as well. If members like each other based on other social demographic characteristics, a sense of a shared collective identity may materialize, regardless of whether members are actually aware of the other's identity perceptions. Based on Table 4-2 for example, it is evident that the perceived organizational identities between the different subgroups are not completely different or conflicting and are to some degree overlapping. For instance, all organizational groups describe Pecunia as a "no-nonsense" organization. And if I compare Marketing and Sales, both subgroups believe that their organization is "open" and "professional". In addition to being "no-nonsense", both the young and the old generation seem to agree that "loyalty" is a defining characteristic of their organization. This implies that despite a degree of overlap of organizational identity

characteristics, subgroups might still assume, based on their demographic differences that their out-group's perception of the organization clashes with their own organizational identity perceptions and may fail to recognize in what ways organizational identity perceptions do match. This perpetuates a (possibly unjustified) sense of multiple identities.

4.6.4   *Managerial Implications*

From a managerial perspective, my findings are significant for two reasons. First, the current managerial focus is predominantly on converging or harmonizing the multiple identity perceptions. Scholars emphasize the need for constructing a collective identity (Chatman et al., 1998; Hardy, Lawrence, & Grant, 2005) and for the dominant coalition in an organization to project a (desired) organizational identity and attempt to create a collective identity for the organization through sensemaking processes (Dutton et al., 1994). Scholars tend to emphasize the significance of managerial sensegiving during organizational identity change (e.g. Corley & Gioia, 2004; e.g. Gioia & Thomas, 1996; Pratt, 2000) where the focus is on the use of rhetoric and communication by management (Cheney & Christensen, 2000: 246-247; Fiol, 2002) and the top-down definition by management of who the organization is or should be (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991). My findings suggest that a sole focus on engendering similar perceptions does not necessarily reduce the sense of multiple identities, if organizational cliques remain intact due to other demographic characteristics. If these groups lack substantial interaction intra-organizational biases will continue to exist, and members will continue to experience multiple identities, even if this is not the case based on the actual identity perceptions. Therefore, in order to coalesce the organization around a collective sense of self, it might be just as important to strengthen the intra-organizational ties between these different groups as it is to converge their organizational identity perceptions. As one manager at Pecunia puts it:

> *"I believe that people, individuals, are central to identity. We talk about culture and identity as if they are autonomous concepts. They aren't. Culture and identity are made by the individuals. So it is extremely important to have the right individuals at the right places. If you, as a manager, want to achieve a particular culture, you have got to make sure that you put the right individuals in the right spot. You need those individuals, who symbolize this new organizational culture or identity and are able to carry and convey that."*

Second, my findings indicate that members' sensemaking with regard to their perceived organizational identity is predominantly shaped by their demographic social identity within the organizational context, and their relevant in-group – out-group distinction. A change in the demographic composition of an organization will likely elicit a change in members' categorization processes and subsequently their organizational identity perceptions, as well. In line with my previous implication, another way in which organizational management can attempt to engender organizational identity change is by changing the actual demographic composition of different groups (e.g. divisions, hierarchical levels, functional groups). To illustrate, in my focal company the Marketing division consists of a relatively homogenous groups of young, college educated, short-tenured employees, whereas for example the unit

Mail (part of the Sales division) consists mainly of older, low-educated, long-tenured employees. The organizational identity perceptions of both groups might change substantially if management deliberately changes and maybe even breaks-down, these demographic faultlines. Managerial change endeavors might be more effective if this approach is adopted in addition to the more conventional organizational identity change processes through managerial sensegiving practices.

4.7 Conclusion

To gain a deeper understanding of the process by which members determine whether their organization consists of multiple identities, I conducted a qualitative study at a European bank. I find that while researchers establish multiple organizational identities based on different or conflicting abstract organizational identity perceptions, members are driven by a more personal motivation. To a great degree, they determine whether multiple organizational identities are present based on perceived intra-organizational differences on organizational demographics. These demographics are the social categories, which members apply in a process of self-categorization to classify organizational members into different groups. Moreover, these different organizational subgroups and their demographic distinctions predominantly determine how members view their organization and experience multiple identities.

Based on my findings I argue that, contrary to the current approach of separating demographically based social identities from perceived organizational identity, a much stronger conceptual and empirical connection between these concepts is vital to a more complete understanding of the role that (multiple) perceived organizational identity plays for members.

Chapter 5   CLOSING RANKS: THE EFFECT OF A COLLECTIVE THREAT ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PERCEIVED AND PROJECTED ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY

My second study[3] is conducted at a different organization from my first study, at one of the largest construction companies in the Netherlands, which I refer to as Concrete. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate empirically, the important role of a threatening issue in determining the salience of perceived organizational identity. My goal is to illustrate how in the occurrence of a threatening issue, projected organizational identity may be a more important determinant of identification and behavior than perceived organizational identity. I argue that distinguishing between an issue that affects organizational members collectively and an issue that affects only specific (groups of) organizational members is important in determining which organizational identity type becomes salient for members. Salience is determined by looking at the degree to which each identity type is an important determinant of members' identification and citizenship behavior. This study attempts to sharpen the theoretical assumption that threatening issues evoke perceived organizational identity by showing more specifically when, why and how they trigger identity salience. From a practical viewpoint, by understanding how threatening issues affect the salience of the different identity types, management can anticipate members' reactions on an issue and distinguish when the different drivers of identification and citizenship behavior are important.

As discussed in chapter three, organizational members develop a connection with their organization through different organizational identity types. Many scholars focus on the significance of perceived organizational identity (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Elsbach & Kramer, 1996; Gioia & Thomas, 1996; Pratt, 1998), which represents organizational members' perceptions of who the organization is. Some scholars also incorporate members' perceptions about how outsiders consider the organization, which is referred to as perceived external prestige (Smidts et al., 2001). Not many scholars take into account members' view of the projected organizational identity of an organization (Hatch & Schultz, 2000), which represents the claims management makes about the organization and communicates to stakeholders. Members tend to carry their perceptions of an organization's projected organizational identity into their own organizational experience. As discussed previously, of the abovementioned organizational perceptions, the prevailing assumption in extant literature is that perceived organizational identity is the main driver of members' attitudes and behavior. Perceived organizational identity is described as a key aspect in the sensemaking process of members (Gioia & Thomas, 1996), and

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[3] An earlier version of this chapter was nominated for the **Managerial and Organizational Cognition Best Student Paper** at the Annual Academy of Management Meetings, New Orleans, LA and published as Elstak, M. N., & Van Riel, C. B. M. 2004. Closing Ranks: How a Collective Threat Shifts Salience from Organizational to Corporate Identity **Best Paper Proceedings of the Sixty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management**

fundamental to understanding and determining the extent of organizational members' identification with their organization (Dutton et al., 1994). Scholars have demonstrated that perceived organizational identity influences how organizational members perceive threatening issues and their motivations for action (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991). Nevertheless, several identity scholars (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Dutton et al., 1994; Pratt, 2003) argue that organizational identity remains dormant during relatively stable periods and becomes salient only when the organization faces challenging issues. This implies that the salience of perceived organizational identity is not permanent, but depends on the organizational context. Many empirical studies on organizational identity (e.g. Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Gioia & Thomas, 1996) focus on how organizational identity affects the interpretation of threatening issues, but few studies (Elsbach & Kramer, 1996) analyze how these issues affect the salience of perceived organizational identity. Although scholars acknowledge that besides perceived organizational identity, alternative perceptions of members' organization influence their attitudes and behavior, few studies have empirically analyzed how threatening issues influence the salience of each of these identity types.

The study is conducted at Concrete, a large construction company in the Netherlands that, at the time of the study, faced accusations by the Dutch government of large-scale industrial fraud. Concrete was suitable for this study because of the explicitness of the issue facing the organization. The serious nature of the accusations not only ensured recognition by all organizational members, it also provoked powerful reactions. Hence, it functioned as a magnifying glass that enabled a sharper analysis of how issues affect identity salience.

5.1   Hypotheses Conceptual Framework

This study tests part of the conceptual framework discussed in chapter three. Due to the external image threat facing the focal organization, the private-public dimension is of particular interest here. The conceptual framework tests the effects of perceived organizational identity and projected organizational identity on organizational identification. Perceived external prestige moderates these two relationships. Furthermore, I test whether organizational identification mediates the relationship between the two identity types and organizational citizenship behavior. The hypothesized model is depicted in Figure 5-1. Hypotheses one to four are based on the conceptual framework and are recapped briefly in Table 5-1, hypotheses five and six are specific to this study.
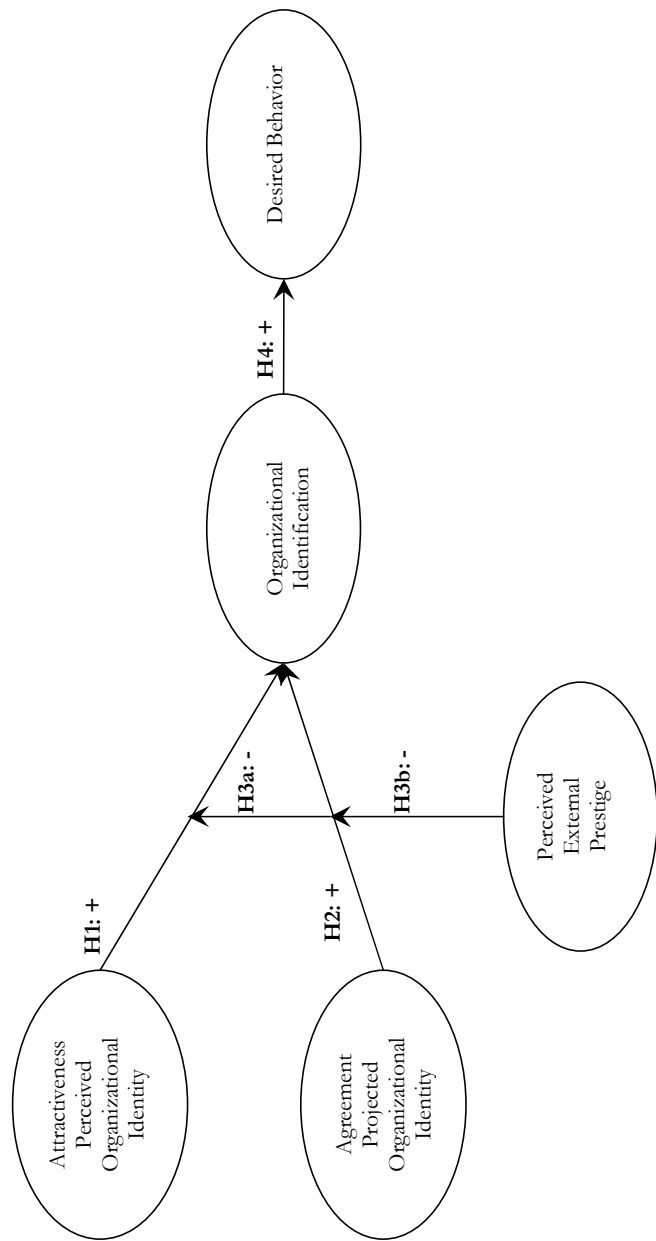
Figure 5-1 Hypothesized Model

Attractiveness Perceived Organizational Identity

Agreement Projected Organizational Identity

Perceived External Prestige

Organizational Identification

Desired Behavior

H1: +

H2: +

H3a: -

H3b: -

H4: +

Table 5-1 Hypotheses Conceptual Framework

Hypothesis	Underlying Argumentation
Hypothesis 1: The more attractive organizational members find their perceived organizational identity, the stronger their organizational identification.	According to social identity theory individuals have an innate motivation to think of their social group as more prestigious and distinctive in comparison to other groups (Turner, 1999). In line with this, individuals desire to be part of an organization that has an identity that fits with their own self-concepts and offers them distinction and prestige (Dutton et al., 1994; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1985). The more attractive the perceived organizational identity is to an organizational member, the more he or she will be motivated to belong to and be part of this organization, which will strengthen his or her organizational identification.
Hypothesis 2: The more organizational members agree with the projected organizational identity, the stronger their organizational identification.	In their identification, individuals are driven by a need to maintain a consistent sense of self (Cross et al., 2003), which provides them with a sense of being authentic and integer (Dutton et al., 1994; Gecas, 1982). In this regard, individuals strive toward consistency between their private and public self-concepts, which extends to the organizational context as well. Agreement with the projected organizational identity demonstrates to what extent organizational members believe that the formally proclaimed projected organizational identity corresponds to members' organizational identity. If an organizational member perceives a fit between his or her own organizational identity perceptions and the projected organizational identity, their sense of consistency is strengthened, which subsequently intensifies their connection to the organization.
Hypothesis 3a: The higher the perceived external prestige, the weaker the relationship between perceived organizational identity and organizational identification	Individuals are particularly motivated to belong to and identify with prestigious organizations as this prestige reflects on the employees and indirectly enhances their own sense of self (Dutton et al., 1994). If the organization has a prestigious image or reputation, internal aspects such as the different organizational identity types, might be of lesser significance for identification since members can "bathe in the external glory and prestige of the organization". On the other hand, if the organization

Hypothesis	Underlying Argumentation
Hypothesis 3b: The higher the perceived external prestige, the weaker the relationship between projected organizational identity and organizational identification.	lacks prestige, members will look to the internal organization for their self-enhancement needs. These processes suggest that organizational identity types and perceived external prestige act as each other's substitute. I therefore argue that perceived external prestige negatively moderates the relationships between the three identity types and identification.
Hypothesis 4: The stronger the organizational identification of an organizational member, the higher the degree of desired behavior, he or she displays.	To argue why identification would lead to a greater display of desired behavior by organizational employees, I turn to self-categorization theory. Self-categorization theory (Hogg & Terry, 2000; Turner, 1999) illustrates how high degrees of identification with a social group tends to produce collective attitudes and behavior. If organizational members identify with their organization, the processes of self- stereotyping and depersonalization are "activated". Members increasingly think of themselves as group members and loose their sense of self as distinct individuals. The more intensely members identify with their organization, the stronger these two processes will become; organizational members will increasingly align their behavior with the prototypical or normative behavior of the group. As a result, they are much more motivated to behave according to group norms in order to achieve common group goals, show in-group favoritism and cooperative behavior that go beyond functional role requirements (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Haslam & Platow, 2001).

5.2   Additional Hypotheses

Pratt (2003) has argued that the salience of individual identity characteristics changes according to the context surrounding the individual. In similar fashion, it is illustrated here how the organizational context influences the salience of perceived organizational identity. To determine which social group members belong to, they use a process of self-categorization. This process is greatly influenced by the presence of a threatening issue. A threatening issue could be any threat to organization, as perceived by its members, such as the reputation of the company, job losses or loss of identity because of a merger. How a threatening issue will influence social categorization depends on whether the threat affects members collectively or selectively. Particularly this aspect has been neglected in identity research. Not the mere presence of a threat but the scope of the threat is a key determinant of social categorization and, subsequently, the salience of perceived organizational identity.

5.2.1   *Identity Salience*

Several scholars (Dutton et al., 1994; Hatch & Schultz, 2000) emphasize the importance of perceived organizational identity over that of projected organizational identity for members' attitudes and behavior, because perceived organizational identity represents members' genuine perceptions, whereas projected organizational identity "merely" represents the identity claims shaped by a small group of managers. Ashforth and Johnson (2001) define "salience" as the likelihood that a specific identity will be evoked. The scholars differentiate between higher order identities (the collectively shared and claimed identity of the organization) and lower order identities (individual's perceptions of their organizational, work or job identity), where the higher order identities subsume the lower order identities, meaning that the higher order identities encapsulate those identities that are in the lower hierarchies. The projected organizational identity can be considered a higher order identity and the perceived organizational identity a lower order identity. Since higher order identities are more abstract and lower order identities more concrete and closer to the individual member's daily organizational life, the prevailing assumption is that perceived organizational identity is a direct and therefore more primary determinant of identification and citizenship behavior than projected organizational identity. From a social identity perspective however, the salience of one identity type over another is not permanent and depends to a great degree on the organizational context (Van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 2003). In this study, I contend that this presumed prevalence of perceived organizational identity is not as predetermined and that during challenging issues the salience of the different identity types can show a different pattern. In the following sections, I will argue why.

5.2.2   *Identity as a Relational Concept*

A number of scholars describe perceived organizational identity as a concept formed through a process of social comparison and interaction. The general perception is that one's identity exists not in isolation, but is shaped through social interaction with other individuals (or social groups) (Gioia et al., 2000) and is therefore a "relational and comparative" concept (Ashforth & Mael, 1996: 25; Gioia, 1998:

19). Inherent to this comparative nature of identity is that it is a concept that is constantly negotiated, constructed, and reconstructed, and that it changes according to the context that surrounds it (Gioia et al., 2000). Albert, Ashforth, Gioia, Godfrey, Reger and Whetten (1998) and Pratt (2003) emphasize that an organizational identity is created in reference to another entity; i.e. the salient out-group: knowing who one is *not* is essential to determine who one *is*.

5.2.3 *Self-Categorization*

To get a sense of how a specific social identity forms, I take the process of self-categorization into account. As treated by Turner (1999), self-categorization refers to the process of defining oneself based on the membership in a shared social category. Defining oneself in terms of a specific social category tends to amplify intragroup similarities and intergroup differences, so as to identify in- and out-groups as distinct entities (Hogg & Terry, 2001: 5). Self-categorization theory emphasizes this impermanence and context-dependency of the reference-category. The type of identity-category that one uses as a framework for defining oneself depends among other things on the social framework that surrounds the comparison process. Individuals, who are considered similar in one context, can be perceived as very different in another without specific change in their actual positions. A group of individuals behave as a collective and show in-group bias if the social context surrounding the group embodies certain characteristics that define the situation as an intergroup one (Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1999). A threatening issue plays an important role here, because it defines the social context in which comparison takes place. Which group imposes the issue and which organizational group(s) is (are) affected by the issue, are important to the formation of a social category.

5.2.4 *Issue Relevance*

Dutton and Dukerich (1991) define issues as events or developments that are recognized by organizational members as having an effect on the organization. Issues can originate internally or externally to the organization. Empirical studies on organizational identity are often conducted during times of strategic change (Gioia & Thomas, 1996) or identity-threatening issues (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Elsbach & Kramer, 1996) because identity is especially exposed during these periods of self-reflective analysis for the organization (Pratt, 2003). Several scholars argue that during relatively stable periods, organizational members might not be consciously aware of their perceived organizational identity and that it takes an organizational crisis to expose the identity (Albert & Whetten, 1985) to subsequently reveal manifold issues and diverse symbolic interpretations (Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997). Dutton et al (1994) refer to issues that challenge the perceived organizational identity or rationale, which cause the dormant perceived organizational identity to surface and become salient.

Shared issue. Ashforth and Kreiner's (1999) study on the construction of a strong, positive organizational identity in "dirty work" organizations serves as an important link here. The scholars find that contrary to expectations occupational members of so-called "dirty work" such as garbage collectors or funeral directors develop a strong occupational identity. The scholars argue that the formation of a strong, positive identity is a direct response to the threat imposed by the "dirty" stigma as the identity

serves to protect employees from the identity threat. As the stigma affects the occupational group as a whole, the workers also respond as one group because the perceived shared threat encourages cohesion. Ashforth and Kreiner (1999: 419) indicate that people, who share a common social category and common social pressures, will regard themselves to be "in the same boat" and "share a common fate".

Ashforth and Kreiner's study illustrates the significance of a threatening issue for the formation of a perceived organizational identity, but more importantly, the authors point to a specific aspect of the threat: whether it affects the organization as a whole (e.g. stigma of "dirty work") versus specific (groups of) members within the organization (e.g. lay-offs). A threat is an important factor in determining which social group the perceiving organizational member belongs to; members who feel that they are (potentially) affected by the threat will consider themselves to be in the same social group. And as Turner (1999) argues, increasing significance of a shared social identity minimizes individual differences; members increasingly define themselves in terms of the shared social category. Identity threat by an out-group will likely instigate in-group bias (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Voci, 2006) and external conflict increases internal unity, especially if the external threat affects the group and all of its members collectively (Stein, 1976). Staw, Sandelands and Dutton (1981: 501) discuss what they refer to as "threat-rigidity effects" and argue that due to mechanisms such as pressure to conform to the collective norm, simplified information processing and an increased reliance on leadership support, group cohesiveness may increase (temporarily).

What these theories show is that if an external stakeholder threatens the organization as a whole, the in-group/out-group-distinction shifts to the level of the collective organization versus the external party. The notion that collective threat leads to internal cohesion implies that the degree to which an issue is shared among organizational members influences the significance of perceived organizational identity and subsequently that of projected organizational identity. Internal cohesion increases, which most likely increases the importance of the collective projected organizational identity and decreases the salience of the (potentially multiple) perceived organizational identity. If an issue is perceived as affecting the organization collectively, members tend to "close ranks" and evoke an organizational perception that symbolizes what they collectively stand for, resulting in an increased significance of the projected organizational identity:

> **Hypothesis 5:** The effect of agreement with the projected organizational identity on organizational identification will be significantly stronger than the effect of attractiveness of perceived organizational identity.

5.2.5   *Hierarchical Discrepancies*

Several scholars (e.g. Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997) argue that threatening issues are likely to expose multiple identities. With this study however, I argue that because threatening issues influence the relative salience of perceived organizational identity compared to that of projected organizational identity, they

consequently affect whether multiple identity perceptions are exposed (Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997). Due to the collective nature of the threatening issue that affects Concrete, members will close ranks. This increases the perceived internal cohesion and obscures potential hierarchical identity discrepancies (Corley, 2004). To determine whether discrepancies are present, the focus is on the *agreement* with the perceived organizational identity, as this represents the extent to which members agree that the organizational identity characteristics represent how they perceive their organization. The focus is also on the *agreement* with the projected organizational identity, because if hierarchical discrepancies are present, it is likely that higher-level management will have a stronger agreement with the projected organizational identity than lower level employees. It is expected that during a collective threatening issue potential hierarchical identity discrepancies will be obscured (Corley, 2004), therefore:

Hypothesis 6a: There will be no significant differences between the different organizational levels, with regard to organizational members' agreement with the perceived organizational identity.

Hypothesis 6b: There will be no significant differences between the different organizational levels, with regard to organizational members' agreement with the projected organizational identity.

5.3 Methods

This research study is conducted at Concrete, a Dutch construction company with over 10,000 employees. At the time of this study, the company, together with other major players in the industry, was involved in the largest fraud scandal to have taken place in the Netherlands. In the fall of 2001, a former employee of another major construction company went public through national television with evidence of large-scale fraud in the industry. A parliamentary commission of inquiry was formed by the Dutch government to investigate the allegations of illegal formation of a trust cartel, price-agreements, double entry bookkeeping and participation in a criminal organization. Because of the magnitude of the fraud and the fact that it involved mainly public money, the investigation received an enormous amount of publicity and the interrogations of key witnesses were aired live on public television. The company partaking in this study and several of its employees faced criminal charges. Key witnesses consisted of both top management and lower level employees.

5.3.1 Data Collection

Interviews. Twenty-five open interviews (six with higher management, six with middle-management, five with support staff and eight with production workers) were held to determine the perceived organizational identity characteristics. On average, each interview lasted about one hour. Respondents were asked to provide the positive and negative characteristics that they used when they described their organization to others and that they found to be essential to their organization.

Characteristics mentioned by at least half of the respondents were selected, which resulted in thirteen organizational identity characteristics (appendix A).

Documents data. An analysis of company documents, such as the annual report, company brochures, presentations, speeches, an internal code of conduct report and the company's website was carried out in order to determine the projected organizational identity characteristics. To determine the projected organizational identity, only characteristics that were claimed to be currently present in the organization were taken into account. Characteristics that were regarded by Concrete as ideal or to be accomplished in the future and were not explicitly mentioned as current characteristics were not included. A consistent set of identity characteristics emerged repeatedly in each of the sources. The characteristics with the highest frequency and highest degree of shared sources were included, which resulted in a final set of seventeen projected organizational identity characteristics (appendix A).

Survey. Based on the identity characteristics derived from the interviews, documentation analysis and existing scales, a measurement instrument was developed that measured the attractiveness of and the agreement with the perceived organizational identity, the agreement with the projected organizational identity, perceived external prestige, organizational identification and organizational citizenship behavior. All measures are on a five-point Likert scale where 1 represents the lowest and 5 the highest score. The survey was sent to 2500 employees; a total of 911 employees completed the survey, i.e. a response rate of 36.44 percent. The sample, which is representative of the organization, consists of mainly male respondents (92.2%). Over a third of the respondents are between 36 and 45 years of age, over sixty percent works in the divisions of construction and infrastructure and just over forty percent of the respondents have been working in the organization for over ten years. Middle management (37.1%) and production workers (35.8%) represent the largest part of the sample.

5.3.2 Measures

Attractiveness of the perceived organizational identity. Generally, the respondents consider the characteristics of their perceived organizational identity as personally appealing, with a mean of 3.99 (S.D. = .51). The scale has a reliability of .88.

Agreement with the perceived organizational identity. Agreement with the perceived organizational identity is measured to validate that the thirteen perceived organizational identity characteristics found through the interviews represent respondents' perception of their organizational identity. With a mean of 3.83 (S.D. = .46) the characteristics are considered as representative of how organizational members perceive their organization's identity. Agreement with the perceived organizational identity has a reliability of .86.

To test the relational model, I use a composite measure of the overall attractiveness of perceived organizational identity (Dukerich et al., 2002) that consists of both the *agreement with* and the *attractiveness of* members' perceived organizational identity and determines the overall attractiveness of the perceived organizational identity. To develop the composite measure, I recoded the attractiveness of a characteristic from a five-point scale, to a scale of: -2 (Very unattractive); -1 (Unattractive); 0 (neither unattractive nor

attractive); +1 (attractive) and +2 (Very attractive). The composite measure of overall attractiveness of perceived identity is calculated by multiplying the agreement and attractiveness score for each item, which resulted in scores from -10 to +10. To determine the validity of my multiplicative variable, I follow Evans (1991) as suggested by Dukerich et al (2002). I conduct stepwise regression analysis, where three regression models are compared: first, identification is regressed on the single variable of attractiveness of perceived identity; second, on both attractiveness and agreement with perceived identity and third, on both attractiveness and agreement with perceived organizational identity plus the interaction term attractiveness perceived identity x agreement perceived identity. The change in R^2 from 0.260 to 0.269 is significant (p = 0.001), which means that the composite measure is valid. To determine the validity of this self-developed measure, I also apply confirmatory factor analysis with AMOS structural equation modeling to the thirteen (composite) perceived organizational identity items, which resulted in a three-factor measure. Since the first- and second-order model are equivalent when the first order model contains three factors (Rindskopf & Rose, 1988); for reasons of parsimony I go with the second-order model. An overview of this second-order model and its underlying factors, which refer to the dimensions "Organizational Attitude", "All-round constructor" and "Innovative", is provided in Figure 5-2 below. The goodness of fit statistics are provided in Table 5-2.

Figure 5-2 Perceived Organizational Identity Dimensions

Diagram: SEM path diagram of Perceived Organizational Identity dimensions.

- Organizational Attitude (with res1) loads onto indicators:
  - Honest (err1) .54
  - Open Attitude (err2) .56
  - Strong Bond (err3) .54
  - Customer (err4) .71
  - On time (err5) .66
  - Role Society (err6) .72
  - Environment (err7) .64
- All-round Constructor (with res2):
  - A to Z (err8) .67
  - Many Areas (err9) .64
  - Important (err10) .71
- Innovative (with res3):
  - Innovation (err11) .71
  - Renewing (err12) .73
  - Entrepreneur (err13) .71
- Perceived Organizational Identity → Organizational Attitude .81; → All-round Constructor .76; → Innovative .88

Agreement with the projected organizational identity. For projected organizational identity, the focus is on members' *agreement* with. Attractiveness of the projected organizational identity is not measured because this identity type tends to be inherently positive and attractive as management generally communicates about an organization in more positive terms. Since an organization's projected organizational identity is generally less diversified than the perceived organizational identity and might selectively focus on those aspects of an organization that are attractive to stakeholders, it is not always an authentic representation of the organizational identity (Cheney & Christensen, 2000; Gioia et al., 2000; Ravasi & Van Rekom, 2003). To measure the effect of projected organizational identity on identification, the focus is on the extent to which members agree that the projected organizational identity is in line with their perceptions regarding the organization. To determine the validity of my measure of projected

organizational identity, I also conducted confirmatory factor analysis on its 17 items, which resulted in a 15 item, three-factor solution. Again, I chose to adopt the second-order model, which is presented in Figure 5-3, consisting of the three underlying factors: "Work atmosphere", "Market approach" and "Organizational Attitude". Refer to Table 5-2 for the goodness of fit statistics. The average score of the agreement with the projected organizational identity items provides an overall indication of the extent to which organizational members consider the projected organizational identity characteristics to be in accordance with their perceptions of the organizational identity. The scale has a reliability of .89 and the mean of 3.83 (S.D. = .51) indicates that respondents generally agree with the projected organizational identity.

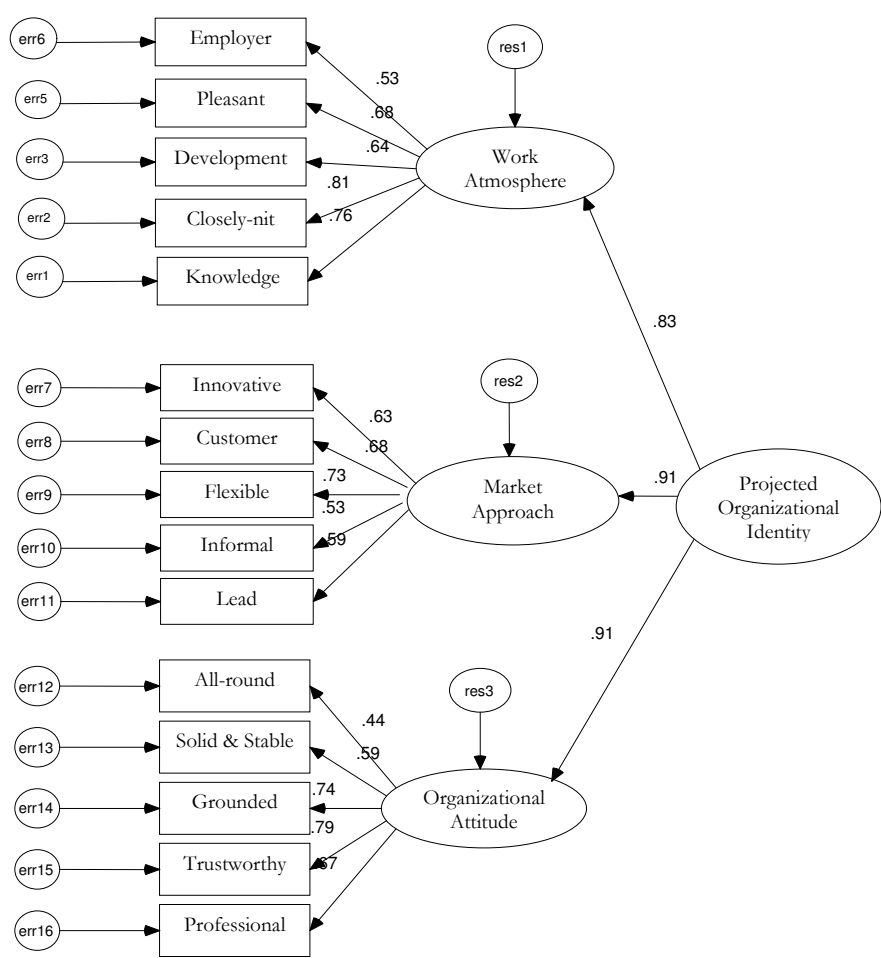**Figure 5-3 Projected Organizational Identity Dimensions**

Table 5-2 Measures & Goodness of Fit Statistics

Perceived Organizational Identity	Projected Organizational Identity
χ^2 = **284.99** (p < .000); **d.f.**= 62	χ^2 = **543.04** (p < .000); **d.f.**= 87
NFI=.91	**NFI=**.89
IFI=.93	**IFI=**.91
CFI=.93	**CFI=**.91
RMSEA=.06	**RMSEA=**.08
Factor 1: Organizational attitude	**Factor 1: Work atmosphere**
Honest	Good employer
Open attitude	Pleasant work environment
Strong bond with employees	Opportunities for self-development
Close to the customer	Closely-nit group
On-time delivery	Availability of useful knowledge
Conscious of role in society	
Environmentally friendly and safe	**Factor 2: Market approach**
	Innovative
Factor 2: All-round constructor	Customer focused
Can realize projects from A – Z	Flexible
Active in many different areas in construction	Informal
Important actor in the construction industry	Takes the lead
Factor 3: Innovative	**Factor 3: Organizational attitude**
Innovation plays an important part	All-round contractor
Renewing in ideas, concepts, products and implementation	Solid and stable
Entrepreneurial	Has its feet firmly on the ground
	Trustworthy
	Professional

Perceived external prestige. Perceived external prestige is measured with the four-item scale developed by Smidts et al (2001: 1054), e.g. "Our organization has a good reputation", and "Our organization is looked upon as a prestigious company to work for". The scholars reported a reliability of .73. In this specific study, the calculated reliability for this scale is .75. With a mean of 3.49 (S.D. = .59) the organization is still considered slightly prestigious, but it is not a very impressive score. The lower score for perceived external prestige is likely to be the result of the company's involvement in the fraud scandal.

Organizational identification. Organizational identification is measured with the five-item identification-scale developed by Smidts et al (2001: 1054). The scale consists of five measurement items, e.g. "I feel strong ties with organization X" and "I experience a strong sense of belonging to organization X". The scholars reported a reliability of .84. The reliability of the scale for this specific study is .90. With an average score of 3.77 (S.D. = .58), organizational members appear to identify with their organization.

Organizational citizenship behavior. For this concept the nineteen-item measurement instrument developed by Moorman and Blakely (1995: 132) is used. All measurement items e.g. "Goes out of his/her way to help co-workers with work-related problems", "Performs his/her duties with extra-special care" are included, except "Encourages friends and family to utilize organization products" as this is not applicable to Concrete. In order to avoid socially biased responses, the respondents were requested to rate the citizenship behavior manifested in their direct workgroup. The scholars reported a Confirmatory Fit Index of .91 and a Tucker Lewis Index of .90. The reliability for this instrument in this study equals .91. The extent to which organizational members demonstrate citizenship behavior is, though not very outstanding, still positive with a mean of 3.54 (S.D. = 51).

Control variables. I include four control variables. Age (ranges from 1, which equals younger, to a value of 6, which equals older employees) and tenure (varies from 1, which equals short to 4, which equals long tenure) potentially affect organizational identification; younger employees are more likely to job-hop and less attached to a specific organization than older employees. Tenure relates to identification because individuals tend to stay with organization, which appeals to them and with which they feel a connection and bond, while in turn, their continued affiliation to the organization increases their attachment to the organization (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004). Department (values refer to different departments) is included since organizational members are particularly influenced by their direct work environment and tend to identify more strongly with their direct work environment, i.e. their department (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). It is therefore likely that identity perceptions and degrees of identification differ according to the department where a respondent works. Functional level (ranges from a value of 1, which equals higher-level to a value of 4, which equals lower-level employees) is included. Higher- and lower-level employees often differ in their identity perceptions and identification due to different sensemaking frameworks; according to Corley (2004), higher-level management regards organizational identity more in terms of strategy, whereas lower-level employees regard organizational identity more in terms of culture.

An overview of all the survey items is provided in the Appendix A. The descriptive statistics and correlations between the scales are provided in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3 Descriptive Statistics & Correlations

Variable	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Overall Attractiveness Perceived Organizational Identity	3.96	2.12								
2. Agreement Projected organizational identity	3.83	.51	.47**							
3. Perceived External Prestige	3.49	.59	.26**	.54**						
4. Organizational Identification	3.77	.58	.38**	.61**	.40**					
5. Organizational Citizenship Behavior	3.54	.51	.23**	.44**	.32**	.40**				
6. Age	4.16	1.07	-.01	.06	.07	.03	.08*			
7. Department	3.70	1.99	.05	.01	.05	.05	-.02	-.10**		
8. Tenure	2.91	1.02	-.07	.06	.05	.03	.03	.39**	-.06	
9. Functional Level	2.81	1.03	-.10**	.04	.05	-.13**	-.00	.01	-.06	.06

** p<0.01, *p<0.05

5.4 Results

Full Model

To test the hypothesized model I conducted regression analysis. The results from the regression analysis show that both perceived and projected organizational identity affect organizational identification. The effect of projected organizational identity ($\beta = .63$) appears to be much stronger however, than the effect of perceived organizational identity ($\beta = .03$); an indication that my hypothesis five, to be tested later on, holds. To test for moderation of perceived external prestige and mediation of organizational identification, the procedure by Baron and Kenny (1986) is followed. To test whether perceived external prestige moderates the relationship between perceived and projected organizational identity and organizational identification, I add the interaction term in each regression. To test whether perceived external prestige moderates the relationship between perceived organizational identity and organizational identification I include the interaction term: Perceived Organizational Identity * Perceived External Prestige. To test the moderation effect of perceived external prestige on the relationship between projected organizational identity and organizational identification I include the interaction term: Projected Organizational Identity * Perceived External Prestige. Moderation occurs if the β's of the interaction terms are significant, while the direct effects are controlled for (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Irwin & McClelland, 2001). Contrary to my prediction, perceived external prestige does not moderate the relationship between perceived organizational identity and identification nor between projected organizational identity and identification; the β's are insignificant. Mediation of organizational identification between the two identity types and organizational citizenship behavior is determined through three separate regressions:

(1) Organizational Identification = β_1Perceived Organizational Identity + β_2Projected Organizational Identity + β_3Age + β_4Department + β_5Tenure + β_6Functional level

(2) Organizational Citizenship Behavior = β_1Perceived Organizational Identity + β_2Projected Organizational Identity+ β_3Age + β_4Department + β_5Tenure + β_6Functional level

(3) Organizational Citizenship Behavior = β_1Perceived Organizational Identity + β_2Projected Organizational Identity + β_3Organizational Identification+ β_4Age + β_5Department + β_6Tenure + β_7Functional level

Full mediation occurs if all betas for the direct effects in the first and second regression are significant, while in the third regression the dependent variable is significantly affected by the mediator but not by the independent variables. Partial mediation occurs if the effects of the independent variables still exist, but are reduced substantially. To test for mediation, the effect of the independent variables on citizenship behavior is tested. No direct effects on citizenship behavior were hypothesized as it was assumed that organizational identification fully mediated the relationships. The results of testing the

complete model and accounting for the mediation effects of organizational identification and moderation effects of perceived external prestige are shown in Table 5-4.
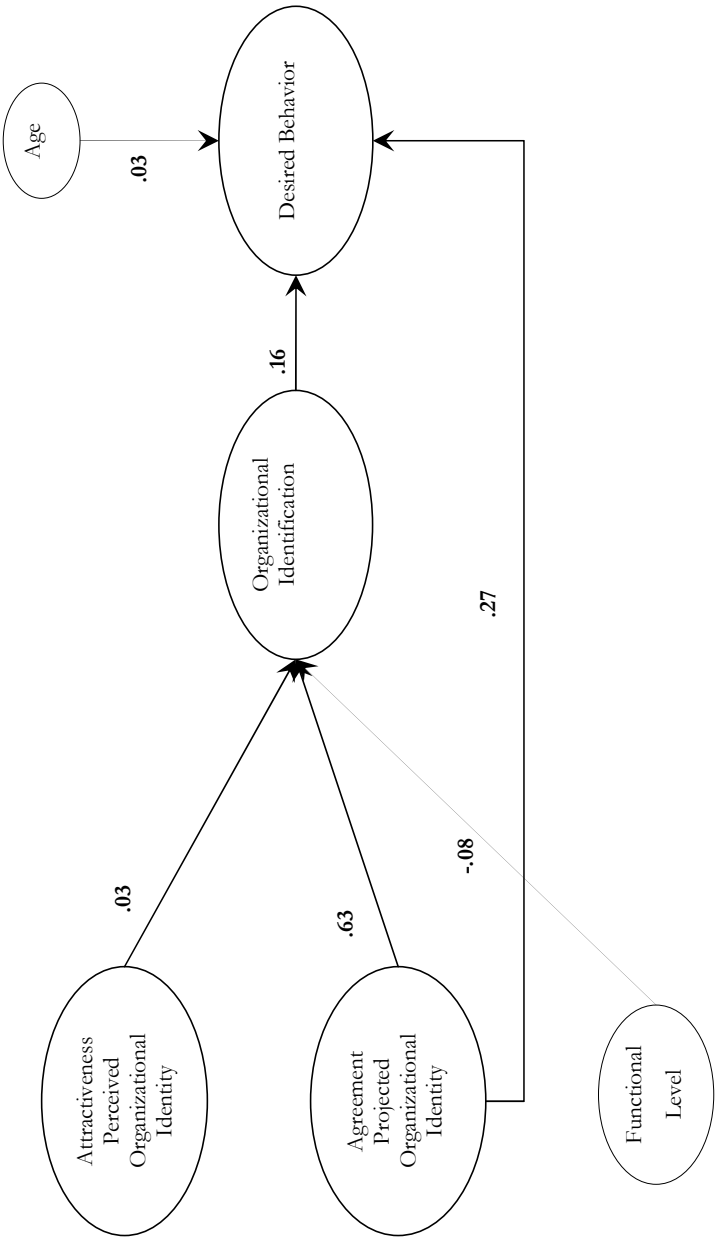
Table 5-4: Regression Analyses

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Organizational identification			
Constant	1.30**	1.34**	1.06
Controls			
Age	-.01	-.01	-.01
Department	.01	.01	.01
Tenure	.01	.01	.01
Functional level	-.08**	-.08**	-.08**
Direct effects			
Perceived organizational identity	.03**	.02	.03**
Projected organizational identity	.63**	.63**	.69**
Perceived external prestige	.04	.03	.12
Interaction effects			
Perceived external prestige x Perceived organizational identity		.00	
Perceived external prestige x Projected organizational identity			-.02
R^2	.42	.42	.42
Adjusted R^2	.41	.41	.41
Desired behavior			
Constant	1.95**	1.76**	
Controls			
Age	.03	.03*	
Department	-.01	-.01	
Tenure	.00	.00	
Functional level	-.01	.01	
Direct effects			
Perceived organizational identity	.02*	.01	
Projected organizational identity	.38**	.27**	
Organizational identification		.16**	
R^2	.18	.20	
Adjusted R^2	.17	.19	

**p<0.001, *p<0.10

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If the coefficients of the two regressions on citizenship behavior in Table 5-4 are compared, it can be concluded that organizational identification fully mediates the effect of perceived organizational identity, as the marginal effect of $\beta = .02$ that perceived organizational identity has on citizenship behavior in the second regression becomes insignificant if organizational identification is brought into the equation. Identification only partially mediates the relationship between the projected organizational identity and citizenship behavior, as the beta coefficient reduces in strength in the third regression (β decreases from .38 to .27), but remains significant. The only two control variables that have an effect are functional level and age. The effect of functional level on organizational identification is marginal en negative, which means that higher-level management has a slightly stronger identification with Concrete than lower-level employees do. This finding is in line with works on organizational identification in which scholars argue that individuals with core or strategic positions are more likely to identify with their organization (e.g. Rousseau, 1998). Age has a marginal effect on desired behavior. Older employees tend to have a slightly stronger believe that colleagues in their direct work environment exhibit desired behavior. A potential explanation could be that older employees are more dutiful and diligent when it comes to following managerial orders and prescribed behavior than younger employees are. For an overview of the relationship found within this study, see Figure 5-4.

Figure 5-4: Model Based on Regression Analysis

Age

.03

Desired Behavior

.16

Organizational
Identification

.27

-.08

Attractiveness
Perceived
Organizational
Identity

.03

Agreement
Projected
Organizational
Identity

.63

Functional
Level

5.4.1   *Salience of Organizational Identity*

An important aspect of this research study is to analyze the salience of the attractiveness of organizational identity versus that of the agreement with projected organizational identity and the perceived external prestige. As hypotheses 5 indicates, the expectation is that the degree to which organizational members agree with the projected organizational identity will be a more significant determinant of organizational identification than the attractiveness of perceived organizational identity. To test whether the effect of agreement with the projected organizational identity is significantly stronger than the effect of attractiveness of perceived organizational identity, a procedure described by Neter, Wasserman and Whitmore (1993: 634-637) is applied. An F-ratio is based on comparing two models:

The full model, which includes both independent variables separately:

(1) Organizational Identification = β_0 + β_1Attractiveness Perceived Organizational identity + β_2 Agreement Projected organizational identity

And the Reduced model, which includes a new variable that is the sum of the two independent variables that are compared:

(2) Organizational Identification = β_0 + β_1(Attractiveness Perceived Organizational identity + Agreement Projected organizational identity)

We calculate the F statistic, where

(3) $F = (df_{full}/(df_{reduced} - df_{full}))\ [SSE_{reduced} - SSE_{full}/SSE_{full}]$

And compare this value to the critical value of

(4) $F\ (1\text{-}\ \alpha;\ df_{reduced} - df_{full},\ df_{full})$

In this study the F-value calculated by comparing the full and reduced model equals 7.58 and is larger than the critical-value of $F\ (.99;\ 44,\ 767) = 1.57$. This means that the effect of agreement with projected organizational identity on organizational identification is significantly stronger than the effect of attractiveness of perceived organizational identity.

5.4.2   *Hierarchical Discrepancies*

It is argued in this study that contrary to the prevailing assumption that threatening issues reveal the presence of multiple identities (Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997) the presence of a collective threatening issue will result in converging identity claims. To determine whether a potential overlap between organizational and projected organizational identity exists, I take an explorative approach by comparing the underlying dimensions of perceived organizational identity and projected organizational identity as found through my confirmatory factor analysis. The items and their underlying dimensions of both perceived organizational and projected organizational identity are compared to determine whether they are similar in nature or whether any inconsistencies can be determined (perceived and projected characteristics that are normally

not expected together). A comparison of both sets of characteristics shows a partial overlap between the organizational and projected organizational identity characteristics and no inconsistencies. This implies that the organizational identity characteristics that are derived from the interviews are, even though they are not the same, nevertheless in line with the projected organizational identity characteristics. An additional indication of converging perceptions is the fact that the thirteen perceived organizational identity characteristics, even though they were collected from different respondents all loaded on one higher order second factor. The perceived organizational identity characteristics may represent different identity themes (i.e. organizational attitude, all-round constructor, innovative) but they still belong to an overarching factor that represents the perceived organizational identity. These findings are an indication that organizational members closed ranks; members' perceptions of the organization converge and the organizational identity characteristics partially overlap the projected organizational identity characteristics.

I argue that because the organization faces a collectively shared threatening issue, potential hierarchical discrepancies with regard to the organizational identity are obscured as organizational members evoke the collective projected organizational identity. To determine whether hierarchical discrepancies with regard to the perceived and projected organizational identity are present, I look at whether there is a significant difference, as Corley (2004) reasons, between the agreement with the perceived organizational identity and the agreement with the projected organizational identity along the different hierarchical lines. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) is applied, see Table 5-5 for the results.

Table 5-5 Mean Differences across Hierarchical Levels

Hierarchical level	Agreement perceived organizational identity	Agreement projected organizational identity	Perceived external prestige	Organizational identification	Organizational citizenship behavior
Higher level management	3.84 (.41) [1]	3.90 (.44)	3.52 (.65)	4.09[a] (.54)	3.67[b] (.45)
Middle level management	3.81 (.45)	3.79 (.51)	3.46 (.54)	3.76 (.57)	3.50 (.47)
Support staff	3.82 (.45)	3.80 (.51)	3.42 (.59)	3.77 (.54)	3.52 (.50)
Production workers	3.87 (.46)	3.88 (.51)	3.55 (.61)	3.70 (.59)	3.56 (.55)
F statistic	$F_{(3,849)} = 1.09$	$F_{(3,851)} = 2.29$	$F_{(3,846)} = 2.30$	$F_{(3,853)} = 9.56***$	$F_{(3,851)} = 2.75*$

* $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.001$

[1] Standard deviations

[a] Significant mean difference based on post-hoc Games-Howell test ($p<.001$) between higher level management and all other levels

[b] Significant mean differences based on post-hoc Games-Howell test ($p<.05$) between higher and middle level management

From the ANOVA results it appears that for the agreement with the perceived organizational identity and agreement with the projected organizational identity, no significant hierarchical differences are established. Hypothesis 6a and 6b are subsequently accepted. The agreement with the perceived and projected organizational identity are equally strong across organizational levels, which implies that management and lower level employees agree that the set of perceived organizational identity characteristics as well as the set of projected organizational identity characteristics represent the identity of their organization. Though not hypothesized beforehand, hierarchical differences are found in relation to organizational identification and citizenship behavior, where higher management has a significantly higher degree of identification than all other three hierarchical levels and a significantly higher degree of citizenship behavior compared to middle-management level. This finding is in line with the argument proposed by Dukerich et al (2002), that (signals of) an individual' status in a group might increase his or her cognitive attachment to that group.

5.5   Discussion

Several aspects of the results in this study are noteworthy. It has been demonstrated that the salience of perceived organizational identity for members' identification and citizenship behavior is neither permanent nor prevalent over projected organizational identity. Several scholars have argued that the salience of organizational identity is triggered by the presence of a threatening issue. The goal of this study was to take that assumption one step further and show that the presence of an issue does not necessarily evoke perceived organizational identity. More important is whether the issue affects the organization collectively or whether it affects specific (groups of) members. It is argued that as a reaction to a collective threatening issue, organizational members close ranks: the collective organization becomes the relevant in-group. This increases the internal cohesion and subsequently the importance of the agreement with the projected organizational identity over that of the attractiveness of the perceived organizational identity. In this study, agreement with the projected organizational identity is a more important driver of both identification and citizenship behavior. Contrary to the attractiveness of the perceived organizational identity, the agreement with the projected organizational identity also has a direct impact on citizenship behavior. It seems that, at least in this context of a collective threat to the organizational image, members apply the projected identity as an overall framework, against which they compare their own perceptions. Theories on threat and cohesion offer several potential explanations for this finding. On the one hand, in light of the process of self-categorization and subsequent self-stereotyping and depersonalization, I argue that the collective threat to members of Concrete strengthens their in-group ties. Due to the collective nature of the threat, agreement with the identity that represents the collective organization, i.e. the projected organizational identity, becomes salient for them and as such, their main driver of identification and behavior. On the other hand, "threat-rigidity effects", as discussed by Staw et al (1981: 501) could have taken in effect. This would also explain for the significance of the agreement with the projected organizational identity, because according to Staw and his colleagues,

during times of threat, individuals tend to not only conform to what they perceive as the collective standard in terms of attitudes and behavior, but they also increasingly rely on their organization's leadership. The significance of the agreement with the projected organizational identity over that of the attractiveness of the perceived organizational identity seems to captures both of these effects. The projected organizational identity symbolizes what Concrete collectively stands for; it represents the identity that is claimed and communicated by the organization's top management and might therefore, during this major threat, represent a first "refuge" for members.

Another explanation, based on "ego-defense mechanisms" (e.g. Brown, 1997: 643), argues that during times of threat, individuals cling to an ideal sense of self (Argyris, 1976; Argyris & Schon, 1978); which Schwartz (1987a: 59; 1987b) refers to as the "organization ideal". Schwartz (1987b) argues and illustrates through the NASA Space Shuttle Challenger disaster, how individuals, during a crisis or times of threat, become even more committed to this ideal version of who the organization is; this projection of what the organization stands for in theory. Likewise, it is possible that, as the integrity, the norms and values of Concrete, and therefore its employees, are seriously questioned and challenged due to these extensive fraud accusations, they cling even more to this ideal version of who the organization is; as evidenced by the items that make-up projected organizational identity: solid, stable, trustworthy, professional etc.

In this study, perceived external prestige does not moderate the relationship between the identity types and identification. So for Concrete, it does not matter whether the perceived external prestige is high or low, the effect of the identity types remains the same. An explanation could be that I conducted this study at an organization that was in the midst of a major collective image crisis; which resulted in members "closing ranks". Organizational members, while facing a collective image threat, choose to rely on internal identity types for their identification needs and "block-out" any external influences.

Also, it has been demonstrated in this study that contrary to recent arguments by identity scholars that crises or threats reveal multiple identities (Ashforth & Mael, 1996; Barney et al., 1998; Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997), multiple identities can be obscured rather than exposed by collective external threats. Due to the collective nature of the threat, the collective projected organizational identity becomes the most salient organizational identity type for members, which decreases the relevance of the perceived organizational identity and subsequently obscures potential multiple organizational identities. This study shows when and how a threatening issue affects (multiple) perceived organizational identity salience. If for example, only a specific group of members are threatened, e.g. due to lay-offs, then the internal differences will indeed be highlighted. Here, only part of the organization is considered as the social in-group (members in jeopardy of losing their job) and another organizational group (e.g. higher-level management) becomes the salient out-group; multiple organizational identities become salient and the significance of the collective projected organizational identity diminishes.

With regard to managerial implications, the results of this study are significant in two ways. First, this study illustrates how a collectively perceived threat can, at least temporarily, increase internal

cohesion. If this happens, members tend to refer to the projected identity, which is dictated by management. It therefore seems that the influence of top management is crucial during times of a collective threat. Taking this further, one might even argue that a managerial tactic for increasing organizational cohesion could be to increase the perception of an external collective threat. Second, because a perceived threat elicits a form of rigidity (Staw et al., 1981), where organizational members increasingly rely on their organization's management in terms of control, normative attitudes and behavior, it seems particularly important for management to be visible and (seemingly) in charge during a collective crisis. Management becomes the bedrock during a collective threat.

5.6   Conclusion

This study has contributed to identity research by showing that the attractiveness of the perceived organizational identity is not necessarily an important determinant of identification; given certain conditions, the agreement with the projected organizational identity can be much more crucial. It shows how threatening issues can influence the type of organizational identity that members evoke. As one's personal identity forms in relation to a specific salient other, organizational identity is formed in relation to a specific other salient out-group. Which organizational members are affected by the threatening issue determines which organizational groups are perceived as "in-group" and "out-group" and this is an important factor in determining whether a collective identity is evoked or whether multiple organizational identities become salient. In line with this, the study has shown that multiple identities do not necessarily surface during challenging times. Multiple identities arise when internal differences are highlighted and this is more likely to occur when the issue or threat affects specific groups of employees within the organization and not others. If a threat or issue collectively affects the organization, it is more likely that internal differences, and thus multiple identities, will minimize. Subsequently, the collective projected organizational identity becomes a more important determinant for attitudes than the perceived organizational identity.

Chapter 6   HOW PERCEIVED, PROJECTED AND DESIRED ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY TYPES PLAY OUT IN A CONTEXT OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

The results from study two indicate that during a collective threat, the significance of perceived organizational identity might loose ground to an alternative, more deductively determined identity type: projected organizational identity. These results provide an initial indication that the significance of perceived organizational identity for identification and behavior is affected by the surrounding organizational context. This implies that the relationships between identity, image, identification and behavior can play out differently, when different issues are at hand. I therefore continue to study these relationships in a different organizational context in study three[4].

There are two main differences between studies two and three. The first distinction regards the comparison of identity types. As the main issue for study two was the tension between internal and external perceptions and images, I focused specifically on the private-public distinction in terms of the private perceived organizational identity, the public projected organizational identity and perceived external prestige. In study three however, a temporal identity element is added. As the organization is engaged in a change process where members are continuously confronted with future desired images of who the organization should become, I am particularly interested in the current-future distinction. Therefore, in addition to the identity types of study two, I adjust the hypothetical model as tested in the second study and include another deductively determined identity type, desired organizational identity. The second distinction relates to the organizational context. In study two my focal organization, Concrete, faced a collective external threat, where the organizational reputation and image of Concrete were at stake. In this study three, I go back to the organization I studied in study one, Pecunia. As discussed in chapter four, Pecunia is in the middle of an extensive identity change process, where the entire organization is involved in realizing this newly defined organizational identity and image for the company. Here, the organization does not face a direct collective external threat, but due to the ubiquitous emphasis on the need for a new identity and image, and the extensive internal and external media campaigns that project this new and desired organization, there is a general sense of urgency that could potentially affect members in their daily organizational activities. These developments have placed the issue of organizational identity at the center of all the organization's goals, activities and priorities, which makes it such an interesting context to study the effect of inductive and deductive identity types. Members of the focal organization were continuously confronted with projections of who the organization was and of the desired future identity; all during a time in which the question of perceived organizational identity, who are we as an organization, remained central to the developments and changes

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[4] An earlier version of this chapter will be presented at the **sixty-seventh Annual Meetings of the Academy of Management, Philadelphia, PA**

taking place. Since members are fully aware of this ever-present notion of "who we are" or "who we want to be as an organization", this provided me with a unique opportunity to compare the effects and interactions of identity and image on identification and behavior. In this third and last study, I test the complete hypothesized model as introduced in the conceptual framework. For an elaborate overview of these hypotheses and their underlying argumentation, refer to my conceptual framework in chapter three; a quick summary of the hypotheses and their motivation is provided in Figure 6-1 and Table 6-1 below.

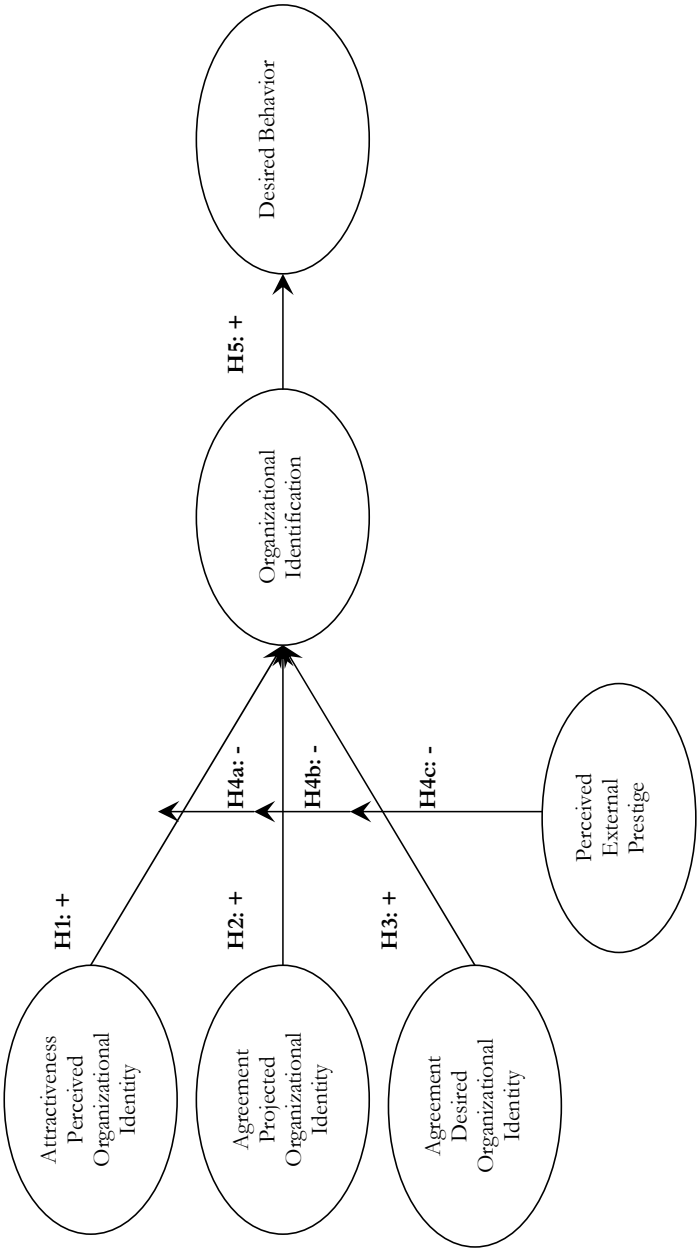**Figure 6-1: Hypothesized Relationships**

Table 6-1 Hypotheses Conceptual Framework

Hypothesis	Underlying Argumentation
Hypothesis 1: The more attractive organizational members find their perceived organizational identity, the stronger their organizational identification.	According to social identity theory individuals have an innate motivation to think of their social group as more prestigious and distinctive in comparison to other groups (Turner, 1999). In line with this, individuals desire to be part of an organization that has an identity that fits with their own self-concepts and offers them distinction and prestige (Dutton et al., 1994; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1985). The more attractive the perceived organizational identity is to an organizational member, the more he or she will be motivated to belong to and be part of this organization, which will strengthen his or her organizational identification.
Hypothesis 2: The more organizational members agree with the projected organizational identity, the stronger their organizational identification.	In their identification, individuals are driven by a need to maintain a consistent sense of self (Cross et al., 2003), which provides them with a sense of being authentic and integer (Dutton et al, 1994; Gecas, 1982). In this regard, individuals strive toward consistency between their private and public self-concepts, which extends to the organizational context as well. Agreement with the projected organizational identity demonstrates to what extent organizational members believe that the formally proclaimed projected organizational identity corresponds to members' organizational identity. If an organizational member perceives a fit between his or her own organizational identity perceptions and the projected organizational identity, their sense of consistency is strengthened, which subsequently intensifies their connection to the organization.
Hypothesis 3: The more organizational members agree with the desired organizational identity, the stronger their organizational identification.	Desired organizational identity refers to a future state of who the organization should become or who it wants to be. This type of organizational identity functions as an important incentive for future behavior because individuals adjust their attitudes and behavior to either attain or avoid becoming this future self. If members agree with the desired organizational identity, they are more willing to commit themselves to this future identity. In this process of committing oneself to the

Hypothesis	Underlying Argumentation
	desired organizational identity, members align their attitudes and behavior to this desired organizational identity, which will subsequently intensify the connection they have with their organization.
Hypothesis 4a: The higher the perceived external prestige, the weaker the relationship between perceived organizational identity and organizational identification.	Individuals are particularly motivated to belong to and identify with prestigious organizations as this prestige reflects on the employees and indirectly enhances their own sense of self (Dutton et al, 1994). If the organization has a prestigious image or reputation, internal aspects such as the different organizational identity types, might be of lesser significance for identification since members can "bathe in the external glory and prestige of the organization". On the other hand, if the organization lacks prestige, members will look to the internal organization for their self-enhancement needs.
Hypothesis 4b: The higher the perceived external prestige, the weaker the relationship between projected organizational identity and organizational identification.	These processes suggest that organizational identity types and perceived external prestige act as each other's substitute. I therefore argue that perceived external prestige negatively moderates the relationships between the three identity types and identification.
Hypothesis 4c: The higher the perceived external prestige, the weaker the relationship between desired organizational identity and organizational identification.	
Hypothesis 5: The stronger the organizational identification of an organizational member, the higher the degree of desired behavior, he or she displays.	To argue why identification would lead to a greater display of desired behavior by organizational employees, I turn to self-categorization theory. Self-categorization theory (Hogg & Terry, 2000; Turner, 1999) illustrates how high degrees of identification with a social group tends to produce collective attitudes and behavior. If organizational members identify with their organization, the processes of self- stereotyping and depersonalization are "activated". Members increasingly think of themselves as group members and loose their sense of self as distinct individuals. The more

Hypothesis	Underlying Argumentation
	intensely members identify with their organization, the stronger these two processes will become; organizational members will increasingly align their behavior with the prototypical or normative behavior of the group. As a result, they are much more motivated to behave according to group norms in order to achieve common group goals, show in-group favoritism and cooperative behavior that go beyond functional role requirements (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Haslam & Platow, 2001).

6.1   Methods

My focal company for this study is a European bank, Pecunia. Pecunia has approximately 2500 employees. The company, which was a government-owned institution before its privatization in the early nineties, has for the past fifteen years undergone a major transformation process with the aim of changing from a typical bureaucratic institution ingrained with the typical red-tape culture, processes, structures and image, into a fresh, young and fast-paced financial player. At the time of the study, Pecunia was in the midst of an intensive media campaign, internally as well as externally, to launch its newly created image and identity. Through television, radio and written advertisements the organization presented its (new) products and image to internal as well as external stakeholders. Internally, tools such as the intranet, company magazines, newsletters and media events were used to introduce this "new" organization to its employees. This context was a particularly interesting one to compare the effect of different identity types, because all of these different identity perceptions received ample airtime and were a "hot" topic in the internal communication. In addition, the question of "who are we", or in other words organizational identity, was central to all the developments that Pecunia was going through.

6.1.1   Data Collection

Interviews. To determine the perceived organizational identity characteristics, 52 interviews were conducted across all organizational levels; 15 with top management and 37 with non-managerial employees. The average interview lasted one hour and included questions such as "which organizational characteristics are crucial to the organization, in other words, if removed, Pecunia would no longer be the Pecunia as you know it" or "how does Pecunia differ from competitors and other financial organizations" or "if Pecunia was a person, what kind of person would it be, could you describe him or her". Those characteristics that were mostly mentioned across individual respondents and hierarchical levels were included in the survey as well as characteristics that seemed typical for certain organizational groups (e.g. the characteristic "big brother is watching us" was particularly mentioned by lower-level employees); this resulted in 33 items.

Documents data. To determine the projected organizational identity, I conducted content analysis on all company annual reports, social reports, brochures, newsletters, internal magazines and the intranet, covering a period of five years (early 2000- early 2005). To separate the projected from the desired organizational identity characteristics, only characteristics that were unambiguously presented as already being part of the organization, rather than some ideal or desired state, were included. Those characteristics that were mentioned the most across different types of sources (magazines, intranet, newsletters) were included, which resulted in a total list of 30 projected identity characteristics.

Survey. The characteristics collected through the interviews and documents data became input for a survey to measure perceived and projected organizational identity. I also included two measures to capture desired organizational identity and desired behavior. The items used for these measures had already been predetermined by management (i.e. were not specifically put together for this study) and

were generally used as an internal guideline for the plans, projects and communication within Pecunia that were part of the change process. Desired organizational identity consisted of a list of 15 characteristics that captured the type of organization that management believed Pecunia should become after the change process. Desired behavior consisted of six items that encapsulated the type of behavior that management requires from Pecunia's employees and served as a general behavioral guideline. In addition I included two existing measures of perceived external prestige and organizational identification as developed by Smidts and his colleagues (2001). All items were measured on a five-point Likert scale, which ranged from low (score of 1) to high (score of 5). The survey was sent out to all 2500 employees; 766 surveys were completed, which represents a response of 30.6 percent. The hierarchical levels, departments and years of service in the sample were representative of the organizational population; most respondents were (senior) employees (68%), worked for three divisions: call centers (33%), operations and services (15%) and mail (11%) and had been with Pecunia for over ten years (38%) or 6 to 10 years (27%).

6.1.2 *Measures*

Perceived organizational identity. In line with Dukerich and her colleagues (2002) I developed a composite measure to determine the overall attractiveness of the perceived organizational identity. For each perceived identity characteristic, I established whether a respondent a) agreed that this characteristic was typical of Pecunia (agreement perceived identity) and b) regarded this characteristic as attractive (attractiveness perceived identity). To develop the composite measure of the overall attractiveness of perceived organizational identity, I recoded the attractiveness of a characteristic from a five-point scale, to a scale of -2 (very unattractive); -1 (unattractive); 0 (neither unattractive nor attractive); +1 (attractive) and +2 (very attractive). I calculate the composite measure of overall attractiveness of perceived identity by multiplying the agreement and attractiveness score for each item, which results in scores from -10 to +10[5]. To determine the validity of my overall perceived organizational identity measure, I apply confirmatory factor analysis with AMOS structural equation modeling to the 33 perceived identity items. The best fitting first-order model consists of seven factors representing eighteen items. These seven factors however, do not have a very good fit (χ^2 = 390.1; df=114; NFI=.87, IFI=.90; CFI=.90; RMSEA=.06; RMR=.47) and do not load well on a higher, second-order factor. The second-order factor (χ^2 = 562.20; df=128) has a significantly worse fit than the first-order factor. These results imply that the 33 perceived organizational identity items do not reflect one underlying dimension. Several scholars distinguish between reflective and formative measures (Evans & Jarvis, 1986; MacKenzie, Podsakoff, & Jarvis, 2005). The authors argue that whereas the traditionally reflective constructs, assumedly emanate

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[5] To determine whether our multiplicative variable was valid, we followed Evans, M. G. 1991. The Problem of Analyzing Multiplicative Composites. **American Psychologist**, 46(1): 6-15. (1991) as suggested by Dukerich et al (2002). and conducted stepwise regression analysis. In the first step, identification is regressed on the single variable of attractiveness of perceived identity, in the second step, agreement with perceived identity and in the third step, the interaction term attractiveness perceived identity x agreement perceived identity, are added. When the interaction term is added, the change in R^2 from 0.30 to 0.33 is significant; our composite variable is valid.

from one underlying latent dimension, a formative construct is formed by the total grouping of the measures. Typical for a formative measure is that the indicators are all necessary elements of the overall concept. Contrary to reflective measures, dropping an item because of a low correlation to the total construct is particularly detrimental as one may be eliminating exactly those items that provide unique meaning to the total construct. It seems that the perceived organizational identity of Pecunia, represents such a formative measure. I have gathered the perceived organizational identity items from different respondents; this group of items, which represents the different perceptions individuals have of Pecunia, together forms the perceived organizational identity. As I have included both shared as well as characteristics that are idiosyncratic for particular subgroups, it seems that all the 33 items are required to capture Pecunia's perceived organizational identity. Contrary to the deductively determined organizational identity types of desired or projected organizational identity, the perceived organizational identity does not emanate from one source (i.e. the central vision that top management has of the organization); it represents a diverse set of organizational employees' perceptions. I have therefore decided to retain all 33 perceived organizational identity items and use their overall average for my subsequent analyses.

Projected organizational identity. The 30 projected organizational identity items determined by the content analysis, where also factor-analyzed. This resulted in a first-order four-factor measure (χ^2 = 439.15; df=113) consisting of 17 items as shown in Figure 6-2, with dimensions such as "Honest & Fair", "Customer", "Communicate" and "Safe & Secure". These four factors loaded on a higher-order, second-order measure which was not significantly worse (χ^2 = 442.50; df=115) than the first-order measure. For a complete overview of the second-order measure and its goodness of fit statistics, please refer to Table 6-2.

Figure 6-2 Projected Organizational Identity
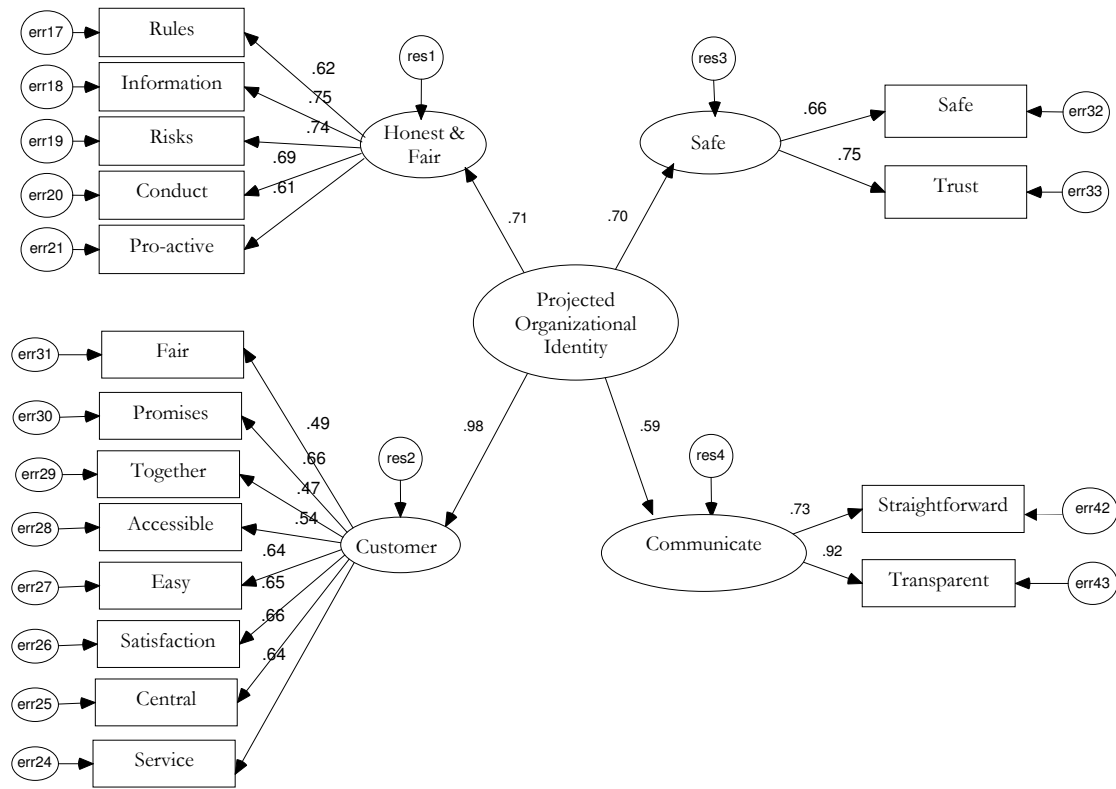
Desired organizational identity. For desired organizational identity, I factor-analyzed the 15 items that were determined by management and included in the survey. This resulted in a three-factor measure as shown in Figure 6-3, "Employee" and "Customer" and "Approach", consisting of 11 items. Since the first- and second-order measures are equivalent when there are only three underlying factors (Rindskopf & Rose, 1988), I adopt the second-order measure. These factors and their goodness of fit measures are also shown in Table 6-2.

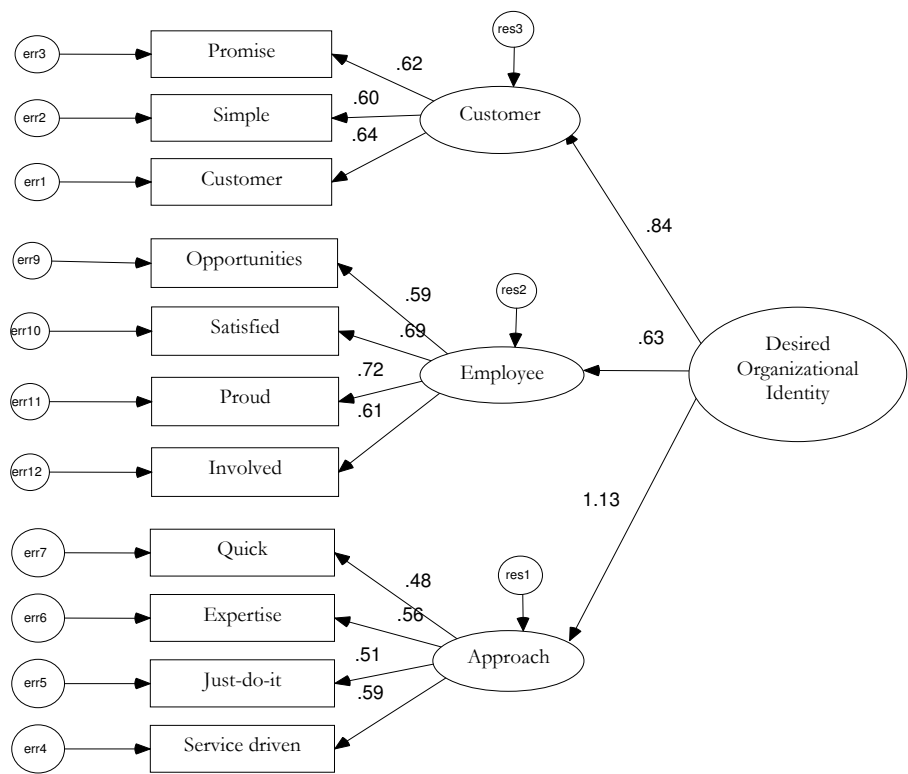**Figure 6-3 Desired Organizational Identity**

Table 6-2: Measures & Goodness of Fit Statistics

Projected Organizational Identity Items	Desired Organizational Identity Items	Desired Behavior Items
$\chi^2 = 442.500$ (p < .001); **d.f.=**115 **NFI** =.90; **IFI**=.93; **CFI**=.93; **RMSEA**=.06; **RMR**=.03	$\chi^2 =131.705$ (p < .001); **d.f.=** 41 **NFI**=.93; **IFI**=.95; **CFI**=.95; **RMSEA**=.05; **RMR**=.03	$\chi^2 =114.094$ (p < .001); **d.f.=** 9 **NFI**=.93; **IFI**=.94; **CFI**=.94; **RMSEA**=.12; **RMR**=.02
Factor 1: Honest & Fair	**Factor 1: Customer Focus**	**Factor 1: Desired Behavior**
1. Abide by the rules	1. We "keep it simple"	1. Honest and sound advice
2. Honest and transparent information	2. Close to the customer	2. Safe and secure environment
3. Open about the risks	3. We keep our promise	3. Handle his or her own financial business
4. Conduct business honestly and fairly	**Factor 2: Employee Focus**	4. Value for their money
5. Pro-active in financial rules and regulations	4. Plenty opportunities for self-development	5. Understandable for our clients
Factor 2: Customer Focus	5. Satisfied employees	6. Improve our products and services
6. Treat our employees fairly	6. Employees are proud	
7. Keep our promises	7. Employees are very involved	
8. Work together with the customer	**Factor 3: Approach**	
9. Accessible for the client	8. You quickly get things done	
10. Make things easy for our clients	9. Expertise	
11. Customer satisfaction is a top priority	10. A "just do it" mentality	
12. Customer is central	11. Service-driven	
13. Service: attention, speed, simplicity and accuracy		

Projected Organizational Identity Items	Desired Organizational Identity Items	Desired Behavior Items
Factor 3: Safe & Secure		
14. Take good care of their finances		
15. Offer clients a safe and secure environment		
Factor 4: Clear Communication		
16. Transparent in our communication		
17. Straightforward in our communication		

Perceived external prestige. For the measure of perceived external prestige I used the four-item scale used by Smidts et al (2001). Perceived external prestige, which is measured with items such as "Pecunia has a good reputation" and "Pecunia is considered as a prestigious company to work for" has a cronbach alpha of .74; a relatively good reliability score that is similar to the score in the study of Smidts et al (2001).

Organizational identification. Organizational identification is measured with the same five-item scale Smidts et al (2001) use in their research. Organizational identification, which is measured with items such as "I feel strongly connected to Pecunia" and "I am proud to work for Pecunia" has an alpha of .87, which is similar to the alpha found by Smidts and his colleagues (2001) and indicative of very good reliability.

Desired behavior. The six desired behavior items, as determined by top management, were factor analyzed, which resulted in a one-factor measure consisting of six items as shown in Figure 6-4. below. These items and their goodness of fit statistics are provided in Table 6-2 above. As with the other variables, for the regression analyses, the average score of the six behavior items is used.

Figure 6-4 Desired Behavior
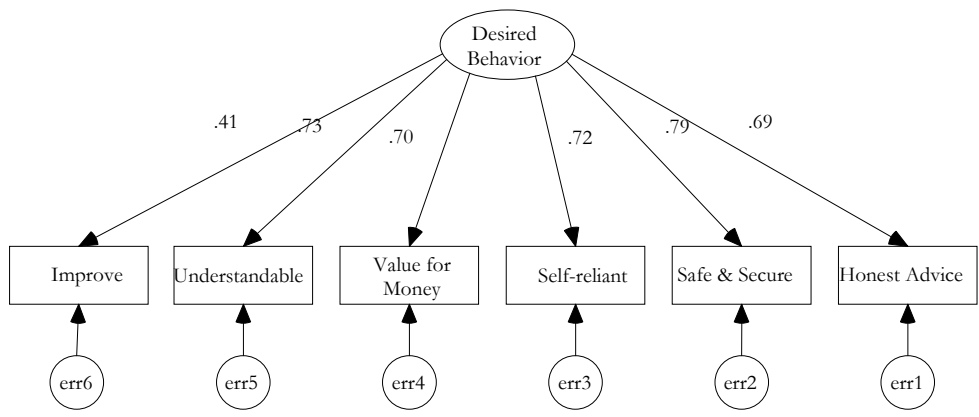
Control variables. Similar to my study at Concrete, I adopt the control variables of age, (1 = youngest and 6 = eldest); department (different departments), tenure (1 = short and 5 = long) and functional level (1 = lower level and 4 = higher level). For this study at Pecunia, I also adopt Education as a control variable. Whether a respondent had received a college education (highest score) or lower level forms of education (lower scores) was especially relevant in this context. Employees with a college degree were perceived as a very distinct organizational subgroup (as shown in my qualitative study in chapter four), that had a particular view of the identity of Pecunia. This group possibly also identifies less with Pecunia; they are more ambitious and therefore potentially more opportunistic than employees without a college degree are.

For subsequent analyses, I use the average scores of these factors. For an overview of all the items, please refer to the Table 6-2. Table 6-3 lists the means, standard deviations and correlations for all variables. In Appendix B I provide an overview of all the survey items.

Table 6-3: Descriptive Statistics & Correlations

Variable	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Age	3.93	.89										
Education	2.83	.90	-.28**									
Functional level	1.33	.64	-.07	.26**								
Department	7.97	3.43	.16**	-.08**	.01							
Tenure	3.77	1.25	.56**	-.34**	-.10**	.23**						
Perceived organizational identity	.62	.98	-.15**	-.01	.13**	-.02	-.12**					
Projected organizational identity	3.62	.46	.04	-.13**	.01	.15**	.10**	.46**				
Desired organizational identity	3.42	.51	-.05	.02	.06	.02	-.05	.48**	.70**			
Perceived external prestige	3.70	.54	.17**	-.17**	.01	.05	.20**	.32**	.47**	.39**		
Organizational identification	3.93	.66	.05	-.01	.20**	-.05	.09*	.43**	.50**	.56**	.45**	
Desired Behavior	3.84	.47	.04	-.10**	-.01	.01	.10**	.26**	.48**	.37**	.37**	.36**

**p< 0.01; *p<0.05

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6.2   Results

To test my hypothesized model, I conduct regression analysis. The regression results are shown in Table 6-4 below. From the regression analysis, I can conclude that hypotheses 1 to 3 are confirmed; perceived organizational identity (β = .12), projected organizational identity (β = .13) and desired organizational identity (β = .41) all have significant effects on organizational identification. Contrary to my previous study, where projected organizational identity was a significantly stronger determinant of organizational identification, the effects of perceived and projected organizational identity are almost equivalent in this study. It does appear that there are marked differences between the effects of the desired organizational identity on the one hand, and perceived and projected organizational identity on the other. To test whether these two differences are significant I follow Neter, Wasserman and Whitmore (1993: 634-637), who suggest an F-test comparing two models. For example, to compare whether the betas of perceived and desired organizational identity are significantly different, I compare the following models:

A full model, including all the independent variables separately:

(1) Identification = β_1 Perceived identity + β_2 Desired identity + β_3 Projected identity

And a reduced model, where the individual variables of which the betas are compared, are combined into one:

(2) Identification = β_1 (Perceived identity + Desired identity) + β_2 Projected identity

We calculate the F statistic, where:

(3) F = $(\mathrm{d}f_{full}/(\mathrm{d}f_{reduced} - \mathrm{d}f_{full}))$ [SSE$_{reduced}$ − SSE$_{full}$/SSE$_{full}$]

And compare this value to the critical value of F:

(4) F $(1 - \alpha; \mathrm{d}f_{reduced} - \mathrm{d}f_{full}, \mathrm{d}f_{full})$

The critical F value of for both of my comparisons equals (.99; 1, 762) = 6.63. Only the F value of the regression comparing perceived and desired organizational identity (F = 26.43) is greater than the critical F value; the F value of the regression comparing projected and desired organizational identity (F = 4.60) is smaller than the critical value. This means that only the beta coefficients between perceived and desired organizational identity are significantly different; i.e. desired organizational identity has a significantly stronger effect on identification than perceived organizational identity.

Table 6-4 Regression Analyses

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Organizational identification				
Constant	.64***	.45*	-1.90**	-1.97**
Controls				
Age	.04	.04	.05*	.05
Education	.02	.02	.02	.02
Functional level	.16***	.16***	.15***	.15***
Department	-.02***	-.02***	-.02***	-.02***
Tenure	.05**	.05**	.05**	.05**
Direct effects				
Perceived organizational identity	.12***	.56***	.12***	.12***
Projected organizational identity	.13*	.13**	.87***	.13*
Desired organizational identity	.41***	.39***	.40***	1.20***
Perceived external prestige	.24***	.31***	.94***	.98***
Interaction effects				
Perceived external prestige x Perceived organizational identity		-.12***		
Perceived external prestige x Projected organizational identity			-.20***	
Perceived external prestige x Desired organizational identity				-.22***
R^2	.42	.43	.43	.43
Adjusted R^2	.41	.42	.42	.42
Desired behavior				
Constant	2.42***	2.36***		
Controls				
Age	-.02	-.02		
Education	-.02	-.03		
Functional level	-.00	-.01		
Department	-.01	-.01		
Tenure	.03	.02		
Direct effects				
Perceived organizational identity	.04*	.03		
Projected organizational identity	.36***	.35***		
Desired organizational identity	.06	.03		

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Organizational identification		.06*		
R²	.21	.22		
Adjusted R²	.20	.20		

***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.10

To test whether perceived external prestige moderates (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Irwin & McClelland, 2001) the three relationships between the different organizational identity types and organizational identification, I include three separate interaction terms. Perceived external prestige moderates theses three relationships if, while controlling for the direct effects, the β's of the following interaction terms are significant: (perceived organizational identity * perceived external prestige); (projected organizational identity * perceived external prestige) and (desired organizational identity * perceived external prestige). From Table 6-4 it can be seen that for each of the regressions, the interaction term (Predictor * Moderator) is significant (the corresponding β's equal -.12, -.20 and -.22 respectively). In line with my hypotheses, perceived external prestige negatively moderates the effects of the three identity perceptions on identification. If organizational members believe that external stakeholders think of their organization as prestigious, the effect of the different organizational identity types on identification weakens. Figure 6-5 depicts these interaction affects. In addition, perceived external prestige also has a direct effect (β = .24) on organizational identification. Even though not hypothesized, this effect is in line with earlier works on organizational identity and identification (Dukerich et al., 2002; Dutton et al., 1994) that have argued that how members believe external stakeholders regard the organization, also affects their organizational identification.

Figure 6-5 Moderation Effects Perceived External Prestige
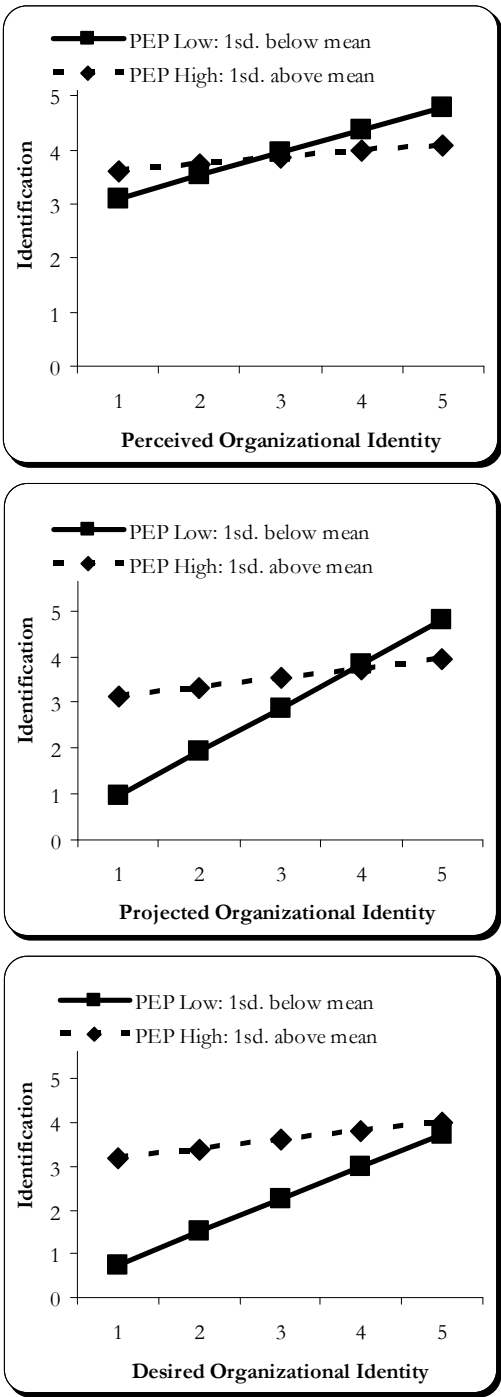
Mediation (Baron & Kenny, 1986) of organizational identification between the two identity types and organizational citizenship behavior is determined through three separate regressions:

(1) Organizational Identification = β_1Perceived Organizational Identity + β_2Projected Organizational Identity + β_3Desired Organizational Identity + β_4Age + β_5Education+ β_6Functional level + β_7Department + β_8Tenure

(2) Organizational Citizenship Behavior = β_1Perceived Organizational Identity + β_2Projected Organizational Identity + β_3Desired Organizational Identity + β_4Age + β_5Education+ β_6Functional level + β_7Department + β_8Tenure

(3) Organizational Citizenship Behavior = β_1Perceived Organizational Identity + β_2Projected Organizational Identity + β_3Desired Organizational Identity + β_4Organizational Identification + β_4Desired Organizational Identity + β_5Age + β_6Education+ β_7Functional level + β_8Department + β_8Tenure

For organizational identification to mediate the relationship between the three identity perceptions and desired behavior, the three identity perceptions should have a significant effect on identification and desired behavior. Subsequently, desired behavior is regressed on the identity perceptions and identification simultaneously. Full mediation occurs if in the third regression, there is no significant effect of the identity perceptions on desired behavior and partial mediation occurs if there is still an effect, but this is significantly less. The results of my regression analyses are provided in Table 6-4. Remarkable is that organizational identification hardly effects desired behavior ($\beta = .06$). The results in Table 6-4 also illustrate that mediation hardly occurs. Desired organizational identity has no significant effects on desired behavior. Perceived organizational identity has a very weak ($\beta = .04$) effect on behavior, almost negligible. Desired behavior is not affected by the extent to which members agree with the desired identity characteristics of Pecunia and hardly by how attractive members find their perceived organizational identity; which makes it highly unlikely that they will have a significant effect on behavior when organizational identification is included. The third regression confirms this, as the effects of perceived and desired organizational identity on desired behavior are insignificant. Projected organizational identity on the other hand, has a strong and significant effect ($\beta = .36$) on behavior in the second regression, which hardly decreases ($\beta = .35$) if organizational identification is brought into the equation. The extent to which employees agree with the projected organizational identity has a strong and direct impact on their desired behavior.

Three of the five controls also have a significant effect on organizational identification. The strongest effect ($\beta = .16$) occurs for functional level, where organizational identification is stronger for

employees who are higher in the organizational hierarchy; tenure also has a marginal but significant effect on organizational identification, where employees who have been with Pecunia for a longer period, have a slightly stronger identification with the organization. Both findings are consistent with identification literature (e.g. Rousseau, 1998). Department also as a marginal, negative effect (β = -.02) on organizational identification. The higher scores represent the call centers and the lower scores represent departments linked to marketing, communications and internet retail. One explanation for this slightly negative effect could be that call centers have the least prestige within Pecunia, whereas the departments linked to, for example, marketing and communications are generally considered as important organizational groups (see my results of the qualitative study in chapter four). It is therefore not surprising that these latter departments have a stronger identification with Pecunia.

For an overview of the complete relational model based on the regression analyses, please refer to Figure 6-6.

Figure 6-6 Model Based on Regression Analysis
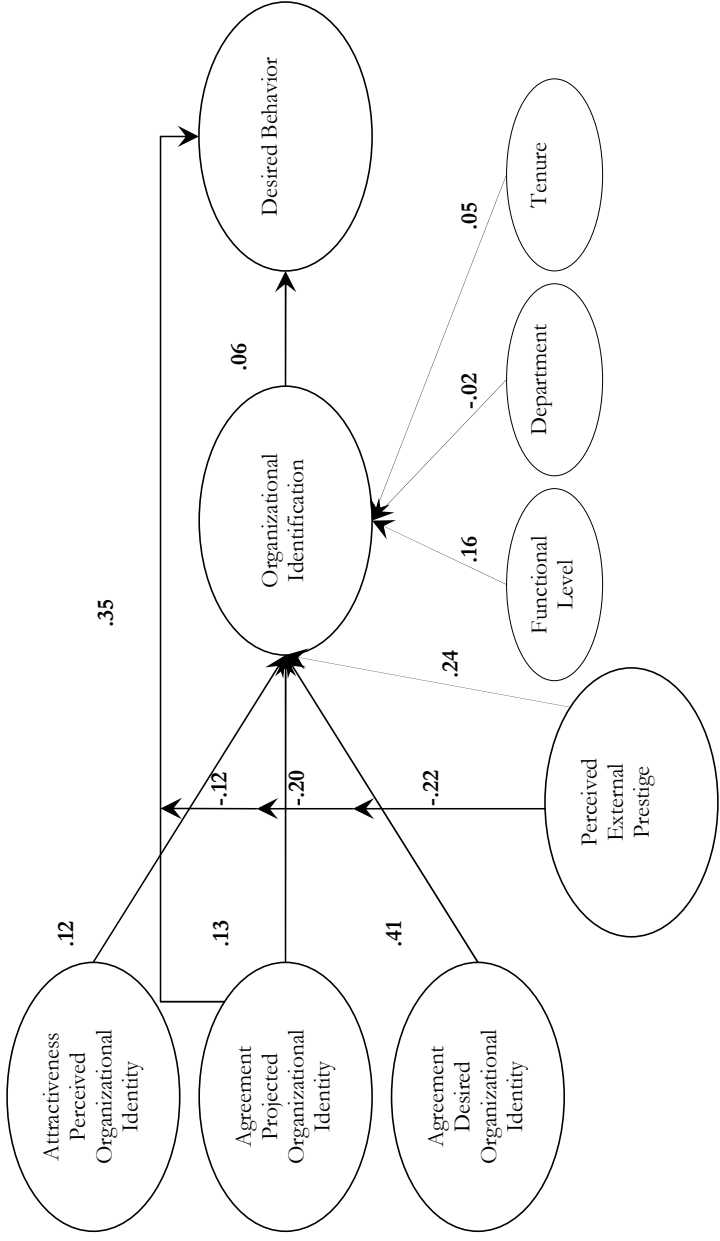
6.3   Discussion

Notwithstanding the presence of different identity types in an organizational context, extant literature tends to treat the concept of perceived organizational identity, which refers to the perceptions members have of their organization, as the sole and fundamental driver of organizational processes such as identification and behavior. The goal of this study has been to expand our take on identity perceptions and include the more deductively determined, projected and desired organizational identity, as additional identity types. By including these identity types, I not only offer a more realistic conceptualization of how organizational members are affected by inductive and deductive identity types, but also offer insight into the relative importance of perceived organizational identity. The assumption that in today's world, in which communication and the projection of images are omnipresent, members' organizational identification and behavior are only affected by their private organizational identity perceptions seems almost impossible to hold. By focusing on perceived organizational identity alone, previous studies have implicitly granted this concept with a status of absolute significance for identification and desired behavior. The inclusion of additional identity types, offers a more balanced approached to determining the effect of perceived identity. My study has produced some notable results in this.

Most noteworthy is the fact that of the three identity types, the type that tends to get the most attention in organizational identity literature, perceived organizational identity, has the least impact on organizational identification and no significant impact on members' desired behavior. With a beta coefficient of .12 the effect of perceived organizational identity on identification is significant, but marginal. If I compare this to the effects of desired organizational identity (β = .41), I must conclude that for Pecunia, when it comes to organizational identification, members' agreement with the desired organizational identity is much more important than members' own private organizational identity perceptions. When it comes to desired behavior, it is especially the projected organizational identity (β = .35) that is a significant driver; a result that I also found in my previous study at Concrete. For managers this finding opens up potentially interesting avenues, because it implies that the highly valuable organizational phenomena of identification and desired behavior are more manageable than generally presumed. The fact that agreement with the desired and the projected organizational identity have a much stronger impact on identification and behavior respectively, implies that it is not only imperative for (top) management to invest in these identity types, but to ensure that these identities are endorsed by organizational employees as well. If organizational members do not recognize their organization in the projections and communication practices by management or have a hard time envisioning their organization in those future identity images, this will negatively effect the connection they feel with their organization and the extent to which they will be motivated to engage in desired behavior on the organization's behalf.

Interesting as well, is that identification and behavior seem to be affected by different identity perceptions. Identification is particularly affected by the agreement with the desired organizational identity, whereas behavior is only affected by the agreement with the projected organizational identity.

One way of explaining for the predominant effect of desired identity on identification, could be that individuals are particularly motivated to identify with attractive, prestigious organizations (Dutton et al., 1994; Hogg & Terry, 2000) and this type of identity embodies exactly that, as desired identity is an idealized version of who the organization wants to be. The prime effect of projected organizational identity on desired behavior might have to do with the public nature of both. Projected organizational identity, which refers to the identity that is projected and communicated by management to internal as well as external stakeholders, is of a very public nature. It refers to the identity that is out there, for everyone to observe. The same applies to behavior, which is of a much more public nature than the more private attachment of identification. Why is the "public" aspect significant? Social psychologists studying self-concept change, have found that an important way to change one's self-concept is through the display of *public* behavior (Tice, 1992). Individuals, who were stimulated to behave in a certain way, subsequently regarded themselves as having the traits that were implied by their behavior, as a way to avoid cognitive dissonance or in other words, avoid an inconsistency between how they behaved and who they believed they were. This effect was especially significant when the behavior was of a public, rather than a private nature (Baumeister & Tice, 1984). This is in line with the argument of several social psychology scholars about the effects of self-presentation (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). Scholars argue that due to the public nature of self-presentation, individuals become committed to this public self and the behavior that is associated with it (Ungar, 1980). So, if members agree with the organizational identity that is projected by management, this specifically affects their behavior, as they are prompted to display behavior that is in accordance with this publicly claimed projected organizational identity. Desired organizational identity, which is also a publicly displayed organizational identity, does not have the same effect however, since projected organizational identity makes claims about who the organization is "right now", whereas the desired organizational identity only represents who the organization "wants to be" in the future. Dissonance between desired identity and behavior is therefore less severe than dissonance between claims of who the organization is "right now", i.e. projected identity, and current behavior.

When it comes to the interaction patterns between identity and image, more specifically perceived external prestige, the hypotheses, that external prestige negatively affects the relationships between the identity perceptions and identification, are confirmed. This finding is notable, especially since few studies (Smidts et al., 2001) have considered the moderating effect of external prestige. Even more so, these results suggest an interesting theoretical insight. The fact that a high degree of perceived external prestige weakens the impact of all identity types on identification suggests that, when it comes to identification, identity and image perceptions, rather than reinforcing one another, act as substitutes. These results indicate that members might potentially be opportunistically driven when it comes to identification; if they believe that their organization has a prestigious image, they feed on this external image for their identification and their own identity perceptions become less important. If members believe however, that their organization is not held in high esteem by external stakeholders, and that it has a weak image, their own organizational identity perceptions and the internal organizational identity claims

become more important for members' identification with the organization. An explaining mechanism could be the previously discussed motive of self-enhancement (e.g. Vignoles et al., 2006). In social psychology, the motive of self-enhancement, meaning that individuals have an innate need to regard themselves in a positive light, is generally regarded as a core driver of individuals' attitudes and behavior (e.g. Pfeffer & Fong, 2005). This drive for self-enhancement is assumed to be so strong, that individuals are more than willing to engage in ego-defenses (Brown, 1997), opportunistic comparison strategies, endure unpleasant working environments or engage in unpleasant tasks, as long as these strategies enable them to associate with prestigious groups or organizations (Pfeffer & Fong, 2005). It is therefore not surprising, especially if one takes into consideration the potential costs of quitting one's job, that if an organizational member is unable to fulfill his or her self-enhancement needs through internal organizational sources such as perceived, desired or projected identity he or she will turn to external sources, such as a prestigious image. Overall, this study indicates that in addition to the more common perceived organizational identity, additional identity types are also significant determinants of identification and behavior, if not even more important determinants. Also, even though many identity scholars have theorized about the relationship between identity and image (e.g. Gioia et al., 2000), incorporating their more explicit interaction effects might provide us with a more insightful understanding how of these concepts relate to each other.

The findings of this third study are also particularly interesting from a managerial perspective. Despite several pleas to do otherwise (cf. Hatch & Schultz, 2000; Rindova & Schultz, 1998), organizational identity scholars generally tend to portray projected organizational identity as "merely" the vision of top management, which is not representative of members' perceptions, and therefore not significant for their identification and behavior. My results indicate however, that this can be a very costly misunderstanding. It seems that in certain circumstances, organizational members are much more driven by their agreement with the identity types that are projected and communicated by management, than by the attractiveness of their own privately held perceptions. So rather than disregarding these identities as top management's "wishful thinking", employees do absorb and incorporate these identity projections and desired future identities into their own organizational experience and use these identity types as reference points for their own perceptions. The need to belong explains this, from the perspective of the individual employee. Social psychology scholars argue that we, as individuals, have a need to belong to, connect with and feel accepted by larger social groups. This "belonging motive" (Vignoles et al., 2006: 310) or need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) presents a way of explaining why individuals' identification and behavior are so significantly affected by their agreement with the projected and desired organizational identity. This need to belong is partly driven by the need to feel validated, recognized and valued by others and is considered to have two main facets (Baumeister & Leary, 1995): the need for frequent and regular interaction with others and the need for a relationship that is characterized by stability, affect and long-term potential. Organizations potentially offer an ideal environment for individuals to fulfill this need. The identity claims from top management, i.e. the projected and desired

identity, symbolize that which the collective group stands for (ideally) and therefore represent the collective group to which organizational members belong. Absorbing these identity types, these forms of managerial sensegiving enable members to feel that belong to and connect with their collective organization. Therefore, even though members know that these identity types represent ideal versions of the organization and do not correspond with their every day organizational lives, they still use these identity types as benchmarks, because if members would discard these identity types, they would discard what their collective organization stands for, which would imply a disconnection from the larger group.

6.4   Conclusion

The aim of my third study was to test the effect of different identity types in an organizational setting that was dealing with far-reaching change. Specifically, I included two additional identity perceptions that go beyond the concept of perceived organizational identity; I included projected organizational identity to add the dimension of private versus public identity and the desired future identity, as a way of capturing the current versus future identity dimension. Also, rather than treating external prestige as a separate driver of identification, I was interested in its potential role as a moderator of the relationship between identity perceptions and identification. By no means am I challenging the seminal model of Dutton et al (1994), which forms the basis of our understanding of how identity, image, identification and behavior interrelate. I regard my study as an initial and very modest step toward expanding our understanding of how members make sense of, and incorporate the different identity types, be it the shared perceived organizational identity, the organization's projected and desired organizational identity or the perceived external prestige, that they are confronted with in their day to day organizational lives.

SECTION III: DISCUSSION

The main goal of this dissertation is to contribute to our understanding of the inductive and deductive influences on organizational identity processes. This discussion section is divided between two chapters. In chapter seven, I discuss the implications of my findings for our understanding of how to elicit organizational identity change from organizational members. Organizational identity change requires a change in attitudes and behavior from members. A major finding from my two quantitative studies is that when it comes to eliciting desired behavior, the attractiveness of members' perceived organizational identity is the least effective driver. It is not imperative that members find their organization attractive, it is much more important that they recognize that there is a degree of congruence or fit between their own organizational identity perceptions and the identity claims, both current and for the future, that are made by an organization's management. This is an important finding, because it implies that when it comes to eliciting organizational identification and desired behavior from organizational members, it is crucial that there is congruence between the way in which organizational members inductively make sense of their organizational identity and the deductive organizational identity sensegiving practices by management. Perceived organizational identity is not so much a driver of organizational identification and desired behavior; it functions as a benchmark against which organizational members evaluate the collective organizational identity claims that top management makes. This is an important finding, because it steers our focus away from the attractiveness of perceived organizational identity as a standalone concept, and conceptualizes perceived organizational identity much more in terms of congruence or fit.

My findings seem to support the assumptions that several scholars make about organizational identity congruence and its potential role as a motivator for change. These scholars regard these identity comparisons are important triggers of change in attitudes and behavior. According to Foreman and Whetten (2002), comparisons between current and ideal identity affect members' attitudes and behavior in terms of involvement, commitment, cooperation and acceptance of change. Corley and Gioia (2004), in their study of organizational identity change at a spin-off company, find that the three main triggers of organizational identity change are perceived gaps between members own organizational identity perceptions and images reflected back to them about how others regard the organization or what management beliefs the organization's identity should be in the future. Likewise, Reger and her colleagues (Reger et al., 1994) have proposed a theoretical framework about eliciting organizational identity change, where a gap between current and desired future identity should act as a motivator for change.

Even though these scholars emphasize the potential significance of identity congruence for generating desired attitudinal and behavioral change, it remains unclear *why* these discrepancies elicit change. In this dissertation, I have used the general and widely accepted model by Dutton and her colleagues (1994) as the foundation for my conceptual framework, by means of which I illustrate the significance of identity congruence for members' identification and desired behavior. In an attempt to determine why identity discrepancies elicit change and how this weaves together with our understandings

of organizational identification, I take the implications of my quantitative studies a step further and posit a model of organizational identity change in terms of change in attitudes and behavior.

In my final chapter, eight, I discuss the general theoretical and managerial implications of my three empirical studies. I reflect on my findings in terms of my main research question of *how the interface between the inductively perceived organizational identity and the deductively determined organizational identity types affects organizational members' organizational identification and desired behavior*. In the end, I draw on my findings to build a deeper understanding of the inductive sensemaking and deductive sensegiving processes at work within a broader organizational identity framework.

Chapter 7 ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY CHANGE

In this chapter[6], I take a closer look at organizational identity change. Substantial organizational change requires a change of fundamental organizational aspects, in other words a change of an organization's identity (Bouchikhi et al., 1998: 44-46; Gioia & Thomas, 1996). Organizational identity change involves a change of the attitudes and behaviors of organizational members in terms of their understandings of who their organization is. Several scholars have studied the subject of organizational identity change. These studies focus on why organizational identity change is elicited (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Dutton et al., 1994; Gioia & Thomas, 1996; Hatch & Schultz, 2002), what facilitates organizational identity change (Fiol, 2002; Reger et al., 1994) and how it changes (Corley, 2004; Corley & Gioia, 2004; Gioia et al., 2000). In this chapter, I will focus on the first two aspects of identity change (why organizational identity changes and what enables organizational identity change), because these two elements are essential before the actual change (the question of how), can occur.

Those who analyze why organizational identity changes, argue that change is triggered due to discrepancies between members' own organizational identity perceptions and the organizational images reflected back to them. Gioia et al (2000) argue that members will be induced to engage in identity change, when the image reflected to them, challenges their self-definition. Members question their own perceptions, which destabilizes organizational identity and opens it up for change. Identity scholars generally distinguish three triggers (Corley & Gioia, 2004) or drivers (Barney, 1998: 144) of change that represent these potential discrepancies and cause members to change their organizational identity. These are: a construed external image discrepancy, change in the salient social referent and temporal identity discrepancies (Corley & Gioia, 2004). The general assumption is that if organizational members are confronted with these triggers, they experience stress and ambiguity, which brings about change in their organizational identity (Barney, 1998: 149-153; Corley & Gioia, 2004; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991).

With regard to the processes that enable organizational identity change, organizational identification is generally treated as the main vehicle that enables or inhibits identity change (Chreim, 2002a; Fiol, 2002). Organizational identification is a form of social identification (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). It refers to the degree to which organizational members apply the characteristics that define their organization to their self-concepts and represents the cognitive connection between the definition of the organization and the self-definition of its members (Dutton et al., 1994). Identification occurs when members' perceptions about their organization also define their own self-concepts (Pratt, 1998). Dutton et al (1994) argue that individuals strive for a sense of continuity in their self-concept and that a stable

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[6] An earlier version of this chapter won the **Managerial and Organizational Cognition Best Student Paper** at the Annual Academy of Management Meetings, Honolulu, HI and has been published as Elstak, M. N., & Van Riel, C. B. M. 2005. Organizational Identity Change: An Alliance between Organizational Identity and Identification. *Best Paper Proceedings of the Sixty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management*

overlapping organizational identity adds to this sense of continuity. The scholars state that if organizational members experience a strong overlap between their self-definition and their organizational identity, i.e. they have a strong identification; they will be motivated to maintain and support the organization's current state. Ellemers (2003) argues that successful change depends on the degree to which members identify with the organization; those who are not cognitively and emotionally attached to their organization will be less threatened by change than those who identify strongly with their organization. Gioia and Thomas do not explicitly refer to identification, but they state that the "strength-of-identity" perceptions (1996: 381) incorporate a resistance to the proposed change. Chreim (2002a) and Fiol (2002) propose that identity change is accomplished through a process of deidentification (to loosen members' ties with the current identity) and reidentification (to motivate and gain trust with members for a new desired identity). Hence, the common premise is that a high degree of identification constrains organizational identity change, because members who strongly identify with the organization's current identity will not be open to and resist attempts to change this identity. And a low degree of identification makes members receptive to identity change and enables a collective change effort because members are much less (or not at all) attached to the "old" organizational identity.

However, even though these extant approaches to why identity changes and how identification enables identity change are insightful and vital to our understanding of the concept, several issues remain unanswered. First, current studies on organizational identity change do not explicitly refer to which criteria members use to evaluate a discrepancy. The general approach is that members experience a discrepancy when for example "who do we think we are" does not match "who do they think we are" (Gioia et al., 2000: 68). Chances are that organizational members are more often than not confronted with images that are not in line with their own identity perceptions (Vough & Corley, 2004), but in many of these instances they will not be triggered to change their organizational identity. Insight into the criteria members use to determine whether an identity/image discrepancy is significant, tells us more about why members will be stimulated to change. Second, by evaluating the three triggers according to these underlying discrepancy criteria, it becomes apparent that these triggers elicit organizational identity change in different ways since they affect different criteria. Third, one commonality among scholars who regard organizational identification as the main medium that facilitates identity change, is that organizational identification is treated as a one-dimensional concept that evolves from a low to high degree of identification, where low identification enables and high identification hinders change. By merely treating a high degree of identification as a deterrent of change, one overlooks the significant role of identification in directing a collective effort. Due to the diverse nature of organizational identity, spontaneous change in a uniform direction is impossible (Gioia et al., 2000). Thus, even if organizational members recognize an identity/image discrepancy through reactions by the media, friends and family (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991), additional processes are necessary that direct members to change collectively, and as I will argue, identification does just that. In line with this reasoning, the reverse assumption, that a low degree of identification enables change, disregards the possibility that members who do not identify with the

organization, simply do not care and will not be motivated to engage in a collective change effort or will even be more encouraged to obstruct the collective change effort.

To shed some light on these issues, I use work motivation theory (Ambrose & Kulik, 1999; Mitchell, 1982) as a general framework for this paper. Organizational identity and identification are central to understanding how and why individuals are willing to act on an organization's behalf, in other words, to motivation (Albert et al., 2000). Work motivation theory, applied to organizational identity change, consists of two elements: arousal, referring to those processes that stimulate members to engage in collective identity change and direction, referring to those processes that direct members' change effort, that affect a third element: persistence or sustainability, referring to the maintenance of the collective change effort. I focus on the former two elements of work motivation theory as these present suitable handles to evaluate the different forces that are necessary to bring about and sustain a collective change effort. To take a closer look at the notion of arousal, I incorporate social identity theory, which provides insight into the criteria that determine whether a discrepancy is significant. By applying self-categorization theory and the expanded model of identification introduced by Dukerich, Kramer and McLean Parks (1998: 245-247) and Elsbach (Elsbach, 1998; 1999), I discuss the ways in which members' identity change effort can be directed.

Motivation (Mitchell, 1982) generally refers to the extent to which individuals have the desire to do well at a particular job or assignment and put a great deal of effort in trying to achieve this. From a social science perspective, motivation refers to the psychological processes that influence the arousal, direction and persistence of behavior and is based on four understandings (Mitchell, 1982). First, motivation is an individual phenomenon (Ellemers, De Gilder and Haslam (2004) illustrate that motivation can also be a group-level phenomenon). Second, it is intentional in the sense that a motivated individual still chooses to exhibit the behavior driven by his or her motivation. Third, motivation consists of multiple facets: arousal, direction and sustainability. Arousal and direction represent the main elements of motivation theory because sustainability, which refers to the maintenance of behavior, is regarded as a consequence and affirmation of the other two elements. And fourth, motivation theories are aimed at predicting behavior. Motivation is therefore not the behavior itself (e.g. cooperative or citizenship behavior); it represents the psychological processes underlying the behavior.

Work motivation theory then, is an overarching term for those theories that discuss the motivation of organizational employees to engage in certain work-related behavior (Ellemers et al., 2004). It is a concept interwoven with many aspects of management and organizational theory such as organizational change (Steers, Mowday, & Shapiro, 2004) and represents an appropriate framework to analyze the concept of organizational identity change. In their study on the Port Authority, Dutton and Dukerich (1991) illustrate how individual motivation affects organizational action, and that therefore micro processes such as individual motivation are linked to macro behaviors such as patterns of organizational change. Applied to members' motivation to engage in organizational identity change, this framework incorporates how arousal: what energizes members to engage in identity change, and

direction: how members' actions are directed at both an individual and collective change effort, even when these are incompatible, affect sustainability: how members continue to act on the organization's behalf during organizational changes, despite uncertainty and insecurity (Ellemers et al., 2004).

In the subsequent sections, I focus on the two elements arousal and direction, which affect the sustainability of the collective change effort. Sustainability refers to the extent to which the identity change processes will be upheld by the organizational members and will be substantiated by a change in their attitudes and behavior. It refers to change that is instilled in organizational members and goes beyond a mere change of words that lacks action, as Corley illustrates through encountered reactions such as "words are a dime a dozen" or "you need to pay attention to what is done, not what is said" (Corley, 2004: 1166).

7.1 Arousal of Organizational Identity Change

Work motivation, applied to organizational identity change, can provide insight into those processes that will stimulate members to engage in organizational identity change, through the notion of arousal. Arousal (energizer) consists of those processes that elicit members to exhibit work-related behavior (Ellemers et al., 2004) or in my case, to engage in organizational identity change. According to Mitchell (1982), the most prominent theories on arousal have generally emphasized needs and regarded arousal as the effect of a need-deficiency. However, due to the increasing significance of teamwork in organizations, a shift has taken place where arousal has moved from an individual-oriented need-based approach to a more group-based approach where individuals are also motivated by social cues. Thus, arousal is less seen as an isolated individual need, but more as related to the social environment, where social expectations play an important role (Ambrose & Kulik, 1999; Ellemers et al., 2004; Mitchell, 1982). I incorporate this social element by looking at arousal of organizational identity change from a social identity theory perspective. To understand what triggers members to change their organizational identity; one first needs to understand what social purpose organizational identity serves for members. Members are driven by social needs, which mean that their arousal to engage in organizational identity change will be inherently linked to social identity processes. Individuals do not identify with social groups merely because they see an overlap between their personal identity and the organizational identity, individuals have different identity needs, and therefore motives for identification. Identity motives can be seen as drivers of identity states, where the individual may be steered toward certain identity states over others. Consciously or not, individuals aim to satisfy these motives when creating their identities (Vignoles et al., 2006). From my earlier discussions on social identity theory in chapter three, it can be concluded that organizational identity mainly serves three identity needs: self-continuity, self-enhancement and self-distinctiveness (Dutton et al., 1994). Self-continuity refers to individuals' need for continuity and consistency of their self-concept; self-enhancement to individuals' aim for a prestigious organizational identity and self-distinctiveness to individuals' desire to distinguish themselves and their organization from others. As illustrated by Dutton et al (1994), these three self-definitional principles are important antecedents of the perceived attractiveness of members' organizational identity, because they determine

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the organization's position and status in the social environment (Turner & Haslam, 2001). Therefore, these three self-definitional principles can be regarded as the main criteria that members will apply to determine if an identity/image discrepancy is significant. If organizational members receive cues that any of these principles are under threat, this means that their organization's attractiveness and social rank is threatened. Under these circumstances, members will be aroused to change their organizational identity in order to restore its attractiveness. I therefore argue that:

> **Proposition 1:** When members believe that their organizational identity's prestige is threatened, they are aroused to engage in organizational identity change in order to restore a positive sense of self-esteem.

> **Proposition 2:** When members believe that their organizational identity's distinctiveness is threatened, they are aroused to engage in organizational identity change in order to reestablish their unique sense of self.

However, if members believe that their self-continuity is threatened, the effect will be different. To determine if the principle of self-continuity is upheld, members compare their own identity characteristics, to those of the organization. The need for self-consistency is satisfied if members see a fit between their own sense of self and their organizational identity and if they feel that their organizational identity remains consistent over time. Because self-continuity is aimed at preserving the current identity characteristics, it presents a barrier to identity change. If members feel that the consistency and continuity of their organizational identity is threatened, which means that they feel that the images reflected back to them about their organization presents a different organization that is not in line with their organizational identity perceptions and no longer an extension of their own self-concepts, they will be motivated to restore this consistency, i.e. to maintain the status quo. I argue therefore that:

> **Proposition 3:** When members believe that their organizational identity's self-continuity is threatened, they are aroused to maintain their current organizational identity and oppose organizational identity change.

7.2 Comparing the Three Change Triggers

Corley and Gioia (Corley & Gioia, 2004), in their study of a spin-off, identify three discrepancies or triggers of identity change: construed external image discrepancies, which refers to a gap between how members perceive their organization and how they think others look at their organization; a change in the social referent group, when the organization is no longer compared to members' relevant out-group (e.g. a competitor); and temporal identity discrepancies, which refers to a perceived gap between the current identity and the desired future identity or image. Generally, all identity change studies refer to one of these triggers (e.g. Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; e.g. Dutton et al., 1994; Elsbach & Kramer, 1996; Gioia et

al., 2000; Gioia & Thomas, 1996). If I apply the three self-definitional criteria to these three triggers of organizational identity change, it becomes evident that these change triggers affect different principles and will therefore arouse change in different ways.

7.2.1 Construed External Image Discrepancies

For many identity scholars (e.g. Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; e.g. Dutton et al., 1994; Gioia et al., 2000) organizational identity change is mainly facilitated through its relationship with construed external image. Construed external image refers to the perception organizational members have of how external stakeholders look at the organization (Dutton et al., 1994). Construed external image functions as a mirror (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991) that reflects members' organizational identity to them and serves as a point of reference for members to evaluate their own identity perceptions. The interplay between organizational identity and image is discussed by Dutton and Dukerich (1991), who in their study on the Port Authority illustrate how the deteriorating image of the Port Authority due to the presence of homeless people in their facilities, leads to a change in members' perception of their organization. Gioia et al (2000) present a model on how the image-identity relationship fuels a change in organizational identity. They argue that because organizational members are confronted with the image external stakeholders have of the organization, they compare external perceptions with their own identity perceptions and assess whether any (insupportable) discrepancies are present that require a change of identity (or of how outsiders see the organization). Corley and Gioia (2004) encounter this trigger in their study of an organizational spin-off. Members themselves regarded the spin-off as an event that positively affected their organizational identity, whereas the image reflected back to them by the media and customers was a negative one. A construed external image discrepancy occurs when external stakeholders have a less favorable impression of the organization than organizational employees. As members, in their need for self-enhancement, strive for a prestigious self-concept, they experience a threat when they realize that external stakeholders have a less positive perception of their organization and their organization's image is under threat (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991). I would like to note that a construed external image discrepancy refers specifically to a *negative* discrepancy. If outsiders have a more positive perception of the organization than organizational members; this does involve a discrepancy, but not one that poses a threat to their organization's prestige. I therefore argue that:

> **Proposition 4:** When members experience a construed external image discrepancy, their self-enhancement principle is threatened and they are aroused to engage in organizational identity change aimed at increasing organizational prestige.

7.2.2 Change in Social Referent

Organizational identity does not exist in a vacuum, but is formed through interaction with other social groups (Gioia et al., 2000); it is a "relational and comparative" concept (Ashforth & Mael, 1996; Gioia et al., 1998). Albert and his colleagues (Albert et al., 1998) and Pratt (2003) emphasize that

organizational identity is created in reference to another entity; i.e. the salient out-group: it is essential for one's own organizational identity to know who one is not. A change in social referent implies that members are no longer compared to their relevant social out-group, but to an out-group they do not wish to be compared to or to no out-group at all. Again, if a change in social referent occurs, where the organization is compared to organizations that are still regarded as a relevant and distinctive comparison set, just a different one, this does not pose a threat to their organizational identity's distinctiveness. A change in social referent here refers specifically to the situation where the new comparison group is not considered relevant or sufficiently distinct by the employees. When business school members are confronted with irrelevant social comparisons that do not highlight the organizational identity's distinctiveness, they tend to highlight alternative comparisons that do (Elsbach & Kramer, 1996). In Corley and Gioia's study (2004) members experience a discrepancy due to a change in their relevant social referent (their parent company), when they realize that they can no longer define their organizational identity as similar to or distinct from their parent company and are just "one of the many technology service companies in America and around the world". If this happens, the distinctiveness of members' organizational identity is challenged. I therefore argue that:

> **Proposition 5:** When members experience a change in their relevant social referent, their organizational identity's self-distinctiveness is threatened and members are aroused to engage in organizational identity change that reconfirms their distinction in comparison to a relevant out-group.

7.2.3 *Temporal Identity Discrepancies*

Temporal identity discrepancies or a gap with the desired future image/identity emerge when members' current identity perceptions are not in line with the projection and claims of what the organizational identity will or should become (Corley & Gioia, (2004). Several identity scholars (Bouchikhi et al., 1998; Dutton et al., 1994; Reger et al., 1994) discuss the importance of future organizational images for members' current behavior and attitudes. Gioia and Thomas (1996) illustrate how a public university initiates change, by presenting the organization with the future image of being a "top-10 university". Instead of focusing on a direct change of their organizational identity, they choose to envisage a desired future organizational image, with the aim of inducing members into changing their current perception of the university. If I evaluate the temporal identity discrepancy based on the two self-definitional criteria that stimulate chance (self-enhancement and self-distinctiveness), it is evident that this discrepancy does not involve a direct threat to these principles, I will explain why. As Ellemers, Spears and Doosje (2002) argue, the most significant threats a social context can impose on members relates to their social identity's prestige or distinctiveness. These are affected by a construed external image and a change in social referent respectively. A gap with the desired future identity or image is more likely based on strategic threats perceived by management. A desired future image is generally a top management

initiative. Even though top management is considered very influential in the change process (Barney et al., 1998; Ranson et al., 1980), Corley (2004) finds substantial differences according to hierarchical level with regard to organizational identity change, which could hamper the influence of management in the identity change process. He finds that top management perceives organizational identity as embedded in the organization's strategy, whereas lower level employees see organizational identity as rooted in organizational culture and behavior. This implies that where top management might recognize a strategic need for identity change, as long as this need does not threaten members' self-definitional principles, members will not be aroused to engage in organizational identity change. In other words, if management presents the organization with a desired future image, as long as the environment (i.e. external stakeholders and social referents) is not affected by this desired future identity as well, it is unlikely that organizational members will experience a sense of urgency with regard to this desired identity. A desired future organizational identity will only be an effective trigger of change, if it occurs simultaneously with a construed external image discrepancy or change in social referent. For example, if management presents the organization with its desired identity of becoming "environmentally friendly". If external stakeholders do not regard this characteristic as relevant and still think of the organization as very prestigious even though its concern for the environment is not up to par (no construed external image discrepancy) or if the organization is still regarded as belonging to the best in the field (no change in social referent), it is unlikely that members will feel threatened. This will only occur if public opinion starts to falter, or if the organization is suddenly perceived as belonging to the worst polluters of its industry. As Pratt (2000) argues, sensegiving practices alone (which provide meaning and are established in identity construction) are insufficient in motivating members to change, because they will be satisfied with the current identity. Therefore:

> **Proposition 6:** all else being equal, temporal identity discrepancies alone do not threaten members' self-definitional criteria of self-enhancement and self-distinctiveness and is therefore less effective in arousing members to engage in organizational identity change

Additionally, a construed external image, social referents and a desired future identity all represent an organizational referent (Corley & Gioia, 2004) in the sense that members make sense of their organizational identity by comparing it to these three "references". A change in self-defining organizational referents unavoidably entails reconsideration on the part of members, of their own organizational identity perceptions. In other words, if one (or more) of these referents changes, the framework that members use to make sense of their organizational identity perceptions, changes. If this happens, the continuity and consistency of members' organizational identity perceptions is threatened, because members' comparative referents are no longer there, or have changed. I therefore argue that:

Proposition 7: In addition to their specific threats, all three discrepancies will pose a threat to members' self-definitional principle of self-continuity, which will constrain members to engage in organizational identity change.

7.3   Direction of Organizational Identity Change

The concept of direction (Mitchell, 1982) refers to the motivational theories on behavioral choice; those processes that guide members to behave in a specific direction. Mitchell (1982) argues that to accommodate for the increasingly interdependent and social nature of the work environment, theories on motivation should incorporate the effect of group processes. This appeal is underscored by Ellemers et al (2004), who emphasize the need for taking a more group-oriented approach since in the current work environment, organizational members are increasingly expected to think and behave as a collective rather than as independent individuals. I therefore assume the approach by Ellemers et al (2004), where behavioral choice is concerned with an employee's decision to direct his or her efforts mainly toward the individual and/or the collective level. Brief and Motowidlo (1986) also make this distinction. They argue that pro-social behavior can be directed at individuals or at the organization as a collective unit. In the latter situation, individuals put their attitudes and behavior in line with organizational procedures and goals and sacrifice individual interests for those of the organization.

Few studies on organizational identity change have discussed which underlying processes direct members toward engaging in collective identity change. These studies (e.g. Fiol, 2002) chiefly consider a one-dimensional approach of identification as the facilitator of organizational identity change. I argue that this traditional approach of organizational identification does not adequately explain members' direction of change. To determine which processes direct members' change efforts toward those of the collective organization, I apply self-categorization theory (e.g. Hogg & Terry, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and an expanded model of identification (e.g. Elsbach, 1999).

As discussed in chapter three; essential to self-categorization theory is the notion of collective behavior. Self-categorization theory explains for the underlying processes that compel a group of individuals to behave as a collective. The self-categorization processes of self-stereotyping and depersonalization, are important to the direction of organizational identity change, because members, who consider themselves as members of the collective organization, will demonstrate convergent perceptions and behavior according to the organizational norms, which will facilitate change in a uniform fashion. Therefore, from a self-categorization perspective, a high degree of identification is fundamental to collective organizational attitudes and behavior, because it increases the likelihood that members' attitudes and behavior will be in accordance with those of the organization. A high degree of identification therefore makes it easier for organizations to function coherently (Pratt, 1998).

In an organizational context, the relevant social group can vary across different organizational levels of inclusiveness (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997). For example, members can identify with their team, their subunit, their department and/or the collective organization. In this paper, when I discuss the concept of identification, I mainly distinguish two levels of inclusiveness: members

who identify with the collective organization and members who do not identify with the collective organization (who may identify with an organizational subgroup). I make this simplified distinction for theoretical purposes only, because the underlying processes with regard to collective organizational identity change will be similar for those who do not identify with the collective, regardless of whether they identify with a subgroup or do not identify at all.

7.4 An Expanded Model of Organizational Identification

Even though most identification studies have treated the concept as one-dimensional (varying from low to high degrees of identification), identity scholars are increasingly incorporating a more complex structure of identification (Dukerich et al., 1998; Elsbach, 1998; Elsbach, 1999; Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004; Pratt, 2000). These scholars regard organizational identification as one possibility of self-definition. A complex model of identification enables a more appropriate depiction of how organizational members can define themselves relative to their organization that includes how members are similar, distinct and neutral to their organization (Elsbach, 1999). I therefore include four distinct forms of identification (Dukerich et al., 1998; Elsbach, 1999; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004; Pratt, 2000): identification, disidentification, ambivalent identification, and neutral identification.

7.4.1 Identification

If members identify with the collective organization, they put organizational goals above individual goals and sustain their effort across different situations even if it is not rewarding to them personally (Ellemers et al., 2004). Members, who identify with the collective, are motivated to enhance the state of the collective organization (Dutton et al., 1994). If change benefits the organization, these members will direct their efforts toward collective change. A strong identification with the collective organization induces members to engage in collective action on the groups' behalf, regardless of material benefits (Rowley & Moldoveanu, 2003). A member who identifies with the organization aligns his or her personal goals with that of the organization and puts collective goals above personal goals, which makes this individual more willing to change on behalf of the organization. This is illustrated by Jetten, O'Brien and Trindall (2002) who find that members who identify highly with the collective organization are most open to organizational identity change compared to members who do not identify with the collective (but with a subgroup); a high degree of identification with the collective organization secures members' attachment to the organization on a long-term basis, even after organizational change has occurred. Therefore:

Proposition 8: Members, who identify with their organization, will direct their efforts to engage in organizational identity change.

7.4.2 *Disidentification*

Disidentification addresses the situation in which organizational members define their self-concept by explicitly distancing themselves from what the organization stands for, without necessarily identifying with another group. Self-definition is not only determined by the extent to which there is overlap with the organizational identity, members can define their self-concept also by focusing on the organizational aspects that are incongruent to their self-definitions. Disidentification (Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001) is defined as the degree to which a person defines him- or herself as not having the same attributes as their organization. The scholars find that disidentification leads to opposing the focal organization's actions and public criticism and represents a more absolute state than identification. Members can exhibit some degree of identification with their organization, whereas a state of disidentification does not involve these gradations. Members who disidentify with an organization disregard potentially positive characteristics. Kreiner and Ashforth (2004)argue that if members disidentify with an organization they deliberately separate their self-concepts from the organizational identity and therefore refute the organization's culture, mission or essential characteristics. The scholars also believe disidentification represents a state of intense conflict between the member and the organization, where there appears to be a disinclination on the part of the employee to trust their employer. Pratt (2000) for example finds in his study of Amway distributors, that members, who disidentify with their organization, are not motivated or willing to change. Also, these members' attitudes toward their organization were characterized by an intense feeling of betrayal and anger. Disidentification is not merely a condition of not identifying with the organization, disidentification focuses explicitly on being the complete opposite of what the organization stands for, explicitly identifying with something the organization is not. As van Knippenberg (2000) argues, when the context highlights the collective organizational identity, these members will accentuate their personal identity against that of the collective organizational identity and exhibit incongruent behavior. While identification focuses on being similar, disidentification focuses on being different.

If members disidentify with their organization, Fiol (2002) and Chreim (2002a) suggest that this would enable organizational identity change because members are not attached to their old identity. However, two assumptions about disidentification would challenge their arguments. First, disidentification implies that members are determined to show how they are not like the organization, so theoretically change would only be possible if the organization changed its identity radically into its own antithesis. Disidentification represents an absolute state, which means that incremental change to the organizational identity will not direct members to engage in a collective organizational identity change effort. Members also do not necessarily know who they are, they only know who they are not (Elsbach & Bhattacharya, 2001), which would make change to satisfy these disidentifying members, even more difficult. Second, disidentification represents a state of intense conflict. Members tend to disregard characteristics that are congruent with their self-concepts and are simply unwilling to trust the organization. They also tend to counter organizational actions. These assumptions imply that even though

members do not adhere to the old identity, they are nevertheless unlikely or even unwilling to engage in change on behalf of the collective organization, therefore:

Proposition 9: Members who disidentify with the organization will not direct their efforts to a collective change effort and will even counteract this collective change effort.

7.4.3   *Ambivalent or Schizo-Identification*

Ambivalent or schizo-identification occurs when members simultaneously identify and disidentify with the organization (Elsbach, 1999) and end up with "mixed feelings" about their organization (Pratt & Doucet, 2000: 204). The complexity of contemporary organizations can cause members to simultaneously identify with some aspects of an organization's identity while disidentifying with other aspects of the organizational identity (Elsbach, 1999; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004; Pratt & Doucet, 2000: 206-207). Members with ambivalent feelings are incapable of establishing a positive and strong relationship with their organization and their severe lack of determination leads to a state of lethargy (Pratt & Doucet, 2000: 206, 221). Kreiner and Ashforth (2004) corroborate this and argue that members who experience ambivalent identification are not prone to commit to extra role behavior and experience mixed feelings toward the organization that may lead to apathy. The scholars also find a positive correlation between ambivalence and disidentification, which could indicate that members who feel ambivalent toward their organization might be on the verge of disidentifying with it. Thus:

Proposition 10: Members, who experience ambivalent identification toward their organization, are in a state of apathy and will not direct their efforts toward collective identity change.

7.4.4   *Neutral Identification*

Neutral identification (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004) exists when members neither identify nor disidentify with the organization. Here, members consciously choose to remain neutral toward the organization and this neutrality is self-defining to them. Members who remain neutral toward the organization are less likely the exert effort on behalf of the organization and are mainly driven by self-serving interests. Neutral identification appears to be more a result of individual predisposition than of the organizational context as members who remain neutral toward their organization, are more often than not a recluse. Scholars distinguish between neutral identification and non-identification (Elsbach, 1999; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004). Non-identification occurs when the individual simply does not care about the organization. In this paper I treat these forms of identification as similar because the underlying processes with regard to members' motivation to engage in collective organizational identity change are likely to be similar for both forms in the sense that members will mainly be driven by their self-interests. Members who are driven by self-interests only engage in a collective effort when this rewards personal interests or when they are sanctioned for not engaging in the collective effort (Ellemers et al., 2004). Therefore:

Proposition 11a: Members, who have a neutral identification with their organization, will be driven by self-interests, which means that they will only direct their efforts to engage in collective identity change if it serves their self-interests.

In addition, Knippenberg and Ellemers (2003) argue that if members are driven by self-interests, their efforts are mainly self-directed, which makes it difficult to sustain their behavior directed at the collective level, even if their personal interests are initially met. The degree, to which collective behavior can be induced through offering individual rewards and incentives, remains limited. This is due to the extrinsic nature of the incentives used to engage these members to direct their effort toward collective change, which will have a limited effect compared to members who identify with the organization and have internalized the collective interests into their own. Therefore:

Proposition 11b: The sustainability of a collective change effort of members who have a neutral identification with their organization, will be limited, even if their personal interests are initially satisfied.

7.5   Discussion

This paper aims to enunciate the interaction between organizational identity processes of self-definition and the type of identification that members experience in order to determine its affect on members' willingness to engage in collective organizational identity change. Work motivation theory is taken as a general framework, to take a closer look at the processes that arouse and direct collective identity change. Currently, identity scholars distinguish three triggers of identity change, which are treated similarly in the sense that when members face these triggers, they will be induced to change their organizational identity. With regard to direction, identity scholars consider a high degree of organizational identification as an obstacle to collective identity change. Some scholars (e.g. Chreim, 2002a; Fiol, 2002) even extend this logic and argue that successful change requires that members first go through a process of dis- or deidentification, where their connection to the organizational identity is severed.

We are not claiming that these assumptions are erroneous; merely that they require a more refined approach. In order to allow for a more elaborate interaction pattern, I evaluate the overall identity triggers according to the self-definitional processes fundamental to social and organizational identity and take the approach that it is not so much a question of "if" members identify with the organization that explains their (un) willingness to change, but a question of "how" members identify with the organization. By taking a closer look at the different forms organizational identification can take (e.g. Elsbach, 1999), I gain insight in the direction into which members will be motivated to change. Figure 7-1 provides an overview of these interaction patterns.

Figure 7-1: Motivational Framework of Organizational Identity Change
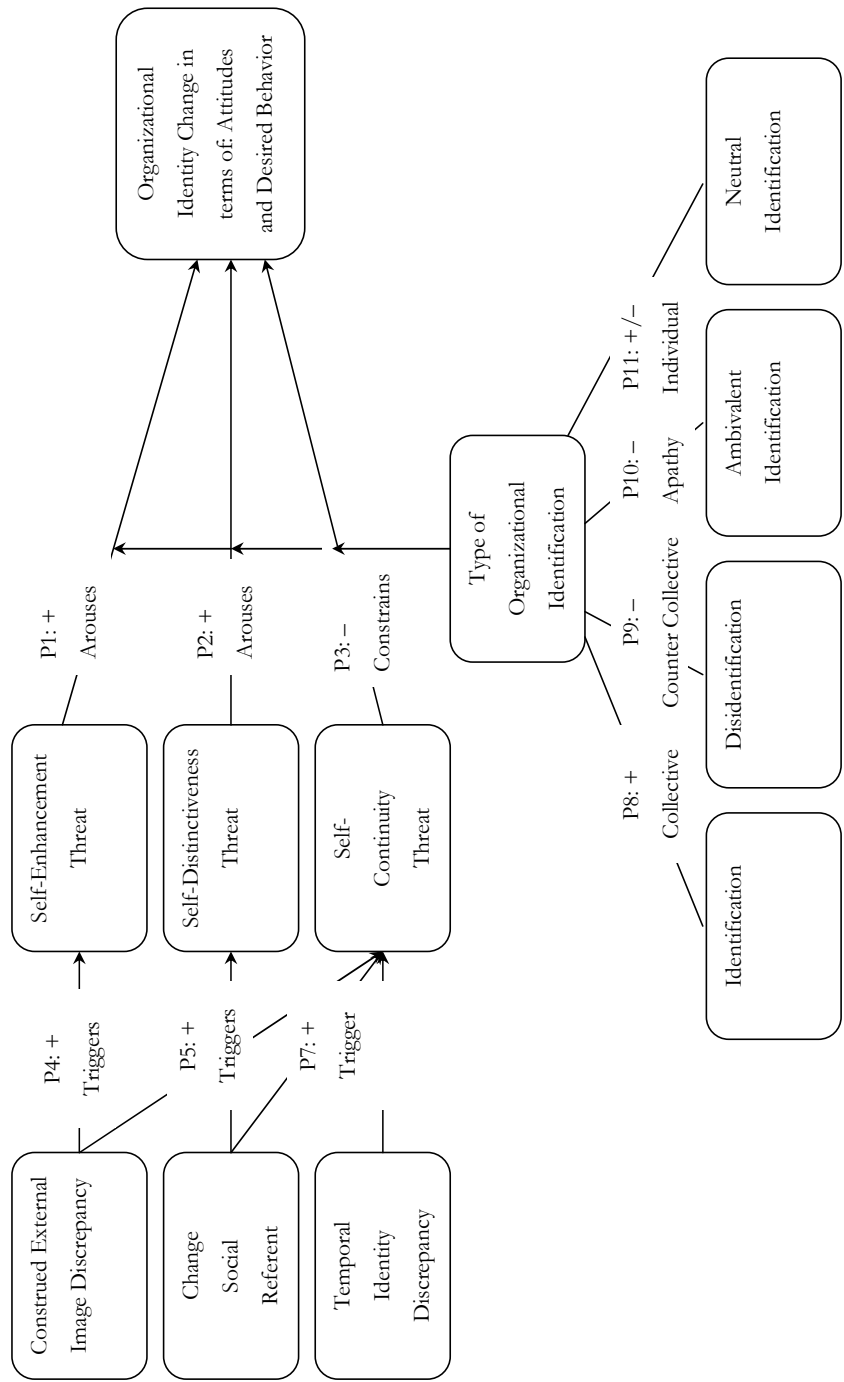
First, if I look at the self-definitional criteria that members use to evaluate whether a discrepancy is significant, I see that these three principles have different effects. In members' quest for a positive organizational identity, a threat to the principles of enhancement and distinctiveness will arouse organizational identity change to reestablish the attractiveness of the identity. Self-continuity, on the other hand, is aimed at preservation of the current identity, and a threat to this principle, will drive members to resist the change. When identity scholars refer to identification or a strong organizational identity as barriers to change, they actually refer to only one self-definitional process, that of self-continuity. By treating a high degree of identification as a barrier to change, the implicit assumption is that the principle of self-continuity dominates the other two principles. It is possible however, that situations could make a specific principle more relevant than others. For example, in their study of business schools, Elsbach and Kramer (1996) illustrate instances where members regarded their university's distinctiveness as more important than its prestige.

Second, with regard to the direction of the change effort, the different types of identification affect members' willingness to engage in a collective change effort in distinct ways that surpass the one-dimensional options of high and low identification. I also see from Figure 7-1 that the type of identification moderates the effect of the self-definitional principles on arousing collective identity change. By combining these different identification types with the three self-definitional principles, a more detailed pattern emerges of when members will be aroused and directed to engage in collective identity change, and when they will oppose such change. Members, who identify with the organization, put collective interests above their own and are willing to direct their efforts to engage in collective change. Because they identify with the collective organization, the three principles are also salient. This implies that they will resist change when their self-continuity is threatened, but will be aroused to change when the principles of enhancement and distinctiveness are threatened. Members, who disidentify with the organization, oppose any collective endeavor. While their lack of a cognitive connection with the organization does not make them susceptible to the principle of self-continuity (this is why some identity scholars propose that disidentification enables change), they are unwilling to change due to two additional effects: their disidentification also drives them to oppose any initiative by the organization and notwithstanding their detachment from the current identity, they are also not motivated to strive for the organization's distinctiveness and prestige, those principles that stimulate change. Ambivalent identification leaves members in a more or less apathetic state, where they simply do not care about the organization and will not put their energy into a collective identity change effort. Again, their lack of interest in the organization might make them indifferent toward maintaining the current organizational identity, but at the same time, they are also indifferent toward the organization's social position and will not be motivated to change in order to increase its prestige or distinctiveness. Members who simply do not identify with the organization are only after their self-interests. These members might be willing to change from the viewpoint that they are not bonded to the current organizational identity. However, at the same time, their lack of interest in the collective organization also does not stimulate a change effort

based on deteriorating prestige or distinctiveness and will make it difficult to engage them in a collective effort. They are driven by self-interests, which means that these members could, to a certain extent, be induced to engage in collective change if this change meets their individual interests.

Third, identity scholars generally treat the three triggers of identity change as similar. However, if I evaluate these triggers according to the three self-definitional criteria, it is evident that in addition to their effect on self-continuity, two of the three triggers also affect those principles that arouse members to engage in identity change. A construed external image discrepancy affects self-enhancement or prestige and a change in social referent affects an organization's distinctiveness. This means that overall, these two triggers might be more effective in motivating members to change, compared to a temporal identity discrepancy alone, which only threatens the principle of self-continuity, which inhibits change. In Corley and Gioia's (2004) study, temporal identity discrepancies are relevant and effective in triggering change, but the other two triggers are also present. So one might argue, that in order for a projection of a desired future image or identity to be effective in inducing members to change, it is necessary that at least one of the two other triggers is also present. In the study by Gioia and Thomas (1996), a temporal identity discrepancy, the projection of a desired future image, was successful in eliciting organizational identity change. However, their study focused solely on organizational identity change in top management teams. And, as I argue in the paper, temporal identity discrepancies is a top management initiative, likely driven by strategic needs for identity change. It is therefore not entirely surprising that the change effort through a temporal image discrepancy, since it was aimed at top management, was successful. Also, these different triggers require different types of organizational identity change. Because each trigger threatens a different principle, members will only be motivated to engage in a change effort to the extent that the proposed change will restore the particular principle that is threatened. So for example, if members are confronted with a construed external image discrepancy, a change effort that highlights their distinctiveness from a competitor will be less effective than a change effort that restores their sense of prestige.

Fourth, identification is generally treated as a barrier to change. I argue that this perspective treats identification merely as the cognitive and emotional connection between members' self-definition and the organizational identity and overlooks the effect on underlying group processes such as depersonalization and group cohesion (Turner & Haslam, 2001) that this connection produces. These processes are fundamental to collective behavior, which is essential in a collective identity change effort. So the connection organizational identification creates between members and the organization, has an additional effect; members tend to see themselves as organizational members rather than as individuals. They internalize the organization's interests and goals into their self-interests and are directed to think and act in line with the organization as a whole.

Finally, the main goal of this paper has been to highlight a part of the complex understanding of organizational identity change by showing that there are different, concurrent forces that either stimulate or inhibit members to engage in an identity change effort. Overall, in identity studies the portrayal of identity and identification as impediments to identity change prevails. With this paper I tried to show a

different picture, where organizational identity and identification, which are regarded as two sides of the same coin when it comes to creating a strong, coherent organization, cannot simply be separated in order to achieve change.

Changing organizational identity is one of the major challenges for managers. Due to the dynamic environment contemporary organizations are dealing with, the notion of a stable and enduring identity is no longer viable. In order for organizations to survive they need an identity that can keep up with the fast-changing pace of the modern business world. The framework presented in this paper, offers insight into the different forces at work in enabling or constraining change. It illustrates that the basic assumption that successful change necessitates low degrees of identification, is not so straightforward. This approach might even be counter-effective, as members, who do not identify with the organization are likely driven by self-interests rather than organizational interests; even worse, those who disidentify will oppose any collective effort. In addition, one of the main tools management has to channel organizational identity change is the projection of a desired future image or identity. However, as argued in this paper, this temporal identity discrepancy might be the least effective trigger of organizational identity change, if not accompanied by additional triggers that threaten members' self-enhancement or distinctiveness. Therefore, for management to initiate organizational identity change successfully, they need to realize that their strategic needs for an identity change can be different from members' self-definitional needs and do not necessarily arouse members to engage in collective identity change. Management needs to understand how the organizational identity fulfils members' self-definitional needs, in order to make the trigger significant enough to energize members toward identity change.

7.6   Conclusion

Organizational identity change is paradoxical in that identity, by definition, is stable and unchanging. Due to this contradiction, research on identity change has been relatively limited. Overall, the assumptions are that identity change is triggered by three types of image/identity discrepancies and that a high degree of identification represents the main barrier to successful identity change. In order to elaborate on these underpinnings, I approach organizational identity change from the perspective of work motivation theory, through which I integrate social identity theory, self-categorization theory and an expanded model of identification. This enables us to highlight three important issues. First, from a social identity theory perspective I argue that the three principles of self-definition: self-enhancement, self-distinctiveness and self-consistency, are the main criteria that members use to determine whether an identity/image discrepancy is significant. Second, different discrepancies affect different principles and therefore elicit change in different ways. And finally, the combination of self-categorization theory and the expanded model of identification, challenges the assumption that a high degree of identification is a barrier to change. To the contrary, I argue that strong identification is necessary in order to direct members toward a collective change effort.

Chapter 8   DISCUSSION

The relationship between an employee and his or her employer in terms of identity is one of the corner stones of modern organizations (Kogut & Zander, 1996) and after more than two decades of research on organizational identity, the field has come a long way. Seminal theoretical (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Dutton et al., 1994; Pratt & Foreman, 2000b) and empirical (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Dukerich et al., 2002; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Elsbach & Kramer, 1996; Gioia & Thomas, 1996) works have pushed our understandings of the concept to a higher level. In addition, periodic pieces that philosophized about the concept and its boundaries (Corley et al., 2006; Pratt, 2003; Whetten & Godfrey, 1998) have served as guidelines throughout this developmental process. Amidst all these developments, the goal of my dissertation is to take a closer look at the inductive and deductive processes that affect how organizational members make sense of perceived organizational identity. Inductive processes (Postmes et al., 2005a) refer to those processes that take place at the individual or subgroup level and are used by organizational members to establish a sense of who they are as a group, which is then used as input to make bottom-up inferences about the collective, organizational identity. To gain insight into these inductive processes, I conducted a qualitative study to determine how organizational members make sense of perceived organizational identity. Deductive processes (Postmes et al., 2005a) refer to how organizational members make sense of an existing, collective organizational identity that is determined by an organization's dominant coalition; in other words, how does an existing collective organizational identity affect organizational identity processes in a top-down fashion. To determine how these inductive and deductive forces play out against each other, I conducted two quantitative studies to asses the impact of the more bottom-up determined perceived organizational identity, against the impact of the more top-down determined projected and desired organizational identity. Here my goal was to determine what the comparative effects are of these different identity types and under what conditions either the inductive or the deductive types prevail. Overall, the three empirical studies have one thing in common: the role of perceived organizational identity as a standalone concept is not nearly as prevalent as generally assumed. In this chapter I will discuss the findings for each of my research questions as posed in chapter one. I consider their theoretical and managerial implications, as well as my work's limitations and its implications for future research.

8.1   Inductive Processes

The first sub-question of my dissertation, which is central to my first study concerns:
What are the inductive processes through which organizational members make sense of perceived organizational identity?
The goal for study one was to get a better sense of the process that organizational members use to make inferences about abstract organizational identity characteristics. For this, I focus particularly on *multiple* organizational identities. As argued in my introduction, focusing on how organizational members think

other members perceive the organization rather than on their *own* organizational identity perceptions provides us with the cues that members use to make inferences about abstract identity characteristics.

8.1.1   The Role of Social Demographics

As I argued in chapter four, the general understanding of multiple organizational identities relies on two assumptions: that one has a bird's eye view of the different organizational groups and their organizational identity perceptions and that one makes a comparison of abstract organizational identity characteristics to determine potential inconsistencies that make-up the multiplicity. Taken these assumptions, it is safe to assume that researchers are in a much more privileged position than the average organizational member, to determine whether an organization consists of multiple identities. Nevertheless, organizational members do have a sense of whether their organization consists of multiple identities or not. It is therefore interesting to determine how they arrive at their conclusion; how do organizational members determine whether their organization consists of multiple identities and more importantly, how they determine what these different identities are and to which organizational groups they belong. Insight into this process tells us more about the inductive sensemaking processes that members engage in when making inferences about their organization's identity. This sheds light on how organizational members perceive other organizational subgroups and induce overall organizational identity characteristics from these different organizational subgroups. Based on my findings, it seems that when it comes to members' sensemaking process of perceived organizational identity they are particularly driven by their social identity based on demographic characteristics. Members use the perceived social demographic composition of their organization as a cue for the perceived organizational identity. In line with the findings by Pratt and Rafaeli (1997), who find that nurses make sense of identity issues by the means of concrete symbols such as dress, my first study indicates that the members of Pecunia, do not necessarily make sense of organizational identity in terms of abstract identity characteristics. Organizational members use the more concrete and visible demographic characteristics of their colleagues as a sensemaking mechanism. My findings imply a more prominent role of an individual's direct organizational group, in his or her organizational identity sensemaking process.

Scholars (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Lau & Murnighan, 1998; Pfeffer, 1983; Tsui et al., 1992) do acknowledge that social demographics play an important role in identity processes in organizations, especially because these characteristics are common and visible, which make them an easy target to use for categorization and identification. It is remarkable that despite this notion that social demographics represent a special category for identity and identification processes, organizational identity scholars rarely consider the potential relationship between social demographics and organizational identity processes (for an exception see: Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997). The implicit assumption is that the salience of a higher order collective organizational identity overrules the salience of social demographics.

There has been much theorizing about the different identity levels in organizations and their relative salience (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Brickson, 2000). Ashforth and Johnson (2001) argue that the different identities in an organization are ordered in a hierarchy of salience. Identity salience refers to the

degree to which an identity has "subjective importance" and "situational relevance" (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001: 32) for an individual. An identity has subjective importance if it is central to an individual's self-identity and situational relevance if it fits with the context. In this hierarchy, lower order identities refer to the collective identities of the more concrete, proximal groups, such as one's team or workgroup, whereas the higher order identities refer to the collective identities of the more abstract, distant groups, such as the collective organization. Scholars assume a more or less antagonistic relationship between the different identities, where the salience of higher order identities potentially reduces the significance of lower level identities and the other way around. Scholars acknowledge that lower level identities are generally more salient to individuals than higher order identities since individuals interact more frequently and directly with these primary lower level groups, but also argue that if higher order identities are salient, lower order identities will be less so (e.g. Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; e.g. Brickson & Brewer, 2001). Only if the higher order organizational identity becomes less significant, lower level identities such as demographically-based identities will come to the fore (Brickson, 2000).

Individuals base their perceptions of multiple identities on the different social groups they discern within an organization, on social demographics. At Pecunia, interviewees were not necessarily aware of how colleagues actually thought about the organization, but drew their conclusions based on perceived social demographics differences and similarities with their own social group. Just like the nurses from Pratt and Rafaeli's study (1997) used organizational dress as a means of making sense of multiple organizational identity perceptions, at Pecunia, organizational members used observable social demographics as a sensemaking device for organizational identity. This is an important finding for our understanding of how members inductively make sense of organizational identity. It seems that, where identity scholars follow social psychologists in treating both levels of identity as mutually exclusive (Postmes et al., 2005b) and separate social identities based on demographics from organizational identity, organizational members on the other hand, connect both identities in their sensemaking process. This sheds a different light on our organizational identity discussions, which have tended to focus on perceived organizational identity alone, excluding a link with other social identities. It seems that, how paradoxical this may seem, a sole focus on members' own organizational identity perceptions can limit our understanding of perceived organizational identity. The fact that members use social demographic categorizations as cues of multiple organizational identities makes it imperative that we understand what the implications of social identities based on demographics are for our understanding of perceived organizational identity. A fundamental implication of this finding is that members do not necessarily think in terms of abstract perceived organizational identity characteristics alone and that the social demographic make-up of an organization can have a significant impact on their sensemaking process. Especially when demographic faultlines (Lau & Murnighan, 1998) coincide with distinct organizational groups, the perceived link between social demographics and perceived organizational identity strengthens. An important indicator of how members perceive their organizational identity can be through the social demographic make-up of the organization. Perceived organizational identity, which is conceptualized in

terms of abstract organizational characteristics, may in terms of members' sensemaking processes, have a much stronger connection to concrete group characteristics, such as social demographics. Not only do "birds of a feather" flock together; an in-group bias also occurs, where the assumption is that members of a social in-group probably also think alike (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001: 415).

8.1.2 *Multiple Identity Bias*

An important consequence of this perceived connection between the social demographics of an organization and members' identity perceptions is that perceptions of multiple organizational identities can exist, regardless of actual organizational identity differences. Since members base their judgment of multiple organizational identities for an important part on perceived social demographic differences, a multiple identity bias may occur, as members may believe that their organization consists of multiple identities, even when this is not the case. Likewise, members may believe that their organization consists of a single, holistic identity, when in fact different groups do have different identity perceptions. My findings imply that an important factor in members' perception of multiple identities concerns whether members distinguish distinct organizational groups based on demographic faultlines (Lau & Murnighan, 1998). It is therefore important that we, when we study multiple organizational identities, take this finding into account, and recognize that if we focus solely on the abstract identity characteristics, we might fail to see an important sensemaking mechanism that members apply to determine the presence of multiple identities; distinct demographic groups. By solely focusing on the abstract organizational identity characteristics, we discard the inductive process members use to arrive at these organizational identity perceptions and potentially overlook the cues members use from their lower-level, direct organizational subgroup to make inferences about the higher-level, collective organizational identity.

8.2 Deductive Processes

To determine how the inductively driven identity, i.e. perceived organizational identity, and the deductively driven identities, projected and desired organizational identity, play out against each other, I test their significance for identification and desired behavior. In addition, the conceptual framework also incorporates the effect of perceived external prestige. Through quantitative testing of the effects of these different identity and image types, I answer the following sub-question:

2. *What is the comparative significance of the perceived, projected and desired organizational identity on organizational members' organizational identification and behavior?*

In study two, conducted at Concrete, an organization facing a collective external threat in terms of a damaged reputation and image, the focus is on comparing perceived and projected organizational identity. In study three, conducted at the European bank Pecunia, I also include the desired organizational identity, because of its significant role in the internal change process that was taking place at the time of the study. An overview of the results of the statistical analysis is provided in Table 8-1 below. The implications of these results lie not so much in the separate hypotheses, but in the overall relationships

that they imply between the different identity types, perceived external prestige, organizational identification and desired behavior. Taken together, the analyses produced several noteworthy results.

Table 8-1 Overview Results Hypotheses

	Study 2	Study 3
Hypothesis 1: The more attractive organizational members find their perceived organizational identity, the stronger their identification with the organization	Moderately supported	Supported
Hypothesis 2: The more organizational members agree with the projected organizational identity, the stronger their identification with the organization	Strongly supported	Supported
Hypothesis 3: The more organizational members agree with the desired organizational identity, the stronger their identification with the organization	Not measured	Strongly supported
Hypothesis 4a: The higher the perceived external prestige, the weaker the relationship between perceived organizational identity and organizational identification.	Rejected	Supported
Hypothesis 4b: The higher the perceived external prestige, the weaker the relationship between projected organizational identity and organizational identification.	Rejected	Supported
Hypothesis 4c: The higher the perceived external prestige, the weaker the relationship between desired organizational identity and organizational identification.	Not measured	Supported
Hypothesis 5: The stronger the organizational identification of an organizational member, the higher the degree of desired behavior, he or she displays.	Supported	Moderately Supported

8.2.1 Identity Congruence

In both study two and three, attractiveness of perceived organizational identity is the least significant driver of identification and behavior. This finding goes against conventional wisdom about the fundamental role of perceived organizational identity for identification and behavior. In the majority of works, scholars treat perceived organizational identity as the central concept of their identity framework. I illustrate however, that if we include additional identity types, the presumed dominance of perceived organizational identity diminishes. I do not claim however, that perceived organizational identity does not matter for identification and behavior; it is the relative rather than the absolute nature of perceived organizational identity that matters. Contrary to current assumptions, it is not so much the attractiveness of perceived identity as such that drives identification and behavior, but much more its congruence or fit with the two other identity types of projected and desired organizational identity. Organizational members seek out consistency and balance between their inductively inferred organizational identity perceptions and their deductively imposed organizational identity types. This is not entirely surprising, as

several scholars (Foreman & Whetten, 2002; Pratt, 2003) have argued that organizational identity is a relational concept, which is formed through a comparison process.

From a psychology perspective, the concept of identity congruence or consistency plays an important role (Festinger, 1957); the assumption is that for a person to feel a sense of integrity, his or her personality traits need to be compatible, stable and consistent over time and across different situations (Breakwell, 1986; Cross et al., 2003; Higgins, 1987). Stability of one's characteristics is regarded as a form of validation for the authenticity of one's nature (Lecky, 1945). According to Higgins (1987), one can distinguish different personal identity types: the actual self, which refers to those identity characteristics that you believe you have; the ideal self, which captures the characteristics your think you should have; and the ought self, the identity characteristics you think others want you to have. According to self-discrepancy theory (Festinger, 1957; Higgins, 1987) a person strives for consistency between these different identity types since inconsistency will have negative consequences for the individual. Individual's drive for consistency leads them to pay more attention to information that is consistent with their own identity perceptions and evaluate this information as more trustworthy (Vignoles et al., 2006). Scholars have found that these identity motives and their underlying mechanisms, also apply to collective identities (Chen et al., 2004).

Several identity scholars argue that comparison processes also take place at the organizational level and that alignment between the different identity types is crucial for an organization (Cheney & Christensen, 2000; Chreim, 2002b; Whetten & Mackey, 2002). Corley and Gioia (2004) illustrate the important role of identity comparison processes, especially during times of change. The authors find that discrepancies between perceived organizational identity on the one hand, and projected and desired organizational identity on the other, are important triggers of change. The scholars find that it is not so much the attractiveness of these projected and desired images that alerts members, but the perceived attainability of these identities. Corley and Gioia's findings clearly show the significance of perceived consistency between the different identity types. The authors find that the employees at the spin-off company are dissatisfied with management's communicational efforts at explaining the meaning of the projected and desired identity, which makes employees skeptical of these claimed identities. It was not until management fiercely engaged in sensegiving strategies and modeling behavior to provide fundamental meaning to the projected and desired identity, that employees began to internalize and accept this claimed (future) organizational identity. Their work also illustrates that organizational members assess the fit between their inductively determined organizational identity perceptions and the deductive organizational identity framework that is imposed top-down by the organization's management. It is not until organizational members recognize how these different organizational identity types fit together, that they actually internalize the top-down identity sensegiving strategies. Foreman and Whetten (2002) for example, argue that organizational members engage in cognitive comparison processes between their actual and ideal organizational identities, where a greater fit increases one's identification with the organization. According to Chreim (2002a) dissonance occurs when for example the projected

organizational identity is not in line with members' own organizational identity perceptions. These studies illustrate that identity comparisons and an estimation of the degree of fit between different identity-types are important ways in which individuals make sense of their organizational identity.

Identity scholars generally discuss identity congruence in relation to organizational change, where discrepancies between members' organizational identity perceptions and reflected images of their organization, act as a driver of change (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Gioia & Thomas, 1996). My findings illustrate however, that congruence between inductive and deductive identity types should be an integral part of our identity framework; it is the fit between these different identity types that primarily drives organizational members' identification and desired behavior. When scholars discuss the concept of organizational identity and its implications for concepts such as identification and behavior, the focus is on the attractiveness of the perceived organizational identity. This approach implicitly disconnects members' perception of their organization from its immediate context, which is surprising considering that one of our core understandings of organizational identity is that it is a relational and comparative concept (Pratt, 2003). In a sense, a conceptualization of organizational identity in terms of congruence between inductive and deductive identity types, is more in line with Pratt's (2003) conceptualization of organizational identity as a relational concept, where organizations try to understand who they are partly by comparing themselves to who they were, or who they would like to be.

8.2.2 *Projected Organizational Identity and Behavior*

In both quantitative studies, the agreement with the projected organizational identity was the only identity type that had a significant direct impact on desired behavior. Remarkable enough, this effect of agreement with the projected organizational identity is even greater than the effect of organizational identification on desired behavior, a relationship central to the general organizational identity framework (Dukerich et al., 2002; Dutton et al., 1994). One explanation for this dominant effect of agreement with the projected organizational identity on desired behavior could relate to the fact that both variables are of a public nature as both behavior as well as the projected identity are readily available for members and non-members to observe. Borrowing from social psychology, Tice (1992) illustrates that not behavior per se, but more specifically, public behavior, produces a consistently stronger impact on self-concept change. The public nature of behavior, forces an individual to become cognitively committed to it as well. In Alcohol Anonymous meetings for example (Greil & Rudy, 1983), self-presentation in the group is an important part of the conversion process; it is assumed that this public display elicits greater commitment to change. In addition to cognitive consistency, Wood (2000) argues that dissonance reduction is not so much targeted at achieving psychological consistency, but more aimed at rationalizing behavior.

Another explanation could be that the identity that management projects and claims, often incorporates those identity characteristics that are not just valued within the organization, but rewarded as well. It is therefore not surprising that organizational members will exhibit behavior based on the projected organizational identity. Take a typical university for example; its projected identity would most likely consist of identity characteristics such as the value of good research, A-journal publications and

valuable teaching. At the same time, these projected characteristics also represent the main evaluative criteria to determine whether an assistant professor receives tenure. The strong link between projected organizational identity and desired behavior is most likely also the consequence of the fact that this projected identity represents the criteria that are used to "punish and reward". This strong, direct link between this very public identity type of projected organizational identity and behavior might be the result of a process where identity and behavior are aligned.

This exclusive relationship between projected organizational identity and desired behavior has an important theoretical implication with regard to organizational identity processes. It shows that desired behavior is much less a consequence of members' perceived connection and sense of belonging to the organization, an effect which is captured by the impact of identification on desired behavior, and much more a result of a more calculated, strategic assessment on the part of the organizational member. Most works on perceived organizational identity, identification and behavior (Dukerich et al., 2002; Dutton et al., 1994) argue that desired behavior is a consequence of the degree to which members identify with their organization. In other words, the argument is that employees display desired behavior because they feel a connection with the organization, recognize an overlap between who they are and what their organization stands for, and that it is this strong bond that makes them willing to "go the extra mile". The prominence of agreement with the projected organizational identity suggests a less noble motivation however. It suggests that behavior, especially because it forms the basic input for evaluating organizational employees, is particularly influenced by an agreement with the projected organizational identity, which captures management's identity claims. This finding suggest that we should make more room in our theoretical approach of organizational identity processes, for more strategic and rational considerations on the part of organizational members, in addition to the social psychological mechanisms.

8.2.3   Desired Organizational Identity and Identification

An interesting finding of study three is that despite the dominant effect of the agreement with the desired organizational identity on identification, it has no effect at all on desired behavior. Taken together with the previous finding, it seems as if projected organizational identity and desired organizational identity affect identification and behavior differently. Agreement with the desired identity is specifically linked to identification, while only the agreement with the projected identity affects behavior directly. Desired organizational identity, which captures the ideal future organizational identity, consequently consists of the most attractive and self-enhancing characteristics, that management sees fit for the organization. It represents the most desired characteristics for the organization, a possible future self (Markus & Nurius, 1986) that members should strive for. At the same time, a common understanding of identification is that it serves an individual's need for self-enhancement (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Dutton et al., 1994). An individual's need for self-enhancement, also referred to as the motive for self-esteem, refers to an innate need of individuals to regard themselves in a positive light and to continuously maintain and enhance that positive sense of self (e.g. Gecas, 1982). An explanation for this relationship could be that because the desired organizational identity captures the most attractive identity

characteristics, it becomes an "easy target" for identification. Members are easily attracted to this identity and since members identify to enhance their self-esteem, it is not surprising that agreement with this attractive identity type becomes a significant driver of members' identification. Also, it might be easier for an individual to identify with an ideal, not yet attained, desired identity, whereas it might be more difficult to actually behave according to this identity. Therefore, even though members would agree with this desired organizational identity, this agreement would not translate directly into desired behavior. Corley and Gioia (2004: 198) for example, illustrate that members required "modeling behaviors" from management when it came to the desired organizational identity, to illustrate what this desired organizational identity meant for their daily organizational lives. It is therefore easier for desired organizational identity to affect identification rather than behavior, since the latter requires much greater effort and understanding from members. The marginal impact of the attractiveness of perceived organizational identity compared to that of desired organizational identity on organizational identification seems to suggest that organizational members are particularly motivated to identify with their organization based on where it wants to go, rather than on where it currently is. It seems that members do not necessarily identify with a reality, but with an ideal, desired future. To understand the entire palette of identity processes, it seems important that we include a temporal or a current-ideal element. Several studies (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Gioia & Thomas, 1996) have already shown the significance of desired future identity during organizational change processes. My finding, that explicitly links desired organizational identity to organizational identification, illustrates why. During change processes, it is important that organizational members are not estranged from the organization (that they used to know). Members' identification with this desired future organizational identity enables change to take place, while they are able to maintain a connection to their organization.

8.2.4   *Identity and Perceived External Prestige as Substitutes*

When it comes to our understanding of the relationship between organizational identity and perceived external prestige an interesting finding is that identity and perceived external prestige can function as each other's substitutes. In study three, perceived external prestige negatively moderates the relationships between the identity types and identification. The relationship between the different identity types and identification is stronger for organizations who have low prestige, and weaker for organizations with high prestige. This finding, which has never been tested or discussed in previous works (for an exception, cf: Carroll & Van Riel, 2001; for an exception, cf: Smidts et al., 2001), requires a different approach to the relationship between identity and perceived external prestige. In previous works, scholars argue for and test the separate effects of identity and perceived external prestige, from the theoretical understanding that both variables separately affect members' attitudes and behavior. Based on my empirical findings however, it seems that the effects of identity and perceived external prestige, rather than "and" are more based on "or", meaning that individuals tend to draw upon one or the other, depending on which image is more attractive. This is in line with the theories on members' need for self-enhancement, which implies that individuals look for opportunities to enhance their own self-concepts. If

identity is not able to fulfill this need, perceived external prestige becomes a more significant driver and vice-versa.

8.3   Conditions Significance Identity Types

With the comparison of the effect of the different identity types in two organizational settings, it is evident that different relationship patterns between identity, image, identification and behavior can emerge, given different contexts. Of interest then, is the following, final sub-question:

3. *What are the conditions that cause either inductive or deductive organizational identity types to become the main driver of organizational members' organizational identification and desired behavior?*

Both organizations represent two different settings that differ on three aspects. First, the construction company Concrete deals with a collective and immediate external threat in the form of a negative organizational image due to a fraud scandal, whereas the European bank Pecunia deals with an internal challenge in the form of an extensive organization-wide change process that affects all parts of the organization, but does not represent an immediate threat. Second, in line with Corley and Gioia (2004), I argue that each of my focal companies faces one of their identity change triggers. Concrete is dealing with a construed external image discrepancy, where organizational members perceive an inconsistency between their positive perceptions of the organization and the negative perceptions that they believe external stakeholders have of the organization. Pecunia, on the other hand, is dealing with a temporal identity discrepancy, where organizational members recognize a mismatch between how they currently regard their organization, and what management claims that the organization should become in the future. Third, for Concrete, the focus of the identity types lies on the private-public dimension, where I specifically compare the private perceived organizational identity with the more public projected organizational identity. For Pecunia, in addition to the private-public dimension, I also include the current-future dimension by comparing the current, perceived organizational identity with the future desired organizational identity as well.

The results of both studies show two interesting differences. First, for study two, in which the company deals with a construed external image discrepancy, the agreement with the projected organizational identity has a significantly stronger impact on identification than the attractiveness of perceived organizational identity. In study three, where the organization deals with a temporal identity discrepancy in the form of a desired future identity, this significant difference between projected and perceived identity is no longer present; now it is the agreement with the desired organizational identity that has a significantly stronger impact on identification, compared to perceived identity. In study two, I argue that the significance of projected organizational identity is the result of the collective external threat. As I maintain in chapter five, because the organization is threatened as a collective, internal cohesion increases as members feel that they are part of one group, i.e. their threatened and stigmatized organization (e.g. Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Stein, 1976). As a result, members coalesce around the identity type that represents what the organization collectively stands for, the projected organizational

identity. Consequently, members' own shared organizational identity perceptions, which are captured by the perceived organizational identity, become less significant. This pattern changes in study three, as the desired organizational identity becomes the most significant driver, over projected and perceived organizational identity of organizational identification. It seems that, as my focal company of study three, Pecunia, is not under a collective threat, the identity type that symbolizes this collective sense of self, the projected organizational identity, becomes less significant. However, this does not mean that the perceived organizational identity becomes the main driver of identification. Since this organization finds itself in the midst of extensive change processes, maybe as a way of maintaining a connection with the organization at a time when all these different changes are taking place, members rely less on identity types that capture the current organization. Organizational members refer instead to an identity type that captures "where the organization is going", i.e. the desired future organizational identity.

Another distinction concerns the effect of perceived external prestige. In study three at Pecunia, the relationships of perceived, projected and desired organizational identity on identification are all negatively moderated by perceived external prestige, which also has a direct effect on organizational identification. If Pecunia's perceived external prestige is low, members will refer to all three identity types as a source for identification. At Concrete however, where members close ranks around the collective projected organizational identity, perceived external prestige does not moderate the relationships between the organizational identity types and identification and has no significant direct effect on organizational identification either. This means, that for Concrete, which is dealing with a negative image, members do not consider their perceived external prestige, the collective projected organizational identity is their main identification target, regardless of their perceived external prestige. An effect with underscores the "closing ranks"-effect even more, as it implies that members, at least temporarily, stick to their collectively claimed organizational identity, no matter what. This difference between both studies might imply that there are limits to which identity and image act as substitutes. In a situation where an organization's external image is under threat and at a particularly low point, organizational members might decide to disregard these external images. The fact that the employees at Concrete stick with their organization and turn to the collective projected organizational identity as the main driver of their organizational identification and desired behavior might also be a sign that they believe the negative image of Concrete is unfounded and unreasonable. An implication that perceived external prestige only functions as a moderator when organizational members believe this external perception to be valid.

Taken together, it does seem that different contexts elicit different relationship patterns. Projected organizational identity seems to be particularly important when members want to emphasize the collectiveness of their organization; which is particularly relevant when the organization is threatened as a collective. When their collective organization is salient, the identity type that represents this collective organization mainly drives members' identification, and their own organizational identity perceptions become much less important. During change processes, members rely less on current descriptions of who the organization is, whether this concerns their own perceptions (perceived organizational identity) or

management's claims of who the organization currently is (projected organizational identity). Instead, members rely most on a desired future identity that captures where the organization is headed. The attractiveness of the perceived organizational identity was the least important driver of identification in both studies. Although I cannot state this with certainty, it seems that the attractiveness of members' own organizational identity perceptions will be particularly relevant when the intra-organizational groups are more important to an organizational member than the collective organization. In neither of my two organizations, even though informants recognized multiple identities at Pecunia, was there an occurrence of intra-organizational conflict; members identified with the collective organization.

8.4   Managerial Implications

The role of management is particularly evident in the deductive processes. Management is in the position to set an overall identity framework, through the means of the projected and desired organizational identity, from which organizational members can deduce their organizational identity. With my quantitative studies, I have shown that these deductive identity types are important benchmarks against which organizational members compare their own organizational identity perceptions. On the other hand, with my qualitative study, I illustrate the significant role of inductive processes as well. For organizational members, the social demographic composition of their intra-organizational subgroup forms a basis from which they induce organizational identity characteristics. Taken together, management should on the one hand be more aware of the inductive processes that influence organizational members in their sensemaking about the organizational identity, while at the same time understand the impact and the power that management has in setting the overall, structural identity framework, from which members deduce their organizational identity perceptions.

8.4.1   The Role of Inductive Processes: Social Demographics

The significant role of social demographics implies that management should pay increased attention to the potential inductive processes that affect how members make sense of organizational identity. Current managerial practices as well as organizational literature (e.g. Cheney & Christensen, 2000) tends to emphasize the need for convergent identity perceptions. The common assumption is that in order to create a strong cohesive organization, it is vital that management creates and communicates a collective sense of self, in terms of a collective, common identity, that members identify with. This is an example of a typical deductive, top-down process. My finding, that members base their organizational identity inferences for a large part on the perceived similarity or difference on social demographics, signal that there is another, potentially overlooked and more inductive dimension that influences the degree to which members feel that their organization consists of a single, collective identity or of multiple identities. From a managerial perspective, in addition to creating a collective sense of self, based on common identity characteristics, it is just as important to take care of the bottom-up processes and strengthen the intra-organizational ties. This is particularly important when groups have a specific social demographic make-up (e.g. a group of vice-presidents, which all consists of middle-aged men, versus a group of

marketing managers, which consists of young women). Creating a collective sense of self depends therefore on two processes that need to go hand in hand. The conventional approach has been top-down, where management engages in sensegiving practices (Pratt, 2000) in an attempt to get different organizational groups to identify with a common, collective organizational identity. At the same time however, management needs to pay attention to the bottom-up processes; draw-up the potential subgroups that make-up the organization and attempt to break down existing social-demographic faultlines.

Several works (e.g. McPherson et al., 2001; Nelson, 1989) illustrate the effect of social demographics on the formation of intra-organizational social networks. The formation of intra-organizational social networks affects perceptions of organizational conflict (Labianca, Brass, & Gray, 1998), even more so when there is a perceived inequality between organizational subgroups in terms of status and power (Lau & Murnighan, 1998; Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 1998). Members of less powerful groups are less likely to voice their opinion, and if they do, are more likely to receive censorship than members from powerful groups are. My qualitative study at Pecunia vividly illustrates how ingrained and extreme stereotypical perceptions of different subgroups can be. Perceptions of unfair treatment or favoritism of organizational subgroups not only fuels perceived differences between intra-organizational subgroups, but by means of induction, this also affects the perceptions that members have of their collective organization and its identity. McPherson and his colleagues (2001: 428) refer to "value homophily". The authors argue that perceived similarity in terms of values, attitudes and beliefs, often stems from a misperception of how in-group members think. Individuals tend to assume that others, who are similar to them in social-demographical terms, also share their beliefs and perceptions. This is an important link between social-demographics and organizational identity perceptions, as members may base perceptions of multiple organizational identities on social-demographic distinctions.

8.4.2 *The Role of Deductive Processes: Managerial Sensegiving*

A fundamental question in understanding the sensemaking processes of organizational identity is that of how identity becomes shared among members (Pratt, 2003). Identity related information is dispersed throughout an organization through symbolism, which involves all forms of rhetoric, language and artifacts that an organization uses to convey an identity, and the communicative channels, which refer to the mode by which the symbols are transmitted, which can be via email, the intranet, meetings, face-to-face etc. Pratt (2003) argues that we have a limited understanding of how a collective identity is maintained. Identity creation starts with the founders of an organization (Albert & Whetten, 1985), as these are in the position to imprint the organization with their understanding of who the organization is or should become. It is common for management to engage in sensegiving practices through rhetorical and symbolic activities (Pfeffer, 1981; Pratt, 2000). In the field of organizational identity, this influence of managerial sensegiving is only acknowledged implicitly; the general understanding is that members' own organizational identity perceptions are what matter most, and that the claimed and communicated organizational identity by management represents a mere idealized version of organizational identity.

Only, the significance of projected and desired organizational identity for identification and behavior signifies that members are not indifferent toward these sensegiving practices by management. These projected and desired organizational identities serve as important sensemaking frameworks for members. The fact that both identity types, which refer to identities that capture management's perspective, are such important drivers of identification and behavior implies that these crucial organizational processes are potentially more manageable than generally assumed. Projected organizational identity refers to the identity that is claimed and communicated internally as well as externally by the organization's management and is therefore not necessarily representative of members' perception of the organization. Desired organizational identity refers to the vision that management has of who the organization should be in the future, it captures the organizational identity, as management would like it to be. It seems that these management-oriented identity types have a very important role for members' sensemaking processes when it comes to their own organizational identity perceptions. Members use these identity types as a framework, based on which they determine the degree of fit between their own perceptions and management vision of the organization. Because it is especially this "agreement with" both identity types that drives identification and behavior, it is vital that organizational members endorse the sensegiving attempts by management. If members do not agree with the identity that is claimed and communicated by management, or with the identity, that management envisions for the organizations, the effects on identification and behavior can be detrimental. All in all, my results call attention to the magnitude of management's sensegiving practices (Corley & Gioia, 2004; Pratt, 2000) in an organizational identity context.

Impression Management. Initially, social psychologists had a strong focus on intrapsychic processes, where they were particularly interested in individual cognition and motivation (Tetlock & Manstead, 1985; Tice, 1992). For the main part, organizational identity scholars have taken the same approach, where organizational identity processes were mainly studied and regarded as intrapersonal processes where organizational identity is defined as the perceptions that individual members have of who their organization is and what it stands for and how their perceptions influence their identification and behavior (Dutton et al., 1994). Impression management, also referred to as self-presentation, occurs when individuals engage in behavioral strategies with the purpose of establishing desired images or identities (Tetlock & Manstead, 1985). One of the understandings of impression management, is that in addition to affecting how others evaluate and perceive the individual, impression management tactics affect one's own sense of self as well (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). Generally, scholars identify two motives for self-presentation: to influence others' behavior and as a way to construct one's public identity (Baumeister & Tice, 1986). Impression management can indirectly affect one's own identity creation, since who we are and how we define ourselves is to a great extent derived from how others see us (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934). Tice (1992) argues that public behavior potentially affects one's private identity perceptions; an individual knows that his or her public behavior is observable by others and will be linked to his or her identity. Scholars find that individuals, who display specific counter-attitudinal

behavior in public, have a greater tendency to subsequently incorporate this behavior into their self-concepts than individuals who displayed this behavior privately (Baumeister & Tice, 1984; Fazio, Effrein, & Falender, 1981). Individuals become committed to their publicly exhibited behavior and will therefore express attitudes that are in line with their public behavior or claims (Ungar, 1980). Even though these theories refer to impression management tactics at the individual level, I argue that impression management occurs at the organizational level as well. I argue in this dissertation, and the results seem to underwrite this, that by mainly focusing on the role of the individual member, we loose sight of an important factor in organizational identity processes, which involves the identity claims made by the dominant coalition. These claims, by means of the projected and desired organizational identity, seem to have a significant impact on the way in which members make sense of their organization and their identification with and behavior within the organization.

Need to Belong. From a social psychological perspective, theories on the identity motive of "belonging" provide insight into why members use these identity types as sensemaking input and why sensegiving practices by management are important. Individuals have an innate need to belong to social groups (Haslam, 2001: 1). Scholars argue that this need to belong is a fundamental human motivation (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Haslam, 2001) where individuals seek enduring interpersonal relationships that are characterized by regular, affective interactions that occur in a stable and enduring environment. It is important that management realizes that their sensegiving efforts are more than just sources of information for organizational members. For organizational members these different forms of sensegiving give meaning to the organization as a collective, as an entity that members feel they belong to. It is by means of these sensegiving processes that management creates and maintains the collective social group, i.e. the organization. It establishes the ideal environment in which members can maintain social relationships, and be part and identify with a social entity that enables organizational members to extend their own individual self-concepts.

8.4.3   The Role of Communication in Inductive and Deductive Processes

Postmes (2003) argues that organizational communication occupies a central position for both the inductive and deductive processes of organizational identity formation. He argues that communication is the answer to the question of "*how*" social identity and self-categorization processes actually work (Postmes, 2003: 89). Communication is not only crucial in establishing a connection between individual employees and the collective organization, but it is also through communication that the collective organization can be made salient (by for example highlighting the potential threat of a competitor). Communication is a powerful tool in the formation of identity processes, because it enables the dominant coalition to prescribe who the organization is and what it stands for (Postmes, Tanis, & de Wit, 2001). According to Postmes (2003) it is especially the strategic communication initiatives by an organization's top management that drive identification, because especially these corporate communication processes set the collective organization apart from its competitors, create this collective sense of self for employees and infuse employees with an understanding that the collective organization

matters. He argues that communication by an organization's top management is also a form of "social validation" (Postmes, 2003: 91). It is through communication that a shared sense of the norms, values, practices, in other words of organizational reality (Festinger, 1950), is established. Organizational members attach more value to this shared sense of self, if it comes from a source they trust and regard as legitimate. Hence, sensegiving practices, in the form of managerial communication, have an important function in identity processes.

8.5   Limitations

Inevitably, I need to set my research against several limitations, which constrain the implications of my findings. Two limitations refer to my qualitative study. First, I conducted a qualitative study in a single organization, which limits the extent to which I can extrapolate my findings to organizations in general. In addition, in my particular organization, due to its history and the recent changes, its demographic faultlines tended to correlate rather strongly, which might have made the demographic characteristics more salient than would be the case for organizations in general. Second, I was not able to take the organizational context explicitly into account. Since self-categorization processes can differ according to the context in which these processes take place, explicit consideration of the context might have enabled me to provide a more in-depth explanation of my findings. Taking the specific context of each of these different intra-organizational groups into account, might have provided me with additional insight into why certain social demographics were a relevant basis for categorization processes. However, for this particular study this limitation might be attenuated by the fact that the extensive high profile advertising campaigns were recognizable by all employees, which gives me some leeway in assuming that the context was to a great extent similar for all informants.

A main limitation that regards my quantitative studies is that I have not been able to include a control organization. Including a control organization, where no specific threat or particular changes were taking place, would have allowed me to test how my assumptions would hold in an organization where no particular circumstances are present. Comparably, it would have been ideal if I could have conducted the surveys at two separate measurement moments in each of my focal organizations. This would have allowed me to look at the relationships between the different variables in the "before and after" circumstances. Unfortunately, due to time and practical constraints, this was not an option. This limitation however, does not alter the fact that for organizations that find themselves in times of uncertainty or challenge, the attractiveness of the perceived organizational identity is a less significant driver of identification and behavior. Since extant works have never incorporated the additional identity types of projected and desired identity, future research is needed to illustrate whether agreement with these two identity types is always a more significant driver or only in particular conditions.

With regard to both of my surveys, I have not been able to test for the effect of non-response. Given however, that the samples for both Concrete and Pecunia were representative of the organization population, I believe that the non-response effect is minimal to negligible. There is also a possibility of common method bias (Campbell & Fiske, 1959; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003) in terms

of self-report bias, since my respondents provide the measure of both my independent and dependent variables, and common method variance, since all my variables are measured in a single survey. I attempted to minimize this potential by ensuring anonymity of the results, ensuring respondents that there is no "right" answer and that it is their personal opinion that counts. I tried to reduce self-report bias by asking the respondents to evaluate the desired behavior of their colleagues, rather than their own desired behavior; also to limit socially desirable answers. In addition, for my study at Pecunia, the survey was conducted online, where respondents were unable to view the entire set of questions, independent en dependent variables were kept separate and respondents could only continue if the entire set of questions was completed.

8.6   Future Research

I identify three main paths for future research and several related research ramifications. Overall, three aspects of our approach to organizational identity are in need for further study: a conceptualization of organizational identity as a relational concept, a more explicit consideration of the inductive and deductive processes that affect organizational identity and the link between social demographics, social networks and organizational identity processes. The field of organizational identity would also benefit from an explicit consideration of the organizational context; whether selective or collective threats are present. In addition, two aspects are a central part of our common organizational identity framework: the three self-definitional principles and organizational identification. We need empirical studies to enhance our understanding of the meaning that these self-definitional principles and identification have for organizational members, the role that they play in organizational identity processes and how they interact.

Identity as a Relational Concept

My findings emphasize that we need to take a more explicit approach when it comes to treating organizational identity as a relational concepts. Despite the fact that the relational and comparative aspect is central to our conceptualization of organizational identity (Pratt, 2003), few scholars actually operationalize organizational identity in relational terms. My findings imply that organizational members' perceived congruence or fit between their inductive perceived organizational identity and the deductively determine projected and desired organizational identity types, are significantly more important drivers of their organizational identification and desired behavior, than the attractiveness of perceived organizational identity alone. It would be interesting to conduct more grounded work into why members make these comparisons, whether additional identity types serve as a benchmarks and why the attractiveness of perceived organizational identity as a standalone concept is such a marginal driver of attitudes and behavior. Quantitative studies that compare the significance of these different identity types should be conducted to enhance our understanding of the relative significance of these identity types and to determine the general mechanisms and relationships at work in this expanded organizational identity framework.

Inductive and Deductive Processes of Identity Formation

In addition to the work by Ravasi and Schultz (2005) we need more work that explicitly incorporates and compares the inductive and deductive processes that affect organizational identity formation and members' organizational identity sensemaking processes. On the inductive side, our understanding of how organizational members make sense of organizational identity would gain a lot from explicitly incorporating the demographic composition of an organization and its subgroups. As I have shown in chapter four, social demographics are an important determinant of members' inductive identity perceptions and their sensemaking of multiple organizational identities. Consequently, when analyzing perceived organizational identity, in addition to determining the organizational identity perceptions, it might be insightful to take account of the individual who holds these perceptions and his or her social demographic identity within the organizational context. On the deductive side, organizational identity scholars seldom incorporate the managerial sensegiving process into their work. Scholars tend to have a sole focus on the perceptions of organizational members, without explicitly acknowledging the omnipresence of projected and desired organizational identity claims in contemporary organizations.

From a measurement perspective, it might be interesting to take a closer look at the distinction between a reflective and formative approach (MacKenzie et al., 2005) to organizational identity. If one takes an inductive approach to organizational identity, a formative approach, where the assumption is that all the different identity items are necessary to capture the organizational identity construct, is more suitable. Perceived organizational identity represents the shared organizational identity perceptions of different organizational members; these different perceptions taken together make up the perceived organizational identity, rather than the other way around, where the assumption would be that the underlying dimension of perceived organizational identity causes these identity perceptions. Reflective measures are more appropriate to capture the deductive organizational identity types such as desired and projected organizational identity, since these identity types originate from one source, top management's main vision, which is fundamental to these collective identity types. It would be interesting if future empirical studies on organizational identity, would consider these different measurement approaches.

Social Networks and Organizational Identity

The relevance of social demographics for the formation of intra-organizational subgroups suggests that a stronger research link is necessary between organizational identity processes and social networks. A social network consists of actors and the relationships that connect them (Brass, Butterfield, & Skaggs, 1998). Pratt (2000) for example, emphasizes the significance of the relationships between the organizational members for successful sensemaking practices. One extreme example is found in his study on the sensemaking practices employed by Amway, a network marketing organization, to influence members' organizational identification. Strong personal relationships between Amway mentors and protégés are crucial for successful sensegiving practices, and members become increasingly isolated from non-Amway or anti-Amway individuals or groups and only interact with actors within their Amway

network. For an appropriate study of social phenomenon, such as perceived multiple organizational identities, it is necessary to include the relationship among the social actors involved (Brass et al., 1998). Social network analysis (Brass et al., 1998) is a tool to represent how organizational actors are embedded within a network of social relationships and is defined as a set of actors and their underlying relationships (or lack of). A distinction is made between strong and weak ties based on the amount of time dedicated to the relationship, the reciprocity and emotional intensity that characterize the relationship and the extent to which both actors mutually confide in each other (Granovetter, 1973). According to Burt (1992: 16), stronger social ties are found between actors who share similar demographic characteristics such as education, age and occupation. An important aspect of social networks that influence multiple organizational identities is the density (Brass et al., 1998) of a network, the percentage of ties compared to the total number of possible ties between actors. Future research should take a closer look at the formation of social networks and the effect this has on organizational identity formation and perceptions of multiple organizational identities. By specifically linking our conceptualization of multiple organizational identities, in terms of abstract characteristics, to the actual organizational groups, their composition and their relationships with other intra-organizational subgroups, might provide us with additional insight into inductive identity formation processes.

Effect of Collective versus Selective Threats

An interesting route for potential research would be to incorporate organizations facing different threatening issues, where one distinguishes between threats that affect the entire organization and threats that only affect specific groups within the organization. Considering that several identity scholars (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Dutton et al., 1994; Pratt, 2003) emphasize that organizational identity remains dormant until a threatening issue evokes its salience, it is surprising that so few scholars incorporate how threatening issues affect perceived organizational identity. The nature of the issues facing the organization should be explicitly taken into account and their effect on the formation and salience of perceived organizational identity and multiple identities analyzed. In line with this, it will be interesting to conduct more research in organizational situations where no threat or specific issue is present, where the organization finds itself in a period of relative stability. If organizational identity is dormant during stable periods, what then is its role for organizational members' sensemaking and action? This might be a small step in contributing to what Pratt (2003) refers to as one of the main debates in identity theory, the issue of whether or not perceived organizational identity is always present in an organization or whether it only comes into being during times of change and threat.

Self-definitional Principles

We also need further research in which scholars elaborate on the three definitional principles. How do members experience them, what is their relative importance and how do they interact? Self-continuity is generally treated as the dominant principle during change processes (Ellemers, 2003; Fiol, 2002), but few studies (Elsbach & Kramer, 1996) have illustrated when and how one principle prevails over the other two. It will be interesting to see if the principles alternate in importance according to

different change triggers or different situations. Will members primarily strive to preserve their organizational identity, or are they willing to change their perceptions if this means more prestige and distinction? As the substitutive nature between identity and perceived external prestige suggests, members are maybe more opportunistic than generally assumed, when it comes to satisfying their self-enhancement needs. We need additional work that takes a closer look at the boundary conditions of these substitutive effects. Is perceived external prestige always a satisfactorily substitute for a lower attractiveness of perceived organizational identity or a lesser fit between different identity types, or are there limits to this exchange?

Additionally, the organizational context is a crucial factor in an identity change process. Future research should therefore incorporate the influence of the organizational context. Social groups differ in their relative salience depending on the social context (Ellemers et al., 2002; Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997), subsequently affecting which social identity drives members' behavior and attitudes. This has an effect on the direction of members' change effort. It would be interesting to analyze how the organizational context influences the effect of organizational identification on the direction of change. In addition, from a managerial perspective, it would be interesting to analyze how malleable organizational identity change is. Would manipulation of the social context (e.g. making the collective organization salient by focusing on an external competitor) moderate the effectiveness of organizational identity change? Furthermore, can manipulation of a change trigger elicit change for example by intentionally focusing on an unwanted social referent?

Interaction Change Triggers and Identification

An empirical test of the conceptual framework presented in chapter seven, can provide valuable insight into the relative importance of the different effects of the three self-definitional principles in terms of organizational identity change. For example, if I compare the effects of the three definitional principles, an empirical test might reveal which of the three principles represents the strongest energizer for members to engage in identity change and under which conditions, e.g. the presence of a particular discrepancy. Also, by comparing the moderating effects of the different types of organizational identification, significant differences between these identification types can emerge. For example, one might assume that the effect of disidentification is stronger than the effect of ambivalent identification or even stronger than the effect of identification. By comparing the significance of the effects of the definitional principles and the different identification types on the change effort, a clearer picture emerges of the potential sources of resistance to change.

8.7   Conclusion

In this dissertation, I take a more integrative perspective on the concept of organizational identity and incorporate both the inductive and deductive forces that play a role in identity processes. The goal of this dissertation is twofold. First, I tried to understand the inductive processes by which organizational members make sense of abstract organizational identity perceptions. Second, I tested the significance of perceived organizational identity compared to two other identity types. Where extant work focuses

exclusively on the inductive perceived organizational identity, I explicitly incorporate two additional deductive identity types, projected and desired organizational identity. By placing perceived organizational identity in a broader network of different identity types, we gain insight into why and when specific identity types prevail as drivers of identification and behavior, which offers more nuanced insight into organizational identity processes. Overall, the results of my empirical studies have in common that perceived organizational identity, as a standalone concept is not as dominant and prevalent as generally assumed. Perceived organizational identity has a much stronger connection to social identity, projected and desired organizational identity than extant work would tend to suggest. In studying the inductive processes by which members make sense of perceived organizational identity, it turns out that the social demographic make-up of an organization plays a crucial role. Organizational members make a connection between the social demographic characteristics of their organization's members and their organizational identity perceptions. In addition, where current literature tends to ignore the managerially influenced collective identity types of projected and desired organizational identity, results from my two quantitative studies imply that organizational members do incorporate these collectively determined identity types; perceived organizational identity is used as a benchmark against which these collective identity types are evaluated. These findings are significant for three reasons. First, it is evidence of one of the most basic assumptions with regard to perceived organizational identity, that it is a relational and comparative concept (Pratt, 2003). The intricate link between perceived organizational identity on the one hand, and social identity, projected and desired organizational identity on the other, illustrates that individuals make sense of their perceived organizational identity not in isolation, but in relation to other identities. This finding also has implications for how we conceptualize organizational identity. Where the focal concept in organizational identity works has been the attractiveness of perceived organizational identity, a shift to the concept of congruence or fit between different identity types might expand our understanding of the role of organizational identity for identification and behavior. Second, my findings illustrate the dynamic nature of organizational identity processes. Scholars have argued that organizational identity processes are context dependent, but no structural research has been conducted that provides us with insight into how the relationships might differ. The two different organizational settings are a clear illustration of the emergence of different identity patterns when organizations find themselves in different circumstances. Third, the significance of projected and desired organizational identity for the identification and desired behavior that organizational members exhibit in an organization signify the important role of managerial sensegiving for identity processes. The prevalence of projected and desired organizational identity, identities determined and claimed by an organization's dominant coalition, demonstrates how, when and why the role of management is crucial. Overall, this dissertation sets the concept of organizational identity in a different light, which simultaneously illuminates new pathways for understanding and expanding our theoretical and empirical take on organizational identity.

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APPENDIX A: SURVEY CONCRETE

(Agreement with the Perceived Organizational Identity) To what extent do you agree that these characteristics apply to Concrete?	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Concrete conducts its activities in an environmentally friendly and safe way					
2. Concrete is conscious of its role in society					
3. Concrete has a strong bond with its employees					
4. Concrete is close to the customer					
5. Concrete is active in many different areas in the construction industry					
6. Concrete can realize projects from A to Z					
7. Concrete is an important actor in the construction industry					
8. Concrete is entrepreneurial					
9. Innovation is important to Concrete					
10. Concrete is renewing in its ideas, concepts, products and implementation					
11. Concrete always delivers its work on time					
12. Concrete is honest					
13. Concrete has an open attitude toward everyone					

(Attractiveness of Perceived Organizational Identity) To what extent do you regard these characteristics as attractive (irrespective of whether you believe they apply to Concrete)?	Very Unattractive	Unattractive	Neither unattractive nor attractive	Attractive	Very Attractive
	1	2	3	4	5

1. Environmentally friendly and safe
2. Conscious of role in society
3. Strong bond with employees
4. Close to the customer
5. Active in many different areas in construction
6. Can realize projects from A – Z
7. Important actor in the construction industry
8. Entrepreneurial
9. Innovative
10. Renewing in ideas, concepts, products and implementation
11. On-time delivery
12. Honesty
13. An open attitude

(Agreement with the Projected Organizational Identity) To what extent do you agree that these characteristics apply to Concrete?	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
	1	2	3	4	5

1. Concrete is an all-round contractor
2. Concrete is solid and stable
3. Concrete is innovative
4. Concrete is customer focused
5. Concrete has its feet firmly on the ground
6. Concrete is trustworthy
7. Concrete is professional
8. Concrete is flexible
9. Concrete is a go-getter
10. Concrete is informal
11. Concrete is a good employer
12. Concrete has a pleasant work environment
13. Concrete offers opportunities for self-development
14. Concrete focuses on training and education
15. Concrete consists of a closely-nit group
16. At Concrete there is plenty of useful knowledge at hand
17. Concrete takes the lead in the construction industry

(Organizational Identification) **To what extent do you agree with the following statements?**	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
1. I feel a strong connection to Concrete					
2. I always feel that I belong to Concrete					
3. I am proud to work for Concrete					
4. I am glad to be part of Concrete					

(Perceived External Prestige) **How do you think that the external public thinks about Concrete?**	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Concrete has a good reputation					
2. Overall, customers are satisfied with our products and services					
3. Concrete is considered as a prestigious company to work for					
4. Concrete is considered as one of the best in the industry					

(Organizational Citizenship Behavior) To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Most of my colleagues…	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Will go out of their way to help a colleague with a work-related problem					
2. Will voluntarily offer their help when a new colleague is familiarized with the job					
3. will adjust their work-schedule to enable a colleague to take a day off					
4. Will make an effort at making new colleagues feel at home					
5. Are always understanding and supportive of colleagues, even during difficult times					
6. Never hesitate in giving their honest opinion, regardless of the situation or topic					
7. Motivate colleagues to voice their own opinion					
8. Encourage colleagues to employ new and effective work-procedures					
9. Encourage shy and quiet colleagues to make themselves heard					
10. Regularly offer suggestions to improve the department's functioning					
11. Will not take a day of absence, even when they have a solid reason to do so					
12. Make few mistakes in their work					
13. Execute their work with special care					
14. Always finish their work within the agreed deadline					
15. Defend Concrete when other colleagues criticize it					
16. Defend Concrete when someone of the external public criticizes it					

(Organizational Citizenship Behavior) To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Most of my colleagues…	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
17. Are proud to represent Concrete					
18. Actively promote Concrete's products and services whenever they get the opportunity					

(**Personal Information)**

1. What is your age?

15-19 years

20-25 years

26-35 years

36-45 years

46-55 years

56 years and older

2. What is your functional level?

Higher Management

Middle Management

Staff

Production

3. At which department do you work?

Headquarters

Construction

Real Estate

Infrastructure

Industry and Production

Europe

Personnel Department

Finance

Facilities

Information Technology

Communication

Strategy & Planning

Secretariat & Judicial Affairs

4. How long have you been working for Concrete?

Shorter than 1 year

1-5 years

6-10 years

Longer than 10 years

APPENDIX B: SURVEY PECUNIA

(Agreement with the Desired Organizational Identity) To what extent do you agree that the following characteristics are desirable for Pecunia?	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
1. A commercially driven organization					
2. All about numbers					
3. Getting things done quickly					
4. Being an expert					
5. Young at heart					
6. A "just do it" mentality					
7. Continuous change					
8. Having proud employees					
9. Keeping things simple					
10. Being close to the customer					
11. "Sticking to the bargain"					
12. Service driven					
13. Satisfied employees					
14. Involved employees					
15. Plenty of opportunities for employees to develop themselves					

(Agreement with the Projected Organizational Identity) To what extent do you agree that these characteristics apply to Pecunia?	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
	1	2	3	4	5

1. Pecunia's products are suited for the self-reliant customer
2. Customers who are self-reliant are well-served by Pecunia
3. At Pecunia employees do not stand above the customer; they work together with the customer
4. Our clients are young at heart
5. Pecunia is de ideal bank to take care of your finances from home
6. As a customer you can fully trust that Pecunia will take good care of your finances
7. At Pecunia, customer can conduct their financial activities in a safe and secure environment
8. Pecunia is always honest with her customers
9. Pecunia communicates straightforward
10. Pecunia communicates transparently
11. At Pecunia customers get value for their money
12. Pecunia is accessible for the customer
13. Pecunia is innovative
14. Pecunia works with the state of the art
15. At Pecunia we abide by the rules, not because we have to, but because we want to
16. At Pecunia we always conduct our business in an honest and fair manner
17. At Pecunia we are pro-active when it comes to abiding the rules; there is no need for external parties do not need to remind us
18. Pecunia is honest and open to the customer

(Agreement with the Projected Organizational Identity) To what extent do you agree that these characteristics apply to Pecunia?	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
about the risks of our products					
19. Pecunia always provides transparent and complete information on which customers can make their own decisions					
20. At Pecunia customer satisfaction is a top priority					
21. At Pecunia our service revolves around attention, speed, simplicity and accuracy					
22. At Pecunia we strive for structural, profitable growth					
23. At Pecunia we aim at a stronger sales force					
24. At Pecunia we will do everything to make sure that are core processes run smoothly					
25. At Pecunia we will do everything to enhance the quality and lower the costs					
26. At Pecunia we try to work as efficiently as possible					
27. At Pecunia the customer is central					
28. Pecunia makes things easy for the customer					
29. Pecunia keeps her promises					
30. Pecunia treats me fairly					

(Agreement with the Perceived Organizational Identity) To what extent do you agree that these characteristics apply to Pecunia?	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
	1	2	3	4	5

1. Pecunia is good at mass production of simple products
2. At Pecunia you have job security
3. Employees often stay with Pecunia because of the attractive secondary benefits
4. At Pecunia procedures are followed in detail
5. At Pecunia, ambitious managers get the chance to prove themselves
6. At Pecunia maximizing profit has the highest priority
7. Pecunia is a dynamic company
8. At Pecunia you get a lot of responsibility
9. At Pecunia you have the freedom to develop your own ideas
10. Pecunia is arrogant
11. At Pecunia you have to put yourself out there and be visible in order to get ahead
12. At Pecunia nepotism plays a big role in your career
13. At Pecunia you have good internal career opportunities
14. Pecunia suffers from a generation gap; there is a big difference between the younger and the older employees
15. Pecunia has a complex structure, which makes it difficult to see where the responsibilities lie
16. At Pecunia you often have to work together with departments that have conflicting interests
17. It is good for your career at the mother

(Agreement with the Perceived Organizational Identity) To what extent do you agree that these characteristics apply to Pecunia?	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
company, to have worked at Pecunia					
18. Important strategic decisions are made by the mother company and not by Pecunia					
19. It is important for Pecunia to be part of the mother company					
20. It is important that we keep the Pecunia brand					
21. Adding "part of the mother company" in our corporate communication is of added value to Pecunia					
22. At Pecunia we say "act as normal as possible"					
23. At Pecunia we work very hard					
24. Pecunia has a flat organizational structure					
25. Pecunia is one of a kind					
26. At Pecunia employees have a tendency to evade their responsibilities					
27. There is a pleasant work atmosphere at Pecunia					
28. Pecunia becomes increasingly individualistic: everyone for him- or herself					
29. At Pecunia we work in teams; you are not supposed to go about on your own					
30. Pecunia has a strong consensus culture; everyone is involved in everything					
31. At Pecunia al your activities are monitored; it is like "big brother is watching you"					
32. It is very important at Pecunia that you meet your personal targets					
33. Pecunia is a sub topper, we are not the best in class					

(Attractiveness of the Perceived Organizational Identity) To what extent do you regard these characteristics as attractive (irrespective of whether you believe they apply to Pecunia)?	Very Unattractive	Unattractive	Neither unattractive nor attractive	Attractive	Very Attractive
	1	2	3	4	5

1. Being good at mass producing simple products
2. Having job security
3. Employees who stay with an organization because of attractive secondary benefits
4. Following procedures in detail
5. Ambitious managers who get the chance to prove themselves
6. Maximizing profit as the highest priority
7. Dynamism in an organization
8. A lot of responsibility
9. The freedom to develop your own ideas
10. Arrogance
11. Having to put yourself out there and be visible in order to get ahead
12. Nepotism being important for your career
13. Good internal career opportunities
14. A big difference between younger and older employees
15. A complex structure
16. Having to work together with departments that have conflicting interests
17. The mentality of acting as normal as possible
18. Working hard
19. A flat organizational structure
20. Being one of a kind
21. Employees who evade their responsibility
22. A pleasant work atmosphere
23. An individualistic mentality: everyone for him- or herself
24. Working in teams where you are not supposed

(Attractiveness of the Perceived Organizational Identity) To what extent do you regard these characteristics as attractive (irrespective of whether you believe they apply to Pecunia)?	Very Unattractive	Unattractive	Neither unattractive nor attractive	Attractive	Very Attractive
to go out on your own					
25. A strong consensus culture where everyone is involved in everything					
26. A strict monitoring of all your activities: "big brother is watching you"					
27. An emphasis on meeting your personal targets					
28. Being a sub topper; not belonging to the best in class					
29. The history of Pecunia as a government-owned institution					
30. Being part of the mother company					
31. "Pecunia" as an autonomous brand					
32. Adding "part of the mother company" to Pecunia's corporate communication					
33. Important strategic decisions being made by the mother company and not Pecunia					

(Organizational Identification) **To what extent do you agree with the following statements?**	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
1. I feel a strong connection to Pecunia					
2. I always feel that I belong to Pecunia					
3. I am proud to work for Pecunia					
4. I feel that I am acknowledged at Pecunia					
5. I am glad to be part of Pecunia					

(Perceived External Prestige) **How do you think that the external public thinks about Pecunia?**	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Pecunia has a good reputation					
2. Overall, customers are satisfied with our products and services					
3. Pecunia is considered as a prestigious company to work for					
4. Pecunia is considered as one of the best in the industry					

(Desired Organizational Behavior) To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Most of my colleagues…	Completely Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Completely Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
1. really do their best to provide honest and sound advice to our customers					
2. make sure that our customers can conduct their financial activities in a safe and secure environment					
3. strive in their job to make sure that our customer is able to take care of their finances on their own as much as possible					
4. do everything they can to make sure that our customers get value for their money					
5. always do their utmost best to make sure that our products are understandable and accessible for clients					
6. are continuously looking for new ways to improve Pecunia's products and services					

(Personal Information)

1. What is your age?	< 19 years 20-25 years 26-35 years 36- 45 years 46-55 years 56 years and older
2. What is your highest level of education?	LBO/MBO MAVO/HAVO/VWO HBO University Other:
3. What is your functional level?	(Senior) employee Team leader/unit-manager Manager Department head/Director Other:
4. At which department do you work?	Communication Intermediary Business Internet Retail Offices Mail Segment-marketing Pecunia Advice Product Management Call center 1 Call center 2 Call center 3 Other:
5. How long have you been working for Pecunia?	Shorter than 1 year 1-3 years 4-5 years 6-10 years Longer than 10 years

SAMENVATTING

De identiteit van een organisatie, "wie" de organisatie is of waar deze voor staat, wordt gezien als één van de belangrijkste drijfveren van de attitudes en het gedrag van medewerkers binnen een organisatie. Het begrip organisatie identiteit is gedefinieerd als die kenmerken die centraal staan voor een organisatie, met andere woorden, zonder deze kenmerken zou de organisatie niet meer dezelfde zijn; die distinctief zijn voor een organisatie, waarbij de kenmerken de organisatie duidelijk onderscheiden van andere organisaties; en die voor een langdurige periode onderdeel uitmaken van de organisatie.

Zowel theoretische als empirische werken hebben het belang van organisatie identiteit voor organisatieprocessen beargumenteerd en aangetoond. Typerend voor deze werken is dat het concept organisatie identiteit wordt benaderd vanuit twee verschillende invalshoeken, inductief of deductief. Bij een inductieve benadering gaat men er vanuit dat de identiteit van een organisatie "bottom-up" wordt gevormd; door sociale interactieprocessen bouwen medewerkers aan een collectief beeld van "de" organisatie. Dit type organisatie identiteit wordt meestal omschreven als de gepercipieerde organisatie identiteit, waarbij de nadruk ligt op het feit dat dit type organisatie identiteit huist in de *percepties* van medewerkers. Bij een deductieve benadering is de aanname dat de identiteit van een organisatie "top-down" wordt bepaald; de dominante coalitie van een organisatie bepaald en claimt een collectieve organisatie identiteit, welke aan de medewerkers min of meer van bovenaf wordt opgelegd. Deze geïnstitutionaliseerde organisatie identiteit staat dan ook los van de percepties van de individuele medewerkers; het is een collectief identiteitskader waarbinnen medewerkers hun eigen percepties kunnen vormen.

Opvallend is dat ondanks dat identiteitsonderzoekers beide invalshoeken erkennen, de invalshoeken als wederzijds uitsluitend worden behandeld en onderzoekers zich beperken tot slechts de ene of de andere invalshoek. Er zijn vrijwel geen werken waarbij beide invalshoeken simultaan worden meegenomen. Ook is het zo dat het merendeel van de studies naar organisatie identiteit een inductieve benadering aanneemt, wat als gevolg heeft dat het organisatie identiteit vooral wordt gezien en derhalve ook wordt benaderd als een concept dat hoofdzakelijk door de medewerkers wordt bepaald. Hierbij wordt de belangrijke rol die het top management potentieel vervult door een identiteitskader te creëren, grotendeels genegeerd. Identiteitsonderzoekers pleiten ook voor een geïntegreerde aanpak, welke een completer beeld verschaft van zowel de inductieve als de deductieve invloeden op organisatie identiteit.

Binnen dit krachtenveld van inductie en deductie positioneer ik dit proefschrift. Allereerst, om inzicht te verkrijgen in de inductieve processen, breng ik de processen in kaart waarbij medewerkers komen tot hun abstracte identiteitspercepties. Ik doe dit door mij specifiek te richten op de wijze waarop medewerkers bepalen of hun organisatie meervoudige identiteiten heeft, met andere woorden, hoe medewerkers denken dat hun collega's de organisatie percipiëren. Medewerkers kunnen niet weten hoe hun collega's daadwerkelijk over de organisatie denken. Het is daarom juist interessant om te achterhalen middels welke processen medewerkers dan wel tot conclusies komen over de organisatie identiteitspercepties van hun collega's. Ten tweede, om de relatieve impact van inductieve versus

deductieve identiteitstypen in kaart te brengen, incorporeer ik twee deductieve identiteitstypen: de geprojecteerde en de gewenste identiteit. De geprojecteerde identiteit betreft die identiteitskenmerken die door het top management worden geclaimd en gecommuniceerd. De gewenste identiteit omvat de organisatie identiteit zoals het top management dat graag ziet in de toekomst; de ideale identiteit voor de organisatie waar naar moet worden gestreefd. Beide typen identiteit zijn vanuit het management bepaald en opgelegd aan de organisatie en haar medewerkers. In dit proefschrift kijk ik naar het effect van de drie identiteitstypen, gepercipieerde, geprojecteerde en gewenste identiteit, op de organisatie identificatie en het gewenste gedrag van medewerkers, maatstaven voor de mate waarin organisatie identiteit van belang is voor medewerkers. Organisatie identificatie betreft de mate waarin medewerkers door een overlap tussen hun eigen persoonlijke identiteit en de organisatie identiteit, een hechte band vormen met hun werkgever. Het gewenste gedrag omvat de mate waarin medewerkers gedrag vertonen dat de organisatie als geheel ten goede komt, zelfs als dit voor henzelf geen specifieke voordelen oplevert.

De hierbij behorende probleemstelling is als volgt:

Op welke wijze beïnvloedt het raakvlak tussen de inductieve gepercipieerde organisatie identiteit en de deductieve identiteitstypen, de organisatie identificatie en het gewenste gedrag van medewerkers?

Deze probleemstelling heb ik vertaald naar drie subonderzoeksvragen:

1. Wat zijn de inductieve processen waarbij medewerkers de gepercipieerde organisatie identiteit begrijpen?
2. Wat is het relatieve belang van de gepercipieerde, geprojecteerde en gewenste organisatie identiteit voor de organisatie identificatie en het gewenste gedrag van medewerkers?
3. Wat zijn de condities waarbij of de inductieve of de deductieve organisatie identiteitstypen de belangrijkste drijfveer van de organisatie identificatie of het gewenste gedrag van medewerkers worden?

Deze onderzoeksvragen tracht ik te beantwoorden middels drie empirische studies binnen twee organisaties. Om de eerste vraag te beantwoorden verrichtte ik studie 1, kwalitatief onderzoek binnen een financiële instelling met het pseudoniem "Pecunia". Pecunia, een organisatie met ruim 2500 werknemers, bevond zich ten tijde van het onderzoek midden in een langdurig organisatieveranderingsproces waarbij zowel het externe imago als de interne identiteit een, naar eigen zegge, "extreme makeover" kregen. Een uiterst geschikte context voor onderzoek naar meervoudige organisatie identiteiten. Uit dit onderzoek kwam een interessante bevinding naar voren: medewerkers baseerden hun percepties met betrekking tot meervoudige organisatie identiteiten voor een belangrijk deel op sociaaldemografische verschillen tussen medewerkers. Dat wil zeggen, medewerkers bepaalden of Pecunia uit meervoudige identiteiten bestond en wat deze identiteiten dan waren, op basis van sociaaldemografische kenmerken van groepen medewerkers. Een proces van zelf-categorisatie vond plaats, op basis van sociaaldemografische

kenmerken als leeftijd, opleidingsniveau, functieniveau en afdeling om de medewerkers in te delen in verschillende groepen. De identiteitskenmerken die vervolgens aan de groepen werden toegekend, waren vaak ook geassocieerd met de sociaaldemografische samenstelling van de groep, bijvoorbeeld "wij marketeers zijn jong" en zien onze organisatie als "hip, jong en modern". Of "wij hebben een grote groep oudere werknemers…die vooral gericht zijn op veiligheid en zekerheid…in tegenstelling tot de groep hoogopgeleide medewerkers…die veel meer bezig is met innovatie, slimme en nieuwe producten…de jonge generatie houdt zich minder bezig met veiligheid en zekerheid…".

Een gevolg van deze gepercipieerde link tussen demografische kenmerken en identiteitspercepties is dat er een "multiple identity bias" kan ontstaan. Medewerkers kunnen op basis van verschillen in sociaal demografische kenmerken concluderen dat er meervoudige identiteiten zijn, ongeacht de werkelijke percepties van de medewerkers. Andersom kunnen medewerkers concluderen dat er geen sprake is van meervoudige identiteiten omdat er geen substantiële demografische verschillen tussen medewerkers zijn, terwijl medewerkers er misschien in werkelijkheid wel verschillende identiteitspercepties op na houden. De resultaten uit deze studie laten zien dat er een sterke band is, in ieder geval in de ogen van de medewerker, tussen een sociale identiteit gebaseerd op sociaaldemografische kenmerken en de percepties die medewerkers hebben met betrekking tot organisatie identiteit. Deze bevinding is belangrijk, omdat de huidige strategie met betrekking tot het creëren van een collectieve identiteit vooral gericht is op het stroomlijnen van abstracte identiteitspercepties. Dit onderzoek laat echter zien dat een perceptie van meervoudige identiteiten kan blijven bestaan, zolang distinctieve sociaaldemografische groepen binnen de organisatie intact blijven. In het verlengde hiervan impliceren deze resultaten dat het doorbreken van sociaaldemografische scheidslijnen (bijvoorbeeld als het hogere management alleen bestaat uit oudere blanke mannen en accountmanagers alleen uit jonge vrouwen) essentieel kan zijn voor het welslagen van een organisatie (identiteit) veranderingsproces.

Voor het beantwoorden van onderzoeksvraag twee en drie verrichtte ik twee kwantitatieve studies. Studie 2 betreft een kwantitatieve studie bij een bouwbedrijf, met het pseudoniem "Concrete". Concrete is op het moment van onderzoek verwikkeld in het bouwfraude schandaal, hetgeen een collectieve bedreiging vormt voor het imago van het bedrijf. Studie 3, de tweede kwantitatieve studie, vond plaats bij de hiervoor genoemde financiële instelling Pecunia. Deze verschillende contexten maken het mogelijk om de relaties tussen de verschillende identiteitstypen, organisatie identificatie en gewenst gedrag te testen in verschillende situaties, wat licht werpt op de onderliggende mechanismen. In beide studies test ik mijn hypotheses dat de aantrekkelijkheid van de gepercipieerde identiteit en de mate waarin een medewerker het eens is met de geprojecteerde identiteit, een positief effect hebben op organisatie identificatie. Vanwege de sterke connectie tussen identiteit en imago, incorporeer ik ook het potentiële modererende effect van het gepercipieerde externe prestige op de relatie tussen de verschillende identiteitstypen en organisatie identificatie. Gepercipieerde externe prestige betreft de mate waarin medewerkers van mening zijn dat externe stakeholders hun organisatie als prestigieus beschouwen, met andere woorden, de mate waarin medewerkers menen dat hun organisatie een prestigieus extern imago

heeft. Ik beargumenteer dat dit modererende effect negatief is omdat uit eerder identiteitsonderzoek is gebleken dat interne organisatie aspecten zoals interne communicatie of organisatie identiteit, minder belangrijk worden voor medewerkers' identificatie, als een organisatie externe prestige geniet. Vervolgens test ik ook de mate waarin de organisatie identificatie op haar beurt als mediator fungeert tussen de identiteitstypen en gewenst gedrag en beredeneer dat organisatie identificatie een positief effect heeft op gewenst gedrag. In studie 3 neem ik naast de gepercipieerde en geprojecteerde identiteit, tevens mee de mate waarin men het eens is met de gewenste identiteit en kijk naar het effect van dit derde identiteitstype op organisatie identificatie.

Studie 2 en 3 laten een aantal noemenswaardige resultaten zien. Beide studies laten zien dat, in tegenstelling tot de algemene assumptie, de aantrekkelijkheid van de gepercipieerde identiteit niet vanzelfsprekend de belangrijkste drijfveer is van identificatie en geen significant effect heeft op gewenst gedrag. Voor Concrete is de mate waarin medewerkers het eens zijn met de geprojecteerde identiteit significant belangrijker voor hun organisatie identificatie, dan de aantrekkelijkheid van hun eigen organisatie identiteitspercepties. Hier laat ik zien dat een andere assumptie, dat de gepercipieerde identiteit met name belangrijk wordt ten tijde van een crisis of bedreiging, ook niet altijd geldt. Het is niet zozeer de aanwezigheid van een bedreiging die het belang van de gepercipieerde identiteit vergroot, maar of deze bedreiging de organisatie als geheel of slechts specifieke groepen binnen de organisatie treft. Middels deze studie 2 laat ik zien dat in het eerste geval, wanneer een organisatie als geheel wordt bedreigd, medewerkers (in ieder geval tijdelijk) als collectief achter hun organisatie gaan staan. Individuele percepties die medewerkers van hun organisatie hebben worden minder belangrijk, terwijl de geprojecteerde organisatie identiteit, die betrekking heeft op de collectieve organisatie, belangrijker wordt voor de identificatie, voor de connectie tussen medewerkers en bedrijf. Voor Pecunia is vooral de mate waarin medewerkers het eens zijn met de gewenste identiteit een belangrijke drijfveer van hun organisatie identificatie. Waar tijdens een collectieve bedreiging de geprojecteerde identiteit de belangrijkste drijfveer is, is tijdens een organisatieveranderingsproces de mate waarin men de organisatie herkend in de ideale toekomstige identiteit een belangrijk houvast voor medewerkers wat betreft hun identificatie.

Opvallend is ook dat van de drie identiteitstypen, alleen de mate waarin men het eens is met de geprojecteerde identiteit een significant direct effect heeft op gewenst gedrag; een effect dat zelfs groter is dan het effect van identificatie op gewenst gedrag. Een verklaring hiervoor zou kunnen zijn dat zowel geprojecteerde identiteit evenals gewenst gedrag van publieke aard zijn. Vanuit de sociale psychologie wordt beargumenteerd dat individuen die zich op een bepaalde manier aan de buitenwereld presenteren, hun gedrag in lijn brengen met hun zelfpresentatie. Een proces dat ook op organisatieniveau een verklaring kan zijn voor het sterke verband tussen de geprojecteerde identiteit en gewenst gedrag. Een andere verklaring is dat de kenmerken die het meest worden geprojecteerd door top management, niet alleen die kenmerken betreft die het meest worden gewaardeerd door top management, maar ook het meest worden beloond, indien nageleefd. Medewerkers zullen daarom vooral gedrag vertonen dat in het verlengde ligt van de identiteit die geclaimd en geprojecteerd wordt door het management.

Alleen bij Pecunia heeft gepercipieerde externe prestige ook daadwerkelijk een negatief, modererend effect op de relaties tussen de identiteitstypen en organisatie identificatie. Deze resultaten impliceren dat medewerkers, wanneer het hun identificatie drijfveren betreft, opportunistisch zijn ingesteld. Wanneer het bedrijf kampt met een slecht imago (in het geval van het bouwbedrijf Concrete), nemen mensen externe prestige niet mee. Wanneer hun organisatie echter wel een prestigieus imago heeft (zoals bij Pecunia), dan blijken medewerkers daar voldoende aan te hebben en worden de interne organisatie aspecten zoals de verschillende identiteitstypen minder belangrijk voor hun identificatie (of omgekeerd).

Een belangrijke implicatie van de resultaten is dat een andere benadering van het begrip organisatie identiteit meer inzicht kan verschaffen in de rol die het speelt in organisatieprocessen. Het blijkt niet zozeer de aantrekkelijkheid van de gepercipieerde organisatie identiteit "an sich" te zijn die van belang is voor organisatie identificatie en gewenst gedrag, maar veel meer hoe de gepercipieerde identiteit zich verhoud tot de geprojecteerde en tot de gewenste identiteit. Gepercipieerde organisatie identiteit blijkt vooral belangrijk te zijn in relatie tot andere identiteitstypen. Een bevinding welke in het verlengde ligt van het belang dat sociaal psychologen hechten aan "identity congruence". Consistentie tussen de organisatie identiteitspercepties van medewerkers, de organisatie identiteit die het top management claimt en de ideale organisatie identiteit die het top management voor ogen heeft, blijkt fundamenteel voor organisatie identificatie en gewenst gedrag. Hierbij is ook een belangrijke rol voor het management van een organisatie weggelegd. Aangezien de geprojecteerde en de gewenste identiteit, deductieve identiteitstypen zijn en van bovenaf bepaald, zijn organisatie identiteitsprocessen misschien wel meer ontvankelijk voor invloed van het management dan identiteitsonderzoekers voorheen hebben aangenomen.

BIOGRAPHY

Mirdita Elstak was born in Leiden (1975), but moved at the age of four and was raised in Suriname and St. Maarten. In 1993 she returned to the Netherlands to continue her education and enrolled in Business Administration at the Erasmus University Rotterdam. As a student, she was, among other things, secretary of the board of the student association of the Rotterdam School of Management and did internships in Yerevan (Armenia) and New York City. She received her Master's degree in 2001 after which she continued into the graduate program. During her PhD she taught several classes in the undergraduate program of (International) Business Administration at the Rotterdam School of Management and in the Master of Corporate Communication program. She also spent a semester at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and presented her work at international conferences and workshops. Two of her papers at the Annual Academy of Management Meetings were selected for the Best Paper Proceedings, and both were nominated for the Managerial and Organizational Cognition Best Student Paper Award, which she won in 2005. That same year she also belonged to the Best Reviewers of the Managerial and Organizational Cognition division and the Organization and Management Theory division at the Academy of Management. She is an ad-hoc reviewer for the Academy of Management Journal, the British Journal of Management, the Corporate Reputation Review and the Journal of Business Ethics.

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Flipping the Identity Coin

The Comparative Effect of Perceived, Projected and Desired Organizational Identity on Organizational Identification and Desired Behavior

It is especially during times of uncertainty or change in an organization, that a major concern for organizational management is how to elicit and maintain a high degree of identification and desired behavior from their members. Traditionally, scholars have taken a "bottom-up approach" in understanding these organizational processes, where the assumption is that members' own, private perceptions of who their organization is, i.e. their perceived organizational identity, is the core driver of their identification and behavior. I challenge this one-sided approach of perceived organizational identity on the grounds that by focusing solely on members' organizational identity perceptions, we disregard the "top-down approach", i.e. the important role that management plays in setting an overall collective framework that directs and guides members in their identification and behavior.

This dissertation is the first to empirically test the comparative significance of bottom-up and top-down identity types. Through three empirical studies in two different organizational settings, I study this force field between the bottom-up and top-down identity processes. My results indicate that especially during times of threat and organizational change, the role of perceived organizational identity is not nearly as prevalent as generally assumed. It is not only the perceived organizational identity in and of itself that drives identification and behavior, but also the degree to which members believe that their perceived organizational identity is consistent with the top-down determined identity types of projected and desired organizational identity. In doing so, this work takes a more integrative approach to organizational identity processes.

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