Andrea Toarniczky

Socialization within multicultural organization

Corvinus University of Budapest

Institute of Management

Department of Organizational Behaviour

H-1093 Budapest, Fővám tér 8.

Supervisor: Dr. Gyula Bakacsi

© Andrea Toarniczky

Corvinus University of Budapest

Socialization within multicultural organization

Ph.D. Dissertation

Andrea Toarniczky

Budapest

2011

Table of contents

The motivation of the research

The aim of the thesis

Organisational socialisation is a continuously active research field, which has become a popular topic in organizational psychology and management literature, as it is apparent from the several literature reviews published recently (for example: Saks & Ashforth, 1997; Morrison & Callister, 1998; Moreland & Levine, 2000; Cooper-Thomas & Anderson, 2006; Ashforth, Sluss & Harrison, 2007). However, this increasing interest in socialization mostly resulted in quantitative research that "only scratches the surface of the individual's phenomenological experience of the dynamic process of socialization" (Saks and Ashforth, 1997:270). The main reason could be that these studies were written within the framework of classical models of organizational socialization (stage models, socialization tactics, proactivity and learning) and have applied simplified assumptions regarding the nature of time and organizational context, as well as the direction and nature of the interaction between the individual and organization. The assumption was made that time is limited and linear (see stage models), the newcomers enter the organizational community defined by socialization tactics, and that there exists a one way relation between the individual and the organization (in the case of socialization tactics and stage models the direction is top-down, focusing on the organizational influences, but in proactivity and learning models the focus is on the opposite direction and concentrates on the initiatives of the individuals).

A more nuanced understanding of the socialization process was offered by qualitative studies that were written on the following basic assumptions: (1) Socialization is a *cyclic process evolving in real time*, along several turning points (Bullis and Bach, 1989; Bourassa and Ashforth, 1998). (2) Newcomers enter not only the organizational community, defined by the socialization tactics, but they enter as well an *unstructured context, not controlled by the management* (Hart and Miller, 2005), and thus they *enter several (sub)cultures* when join the organization (Bourassa and Ashforth, 1998; Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson, 2005; Ashforth, Sluss and Harrison, 2007). (3) Socialization occurs along the *individual-organization interaction*, where the organization structures and shapes the socialization process, while the individuals integrate, modify or neglect their experiences when entering, and play an active role in their own socialization process, during which they have an influence on the other socialization actors (and in this way have an influence on the organization). Furthermore significant personal changes take place (Ashforth, Harrison and Corley, 2008).

The latest research based on the latter assumptions operationalize organizational

socialization with the use of the identity concept (e.g. Ibarra, 1999; Pratt, 2000; Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Pratt et al., 2006; Ashforth, 2007; Ashforth, Harrison and Corley, 2008). Two main directions of of these researches can be differentiated: (1) Studies that stress the identity regulating impact of several organizational practices (e.g. orientation training, mentoring) (e.g. Pratt, 2000; Anderson-Gough Grey, and Robson, 2005, Thornborrow and Brown, 2009) and subcultures (e.g.diSanza, 1995; Bourassa and Ashforth, 1998). (2) Studies that focus on the identity work of the newcomers and assume a significant and continuous personal change during the process, where the individual plays an active role (e.g. Ibarra, 1999; Pratt et al., 2006; Ibarra and Petriglieri, 2007). In either option we can discover signs that are an indication for the interaction between the individual and organization, and in both cases they prove to be important for the development of the socialization process. The studies that focus on the identity work of the individual recognize the importance of social validation (Ibarra, 1999; Pratt, Rockmann and Kaufmann, 2006, Ibarra and Petriglieri, 2007), and as possible resource for the identity work they mention several organizational characteristics (e.g. organizational artefacts, values) and practices (mentoring, orientation) (Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Pratt, Rockmann and Kaufmann, 2006). The studies that focus on the identity regulation recognize (but do not investigate) that these organizational practices have an impact but do not define the identity work of the individual (Pratt, 2000; Alvesson and Willmott, 2002).

Based on the above mentioned arguments, further research is needed, where: (1) the socialization process is operationalized as an interplay between identity regulation and identiy work, mediating between the organization and individual; and (2) qualitative, longitudinal research methods are used, in order to capture real time, and explore the process along the different turning points.

The research planed along the above mentioned arguments required an organizational context, which itself may be seen as an „*extreme case*": in this instance, the processes to be examined were present much more saliently and were easier to describe (Eisenhardt, 1989; Pettigrew, 1990; Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). The chosen BIG4 organization may be seen as an extreme case in that given its pyramid-like structure, it fosters an "up – or - out" system: under very strict time constraints, anyone who does not move up one level every 1 or 2 years tends to either leave of their own volition, or is asked to leave. Thus, the process of socialization becomes critically important both for the individual (the chance of a fast career) as well as for the organization (returns on recruitment and selection expenditures depend on it).

However, regarding socialization within BIG4 organization there are only a few

qualitative, longitudinal researches and all of them were conducted in an Anglo-Saxon environment (e.g. Coffey, 1994; Anderson-Gough et al., 1998). These researches identified the essential elements of the professional identity of BIG4 assistants and consultants, the identity regulating practices that contribute to it (Coffey, 1994; Anderson-Gough et al., 1998), and some identity work tactics were also described (Kosmala and Herrbach, 2006). Futhermore, these researches have described the relationship between the organization and employee as ambivalent (Dirsmith and Covaleski, 1985; Kosmala and Herrbach, 2006), and highlighted the importance of several subcultures (e.g. departmental, professional or gender) and different organizational characters in the socialization process (e.g. Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson, 2005). A serious restriction of these studies is, that they focused on identity regulation or identity work, and did not capture real time (explore the process along the different turning points).

Therefore, further longitudinal, qualitative research is needed, *aiming a better understanding of individual socialization (seen as interplay of identity work and identity regulation) within a BIG4 organization (seen as multicultural context, formed by several subcultures), where real time is considered (process shaped by several turning points).*

The aim of the dissertation is to redress this need along the following steps: (1) identifying and reviewing the literature that can contribute to the process-oriented analysis of socialisation in a multicultural context (chapter 2 and 3), and (2) outlining the longitudinal, qualitative research methodology (chapter 4), (3) describing the empirical research and its results (chapter 5 and 6), and (4) comparing the empirical results of the study with the relevant literature, compiling the most important theoretical and practical implications of the dissertation, followed by a discussion of the limitations of the study and a brief reflection on possible future directions of research.

The structure of the thesis

The goal of this subchapter is to briefly introduce the dissertation's structure and the aim of each chapter.

The aim of Chapter 2 is to **define the concept of multicultural organisation** as the relevant context of socialisation. At first I will identify the disciplines that deal with multicultural organisations (organisational culture and workplace diversity), then applying Martin et al. (1996)'s organizing framework I review these two fields, emphasising the different viewpoints regarding multicultural organisations. Afterwards, I define the terms'identity' and 'cultural borders' as possible key concepts for the definition of the context (and the later-analysed socialisation processes) and with their help I give a more specific

definition of multicultural context in each segment of the organizing framework.

The organisational socialisation theories will be analysed in Chapter 3 **based on the above described organizing theoretical framework.** The aim of this chapter is to make explicit the underlying assumptions regarding the socialisation's content, key characters and processes and to summarise the different approaches' findings and drawbacks. I will pay special attention to the process-theories because of the dissertation's aim (see researches integrating identity work as well). This way I can fulfil my secondary aim too: provide a systematic and comprehensive summary of the diverse literature on organizational socialisation, decreasing the existing gap in the Hungarian literature on this perspective.

In Chapter 4 **the main steps of the qualitative research** will be described, taking into consideration the development stages[1] of the literatures summarised in the previous two chapters and the aim of the research. I will make my assumptions regarding the analysed processes explicit by dividing the broad research question into sub-questions. In the next part I will describe the research strategy deriving from the research questions (case study based on narrative interviews), and then explain the choice of the organisation that will be the research field. Following that the key information regarding sampling, data collection and analysis will be described. As a last step some of the relevant questions regarding the quality of the research will be discussed: the fit between theory and methodology, reflection on my role in the research (this is essential throughout the whole research), and question of reliability and validity.

In Chapter 5 the main **steps of the empirical analysis** will be presented, and a detailed **description of the selected individual cases**. First, a general description of the ORGANIZATION, which served as research field, will be given to help the reader to understand the newcomers work, and its organizational context. As a next step, the selected individual socialization cases, based on the turning points' narratives arranged in chronological order, will be described.

In Chapter 6 the cases presented in previous chapter will be analyzed in more detail according to the differentiation, non managerial and fragmentation approaches, and based on the results I will **answer the research questions**.

In chapter 7 I will **compare the empirical results of the study with the relevant literature**, compiling the most important theoretical and practical implications of the dissertation. I will also discuss the limitations of the study and explore possible future directions of research.

[1] Based on the defintion of Edmondson and McManus (2007).

Socialisation in multicultural organisational context: personal experiences

I introduce briefly my journey - as the subject of a continuous socialisation process in a Hungarian university -, that led to the development of the research topic. Therefore as the first part of my proposal's introduction I answer the following questions: Why organisational socialisation? Why in multicultural context? My aim with analysing the private context of the research topic is to reveal the personal aspect of the decisions I made during the research.

My interest towards socialisation processes in muticultural organisational context has evolved gradually. The very first milestone of this process can be connected to my application interview in the doctoral program at Corvinus University of Budapest, where I was asked the following remarkable question: How does a physicist turn to be an economist?[2] When I started my PhD studies I realised that I entered, at the same time, into three different groups with different expectations and norms. I gained experiences in socialisation (1) as a *professional* (lecturer), by searching for answers to questions like: What makes someone a good lecturer?; (2) as organizational member (working within the Organizational Behaviour Department of CUB), where I tried to find out what time management (for instance keeping deadlines) implies in that organisation, which meetings are compulsory to attend; and (3) as a *Ph.D. student*, where I learned what it means to do research, how I can publish papers and which national and international conferences I should attend. Looking back to this process, I realised that I experienced simultaneously what makes somebody a lecturer, a researcher, a PhD student, a young woman colleague in the department. I was looking for possible connections among these experiences and trying to solve the tensions between them. At the same time I was constantly searching the answers to the questions: How do these transform me, and influence who I would like to become? These experiences made me understand that when we enter into an organisational culture[3], we enter into several cultures simultaneously and we gain experiences within interrelated socialisation processes, which occur in parallel with each other, simultaneously, which transform the answers to the questions "who I am? who I would like to become?"

Therefore, I turned my attention to socialisation processes and identity work in organisations, which I view as an encounter of several cultures.

[2] I had a master degree in Physics at this time and finished my business studies a few months later.

[3] This was my research topic at that time.

Acknowledgements

During my journey of exploring the chosen research topic and writing the disseration I enjoyed the trust, support and love of great mentors, colleagues and friends. Thank you All. My gratitude goes to my supervisor Gyula Bakacsi for his trust, his belief in the researcher's freedom, for his valuable professional advices, for his support and good sense of humour, which lightened the most difficult moments too.

I would like to thank to Prof. Miklós Dobák, Head of the Institute of Management and all my colleagues from the Institute for accepting me as a member of a community, where I have continuously learned from professional challenges. I would like to gratefully thank to all my colleagues, who read the different versions of this dissertation, and with their comments, advices helped the analysis, and deepened my understanding.

I would like to thank the reviewers, Sierk Ybema, Balázs Heidrich and Ákos Jarjabka, for their constructive and insightful feedback, which encouraged me to strive for continuous improvement.

Last but not least my gratitude goes to the ORGANIZATION, for making possible a longitudinal research, and to the interviewees, who invested their time on several occasions to honestly share their stories with me.

A special thank you goes to my parents and brother, for their constant love, encouragement and support. Thank you for your faith that I could achieve this academic goal.

II. Understanding multicultural organizations

The aim of this chapter - define the nature of the multicultural[4] organizational context – is going to be accomplished along the following steps: (1) I identify the relevant disciplines – organizational culture and workplace diversity – and demonstrate their complementary character through a brief review of their roots and development, (2) I present the organizing theoretical frame of this chapter, which helps me to capture the development of the above mentioned literatures (3) I identify the main dimensions of the multicultural organization and (4) I define the multicultural organizational context based on the delineation of the above recognized dimensions within the organizing theoretical frame.

Relevant theoretical background

Multicultural management is a mixed field of study including a variety of research on the multiple cultural and demographic influences brought by employees to organisations (Sackmann, 1997; Heidrich, 2000; Martin et al., 2006; Prasad et al., 2006). Reviews on multiculturalism have underlined the diversity of approaches, research concerns, and the fact that the studies were written from distinctive theoretical perspectives (Chevrier, 1993; Nkomo and Cox, 1996; Nemetz and Christensen, 1996; Bokor, 2000; Parker, 2000; Martin, 2002; Sackmann and Philips, 2004; Martin et al., 2006; Kulik and Bainbridge, 2006; Nkomo and Stewart, 2006; Romani, 2007). Through the assessment of the above mentioned reviews I realized that they were also written within different disciplines: organizational culture, workplace diversity and cross-cultural management[5] and the classified studies were usually embedded in different paradigms. The different reviews – just as the studies they were classifying – didn't take into consideration the articles written in a different discipline. One possible explanation of this disciplinary myopia is that these reviews derived their classifying dimensions from within the reviewed studies. The only exceptions are the reviews written by Sackmann and Philips (2004) and Romani (2007). Sackmann and Philips (2004) examined the contextual influences on the development of studies on workplace culture – within the field of organizational culture and cross-cultural management - this way deriving their organizing

[4] The concept usually refers to social contexts where different national cultures meet, whereas in the dissertation I use the concept to draw attention to the multiplicity of cultures within organizational contexts (e.g. professional, generational, departmental, etc.).

[5] As a third field, cross-cultural management was mentioned, but from the perspective of my research focus this approach is not relevant here.

principle outside from the reviewed studies. They defined three approaches towards studying culture and management: cross-national comparison, intercultural interaction and the multiple cultures. Through the description of the underlying theoretical assumptions of the different streams they were able to show similarities between studies within different disciplines (e.g. studies within organizational culture and cross-cultural management being interested in how national cultural differences influence leadership or firm performance). However this review has two limitations: (1) doesn't reflect consciously on the fact that the reviewed studies come from different fields (cross-cultural management and organizational culture) and on its possible implications, and (2) critical studies are not included. Romani (2007) overcomes these two shortcomings in her review introducing a cross-cutting field – through the adoption of a new concept: culture and management (C&M) – referring to research interested in the relationship between culture and behaviour (organizational and individual behaviour in organizations), encompassing studies belonging to comparative management, international management and organizational culture at different levels of analysis, making possible for researchers from different fields to see each other. The author arranges the studies from different disciplines and paradigms within the three dimensional framework defined by the universal/specific, is/said to be and structures/individuals dimensions. It is interesting to see, how studies within different disciplines but within the same side-plane of the frame tackle similar problems without being able to enrich each other. For example within "universal" and "said to be" plane we can find studies within the organizational culture field examining the discourses on organizational culture, revealing the different underlying assumptions and their consequences (e.g. Willmott, 1993) and researches within the field of workplace diversity addressing the discourses about the "other" (e.g. Zanoni and Janssens, 2004[6]) exposing the diverse interests regarding difference.

Consequently *the difference between the above mentioned disciplines regarding research on multiculturalism can't be explained simply as a question of level of analysis* - sub-organizational, organizational or national - a possible justification can be rather found in their *historical background and in the emphasis on different aspects of the studied problems*.

[6] Romani (2007) considers this study within the field of international management, but taking into consideration the focus of the article – the HR managers diversity related discourses – the workplace diversity field would be a more appropriate choice.

As a first step towards the understanding of the complexity of cultural groupings within organizations, the multiplicity of identification of individuals in organizations[7] - based on the above mentioned reviews - I identified two disciplines as key contributors[8]: (1) studies within organizational culture field reflecting on the existence of cross–cutting and nested subcultures within organizational setting; (2) researches within workplace diversity reflecting on groups that have systematically faced discrimination at work (e.g. women, ethnic minorities). As a next step I give a brief historical review of the two disciplines – going back till the early management thinkers, such as Taylor, Fayol and Mayo. My goal is twofold:

(1) I demonstrate that the two disciplines were interested in the same problems – (a) the *existence of differences (and similarities)* in organizations and their possible impact on organizational life, and (b) the *creation and maintainance of inequalities* between diverse organizational groups - but emphasizing its different dimensions. Thus, presenting in parallel the historical development of the two disciplines my aim is to demonstrate their *complementary* character.

(2) Further on, I show that workplace diversity can enriche our understanding of organizational culture, historically and socially situating the relationships between diverse organizational subcultures.

[7] This was recognized by Sackmann and Philips (2004) as multiple cultures perspective.

[8] Later I will consider social identity theories too (Tajfel, 1981). This is one of the main theories used in diversity studies (Nkomo and Stewart, 2006) and recently in organizational culture studies too (e.g. Sackmann, 1997; Parker, 2000) in order to explain classification.

Table 1. Historical (chronological) background of multiculturalism within workplace diversity and organizational culture field

	Workplace diversity	**Organizational culture**
Early roots **Silencing differences**	In the *early management studies* (e.g. **Fayol, Taylor**) "the notion of diversity is evident by its omission" (Nkomo and Stewart, 2006:521). The **Hawthorne studies** shift the focus of studies towards the human being in the organizations but do not mention issues of gender -even if there were work groups of only men and others only of women -, and the fact that many women were immigrants (Billing and Sundin, 2006). The universalizing tendencies of these approaches *ignored the idea of different group identities* (Burrell, 1994).	**Taylor,** according to Taksa's (1992) interpretation, was concerned with cultural issues: he wanted to encourage workers to break with collective opposition from "dysfunctional" counter cultures and to become employees sharing common goals (defined by the management!). According to Taksa (1992) a strong connection with culture can be also found in the work of **Fayol** taking into consideration the centrality of the concept of "esprit de corps"[9]. One major assumption of the **Human Relations School** is that the *workers* bring their values, beliefs from non – work contexts and these influence their work attitude and organizational commitment (Parker, 2000). Accordingly the concept of work values was restricted to the shop floor, not mentioning the management. So, by omission, they marked a sharp divide between workers and managers, *without acknowledging the existence of subcultures within organizations* (Parker, 2000).[10]

[9] This is a rather annoying connection, because questions the newness of the interests in organizational culture and links it with organizational control strategies (Parker, 2000). For a detailed description of „the forgotten history of culturalism" see Parker (2000).

[10] Mayo's deep interest to secure the individuals commitment towards their organizations (re)appears in the '90's in the Person – Organization fit studies (see later). The newness of PO fit studies was the replacement of the dependent variable (where organizational culture is considered as the independent variable), from organizational performance to individual commitment.

Managing differences	Appears the notion of "**managing diversity**", meaning that businesses should manage their diverse workforce - not because it is a legal or ethical thing to do so - but because it can be the source of economic, competitive benefits for the organizations. *Here workplac e diversity becomes the object of control of upper management, the focus being on assimilation and integration of marginal groups*. Minority members are expected to assimilate and organizational members are trained to take a "colour blind" perspective, suggesting that demographic differences do not matter.*The focus is on how diversity is managed in order to eliminate the conflict it brings*.	**1979 -** The year when organizational culture as a discipline was born (Barley et al. 1988)[11]. There is an explosion of writings – of management gurus, such as Ouchi (1981), Deal and Kennedy (1982), Peters and Waterman (1982) and academics (e.g. Schein (1985), Quinn (1983), Hofstede et al. (1990)) – where *culture is seen as an independent organizational variable that can be managed by upper management*. The goal is strong, unified organizational culture as a key towards increased organizational performance. *The emphasis is on cultural integration*.
Valuing differences	Managing diversity is replaced by **diversity management and affirming or valuing diversity** concepts that emphasizes the value of differences, imply a broad effort in organizational change, but unfortunately is power blind (Prasad et al., 2006). Here differences are used, for example, to gain access and legitimacy with different markets. *The focus is on why diversity is good for organizations. The different categories of identity are essentialized, taken as individual properties* (Nkomo and Stewart, 2006).	The attention shifts from an integrated strong organizational culture towards the study of different **subcultures,** which have clear boundaries around pre-defined categories. These can be defined by the organizational structure (horizontal/functional or hierarchical/vertical) or by demographic characteristics (e.g. profession, race, gender, age, tenure, etc.) (e.g. studies in Sackmann, 1997).
Constructing differences	The essentialist nature of diversity – as something possessed by minority groups – is questioned. **Critical studies** rather reflect on the gendered or racialized nature of organizations, focusing rather on how gender and race is constructed within organizations, and how these processes create and sustain inequality in organizations (Nkomo and Stewart, 2006; Prasad et al., 2006). **Postmodern studies** conceptualize diverse identities as complex, multifaceted and transient constructs, socially and historically constructed, and subject of contradictions and change, and rather focus on the understanding of identity construction processes within organiztions (Nkomo and Stewart, 2006).	**Critical studies** focus on the plurality of organizational cultures, questioning their interest in writing about culture, whose interest they serve (e.g. Parker, 2000). Good examples of this shift are the studies using feminist theories to study organizational culture (e.g. Mills, 1988; Aaltio, Mills and Helms Mills, 2002). **Postmodern studies** focus on multiple cultures within organizations, with changing boundaries. There are multiple interpretations of organizational reality constantly in flux. The processes of identification become central here (e.g. Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003).

[11] The year of first conference (on this topic) at the University of Champaign – Urbana and of the first article published by a British management academic in Administrative Science Quarterly – Pettigrew (1979). Barley et al. (1988) through a computer search on the term organizational culture discovered that only ten articles were published on the topic between 1975 and 1978, but more than 130 articles appeared in 1985. Alvesson and Berg (1990) repeated the search and found more than 2550 articles with organizational culture or symbolism as key words.

Theoretical framework

In the following my goal is to define the theoretical framework that give an overview of the scientific fields that are considered as relevant and allow me to introduce in the next subchapter the multicultural organizational context (and the socialization process(es) in the next chapter). As a first step - based on the earlier brief historical overview - I accept organizational culture as ground discipline, and enrich it with new insights gained from relevant diversity studies.

In existing reviews on organizational culture different classifications can be found according to the meta-theoretical assumption (Smircich, 1983), anthropological schools (Allaire and Firsirotu, 1984), historical development (Martin et al., 1996, 2006) or the Burrell and Morgan' (1979) typology (Nemetz and Christensen, 1996; Parker, 2000).

Taking into consideration, that Martin et al.'s (1996, 2006) typology is based on the chronological development of organizational culture researches and has a great influence on the discipline[12] I build my literature review on their frame. My choice is also sustained by the fact that the main dimensions of this frame are able to capture the focal problems of the considered two disciplines: differences (and similarities) in organizations and the creation and maintenance of inequalities within organizations. At the same time I acknowledge, agreeing with Alvesson (2006), the *artificial character* of typologies, and that they represent only one way of interpreting the studied fields. Thus the chosen theoretical frame supports the *mapping* of the organizational culture and workplace diversity literatures but it is not my goal to present all literature about this field but to facilitate orientation within it, give an understanding of the concept of multicultural organization and identify its main dimensions.

Martin and her co-authors' framework (Meyerson and Martin, 1987; Martin, 1992, 2002; Martin et al., 1996) shows that every organizational culture can be studied through three different perspectives: *integration, differentiation and fragmentation*. This dimension is able to capture the diverse perceptions regarding *differences and similarities* within organizational context as I am going to show later. In their most recent work Martin et al. (2006) - besides this main dimension - differentiate the studies on organizational culture along

[12] As relevant proof for this can be considered the fact that in both editions (1996 and 2006) of the SAGE Handbook of Organization Studies the chapter on organizational culture was written by Martin and her co-authors, based on this framework.

the *reflected interests - managerial vs. non-managerial* – axle too[13]. At the managerial end of the axis we can find articles which neglect the *inequalities within organizations*, while those at the other end of the axis focus on this issue. In the following I take into consideration only the main axis (integration, differentiation, fragmentation) and the managerial vs. non-managerial axis.

Before considering the studies within the different combinations of the above mentioned two dimensions, I describe briefly the three perspectives of the main dimension: integration, differentiation and fragmentation.

The ***integration perspective*** supposes the existence of consensus at the organizational level, and at the same time assumes the existence of consistency between the different levels of culture (Meyerson and Martin, 1987; Martin 1992, 2002). The differences are considered simple dysfunctions, which can be managed. The studies written from this perspective have a normative approach; the deviations from integration are considered regrettable shortfalls. Culture in this understanding is what is shared by the organization, it has the role of "social glue", the differences exist only at the surface, if we go deep enough, we will find the basic assumptions, which are shared by all organizational members (Schein, 2004). The researches usually merge the concepts of I and we, describe feelings of organization wide community (Parker, 2000). The majority of the studies written from this view are searching for causal links towards management practices, employee commitment, and profitability. They are supportive of status quo; the changes are initiated and managed by the leaders.

But there is an important question, that we need to address before we step further, to the differentiation approach, if we want to understand one basic difference between these two approaches. Can subcultures[14] emerge when a strong organizational culture[15] exists? If they

[13] They differentiate the studies along a methodological axis too, but this is not relevant for the conceptual clarification of multicultural organization.

[14] Many researchers have discussed the role of sub–groups in organizations (e.g. Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967), but not all sub–groups can be considered subcultures. Subcultures are groups whose common characteristic is a set of shared norms, values and beliefs (Boisnier and Chatman, 2002). At its origin the concept of „subculture" has been associated with images of deviants, deliquents and other nonconformists. In organizational studies there are a variety of types of organizational subcultures, not all of which are based on expressing opposing views (e.g. Martin and Siehl, 1983). There is a need to distinguish subculture and counterculture, where the latter holds discordant values, and its members explicitly oppose certain aspects of the dominant organizational culture.

do, what is their content and function?

Boisnier and Chatman (2002) based on the concepts of pivotal and peripheral values introduced by Schein (1988) argue in the favour of existence of subcultures within strong organizational cultures. In their opinion the peripheral values can be important for different subcultures and less important for the dominant culture, thus being possible to appear cultural differences between diverse groups. Within this perspective the subcultures emerge from the dominant culture values, some subcultural values may conflict with it, while others may not. What is very important to notice here is that the subcultures are defined from the dominant culture perspective, in concordance with their relationship. According to Martin and Siehl (1983) they can be enhancing, orthogonal or counter cultures, the accent being on the dominant- and sub-culture interactions. So, incorporating the notions of pivotal and peripheral values with the above mentioned typology, the existence of subcultures within a strong, coherent and consistent organizational culture is made possible. The members of *enhancing* subcultures adhere to the core values even more than the members of dominant culture. The members of orthogonal subcultures agree with the dominant culture values, but also hold their own, different but not conflicting values. The members of a *counterculture* hold values that conflict with the core organizational values. But within this perspective this is not necessarily a threat towards the overall organizational culture, instead it can be seen as strengthening the dominant culture. This can happen because through a process of reflection and comparison between the core and counter values, the formerly implicit values become explicitly considered and openly debated (Boisnier and Chatman, 2002).

The ***differentiation perspective*** focuses on the study of different *subcultures,* which have clear boundaries around pre-defined categories. These can be defined by the organizational structure (horizontal/functional or hierarchical/vertical), by informal networks or by demographic characteristics (e.g. profession, race, gender, age, tenure, etc.). The difference between integration and differentiation views is not merely a question of level of analysis (organization/group) but the fact that the latter has in focus more than one subculture, and implicitly the relationship between them (focusing simultaneously on difference and similarity) (Martin, 2002). The relationship between the subcultures can be mutually *reinforcing, conflicting* or *independent* (Louis, 1985).

The differentiation approach is relevant not only because of the introduction of

[15] Strong culture can be defined if a high level of consensus and consistency is reached within the organization.

subcultures, but because this approach may correct the *power blindness* of the former approach. According to their power sensitivity horizontal and vertical differentiation can be distuinguished. Horizontal differentiation (e.g. departmental) may be exactly as power-blind as integration, as long as vertical differentiation studies (e.g. hierarchical, gender) are especially interested in power and inequalities within organizational groups. The other main difference between the integration and differentiation perspective is, that while the former considers the dominant- and sub-culture relationship, the latter focuses on the interactions between the different subcultures, the concept of dominant culture being non existent within this frame (there can exist subcultures with more power, but not an overall, dominant culture).

Within the ***fragmentation perspective*** the focus is on the sense-making process: grasping the ambiguities and uncertainties, and on the dynamics between the multiple cultures existing within organizational boundaries. Within this approach the conflict centred approach of the differentiation view is oversimplified, because in organizations we have to deal with multiplicities of interpretations, constantly in flux (Martin, 2002). This perspective excludes the existence of consensus at organizational or subcultural level, rather assumes temporary, issue-specific cultural groupings.

The ***managerial vs. non-managerial*** axe helps us to differentiate the cultural studies depending on the interests they take into consideration. *Managerial studies* see in culture an organizational variable, which can be managed/changed in order to improve organizational performance, employees' commitment, loyalty and productivity (Martin, 2002). *Non-managerial studies* acknowledge conflicting interpretations in organizations, showing how certain interests are preferred and others are silenced, neglected (Martin et al., 2006).

The dimensions of Martin et al.'s (1996, 2006) cultural frame do not force the researcher to adopt a particular paradigm - as defined by Burrel and Morgan (1979) in their seminal book - even though some combinations occur more frequently than others. For details see Appendix 1. where the different paradigms identified by Burrell and Morgan (1979) and the Martin et al.'s (1996, 2006) above described two dimensions are considered as main organizing axis. The Table 16. summarizes within a 3×2×4 matrix the relevant organizational culture and workplace diversity studies, with cells containing references to articles that represent intersections of the paradigms and cultural perspectives. The studies were assigned to cells based on their predominant cultural perspective (integration, differentiation,

fragmentation), the interests taken into consideration (managerial or non-managerial) and theoretical assumption.

Before taking the next step and define the concept of multicultural organizational context within the theoretical frame there is a need to define the content and function of culture within the different intersections of the framework. In the following I summarize the possible combinations along the main dimension (integration, differentiation, fragmentation) and the managerial vs. non-managerial axe, developing in more detail the four most common types: integration-managerial, differentiation-managerial, differentiation-non-managerial and fragmentation.

The **integrationist, mostly managerial** studies are practitioner oriented (Barley et al., 1988). Within this approach the writings of management gurus can be found (e. g. Peters and Waterman, 1982; Deal and Kennedy, 1988; Ouchi, 1981) and the studies interested in providing the academics with more sophisticated cultural theories and models to allow them to explain and solve the organizational problems (e.g. Cameron and Quinn, 1999; Schein, 2004). For these studies the culture is mainly defined as the organization's shared norm and value content. These can be managed from above if their content and underlying structure is understood by the management: "*We need to find out what is actually going on in organizations before we rush in to tell managers what to do about their culture."* (Schein, 1990:110)

These studies provide static pictures of consensus within organizations. The management is responsible for the adaptation of organization and its culture to their environment, in order to achieve an equilibrium state of internal integration necessary for survival (Schein, 2004). The conflict is mostly not recognized within this approach, or seen as having a negative effect on the desired homogeneous organizational culture (Martin, 2002). Possible aims of these studies are: (1) to offer an organizational culture typology (e.g. Cameron and Quinn, 1999; Jarjabka, 2001; Mármarosi, 2002; Karácsonyi, 2006), (2) make predictions about best fit between cultures and different contingencies (e.g. Person - Organization fit literature), or (3) draw attention to the meanings that inform and explain organizational practice, without questioning the existent tradition (good example the work of Barley (1983) on funeral homes)[16].

[16] The studies within this perspective usually use survey method (exceptions are those written with the third

There are studies that describe the culture of lower level employees – being possible examples for integration and non-managerialist researches, but implicitely they imply the existence of a managerial subculture, building their analysis on the contrast between these two, slipping this way rather on the differentiation section of the framework.

The **differentiation and managerialist studies** contain notions of diversity[17] and formally (e.g. functional, hierarchical) or informally (e.g. friendship) based subcultures with functionalist claims about effective strategies of managing diversity. These studies discuss the potential economic benefits of a diverse workforce at individual, group and/or organizational level and describe best practices that can help managers to realize them. For example Cox (2001) recommends a model for developing a diversity competent organization; Thomas and Ely (1996) describe the needed changes in the behaviour and attitudes of leaders in order to manage successfully a diverse workforce; Dass and Parker (1999) identify twelve typical strategies for managing human resource diversity. These studies consider the different categories as universal and historical phenomenon, and the identified suggestions for the managers applicable everywhere, this way being power blind. Trice and Beyer (1993) research is a good example here because they use the language of dysfunctions and adaptation (functionalist) as well as insisting that organizations are multicultural contexts. Within this approach are measured the effects of cultural diversity on group and/or organizational performance and effectiveness, but can't be answered the question why and how these categories (cultural differences) were created, or how they interact and influence each other.

Within **differentiation, non-managerialist** section the focus is still on divisions within organizations and their possible relationships, but with an eye for inequalities. Organizational culture is seen as "contested relation between meanings – the distinctive understandings of a particular social group which may conflict with those of other social groups" (Parker, 2000:87).

The distinctions made between formal divisions (horizontal or vertical) within an

---

aim). For a more detailed description and categorization of these studies based on the survey type and the cultural level in focus (behaviour or values) see Toarniczky (2006).

[17]Here diversity is used with normative connotations regarding the distribution of certain characteristics, such as nationality, ethnicity, sex and age within an organization, which are often treated as independent variables (Omanović, 2004) The different categories (e.g. sex, nationality, age, etc.) are considered natural, given, fixed, obvious (although some are visible while others invisible), describable and measurable (e.g. Litvin, 1997).

organization (Sharpe, 1997), the cross-cutting ethnic (de Vries, 1997; Koot, 1997), geographic (Parker, 2000), gender (Burrus, 1997) and professional (Bloor and Dawson, 1994) subcultures highlight the power inequalities between different organizational groups, some of them reflecting discriminations existent within the wider society. The aim of these studies is to understand "the way things are done around here", in order that a new way of doing things might be brought into being. An excellent example of this approach is the paper written by Van Maanen (1991) in which he describes the work at Disneyland, stressing the status differentials and techniques of resistance which have developed in an organization which claims strong homogeneous culture.

The studies written from a **fragmentation** perspective followes Alvesson's (2002) proposal for a redirection of cultural understanding: (1) they shift the focus from the organization towards the various communities within it; and (2) they choose to study social practices instead of values and beliefs of a rather abstract nature. There are very few studies focusing on ambiguity and written in the managerial interest. They are usually interested in the evaluation of ambiguity's impact on organizational performance. Classical example is Weick's (1991) description of a crash at the airport of Tenerife, where practical consequences of ambiguity are described. However most fragmentation studies strive to attain a balance between critical and managerial interest, and are written in a **descriptive** manner (Martin, 2002).

As a summary can be stated that these most widely used sections of the frame[18] reflect diverse perspectives on differences, and organizational reactions towards them:

(a) The studies within *integration* perspective have an affinity for managerial interests, where managers can control and change cultures. They assume the existence of organization wide homogeneous unity, *silencing differences* and *emphasizing assimilation and integration*.

(b) *Differentiation* studies written from *managerialist* perspective emphasize *difference*s as a potential source for higher performance and creativity, assuming that upper management knows how to *manage* them.

(c) However *differentiation* studies usually tend to take a *non – managerialist* perspective, because the existence of subcultures and their conflicting relationships offer the

[18] See Appendix 1. for more details.

possibility to consider power, inequalities and the dynamics of domination. They rather reflect on how *differences are constructed in organizations to sustain the existing inequalities, power relationships*.

(d) *Fragmentation* studies focus on the organizational complexity, on the existence of multiple interpretations constantly in flux and reveal the *process of construction of issue specific, transient cultural groupings*.

According to Martin (2002) the three perspectives (integration, differentiation and fragmentation) occur simultaneously and offer complementing views, corresponding to the parallel technique identified by Lewis and Grimes (1999). It is important to state that there is no hierarchy or sequence of perspectives, because following a parallel technique the researcher arrives to the same results independently of the order of his/her research steps. While Hassard (1991) conducted basically four distinct researches – building on the four paradigms defined by Burrel and Morgan (1979) - in one organization, and argued that we can learn more about organization by considering all four research results, Martin (1992) conducted interviews and from this single research body she drew different conclusions according to the integration, differentiation and fragmentation perspective. On the surface her examined organization was very integrated, but the deep analysis of independent interviews revealed that differentiation and fragmentation are present in the examined organization, while important features of integration are also valid. Parker (2000) criticizes this three perspective view on culture arguing that fragmentation is a synthesis of the first two perspectives. In his view the first two perspectives are artificial, because integration focuses only on similarities as long as differentiation only on differences, while these two exist together, organizations being collective but also divided, not either one or the other. However, reading carefully the argumentation made by Martin (2002) and Parker (2000) regarding the nature of organizational culture they actually agree on its complex nature – being unified and divided in the same time - they only disagree on how to study it.

Multicultural organizational context

In the following I interpret the **organization**, where cultures (and subcultures[19]) are

[19] The concept subculture from the perspective of my research has two major shortfalls: (1) assumes homogeneity and consensus within both the dominant and its subordinate cultures; (2) takes into consideration

not homogeneous and consistent things, but "contested processes of making claims about classification – about **unity and division** – suggesting that X is like us but Y is not" (Parker, 2000:86) **as multicultural context**.

Based on the above accepted definition for multicultural organizational context can be stated that people are members of multiple cultures in the same time, so *categorization processes* are a central issue here. For this there is a need to decide what *similarity* and *distinctiveness* is. The chosen disciplines – organizational culture and workplace diversity – give two possible ways to look for answers for this question:

(1) Through the definition of the ***identity*** of organizational members (Nkomo and Cox, 1996; Sackmann, 1997; Parker, 2000; Martin, 2002; Nkomo and Stewart, 2006; Prasad et al., 2006).

(2) Drawing ***cultural boundaries*** within, between and across organizations (Sackmann, 1997; Parker, 2000; Alvesson, 2002; Martin, 2002).

Therefore in the following I will define the multicultural organizational context based on these two concepts - (1) the nature of identity and (2) the nature of cultural boundaries - within the above identified main combinations of my theoretical framework. My decision – as I will show in the next chapter – is also sustained by the fact that these two concepts play a central role in the understanding of organizational socialization processes too, establishing a possible relationship between the multicultural organizational context and socialization processes. Even though, before I can do this, I reflect briefly on the use of these two concepts within the chosen disciplines (organizational culture and workplace diversity).

The nature of identity

In the following I reflect on the nature of identity, based on studies written within the field of workplace diversity and recently even within organizational culture (see as an example Parker's (2000) book on the relationship between identity and organizational culture)[20].

---

only the subordinate relationship between the different cultures existing within organizations, assuming the „nested" nature of cultures (Parker, 2000) (which is only one possible relationship, as I will show in my argumentation later on).

[20] Right from the beginning I have to acknowledge that is not my aim to review the *field of identity* research,

The review is organized along the main dimension of my organizing theoretical framework - integration, differentiation and fragmentation - interpreted at individual level of analysis[21] (Martin, 1992; 2002). Along this dimension can be differentiated the conceptualization of identity as integrated, **fixed** and stable ("*being*"), as clear reference and starting point of how oneself can orientate him(her)self in life, and a more uncertain, anxiety-driven, in movement, becoming or radically decentred, **processual** ("*becoming*") identity (Martin, 1992; Martin, 2002; Alvesson, 2006; Prasad et al., 2006, Alvesson, Aschcraft and Thomas, 2008; Ybema et al., 2009; Alvesson, 2010). Beside this the conceptualization of identity also differs in terms of a **single**- versus **multiple** identities, where the latter will be important in case of multicultural organizational contexts (as I will show in the following).

The concept of ***fixed identity*** refers to the fact that each individual can hold single or multiple (social) identities and act out one of them determined by the context and individual characteristics (Prasad et al., 2006). The fixed ("being") nature of identity is captured by the most widely applied theoretical perspective on the concept - within organizational culture and workplace diversity fields - **social identity theory** (SIT) (Ashforth and Mael, 1989)[22]. The central statement of SIT is, that individuals tend to classify themselves and others into social categories and that these classifications have a significant effect on human interactions (Nkomo and Stewart, 2006). The foundational work on SIT was done in the field of social psychology by Tajfel and Turner (see Turner, 1975; Tajfel and Turner, 1979), who argued that the preference for similar people helps to maintain a positive social identity and is likely to result in formation of subgroups. The SIT theory differentiates between the *personal* and *social identity* of the individual, where the first is defined as the person's unique set of attributes, such as traits, abilities and interests (Brewer, 1991; Pataki, 2001; Ashforth et al., 2008). Taking into consideration my aim – definition of multicultural organizational context with the help of the identity concept I will focus only on the social identity. This is defined as "*that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership*

---

which also hosts a wide variety of theoretical frames, levels of analysis and choices of methods. For detailed reviews see the writings of: Whetten and Godfrey, 1998; the special issue of Academy of Management Review, 2000; Alvesson, 2006; Beech and McInners, 2006; Bartel, Blader and Wrzesniewski, 2007; Ashforth, Harrison and Corley, 2008.

[21] Martin (2002:152) interprets the integration, differentiation and fragmentation concepts at all three levels of analysis (individual, group and organization) in order to demonstrate that they can not be equated with the latter.

[22] See for example within organizational culture field Sackmann (1997) and Parker (2000), and for the workplace diversity field the review of Nkomo and Stewart (2006).

of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978:63). The focus is on cognition ("I am X"), importance ("I value X") and affect ("I feel about X") one places on membership (Ashforth et al., 2008). From a content perspective the individual's social identity is "*an amalgam of the perceived characteristics of the collective (e.g. values, goals, beliefs)…and the perceived prototypical characteristics of its members (e.g. stereotypical traits)*" (Asforth et al., 2008:328).

The *resources* that individuals might use within organizations *for categorization* are various (e.g. gender, age, profession, clothing, departments). According to the different *ways of categorization* we can distuinguish *nested or cross-cutting identities* (Ashforth and Johnson, 2001). Nested identities are attached to formal social categories (e.g. job[23], workgroup, department, division, organization) institutionalized in the organization's structure, while cross-cutting identities are attached to formal or informal social categories, that can be external to the organization (e.g. professionals, demographic groups, local football team, etc.) or organization driven (e.g. project teams, etc.). These two ways of categorization demonstrate that the possible resources are almost unlimited and give us a sense regarding the multiple nature of identity. The question of multiple identities is further complicated by the fact, that organizational members may emphasize different social identities depending on the situation they are involved in (Pataki, 2001).

Consequently identity is a complex, situational phenomenon: different components can be emphasized or hidden, recognizing its flexible nature, while also acknowledging that some elements are more persistent even if they are not activated in all cases (Csepeli, 1997; Ashforth and Johnson, 2001; Pataki, 2001; Kreiner, Hollensbe and Sheep, 2006a).

There is the chance that someone simply shows flexibility across situations, or that (s)he is simultaneously holding contradictory and ambiguous "selves" which are created and recreated within the process of interaction (Prasad et al., 2006), showing different degrees of fluid identity. In both cases there is need for identity work.

Within the frames of SIT *identity work* can be seen as the different strategies individuals use in order to manage their multiple identities (e.g. Ashforth and Johnson, 2001, Asforth et al., 2008; Kreiner and Sheep, 2009).

---

[23] Job is the sum of tasks institutionalised in the organization's structure, while occupation or profession includes collectives that exist beyond organizational boundaries, being possible cross-cutting categories.

Table 2: Individual strategies to manage multiple identities (based on Ashforth and Johnson, 2001 and Ashforth et al., 2008)

Nature of identities	**Managing multiple identities: individual strategies**	**Underlying mechanism(s)**
Discrete multiple identities	1. Compromise between independent identities	Salience shift of the different identities;
	2. Convergence through positive correlation of identities	a. Lower identities mediates the higher order identities; b. Lower identities are generalized to higher order identities;
	3. Combination	Salience degree: use of identity profiles
One complex identity	4. Holistic approach	Individual's narrative

The first approach assumes *discrete and independent identities with clear boundaries*, which can be organized in hierarchies (see the nested identities above), cross-cuted by other identities and the individuals may orient themselves differently at different times, *shifting their salient identity*. Identity salience refers to the potential of a social category to help employees classify and systematize their environment and orient themselves within the organization (Chattopadhyay et al., 2004). Accordingly if one identity becomes more salient the other must become less so. For example at work one may favor his/her professional identity while working in his project group and his/her organizational identity during board meetings, such that the net effect is a clever *compromise*.

The second approach still assumes *discrete identities with clear boundaries*, but challenges the independence hypothesis of identities, showing a *positive correlation* between the different levels of identities, suggesting their *convergence* (Ashforth et al., 2008). To make sense of their abstract, higher order identities individuals often project the qualities of lower level identities upon them (the opposite process is also possible). For example in his research on Amway sales representatives Pratt (2000) reported that they viewed the organization through the lenses of their relationship with their managers. The lower identities

usually are more salient than higher level identities and act as filters for the latter, mediate their impact on the individual. Assuming only positive correlation between the different levels of identity this approach loose to take into account the identity conflicts, which are defined by inconsistencies between the content of two or more identities. In case of conflicting identities both of them become salient for the individual because of the painful tension caused by it. In case I identify strongly with my working unit, which is a counterculture in the organization, I have to face a tension between my organizational and departmental identity. Consequently, this approach should take into consideration the negative correlations too and capture the coping strategies used by individuals. A promising study on this perspective was made by Kreiner, Hollensbe and Sheep (2006a), who studied the coping mechanisms used by priests in order to establish and maintain their work-self balance.

The third approach recognizes that individuals not always differentiate between their different social identities, and in fact more than one identity can be "*salient, combined and used simultaneously*" (Crisp and Hewstone, 2006:4). In this case there is no hierarchy between the different identities, and we talk about the *salience degree* of identities admitting that the individuals just don't forget one of their identities. In case that frequent relationship is made between two or more identities a link is formed between them, and the individual will find easy to combine them. For example in a marketing task force a member is asked to use his/her professional expertise and analyze the situation from the perspective of her/his gender and ethnicity, so after a while (s)he will use a combination of these three identities during her work. In this case there are still discrete identities, but with boundaries more frequently crossed or blurred, so transition bridges are created. In this case we rather talk about *identity profiles* than distinct social identities.

The fourth approach from SIT perspective could be seen as an extreme case of the previous one, but in fact has a different assumption regarding the nature of identity, which stretches the considered theoretical frame. Here the indentity' *boundaries disappear* and the result is a richer, *holistic identity*, where the formed identity has content and meaning beyond the sum of parts (Asforth and Johnson, 2001). For example Russo (1998) found that the studied journalists did not differentiate between their professional and organizational identities, the meanings attributed to being a journalist and being a member of a newspaper were completely overlapping.

As we could see, the SIT perspective *concentrates more on the organization of multiple identities* (as presented in Table 2) *than their effect on the individual.* Recently even the social identity theories realized this gap and focused on macro- or micro role transitions (Ashforth, 2001). However, these studies assume an individual looking for balance, establishing a salience hierarchy or degree between his/her different identities, basically accepting them and working only on their relationship.

According to Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003) there is need to interpret *identity work rather from a "becoming" perspective*, because the previous conceptualization is a simplification, not taking into consideration other resources of identity work than group memberships and the contradictory and ambivalent nature of the context. Furthermore, the *individual* is also to be seen as an *active* participant, who continues to make efforts at transforming their identity. In studies by researchers subscribing to this approach, we encounter two concepts related to the identity: identity work and identity regulation (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). In this approach, *identity work* may be defined as "forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive of a *sense of coherence and distinctiveness*" (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003:1165). The authors apply a strong process orientation (Baken and Hernes, 2006) to identity work, assuming that in the course thereof, individuals create various "identity positions" (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003:1165): these are often contradictory and variable, and the individual's membership in a given group is not their only source. Consequently, this approach is successful at depicting the basic assumptions of social constructionists, as far as the nature of identity is concerned: an entity shaped dynamically (process) through social interaction, that is not stable, but is multiple and fragmented (Alvesson, Ashcraft and Thomas, 2008; Ybema et al., 2009). In sum, *identity work encompasses those tactics through which the individual is able to bring coherence into the fragmented perception of their identity, and through which individuals strive to achieve distinctive and positive identity.*

At the same time, the individual does not perform their identity work in a vacuum: they are influenced by their environment, which Alvesson and Willmott (2002) believe is manifested through identity regulation. This latter is referred to by Grey (2005) as culture management, whereas Kunda (1992:11) calls it normative control, or an "attempt to elicit and direct the required efforts of members by controlling the underlying experiences, thoughts, and feelings that guide their actions." Alvesson and Willmott (2002) introduced the concept

of **identity regulation**[24], which is aimed at explaining organizational efforts that have a targeted effect on the shaping and transformation of the identity.

Alvesson and Willmott (2002) differentiate between the following four **types** of identity regulation:

(1) **Defining the individual**, which may happen directly or indirectly, through the definition of "significant others." Thornborrow and Brown (2009) provide an expressive illustration of this, in their research on the construction and maintenance of aspired identities. Pratt's (2000) study of Amway product distributors provides another interesting example: "dream creation" is an organizational practice through which ideal identities are created for new employees, and the new ("dreamer, winner") identity is confronted with the old ("not a dreamer, loser") identity. For Amway, the "significant other" is anyone who does not wish to deal with Amway products: these are portrayed as losers, and not real family members or friends, thereby increasing the organization's own influence.

(2) **Defining the behavior of the individual**: in other words, using the vocabulary specific to the organization, following organizational values (e.g. values held to be important, organizational stories), as well as expected knowledge and skills. Several studies deal, for instance, with the importance of mentoring in the transfer of organizational values, stories, vocabulary and professional knowledge (Covaleski et al., 1998; Pratt, 2000). Ibarra's (1999) study describes how newcomer bankers experiment with a range of behaviors modeled on those of successful members of the organization, who in this case serve as role models. Pratt, Rockmann and Kaufmann (2006) depict how the identity of newcomer doctors is shaped by their mandatory outfit, setting them apart from other groups (nurses and administrative staff).

(3) **Defining social relations**: determining the place of the individual in a group (creating and reaffirming categories such as "us" and "them"), as well as the place of the individual in the respective hierarchy (the status of groups and individuals). Pratt's (2000) article provides an exciting example of this: under "positive programming" Amway encourages its members to construct supportive and close internal ties with one another, to protect themselves from "others" (i.e. non-members).

(4) **Defining the context**: shaping organizational norms and accepting and maintaining them as a natural environment, describing the relevant external environment (e.g.

[24] Since this is the term that has come to be used in identity research (Alvesson, Ashcraft and Thomas, 2008) and in socialization research, also relevant here, (Ashforth, Harrison and Corley, 2008) this is the term I will use in my work.

market position, competition). Alvesson and Robertson's (2006) article may provide a relevant example: they detail how international consulting firms shape and maintain their elitist organizational identity. Through this, high performance expectations become natural and the company comes to represent a secure organizational environment to its employees, and an attractive service provider to its clients.

In sum, we may conclude that researchers assume that the individual is continuously shaping their identity through an interplay of identity work and identity regulation. At the same time, they recognize that certain identity elements (personal narratives) change at a slower pace in an organizational context, and may become potential sources of either stability or resistance. Researchers (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003; Watson 2008) are in disagreement, however, over whether identity regulation directly impacts personal narratives, or whether it only does so indirectly, through identity work. According to Alvesson and Willmott (2002), there is a direct impact; Watson (2008), however, believes that identity regulation is only effective through identity work. This means that identity work is essential for the personal narrative to undergo change. In this paper, I will rely on the latter approach, assuming that identity work is necessary for the shaping of personal narratives. At the same time, the function of identity work is not always to achieve transformation: in some cases, it is precisely the support of the personal narrative which is the goal, through a transformation and neutralization of external effects.

According to this approach, the individual strives to create a *coherent, distinctive* and *positive identity*, through the use of various identity work tactics, while under the influence of identity regulation (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). *Coherence*, essentially, is the continuity of the identity in both time and space. Continuity over time refers to how the individual remembers who they were in the past, how they perceive themselves in the present and who they imagine themselves to be in the future – and how these do not differ from one another radically. Spatial continuity refers to how the individual is able to remain true to themselves in various situations. So, despite the fact that the individual behaves differently in different situations, they do not view themselves differently. The need for coherence does not allow for the individual to be determined completely by their environment (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). An additional characteristic of the identity – *distinctiveness* – refers to how each individual has their own unique, personal identity which is only applicable to them, and how each individual is able to define themselves in terms of their differences from others, and as opposed to others (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). Thus they assume a conscious and

proactive individual, applying a process perspective corresponding more to the narrative psychology tradition (Carlsen, 2006).

In my own theoretical framework, these are not merely the termini of a single dimension: they are, rather, indicative of similarities and differences within organizations, and, as will be shown later, indicate different interpretations of the individual's membership in an organization.

The nature of cultural boundaries

Accepting the nested and cross-cutting character of organizational culture the question of boundary drawing around cultures becomes salient (Parker, 2000; Martin, 2002; Alvesson, 2003). They can't be defined anymore just as clear and stable drawings around unique and separate organizational cultures.

Thus regarding cultural boundaries two questions have to be answered: (1) where to draw the boundary (*boundary location*) and (2) what is the *nature of boundaries.*

Regarding *boundary location* we can differentiate two types of boundaries, based on whether these are located around the perimeter of a field or within the field: as long as the *external boundaries* are drawn around the considered domain in order to denlineate where it begins and ends, the *internal boundaries* are drawn within the studied entity in order to distuinguish its subdivisions (Kreiner, Hollensbe and Sheep, 2006b). Within organizational culture this idea is captured by Martin's (2002) main dimension or by Alvesson's (2003) micro and macro perspective on organizational culture. The micro perspective on organizational culture focuses on subcultures, while the macro perspective is more concerned with the organization embedded within a societal context, drawing the permeable cultural boundary around the organization itself. The micro perspective draws this around the different groups within organizations (e.g. profession, generations or race). Both approaches emphasize the contextually embedded nature of organizational culture, and accept that culture can be defined at different levels of analysis with important interactions between them (Erez and Gati, 2004).

Further on has to be taken into consideration that individuals are member of multiple cultures simultaneously (Parker, 2000). Thus it is hard to define where one culture ends and begins a different one. This dilemma can be answered reflecting on the *nature of boundaries.*

Thus we can talk about the *permeability* of boundaries (Martin, 2002; Alvesson, 2003) or their *fluidity* (Topcu, 2005).

The above mentioned characteristics are not meant to question the territorial definition of any cultural investigation (Topcu, 2005), but they rather enhance our understanding regarding the nature of cultural boundaries and thus help to give a better definition of similarities and differences.

The nature of multicultural organizations

In the followings I specify the definition of multicultural organization through insights gained from a comparative analysis within the theoretical framework regarding the (1) *nature of identities* and (2) *nature of cultural boundaries* (Table 3).

Table 3: The main dimensions of multicultural organization within the theoretical framework (based on Parker, 2000; Martin, 2002; Martin et al., 2006 with their completion)

	Nature of cultural boundaries	**Nature of identity**	**Source of identity**
Integration (managerial)	Organizational boundaries; stable and permeable	Single, fixed	Organizational culture
Differentiation (managerial and non-managerial)	Subcultures' boundaries; stable and permeable	Multiple identity	Multiple (sub)cultures
Fragmentation (descriptive)	Issue specific group boundaries; fluid	Fluid identity (decentred, processual)	Issue specific cultures (fluid)

Within the **integration** and **managerial** approach an organization is circumscribed by a stable and unambiguous boundary, tending towards an equilibrium state (Hernes, 2004), and the cultural boundaries overlap with the organizational boundaries, assuming a monolithic and fixed identity, with a static focus on being identified. Van Dick et al. (2004) presented an organizational identification typology, where an individual can identify him- or herself with (1) his or her career (personal level); (2) different subunits within organization (e.g. departments, project teams, etc.) or (3) with the organization as a whole. The integrationist studies consider only the third possibility, supposing that all newcomers are value-based selected and socialized (Dose, 1997) into a culture characterized by consistency and

consensus, and the resulting organizational identification is stable over time, making predictable the behaviours and emotions of the employees. A low degree of identification or disidentification with the organization is possible, but this is seen as an exception (Alvesson, 2006). This can be explained with the social identity theory (Ashforth and Mael, 1989), which emphasizes *organizational* identification as a source of a sense of order, stability and clarity. Here the organization one belongs to provides the source of identity. Within this view the individuals are "loyal soldiers" (Alvesson, 2006), emphasizing the conformist and adaptable nature of identity constructions in organizations.

The focus is on the content of culture, on what identity is (should be), taking a "top – down" perspective on multiculturalism, where leaders are advised to admonish discrimination, to discourage stereotyping, reduce inequity and to serve as role models for normative behaviour within organization. Within this frame the leaders are responsible to transform *organizational identity into the salient identity* of the organizational participants indifferent of the individual and situational characteristics.

Within the **differentiation managerial and non-managerial** frame from the social identity theory perspective each subculture ("we") is organized around some core values, and on a "consciousness of difference" considering an out-group, and by boundaries between "we" and "them", the boundary management capturing the interactions between the different groups (Dahler-Larsen, 1997). The cultural boundaries are assumed to be coincident with explicit, objectively measurable variables, such as hierarchical status, occupation, division or project group. Here the subcultures one belongs to provides the source of identity (Van Dick et al., 2004) resulting in a multiple identity. Based on SIT we can say that identity is situational, and in each situation other identification is the salient one. In this case the focus is on the relationship of the diverse identity elements, and the permeability of the boundaries.

As we could see these two perspectives emphasize a static view on culture (1) drawing a stable and permeable boundary around different communities (organization or subculture) and (2) stressing how the identity *is managed,* overwhelming our ability to see how it is constructed within the the cross-cutting, enhancing, orthogonal, or competing subcultures. For this we need to take into consideration the latter perspective of our theoretical frame.

Within **fragmentation and descriptive** the identity is fluid, processual ("becoming"). The "stugglers", "surfers" and "storytellers" (Alvesson, 2006:6-8) are all engaged in *identity*

*work (*Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003), constructing their identity in a context of contradictory and ambiguous demands (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003). As a principle of cultural analysis can be, to take into consideration the organizational participants' own definitions of their "we-ness" (Dahler-Larson, 1997), and no previously described demographic, professional or organizational unit should be taken for granted as the source of identification (Parker, 2000; Martin, 2002; Martin et al., 2006). The individuals are members of multiple cultures, they are in constant interaction and thus the boundaries of these cultures become crossable and permeable, being in continuous change. In this case identity work is stressed from a process perspective, and the boundaries are crossable and fluid.

Summary

In this chapter I summarized the different theoretical perspectives existing within the fields of organizational culture and workplace diversity regarding multicultural organizational context.

Based on the above given brief theoretical review, we can talk about *multicultural organizational context if we acknowledge the existence of multiple cultures, with boundaries given by the ongoing categorization processes, and which represent the sources of individuals' identity.*

The multicultural organizational context has diverse interpretations within the different combinations of the organizing theoretical frame:

1. Within integration and managerial approach it is defined by a clear and stable organizational boundary, where the source of individual's identity is the organization itself.
2. Within the differentiation managerial and non-managerial perspective it is defined by boundaries drawn around diverse subcultures, where the individuals' multiple identities have as their source the different subcultures.
3. Within the fragmentation and descriptive approach it is defined by fluid boundaries where the individual is involved in ongoing identity work.

Thus, with the above given description of the multicultural organizational context I identified the location and nature of boundaries, which will be relevant for the definition of the socialization process – the focus of next chapter – and the possible sources of the individuals' identity (trans)formation during socialization.

III. Understanding socialization within a multicultural organizational context

Introduction: socialization within social sciences

The concept **socialization** and the body of research and theory subsumed under this heading embraces different fields of social sciences, such as psychology, sociology and anthropology across several centuries[25].

One of the central questions tackled by socialization – through which process (or rather say processes) the organism (biological entity) is transformed into person (social and cultural entity)? – can explain partly the fact that several disciplines claim it as a central process and focus on its study applying different methods and being interested in different aspects of the process.

Early work on socialization is within the field of **psychology,** where it's seen as a process of human development. According to Freud's psychosexual stage theory socializees move through a linear series of developmental stages (Cole and Cole, 2006) the focus being on *personality structure* – id, ego and superego – the environment only accelerating or hindering the process. In contrast, Piaget (1950, in Cole and Cole, 2006) suggests that socialization is rather a collectivistic process and develops a cognitive – developmental stage theory. These theories proposed by developmental psychologists see socialization as a *process of linear and cumulative cognitive development* and are functionalist in their desire to explain how the children are transformed into competent adults (Lutfey and Mortimer, 2003). An important constrain of these theories is their temporally restricted focus on childhood, assuming that their result are functioning adults (no need for further socialization), and that there is a universal, linear developmental process. This constrain was partly solved by Erikson, who proposed a psycho-social stage theory, suggesting that socialization is a life long process. He identified eight stages, each of them having a main task regarding the development of identity (see Cole and Cole, 2006:402). In contrast with previous psychodynamic perspectives on socialization, behavioural psychologists rather equate socialization with a *learning process*, through which children learn the desired behavioral

[25] For example Clausen (1968) argues that the idea of socialization can already be found in the work of Plato, Rousseau and Montaigne. In social sciences the concept was used for the first time by Edward A. Ross (1896, in Somlai 1997) who delineated the process of „social control" with it.

patterns. Here is important to mention Bandura' s (1968, in Cole and Cole, 2006) *social learning* theory, which identifies direct observation and reinforcement as underlying mechanisms. According to this theory the individual observes someone, and learns from him or her through his or her transformation into a model, whose actions and reactions are memorized and then reproduced. Here the individual is passive, integrating the reinforced environmental cues. This approach makes no difference between imitation and identification, and this way can't explain other socialization related phenomena like identity development.

Anthropologists, by contrast, view *socialization* as *cultural transmission*, sometimes even using it interchangeably with the term *enculturation*[26]. Anthropological interest in socialization began with works of Mead and Benedict (at the end of 30's), who were concerned with the ways in which culture affects life transitions, especially from childhood to adulthood (Sam and Berry, 2006). At that time – in the '20s and '30s - "culture and personality" (main figures: Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Franz Boas) was a focus in anthropology interested mainly in traditional and preliterate societies, arguing in the favour of "cultural relativism", claiming that culture is the shaping force not biological heritage (which is a significant answer if we take into consideration the changes going on in Europe at that time). They made an essential contribution to the understanding of socialization through the study of different *rites of passage*. According to their observations these rites fulfill three critical functions in the socialization process: (1) enable insiders to transmit knowledge to the newcomers, (2) signals and gives meaning to the different stages for the individual and collective he or she enters and (3) marks the different roles of insider and newcomer, reinforcing this way the hierarchy, normes. The major limitation of this approach is "cultural determinism", claiming that the individual is a passive recipient, and his or her personality can be shaped by the cultural forces. Nowadays in cultural anthropology due to the influence of symbolic interpretive studies – starting with the work of Geertz (1973, in Geertz, 2001) -

[26] However there is an important difference betwen the two concepts. According to Sam (2006:19) enculturation encompasses „all the learning that occurs in human life, **without any deliberate** effort from the part of someone to impart that learning. It occurs because of the possibilities and opportunities that are present and available within an individual's context". In contrast, socialization - in general - supposes deliberate shaping of the individual, colaboration between the „veterans" and newcomers, more specific instruction and training (Sam, 2006). There is another concept which is closely linked with enculturation and socialization, representing another possible process of cultural transmission: acculturation. If the process takes place entirely in the primary culture than enculturation is the right concept, but if the process derives from the contact with another, secondary culture than the term acculturation is used (Sam, 2006).

socialization is rather viewed as a *collective and interpretive process of reality construction involving the reproduction of culture*.

Sociologists in their understanding of socialization emphasize the ways in which the *individual learns how to fit in the society* (Lutfey and Mortimer, 2003). According to the different interpretations of the socialization process there are three major approaches: (1) structural – functionalist (e.g. Emile Durkheim, Parsons); (2) critical studies (e.g. Bourdieu); and (3) symbolic-interactionist (e.g. Goffman, Garfinkel) (Somlai, 1997). Within the structuralist-functionalist approach the individuals reproduce (consciously or unconsciously) the cultural and social patterns already existing. The values, behaviours of the individuals are the results of the learning of cultural patterns and societal norms (Somlai, 1997). The critical studies are important because they focus on the historical background and the power relations behind the transmitted cultural patterns and societal norms, claiming that socialization is a reinforcing mechanism for societal discrimination. They highlighted hidden aspests of the process such as segregation, marginalization and introduced the concept of "oversocialization" (Wrong, 1961), showing that the so called successful socialization within structuralist-functionalist approach means absolute integration, loose of personal identity, treating individuals as objects of socialization[27]. Within these two approaches (structuralist-functionalis and critical) the individual is rather passive, defining the deterministic end of the agency continuum. More closely to the opposite end of the agency dimension we can find the constructivist, symbolic-interactionist approach where adaptation is often only a superficial process, because the individuals are not passive: they are selective in their perceptions, and they choose between different options, make decisions. Through the interpretation of the deep structures of culture we can realize that what seems natural for a socialized person, is the result of a negotiation process (Somlai, 1997).

In the study of socialization – in all three social sciences mentioned above - two major trends can be observed. The early studies on socialization assume a passive, (over)adapting individual, hereafter there is a subsequent shift towards an active view of socializees, where interaction and interpretation of interaction is the driving force behind socialization (moving this way from one end to the other on the agency continuum). Accompanying this shift the assumption regarding time was also changed, conceptualizing socialization as an ongoing, lifelong process, not limited to childhood, as shown by the growing interest in adult

[27] The destructive effects of socialization taken into its extremes, asking for absolute integration, have been described in studies on total institutions, such as prisons, psychiatric institutions.

socialization, particularly the kind occuring in occupational or organizational context.

Socialization within organizational context: concept clarification

Acknowledging that socialization during childhood cannot prepare the individuals for all the life changes they will encounter, the attention of socialization studies moved towards adulthood, focusing especially on work socialization (Cohen-Scali, 2003, Lutfey and Mortimer, 2003), which encompasses two processes: socialization for work and socialization by work (Antalovits, 2001; Cohen-Scali, 2003). *Socialization for work* refers to attitudes, values and knowledge acquired in family, friendship circles and educational environment, before entering the working world, while *socialization by work* captures the main identity transformations of young adults during transition from school to work (Antalovits, 2001; Cohen-Scali, 2003). The latter process reflects mainly on the beginning period of employment named as early career stage (Hall, 2002) or organizational entry (Van Maanen and Schein, 1976)[28].

While acknowledging that socialization experiences in early career have major impact on later career success (Hall, 2002) and the subsequent development of skills, attitudes and behaviors (Ruiz-Quintanilla and Claes, 1995) and captures one of the major transitions in adulthood asking for rapid identity changes, reorganization of several domains of life (Cohen-Scali, 2003, Ivanovits, 2003), I agree with Lutfey and Mortimer (2003) saying that work socialization is an ongoing process involving – maybe less intense – work transitions such as entering different organizations, job transfers, promotions. These different work transitions have been studied under the heading of *occupational* or *organizational socialization* (Ashforth, Sluss and Harrison, 2007). The occupational socialization studies focused on work content-specific values, behaviours and attitudes - required in different occupational settings and their learning process (e.g. case studies on the process of becoming a fisherman in Alaska (Bourassa and Ashforth, 2001) or an accountant (Ibarra, 1999; Fogarty, 2000; Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson, 2001)), while the organizational socialization studies beside occupation specific learning, emphasize the importance of learning the organizational culture and the existing power relationships within organizations. These two processes – in my opinion - can be separated only artificially, because they occure simultaneously. However,

[28] One of the most comprehensive study on socialization of young adults entering labour market – across two occupations and eight European countries – has been done within WOSY (Work Socialization of Youth) international research project (Ruiz-Quintanilla and Claes, 1995).

most of the studies emphasized one or the other aspect of the process. In the following I review studies on organizational socialization within the cultural-organizational frame defined in the previous chapter, showing that the integration of occupational socialization studies is needed in order to have a more profound understanding of the process.

Socialization within multicultural organizational context

Taking a broad approach I consider organizational socialization[29] as the process which "mediates between the individual and organization and through which the individual becomes part of an organization pattern of activities"[30] (Ashforth, Sluss and Harrison, 2007:1). This broad definition makes possible to accomplish my research aim, because:

(1) *socializees* are viewed as (*inter)active actors* instead of passive recipients of information in a relatively deterministic developmental model;

(2) socialization process is *continuous* – the process is not limited to a certain time period (e.g. the first year), and the individuals may be organizational newcomers or veterans, who undergo work transition (e.g. transfer to a new department, promotion, etc.); and

(3) socialization occurs – in parallel – within a *variety of contexts* (e.g. occupation, workgroup, organization).

As such, organizational socialization incorporates influences from areas of life course socialization, occupational socialization, socialization in total institutions (Ashforth, Sluss and Harrison, 2007) and group socialization[31] (Moreland and Levine, 2001; Myers and McPhee, 2006).

The review of organizational socialization studies will be structured according to the organizational-cultural frame defined in the previous chapter. Before the detailed description of the relevant organizational socialization studies, in Table 4 I summarize (1) which organizational boundaries are crossed during socialization process, and (2) what does it mean for the individual to become part of the organization.

---

[29] In this chapter I focus on organizational socialization post-entry.

[30] Later, according to the assumptions of the three perspectives of my organizing frame (defined in Chapter 2), I give more specific definitions of the concept.

[31] These studies gain significance within the differentiation approach (see later).

Table 4: The main questions of organizational socialization within the organizing framework

	Which boundaries are crossed by the individual?	**What does it mean for the individual[32]?**
Integration (managerial)	Organizational boundary	Salience of organizational identity
Differentiation (managerial and non-managerial)	Subcultural boundaries	(trans)Forming and managing multiple identities
Fragmentation (descriptive)	Fluid, issue specific group boundaries	Continuous identity work (ongoing interpretive process)

The *importance* of socialization process is given by the possible *outcomes* (e.g. attitudes (particularly job satisfaction and organizational commitment), behaviour (performance, role innovation), internalization of organizational values, identity change, and maintenance of organizational inequalities) and its increasing *frequency*, due to workplace interventions and changes, ranging from the individual (e.g. project works, expatriats) to organizational levels (e.g. mergers and acquisitions).

In the following I give a detailed description of relevant studies regarding the process, content and possible outcomes of organizational socialization process within the organizational-cultural framework defined earlier.

Socialization: integration perspective

Within this perspective o*rganizational socialization*[33] is the process which takes place whenever an individual crosses an organizational boundary[34] and through which he or

[32] As I will show later, socialization assumes other underlying processes too (e.g. acculturation, work related learning, etc.).

[33] Here the term refers to how individuals adjust to personal transitions (e.g. entering new organizations, jobs) and not to organizational transitions (e.g. mergers, restructuring, etc.).

[34] I agree with the statement of Van Maanen and Schein (1979) that whenever an individual crosses an external (organizational) or internal (e.g. functional, hierarchical) boundary a new socialization process begins, but within the integration approach the focus is on organizational boundaries, because here the organization is characterized by a unified and consistent culture. Besides this, as I am going to show, the majority of studies within this approach focus on newcomers, crossing organizational boundary, on their post – entry experiences. I am going to discuss the other crossings in the following two approaches, where the focus will be on the different subcultures

she is transformed – through organizational actions planned and controlled by upper management[35] - from an outsider to integrated and effective organizational member (insider) (Feldman, 1976) and the survival of the organization depends on the success of this process (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979). Although theorists defined socialization in different ways, three underlying assumptions can be identified:

(1) Newcomers face objectively "real" organizational demands, which define what correct and incorrect individual behaviour is (Ashford and Taylor, 1990).

(2) To become insiders, newcomers must learn (Schein, 1968; Van Maanen, 1975; Morrison, 1993a, b; Ashforth, Sluss and Saks, 2007), acquire (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979), internalize and practice new ways of thinking and behaving (Trice and Beyer, 1993) – meaning that successful socialization involves some amount of change in the individual, their adjustment to the new organizational context.

(3) This process of adjustment to the new organizational context occurs with individuals being aware of some of the required changes (Ashford and Taylor, 1990), being proactive actors of the process (Miller and Jablin, 1991; Morrison, 1995; Ashforth, Sluss and Saks, 2007).

The importance of organizational socialization for both individuals and organizations is shown by its main functions: (1) to transform newcomers into **effective members** of their organization (Feldman, 1976); (2) to ensure the **continuity of** the central organizational **values** (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979) through newcomers' learning an organization's cultural perspective (to convey a coherent sense of what organizations represent and how the individuals should construct events and meaning). These functions are reflected in the studied socialization outcomes: (1) the effectiveness is considered through measures of performance, while the membership is captured through attitudinal measures of attachement like organizational identification[36], involvement (job and organization), organizational commitment; (2) the personal value change of newcomers, and the way they become aligned with the organizational values through socialization, are captured through Person-Organization fit measures.

(e.g. functional, hierarchical) – differentiation approach – or the multiple cultures within the organization – fragmentation approach.

[35] However there are a few non – managerialist studies within this perspective, as I am going to show later.

[36] Oganizational identification can be defined as the extent to which an individual defines himself or herself in terms of the organization and what is perceived to represent (Asforth and Mael, 1989).

In sum, socialization is seen as a process with double dynamics - *acculturation*[37] to the organizational norms and values and *development of attitudinal attachement* toward organization (Delobbe and Vandenberghe, 2001).

Within this perspective the process is captured through the traditional perspectives on organizational socialization, such as the studies on **organizational socialization factors - socialization tactics** (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979; Jones, 1986; Allen and Meyer, 1990; Ashforth and Saks, 1996; Ashforth, Saks and Lee, 1998), training programs, orientation programs and mentoring programs[38] – and on the individual's **proactive behaviour**, their influence on the **learning content**, and the **short term and long term outcomes** (Saks and Ashforth, 1997). Despite extensive research on the above mentioned different spheres of organizational socialization, there has been little effort made on their integration into a comprehensive model. Till now integrated socialization models have been proposed only theoretically (e.g. Saks and Ashforth, 1997; Cooper-Thomas and Anderson, 2006; Ashforth, Sluss and Saks, 2007), being tested empirically only some possible combinations (e.g. the interaction of socialization tactics and individual proactivity, and their influence on socialization outcomes (Klynn, 2001; Gruman et al, 2006); the mediating role of learning between tactics and adjustment outcomes (Kammeyer-Mueller and Wanberg, 2003; Hart and Miller, 2005; Ashforth, Sluss and Saks, 2007)).

These traditional studies are (1) *content* focused - (a) creating possible *typologies* for the *socialization methods* used by the organization (studies on socialization tactics), or by individuals (studies on proactivity); (b) *categorizing* the content of the *transmitted organizational messages or gathered information by the individual* (studies on learning) - and (2) look for interactions between different variables (variance theory), proposing different *models of organizational socialization success*, identifying different organizational socialization *success indicators* (proximal and distal outcomes).

In the followings first I will describe briefly these traditional approaches of

---

[37] Traditionally management scholars studied acculturation in relation to expatriation (e.g. Atiyyah, 1996; Selvarajah, 1998) and organizational acculturation following mergers and acquisitions (e.g. Nahavandi and Malekzadeh, 1988; Larsson and Lubatki, 2001). Here acculturation relates to individual (and not organizational) transition within domestic context (contrary to expatriate studies).

[38] Prior to Van Maanen and Schein (1979) work these discret activities – trainings, orientation programs and mentoring – were in the focus of socialization, missing a framwork linking them together. The socialization tactics model offered by Van Maanen and Shcein (1979) filled this gap, so in the followings I am going to refer only at socialization tactics as defined in their seminal work.

organizational socialization and present the existing combinations of these different perspectives and based on a possible integrative model formulate the main limitations of these perspectives.

Context of organizational socialization: tactics

One of the most active areas of socialization research has been the study of how the organizations structure newcomers' socialization context through the use of socialization tactics, based on the socialization model defined in the early work of Van Maanen and Schein (1979) (e.g. Jones, 1986; Allen and Meyer, 1990; Ashforth and Saks, 1996; Ashforth, Saks and Lee, 1998; Cable and Parsons, 2001; Kim, Cable and Kim, 2005, Gruman et al. 2006; Saks, Uggerslev and Fassina, 2007). Their typology of socialization tactics delineates "a set of interrelated theoretical propositions about the structure and outcome of organizational socialization processes" (pg. 214) proposing six bipolar tactics that can be used by organizations to structure the socialization experiences of newcomers[39]: (1) *collective vs. individual*: grouping the new hires and putting them through a common set of experiences vs. handling each individual separately and putting him or her through a more or less unique set of experiences; (2) *formal vs. informal*: differentiating the newcomers from organizational members for a defined period of socialization or not doing so; (3) *sequential vs. random*: fixed sequence of steps vs. changing, ambiguous sequence of events; (4) *fixed vs. variable:* offers a defined timetable for the socialization process whereas the variable does not; (5) *serial vs. disjunctive*: old members teaching the new hires vs. not using role models in the process; (6) *investiture vs. divestiture*: acknowledging and strengthening the skills and identity of newcomers vs. denying and taking them away.

Even if in their early work Van Maanen and Schein (1979) were careful to point out that their list of tactics is not exhaustive, the above mentioned six tactics have commonly been used, researches on socialization tactics answering three main questions: (1) how do they

[39] Within the integrationist perspective I use the newcomer concept, to define those employees who have recently joined an organization. Here the concept is associated with a specific tenure range, often the initial one year after entry (Feldman, 1976), taking into consideration the absolute organizational tenure (measured in months or years). However (Rollag, 2004; 2007) argues that relative tenure (defined as an individual's percentile rank in the firm's tenure distribution) explains much better the self – and co-workers perception of newness than absolute tenure. I will take into consideration this argument when I discuss socialization within the fragmentation perspective.

influence organizational and individual outcomes (e.g. Ashforth and Saks, 1996; Jones, 1986) (2) which tactics are the most influential for the different outcomes (e.g. Allen and Meyer, 1990; Cable and Parsons, 2001; Saks, Uggerslev and Fassina, 2007) and (3) are the above defined tactics independent (Jones, 1986; Ashforth, Saks and Lee, 1997). Although there is research confirming that the six tactics are independent (Ashforth, Saks and Lee, 1997) many researchers build their work on Jones' (1986) categorization of the six tactics (e.g. Allen and Meyer, 1990; Cable and Parsons, 2001; Kim, Cable and Kim, 2005). Jones (1986) suggested that these six tactics represent the end points of the *agency continuum*. The collective, formal, sequential, fixed, serial and investiture tactics provide information for the newcomers and they encourage them to passively accept present roles, thus reproducing the status quo, which was called by Jones (1986) as *institutionalized socialization*. At the opposite end of the continuum are the individual, informal, random, variable, disjunctive and divestiture tactics which encourage newcomers to challenge the status quo and develop their own approaches towards the organizational demands, termed by Jones as *individualized socialization*. The institutionalised tactics reflect a more structured and planed process of socialization while the individualized tactics reflect the absence of structure, the newcomers being socialized rather by default than design (Ashforth, Saks and Lee, 1997). With the exception of divestiture (vs. investiture)[40] tactic the individualized tactics are *defined mainly by what they are not*. Beside this categorization, based on factor analysis, Jones (1986) distinguished *content tactics* (sequential-random, fixed-variable), *social tactics* (serial-disjunctive) and *context tactics* (collective-individual, formal-informal).

In the followings I focus my review on institutionalised socialization tactics, through which organizations structure the newcomers' socialization context, one basic assumption of this approach being – in accordance with the integration approach – that this context is planed and coordinated by upper management.

---

[40] There is a dispute in the literature whether investiture or divestiture is part of institutionalised socialization. According to Ashforth and Saks (1996) the investiture tactic covaried with the institutionalised tactics because of the use of business graduates as sample. They assume that organizations hire business graduates especially for their learned capabilities and values, so their interest is to reinforce the attributes of the newcomer graduates instead of questioning it. In research on total institutions (e.g. police, firefighters, military) divestiture is associated with institutionalised socialization. This can be explained by their strong culture, unique organizational identity and the emphasis on control (Ashforth, Saks and Lee, 1997). For this reason in their latest study Ashforth, Sluss and Saks (2007) propose the separate study of the relationship between investiture tactic and adjustment outcomes.

The investigation of the institutionalised socialization tactics - theoretically proposed by Van Maanen and Schein (1979) and empirically refined by Jones (1986) - has been one of the most active area of socialization research. Since the seminal work of Jones (1986) the studies on socialization tactics were focusing on the relationship between the institutionalized tactics and outcomes (all using the scales developed by Jones (1986) to measure the six tactics in its complete or modified version), adding only new adjustment outcomes (Saks, Uggerslev and Fassina, 2007), such as job performance, personal change, organizational identification (first in Ashforth and Saks, 1996), and perceived P-O fit (first in Cable and Parsons, 2001) this way providing limited advancement in the understanding of the dynamics of socialization tactics. Researches demonstrated that institutionalised tactics are associated with lower role ambiguity, role conflict and intent to quit (Asforth and Saks, 1996; Laker and Steffy, 1995), lower role innovation[41] (Allen and Meyer, 1990; Ashforth and Saks, 1996; Black and Ashford, 1995; Jones, 1986), higher job satisfaction (Ashforth and Saks, 1996; Laker and Steffy, 1995), higher organizational identification (Ashforth and Saks, 1996), higher (newcomers' subjective) P – O fit perception[42] (Cable and Parsons, 2001) and changes in personal values towards higher value congruence (Cable and Parsons, 2001). Allen and Meyer (1990) and Baker (1992) reported positive association between institutionalized socialization and organizational commitment, even though Allen and Meyer (1990) couldn't demonstrate the existence of a strong relationship - between socialization tactics and commitment -after 12 months. So, consistent with the initial theorizing of Van Maanen and Schein (1979) and Jones (1986) successive research demonstrated that collective, formal, sequential, fixed, serial and investiture tactics reduce uncertainty, anxiety and produce affective and cognitive attachment to job and organization. The organizational identification deserves particular attention from my perspective, because it suggests that institutionalised tactics can determine individuals to define themselves is terms of their organizational membership (Ashforth and Saks, 1996), *relating their identity with the perceived identity of the organization (Ashforth and Mael, 1989).*

---

[41] However Ashforth and Saks (1996) admit that institutionalised tactics can foster either role innovation or conformity, because the **tactics simply frame the socialization process, but do not define a certain content** (the transmitted messages are not studied), and via institutionalised tactics a wide variety of content can be conveyed.

[42] Cable and Parsons (2001) found that positive P – O fit perception is correlated with content and social aspects of socialization (namely with sequential, fixed, serial and investiture tactics), but surprisingly the context (collective and formal) tactics were unrelated with it

Most of the previous studies treated the different adjustment variables equally. However recently researchers have begun to make distinction between "proximal" and "distal" outcomes of adjustment (first proposed by Saks and Ashforth (1997) in their theoretical multidimensional socialization model). Bravo et al. (2003) suggest that role stressors (role conflict and role ambiguity) and interpersonal relationships (with supervisors and co-workers) are proximal variables, developing or hindering newcomers' career-enhancing strategies. Kammeyer-Mueller and Wanberg (2003) recommended new proximal variables, such as task mastery, role clarity, work group integration and political knowledge, while keeping the classical distal outcomes (organizational commitment, work withdrawal, turnover hazard). Recently Saks, Uggerslev and Fassina (2007) proposed role stressors (role conflict and role ambiguity) and perceived fit as *partial mediators* between socialization tactics and distal outcomes (e.g. organizational commitment, job satisfaction, job performance, intentions to quit and role orientation) based on uncertainty reduction - and Person – Environment (P –E fit) theory[43] . Besides this, some studies take into consideration individual characteristics (e.g. self efficacy (Jones, 1986), employee proactivity[44] (Griffin, Colella and Goparaju, 2000; Kim, Cable and Kim, 2005)) or belief strength in work values (Kraimer, 1997) as moderator variables[45].

Regarding the *importance* of the different tactics Jones (1986) based on the tripartite factor structure found that the social tactics were the most influential, followed by the content tactics and then the context tactics. Allen and Meyer (1990) found that the serial – disjunctive tactic is the most influential for the role orientation, and the investiture – divestiture tactic is

---

[43] There is evidence that newcomers assess how well they fit their new environments regarding their values and goals (PO fit) and their skills and knowledge (PJ fit) (e.g. Kristof, 1996; Cable and Parsons, 2001) and that socialization tactics are related to PO fit (Chatman, 1991). Beside this have been found that PJ and PO fit are related with job satisfaction, organizational commitment and turnover intentions (Kristof – Brown et al., 2005) and that they mediate relations between some of the tactics and the above mentioned outcomes (Cooper – Thomas, van Vianen and Anderson, 2004).

[44] This approach, which takes into consideration the interaction of individual and organizational factors, is known as the *interactionist perspective on socialization* and I am going to discuss it in more detail after the summary of the proactivity studies too.

[45] In the Appendix nr. 2 the studies are reviewed along the used method (cross – sectional vs. longitudinal method and the use of complete vs. modified versions of Jones' (1986) scales), sample (graduates vs. other newcomers), studied outcomes and mediators.

the only one with long – term effect for commitment. Cable and Parsons (2001) demonstrated that the social tactics were most strongly related with newcomer's PO fit perceptions, and according to Allen (2006) they have the strongest impact on turnover too. Saks, Uggerslev and Fassina (2007) found that the social tactics have the strongest force on all the adjustment outcomes[46]. However, is important to mention here, that longitudinal studies (Allen and Meyer, 1990; Ashforth and Saks, 1996) found that the impact of tactics is stronger in the early stage of socialization, than later, which might reflect changes in the needs of newcomers (and the institutionalised tactics not being the most useful way to fulfil them).

Regarding the *independence* of the socialization tactics Allen and Meyer (1990) proposed the existence of a latent factor – role certainty -, which was proved empirically by Baker (1995), who found that beside this factor the interaction with job incumbents is also an important latent factor.

The results of the above mentioned studies have to be treated carefully for at least three reasons:

(1) they used simple bivariate correlations to establish possible relationships between the different tactics and outcomes, not taking into consideration the existing correlation between the socialization tactics (Jones 1986; Allen and Meyer, 1990; Black, 1992) and possible relationships between the different outcomes (as exceptions see Asforth and Saks, 1997; Saks, Uggerslev and Fassina, 2007 differentiating between proximal and distal outcome variables);

(2) the above mentioned relationships were assessed through cross-sectional analysis, which according to Saks, Uggerslev and Fassina (2007) shows stronger relationship than longitudinal studies, based on complete or modified versions of Jones' (1986) measures[47] (exceptions are the longitudinal studies of Allen and Meyer (1990) and Ashforth and Saks (1996));

(3) all studies used samples of - mainly business or MBA – american[48] graduates (see

[46] This raises the question of role models (who are they, how can this be structured, etc.) and of the type of socialization programs which can provide the benefits of the social tactics.

[47] The use of the original questionnaire leads to stronger relationships (Saks, Uggerslev and Fassina, 2007).

[48] This can be an important shortcoming for at least two reasons: (1) tactics have a stronger impact on graduates than on veterans (Saks, Uggerslev and Fassina, 2007) raising the question of adapting the tactics to particular

as exceptions Black' (1992) study on American expatriates[49], Klynn' (2001) study on executives and Bravo et al. (2003) study on an eight European country based sample across two professions).

These studies were focusing on the *structured socialization context* looking for a (direct) *causal link* between the different tactics and the possible adjustment outcomes, based on cross-sectional studies of recent graduates. They failed to simultaneously incorporate individual and organizational influences interacting across levels of analysis, overlooking the fact that newcomers also encounter unstructured contexts that are not coordinated by upper management (Hart and Miller, 2005) and the fact that orientation programs – besides the official way of helping and giving information for the new employees - can be also the co-workers primary means to exercise pressure on newcomers (Moreland and Levine, 1982). Recognizing the critical role of work units, supervisors and co-workers acts (Moreland and Levine, 1982), as independent of the upper management plans, the concept of socialization gets a broader meaning, moving away from the assumption that the informal (individualized) tactics result from the organizational inaction[50] (Hart and Miller, 2005) and shows as an important limitation of these studies the lack of exploration of the relationship between structured and unstructured entry contexts. Another essential **limitation** from my perspective is that research on socialization tactics with a few exceptions is **not process oriented**, not answering the following questions: (1) what kind of activities contain the different tactics (in

---

newcomers, and (2) the ignorance of macro level factors, such as national culture, which raises the question of generalizability of socialization theories across national cultures (exception Taormina' (1999) study on Chinese employees and Bravo et al. (2003) study on an international sample of eight European countries) and the question of international adjustment (as exceptions see the theoretical model for international adjustment proposed by Black, Mendenhall and Oddou (1991) and Black' (1992) study on American expatriates adjustment in JApan, Korea, Hong Kong and TAiwan).

[49] Black (1992) found that the serial and fixed tactics were negatively correlated with role innovation and the collective tactic being positively correlated with role innovation, this latter result being in contradiction with the results of the other studies using Jones (1986) measures. This raises the possibility that the established relationships are due to the used sample: fresh business graduates. So there is a need of investigation of the relationships on samples with diverse demographic, professional and tenure characteristic.

[50] This contradicts Jones' (1986) statement regarding the unidimensionality of socialization tactics (institutionalised vs. individualized tactics), and the interpretation given for this by Ashforth, Saks and Lee (1997), proposing instead of OR relationship rather an AND, arguing that the structured and unstructured socialization contexts are simultaneous influences bringing into our attention the different nature and sources of these two kinds of tactics.

current studies they are treated like black boxes), (2) do the socialization tactics (and their impact on newcomers) change over time and how?; (3) what kind of processes are activated by various socialization tactics (underlying mechanisms: why and how are socialization tactics influencing adjustment variables)?; (4) how is the cultural – organizational context[51] driving and conditioning the use of the different tactics[52]? and (5) what is the role of tactics for the adjustment of the different newcomers (e.g. graduates vs. tenured individuals).

In sum, can be stated that socialization contexts ensure the nature of the newcomers' experience, but we miss the underlying mechanisms and message content to be able to explain how these experiences are interpreted by the newcomers themselves.

The role of individuals: proactivity studies

As long as the studies on socialization tactics focused primarily on how organizations socialize newcomers to become effective organizational members, emphasizing the organizational actions and bringing evidence of how organizations through the use of different tactics can influence newcomers' personal and role outcomes, which benefit organizations and newcomers, they reflect a limited approach of socialization, because they consider individuals as passive or in best case reactive in their own socialization process. As a response to this approach in the 1990s appeared a new stream which explored the *means* by which newcomers facilitate proactively their own socialization process.

Most researchers narrowed the *operationalisation* of newcomer proactivity to (1) information and feedback seeking about the new work environment in order to reduce uncertainty and become effective employees[53] (e.g. Miller and Jablin, 1991; Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1992; Morrison 1993a, 1993b; Crant, 2000), (2) control gaining in the workplace (Ashford and Saks, 1996), or (3) self management (Saks and Ashforth, 1996), emphasizing

[51] There are other important contextual factors - which are not in the focus of the present study, but need further research where they can be taken into consideration – such as organizational size, structure, occupations (macro factors), leadership styles, technology, group dynamics (meso factors) and wider societal factors (labour market, trends in career preferences of the used sample).

[52] The only study which took into consideration the role of organizational context (organizational structure, size and job design) was undertaken by Ashforth, Saks and Lee (1998). In their study they argue that the contexts predicts the type of socialization tactic that is used and not the specific content that is conveyed.

[53] These studies focused on newcomers – usually graduates entering their first full time job – in the encounter stage of socialization (the first six months of their employment, in accordance with the stage models).

this way different, isolated, underlying mechanisms.

These researches focused on identifying (1) the possible tactics (e.g. inquiry, observation, etc.), (2) contents[54] (e.g. performance feedback, technical-, referent informations, etc.), and (3) sources (e.g. coworkers, supervisors, impersonal sources, etc.)[55].

Regarding the newcomers' proactivity tactics the first typology was offered by Miller and Jablin (1991), who offered seven tactics: (1) *overt questions*; (2) *indirect questions* (usually used when newcomers are uncomfortable with the type of information needed or the source of the information); (3) *third parties* (secondary sources); (4) *testing limits;* (5) *disguising conversations* (raise questions in a covert, subtle way); (6) *observing*; and (7) *surveillance*. All the tactics identified by Miller and Jablin (1991) were *social*, meaning that they assume the presence of tenured employees as source of needed information. This perspective was completed by Ostroff and Kozlowski (1992) bringing into attention *non-social practices* (such as reading organizational documents, performance appraisal results), which are also used by newcomers. Ashford and Black (1996) broadened this information - and feedback seeking approach adding five new tactics: (1) relationship – building (positive bond with the supervisor); (2) general socializing (e.g. participating in social events, etc.); (3) networking; (4) job – change negotiating and (5) positive framing (with the last one bringing in the first cognitive tactic). Saks and Ashforth (1996) take a different approach considering self-management as underlying mechanism and distinguish the following tactics: (1) self goal setting; (2) self observation, (3) cueing strategies, (4) self reward, (5) self punishment and (6) rehearsal.

The first influential content typology was also offered by Miller and Jablin (1991) who identified three categories of information: (1) referent information (how to perform successfully one's job role), (2) appraisal information (how others evaluate his/her performance) and (3) relational information. Morrison (1993a; 1993b) further developed this categorization differentiating technical – (how to perform the job), referent - (what others expect from newcomers), normative informations (about the organizational culture, defined in terms of history, norms and values) and feedback (performance and social). Ostroff and

[54] The specific content areas are in the focus within the learning perspective on socialization too, but as long as within proactivity studies the emphasis is on the frequency of the acquired information, within the learning perspective the question of utility of the different informations and their differentiated contribution towards adjustment is adressed.

[55] For a more detailed summary of proactivity studies see Appendix nr. 3.

Kozlowski (1992) and Chao et al. (1994) suggested that besides referent, normative and social informations newcomers also need information regarding the power distribution within the organization and more direct information regarding the functioning of the organization (e.g. structure). Summarizing the above mentioned studies Morrison (1995) proposes seven types of information needed during encountering organizations: technical, referent, social, appraisal, normative, organizational (e.g. structure, strategy, etc.) and political.

The above identified tactics gain meaning through their relationship with the contents they provide: the frequence of use of different tactics (and sources) depend on the information type newcomers are looking for and these patterns are relatively stable over encounter phase (Morrison, 1993a; Morrison 1995). Newcomers engage in monitoring more frequently than in inquiry, the only exceptions being technical and referent informations (Morrison, 1993a; Morrison, 1995) and they obtain even passively a semnificative amount of organizational and normative information (Morrison, 1995). This highlights an important discrepancy: newcomers found technical, referent and political informations the most useful, but they receive unsolicited mostly organizational and normative informations (Morrison, 1995), proving the limited effectiveness of institutionalized socialization in providing newcomers with the mosd useful informations. Holder (1996) in her study on blue collar women reports contradictory results – the participants considered the overt techniques more effective than the more covert tactics – which brings to light the importance of individual differences (e.g. occupation, gender) and organizational context (e.g. level of danger), not taken into consideration in previous studies.

Both supervisors and coworkers are important information sources (Morrison, 1993a): the leaders providing some of the most important socialization outcomes (Bauer and Green, 1998; Kammeyer – Mueller and Wanberg, 2003), while coworkers are the most influential regarding work group integration (Kammeyer – Mueller and Wanberg, 2003).

In the same time proactivity predicts acculturation (Morrison, 1993b), social integration (Morrison, 1993b), task mastery (Morrison, 1993b; Kammeyer – Mueller and Wanberg, 2003), role clarity (Miller and Jablin, 1991;Morrison, 1993b; Holder, 1996; Kammeyer – Mueller and Wanberg, 2003), political knowledge (Kammeyer – Mueller and Wanberg, 2003), job satisfaction (Ashford and Black, 1996; Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1992), knowledge of different content domains (Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1992) and organizational commitment (Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1992). However regarding the above mentioned relationships empirical research indicates conflicting results, where a possible explanation can be, that proactive tactics are not the only factors influencing the outcomes.

The proactivity literature completes the socialization tactics perspective in two major regards: (1) proves the active role of newcomers in their socialization process, defining (some of) their means, and (2) identifies the most influential sources (e.g. supervisors, coworkers), emphasizing this way the unstructured context of socialization.

But there are at least four **limitations** we need to take into consideration: (1) they look only for causal links between proactivity and proximal and distal outcomes, missing to capture the possible interactions between the context and choice of proactive tactics (Griffin, Colella and Goparaju, 2000) and this way **not being really process theories**; (2) the different sources (e.g. coworkers, supervisors) are passive or reactive, not taking into consideration their behaviors toward the newcomers; (3) they focus mostly on **information seeking** which is **only** one of many (e.g. fit theories, learning) mechanisms through which socialization occurs, raising the question of integration, (4) they do **no**t provide us with details regarding the **usefulness of informations** (see as exception Morrison, 1995), or their contribution to the newcomer learning (see as exception Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1992), (5) they treat the **status quo as a stable given** that the newcomers should learn and adopt (Ashforth, Sluss and Harrison, 2007).

In sum, can be stated that proactivity studies inform us about the newcomers' actions in a limited way, not being able to explain or interpret these experiences or to contextualize them.

Interactionist approach: socialization tactics and newcomers' proactivity

The above presented two approaches describe the two endpoints of the individual agency continuum: the first approach contains studies on tactics employed by the organization in order to structure the newcomers' socialization process and regards individuals as passive, reactive agents (and in isolation) (e.g. Van Maanen and Schein, 1979, Jones, 1986, etc.), while the second one emerged more recently (e.g. Miller and Jablin, 1991; Morrison 1993a, 1993b) as an alternative approach towards understanding socialization, views the individuals as active agents, focusing on the newcomers' proactive behaviour during the adjustment period. A third description – known as the interactionist approach – integrates the previous two research streams, examining the interaction of individual and organizational factors and their influence on socialization outcomes (Reichers, 1987; Kraimer, 1997; Bauer and Green, 1998; Griffin, Colella and Goparaju, 2000; Gruman, Saks and Zweig, 2006).

Reichers (1987) in his early call for an interactionist view of socialization

hypothesized that a fully understanding of newcomer socialization is possible only if both the actions of newcomers and insiders are taken into consideration.

The studies following his call brought some unexpected results regarding the possible relationships between socialization context (e.g. tactics, insiders, etc.) and proactivity. One of the first surprises was, when Bauer and Green (1998) didn't find additive effects of information seeking and manager behaviour on socialization outcomes, but quite the contrary, information seeking was not influential. This questions the results of proactivity studies presented earlier, because according to this study the information seeking effects may have been partially due to contextual influences which were not taken into consideration. Griffin et al. (2000) took further this idea, arguing that socialization tactics affect the probability of newcomers engaging in different proactive tactics, the nature of proactivity and that they interact in order to influence socialization outcomes. However there are only two empirical studies which investigated this interaction (Kim, Cable and Kim, 2005 and Gruman, Saks and Zweig, 2006).

Gruman et al. (2006) found that newcomers are more likely to engage in proactive behaviours when they go through institutionalised socialization, and that proactivity *partially mediates* the relationship between socialization tactics and adjustment variables. The latter is an interesting result, because is suggesting that socialization tactics operate through other processes in addition to proactivity in producing adjustment outcomes, so there is a need for further exploration regarding the underlying mechanisms (as I am going to show next, learning (Saks and Ashforth, 1997; Cooper – Thomas and Anderson, 2002) can be another one). Gruman et al. (2006) reinforced - across diverse adjustment variables the result of Kim at al. (2005) for PO fit perceptions -, that proactive tactics have a *replacement effect (act as moderator)* for institutionalised socialization tactics, meaning that institutionalised tactics are more strongly related to socialization outcomes for newcomers who are less proactive. According to these two studies there is an interesting contradiction – during institutionalised socialization newcomers are more proactive, but institutionalised tactics are more likely to result in positive socialization outcomes if newcomers are less proactive – which needs further exploration on different samples (e.g. experienced workers who are expected to be more proactive even if their socialization is individualized) and with the use of different methods in order to be able to explain it.

In sum it can be stated that some research has examined how specific organizational socialization tactics influence specific proactive behavior, and how they jointly affect adjustment, but neglected the content of the process and other underlying mechanism (beside

information seeking). In the following I will review the studies on learning content during socialization, which partly corrects the above mentioned limitation.

Socialization content

Recent research places learning at the core of organizational socialization (Miller and Jablin, 1991; Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1992; Saks and Ashforth, 1997; Cooper – Thomas and Anderson, 2006; Ashforth, Sluss and Saks, 2007) creating different *learning content typologies* (Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1992; Chao et al., 1994; Haueter et al., 2003; Myers and Oetzel, 2003) and looking for relationships between the different types of content and adjustment outcomes. These studies argue that learning is the content and the direct outcome of socialization process, which enables a better measurement of the effectiveness of the process (Chao et al., 1994; Haueter, Macan and Winter, 2003), while the distal outcomes – such as organizational commitment[56], turnover or job satisfaction – can be influenced by other processes beside socialization, so then provide an incomplete measurement of socialization.

Multiple newcomer learning typologies have been proposed and tested, answering the "*What* is learned during socialization?" research question (Chao et al., 1994; Thomas and Anderson, 1998; Haueter et al, 2003; Myers and Oetzel, 2003; Taormina, 2004). These content areas are similar with those identified as domains of information seeking within proactivity studies, but as long as in proactivity studies was acquired the frequency of searching for these informations, within learning studies is measured newcomer's content related knowledge.

One of the first and most influential model and questionnaire was proposed by Chao et al. (1994) who developed and tested a six dimensional model for learning content: (1) *performance proficiency*, involving the tasks and knowledge, skills and abilities necessary for the job; (2) *people* domain, consisting of necessary working relationships; (3) *politics*, regarding information about the power structures within the organization and the formal and informal work relationships; (4) *language* professional, technical language and jargon unique to the organization, working group or profession; (5) *organizational goals and values, "*an understanding of the rules or principles that maintain the integrity of the organization" (pg.732); (6) *history*, the organization's and work unit' traditions via stories, myths and

[56] See a summary of the different social processes underlying organizational commitment in Beyer, Hannah and Milton, 2000.

rituals. Thomas and Anderson (1998) found the social, role, interpersonal resources and organizational knowledge as important content areas, explored further by Cooper – Thomas and Anderson (2002). The most recent addition is the Newcomer Socialization Questionnaire (NSQ) which was developed by Haueter, Macan and Winter (2003). In order to overcome the shortcomings of Chao et al. (1994) questionnaire – such as the simultaneous use of different levels of analysis (e.g. job, work group and organization) within the identified domains (Klein and Weaver, 2000) - they related the content domains with the socialization levels (organization, work group and task/job). The various questionnaires investigate partially overlapping learning contents, but there is still missing a reliable and valid measure in order to move forward in the understanding of the learning focused process (Cooper – Thomas and Anderson, 2006).

The different domains of learning have been associated with the "classical" attitudinal outcome variables, such as higher job satisfaction (Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1992; Chao et al., 1994; Klein et al. 2006), organizational commitment (Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1992; Klein et al., 2006), stress (Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1992), intentions to quit (Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1992) and more "proximal" outcomes, which reflect more directly socialization at different levels (e.g. job, work group, organization), such as task mastery (Chan and Schmitt, 2000), identity resolution (Chao et al., 1994), and more recently added success indicators such as, social integration (Chan and Schmitt, 2000; Cooper-Thomas and Anderson, 2006), changes in psychological contract expectations (Thomas and Anderson, 1998).

An important shortcoming of these studies is that even though they assume that learning is central to the socialization process, less research focuses on how the process itself affects knowledge acquisition. For example Ostroff and Kozlowski (1992), Chao et al. (1994) based their content typology on newcomers' reports, without looking for time reference or context.

Recently some studies partly corrected this shortcoming, looking for possible relationships between socialization tactics and/or proactivity (as operationalizations for socialization process) and learning content (Kraimer, 1997; Klein and Weaver, 2000; Cooper – Thomas and Anderson, 2002; Kammeyer-Mueller and Wanberg, 2003; Hart and Miller, 2005; Ashforth, Sluss and Saks, 2007). However Hart and Miller (2005) are the only researchers who operationalised socialization including both institutionalised and unstructured (e.g. stories, rituals, trial by fire) tactics, acknowledging that these are theoretically distinct but empirically co-occurring experiences, looking for the mediational role of learning content between the different tactics and role ambiguity and role innovation. In their study only

performance proficiency was found as significant mediator between fixed and serial tactics and role ambiguity, showing that the mediating role of message content depends on the outcomes considered. The only study which looks how organization-driven tactics and individual-driven proactivity *jointly* affect newcomer learning and adjustment outcomes was done by Ashfort, Sluss and Saks (2007)[57]. They found that learning mediates partly the influence of the process on adjustment outcomes, concluding that "how newcomers are socialized has substantive and symbolic value over and above what they actually learn" (Ashforth, Sluss and Saks, 2007:448).

Studies addressing both context and (real) time reference of learning were using innovative methods. For example, Gundry and Rousseau (1994) studied how newcomers learn about their organization's culture and their place within it by decoding critical incidents. They asked their respondents to describe the critical incidents, mentioning who was involved in the incident and the particular point in time at which the event occurred, considering the date of hiring as point of reference, and asked them to give their interpretation of the events. The majority of critical events occurred in the first year of employment (more than half of them in the first six months), and positive incidents occured tipycally at hire and through the first year, while negative incidents were predominant after the first year (Gundry and Rousseau, 1994). This result suggests that not only the first year of employment is critical as considered in traditional socialization studies (see stage studies later). Most of critical events involved interactions with one's own manager and were mostly negative experiences, or conflicts between co-workers, strengthening this way the previous results regarding critical agents of the process. Siehl and Martin (1988, in Martin, 2002), studied the understanding of jargon, stories and humor as a measure of the extent to which newcomers identify with the organization for which they work. For example, they studied the newcomers' understanding of technical and emotional jargon[58] through multiple-choice vocabulary test and they recorded all situations during the orientation program that made the participants laugh. Results demonstrated that newcomers became familiar first with technical jargon, next emotional

[57] The interactionist studies examined how specific forms of socialization tactics and specific forms of proactivity jointly influence adjustment outcomes, but not learning (e.g. Kim, Cable and Kim, 2005, etc.).

[58] While technical jargon is task related and emotionally neutral, emotional jargon is concerned with feelings, nicknames, etc. (Martin, 2002).

jargon was learned and only later the stories were interpreted correctly[59]. They observed that the content of jokes changed during the training: at the beginning they had no explicit organizational content, but only after a few days they had as target competitive organizations or people from other divisions, drawing these way boundaries between cultural insiders and outsiders within and between organizations.

In sum, apart from few exceptions the learning related studies were looking for causal links between the different learning domains and success indicators, implicitly assuming that there is always learning going on (see for counter example Adkins, 1995), and this learning is cumulative, progressive over time and is limited to the anticipatory and encounter phase of socialization (see also the stage models). This way, even these studies don't help us to answer the question, how newcomers in reality aggregate or not, take into consideration their experiences during entrance, and what personal change unfolds during the process.

Socialization in time: stage models

Right from the beginning many researchers tried to capture the process of socialization through a generalizable sequence of stages. Even though this is the only perspective on socialization incuding time considerations, I agree with Bauer et al. (1998) that these models are not true process models because they focuse on *what* occurs during socialization, defining the different stages based on this, instead on how and why these changes occure. According to these models in general four main stages can be identified (there is no agreement between the studies regarding all the four stages): *anticipation* (before entering organizations), *encounter* (experiencing reality shock, surprise (Louis, 1980); immediately after entering organizations, newcomers confront their expectations with the organizational reality, make the first attempts to become organizational members), *adjustment* (individual and organizational actions designed to facilitate integration) and *stabilization* (organizational actions demonstrating the full acceptance of the individual) (Fisher, 1986; Wanous, 1992; Bauer et al., 1998; Moreland and Levine, 2001; Ashforth, Sluss and Harrison, 2007)[60].

The first stage model was proposed by Buchanan (1974), who identified three stages: initiation, performance and organizational dependability. Two years later Feldman (1976)

[59] Here correct means the most common interpretation within the organization of a particular story (Martin, 2002).

[60] For a more detailed review on the different stages see Fisher (1986) and for a detailed description of the historical development of the stage models see Ashforth, Sluss and Harrison (2007).

offered one of the most influential stage models, with anticipatory, accommodation and role management stages. This initial models were based on empirical research and gave a detailed description of the different stages, however disagreeing on whether the anticipatory or stabilization (organizational dependability in Buchanan (1974)) are part of the process. This first research boom was followed by silence, the stage models were included in different literature reviews (e.g. Fisher, 1986; Bauer et al., 1998), new theoretical stage models were proposed emphasizing different aspects of the process, such as coping with stress during socialization (Nelson, 1987) or role transitions (Nicholson, 1987) but were empirically not further explored . The latest stage models were developed within group context (Moreland and Levine 1982; 2001) and I am going to present them in detail within differentiation perspective on socialization (see later).

These models focus on the process-outcome, the process being limited in time. After its successful completion – the individual being integrated – there is no need of further changes, development (as the only exception can be mentioned the model proposed by Moreland and Levine (2001), who introduces the stage of resocialization, signaling that socialization is an ongoing process). Accordingly the **main limitation** of these models is related to their core contribution to the socialization research: *time is taken into consideration, but rather approximated than explored* (e.g. encounter stage entails the first six months, and stabilization the following six months). Another important limitation of stage models is that they focus only on *changing in*, and do not consider the *changing from* (Louis, 1980).

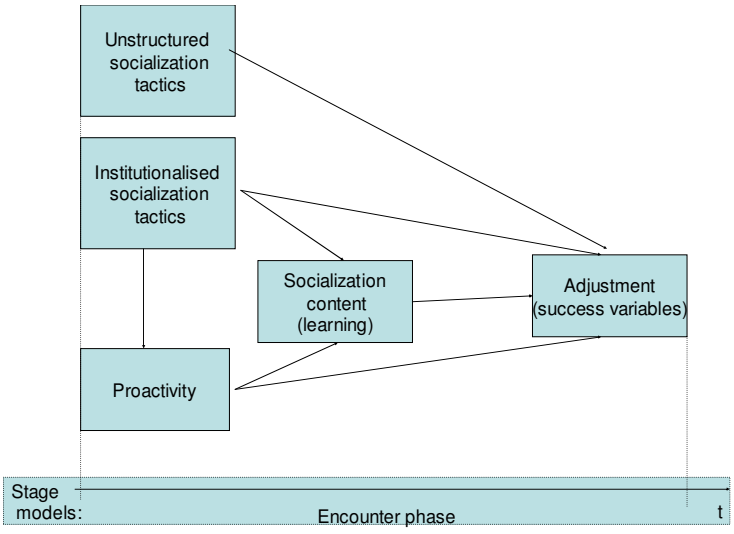
A promising approach capable to capture the role of this double transition and of real time is through the study of critical events that may serve as turning points, signaling stage changes. One possible way to realize this is through ethnographic studies on *rites of passage*. These researches offer a culturally sensitive, detailed description of the transition, capturing the critical events which separate the three different stages: separation, transition and incorporation (Trice and Beyer, 1993). *Separation* means unfreezing and letting go" (Louis, 1980) as a necessary preliminary step before assuming the new role. Explicit rites of separation can be found in occupations where physical danger is present (e.g. policeman (Van Maanen, 1973), firefighters (e.g. Scott and Myers, 2005) "fisherman" (fish processor) (Bourassa and Ashforth, 2001)) or where strong negative emotions are involved (e.g. Cahill (1999) describes how the fear of death and working with cadavers is normalized for mortuary science students). Less extreme separation rites, such as off – site assessment centers, travel to new locations, different trainings in isolation from old organizational members, are common

is organizations. The more unique and strong the desired culture of an organization is, the more important are the separation rites (Trice and Beyer, 1993). During the second phase, *transition*, the initiate is marginal, neither in the old role, nor in the new organizational role. This stage is marked usually by taking away the personal names of the newcomers. Bourassa and Ashforth (2001) describe for example how a becoming fisherman can gain back his personal name. The incorporation rites are often missing, however sometimes taking the form of welcoming induction ceremonies (Trice and Beyer, 1993).

Toward an integrative model of socialization within integration persective

The above described models all explained a special aspect of the complexity of socialization process. Based on the empirical and partly integrative models mentioned earlier (Kammeyer-Mueller and Wanberg, 2003; Hart and Miller, 2005; Gruman et al., 2006; and Ashforth, Sluss and Saks, 2007) an integrative model can be constructed which shows the different empirically studied relationships within the "classical" approaches of organizational socialization and allows the identification of some of their major limitations.

Figure 1. Empirically based integrationist model of socialization within integration perspective (based on Kammeyer-Mueller and Wanberg, 2003; Hart and Miller, 2005; Gruman et al., 2006; Ashforth, Sluss and Saks, 2007)



Within this empirically based integrative model:

- The *stage models* set the *timeframe* for socialization through the definition of the encounter stage (the first six months within the new job and organization) as the most

intensive period within socialization.

- The institutionalised *socialization tactics* set the *context* of socialization having a direct impact on the proactive behaviour of the newcomers (interactionist studies), the various forms of learning and the more distal adjustment outcomes (learning is partly mediating their influence on distal outcomes).
- The *proactivity and unstructured socialization tactics* bring into attention the different *agents of socialization*, their behaviors (e.g. coworkers, supervisors and mentors' actions, newcomers' information seeking behavior etc.) and their positive relationship with learning content and distal outcomes (success variables).

The main limitations of the integrationist integrative model are[61]:

- The stage models rather approximate than estimate the time frame and because the adaptation patterns are likely to change over time – as the newcomer learns other needs might appear - the consideration of the encounter phase only confines the generalizability of the findings.
- The institutionalised socialization tactics reflect the organizational context (e.g. organizational culture, structure), but are not equal with it.
- Only one possible connection between the process modeling variables is given, not taking into consideration several mutual interactions between the different tactics (e.g. proactive influence of the applied organizational tactics,) or the relationships between the diverse adjustment' outcomes.
- The model considers only successful socialization processes (job keepers), assuming personal development (learning) not taking into consideration other forms of adjustment (e.g. replication as defined by Nicholson, 1987) or negative outcomes (e.g. deidentification with the organization, Anderson- Gough, Grey and Robson, 2001).

In sum it can be stated, that within this perspective the socialization is seen as a unidirectional and linear learning process, with different stages through which newcomers become assimilated in the organization.

---

61 Another intriguing limitation of these studies comes from the samples they use - graduate or MBA students, employed in their first – full time job – meaning that the studied individuals are newcomers not only to the organization, but to the work world too. The studies focusing only on the organizational outcomes and actions give a narrow answer to the question: What happens with young adults finishing their studies and entering the work world?

This (integrative - integrationist) definition is problematic because (1) it underestimates the effect of the workgroups and subcultures on the socialization process; (2) it does not take into consideration the raw experience of exploring and becoming part of the occupational and organizational life; (3) it does not identify the critical events, which may work as "turning point" in this process, (4) it does not elaborate on the specific mechanisms through which socialization actually occur, (5) it is linear, unidirectional, not taking into consideration real time and finally (6) it does not reflect on the transition processes.

The mentioned frameworks are able to describe the type of socialization that occurs within organizations and have a "congruence and assimilation" orientation. This traditional approach ignores the possibility of a socialization process that is more reflective of the diverse identities of the individuals entering organizations, and which answers the question of how can be diverse identities incorporated into organizational work rather then assimilated. This question is going to be further elaborated within the differentiation and fragmentation approach, where congruence and assimilation will not be required from the newcomer in order to be considered successfully socialized.

So as next steps, there is a need for the integration of group socialization models and further studies from the newcomer's perspective in order to facilitate understanding of the experience of socialization process.

Socialization: differentiation approach

Within the integration perspective I reviewed studies on organizational socialization answering the question of how newcomers can become effective organizational members and how the continuity of organizational culture can be ensured. These studies focused on organization as the socializing entity (e.g. Van Maanen and Schein, 1979; Jones, 1986; Allen and Meyer, 1990), and newcomers' successful socialization resulted in their attachement and acculturation to organization. But, as research has confirmed, various organizational agents (e.g. supervisors, coworkers, mentors, etc.) help newcomers to adjust by providing information, role models, access to informal networks and other work relevant resources (Major, 1995; Morrison, 2002; Kammeyer-Mueller and Wanberg, 2003), being less under organizational control (Cooper-Thomas and Anderson, 2006), bringing into attention the fact that newcomers are socialized - besides organizational actions - through unstructured interactions (Anderson and Thomas, 1996; Moreland and Levine, 2001; Hart and Miller, 2005) which are rather grounded in localized contexts than in the wider organization (Ashforth, Sluss and Harrison, 2007).

There are different views on the role of the localized context[62] in organizational socialization. One approach assumes that organizational socialization takes place primarily within work groups (e.g. Moreland and Levine, 2001; Moreland, Levine and McMinn, 2001), going as far as to claim, that "much of the work on organizational socialization is misguided" (Moreland and Levine 2001:87). They suggest that workgroup socialization is more important than organizational socialization (Moreland and Levine, 2001). There are a few studies which tried to answer the question of relative importance of workgroup and organizational socialization, measuring how committed employees are to their work groups and organization or to what extent do they fit their group or organization. For example Adkins and Caldwell (2004) studied to what extent newcomers fit with their groups and organization was related to job satisfaction. They found interpretable cultural differences between the studied work groups (regional and professional differentiation) and concluded that both integration types i.e. work group and organization have a strong influence on job satisfaction, suggesting that both sharing the values[63] with the overall organization and with the group to which the person belongs are important. This contradicts the previous assumption made by Moreland and Levine (2001). Riketta and Van Dick (2005) proved in their meta-analysis that employees are more strongly identifying with their work groups than with the organization, but both identifications have important roles regarding outcomes at different levels. The associations are stronger when the level of analysis of the foci of attachement and outcome match.

These results suggest that both work group and organizational processes are relevant, raising the question of their relationship. As a possible answer Ashforth, Sluss and Harrison (2007) propose a model where the local level mediates the relationship between the individual and organization, the processes occurring simultaneously (in parallel), but not with similar timing (Anderson and Thomas, 1996). According to Wanous et al. (1984) this is the case, when: (a) organization uses collective socialization tactics (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979), so the newcomer experiences the organization and his or her newcomer group in the same time; (b) newcomer enters an already established group; (c) insiders who don't know each other are placed into a new (project) group. In my opinion this is a rather narrow approach

[62] As I am going to show this can be the immediate workgroup, occupation or other subculture, as defined in the first chapter regarding differentiation perspective on the cultural - organizational context.

[63] They used Organizational Culture Profile (OCP, O'Reilly et al., 1991), which measures the relative importance of 54 values in describing the culture of an organization or group, and the desirability of the same value for the individual, enabling the researcher to assess similarity between an individual's preferences and the studied culture across a wide range of values.

taking into consideration that organizations offer multiple foci for identification for their newcomers including the workgroup[64], the department or the organization itself (Ashforth and Johnson, 2001). Accordingly in the following I review studies where newcomers go through a multiple entry process: they enter in the same time the organization and the studied subculture(s).

The differentiation perspective, where organization is seen as a collection of subcultures, makes it possible to consider the socialization processes within subcultures, and to reflect on possible relationships between the parallel processes of socialization[65] within the different subcultures (e.g. workgroups, professional, department subculture, etc.).

Research on localized socialization is mainly focused on workgroup socialization. Based on the considered *socialization context* two approaches can be distinguished: (1) studies focusing only on the workgroup and ignoring the overall organizational context and the possible intergroup relationships[66] and (2) researches taking into consideration different subcultures and – the mainly conflicting – relationships between them.

Within the first approach two broad categories can be distinguished in function of the chosen method: (1) questionnaire based studies looking for causal link between socialization process and its outcome (e.g. Moreland and Levine, 1982, 2001; Chen and Klimoski, 2003; Chen, 2005; Kroman Myers and McPhee, 2006) and (2) longitudinal qualitative studies on workgroup socialization often under the heading of occupational socialization, offering rich description of the experiences of individuals in specific contexts (e.g. Holder, 1996; Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson, 2001). The researches within the first category correspond to the differentiation and managerial perspective, and the studies within the second group match the differentiation and non-managerial approach.

Within the first category the most influential theoretical model was proposed by

---

[64] The workgroup can be characterized as a subculture, but this is only one of the many possible subcultures formed within organization around occupational, geographical, hierarchical or demographical dimensions (e.g. age, gender) (Sackmann et al., 1997; Parker, 2000; Martin, 2002).

[65] These parallel processes of socialization raise the question of time: the socializees can be in different stages of their socialization within the different subcultures.

[66] These can be considered studies within integration perspective at a group level, but taking into consideration the revealed processes I will discuss it under the differentiation approach.

Moreland and Levine (1982; 2001), who defined socialization as "a process of mutual adjustment that produces changes over time in the relationship between a person and a group" (Moreland and Levine, 2001:69). They offer a detailed relational[67] stage model of socialization, where the stages are demarcated from each other by role transitions. The identified stages are: (1) *investigation*[68], when the individual is assessing the different groups and the group is engaging in recruitment, considering the individual as prospective member; (2) *socialization*[69], when the group teaches the inew member the expected behaviors, thoughts and feelings and the individual tries to influence the group's expaectation in order to fit his or her own interests; (3) *maintenance*[70], when the individual engages in role negotiation in order to become full member of the group; (4) *resocialization*[71] occurs if in the previous stage full membership was not acquired or this was questioned by the group (the individual became a marginal member), this way the group and individuals offer to each other a second chance to recover full membership; (5) *remembrance,* after the individual left the group, and became an ex-member. The model focuses on cognitive processes, identifying three primary processes – evaluation, commitment and role transitions – that occur continuously until members exit the group, and it is best suited for small voluntary groups. However little research to date has empirically tested or supported their model (for an exception see Kroman Myers and McPhee, 2006). Furthermore the model focuses on attitudinal outcomes and not addresses proximal outcomes of the process. The latter limitation was addressed by Chen and Klimoski (2003) who studied newcomers' performance - defining it for the first time in socialization studies as a multidimensional concept, with job, career, innovation, team, organization and customer service as specific domains - as proximal outcome of workgroup socialization. They found that newcomers' prior experience influences team expectations that has a strong direct and less accentuated indirect (mediated by newcomers' motivations) impact on final performance of newcomers. The major shortcoming of this study - being static, not taking into consideration the development of performance – was corrected by Chen (2005) who studied how newcomer's performance evolves throughout socialization, proposing and testing a longitudinal, multilevel model of newcomer adaptation in teams. He defined adaptation

[67] They consider the mutual interactions and influences between group and individual (contrasting the interactionist studies which considered only the organizational (tactics) influence on newcomers' proactivity).

[68] Corresponding to the anticipatory stage of the organizational socialization stage models.

[69] Corresponding to the encounter stage

[70] Corresponding to adjustment

[71] Corresponding to stabilization

narrowly, as the rate of change in newcomers' performance, where change was interpreted as improvement, taking a positive approach towards socialization. Both studies found that socialization is much shorter – 2 or 3 months - than that described in previous stage studies arguing in the favour of *simultaneous processes within organizational and workgroup contexts with different timing*.

These studies capture socialization narrowly, asking for further studies describing the context and specific interactions, leading us towards the studies within the second category that emphasize the raw experience of exploring (e.g. Hallier and James, 1999) and offer a rich description of the rites of passage and different signs of progress towards becoming full member, such as the use of jargon, stories (e.g. Bourassa and Ashforth, 1998; Hallier and James, 1999; Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson, 2001).

Following a long tradition many of these studies are interested in intensive and relatively harsh socialization processes, studying occupation related subcultures involving dirty work[72] (e.g. butcher, funeral director, prison guard, and firefighter) with low prestige. The special characteristics of dirty work - such as inherent danger and unconventional work hours or habits - facilitate the development of strong occupational cultures, with a strong sense of difference from the rest of organization (e.g. Ackroyd and Crowdy, 1990). Bourassa and Asforth (1998) describe how the newcomers on a fishing boat in Alaska through collective and divestiture techniques (e.g. calling them "new guys", asking them to obey arbitrary instructions from all senior members, use of punishment) in a short time from inexperienced individuals are transformed into a cohesive team. The newcomers through socialization come to question their incoming identity and rebuild the identity of an expert seaman. Through socialization a new positive work identity – fisherman - was built, which helped the workers to transform the dangerous, demanding but unmotivating work into a heroic and mystic occupation for man. This study captures socialization as an identity regulation process that defines the newcomers' social relationships: integration into the occupational (sub)culture (resulting in a positive work identity: fisherman), and in the organizational hierarchy through differentiation from (against) the authority figures (captain, cook and supervisors) and rejection of identity offered to them by the organization (fish processors).

Besides these studies grasping dramatic and revolutionary transformations, another

[72] Dirty work can be defined as „tasks physically, morally or socially tainted" (Asforth and Kreiner, 1999:414).

stream can be identified, where the focus is on the socialization of high prestige groups: young professionals[73], such as accountants, management consultants, doctors (Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson, 2005).

Studies within the second approach – which takes into consideration the existence of different subcultures and their relationhip(s) - are important because they capture *socialization as a process of reproducing inequalities within organizations*. For example, Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson (2005) describe how gendered is the process of socialization of accountant trainees within the big multi-national accounting firms. DiSanza (1995) describes the socialization process of part time bank tellers into two branches of a bank, showing how they were assimilated into the bank teller occupation and branches, sometimes facing contradictory demands from members of the two subcultures, while differentiating themselves from full time employees and those working at higher hierarchical level.

In sum, *socialization from differentiation approach is a process of integration and differentiation in the same time.* As newcomers are integrated within different subcultures, they also internalize the way how the group seeks for positive distinctiveness, differentiates itself from other groups. *Socialization this way is a process of perpetuating and sustaining intergoup power inequalities and conflicts.*

The process is further complicated by the fact that during this process newcomers receive *contradictory messages from different subcultures*. This creates inner tensions for the individuals, and raises the question of identity work as underlying mechanism of socialization and the need to consider the role of previous identities too (Ibarra, 1999; Beyer and Hannah, 2002). A detailed investigation of these processes is offered within the following fragmentation perspective.

[73] Groups possessing „esoteric knowledge that has economic value when applied to problems (e.g. sickness) faced by people in society" are defined as professionals (Pratt, Rockmann and Kaufmann, 2006:235).

Socialization: fragmentation approach

Above, we have seen how studies (many of them quantitative and managerial), described under the integrative approach, tend to focus on the interrelationships between the variables of the process of socialization, which are defined through cross-section surveys (Ashforth, Sluss and Harrison, 2007). Differentiation-based studies tended to examine the process of integration in various stable subcultures, focusing on identity regulation. Thus, what is common to both perspectives is that they tend to assume a generally passive, or at most reactive, individual, in a stable context, and place the emphasis on the organization and on the identity regulation activity of the various subcultures. This is complemented by the fragmentation-based approach, which focuses on the newcomers' continuous identity work (e.g. Ibarra, 1999; Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Pratt, Rockmann and Kaufmann, 2006), and assumes that the individual is active in the process and the relevant context is given by the issue specific, multiple cultures within the organization.

Socialization studies which focus on the newcomers' **identity work** assume significant and continuous **personal changes** during the process, with the individual playing an active role in this transformation (e.g. Ibarra, 1999; Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Pratt, Rockmann and Kaufmann, 2006; Ibarra and Petriglieri, 2007; Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2010).

Instead of providing a comprehensive review of the literature dealing with identity work, I will focus on the mechanisms of identity work performed during the process of socialization, and on identifying the factors influencing this process, in agreement with the comments of Pratt et al. (2006:238): this is a "loosely related field of research."

Researchers focusing on identity work offer multiple definitions of socialization, depending on what goals and background mechanisms they assign to the process. The first definition is to be found in Ibarra's (1999) article, which defines socialization as the fine-tuning of possible selves, achieved by the individual through experimenting with provisional selves. The goal of the individual is to create an authentic (professional) identity, and to ensure the social acceptance of that identity. Pratt et al. (2006) believe socialization to be a cycle of work and identity learning, where the individual (trans)forms his/her desired (professional) identity[74] along the work-identity integrity challenges due to work content

[74] The concepts of desired identity and possible identiy are used as synonims, and in the Research framework

and/or process and struggles to achieve work-identity integrity that is also validated by his/her surroundings. This latter definition assigns an additional goal to the process, and the study proceeds to uncover further background mechanisms, making the individual's experimenting with their provisional self just one of several possible identity work tactics.

The definitions above show that there is no single approach to the process that is agreed upon by everyone. Researchers assume different goals and different mechanisms at play in the background. At the same time, a careful reading of the studies above points to the existence of a common, hidden and cyclical process:

(1) The *perception of an identity threat*, which leads the individual to recognize various identity differences (e.g. between their present and desired identities, between their work and identity, etc.).

(2) *Experimenting*: Using various identity work tactics to mitigate and/or transform the identity threat (e.g. testing a new identity or identities, neutralizing or re-interpreting external identity threat). The individual may focus on different goals, such as authentic, positive identity, coherence or social validation.

(3) *(Re)defining the identity narrative*: integrating the consequences of the process described above into the individual's personal narrative (Ibarra 1999; Beyer and Hannah 2002; Pratt et al., 2006; Ashforth et al., 2008, Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2010).

The *motivation* for the process is provided by the perception of some kind of identity threat[75], which in the relevant socialization literature was defined as a difference between the present and the desired identity, or as a difference between the work content/process and the desired identity. However, the researchers applied different assumptions regarding the formation of desired identity, its content, or its relationship with the ideal (expected by the organization) identity. Consequently the individual had to answer different questions along the process and used various identity work tactics. (see Table. 5).

---

subchapter will be given its detailed definition (see later).

[75] The literature uses the term identity threat, but this does not always denote a negative event. As we will see later, there may be events when the term identity challenge may seem more appropriate. Thus, I will use the term identity threat in the thesis, albeit in a value-neutral way.

Table 5: Types of identity work

Key question	Assumptions	Identity work tactics	Results	Main authors
How to realize desired identiy?	At the beginning of the process the desired identity can be well defined or embryonic. The desired identity and the ideal (expected by the profession/organization) identity are reconcilable. The individual consciously manages his/her desired identity realization process.	a. Imitation (holistic or selective) b. Patching c. Splinting d. Enriching	Identity development Identification	Ibarra, 1999; Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Grey, 2004; Pratt et al., 2006
How to transform desired identity or the factors threatening its realization?	The differences between ideal and desired identity are perceived as manageable by the individual. The individual struggles to protect his/her desired identity, or its (trans)formation processes	a. *Focuse on positive factors ("refocusing");* *b. Imbue with positive content;* *c. Improve relationships;* *d. Selective social comparison;*	Identity development (selective) Identification	Pratt, 2000 Ibarra and Petriglieri, 2007; Kreiner and Sheep 2009;
How to resist factors threatening desired identity or its realization process?[76]	The ideal identity is ambivalent, or The differences between ideal and desired identity can't be managed. The individual struggles to protect his/her desired identity, or its (trans)formation processes	a. *Jouissance* *b. Cinism* c. True to self d. Splinting e. *Avoidance* *f. Denial* *g. Postalgia* *h. Nostalgia*	Protection of desired identity Self alienation De-, disidentification	Dirsmith and Covaleski, 1985; Ibarra, 1999; Anderson-Gough, 2002; Ybema, 2004; Kosmala and Herrbach, 2006; Pratt et al., 2006; Ibarra and Petriglieri, 2007;

[76] The questions and identity work tactics written with italics are not studied within the organizational and/or professional socialization literature, their importance is recognized within identity work researches. Ibarra (1999), Pratt et al. (2006) and Ibarra and Petriglieri (2007) mention these processes (see the splinting and true to self tactics), but do not explicitly focus on them in their studies. In order to be able to interpret the empirical results I do need to reflect on these questions too.

Most researchers who operationalized the socialization process using identity work emphasized the individual's own initiatives, assuming that the individual determines the process according to their own goals (see Ibarra, 1999; Grey, 2004; Pratt et al., 2006). In this case, the individual is striving to realize their possible identity (Ibarra, 1999) or identity project (Dahler-Larson, 1997; Grey, 2004), and employs a variety of identity work tactics to do so. Besides, they also assumed that the desired identity and the ideal (expected by the organization) identity are reconcilable. In the socialization process described by Ibarra (1999) the consultants desired identity was the "successful consultant", and they struggled to realize it through the imitation of role models. The newcomer doctors enriched their desired professional identity according to the organizationa expectations, and became "Boot way" doctors (Pratt et al., 2006).

Based on the degree of the perceived difference between the current (real) and desired identity, on the degree of development of desired identity (well defined vs. embryonic), the individual employs various identity work tactics (background mechanisms) to shape their new identity. According to Pratt et al. (2006), individuals use the following tactics to create their new identity: *enriching* (through a deeper understanding and fine-tuning of the possible identity), *patching* (creating a complex identity through the integration of alternative identities) and *splinting* (using previous positive identities). These tactics are not independent of one another: the individual uses them in a set order (splinting, patching, enriching). Not all three were employed in every single case, however. The background mechanisms identified by Pratt et al. (2006) have been described by other research studies too. Beyer and Hannah (2002), using a sample of experienced engineers, found that newcomers, through their socialization, integrate elements of their old identities into what they learn in the new environment, using the patching technique mentioned earlier.

These background mechanisms make it possible for the individual to strive for identity development[77], and by using the feedback received in the process (Pratt et al., 2006; Ashforth et al., 2008), to integrate their new, transformational identity into their *identity narrative* (Ashforth et al., 2008; Ibarra and Barbulescu, 2010). This latter points out the goals of the process as well: ensuring the continuity of the identity narrative, which is only possible if the individual, internally, feels it to be *authentic* and *congruent with themselves*, and if important organizational players reinforce it from the outside (*social validation*) (Ibarra, 1999;

[77] Identity development can be defined as the gradual improvement of competencies, and decrese of differences between present and desired identities, through the latter's enrichement and completion.

Ainsworth and Hardy 2004).

These studies assume a less painful, positive process (Alvesson, 2010). At the same time, however, other studies point out that in cases when no role model is present for the individual to follow, or if organizational expectations point to a non-authentic identity, then the individual will do identity work in order to protect the desired identity (see table 5).

Furthermore, we may observe that during processes of socialization involving different professional and organizational environments (consultants [Ibarra, 1999; Anderson-Gough, 2002; Grey, 2004; Kosmala and Herrbach, 2006; Costas and Fleming, 2009], engineers [Beyer and Hannah, 2002] or doctors [Pratt et al., 2006]), individuals use – or omit – the tactics identified above in various combinations, highlighting the influence of context and personal characteristics.

In terms of the *external context*, several *professional* characteristics influenced the process: (1) the *content of the work* (e.g. the difficulty and variety of the tasks to be completed), (2) the *characteristics of the work process* (e.g. intensity – the amount of time spent on the job), and (3) *prior professional socialization* (e.g. the variety of existing work experiences, professional beliefs and adaptation techniques [Beyer and Hannah, 2002] and training [Pratt et al., 2006]). In the case of the *organizational context*, it was the *socialization tactics* – investiture/divestiture and serial/disjunctive (whether or not role models were used) (Ibarra, 1999; Beyer and Hannah, 2002); *stories* (Alvesson, 1994; Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003) and *artifacts* (e.g. professional vocabulary, emotional vocabulary) (Pratt et al., 2006) – which were found to be important influencing factors. As far as individual characteristics are concerned: prior identities (simple or multiple; strong or weak), professional experiences (Ibarra, 1999; Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Pratt et al., 2006) or gender (Ibarra and Petriglirei, 2007) were important in terms of their influence.

The most important contribution of the studies cited – in addition to the description of the identity work tactics discussed earlier – was the close link they established between the learning cycle related to work with the identity transformation cycle. This is a major step towards the understanding of socialization processes: earlier studies, as we have seen, focused either purely on learning related to work, or on more abstract questions of person-organization fit, and were thus unable to explain personal changes.

The discussion above serves to complement our understanding of the socialization process, as it successfully explores and describes the cyclical process of socialization, reflecting on personal changes too, and thus moves beyond the linear, cause-and-effect approach of proactivity and learning models.

Summary

In this chapter I have given an overview of the relevant theories regarding the socialization process(es) within organizational context, following the historical development of this field of study along the various cross-cutting fields of the organizing framework (defined in the previous chapter). The approaches that were introduced this way focus each on other elements of the organizational socialization, but all had in common *that the* ***start of this process is marked by the crossing of an*** *internal or external* ***organizational boundary*** (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979) and "*mediates between the individual and organization and through which the individual becomes part of an organization pattern of activities"* (Ashforth, Sluss és Harrison, 2007:1).

As we have seen, the classical models of organizational socialization –stage models, socialization tactics, proactivity *and* learning - were written within the managerial integration framework and have applied simplified assumptions regarding the place and the nature of the crossed boundaries, as well as regarding the direction and nature of the interaction between the individual and the organization. The assumption was made that the individuals cross a stable and clearly definable organizational or (work)group boundary (cfr. socialization tactics and stage models) and that there exists a one way relation between the individual and the organization: in the case of the socialization tactics and the stage models the direction is top-down, focusing on the organizational influences, but in the proactivity and learning models the focus is on the opposite direction and concentrates on the initiatives of the individuals.

A more nuanced understanding of the socialization process defined above, regarding the place and the nature of the boundaries as well as the direction and the nature of the interactions between individual and organization, was offered by the studies[78] that were written on the following **basic assumptions**:

(1) They acknowledged that newcomers enter not only the organizational community, defined by the socialization tactics, but they enter as well an *unstructured context, not controlled by the management* (Hart and Miller, 2005). Several organizational members (managers, colleagues, mentors, etc.) help the newcomers integrate by offering information, by serving as role model, by granting access to informal networks or to other work related resources, thus proving the importance of the various local contexts besides the wider organizational environment (Ashforth, Sluss and Harrison, 2007). All these studies assumed that the individual *is also crossing the boundaries of several subcultures* when entering the organization. When integrating

[78] See the organizational socialization studies reviewed within the differentiation, non-managerial and fragmentation perspectives of the organizing framework.

in various subcultures, the new members also learn how the group searches for positive differentiation for itself and how it defines its difference from other groups (DiSanza, 1995; Bourassa and Ashforth, 1998; Anderson–Gough, Grey and Robson, 2005). This way during the socialization ***process the individual crosses several subculture boundaries, which are not evident and stable, but are transforming along the individual-organization interactions.***

(2) They assume ***the individual-organization interaction***, where the organization structures and shapes the socialization process, while the individuals integrate, modify or neglect their experiences when entering, and play an active role in their own socialization process, during which they have an influence on the other socialization actors (and in this way have influence on the organization). Furthermore significant personal changes take place (Bourassa and Ashforth, 1998, Ashforth, Harrison and Corley, 2008).

An other essential characteristic of these studies is that they presume a cyclic process and focus on capturing the role of real time (contrary to the stage models) by investigating critical events that serve as turning points and delimit the different stages (e.g. Bullis and Bach, 1989; Bourassa and Ashforth, 1998).

The latest research based on the assumptions mentioned above operationalize the intermediary role between individual and organization of the organizational socialization, making use of the **identity** concept (e.g. Ibarra, 1999; Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Pratt, et.al., 2006; Ashforth, 2007; Ashforth, Harrison and Corley, 2008).

Along the cross-sections of the theoretical organizing framework I differentiated the two main directions of these researches: (1) the studies reviewed within the differentiation, non-managerial framework stress **the identity regulating impact** of several organizational practices (e.g. orientation training, mentoring) (Pratt, 2000; Grey, 2004; Anderson–Gough, Grey and Robson, 2005; Grey, 2005); and (2) the studies within the fragmentation framework focus on the **identity work** of the newcomers and assume a significant and continuous **personal change** during the process, where the individual plays an active role (Ibarra, 1999; Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Pratt, Rockmann and Kaufmann, 2006; Ibarra and Petriglieri, 2007).

The above mentioned studies apply pretty extreme approaches, depending on whether they assume an under-socialized, free and active individual or an over-socialized, organizationally determined individual. In either option we can discover signs that are an indication for the interactions between individual and organization, and in both cases they prove to be important for the development of the socialization process. The studies that focus on the identity work of the individual recognize the importance of social validation (Ibarra, 1999; Pratt, Rockmann and Kaufmann, 2006, Ibarra and Petriglieri, 2007), and as possible resource for the identity work they mention several organizational characteristics (e.g. organizational artefacts, values) and practices

(mentoring, orientation) (Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Pratt, Rockmann and Kaufmann, 2006). The studies that focus on the identity regulation recognize (but do not investigate) that these organizational practices have an impact but do not define the identity work of the individual (Pratt, 2000; Alvesson and Willmott, 2002).

Based on the above mentioned arguments, we can state that further research focusing on the interactions between individual and organization is required. The theoretical model of Ashforth, Harrison and Corley (2008) as well as the empiric research of Thornborrow and Brown (2009) could serve as a starting point. Therefore, in the empirical research introduced in the next chapters the aim is to investigate the socialization process following this need.

Socialization in BIG4 organizations

Before I terminate the theoretical overview, I think it is important to consider the researches on socialization processes that have been conducted on the research field of my choice – BIG4 organizations. In the passed 15 years several studies described the organizational and professional socialization of accountants from the BIG4, taking samples on various hierarchical levels (partners: Dirsmith, Heian and Covaleski, 1997; managers: Herrbach and Kosmala, 2006; assistants and consultants: Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson, 1998a,b; Coffey, 1994). In view of the purpose of the dissertation I would like to review the results of two qualitative studies, based on interpretative tradition that investigated samples of assistants and consultants (Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson, 1998a,b, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2005; also Coffey, 1994). Coffey (1994) has conducted a longitudinal research: she followed ten auditors during the first year of their work, but did not try to give a process oriented interpretation. Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson (1998b, 2005) conducted to my knowledge the most detailed research regarding professional and organizational socialization within BIG4. Data were collected in various offices of two BIG4 organizations between 1995 and 2000, on assistant/consultant and senior level, but they didn't do process oriented interpretation neither. Both studies were conducted in an Anglo-Saxon environment and focused on the professional and organizational socialization of the auditors, investigating how the various essential characteristics of their professional identity change during the process, and which organizational practices have an influence on this. The studies identified the characteristics of successful auditors: speed and efficiency during execution of their jobs, capacity of presenting and systemizing information but with less emphasis on understanding, proactivity, adopting the rules of conduct and dresscode (Coffey, 1994). Furthermore successful management of clients (Andersong-Gough, Grey and Robson, 2000) and time management (Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson, 2001) should be mentioned.

The mentioned research complies with the differentiation, non-managerial and fragmentation approach of the theoretical organizing framework since they identify the essential content elements of the identity work of individuals as well as the identity regulating practices that influence it.

Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson (2000) investigated client orientation as an essential element of the professional identity and aimed to discover the determining identity regulating practices as well. In this case the organizations realizes the definition of the auditor through the relevant other party – the client. This is supported by the various HR systems as well. The salient role of the client appears in recruitment, selection, time and performance management and serves as explanation for overtime, emotional and physical discomforts and for the need of a professional appearance. The client orientation tempers the importance of the wellbeing of the individual and at the same tame covers up the purpose of increasing the profit of the company, but this raises the question about the independence of the auditor as well. We can read a similar interpretation about *time consciousness* as a central element of the professional identity (Coffey, 1994; Anderseon-Gough, Grey and Robson, 2001). The organizations try to influence this by determining the action orientation of the individual. During their investigations the authors mention the possibility that the gender differences are maintained in the same way as well, but they don't further investigate it. The authors focus on this idea in a later study (Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson, 2005), trying to find an answer on the question how the socialization processes maintain the *gender differences*. They draw the attention on the fact that during recruitment and selection the gender equality is in the focus and the organization pays special attention on equal numbers, but mentoring, time management and evaluation of results already confirms the gender differences.

Coffey (1994) and Anderson-Gough, Grey and Robson (1998a,b;2000; 2001;2005) have conducted detailed research using longitudinal sampling and have described the essential elements of the professional identity of the accountants as well as the identity regulating practices that contribute to it, but from the point of view of my research it is a serious restriction that none of them have investigated the identity work of the individual and that only an Anglo-Saxon environment was taken into consideration.

Furthermore, identification in the BIG4 organizations is not simple. Due to the contradictory organizational expectations like profit maximization versus client orientation (Hanlon, 1994) or social values versus client orientation (Dirsmith and Covaleski, 1985) the relation between organization and employee is ambivalent. Due to the insecure employment, up-or-out career management, high fluctuation the individual needs a good reason to identify with the organization. Resistance or other defensive processes arise, that can be reinforced by a socially inspired indentity: "I am not a person that can be manipulated!" (Kosmala and Herrbach, 2006).

For this reason it is important to mention the research of Kosmala and Herrbach (2006), which investigated the English and French offices of a BIG4 organization and focused on the identity work of the individuals[79]. As identity threat they indicated the ambivalent character of the ideal identity (suggested contradictory expectations: client orientation versus profit maximization, professional independence versus profit maximization), as well as the dissolution of work-identity integrity. The range of identity work tactics to resolve this tension was completed with the concept of "jouissance", meaning that the individuals comply with the expectations and perform well, but at the same time question the organizational values and play with the rules. In this way the individual can develop a positive and authentic work identity, while internally differentiating from the organization (disidentification). This identity work tactics mean at the same time defense against the various tendencies of identity regulation and against self alienation (Costas and Fleming, 2009).

In sum we can say that the above mentioned research has identified the essential identity elements of BIG4 assistants and consultants, the HR practices that influence their (trans)formation, and a the first steps were made for the mapping of identity work tactics that serve as defense (e.g. jouissance).

[79] In the same time, while interpreting their research results we have to take into consideration that they sampled at managerial level.

IV. The research framework

In this chapter, I will provide a detailed overview of the plans for, and implementation of, my empirical research, with a view toward Maxwell's (1996) interactive model. According to the model, the individual elements of research (the goal[s] of the research, the theoretical and conceptual background, the research question[s], the research methodology and research tools, as well as the the validity of the research) are interconnected with several other elements. Accordingly: while the planning and implementation of the research assumes certain clearly defined steps, these may nonetheless not be depicted through the use of a linear model. An iterative process is thus more adequate, making it possible to return to previous steps and make changes, as necessary, at several points (Edmondson and McManus, 2007).

In the previous two chapters, I provided a detailed discussion of the theoretical and conceptual background of the present research project. As a first step here, I will proceed to briefly summarize only the most important concepts, in order to define the conceptual framework of my research. This will be followed by an overview of the main goals of the research. Building on these two elements, I will arrive at the central question of the research, which I will then break down into more detailed sub-questions. In view of the qualitative nature of this study, I have narrowed down the questions spelled out in the research plan during the empirical part of the study; I will justify these modifications below, and will describe them in greater detail. As a next step, I will describe the organization which served as research field and will provide a justification for the choice of this particular organization.

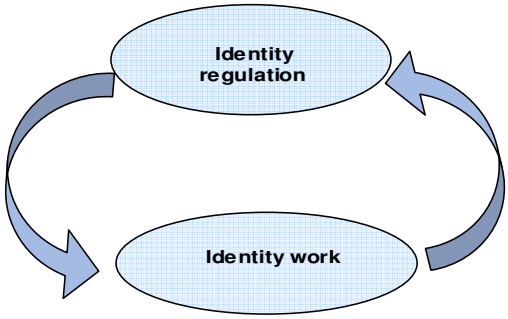
When discussing the research methodology, I will describe – in keeping with the nature of my research question – the case study methodology employed, based on narrative interviews and analyses; I will cover my own role as researcher in greater detail and I will also reflect on the questions of reliability and validity of the research.

The Conceptual Framework

As I have described already in the introduction, the present research focuses on an area warranting further examination: *a process-oriented approach to the individual's socialization in a multicultural context.* Taking into consideration the assumptions regarding the nature and direction of the relationship between the organization and individual, the nature of organizational context and time, the research is framed within the differentiation, non-managerial and fragmentation approaches.

Organizational socialization is operationalised with the use of the identity concept, and defined as the *interplay of identity work and identity regulation, mediating between individual and organization*.

Fig. 2: The process of organizational socialization



The analysis of empirical data revealed that the interviewed individuals were struggling to (trans)form and realize their desired identities, so the above mentioned definition was further elaborated. Consequently, organizational *socialization is defined as desired identity realization process through the interplay of identity work and identity regulation, mediating between individual and organization, and through which the individual gains acceptance in the new group(s) (subcultures) and (trans)forms his/her desired identity*. With this definition I accept that the desired identity is a mechanism regulating the individual's identity work (Markus and Nurius, 1986; Thornborrow and Brown, 2009).

Desired (or possible) *identity* is characterized as a defining aspect of the identity of the individual as pertaining to the future. Through desired identity the individual is able to answer questions like who s/he might become, who s/he wants to become, who s/he does not wish to become and what s/he fears (Markus and Nurius, 1986). In the thesis the concept of desired identity and possible identity are used as synonyms, which is a frequent solution within the relevant literature (e.g. Ibarra, 1999; Pratt, 2000). However, it is important to differentiate desired identity from true and ideal identities. As long as desired identity is open for continuous change through identity work, the concept of true identity assumes, in a very essentialist way, that a stable, core identity is fully formed by adulthood, which resides inside, at the core of our being, and the individual struggles to reveal it through identity work (Ibarra, 2003). Because of this important difference, the concept of desired identity will be used in the

research, even though the individuals may perceive it as their true identity[80]. The *ideal identity* refers to the identity expected, desired by the organization, and has an identity regulating function in the (trans)formation process of desired identity (Pratt, 2000; Thornborrow and Brown, 2009; Wieland, 2010). In the literature we can also find the concept of *aspirational identity* (Thornborrow and Brown, 2009), which in this research will be considered as a specific type of desired identity: in case that desired identity can't be reached, and needs continuous identity development.

To take into consideration real time, and not time assumptions, like stage models do, I studied the process through turning points narratives of individuals (Bullis and Bach, 1989). Those events[81] were considered *turning points*, that were perceived by individual as threats (challenges) to desired identity realization, and that questioned the desired identity narrative continuity, leading to conscious identity work. We can talk about *identity threats* if the expression or (trans)formation of desired identity in the organization or work encounters difficulties (e.g. desired identity and work process/content are not reconcilable). In this case the individual struggles to transform or decrease identity threat through the use of different identity work tactics, then s/he formulates her/his conclusions, which can be identity development and/or defense, and integrates them into her/his personal narrative, in order to keep its continuity.

The events perceived as turning points have either taken place or are imagined (e.g. an event possible in the future, which the individual is afraid of), or may be ones related to the individual's recognition/„dawning".

In a following step I will interpret the turning points from an identity regulation perspective, in order to identify those organizational practices that induce conscious identity work. Special attention will be given to the ideal identity as an identity regulation mechanism.

The definition of organizational socialization given above assumes the impact of identity work not only on the personal narratives, but on the identity regulation tactics too, consequently on the organization too. However, in the thesis I am not going to study this process, or the possible organizational changes caused by it.

As a last step of the conceptual framework is important to formulate the organizational

[80] The myth of true identity was described in detail in the article from Costas and Fleming (2009).

[81] These may be events which have either taken place or are imagined (e.g. an event possible in the future, which the individual is afraid of), or may be ones related to the individual's recognition/„dawning".

theory assumed in the research, because the cross-sections of the theoretical organizing frame (differentiation, non-managerial and fragmentation) are not explicit in this regard (see Appendix 1). Taking into consideration the definition of organizational socialization given above, the assumptions described in previous chapter (see Summary subchapter of chapter 3) and the research goals and questions, the empirical research is conducted within the interpretative paradigm (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). According to this the individuals, embedded in local contexts, actively shape their socialization process, and struggle to understand what is going on within and around them (Weick, 1979). The individuals' turning point narratives correspond to the "storied resources" approach (Smith and Sparkes, 2008), which assumes that the identity narratives are shaped by individual and social influences and investigates how the individual is considering or neglecting these influences while (trans)forming his/her identity narrative. Consequently, the identity is not only a cognitive, internal process, but a social interaction too (Taylor and Littleton, 2006).

Research Goal

Determining the goals of the research serves as a point of departure for structuring the research project: it serves as a kind of guideline supporting the theoretical overview and the compilation of research question(s) (Maxwell, 1996).

As a first step, I determined *my personal goal*, thereby revealing the deeper motivations for my commitment to the research topic and the methodology chosen. As described in the introduction, my own socialization experiences served to raise my awareness of the significance of this process. Later, conversations with several economics students around the time of their graduation, and as they were collecting their first experiences (or were encountering shocks) in the workplace, further reinforced my conviction that this process is, indeed, critically significant in the personal and professional life of the individual. I became determined to support a more conscious approach to career planning for young graduates. Based on these, my personal goal became to acquire a better understanding of the socialization processes experienced by young graduates and to acquire practical knowledge related to this field.

The goal of my research is to explore the turning points of the individual's socialization: to define critical events which newcomers to an organization experience as identity threats; to map out the nature and evolution, over time, of identity work aimed at transforming these threats. My stated secondary goal is to contribute to filling the void in this

field of research that one encounters in the Hungarian literature. Furthermore, my (indirect) goal is to compile a set of knowledge that is relevant for young graduates as well as practicing professionals (managers and HR specialists). The examination of relevant contextual elements (e.g. organizational practices, subcultures, role models etc.) which impact the turning points of the individual's socialization will support the work of HR professionals, by helping them understand the impact of various human resources practices. By pointing out what mechanisms are at play in the background and spotlighting critical factors, the research also hopes to provide support to young graduates and encourage them to take a more conscious role in shaping their own socialization process.

Research Question

The research question is the central element of Maxwell's (1996) interactive research model, which maps out both the topic and methodology of the research, and it is closely linked to the research goals described above.

The central research question is the following:

"How do newcomers at one of the BIG4 audit firms experience the process of socialization?"

The selection of the research field – the BIG4 audit company – as well as the selection of research subjects – newcomers to the organization – will be described and justified below (see the section on Research field and sampling).

At this point, I will proceed to break down the broad research question described above into sub-questions. The goal is to make it possible to examine the central question more closely as well as to discover my own presuppositions of the topics (in other words, these are not the interview questions of the research project).

The first research sub-question laid out in the thesis proposal was the following: *What identity work are newcomers performing during this process?* A closer examination revealed that individuals participating in the study strived to realize their desired identities in the process, similarly to the research conclusions presented by Ibarra (1999) and Grey (2004). The nature of desired identities and the newcomers efforts to (trans)form and protect them differed (partly), however, from those described in the studies mentioned. Therefore the first sub-question was modified:

1. *How do newcomers struggle to realize their desired identity?*

The question is aimed at a process oriented examination of socialization; in its focus,

explicitly, is the identity work of the individual. I will attempt to examine this through the identity work performed to realize, transform or defend the desired identity. Answering the questions allows us to identify the turning points which shape the process and the identity work tactics employed by the individual; it also becomes possible to determine their transformation over time.

Thus, answering this question actually assumes answering the following sub-questions as well: (1) *"what identity threats perceives the individual in the process?";* (2) *"what type of identity work is the individual performing?";* and (3) *"does the desired identity change over the course of the process – and if so, how?"*.

By seeking to answer this last question, I am also interested in exploring how the individual links their desired identity with the organization and/or their profession or their work. Additionally, it becomes possible to examine personal changes, as well: by analyzing the nature of the identity work, as well as its impact, it will become clear whether the individual is focusing on identity development (growth) and/or on protection (survival). I believe this is an important step, because the literature tends to deal with one aspect or another of the process, and examines them separately (see Table 5).

2. *What individuals or organizational phenomena play a defining role during the desired identity transformation process, and why?*

This question seeks to answer what resources the individual relies on during their socialization, with a special focus on identity work. Factors covered by the literature might be relevant here: direct supervisors, experienced colleagues as role models; various artifacts (e.g. organizational stories, code of ethics, dress code) or various socialization tactics employed by the organization (e.g. orientation). These also make it possible to determine what it is that a newcomer pays special attention to: i.e. which elements of the organizational context are relevant as far as the process is concerned (e.g. which subcultures). It will also be possible to determine which organizational context the individual pays attention within the different types of turning point narratives (identity development and/or protection); in other words, we will be able to analyze the process of socialization over time from the perspective of the relevant organizational context. The point of departure for answering this question is the set of identity threats identified earlier: the organizational phenomena and actors they represent are critical as far as the process is concerned. We will thus be able to track their evolution over time.

Research Methodology

Case Study Methodology

In keeping with the nature of my central research question ("How do newcomers…?"), I will proceed with data collection and analysis according to case study methodology based on narrative interviews.

The choice of methodology was confirmed by Yin's (2003) finding, which points out that using case studies is prudent when (1) our research question begins with "how" (or "why"); (2) we are examining events going on in the present; and (3) we have little or no control over the events we are examining (Yin, 2003:9).

Furthermore, using a case study methodology was also justified by the fact that my research focuses on a phenomenon which warrants further exploration, based on a longitudinal research (Stake, 2000).

Before moving on, it is important to clarify what exactly I mean by case in the framework of this specific project. In view of the goals of the research – exploring and understanding the experiences of newcomers during the process of socialization – I will present individual cases, where the unit of research will be the individual's efforts. The methodology applied is similar to the one multi case definition (Maaloe, 2010).

The Role of the Researcher

Given the nature of the research study – longitudinal, qualitative research based on narrative interviews –, efforts to continuously remain conscious of my own role in the process, in the interpretation of the data and in drawing conclusions from the data have been of critical importance. Throughout the duration of the process, I kept the following question in mind: "How am I influencing the process and the results?" (This was also proposed by Maxwell, 1996.) At each phase of the research process, I will discuss the thoughts related to this self-reflection. (1) In the dissertation, I have made transparent the personal implications of research decisions made previously (see, for instance, the parts of the introduction covering how I arrived at this field of research, as well as my justifications for choice of research field and sample); (2) I kept a research journal throughout the project, attempting to describe my own presuppositions related to the phenomena examined; and (3) I will describe my own presuppositions when discussing the results of the project.

In connection with my role as researcher, I also have to mention the challenges encountered when attempting to establish an open relationship, based on trust, with participants, both as far as my organizational contacts are concerned (in this case, the HR

director of the studied organization, and the HR generalist for auditors), as well as my interviewees. Yet this was crucial for obtaining the necessary information, and ensuring that the information provided is valid and accurate. Additionally, in view of the longitudinal nature of my research (see the section below on data collection), I met with each of my interviewee on several occasions during the project: it therefore became a realistic threat that I myself would become a part and player of their process of socialization. I therefore thought it necessary to point out, at each encounter, to the subject my researcher role and goals.

Research Field and Sample Selection

I have chosen a multinational audit firm as my research field (hereinafter referred to as the ORGANIZATION); right now, the company is the most dynamically growing BIG4 in Hungary.

The choice of research field is justified by the following findings:

The research goal – a process-based examination of socialization; i.e. the exploration of possible background mechanisms (focusing especially on the identity work performed during the process) – required a *context* which itself may be seen as an "*extreme case*": in this instance, the processes to be examined were present much more saliently and were easier to describe (Eisenhardt, 1989; Pettigrew, 1990; Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). The ORGANIZATION may be seen as an extreme case in that given its pyramid-like structure, it fosters an "up – or - out" system: under very strict time constraints, anyone who does not move up one level every 2 or 3 years tends to either leave of their own volition, or is asked to leave. Thus, the process of socialization becomes critically important both for the individual (the chance of a fast career) as well as for the organization (returns on recruitment and selection expenditures depend on it). Furthermore, the organization hires some 35-40 new employees each year (as junior employees). Most of them join the audit and tax consultancy department. It therefore became possible for me to track several newcomers during the critical first year of their career. By having access to two departments (audit and tax), it will also become possible to compare the findings.

In the *literature*, only a few studies deal with socialization within audit firms; and all of these studies had been conducted in an Anglo-Saxon context (see, for instance, Fogarty, 1992; Coffey, 1994; Anderson – Gough et al., 2001; Anderson-Gough et al., 2005).

An overwhelming majority (80%) of *recent graduates of economics* – who are the focus of my research, given my personal goals – know of the BIG4, and believe these firms would be attractive places to work. They are attracted by a dynamically progressing career path, as well as by the salaries associated with this career (with the salaries verifiably increasing faster than the labor market average). According to AIESEC's "Most Attractive Workplace" study, members of the BIG4 have consistently been among the top five workplaces listed in recent years. This may indicate a lasting interest on the part of young graduates to work for one of these companies; this is especially true if we consider the research of Bokor and Radácsi (2007). They found that this generation is admittedly very much interested in money matters, strives to get ahead and struggles primarily for their personal and financial goals. When selecting a workplace, the salary and benefits offered is one of their most important considerations, along with career and personal development opportunities.

Following the selection of the organization to serve as my research field, the next important step was determining the sample. In keeping with the traditions of qualitative research, the sample was compiled using not a statistical approach, but a theoretical one; the sample is deliberately small and contextually embedded (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Bokor, 2000; Gelei, 2002).

For the reasons above, I decided to examine a sample of newcomers working at two different departments of the ORGANIZATION (auditors and tax consultants). My decision to examine two different departments within the same organization was intended to support a study of the role of different (sub)cultures in the process of socialization. When compiling the sample, I considered the diversity of personal characteristics, with the aim to increase the possibility of appearance of other (sub)cultures too (e.g. gender based). Based on an interview with the HR director, I defined three important individual characteristics - gender, level of education (university vs. college) previous place of residence (countryside vs. Budapest) – along which I tried to diversify the sample. Additionally, I requested the help of HR generalists working in both departments to provide me with interviewees whose performance evaluations varied (good vs. less good)[82]. Ultimately, the sample was the following:

[82] I asked the HR generalists not to share with me this information, because I did not want to be influenced by it during the interviews.

Table 6: Sample composition

Name of interview subjects[83]	Organizational department	Level of education	Type of degree	Location	Work experience	Age
Emma	audit	university	economics	Budapest	intern with the ORGANIZATION	24
Nóra	tax	university	economics	Budapest	intern with other multinational organization	24
Viktor	tax	university	economics, law	Budapest	entrepreneurial experience	26
Sára	audit	college	IT, economics	Budapest	temporary jobs in Hungary and abroad	29
Miklós	tax	university	economics	Budapest	none	24
Kata	audit	college	economics	countryside	none	24
Sándor	audit	college	economics	countryside	intern with the ORGANIZATION	24
András	tax	university	law	Budapest	2 years with a state organization	26

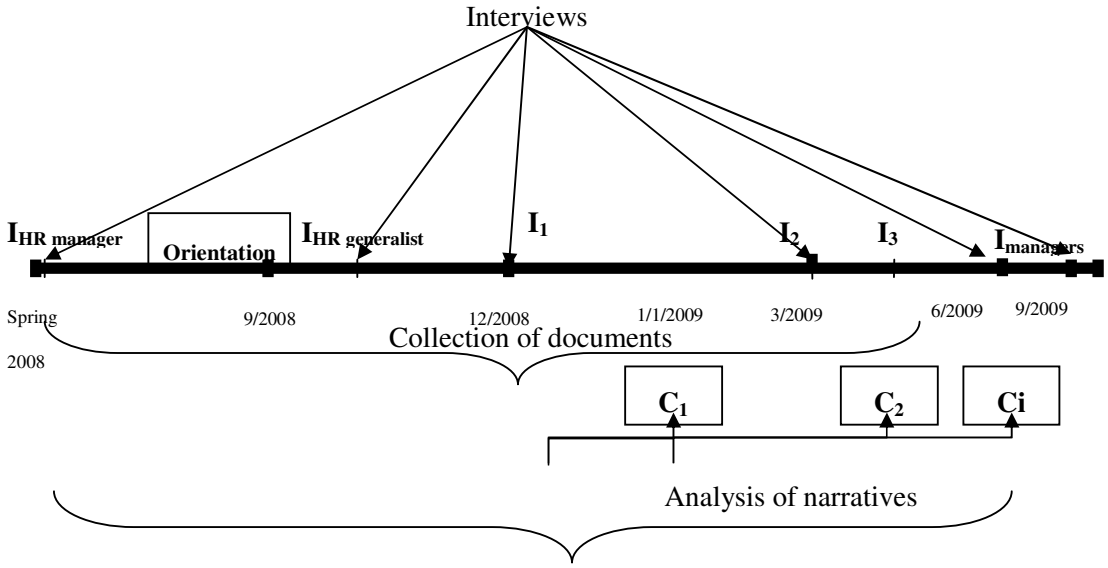
The sample described in the figure above changed over the course of the research project: after six months, Sára left the organization; that is when I complemented the sample with Sándor. Additionally, tax consultant interview subjects often referred to András, when relating their stories. He was the only newcomer with a background in law; I asked him to join the study as well.

Data collection

In view of the nature of my research, data collection and data analysis were conducted simultaneously, in an iterative fashion (Miles and Hubarman, 1994).

[83] These are not the real names of the interviewees.

Fig. 3: The process of longitudinal research



The primary tool of data collection was the set of *narrative interviews* I conducted (Hollway and Jefferson, 1997; Riessman, 2008), which provided an opportunity to explore personal experiences related to the defining events identified by interview subjects, as well as for the individuals to describe their thoughts and feelings (Kvale, 1996). I chose to employ narrative interviews, as this made it possible for interview subjects to freely recall relevant events they considered to have been defining moments; they were also able to interpret these events and verbalize their own conclusions related to them.

When conducting the interviews, my role as researcher was to support the interview subjects in their recollection of their experiences, and in their interpretation of these events (Kvale, 1996). Consequently, I made an effort to maintain my openness toward the subjects; during the interviews, my comments were made in the spirit of active listening, and focused on the interviews subject's train of thought (and not according to prior theoretical knowledge). Thus, interviews were conducted not according to theoretical considerations. My knowledge relevant to organizational socialization, identity work and identity regulation, however, clearly impacted the process.

I conducted the interviews with the subjects described above (see Table 7) during the first year of their employment within the ORGANIZATON, in three different sessions[84]. The interview times were coordinated with the HR generalist of the audit department, and fitted

[84] If, during this time, any of my interview subjects left the organization, I conducted an exit interview with them.

the work cycle of newcomer employees: (1) December (following three months of employment): this was when newcomers started visiting clients, after having performed only background work in the office; (2) March/April (following six months of employment): this was in the middle of the "high season," the most work-intensive part of the year; and (3) June/July (following nine months of employment): after the end of the "high season," just after receiving their annual performance evaluations. In the case of tax consultants' work cycle, the first two steps are not as significant: they have less direct contact with clients during their first year in the workplace, and their work also varies less season to season. Accordingly, I conducted my interviews with newcomers between December 2008 and September 2009, in the conference room of the ORGANIZATION. The interviews generally lasted 1.5 hours; the verbatim transcript of each interview amounts to 15-20 pages.

For each of the three interview sessions, I strived to formulate the interview questions according to the requirements of narrative interviews (Riessman, 2008), in order to make it possible for interviewees to recount their defining experiences and to help the new and relevant topics to come to the surface. Mishler (1986) and Riessman (2008) both point to the significance of the nature of the interview questions, as far as generating narratives is concerned. Riessman (2008) also provides practical assistance to that end: (1) the interviews are to be guided by a set of 5-7 open-ended questions related to the topic examined; (2) open-ended questions such as "tell me what happened..." support the recounting of a narrative much more than questions such as "when did it happen…"; (3) when they are ready to answer the question, it is prudent to ask the subject to describe events in a chronological order, and to start at the beginning; this makes it possible to track changes which were the results of various events; and (4) general answers may be further narrowed down using specifying questions. Hollway and Jefferson (1997) provide further assistance as far as the use of specifying questions is concerned: (1) do not use questions beginning with "why…", as these may lead to a defensive and rationalizing answer; and (2) it is important for the researcher's questions to reflect the interview subjects' word choice, and that the questions be asked without passing value judgment or interpretation, so as to pose as little of a distraction as possible. I complemented the practical guidelines listed above with the following interview technique, based on Gelei's (2002) work: (1) questions to emphasize my active listening; and (2) reflective questions which serve to support the self-reflection of interview subjects.

Using the suggestions above as my point of departure, I developed a small set of open-ended questions for use at each of the three sets of interviews conducted. At each of the interviews, I explained the goals of my project to the interviewees, and described where I

stood in the process. Following a few ice-breaker questions, I asked my opening question: "Please tell me what happened after you joined the company." In later interviews, I asked the subject to "please tell me what has happened to you over the past three months." Then, I would ask a series of specifying questions to help focus the answers on the process of socialization; more specifically, I tried to focus on the evolution of the subject's work identity (how it is related to their profession and to the organization, if at all, and what events and actors may influence it, etc.). This allowed the interview subject to freely decide which elements to highlight and how much time to devote to recalling specific events.

Thus, I was not proceeding along a predetermined list of questions; there were merely certain topics which I wished to cover in each of the three interviews: (1) experiences related to their every day on the job, highlighting the critical events; (2) questions about their professional and organizational identity, and possible interrelationships between these; and (3) questions related to their social relationships (with colleagues, other newcomers, mentors and managers, etc.). In view of the longitudinal nature of the study, I had the opportunity to return to interview subjects and collect any missing data or information, or to ask any clarifying questions.

While conducting the interviews, I encountered the following difficulties: three of my interview subjects chose to recount only general opinions, and would not get into specific and personal events. In one of the cases, the interviewee changed his mind during the second interview; in the other two cases, the subject remained true to their initial position.

Following the interviews, I prepared notes of my findings, any dilemmas encountered and potential new topics and actors mentioned. I recorded the interviews using a tape recorder, and then prepared verbatim transcripts.

In order to better understand the ORGANIZATION, I also conducted semi-structured interviews with the HR manager, the two HR generalists (for the audit and tax department), the project managers of the newcomers and mentors. The primary goal of the interviews conducted with the HR manager and the HR generalists was to clarify the main criteria of success and failure within the company, to understand the orientation program and to explore the company's performance and career management. These interviews also helped me select interview subjects in such a way as to ensure a diverse sample (see Table. 7). Interviews conducted with the supervisors of the newcomers also made it possible for me to collect information of first-year experiences with the company from individuals who had been working there for two-three years already; I was also able to ask them to reflect on their own role in the socialization of newcomers.

Because additional knowledge about the organizational context (e.g. understanding socialization practices) was also essential toward the goal of my research, I complemented the interviews with the collection of various documents (e.g. orientation program plans, performance evaluation forms), and I was also able to observe the orientation training organized for newcomers. Since I was able to return to the research field on several occasions throughout my research, I believed it was important for me to collect new information concerning the organization, and that I reassess my findings in light of the new information received (agreeing with Gelei's [2002] comments).

Data Analysis

In the present qualitative research, the first step in terms of data analysis was the narrative analysis of the transcripts of the interviews conducted with newcomers to the company (Szokolszky, 2004; Riessman, 2008); which also provided the opportunity to write up the individual cases (Mishler, 1996).

The *narrative* is a genre familiar from literature; it is a story structured chronologically (Szokolszky, 2004; Riessman, 2008). *Narrative analysis* is the "empirical, text-based study of how stories work, and of how and for what people use stories. (Szokolszky, 2004:484). The term narrative analysis pertains to several methodological approaches (Czarniawska, 2007; Chase, 2008; Riessman, 2008), all of which are centered on the following basic assumptions:

The *nature of the narrative*: Researchers define narratives as a clearly differentiated form of discourse, a way to understand the actions of oneself or of others; narratives do not deal with isolated actions or events, but rather a sequence of events playing out over time and placed in context. A narrative is whole in itself, and also establishes a link to its consequences (Gubrium and Holstein, 1997). What sets narratives apart (from other texts) is the joint presence of the sequence and the consequence of events: the events selected are recounted and shared in a structured, interconnected and meaningful unit (Riesmann, 2008). Narratives have a plot, a beginning, a middle and an end (Denzin, 1989), and narratives have characters (Pentland, 1999). A narrative does more than simply describe a series of events: it also depicts the emotions of, and the interpretation provided by, the narrator, placing emphasis on uniqueness (Chase, 2008).

The *function of the narrative*: Through the use of a narrative, the narrator shapes and construes their identity, interprets their experiences (sensemaking), and maintains or questions the organizational structure and the status quo (Rhodes and Brown, 2005).

The *role of the context of the narrative:* Narratives are embedded in personal context and social context (Holstein and Gubrium, 2000).

Beyond the common assumptions formulated above, narrative analyses operationalize the concept differently. At one end of the relevant spectrum of researchers are the ones for whom narratives equal entire life stories; at the other end of the spectrum are studies which define the narrative as a short, thematically specified story (e.g. an answer to a question, provided in the form of a story (e.g. Fineman and Gabriel, 1996) (Riesmann, 2008). Between the two ends of the spectrum are studies which consider those detailed, contextually embedded stories to be personal narratives, which emerge through a set of several interviews conducted with one individual, covering the same subject (Mishler, 1999; Ibarra, 2003; Chase, 2008; Riesmann, 2008; Maitlis, 2009). Mishler's (1999) study, examining the work identity formation of artisans, is one example, as is Ibarra's (2003) analysis of individuals changing careers, or Maitlis's (2009) research into how musicians committed to their art transform their professional identities after experiencing serious physical injuries. These researches developed detailed individual narratives, based on the interviews they conducted; and the thematic study of these revealed a process of personal change, examining the roles of various social and/or organizational effects too.

Answering questions related to the operationalization of personal narratives, on a theoretical level, is not sufficient. Accordingly, already at the beginning of my research and when seeking to determine how to transform interview texts into personal narratives, I encountered an unexpected, practical problem. The relevant literature offered less practical advice at this stage of my work than I expected. As we have seen above, this does not mean that textbooks describing qualitative research methodology or relevant methodological journals do not contain a number of chapters or articles discussing data analysis processes. Nonetheless, researchers are generally left to their own devices in terms of the practical applications of theory and determining what specific steps are necessary to best answer their research questions. Rarely can methods developed by others be applied directly in one's own project (Bögre, 2001). That said, I am not implying that examining others' experiences is of no utility: to the contrary, in fact. I view other researchers' work as guidelines for determining the steps of my own research.

I decided to use the following two steps for the practical development and analysis of the individual socialization cases: (1) identifying the narratives in the transcript of the interviews; and (2) analyzing the narratives.

During the first phase, identifying the narratives, I considered those parts of the transcripts

to be narratives which displayed the following characteristics: (1) there is a clear plot (Pentland, 1999; Riesmann, 2008), with a beginning, a middle and an end (Denzin, 1989); (2) there is a clear sequence of events and a consequence (Riesmann, 2008); and (3) the story carries meaning for the narrator (Denzin, 1989). The plot positions the events in time and gives them direction; events are imbued with meaning as a result of their relative placement within the framework (Pentland, 1999). The elements of the plot are: (1) beginning – the statement of the dilemma or tension, whose resolution is the goal; (2) middle – the period of seeking; (3) end – "resolution," which may be positive or negative (Pentland, 1999). Based on the narratives, I prepared a new transcript, according to Riessman's (2008) guidelines, which later served as the foundations for narrative analysis. By identifying the narratives in this manner, there was a risk of losing data which was not formulated within the context of the structures determined above. In an effort to mitigate the loss of data, I sought out other narrative processes in the original interview transcripts – *rationalizing, arguing for something, description* (McCormack, 2000) – which provided further details to enrich the narratives identified above. The content-analysis of the parts of the text not used would have been an additional solution[85]. I chose to forgo this, however, in view of the time available for the analysis. Nonetheless, it remains an additional possibility for future analysis.

I constructed the individual socialization cases based on the the turning point narratives using the following steps:

(1) By reading and re-reading the interview transcripts and my notes made after the interviews, I attempted to answer the following questions: What are the tensions and dilemmas indicating a turning point? Where and when did these take place? Who were the actors involved? How does the individual resolve the situation? What is the resolution and the consequence?

(2) I viewed each interview as a separate unit: using the questions above, I sought out the narratives describing turning points. I then placed these in chronological order and prepared a new transcript. To do so, I looked for the turning points related to the organization, the individual's work and to their lives outside of work which presented an identity threat and which required the individual to perform identity work.

(3) I then returned to the transcript of the original interview and found further narrative

[85] The only exception are the newcomers' orientation training related experiences, where I applied content analysis. The reason of my decision was that all the newcomers mentioned orientation as a defining event of their socialization, but I could not identify any related narrative in the interview transcripts.

processes (rationalizing, arguing for something, description) in the general parts of the text. With the help of these, I was able to enrich the narratives of the turning points, thereby finalizing the transcript prepared in the first step.

(4) I took a similar approach as far as the other interviews conducted with the individual are concerned. Finally, using the transcripts thus compiled, I wrote up the individual cases which contained narratives of the turning points arranged in a chronological order.

For my narrative analysis, I relied on the following steps, in keeping with the *holistic-content analysis* proposed by Lieblich et al. (1998):

(1) I searched for the central axis, or *thematic focus*, of the evolution of the narratives. In this research, the central axis amounted to the evolution of the desired identity of the individual. In certain cases, I encountered other axes as well: family, social relationships or a feared identity. Given, however, that these were not present in every case, I chose to forgo their analysis. Nonetheless, these remain an additional possibility for analysis in the future.

(2) Analyzing individual cases according to the evolution of the desired identity:

- By interpreting the beginning of turning point narratives as an identity threat during my research, I was able to ascertain the factors which shape the individual's desired identity. When examining how tension was relieved, I identified the identity work tactics used by the individual. Then, according to their nature and according to the "resolution" of the narrative, I was able to draw conclusions regarding the nature (development vs. protection/survival) of personal change, or the lack thereof.
- Examining the role of the context: Interviewees did not recount their narratives in a void: I therefore had to pay attention to two additional factors during my analysis. When examining social contexts, I sought out organizational effects which the interview subjects viewed as "natural," and which they either used or resisted during their stories (McCormack, 2000; Riessman, 2008). I also approached important actors, who influenced the individual's goals, actions, interpretations and conclusions (Riessman, 2008). Exploring the context allows one a glimpse into identity regulation techniques.

(3) Selecting cases for discussion which provide the most detailed illustration of the evolution of various desired identity types[86].

[86] Taking into consideration the breadth limits of the dissertation each type will be illustrated with one case.

To summarize: narrative analysis is possible through the use of various methods; it was therefore necessary to make several decisions so as to determine, which fit best the research questions. The main decisions, serving as the basis for the above, will be made transparent according to the key factors determined by Riessman (2008).

Table 7: Decision points for thematic narrative analysis

Definition of the (turning point) narrative	Recounting the narrative	Unit of analysis; focus	Role of context	Main authors
A story of the evolution of the individual's desired identity	Long interview passages; cleaned-up transcripts[87]	the individual's efforts; the evolution of desired identity	Organizational – broader and more local	Mishler (1999) McCormack (2000) Ibarra (2003) Maitlis (2009)

The Quality and Validity of the Research

Szokolszky (2004) approaches the quality assurance and validity of the qualitative studies through the authenticity of the research. Authenticity, in this case, was ensured by the continued reflection on questions related to the validity, reliability and generalizability of the research. This was in keeping with the interpretative/qualitative approach (as discussed in detail by Gelei [2002] and Bokor [2000]) and the research strategy chosen (case studies based on turning points narratives - for a more detailed discussion of the latter, see Maaloe [2010]).
To succeed, I took multiple angles in view of the nature of the challenges encountered during the research. I ensured *reliability* using the following processes (Szokolszky, 2004):

(1) *Staying true to the text* – I recorded the interviews using a tape recorder; and then prepared a verbatim transcript of the text, to ensure that the analysis would not be based on reconstruction or personal impressions.
(2) *Consistent data management* – I documented and made transparent each of my decisions related to the handling of interview transcripts (see the sections on Data Collection and Data Analysis).
(3) *Full documentation, transparency*: each step of the research was documented in a

[87] Given that I was conducting a content analysis of the narratives, I chose to omit word repetitions and unfinished words.

research journal, and strived to present each of these steps, in detail, in the relevant methodological chapters, to ensure that the process be clear and valid for my readers. To that end, ensuring the transparency of my fundamental theoretical assumptions is also important. This was an important consideration for me while writing the theoretical chapters and when clarifying the conceptual framework.

As far as the *validity* of the research is concerned, ensuring the transparency of the process is very important. The continued reflection on my own role as researcher was intended to help ensure as much (based on Gelei, 2000): I mapped out my own presuppositions and their impact on the process of research. To further support the validity of the research, I included two colleagues of mine in the analysis phase who are experienced in narrative analysis methodology, and we discussed my interpretations. Additionally, I presented the methodology I used during the research, as well as initial findings of my analysis, at several international conferences. I used the feedback received there to fine-tune the analysis of the cases.

Summary

In the methodological chapter of the dissertation, I have reviewed the steps I will take to explore and understand the process(es) of socialization in a multicultural organizational context. The research strategy chosen – case studies based on turning points narratives – fits with what has been described as the intermediate level of maturity of the relevant literature[88], as well as with the type of research question I put forward (questions of process which pertain to the individual's identity (trans)formation and the evolution of their experiences over time). With this qualitative, process-oriented research, my goal is to support or complement the theories summarized, as well as to help acquire a better understanding of the background mechanisms.

[88] According to Edmondson and McManus (2007), the level of maturity of the literature on organizational socialization is currently in an intermediate state: it is an amalgam of classic, proven theories (see the integration and differentiation, managerial approach to socialization), and new studies still being developed (see differentiation, non-managerial and fragmentation research into socialization).

V. Empirical research: socialization in the ORGANIZATION

The organization – general description

The aim of the subchapter is to give a general description of the ORGANIZATION, which was the research field of this study. I do not strive to present in detail the organizational practices, or to investigate the relationship between different organizational and contextual elements, because this is not in the focus of the thesis. Therefore I will describe those organizational practices, with a special emphasis on the HR systems, that appear as important contextual elements and possible identity regulatory practices in the individual cases. This description may give us an impression on the organizational expectations towards newcomers during their first year of employment within the ORGANIZATION.

The ORGANIZATION is one of the largest auditing and consulting company, worldwide. The organization was founded 150 years ago in England. Nowadays is present worldwide in 150 countries with 135000 employees, and is continuously growing. In Hungary, the ORGANIZATION is one of the fastest growing BIG4, with 320 employees, where the audit department is the biggest with 150 auditors, and this is followed by the tax department with 50 consultants.

The BIG4 organizations usually employ fresh graduates at the lowest hierarchical level. It might be surprising in the present situation of the labor market, but there is still a serious competition between the auditing organizations for the best graduates.

Recruitment and selection

The ORGANIZATION strives to attract the most talented fresh graduates from the best Hungarian universities and colleges. For this reason they organize different events for the graduating students, to help them to know the organization, and in the same time to have the opportunity to find the potential candidates, and to be able to choose the most talented ones. In the same time the ORGANIZATION tries to differentiate itself from the other BIG4 through the offered programs and events. Therefore, two years ago, they started a scholarship program, which is very popular among the students that heard about it. The students participating in the program have a scholarship during their last year of studies, and they can participate at different organizational events, thus getting into contact with the organizational culture, and with the employees from different departments and hierarchical level. They also sign a contract, that after successfully completing their studies, they will work for at least a

year for the ORGANIZATION. Besides this, they offer internship programs too: they offer part time jobs, during the "season" (between January and May), for graduating students. The interns after one week training can start working on client projects.

The scholarship and internship programs ease the selection process: most of the participants are offered an assistant position at their end. This is complemented with a continuous recruitment and selection process: since October they run Assessment Centers, and the selection process is mostly finalized by March. Therefore they are present at the biggest career fairs, offer company presentations at the best universities and colleges, and organize Open day and Career pizza days for the interested students (the aim is to reach the graduating students before the other BIG4 companies).

The first step in the selection process is an interview with the HR, where the candidates' social skills and motivations are explored. The interviews are considered as an opportunity to investigate the candidate' personality profile, and their fit with organizational values. The successful candidates participate in a one day Assessment Center, where in the morning their professional skills are tested, and in the afternoon their communication, team player and self presentation skills are investigated. The examiners are the HR generalists and employees of the audit and tax department (from senior or managerial level).

Newcomers

As we could see above, the organization strives to attract, through several recruitment channels the most talented graduates. To be a successful candidate a certain personality profile was more important than the previous professional experiences. To become an employee of the ORGANIZATION excellent communication skills, good problem solving, openness, good analytical thinking, and being a team player are most important. In case of audit department is important to be active and "highly efficient in work", to have a professional outlook (e.g. dresscode, handshaking, signature), and "to be respectful, assertive, with a self confidence not exceeding the level that we can afford" (HR generalist for the audit department). In case of tax consultants they were looking for a different profile: "mature, good analytical thinking, accepted by the colleagues from the tax department and they have the necessary professional experience" (HR generalist for the tax department).

Consequently the result is a homogeneous group – white, young (22-23 years old), middle class, graduates of elite universities and colleges – where the gender and geographical location of their universities can offer the only possibilities for differentiation.

Orientation program

The ORGANIZATION tries to ease the integration of the newcomers, therefore besides formal orientation training, the professional development program, it organizes several informal events too (e.g. dinner, where the newcomers can meet the managers and partners from different departments).

The orientation training was opened by the head of audit department, who is greeting the newcomers by telling his own (his)story with the ORGANIZATION: "I will never forget, when I started in 199…", suggesting that anyone can become partner if they work hard enough. He strives to differentiate the company from the other BIG4 organizations, through their clients and emphasizing that they are the most dynamically growing audit firm in Hungary. During the training the newcomers are introduced to the different departments: a half an hour presentation is given by the partners from different departments and the participants can ask questions. Salient part of the program is the lecture on professional behavior: ethics and independence, client orientation and dresscode (based on orientation booklet and observation of the training).

The orientation is followed by a two weeks long professional training, where the newcomers learn the basic informations necessary for their work, and have the opportunity to know each other better. The participants can prove how well they fit the organization: during the formal training their professional skills, and later by participating at the different informal events their commitment to invest their personal time in the organizational presence.

Organizing work

The interviewees mentioned several time as turning points the nature and intensity of work. The assistants and consultants mentioned these factors for different reasons (as long as the assistants talked about the difficulties caused by simultaneous client projects, the consultants complained about the lack of client work). Therefore I describe briefly how is organized their work in the first year of employment. After the orientation training the newcomers from each department start work at the office, performing administrative tasks, helping the work of seniors, doing technical, routine work. The assistants and consultants work is weekly scheduled according to their free capacity, by a manager. The main difference regarding the organization of work for the newcomers from the two departments is that as long as the assistants are working on different client projects, the consultants work in stable subgroups, corresponding to different types of taxes (and therefore some of them can work mostly on

professional projects, while others get more administrative tasks). The work of the formal system is highly influenced by the informal relationships: "*you can hear the gossip in the second week, oooh this is a good person, I want to work with him/her, and than everybody starts fighting in order to be able to work with him/her. If not so soon, than in December, after the first evaluation session, this starts for sure. If this is formed, than it is very difficult, almost impossible to change it. This is not about professional knowledge, after two weeks we do not say s/he is stupid or not, but we say after two weeks if s/he is assertive enough, if we want something it is enough to say it once, or do we have to say it five times…*" (Audit senior – interview). Consequently, subgroups, who like to work together, are formed quickly in both departments, and later it is difficult to get out from them. Thus, it can happen that some of the assistants work all the time on difficult client projects, or a consultant gets only administrative tasks.

Performance evaluation

All the interviewees mentioned as turning points the performance evaluation conversations, so it is important to know the whole process. The performance evaluation is based on a competency system, internationally accepted, which formulates expectations on five areas: professional and service excellence, managing efficiency, marketing, sales and communication (based on the orientation booklet). The performance management has two major milestones: the evaluation at the half of the year (November-December) and the evaluation at the end of the year (June-July). These evaluations are based on the results of the evaluation done at the end of every project along the above mentioned competencies by the newcomer him/herself and the project leading senior. These evaluations are electronically saved in the corresponding form sheets. The project leading senior has to formulate the strengths, weaknesses and developmental areas (along the five competencies) of the newcomer and to discuss them with him/her. In December, based on these evaluations, a developmental conversation takes place, between the newcomer and his/her counselor, with the aim to help the development of the newcomer, and to motivate him/her by acknowledging his/her strengths. At the end of the year the conversations with the counselor are preceeded by the performance evaluation meetings, where the performance of each employee is evaluated by higher levels of hierarchy (single exception are the partners, whose performance is not evaluated on local level). The assistants are evaluated by the seniors, and the consultanst are evaluated by all the higher hierarchical levels together. The performance evaluation meeting

is facilitated by the HR generalist and the partner responsible for the performance management, and the evaluated assistants/consultants are not present. The starting point of the evaluation are the results of project evaluations, which are fine tuned by the project leaders (who worked with the evaluated assistant or consultant) and than the conclusions regarding the strengths, weaknesses and developmental areas are formulated, and the assistant/consultant performance is evaluated on a scale from 1 to 5. The conclusions are formulated briefly on behavioral level, or professional skills (e.g. excellent excel knowledge, efficient work, good client communication). Consequently the evaluation is formulated along the five competencies, but it does not deal in details with each of them, and the conclusions are formulated on behavioural level. The final rating is formulated based on the comparison of the performances of all assistants/consultants, and than is decided who are the best performing 5-10% (who can be promoted even two levels at once) and who are the average performers (50-60%) (who will be promoted one level), and who are the least performing employees (who are leaving the organization after a while, because the seniors do not want to continue working with them). The HR generalists write down the conclusions and send it to the counselors, who complement them with their personal observations and tell to the assistants/consultants. The developmental character of these conversations is not fully accomplished because the lack of motivation[89] and expertise of counselors, lack of time. For the assistants a possible problem is that the counselors do not know them, and are on different hierarchical level, so it is difficult to establish a trustful relationship (based on the interviews with the HR generalists).

As we could see above, a general attitude towards the newcomers is formed, and this strongly influences the work they can get, or their relationships with the project leading seniors. Therefore the formal performance evaluation is only strengthening the informally formed opinion. The performace evaluation also strengthens the dependence of newcomers from the project leading seniors, and sustains a culture, where the lower level employees do not say no, or against the higher hierarchical levels.

[89] The counselor role is not volunteer: in the audit department it is mandatory from senior levels, and in the tax department it is mandatory from managerial level. Each counselor will be responsible for 3-4 assistants/consultants, and in case of difficulties there is the possibility to ask for change (they do not use it). The HR tries to prepare the counselors for their role.

The Subjects – desired identity types

The newcomers participating in the research will be presented through their desired identities, which worked as identity work regulating mechanisms: (1) as a lens, they influenced, what was perceived by the individual as identity threat, and thus defined the turning points and the evolution of the socialization process; (2) gave direction to the process, and (3) served as reference point during the interpretation of the results of identity work (Markus and Nurius, 1986; Ibarra, 1999; Thornborrow and Brown, 2009).

I identified two main types of desired identities: (1) career focused and (2) open. Grey (2004) was the first researcher, who draw attention to the career focused desired identities in case of assistants or consultants working in BIG6, where the aim was fast organizational career. In the present thesis I define career focused identities more broadly, including those cases too, where the organization represents a respectable employment relationship for a transitional period, or a second university, if the individual has a definite career plan and has chosen the organization and/or profession to develop the necessary skills and competencies in order to realize it (e.g. entrepreneur, who wants to develop his professional and leading skills). Different types of career focused desired identities were defined: (1) *expert/professional,* where the individual desires continuous development within the chosen profession and the organization is the context which makes it possible (Emma and Sándor – "recognized auditor, who also maintains a personal life", and András – "recognized tax consultant, with personal life too"), (2) *vocational,* where the chosen profession and organization only offer the needed working conditions (e.g. possibility to participate in decision making) to the individual to prepare, in a definite period of time, for the chosen vocation (Viktor – "entrepreneur"). In case of open desired identities I differentiated the *searcher* and *drifter* identities. The individual with a searcher desired identity has chosen the organization and/or profession because of the offered working conditions (e.g. continuous learning opportunities, as trainings and mentoring), in hope, that meanwhile they will successfully anchor their desired identity in the organization or profession (e.g. Nóra – "continuous learner"). In case of drifter identity the individual decides not to decide, the aim is to postpone the important career decisions (e.g. Sára – "satisfied employee", or Miklós – "maybe entrepreneur, maybe sports manager").

In the following a short description of the different types of desired identities will be given according to the chosen[90] individual cases.

[90] The (trans)formation processes of the different desired identities will be presented through an individual case.

Emma, a recognized auditor, who also maintains a personal life

Emma has graduated at one of the best economical universities, with a degree in accounting. In her final year she has done the internship program with the ORGANIZATION, and in September started to work there. When she has chosen her master specialization, she already knew that she would like to work as an auditor, and to gain her first work experiences within a BIG4 company, because "…*auditing is a very secure profession, the law says that you have to audit. If there is crisis, or not, here is always work to do – here twice as many employees could have work, it is always safe, even as a newcomer I do not have to be afraid of loosing my job.*" The audit profession within a BIG4 "*Being a manager, this would be an ideal job for me. Managers don't spend their nights in the office; no, never. In fact, if they're in the office until 8.00 pm, well, that's almost unheard of! So that's more like a regular set of hours, from 9.00 am to 6.00 pm. And no work on weekends. Because, of course, unless the manager sees the report, it can't be issued; and managers are able to pace their work, with five or six years of experience, so that it all works out well in the end. So it would seem like an ideal job for me; and when you're a manager, you earn a very good salary. And there's prestige, and a whole lot of experience.*" This is complemented with a geographical remark: "*in this country, in Hungary I don't want to be an auditor in 10 years from now… Elsewhere probably yes, because in other countries you do not work as much…*"

Emma has started to work on her desired identity – recognized auditor, who maintains a personal life – already with the choice of her master specialization, and the choice of her first workplace. Thus she has proved that she is striving consciously towards her desired identity and she is fully committed to its realization. Consequently, Emma's desired identity is centred around the profession, and the ORGANIZATION is offering the working context to its realization.

Viktor – entrepreneur

Viktor was borned at countryside and he moves to Budapest in order to continue his studies at one of the best economical universities, and when this proves to be not enough challenge he start to study law too. He is very confident about his desired identity: "*I want to become an entrepreneur*". He already started to work on its realization: "*I am scanningand using the opportunities offered by the market, and of course in a way to not get into conflict*

The decision to present only one case for each type was taken because of the breadth limitations of the thesis and because the turning points' nature was similar within same type of desired identity narratives.

with the present job". He accepted the job offer made by the ORGANIZATION, because as a tax consultant he will be able to use both of his specializations, and because of financial considerations, but most of all because of the personal attention he got from one of the partners of the tax department: "*The partner, with whom I hade the professional interview, called me in one of the evenings, saying that tomorrow someone from the HR will call to offer me a contract, and in case I have questions or problems just call him, because they would like me to work for them. I was flattered, that someone with such a high position tells something like this to a candidate."*

Viktor is committed to his desired identity: he started to work on its realization already, and has a strong emotional reaction towards it: "*you have to gain some knowledge and professional experience, and than do your own business, because to be a slave all your life is not a good thing*." In case of Viktor, to become an entrepreneur is the desired identity, and the ORGANIZATION and the tax consultant profession are only a respectful, transitional solution, which offers him time to complete the law studies and to get ready for his own business.

Sára – satisfied employee

Sára is 29 year old, and has two master degrees: one in IT engineering and one in accounting. This is her first "serious" workplace, before this she had only temporal jobs. She had no definite career plans, she was attracted by the ORGANIZATION dynamic and family-like image and the prestige of the auditing profession: "*To tell the truth I did not really know what I want to do, you can tell this even from the fact that I am 29 and I am just starting my career… I liked the firm, I wanted to come here. First I didn't want to commit myself, therefor I did not apply for the scholarship or internship programs, but than I say them at the career fair, and I liked them.*" She can imagine herself as auditor on long term only, if "*I feel good. This will be defined only by how I feel. For me it is not important to be audit or anything else, because there are so many things that I am interested in, but none of them attracts me so much to get committed*", so *"…the profession, to develop professionally are important for me, only if they help me to feel good. If I am good professional I can help others, or be more efficient, or feel good, but the knowledge in itself does not motivate me. So the profession in itself not…"*

Sára' desired identity is the satisfied employee, where the nature of work is not important, the organization offers the needed working conditions through its dynamic and family like culture. So, the desired identity is linked to the profession or organization only till

she can keep open the possibilities, do not commit to a profession or organization, do not take longterm career decisions.

Nóra – continuous learner

Nóra is 24, she was borned in Budapest, and she has finished her economical studies there. Afterwards she has studied abroad for one year, followed by a half a year internship abroad. After returning home she has done an internhip at the Hungarian office of a big American multinational as controller. Consequently this period can be characterized by sharp changes: she gains theoretical and practical knowledge within different fields. She confesses: "what defines me most is, that I am learning, I am in a learning phase, not only professionally, but about myself too". She has chosen the organization because: "*the work is very interesting, the individual can face real challenges here*", and "*my decision was based also on the fact that here I can try many new things. I saw that here I can learn all the time, the ORGANIZATION facilitates this, organizes internal trainings, and…*".

Nóra has chosen the organization, because it facilitates her continuous development. The continuously learning from professional challenges identity is detailed further by "*I take comfort in the fact that I'm a female employee, and as a result … the professional part and finding things I'm good at is important, as is being able to do things I like and being able to prove that to myself. So it's great that I'm a woman because if I have a family, I will have other things to work hard for. Right now I can focus on my job. Right now I will do everything for my job, but once I have a family and have children, then spending time with them will be the most important thing."*

Nóra's desired identity – continuous learner from professional challenges – is further strengthened by the fact, that she has only a limited period of time at disposal: the years before having a family. Nóra commits herself to searching, and the tax consultant position offers the working context for it, but only because it is within this organization, which facilitates consciously the continuous development of its employees. The organization and profession are strongly linked in her case, because together they can offer the necessary working cpnditions for the realization of her desired identity.

In the following, before presenting the individual cases, which will give a detailed description of the (trans)formation process of desired identities, a short description of the orientation

experiences will be given[91].

The beginning - orientation

Entering the organization is not difficult for the newcomers: through the orientation program the ORGANIZATION gives the feeling to them that they continue their studies, and this is a similar experience with the start of a new school year.

"*This is the ideal adjustment, it is like you get into a new class in the school, people come from different places, and nobody knows the others. It is good, because everybody is young, almost the same age, everybody is open, it was no problem with fitting in.*" (Kata)

The first step of the orientation program was a get together day, when they had the opportunity to know each other, followed by a two weeks long training, where they become familiar with the organization (its structure, the work of different departments, and their relationship) and the basic professional knowledge.

"*You can imagine the training like…we were sitting from 9 a.m. till 5 p.m. in a room without air, listening to the lecturer, and we had to participate, you could not sleep. I was surrounded with people with whom I found the common language, and if you can have fun and party with someone, that already means something.*" (Sára)

"*It was a day in the office, a getting together, where they presented to us what is going to happen during the training, and shared with us a few useful things, and the next day we met, and went by bus to …. country. At the training there were participants from different hierarchy levels, and from different countries, the employees from 7 countries, not only Hungarians but other nationalities too, so the training was in English. In the evening the Hungarian group usually met, and we went through the daily material together, in Humgarian. In the evening the social life was going on – it was a room, where the group usually met, and we listened some music, and talked."* (Kata)

The training reminded them the university years – they go to lectures, where they are expected to be active participants, and in the evening they socialize, party together. For the newcomers to get to know each other is more important than the professional studies.

"*During the first two week we get to know each other: there were lectures all the time, some professional, and some other. The ten newcomers started together, but at the end of the training you could already see different smaller groups. I am not saying that these different*

[91] The orientation was mentioned by each interviewee as a definig event, but I could not identify any related turning point narrative.

groups were firmly formed, but you could already feel them. After the training we were sent down to the tax department as a more or less homogeneous group. From the organizational culture perspective is interesting, it is special, I don't know how it is in other places, but the different class years – just like at the university – stick together very strongly." (Viktor)

At the end of the training the newcomers think about themselves as the group of beginners, and with the start of office work they change this into the first year group. Thus, they structure the organizational context according to their university experiences, making the transition much easier.

A different experience had those participants who worked already for the organization within the scholarship or internship program: for them the transition was not made during the training, but in the previous year.

"*Being an intern was better than being a newcomer, like the other A1 now, because they were treating us as a light version, they are interns, ok, than we give them the easy tests*". (Sándor)

Emma sees the main difference in the level of responsibility and the possibility for a gradual transition.

"*First as an intern, I worked part time, half time in school, half time here. It was good to be only part time, less trouble, less responsibility. It was weird, the fact that we work it was a completely different world in comparison with the university. It is not so easy, ypu can't say anymore if something doesn't work that it doesn't matter, it won't be excellent just good, here it is nothing like this. At the university I thought that there is to much work to do, you have to learn the material, you can't postpone it, and I thought if I start work it will be less, because it won't be my company, so I do the work they ask, than I go home, and I don't care. And this is not like this here, because there is work to be done at home, and I still feel like this is homework, and there is responsibility, so it is even more stressful.*"

They describe the experiences of the orientation training using the university jargon. They talk about the professional training as lectures, where they have to be active participants, they call their work as "material", which has to be learned, there are tasks needed to be done, you can't postpone them. If they take home some work, then it is perceived as homework. After the "lectures" they party with their colleagues, and they start to form smaller groups based on sympathy and even some friendships. They all agree that this was more important at this time, than the professional training. As main difference between the experiences as a student or intern in the perceived responsibility, and in the excellent performance expectations, here you can't do an average job, at each task you have to strive for perfection.

The training experiences changes in time: "*So this, as I see it now, it was not enough, and it*

was not real help, because they had to tell us to many information in a very short time; the best thing was that I went to clients, and their they taught me everything." (Sándor)

At the end of the training the newcomer assistants (A1) and consultants (C1) start their work at the office. The assistants do office work at the beginning, and from October they start to work on client projects, which are more and more difficult, because they work on several projects simultaneously, and from November they start the inventories too. The consultants start to work on different projects too, but they remain in the office, do not have direct contact with the clients.

In the following subchapter the individual cases describing the (trans)formation process of the different types of desired identities are presented.

The chosens – the individual cases

In this subchapter the individual's organizational socialization cases will be presented through chronologically ordered narratives of turning points. The only exception was the description of the orientation process, because it was mentioned as an important event by all the interviewees, but I could not identify any related narrative. At the turning point that entailed, each of my interview subjects utilized the same identity work tactic: they used as transitional identity a former positive identity, that of the student. At the same time, the description of such a turning point was important: as we have seen, this is when the beginners' group was formed, along with the first friendships, which later served as important points of reference.

The expert: Emma, a recognized auditor, who also maintains a personal life

For Emma, the first turning point came when she, for the first time, was working on a project and representing her company without the presence of a senior assistant, and supported solely by another newcomer assistant. The project was a success.

"It was just the two of us at the client site – with zero experience…"

"Last week[92] *we visited a client – just another A/1 and me. Noone else, no senior assistant, absolutely no one. This does not happen often. So, it was just the two of us, and we had both only been working at the company for two months. We had zero experience, but we performed*

[92] December

all of the tests. The two of us went to see the client; we saw how they work and we did what we were tasked with. It's as simple as that."

This particular project is different from earlier ones for a number of reasons: there are fewer people on the team; no project leader is present; and both participants are newcomers with little experience on the job. Each element of the project description – its temporal context ("we've been working for two months"), the number of participants ("the two of us went"), the description of the team members ("zero experience") – conveys just how difficult the project seemed to be and highlights differences between the expected and available skills: the two participants, although officially no more than assistants, had to oversee tasks usually reserved for more senior team members. This is what turns the story into an important recollection of success: they manage to solve a seemingly insurmountable task successfully. At the same time, the interview subject finishes the train of thought very quickly: "*we did what we were tasked with. It's as simple as that"* – a statement which makes it seem as though being able to solve such impossible situations is actually quite natural.

Placing the event in an organizational and professional (legal) context, the interview subject *makes a case* for its generalizability, and then goes on to elaborate her conclusions too.

"According to the rules of the Chamber, it takes seven years after graduation to become a registered, fully responsible auditor. That's when you really become an auditor. At the same time, I view myself as an auditor partly because in many cases, we are the ones who do the auditing for a company. We examine the company's books and reports to make sure they're in order. What this means is that we do the auditing for the company, but someone else signs off on it. Sure, someone who did not actually spend time at the client's offices can also look at the books, but they don't see all of it the same way we do. They don't go through all of the tests, like we do, to make sure that there are no mistakes. On the other hand, the ORGANIZATION is a multinational company – the concept of the "auditor signing" does not exist elsewhere –; so it is the company signing, because it's an Anglo-Saxon company. This is common here, too; we are auditors. There are two of us there. The most senior one graduated two years ago, yet we can call ourselves auditors. … Yes, because the clients generally don't understand what the structure is, anyway. They may get a visit from a three-member team, and they can't really tell the age difference. And they never know what level we occupy in our own hierarchy; who is at the bottom and who is at the top. They think we all come from the same level. We appear to be the best of friends there, auditing and working together day and night. The reality is that last week I may not even have known their names and I may not remember

their names next week, either. But this is what the client sees and this is how they relate to us – to all of us – on the team: in exactly the same way." Accordingly: *"I see myself as an auditor because I work here."*

The turning point – representing the company (without the presence of a senior) – presents a threat to the identity, because *it differs from the norm*[93]*, and it requires performing work for which the individual does not possess the appropriate professional knowledge and leadership skills. They end up in the "thick of things."* As a results, the threat to the identity comes from the lack of necessary skills, and breakdown of the individual's work-identity integrity – performing senior-level work while officially only an assistant – which can be explained in part by the nature of the work, and in part by work processes. Emma transforms this identity threat by *neutralizing* it – trying to make it seem natural: "We did what we were tasked with. It's as simple as that" – and *looks for positive reinforcement* on the part of important characters (the client, who treats all project members the same) as well as in the international practices of the firm. It also *elevates the significance of her work*: by being the only ones who completed the necessary tests, they are the only ones who really understand the client. Their supervisor's decision depends on their work. This leads to a realization of her goals: the identity threat is transformed, and a sense of security returns. The individual's self-esteem is also reinforced. The success of the transformation of the identity threat is indicated by the subject's identifying with her profession – "I'm an auditor" –; sustaining this, however, is for the moment still dependent on external, organizational, factors. In other words, it becomes interlinked with organizational identity, according to the *patching tactic* identified by Pratt et al. (2006). Thus, the individual's desired identity also comes closer; its realization, however, is still linked to membership in the organization. Accordingly, the first question for Emma was "how do I transform this identity threat?" Only after successfully attaining this did the question become "how do I realize my desired identity?" In her case, this was resolved through the utilization of the patching tactic.

The next turning point is linked to an event similar to the one just described – representing the organization alone –, but the nature of the work is different. In this case, the task at hand is the preparation of an inventory, involving administrative tasks; this is "*typically an A1 task. There is no capacity for it; you have to go there and do it by yourself.*

[93] Generally, the smallest auditing teams are comprised of one or two assistants (A1 and A2) and a senior acting as their supervisor.

When I go to conduct an inventory, I alone represent the entire company."

"I didn't go to school to become just a cabdriver..."

"I was visiting one client after the next; I had no idea what I was doing. I didn't think I would like this in the least. But then you get over it for a while. And then it changes again. I broke down several times when doing the inventories, or when I had to go to some far-flung town or village to conduct the inventory. All by myself; the place wasn't even listed on my GPS; I get lost, and I can't help but think, 'I didn't go to school to become just a cabdriver.' It's not that I'm upset about my work. It's a lot other things. To get to the place I'm going; I still can't find it on my map; no one can give me directions to the street. That's when you lose it. I'm late. And things like that. Sure, everyone gets over these things. But these things do happen sometimes."

The turning point is similar to the one described above: representing the company alone. It presents an identity threat because it increases the share of administrative, routine work, which does not require much professional knowledge or experience, and which is described as "*typical A1 tasks."* Consequently, the identity threat emerges as a result of the breakdown of work-identity integrity: A1 performing the most low-level, routine work vs. auditor visiting the client; with the latter identity previously reinforced; and there is also a contradiction between past work identity (student) and A1 performing routine work -, the latter indicated by the expression "I didn't go to school just to become a cabdriver." In this case, however, the subject is lacking the external reinforcing factors which were available in the previous narrative and which served to neutralize the identity threat: the organization provides no support; she has to solve every problem herself; and she views the inventory as an activity for which the organization has no capacity (something which is ordinarily completed only by newcomer assistants at the very bottom of the hierarchy). Emma uses a variety of identity work tactics to resolve the tension. She *denies* that it is the nature of the work (that it is a series of routine, administrative tasks) that is bothering her, and she blames the circumstances of the activity, which are foreign to her (a place in the countryside indicated neither on the GPS nor on the map). The expression "I didn't go to school just to become a cabdriver" indicates a reference to *an earlier, positive work identity* (that of the student); by reinforcing that identity, she is able to counter the present circumstances – and, indirectly, the organization which is responsible for the circumstances. This latter is no longer the reinforcing frame of reference which was seen in the previous narrative, but is actually the cause of the identity tension. With her previous statement, she further reduces the identity

tension by contradicting the *A1 part of her identity, responsible for the inventory* ("I didn't go to school just to become a cabdriver" – i.e. that is not me) and by considering it *temporary*. She chooses survival – believing that she can take it for a short period of time. The fourth identity tactic is *identifying with other newcomers* – "like everyone else" – and thereby relieving the personal pressure and viewing the situation as just a part of the job. It is interesting to observe that the transformation of the identity threat does not succeed completely; and this is the first time the thought of survival appears explicitly. Thus, the question Emma needs to answer in this case is how to "reduce the hurt caused by the identity threat." The answer lies in emphasizing a previous, positive identity (that of the "student"); in other words, she is relying on the splinting identity work technique (Pratt et al., 2006) and disidentifying with the A1 role performing the inventory ("I didn't go to school just to become a cabdriver"). Indirectly, she is also working to reduce potential threats to the desired identity, by linking it to the previous positive work identity ("student").

The busy season – involving several projects and inventories happening concurrently – serves to further increase the distance between the present identity and the desired identity. It confronts her with the feared identity, as described in the following turning point narrative.

"All work and no rest…"

"I barely have time to see anyone anymore. When I go home, I enter the house, I eat something and I probably have to finish working on something. If I'm lucky, I get to bed before midnight. This is the norm. Sure, there may be a week or two that is easier and when everything is fine. We may go and play tennis then at 5.00 pm. But this is pretty rare. This is not good. I have a sister who lives next door, and yet I never get to see her. My friends are here. And sure, everyone said you can always stay in touch with your friends via email. I seldom see my friends, however. When I have a little time, I devote that either to myself or to seeing my family. There is little time for friends. Maybe on the weekends, sometimes. It's all work and no rest. This really is not right. I can take it; I bear it, because I have no choice. But this is not how I see my future. I don't like what I see all around me every day: people work themselves to death. They all have their personal problems. Many are so frustrated. This is difficult for me to see. Well – the good part, for me at least, is that it's a nice profession. No one really understands that. We spend our days combing through numbers. Sometimes we find something. And it's all very logical. It was designed to create a system, logically. If you discover something, using your logic, that's what makes it neat. We use our brains the whole day, and our logic; and something may happen differently each day. I've always liked to work

with numbers – I find that neat. And I like these methods that ensure that these tremendous reports issued by a huge company are free of material mistakes." Consequently: "*No, not in this country; I cannot see myself being an auditor ten years from now in Hungary. Maybe I will be one, but certainly not with a big company. I don't want to work and to worry this much once I have children. I've seen how much time mothers and fathers can spend with their children. And if that time is spent with the parent all stressed out... Here, you still have to work hard even if you've been here for ten years already. I cannot see myself being an auditor for any company ten years from now. Maybe elsewhere. They don't work this much in other countries. I'd like to stay with a large company if I can go abroad to work."*

The third turning point is the realization that her work is taking up all of her workdays, and that the lack of rest is causing problems. The identity threat is due to the breakup of the integrity of her work-identity, caused by the *intensity of the work*. The amount of work she is doing cannot be reconciled with her desirable identity: a professional with a personal life. She is also confronted with her feared identity (auditor without a personal life). The gravity of the situation is indicated by the fact that she explores it in several different dimensions: her social relationships are more and more confined to her workplace; she maintains contact with earlier friends primarily through the internet; and the nature of her relationship to her family has also changed. The threat is further aggravated by the fact that the organization provides nothing but negative role models, thereby drawing into question whether the realization of her desired identity is even possible in the longer term. There are several identity work tactics in use here. She views the situation as a temporary one, which has to be tolerated. She therefore attempts to *maintain distance* in the long term (disidentifying with the organization). She also *amplifies the positive aspects of the profession* – "this is a nice profession" –, describing the content of the work and the used methodology. *In the long term, she identifies with her profession* – seeing herself as an auditor perhaps in a different country – but does so while referring to different external circumstances (laws) which would prevent this identity threat from emerging. This latter element indicates that she is continuing to seek out external solutions to resolve the identity threat, and she does not change the nature of her desired identity.

This is the first time the question of the long term realizability of her desired identity is raised; what this indicates is that the tactics used previously – transforming current identity threats (reinforcing the positive aspects of the profession) or reducing current grievances (disidentification) – are no longer sufficient, especially because in the long term she has to confront her feared identity. Thus, this is the first instance when *the long term realizability of*

the desired identity within the organization is drawn into question, and her desired identity is transformed into impossible self within the organization. She therefore resorts to a new tactic: she describes a specific scenario for the long term: working as an auditor in another country. In other words, she *enriches* the interpretation of the desired identity and uses an external positive reinforcement (laws effective in other countries regulating the intensity of work) to support it.

As we have seen: the nature and intensity of work can present an identity threat themselves. To resolve these, she resorts to similar tactics. In the short term, she focuses on survival, viewing the situation as a temporary time and (over)emphasizing the positive aspects of her work as an auditor. She intends to find a solution in the long term. At the same time, when confronted with her feared identity, she questions it.

Up until this point, her attention has been focused on representing the organization and on the content or process of her work. In the next turning point narrative, however, she examines the negative aspects of the project group work, with a special focus on the relationship to the supervisor.

"I cannot say no…"

"What I dislike? When they delegate tasks from the top that should not even be my job. But I cannot say no. And I also can't say that this is not my job. I can't say that I've never done that before, because they'll say 'Well, now you will!' I don't like it when a senior person is lazy and forces the assistant to do everything. At that point, it's no longer teamwork. It's really as though he didn't do a thing. I can certainly go out into the field with the team, and we can explain things there; I can say 'Well, give me your test, and that's it.' I can look at it; and it may be full of dumb questions. And he still won't look at it. And then he asks me the same thing for the fifth time – 'What was the problem?' And I tell him for the fifth time, and I type it up for the sixth time. And no, he still doesn't remember it. That's where it's really repulsive. I honestly don't know how we would issue these reports if the assistant weren't around to help…[94] *I can tell the supervisor that it's not my job to do this, because it really ought to be dealt with on a senior level. Or I can tell him I'd never done this before; but then he's sure to give me a bad evaluation. No one at this company is allowed to say no. It's sure to come back*

[94] I have omitted the part of the interview in which the subject describes seniors whose attitude is somewhat different.

and haunt you if you do. They're not going to say that she didn't do someone else's job; but it will surely come up later that you said no. So you really can't do that. It all depends whether the senior supervising you is a decent person. If they are, they're going to see that I simply cannot work any longer hours. And then he won't assign the work to me. But there are times when they're not interested in that, or they don't even know what's going on here, because they're home by 7.00 pm. And we're still at the office; he may be thinking we'd gone home by 11.00 pm, but that's not the case."

The fourth turning point is the recognition that she is dependent on the project leader, which means that she has to complete his/her requests in every case and cannot say no. She identifies herself as an assistant within the project team, and opposite from the project leader, whose expectations she has to meet. This presents an identity threat, because *who she has to be within the organization* – an assistant who is always ready to meet expectations – *is in contrast with her desired identity* (a recognized professional). She attempts to relieve the identity tension that this creates using several techniques: (1) She makes her supervisor seem professionally incompetent, one who only slows the work with his questions; the comparison allows her to reinforce her own identity; (2) she elevates the significance of her own work by making herself seem irreplaceable ("*I honestly don't know how we would issue these reports if the assistant weren't around to help*").

She places the event representing the turning point in an organizational context and *makes a case* for its general validity: *"You have to be patient and you can't say a word even when you're feeling all torn up inside. You can never be upset with a client, that's what they teach you. You must never say a bad or tense word to a client. The client is simply not allowed to see any of this. The client is sacrosanct. Sure, some people can't keep to this – but then they're fired instantly. So if anyone has ever had an altercation, however minor, with a client, they're definitely out of here. That's absolutely sure. It won't matter how good they were on the job, if they had a problem with a client. But especially with each other; so I think you just have to nod and suffer patiently. And you have to get used to everyone's quirks. It's never about doing what you come up with, but doing what they want to see done. You simply have to swallow that and just do it. Even though it may not make any sense to do it that way, but you have to do it. You have to learn to tolerate everyone's quirks; that certainly makes one stronger in the end."*

Adjusting to the client and those higher in the company hierarchy is one of the most important expectations. In the case of the former, mistakes are openly punished by dismissal; in the case of the latter, it's an indirect process of reinforcements. (1) When distributing

projects: seniors select their assistants for each project; (2) performance evaluation system: seniors evaluate their assistants after each project; in the case of end-of-year evaluations, the opinion of a senior who has worked the most with the assistant counts more; (3) the company's culture also legitimizes it – "*at this company it is not allowed to say no.*"

Thus, adapting is one of the most important tools of survival for an assistant. This creates an environment that lacks trust and honesty. Supervisors reinforce this by failing to provide feedback on the assistants' work in a timely or honest fashion. This constant need to adapt also results in internal tensions, thus further increasing the identity threat. Emma, for the time being, attempts to resolve this by accepting the contradictions and reinterpreting them as a reinforcing experience ("that certainly makes one stronger"); at the same time, she distances the experience from herself (using the generic "one"). It is a question, however, just how long this approach may work for her.

That is exactly why the identity work techniques identified above are not sufficient for relieving the tension; she goes on to look for a possible *explanation* in the past history and operation of the department: *"The problem is that auditing has changed dramatically here in the past two-three years. Those who are currently S1s*[95] *or S2s – and primarily the S2s – merely twiddled their thumbs when they were A1s. And everyone will tell you that. Things were not this harried then. They may have stayed at the office until 7.30 pm some nights, but that was considered an unusually tough day then. Me – I never get home before midnight! I don't think they had this many clients, and they probably were not pursuing revenues this much. Now we take on every client we can; all of them, even the worst ones who are nothing but trouble and lead to overtime work later. A lot of people quit and there aren't enough of us, I think. The truth is that we could easily use twice as many people to audit the number of companies we work with. But no one is going to hire twice as many people, even though they should. Applicants we certainly have enough of. But no one wants to pay salaries and reduce profits, so they won't hire. They think that even if some people leave, there will always be newer ones next year, keeping the total numbers roughly the same. We survived audit season last year somehow, and we will survive it this year, too. So they don't plan ahead; they don't care about retaining people. They're not interested in that. It doesn't matter that it may be me doing this task this year and that it may be someone else doing it next year.*

Her narrative absolves the supervisors, saying they do not have experience under similar conditions, and places the blame on the organization. She says the problem is the drive

[95] S1 and S2 represent a hierarchical order of senior associate levels.

for profit; a lack of long term planning; a disregard for employee welfare; considering employees replaceable; using employees to the fullest extent, pushing them to the edges of individual endurance. She exonerates individual characters (senior supervisors and assistants alike) from responsibility for the solution, and seeks to find answers in the operations of the organization. She ceases to take individual responsibility and her relationship to the organization becomes ambivalent.

As the audit season progresses, the tensions cited above continue to mount. Health problems, a general sense of disinterestedness and the fact that these are accepted as the norm within the organization serve to reinforce her feared identity: an auditor without a personal life. This is when she comes to the turning point when she explicitly verbalizes, for the first time, resistance.

"The trouble is, I cannot sleep anymore!"

"I simply don't think this is right anymore. I've given up all hope of doing anything or going anywhere. But now – now I'm at the point where I can't even sleep anymore. I go home at 5.00 am and at 7.00 am I am already on my way to the next client. I'm simply ill, physically ill. I get migraines; my feet are shaking and such. People sit here with red noses and contagious coughs. They have a fever, for all I know, with a scarf around their necks. Yet they all come to work, and no one notices. You see someone crying in the office, and yet no one asks what their problem may be. It's simply an everyday sight. It's usual. They break down about something, that's all." BUT, *"each minute of the day I'm mentally there (in Washington) and when I'm emailing or chatting with friends there… This is what happened yesterday. I was talking to them; we were able to exchange a line or two while working. It helps me work. So it may have been 11.00 pm or so, just before midnight here, when they told me they are going to sign off then. 'I have to go to the post office and run some errands,' they said; it was 5.00 or 6.00 pm their time. A time when people are supposed to go home from the office. That's it. And when they got home from the post office and their other errands, I was still here at the office. They watched the news, the game, the movie and everything. They had dinner, took a shower, brushed their teeth and said they can't take anymore, they're tired, and so they went to bed. I was still here for another two hours or more. And they're six hours ahead. They get up when it's already 2.00 pm here. So then I begin to wonder. There's this line about multinational companies that they're called that because you start your workday according to the time here, but you finish it according to the U.S. time zone. And I think that*

really is true. I absolutely believe that. And yes, well yes, I hope that they wouldn't be able to do this over there. Don't forget that there are laws." As a result: *"I'd like to go back to the ORGANIZATION there; perhaps not now, because it's fairly difficult due to the crisis and all, but maybe next year. I'd like to see what they do differently. It can't be the same, but the methodology certainly is that. We have the same computers with the same software. Everything is the same, except that it isn't, because tax forms look different over there. But I'd like to see how it's done; I could imagine working for the ORGANIZATION there."*

As a result of the intensity of her work, the identity threat described earlier (threatening the integrity of work-identity) reaches such a level that Emma no longer attempts to transform it or reduce the injuries; she opts to escape the situation altogether. For the time being, she does this only psychologically, by constantly maintaining contact with her friends living overseas, even during business hours. At the same time, she is preparing for a physical escape – leaving the ORGANIZATION. This is the first instance when it is not a clearly defined external event that represents the turning point, but an internal recognition. She grows distant from the ORGANIZATION, but only locally: she could imagine continuing her career within the same company in the United States, indicating an ambivalent relationship toward the organization. As a result, she continues to refine her desired identity (an auditor with the ORGANIZATION, in the United States), to resolve the identity threat. She reinforces this by referring to her friends' lifestyle overseas (having a personal life) and to laws applicable there.

Our last encounter may be viewed as an exit interview, because she said: "*I quit. I am going to leave it all behind. I'll get this certificate and I will see if they have any openings (at the ORGANIZATION); if they do, maybe I'll apply for a job."* She continues to hope to realize her desired identity, which she is now able to define precisely, both in terms of time and position: "*Being a manager, this would be an ideal job for me. Managers don't spend their nights in the office; no, never. In fact, if they're in the office until 8.00 pm, well, that's almost unheard of! So that's more like a regular set of hours, from 9.00 am to 6.00 pm. And no work on weekends. Because, of course, unless the manager sees the report, it can't be issued; and managers are able to pace their work, with five or six years of experience, so that it all works out well in the end. So it would seem like an ideal job for me; and when you're a manager, you earn a very good salary. And there's prestige, and a whole lot of experience."*

Emma, through the process described, proceeded to define her desired identity more and more precisely. She never changed its nature; she sought out the organizational

framework where she believed she could realize her goal, thereby also confirming its intensity.

Emma: desired identity' (trans)formation process

Emma's desired identity – "a recognized professional who has a personal life" – was (trans)formed by conscious decisions she made prior to joining the organization (choice of university, major and internship), and from the time she joined the company through the series of turning points (she defended it from negative impacts, enriched it, made it more and more specific). The identity work tactics used in the process and their results will be summarized in the following table. Besides this, a typology of the turning points narratives[96] will be indicated, based on the nature of the desired identity transformation process (identity development vs. protection).

[96] This typology will be explored in detail in the following chapter.

Table 8: Desired identity transformation process – Emma's case

Narrative	Turning point (events)	Identity threat(s)	Identity work tactics	Results	Narrative typology
"It was just the two of us at the client site – with zero experience…"	project work organization: as assistant she does senior work	Lack of competencies; Work-identity integrity (the nature of work fits the desired identity)	Neutralizing negative external impacts; External recognition (client) Elevates the significance of her work; Enriches desired identity with positive professional characteristics; Combines desired identity with organizational elements	Professional (identity)development (aligned with the desired identity); Links desired identity with the organization: "*I am auditor because I work here*"	Experimentation[97] narrative (development of competencies Defensive narrative (lack of awareness)
"I didn't go to school to become just a cabdriver..."	Inventories (routine work	Unused competencies; Breakup of work-identity integrity: the nature and process of work is not aligned with the previously strengthened identity Breakup of work-identity integrity: nature and process of work is not aligned with previous positive identity (student)	Denial; Situation considered as temporary; Selective social comparison (newcomers group) Distancing from the non aligned parts of her work Reference to the previous positive identity (student) - nostalgia	Professional (identity)development Disidentification woth those parts of her work which are perceived as obstacles in the realization of desired identity; Establishes relationship with desired identity through previous positive identity (student)	Experimentation narrative (development of competencies) Defensive narrative (refusal and nostalgia)
"All work and no rest…"	work intensity	She faces her feared identity (auditor without personal life); Work intensity is not aligned with the enriched desired identity;	Situation considered as temporary; Elevates the positive aspects of the profession; Transforms her personal relationships; Enriches her desired identity	Identifies with the profession Disidentified with the organization; Complements her desired identity: *recognized auditor, who also maintains a personal life (abroad)* The desired identity is transformed into	Recognition narrative (impossible self)

[97] In case of experimentation narrarive the individual strives to express/realize his/her desired identity within the organization. The experimentation narrative concept will be used instead of realization narrative, because of the transitional nature of the results, and the continuous nature of the process (desired identity is constinuously transformed). Besides, the realization narrative would also suggest, that desired identity is fixed, non changing.

				impossible self (within the organization)	
"I cannot say no…"	project work organization performance evaluation	Whos she has to be vs. who she would like to be How she has to do her work vs. how she would like to do it	Selective social comparison (vs. incompetent senior); Elevates the importance and positive aspects of her work; Blames the organization; Jouissance	Identifies with the profession Disidentifies woth the organization Protects desired identity (*recognized auditor, who also maintains a personal life)*	Defensive narrative (jouissance)
„The trouble is I cannot even sleep anymore!"	(extreme) work intensity	Work intensity is not aligned with the desired identity	Enriches desired identity; Selective social comparison (U.S. vs. Hungarian office of the organization); Postalgia	Identifies with the profession Disidentifies with the Hungarian office of the organization; Establishes relationship with desired identity through postalgia: *recognized auditor in the U:S. office of the organization*	Defensive narrative (jouissance and posztalgia)

The vocational: Viktor, an entrepreneur

For him, the transition from university student to employee is easy: he joins the most prestigious tax section (dealing with international taxation). He receives challenging tasks and his work is recognized by his seniors and managers. He also enjoys the support of the partner managing the tax section he joined. As a result, his initial positive experiences confirm for him that he made the right decision. He does not experience any contradictory organizational expectations, but the *difference between his desired identity and the work he is performing currently breaks up the integrity of his work-identity*, presenting an identity threat. He manages to transform the threat, because he starts to identify with the work he is performing within the ORGANIZATION; he regards himself as a tax consultant. This latter is confirmed through a process of *selective social comparison*: the international tax section is considered the best one within the tax department; and within the organization, the tax department commands greater respect than audit department. He also sets himself apart from those relying on self-marketing, and thus rejects a pattern of behavior that is otherwise accepted and recognized within the organization. In his case, however, his colleagues accept this different, "true to self" (Ibarra, 1999) behavior. Although these initial experiences cannot be construed as a clearly defined turning point, he experiences them as a gradual shift. The successful transformation of the identity threat is also indicated by his ability to create an organizational version of his desired identity – that of the professionally competent manager. He would like to achieve this during the interim period he intends to spend with the organization. *"I would like to be good, professionally; to be a good manager. But I can't say I envy managers' and partners' personal lives. The way I see it: it's either in terrible shape, or doesn't exist; or maybe it never had. Or something like that. And this work – no, work simply cannot be this important, I don't think. Because there are three or four partners and maybe ten or twelve really good professionals who are also capable of this personally, there may be four of those twelve who have no personal lives and those four will be given preference over the others. I think, based on my abilities, that I could be one of these twelve or sixteen people who have what it takes professionally to make partner. But it's not worth giving up your personal life for. Unfortunately, I'm not the best of the best; and I can see that there are ten or twelve people who are just as qualified. I'm not any better than they are. I'm sure that there are some people who are smart enough to make partner and can still have a personal life; but I don't think I'm there. I will not sacrifice my personal life. But I would like to maintain some distance; I don't want to be an ORGANIZATION Viktor. I don't want to identify with the*

company very much. You always need a chance to change, and if you don't pay attention to this consciously..." The desired identity, within the organization's framework, is a professionally competent manager in the tax department, who also "has a personal life." This latter characteristic carries within it tension, as far as the organizational version of the desired identity is concerned: he is unable to find anyone to serve as a role model within the organization who has been able to achieve both (being a good manager and having a personal life). Or, if he did find someone, he was unable to identify with them: he did not find himself to be qualified enough. The desired identity formulated within the organizational framework, projects an ambivalent identification: being a manager or partner within the organization is attractive to him, but he does not wish to follow the behavior other colleagues have displayed: self marketing, sacrificing one's personal life and slowly becoming rich: "*sure, I would be happy to see the money coming to my account, since I'm working the project. And then I could get that money either as part of my salary or as a dividend, whichever way I'd like. … Or I can put it toward expenses, if I wanted to. And then there are those, many people in fact, who like it that way; there are many of them who can do this humbly and do it well. I'm not one of them, however. I think if I've been blessed with any talent, and since I've completed these two schools, I would like to get rich, preferably as soon as possible. You can't do that at a multinational company. You can get rich, but slowly. You have to work a lot and be excellent at it. I just don't have that much time."* Additionally, he would prefer to maintain his distance from the organization; he does not want to be "ORGANIZATION Viktor." Consequently, he verbalizes his temporary desired identity (being a manager in the tax department), along with the conditions among which he would like to see this realized. The presence of these conditions, as well as the presence of the manager as a central element, in the temporary desired identity, indicates that for him, being "his own master" is a focal point. This establishes the link to his original desired identity – that of the entrepreneur. One of the reasons this does not lead to tension in the present is that he is already experimenting with its realization: "*I am testing the opportunities in the market. I have a small enterprise and I try to move that along, as long as it does not run counter to my job."* He does not discuss this enterprise with his friends or family members, because he does not yet know whether he will be successful with it. As a result, and for this period, he creates a temporary desired identity, which can be considered variation on the original desired identity – entrepreneur – formulated within the organizational framework. The organization, by assigning him to the international tax section, supports the realization of this identity; by defining the important others (auditors) and by assigning him his place within the organizational hierarchy. This latter is determined

by the fact that the company will appoint the head of the international tax section to head the tax department, lending Viktor's relationship to him an additional significance: "*I am in a special and very fortunate situation: he (the partner) only discusses matters with a very small circle of colleagues. I may be youngest one there; and sure, he may discuss less with me than with the more senior members, but at least I can talk to him. So we get along well. He, clearly, does not want to maintain contact with everyone. That's why he tends to select a few people he gets along well with and I think he really listens to their opinion. So I think I have the opportunity to hear things a little bit more honestly and directly. And if I have any new ideas, then maybe I could impact his thinking in some small way. I think that I may be the single person of all of newcomers who is given this opportunity the most. So, like I said, and this is not at all a result of the formal framework, or because I'm a consultant or because I do my work. It's a result simply of me having a better personal relationship with A than most other people."*

His temporary desired identity sums up who he would like to be, as well as who he would not like to be. This latter aspect is important because it shows that the organization is unable to provide a role model who would cover both aspects. The question, then, is whether the other methods – the partner's support, the nature of the work – are sufficient in this case. He was able to transform the identity threat successfully, using selective social comparisons. He realized the integrity of the work-identity formulating a temporary desired identity and by establishing a favorable and supportive relationship with the supervisors. *"…For now, I would say that being an employee in the tax department of the ORGANIZATION is a great thing. I talk to my friends, many of whom are similar to me, and we talk about what kinds of problems they are facing: a mean boss, boring work, having people watch what you do each second of every day, not being able to get away, not getting home in time; so there are all sorts of problems that people are facing. I think that I don't have any of these here. It's good to work here, and I don't think I would want to leave. Most of the people in my section agree that it's good to acquire some type of knowledge and experience here, as well as contacts; and then you can go and do your own thing, because being a slave all your life, well that's not a good thing. If anyone has ambitions to do so, that is. And all of my friends do. So I think that for the time when you're temporarily working as an employee – whether that's three years, five years or six years; I doubt I would want to do this for more than six years – it's a very good place to be."* At the same time, the reference group remained his circle of friends, which contributes to a reinforcement of his original desired identity (the entrepreneur). The identity work tactics identified above, therefore, only present a solution for a finite period of

time.

The first turning point is related to a fear about the future:

"I will be able to take a big step away, but it would be very painful..."

"I think I'm more talented and better trained than most other young tax consultants. I still have a lot to learn, but I think I need to be trusted first, so I can then perform well. And no matter which way we look at it, if I get my law degree and once I have a few years' experience, the ORGANIZATION will have to come up with the money to support me. So they have to encourage me, through positive evaluations, a fast track ahead and a higher salary. Because you see it everywhere: you get promoted and you're trying to reach a certain position; but if you leave the company to go elsewhere, you do that because there is a gap there of sorts. I think if my promotions don't come fast enough, then with my two degrees (which are quite valued in the field) and with, say, two-three years' experience with the ORGANIZATION, I am going to start thinking about taking a big step away, but it would be very painful. And that is why I would like a good evaluation; because I really enjoy being here so much, in this environment. But if the only way forward for me is the same as the way forward for someone who is not as qualified as I am (and has maybe studied at some less prestigious college), someone who is not able to provide the same value to the company as I do, or simply cannot perform as well – well, if the evaluations are off and I don't get a positive one, than that will not be good. If the crisis means having to cut expenses, and I think the company is not brave enough and not an organization that would greatly reduce staff numbers. I think this company believes more in the principle 'it shouldn't hurt a few people much; it should hurt everyone a little.' This will clearly take a toll on those who are more talented than the average. While a more drastic move would affect the weakest, because they would be the ones to lose their jobs. I think it's fairer to let someone go if they don't need their work. It would be better than not motivating the really good people and not rewarding them sufficiently. But I think this company is more inclined to shy away from direct conflicts and to try and take care of smaller conflicts by making promises, etc. I respect that. And although I don't have any feedback on this, based what I've seen in the past six months here, I would be very much surprised if they didn't try and look for alternative ways to cut expenses. Anything rather than let people go. So that's what I'm afraid of, that this is how I will end up losing as a result of this crisis."

The manager identity is a temporary, organization-specific variety of the desired identity as an "entrepreneur;" he believes this may be realized because he is not an "average"

young tax consultant. Until now, the organization has only reinforced this through the content and intensity of the work as well as through positive feedback from his supervisors. The upcoming performance evaluation, as a projected event, as well as its consequences, presents a dual identity threat. It does not accept his positive work identity – "not an average" tax consultant – because it does not appear to be fulfilling its primary purpose: it is too much "in the center," recognizing average performance. Consequently, he questions the planned realization of his desired identity, because the system only supports an average career, not the fast track Viktor desires. The ill-suited nature of the performance management system is confirmed by the organizational culture: it discourages direct conflict; builds on promises; and promotes a lose-lose situation. At the same time, he tries to absolve the organization and blames the crisis instead. This also reflects the ambivalent nature of his relationship to the organization: he criticizes its operation and creates excuses. The items listed above are all speculative and relate to the future; they are fears and not events which have already happened (postalgia; Ybema, 2004). The solution – moving to a different organization – is also one that is presented in the future; it evokes, however, negative feelings. "It would be very painful," he says, indicating that Viktor is committed to his own identity project. His goal is to reach the endpoint as quickly as possible; at the same time, the question for him in the present is "*whether his temporary identity may be realized within the ORGANIZATION in the time he had allowed, given the formal work environment."*

He only mentions one event from the past: an event that he experienced as a low point, and one which could have served as a turning point. It was the lack of work (with clients). He spent his time browsing the internet, taking care of administrative tasks and other projects which cannot be billed according to the official time management system.

"I don't like simply doing nothing; I don't have all the time in the world…"

"*If it doesn't involve working with the client, you really don't like to do that. You try to avoid it; you don't seek it out, or you try and spend your time with other things. That needs to change. You could use that time to think about ways to get new clients or how to emerge from the crisis as winners. Maybe this should not be viewed as time you can spend browsing the internet. And maybe you could have people doing things which are not related to the clients but which would actually have a point. If someone has nothing to do, like M and I didn't when we went to talk to the head of the tax department. … I told him that I simply don't have anything to work on but would like to do something. … I would tell them that I'm very fortunate, and that it would be wrong to deny it. Just because A and I are friends, I get to*

work on things that others would only dream of seeing. They may have been with the company three or four years now and they still can't access that kind of work. Because A will only work with people he trusts and likes to work with. I am not fooling myself – I know I'm lucky, and that I'm fortunate that I have him to recognize my skills and that he thinks I'm a truly valuable person. I think I'm lucky that my boss is someone who recognizes that and likes to work... I think that is right – that you should get to work with people you think are good. And that was it; it may have been as a result of this conversation that I got over this low point. So eventually M and I got invited to a very special group of people to work on international tax planning structures. The people we worked with there I can only speak about in the most glowing terms and I look up to them. And then we had some things to take care of, and do research and present. It all turned out amazingly well in the end. Because we found some really neat things and we collected some good stuff. So they really became interested… And, like I said, this was just a great feeling that all of this turned out so well. So really, I think the low point for me was when I really didn't have much to do. Because I don't like simply doing nothing. That's simply not right to me. I feel that my time is being wasted; that I'm not learning anything; and I simply don't have all the time in the world to learn these things. I'd rather be an employee at this company if I could move up and perform. When I don't have anything to do, I think it is wasting time."

This turning point indicates a breakup of the integrity of his work-identity; he overcomes it as a result of his personal relationship with the partner. He initiates a meeting, shares his problems and then performs the tasks he is assigned well. The formal time management system presents a further identity threat, in addition to the other organizational practices mentioned already (overly balanced performance evaluations and slow career management), reinforcing the question raised already: „*whether his temporary identity may be realized within the ORGANIZATION in the time he had allowed, given the formal work environment."* At the same time, a potential way to realize his temporary desired identity also emerges: through support from the partner, he may be able to get an above-average evaluation, thereby helping fast-track his promotion.

He spends the next two and a half months on leave, while he finishes law school. Returning to the company reminded him of his first days there: he had to wait to be involved in new projects; he had to get used to the pace again; but it proved valuable that he already knew his colleagues, had friends there and could immediately join the various informal processes within the company. This was also the time when Viktor experienced his first painful turning point.

"There was a chance of making C3; but then you end up staying a C1..."

"*They didn't really appreciate the fact that I wasn't here. Specifically – so, there was this end-of-year evaluation, and it was reasonably friendly in some ways; they were not going to give me a bad evaluation, because they had no reason to do so, so they simply did not give me any evaluation. Just like in high school: when you're absent too much to be given a grade at the end of the year. But it's fair in a way, because it would have been wrong for them to give me a bad evaluation. So I ended up getting individual evaluations from various people, and those were all good. But I didn't get an overall evaluation, because I was out too much. I … not even as an investment in my future; an additional degree or any additional skills that come with it… This makes me pretty frustrated, and I, I think that this is not necessarily right; but I guess that's the way the company works. The company has a very, very different opinion, and it doesn't matter in the least what kind of degree you have; I don't even know, in fact, why they want you to have a degree. I mean, you could just call in someone from the street, have them fill out an IQ test, and then you could offer them a job based on that. Now they've frozen our wages. They first said we would not be getting a bonus; but then we ended up getting some minimal bonus. But, for the reasons I mentioned already, did not get any of that. But that wasn't what really hurt, because I think the bonus was a way of distributing the extra profits we had made by exceeding our plans; and it's supposed to be a recognition of past performance. So I can understand that they would not be giving me a bonus, because I wasn't around that much last year. It's unfortunate that I happened to be absent right in the two months before the evaluations were due. I'm convinced that if I had been out for the first two months, maybe even the first three months, then they would have forgotten my absence by the time of the evaluation. So this didn't work out so well, but I think they could have at least given me a raise to show that they appreciate the fact that I have two degrees. But so this time they didn't make any exceptions, and there are no wage increases. We'll see what happens in the future. They said if things improve, they will compensate us. Right now, as someone who is just starting out in their career, you count on these small extra payments; you want to buy a house and other things. So this is painful. For me, this is a thorn in my eyes, that they wouldn't appreciate your education here, at least not directly. Well, I was told I would get an E for my evaluation if I had been here all year, which is a 4 on a scale of 1 to 5. And that's actually considered quite good here, to get a 4; and so by having been here six months, I get an E. So I don't know. I guess this is like a warm handshake. Sure, you appreciate it, but right now for me it still seems like a slap in the face. I did have a plan, yes. C1, C2, C3, SC1, yes; I*

had wanted to be a consultant for two years. Yes. Yes, that was exactly what I was counting on. Basically, you can move up one step once, and two steps another time. So this is not like an exceptional thing; I guess it's the really good people who can do that at the company. But there's a million examples of this having happened in recent years, so it's certainly not out of this world. Some 20-25% of people have pulled this off in recent years. It seemed very much realistic. So when, at the end of the second quarter, I got my evaluation and my E, that would have meant two steps up in previous years. Last year, last year it was the same; there was one C1 guy last year who got an E; just like I was the only one in my section to get an E. He moved up two steps and became a C3. So after all of that, it really is a pretty big slap to find out that while at the end of the second quarter, there was a chance of making C3, but then you end up staying a C1. It's still tough even if you try to look at it rationally like an economic process; but inside you feel that it was a major slap, no matter which way you look at it."

The failure to receive an official evaluation, along with its consequences (not receiving a bonus, a raise or a promotion), questions his positive identity ("not an average" tax consultant) and also question the realizability of his temporary desired identity within the organization. This is further aggravated by the fact that following the truly positive evaluations received at the end of the second quarter, he is ill-prepared for the lack of any evaluation at all. This appears to confirm his earlier fears. The tactics he utilized previously to mitigate the perceived identity threat do not work this time: (1) informal, positive promises from the supervisors regarding the future, because the definite timeframe (of six years) is one of the critical factors; (2) comparison with other groups, as used previously – instead of the same groups, he looks to his friends from the university, who are no longer newcomers and are therefore not facing similar financial or career difficulties; (3) he cannot accept the crisis as an explanation, because "*They did not hire anyone new; but they clearly expect more from me than last September; but I earn the same, because I am still in the same position."* He places the decision in an organizational context, and tries to provide the following *explanation*: "*I know that A actually is really quite fond of me, and he's now the 'big boss.' Yes, and he does have favorites. I'm sure there are others who have accomplished more than I have, and it's got to be difficult for him, because he does have an odd way of doing things. I really am quite fond of him, but I know that if someone is not his friend, it's hard for them to get closer to him. And there's this special group who does get along well with him; and he listens to their opinions and talks to them. So that's exactly why it's difficult for him to assume responsibility for others, who may not have accomplished much. Sure, he'll take responsibility for the whole team, and then other people in the tax department may be a little*

jealous, especially those whose job isn't all that damn exciting; not so good. So yes, of these four people I mentioned as having gotten promoted, three are in this section. And three belong to that group of fifteen, out of a total of fifty, who are under A's supervision. But that's easy to explain, because this really is the type of work that is interesting and that requires a more complex approach. And they select people based on somewhat higher criteria. So I understand how he has to be pretty careful here so as not to hurt others who work in different sections. So it's a different story now. As long as Y was here (the previous partner and head of tax department), A lobbied for us with Y – just as everyone else lobbied for the people in their section with the 'big boss.' And it all depended on how well they lobbied; that's how they managed to achieve something, and it was of course good for him, too, because he had been with the company for a long time. And he's always been more respected than other team leaders, and that was always fine. But now that he has to make these decisions himself, I think he is trying to be a little more objective."

He is trying to mitigate his injuries resulting from the identity threat by seeking positive reinforcement in his relationship with the partner, and by interpreting the decision through organizational power lenses. He does not view it as something aimed specifically at him, but as part of a bigger game of political tactics. This helps him understand the events, but he cannot make the threat go away. When asked "*whether [his] temporary desired identity may be realized within the allotted timeframe and given these formal working conditions*," he answers in the negative. At the same time, he received positive feedback informally, and receives informal promises, that his performance will be recognized formally in the future. Thus, his relationship with the organization remains ambivalent, and despite looking upon his group of friends as his reference point (the group that is no longer facing similar financial or career problems) he does not yet begin think about exit.

Viktor: desired identity' (trans)formation process

Viktor's desired identity was (trans)formed by conscious decisions he made prior to joining the organization (choice of university, major and start of his own business), and from the time he joined the company through the series of turning points. The identity work tactics used in the process and their results will be summarized in the following table. Besides this, a typology of the turning points narratives will be indicated, based on the nature of the desired identity transformation process (identity development vs. protection).

Table 9: Desired identity transformation process – Viktor's case

Narrative	Turning point (events)	Identity threat(s)	Identity work tactics	Results	Narrative typology
	There is no apecific event, the change is gradual;	Breakup of work-identity integrity (nature of work vs. desired identity) Facing feared transitional identity (manager/partner without personal life)	Multiple selective social comparison (vs. other tax consultant groups, auditors, former colleagues from the university); True to self; Situation evaluated as temporary; Formulation of a transitional desired identity; Experiments with desired identity (entrepreneur) outside the organization; Positive reinforcement of the desired identity (friends); Postalgia;	Links desired identity woth the organization through the formulation of a transitional desired identity: "*Professionally good manager, who also maintains a personal life*" Continuous relationship with the desired identity (entrepreneur) (reference group, experimenting outside the organization and postalgia)	Experimentation narrative (formulation of a transitional desired identity)
"I will be able to take a big step away, buti t would be very painful…"	imagined performance evaluation and career management	Faces feared identity (average employee)	Organizational practices (performace management system), and blaming the organizational culture, and finding excuses for it; Selective social comparison (vs. countryside, vs. college, vs. average employee); Postalgia	Ambivalent identification with the organization; The transitional desired identity is transformed into impossible self (through postalgia);	Recognition narrative (impossible self through postalgia)
"I don't like simply doing nothing, I don't have all the time int he world!	Time management work intensity (lack of client work)	Work intensity is not aligned with the transitional desired identity	Blaming the organization (time management system); Positive reinforcement from the head of tax department; Elevates the importance and positive aspects of his work; Selective social comparison (vs. colleagues, who are not in the "inner circle" of the head of tax department)	Ambivalent identification with the organization; Identifies with the "inner circle" of the head of tax department The transitional desired identity becomes realizable (by being member of the "inner circle")	Experimentation narrative (through selective social comparison)
"There was a chance of making C3, but then you end up staying a C1…"	Performance management Reward allocation Career management	Who has to be vs. who would like to be within the organization	Blaming the organization (not recognizing his second master degree; organizational politics) Selective social comparison ("Inner circle" vs. other colleagues);	Ambivalent identification with the organization; Identifying with the "inner circle" of the head of tax department The transitional desired identity is transformed into impossible self;	Recognition narrative (impossible self)

The searcher: Nóra, who continues to learn from the challenges she faces

Her first personal turning point comes when she is offered a new, administrative position: a position in which she does not believe she would be able to learn much.

"They are preventing my professional development…"

"Well, I'm in a somewhat unique situation, because there have been some minor changes in the department. There is a compliance team within the VAT section. Their work is more mechanical – they fill out VAT statements and take care of VAT registration for companies. This part of the job is not all that exciting. It's not exactly challenging. It's necessary and it's important; and you can learn a lot from it when you're new. But it's a lot less sexy than consulting itself, when we write letters, get engrossed in the laws and think a lot. When it was announced that she (the person doing the compliance work) was going to leave and go somewhere else (it wasn't exactly clear where), I saw these little indications that I was going to be her successor.

For a while I didn't even really realize it. When you're new, you're at the mercy of others and you can't really say no to any kind of job. It's not that you have to do everything, but you're in a subordinate position and if you say no, they're going to think you don't like working here. So I was very happy to get this assignment, at least initially. But it slowly became clear to me what will happen in the long run. I'll take over her job, and I'll end up with the same problems that she had. They're going to think I'm just the VAT compliance girl, and in the long run I'll never be able to do anything else. What frightened me – you have more personal relationships with some people, especially other young people – is that others started to warn me to be careful. If I say yes, they said, I'm going to be cast in this role which will be difficult to get out of. There was a point when I felt they were trying to push this pre-defined role on me, and I was never asked whether I would like to do this. When I was hired it wasn't about this, I thought I had the same chance as everyone else who's new to get any position.

At the end of September we learned that X will be leaving at the end of October. During the October 23 weekend (when X had just another week left) she told me that she's already handed off certain things and that there is still this and that to hand off. She rattled off ten company names, and I realized that what the others had said was right. So that was a pretty terrible weekend, struggling with what's right and what I should do. I realized, and this is very interesting, that I had never been in a similar situation before, and that the least I have to do is stand up for myself and for the job offer I had said yes to in the past. Otherwise, if I

let them do this, I can only blame myself later.
So next week I sat down with L (the appointed mentor) and told him. Needless to say, I didn't have to do much explaining; he knew after the first few words what I wanted to discuss. And he said that there is indeed a realistic chance of this happening. He offered to help, if I wanted, to prevent this. So, from a certain point of view, X really helped me quite a bit by sitting down with the manager before he left and telling him that I would not want to do this. He added what may be expected of me and what I had already been handed off; he said they should not be giving me any more because that would stunt my professional development and they would be saying no to what they had said yes to before. The manager accepted that. He knew, and it was not contrary to his visions, so he accepted it. Preparing VAT statements – the goal is to have everyone who's new to the company deal with this on some level; VAT registration, which I deal with; but I try very hard and I'm very proactive in seeking out others and taking on other tasks. This is great, and I can do all of that and I can take care of various tasks. I think it all hinges on me. What this means is that when there is something interesting and something that is not interesting, then you have to spend a lot more at the office than forty hours. So what I'm saying is that it really determines your fate which tax section you end up in when you first join the company. What was unusual for us was that when I was hired – when you're hired you're all supposed to have the same opportunities. In my case they tried to push a pre-determined role on me. Primarily out of convenience. Not so much out of ill-will, but because someone has to do it, and our hourly wage was still lower.
I think I still have a lot to do to make sure that this doesn't become a problem again. I have to reinforce the aspect that I have other tasks I do; I have to make this clear to people, this is really important. So where we stand now is that I've done everything to avoid this, so that this doesn't happen."

The first turning point is when she is offered an administrative position within the VAT group. By offering her this position, the ORGANIZATION breaks with the *psychological contract* that was put in place when she joined the company. This presented a dual identity threat in that (1) it broke her work-identity integrity by increasing the share of her administrative tasks, thereby decreasing her development opportunities and the time she can devote to consulting tasks; and (2) it presented a contradiction between who she wanted to be (a consultant who has equal opportunities to be assigned tasks and who works on challenging projects) and who she has to be (the "compliance girl," i.e. someone who holds a low-prestige job, is new to the company, and cannot say no). Given this situation, the first question for Nóra is *how to reshape or mitigate the identity threat.* The solution took several

steps to realize: (1) *neutralize the first negative effect* (new employees being placed in different tax sections) by accepting the organization's explanation that this is a rational decision made for structural reasons; (2) *imbue the new position with positive content* – this will only make work more interesting and this is a position she can learn from, while still a new employee; (3) *identify herself with the group of newcomers*, use their position within the company to explain the present situation, thereby decreasing the sense of personal pressure; (4) *ignore* the gender-related aspect of the assigned role (the "compliance girl") and not rebel against it for being at odds with the principle of treating all new employees equally; (5) initiate discussion of the reality and degree of inherent threats and *seek out supporters on higher levels of the hierarchy to transform the threat*. The steps listed above serve to mitigate the threats, but do not answer the following question: "how can she realize her desired identity?" To do so, she will need not just to transform the threats, but using the patching tactic (Pratt et al., 2006) will need to develop a new, positive identity by (1) seeking out interesting tasks for herself, (2) integrating the new administrative tasks and (3) accepting that the balance will now be tipped in the favor of work (having to work overtime). This is made possible by the fact that the organization does not communicate the new expectations clearly, and Nóra uses this uncertainty to take the initiative and take steps toward realizing her desired identity.

Nóra assumes responsibility for realizing her desired identity and absolves the organization. She accepts the principle of economic rationale, which suggests that the organization is not ill-willed, but is merely indifferent towards individual wellbeing and is driven by economic motivations (instead of hiring new employees, the company makes the lower-paid staff see to the administrative work). As a result, realizing her desired identity means working a great deal and doing her work well. This solution is acceptable for her for the time being because "*I take comfort in the fact that I'm a female employee, and as a result … the professional part and finding things I'm good at is important, as is being able to do things I like and being able to prove that to myself. So it's great that I'm a woman because if I have a family, I will have other things to work hard for. Right now I can focus on my job. Right now I will do everything for my job, but once I have a family and have children, then spending time with them will be the most important thing."*

This is the first time we encounter the notion of gender roles explicitly, which suggests an "either-or" relationship between work and family, and indicating that this is a transitionary period in her life and not the ultimate goal.

The following turning point is also related to a similar event: taking on another position, part time, which will further increase the share of administrative tasks and which also transgresses the boundaries between the various groups within the tax department.

"I will have fewer opportunities to learn; I'll be disadvantaged!"

"And we're now back to the usual issue which comes up each spring. There's a section for income taxes. Much of their time is taken up by administrative tasks. Tax calculations during the year, and such. So it's not all that exciting, and not something you can learn a lot form. I mean, sure, you can, but there are limits to that and then you eventually reach your own limits. And there's not a lot of consulting done there; it really ends up taking a back seat. So they told us to expect that in the spring, some of us young staff members will also be drawn in to this field. I mean, it's happened before unofficially that if we had free time, we were encouraged to contribute to their work, in addition to our other tasks. And the funniest thing was that I've always been good about helping out, but I'm one of those people who, in the, say, last month and a half or so have not had a lot of free time, because I always had other things going on and I was busy. So I couldn't really help out with their work. All the while there were some other C1s who did nothing these past few weeks but prepare income tax statements. So, regardless, the situation is that right now they're not doing so well in terms of their work. They simply have too much work and not enough staff. So the team leader who supervises their work said that she would like someone new or would at least like others to help them out. They're obviously not going to be hiring new people, I guess that played a part in the whole story, so they had to go and restructure their existing labor force for this to work. What I heard was that during the past two weeks or so they started trying to get another girl – she's also a C1 – and me to join them. My boss called me in and said that this decision has been made, or that he'd just been told about it, because he was out these past few weeks; and that E (the head of the income tax section) wants Nóri to work for her team half time in the next year. And so he was just relaying this information to me. I was in complete shock. I asked if something was wrong or if we're not doing things right by spending whatever time we're spending with the clients. I would have been surprised if that had been the case, because I had worked enough so that it shouldn't have been a problem. And so for the sake of optimal efficiency, time and work and all. As if we hadn't been making the most of our working hours. So he said, no, that's not it, this is really a personal thing. So then I spent a few days thinking about this, how it may have happened, and thought just how I would be able or would not be able to do this. And how you can even take that, because for me it would mean working even

more than I work right now… I'm sure this originated with me, in some way, in that I tend to seek out work. So I try very hard to get good tasks, to be able to work, and so I only have myself to thank for this, because I could certainly say I want to work less. But it was all so strange because then I spoke to the head of the tax department, and he tried to go on again about how we have to optimize our use of time. We even looked at my results and saw that I was one of the better ones. But then he said that they thought the two of us, I don't know, he said that others weren't quite working as effectively and weren't as trustworthy, so they picked us. And so what this will mean is that for the next year, or maybe for the next half a year initially and then maybe they'll assess the situation for the following six months to see whether it's working out for us to continue. Initially I really was very much against this. And the head of the tax department raised it all as if it were a question. But the way he presented it there was certainly a light push for me to say yes. Because if I didn't, I'm sure there would not have been sanctions like firing me or anything of that nature; but it was suggested that you have to make sacrifices in the interest of the company. So I thought long and hard about whether this would be good for me or not. And yes, there's always the danger that the section will suck you in, in a way, or that you end up moved to a team where there's even less of a future for you, exactly because much of the work is administrative and not related to consulting. So currently, the situation is determined to a great extent by us having been sought out with this request. In fact, I spoke to my boss just this past week and decided, in fact it made it a lot easier to decide that Zs had also been tapped for this, so then we're in it together, and this works out positively from their perspective, too. So I of course ended up saying yes, I'll do it, but I also had my own conditions. I said that the administrative parts of the VAT work I want to hand off to someone else and that I want to take a look at the situation six months from now. And that B (the direct supervisor) and A (head of the tax department) should ensure somehow that this really does not become any more than half of my work. And that half of my work should really only be half of it, so the other half can be things I enjoy working on. So yes, but most of our projects, and our consulting work and whatever is in addition to the income tax section is the kind of work that people like to do, so everyone fights to get it. But especially given the current economic situation, you're just happy to have a good job. Income tax work is not of the sort people would fight for, so you just have to tell some people that it is their job to do it.

Well, in any event, I am very worried that this will not work out well, or that I don't know what the smartest tactic may be, or how you can balance between these two things. And I don't know whether you really do have to make sacrifices. A said that they won't forget that

we did this for the company; I don't know; I mean, I know they see that we gave up some things to do this, but I'm afraid I'll have fewer opportunities to learn new things as long as I'm doing this. So I may end up in a disadvantageous position compared to others. And I think this is a little unfair, it's almost like I had not been working hard enough and then I have to go and this now while others do other things. So this is pretty odd. And I'm a little frightened of it.

I can see the kind of change on myself; I was so enthusiastic in the fall and how great it was. And now, the way that they're treating us and the whole situation, I feel that my enthusiasm is beginning to wane and it's less important to me now. The fact that they make decisions about your fate over your head, because this is not like sitting on an assembly line and then you end up moved from one machine to another. I don't think you can shuffle people around here like that, and just because they think that we have extra capacities on one team means that they can go and make you do something else. I don't think it should be like this…. No, the nature of the work is not like this. And since in the fall we were told that we were working in a pool, and now we're no longer working in a pool, so you can do whatever is in your team, and this is the only work you'll find, and you won't get anything else – then to be told that from now on you have to go and do something that no one actually likes doing. Or that no one wants to do. I just don't think this is fair.

But where I worked before – I spent six months at GE as a kind of intern – the problem is not that I really miss it, or that I miss it so much, but what we had there was a kind of paternal atmosphere. This is something you don't have here, because everyone, especially given the current economic situation, everyone is worrying about their own life, which is perfectly natural. And the fact that the management here is so close and that the owners themselves are also very close means that they can exert a lot of pressure towards the employees, and then this pressure gets passed along, and whoever happens to be at the bottom will bear the brunt of it. So I think in some ways, the people especially at the very top of the organization somehow become disinterested. When they made this decision, the partners really had no idea what kinds of projects I had been working on and whether it makes any sense to move me from VAT work and that it will eat up a lot of time for me to start on these new tasks. Well, I'm sure B sees it too, but he's less vocal about it. He's kind of a stranger between the partners and the directors, because he only started in November and is also relegated to the background because he's a foreigner or because he does not speak Hungarian. But I do know that B did what he could. And somehow I feel that for those at the very top, or those making the decisions about this, they really don't care in the least where one or two C1s may be

working. And I am not a part of A's special group and I am not one of those people who are closer to him. We're not in the same section. But look at Viktor[98], for instance, because I think A really likes him. So I think if E were to ask for half of Viktor's working hours to help E out, A would immediately have said no to that. This is obviously just my opinion, but I really think that's the way it would have played out.

But everyone has their own problems and those are of course the most important to the person. So I think the fact I've now ended up in this situation will be a real test for me, to see how I can solve it or how I can survive in this situation. I'm sure I'm going to learn a lot about myself, too. And, like I said, a lot of people don't have it this good. That goes even for people within my organization."

The next turning point was working in the income tax section. The nature of this turning point is similar to the previous one: *breaking a psychological contract*, and being offered a position which would increase the administrative work and which would also go against the rules of newcomers' assignments to the different groups within the tax department. This, as before, presents a dual identity threat, because (1) it further erodes the integrity of her work-identity: a growing sense of contradiction between her actual work and her desired identity; (2) increases the difference between who she would like to be and who she has to be (proactive, continuously learning tax consultant vs. an amployee doing low prestige, mostly administrative work). The nature of the identity threat is the same, but the identity work techniques used are different.

As before, to mitigate the identity threat, she continues to seek support from her supervisors and comes up with her own conditions. But she also begins questioning the new expectations as a rational organizational solution (for "optimal efficiency") and does not imbue it with quite as much positive content ("as a newcomer, you quickly reach the limits of your development"); this means that identifying with the group of newcomers no longer presents a solution. This is first time a negative emotion – fear – is encountered, which Ibarra (1999:780-781) says indicates that Nóra is "unable to manifest her salient self-conception within the organization." Individual responsibility is far less adequate for resolving the tension. She looks for the explanation primarily in the operation of the organization: the disadvantages of the partner system, disinterested seniors, power differences between supervisors (B vs. E) and individual interests. But she is still looking to exonerate the organization of any responsibility, and looks to the economic crisis for an explanation; her

[98] Another interview subject in the project.

relationship to the organization becomes ambivalent.

She still tries, while decreasing the threats, to achieve her desired identity, by seeking out consulting tasks (patching tactic) and by establishing a support network through which she is regularly sought out for consulting projects. As an additional example, she describes a joint project with her mentor (electronic accounts), which provides her with innovative tasks and with direct and important contact with clients.

Her conclusion is also different: whereas at the first one she assumes responsibility and is optimistic about the future (that if she works more and works hard, she can succeed), this time she is a lot more doubtful and asks the question: "*can the desired identity be achieved within the organization, given the formal working conditions?"*

The next turning point is related to performance evaluation, and offers a surprising turn of events.

"There's really no point to working very hard…"

"…my boss, I'm sure he told them pretty openly that Nóri was not happy about us wanting to shift her part time to this other unit, but she ultimately said yes. He must have agreed with me to a certain extent, and either someone over there didn't like it and called someone else about my evaluation, so they barely worked with me; I otherwise don't know how they would have had any relevant information about me and how they could have said things that they thought I said, that this is all unfair. Or how they could have said that I barely do my job and that I'm one of those people who is not willing to accept a new job because I'm waiting for something else or that I give precedence to certain tasks over other ones, things which I can't even imagine why someone would have said. So, from this perspective…this is a pretty negative aspect of the evaluation that these things can happen. So it'd be good to remove these from the system, but I guess you can't. But I don't really care about the evaluation anymore. I've gotten over it so I no longer really care. … What I meant is that it's set up the way it is and it's so hard to make sense of because...the problem is that we don't really have a boss who would always see what we're doing. All they ever see of you is the work you do together with them. So I could be working myself to death, and I can work simultaneously on five different projects and I can have a lot to do, and I can sit there at the office until 10.00 pm, but no one will see all that I'm working on because I don't do all of these things with the same person, so this is lost. And why should I be working more if all I get is the same evaluation as someone who works half as much and gets up at 6.00 pm to go home." As a result: *"You realize how*

subjective it all is and how it's really not reflective of your real performance. So it's sad, but you sort of have to accept it, I guess. ... And the lesson for me, which is also sad, not just for me, I think, is that there's really no point to working all that hard and giving the company all you've got, but it's enough to do what you can do comfortably, and to be friends with people you think are influential and vocal and can protect you and can stand up for you and that's pretty much it. That's all it takes to get a good evaluation. So I don't really care anymore. No one got promoted this year, or there may have been a manager or two and a senior manager. But none of the younger people. So that's strange. But what does it matter for the organization then…"

Her performance evaluation presents another turning point because it amplifies the tension she has been experiencing as a result of working in two different tax sections, and it highlights that the solutions she has been using for the identity threats in the past (working well and working a lot, or attempting to take on as much consulting work as possible in addition to administrative tasks) have not been valued by the organization and have received no positive feedback. The performance evaluation presents an identity threat because *it is precisely her desired identity which it questions, not just the chances of realizing it*, as we saw in the case of the previous turning points. Her responses to the latest identity threat are also different from her previous responses: (1) she does not try to transform or reduce the external "threat," but instead "gets over it," or tries to ignore it; for the first time, she opts for survival instead of development; (2) she seeks an explanation in what she considers to be an unfair evaluation system. Accordingly, she goes on at length about why the system is actually not a good one. She believes the competencies assessed are not really related to the actual work; the evaluators do not see the full spectrum of the employee's activities; the evaluated employee is not present when the evaluation is being prepared; evaluations may be prepared by colleagues who never worked with the employee; the evaluation is subjective, because it depends on how much each evaluator is able to get their point across; the evaluations are artificially balanced, and most people end up receiving average evaluations, which do not have a clear performance expectation attached to them. Additionally, her working hours can also not be compensated as they should be: much of the work cannot be billed, or the manager asks that employees do not bill all of the hours worked (for fear of creating misperceptions about the project) or simply do not dare list all the hours worked because that would damage their own reputation.

One of the most important ways of providing feedback within the organization – the performance evaluation – draws into question the point of the individual's struggles and amplifies the necessity of seeking out supporters and partners in the struggle. During these

struggles, and for a lack of reinforcement, the question "will I be able to realize my desired identity?" becomes "is my desired identity even justified within this organization?" This latter question becomes more and more important, as the next turning point, the firing of her professional role model, will illustrate.

"Sucking up to the right person will improve my situation..."

"I was so hoping that they would respect it if you worked hard, and that well, you only make mistakes if you're working or if you're doing something. But somehow that really does not show. ... For example, they fired this guy, one of the senior consultants, who sat across from me and who I think was an especially smart and especially intelligent senior consultant, who also taught me a lot and who you could really learn from. He was pretty vehemently against multinationals and was not willing to assimilate and become one of the ORGANIZATION's foot soldiers. So he would come to work at 9.30 am and would go home at 6.00 pm, and he was certainly not going to give up his life for the ORGANIZATION. But, regardless of all that, he really had an amazing wealth of knowledge, and it was actually great to work with him. He was very helpful, but he was a bit of a rebel, so they ended up firing him. But they couldn't really justify why they would be doing so, so it came completely out of the blue for him. So, even though I think, and others think, that there are other senior consultants who only have a fraction of the knowledge that he had, so, that makes it even more difficult to understand how come there are still people like that working here. So, from this perspective, this was pretty tough, and if you look at the balance of power here, and at what kinds of people there are around, then you'll see that this guy ended up in sort of a blind spot. People who decided about who needs to go and such, he wasn't important, and he didn't have anyone who would have protected him. So the conclusion for me was that if I suck up to the right person, that will mean I get better projects to work on and that will make things better for me. And that really is not good, or it's at least disappointing. But that's the deal. I guess you don't have to work hard and you don't have to work yourself to death and give it all you've got, but you just do as much as you can and then you have to be good at marketing and managing yourself, so that people will like you."

The turning point came when a senior colleague, whom she viewed as a role model, was fired. This presented an identity threat because *it drew into question whether her desired identity is justified within the organization*. This presents a marked change in the identity work she employed, which now features a passive, defensive element, in addition to its active component. (1) Her desired identity is no longer presented by an active employee who

regularly works overtime and who seeks out new tasks proactively, but by an employee who is managing herself and working to build the right professional network; (2) she distances the work from herself ("you don't have to give it all you've got"); and (3) for the first time, she draws a boundary between work and her personal life, as a sort of defense mechanism. She also questions the utility of having professional role models: the people from whom she was able to learn the most professionally (her own mentor, or the senior consultant sitting across from her) were either fired or left the company; so the question arises who could take on their roles. She looks for an answer to this question at length, and describes the internal working mechanisms of the tax section, emphasizing the inner circle of the partner heading up the department that she is not a member of, and highlighting the difference in prestige between the various tax groups and the competition between the younger employees.

She concludes the story of her first year: *"There is a difference between the projects, but some people accept that they get some of the not so nice jobs or that they get less recognition. But it's typical that I'm not one of those people, that I didn't come here to be at a disadvantage simply because I'm a woman and because they think they can give me projects that I don't enjoy, so I really struggle against this and there are some people who see that and try to help me so I can indeed learn new things."*

Nóra: desired identity' (trans)formation process

Nóra's desired identity was (trans)formed by conscious decisions she made prior to joining the organization (choice of university, major and internships on different fields), and from the time she joined the company through the series of turning points. The identity work tactics used in the process and their results will be summarized in the following table. Besides this, a typology of the turning points narratives will be indicated, based on the nature of the desired identity transformation process (identity development vs. protection).

Table 10: Desired identity transformation process – Nóra's case

Narrative	Turning points (events)	Identity threats	Identity work tactics	Results	Narrative typology
"They are preventig my professional development…"	Expecting to fulfill an administrative position	Who she has to be vs. whos she would like to be Broken work-identity integrity (nature of work vs. desired identity)	Neutralizes the negative impacts (rationalizing and neglecting the engendered nature of the new position); Fulfills the new position with positive content; Positive reinforcement (supporters) from higher hierarchical level; Identifies with newcomers; Complements desired identity with patching technique (integrates the administrative tasks, accepts overwork);	Ambivalent relationship with the organization; Identifies with the profession; Transforms desired identity (integrates new elements): (*overworking) newcomer consultant continuously learning from professional challenges*	Experimentation narrative (transforming desired identity) Defensive narrative (neutralizing)
"I can have fewer opportunities to learn, I'll be disadvantaged!"	Further administrative tasks	Who she has to be vs. whos she would like to be Broken work-identity integrity (nature of work vs. desired identity)	Blaming the organization (e.g. disinterested supervisors, organizational politics) and int he same time exonarating the organization (refers to the economical crisis); Positive reinforcement (supporters) from higher hierarchical level (who gives her consultancy work); Complements desired identity with patching technique (searches new, challenging consultancy jobs);	Ambivalent identification with the organization; Stregthens the previously formulated desired identity: (*overworking) newcomer consultant continuously learning from professional challenges*	Experimentation narrative (strengthening previous identity) Defensive narrative (blaming the organization)
„There is really no point to working very hard"	Performance evaluations	Who she has to be vs. whos she would like to be	Neglevts external negative impacts ("gets over it"); Blaming the organizational practices (performace evaluation, time management);	Disidentifies with the organization; Questions previously formulated desired identity (impossible self)	Recognition narrative (impossible self)
"Sucking up to the right person will improve my situation…"	Firing her professional role model (without a reason) (he was modeling a counter identity)	Who she has to be vs. whos she would like to be	True to self; Disidentifies with work; ("don't *give it all you've got"*); Blaming the organization, and the way of working of the tax department; Selective social comparison (vs. "inner circle" of the head of tax department); Supportive network from higher hierarchical levels (specifies, who they should be – those, who can protect her)	Disidentifies with work, organization and tax department; Desired identity is transformed into impossible self;	Recognition narrative (impossible self Defensive narrative (true to self, blaming the organization and tax department)

The drifter: Sára, a satisfied employee

For Sára, the transition between being a university student and an employee was very brief. Following the orientation, which she viewed as a reinforcing event, she was assigned a project already on her first day in the office, at an "*infamously difficult client.*"

Her first turning point, however, is related not to this event, nor to another specific one, but to a recognition.

"You always have to perform well…"

"You always have to perform well and meet expectations: the clients', because they're paying for your work, the boss', and everyone else's who is your superior. It's tough, from this perspective, to be an A1, because everyone can criticize them; sure, they have fewer responsibilities, but even so. … Working at night, no personal life the way you'd like; for us, it's not like you go to work in the morning and then when the day's up you go home; you go home when you're done with your tasks. ... Until 2.00-3.00 am, and sometimes even on weekends, if I really had to. I've changed, but not necessarily for the worse. I've always thought I'm a fairly adaptable personality, and very much subject to my moods; in other words, there are different personalities in me, and so it's not necessary for me to give up anything, because I can always live my life according to the situation at hand and by remaining true to myself. I know that this is just a job, and I can always move on. I haven't sold myself ... for the job or for the company, because I think as long as you understand that this is just a job, you can have several jobs in your lifetime, but you only have one of yourself."

In the first part of the narrative, she describes how newcomer assistants always have to conform to external expectations, whether those come from colleagues (those higher up in the hierarchy) or from clients themselves. She has to conform to these expectations over the course of long work days and on weekends, too. For Sára, this could present an identity threat, because by having to continuously conform to others' demands, it would be easy for her to forget who she is or who she would like to become. In this case, it is precisely the latter elements which help her transform the threats: (1) she transforms the threat that having to conform continuously would present: she casts it in a different light and fills it with positive content – interprets it as flexibility; (2) she belittles the experiences by making it out to be no more than "just a job," which also means that its consequences cannot be all that serious, either; (3) she establishes distance between her work and herself (deidentification). At the

same time, she does not become cynical and she does not become self-alienated.

However, as the narrative shows, it is difficult for her to realize her desired identity in this image- and status-conscious environment, because the identity is tied not to her work or her profession, but to the possibility of establishing good workplace relationships. This latter is difficult to realize, because it is not easy to establish relationships with colleagues where both sides can be themselves. For the time being, she attempts to resolve this through the use of the identity work tactics described, and in the short term chooses to focus on survival. As discussed in the description of her desired identity, however, she cannot accept this solution in the long term, unless she changes her desired identity in the meantime.

A major turning point is brought about by a project where the senior supervisor has her tasks done by the assistants, and refuses to support them in the course of the project.

"And she was taking issue with basically everything…"

"This happened sometime during the season, in January or February. There were two of us, and the client was absolutely not done with the materials. There we were on a Friday with no ledger yet, which is like the foundations of the project. And the sample size we had to test had just increased significantly. So we had just as much to do, plus the end of year tests, as at the interim. But then we had three people for it, and now we had two. I had a lot of overtime that week and the week after. I was very tired, there was a lot of follow-up work, and my supervisor also gave me the tests she couldn't do to finish. So I was doing tests that shouldn't have been done by an assistant. And I got absolutely no help from my supervisor; she was essentially ignoring me. So I had to watch how other supervisors sat with their assistants and helped if someone got stuck. If there are things I had not done before, then she should explain it to me, because otherwise I'll never be able to do it better. And so sure, I probably didn't do it the way the supervisor would have, and so she wrote me and said it's full of mistakes, even though I billed all this overtime. But I was up until 3.30 am in the morning working on it! And so I didn't care anymore. I've come to the office without putting in for the overtime, even on weekends. So when I get an email that says you've put in for a certain amount of overtime and yet your work is poor, I can't write back and say 'well, sorry, there were only two of us there instead of three, and the sample size had increased,' I just can't write that. All I can say of course is 'sorry, I was exhausted, I'll fix it.' I had just finished two weeks that were really exhausting. And then to get this…and there were tests that earlier should have been done differently, and all, but I didn't invent these myself, I copied them from the previous year. This was the way it was done last year, with the same supervisor, so I'm sure it will work. And no,

she was taking issue with basically everything, even things she'd already looked at before and said it was fine. And it's got her signature on it, so that really ticked me off. So I came to work all the time, and I did it, and they always dragged me in, and there was always something. So I really suffered a great deal…"

Like Emma, she is working on a project where there are two of them at the client's, without the support of a project manager. The project presents a potential identity threat, because it is different from the usual way of working, both as far as the content of the work is concerned as well as its intensity, and it also breaks down the integrity of the work-identity – they have to take care of tasks ordinarily assigned to more senior colleagues. Sára recognizes these threats, but these are not the ones she views as real threats. For her, the identity threat lies primarily in the quality of her relationship with the project manager: she did not get the support she requested, she only received negative feedback and she was faced with expectations which hindered her work. This presents an issue in terms of the difference between her current identity and her desired identity. The relationship continues to sour: the supervisor comes up with higher and higher expectations, while not even being supportive in terms of the work or its recognition (does not let her bill the fair number of overtime hours and does not offer positive feedback) and her behavior borders on workplace harassment (Lutgen-Sandvik, 2008). Sára projects her relationship with her supervisor to the organization, and starts to disidentify with it. Thus, she is unable to realize her desired identity here; once she has recognized that, she decides to leave the company.

Sára: desired identity' (trans)formation process

Sára's desired identity was (trans)formed by choices she made prior to joining the organization (choice of universities, different temporary jobs), and from the time she joined the company through the series of turning points. The identity work tactics used in the process and their results will be summarized in the following table. Besides this, a typology of the turning points narratives will be indicated based on the nature of the desired identity transformation process (identity development vs. protection).

Table 11: Desired identity transformation process – Sára's case

Narrative	Turning points (events)	Identity threats	Identity work tactics	Results	Narrative typology
"You always have to perform well…"	Recognizing the nature of relationships	Who she has to be vs. who she would like to be	Fills with positive content the external expactations (e.g.. continuous adjustment interpreted as flexibility); Belittles the importance of experiences; Distances from her work and organization True to self;	The working conditions do not support the realization of her desired identity: impossible identity Deidentification (profession and organization)	Recognition narrative (impossible self) Defensive narrative (true to self)
„And she was making issue with basically everything…"	Bad relationship with project leading senior	Who she has to be vs. who she would like to be; Broken work-identity integrity (nature of work vs. desired identity)	Jouissance: tries to adjust to the seniors' expectations and distances herself from the organization and profession (strong negative feelings); Blaming the project leading senior True to self	Disidentification with the organization and profession; EXIT	Defensive narrative (true to self)

Summary

At the beginning of this chapter the organizational context of the individual cases was given, aiming a better understanding of the main organizational expectations formulated towards the newcomers in their first year of employment. As a next step the typology of desired identities was defined, and each type illustrated with a case. The detailed description of the individual cases had twofold aim: (1) to identify the events and internal recognitions, which served as turning points, and (2) to reveal the (trans)formation process of the different desired identities through the description of the used identity work techniques.

Comparing the (trans)formation processes of the two different types of desired identities (career focused and open) the following similarities can be noticed: (1) the desired identities were continuously shaped through the use of different identity work tactics, but their nature did not change; and (2) in each case the individuals formulate experimentation, recognition and defensive narratives, which are combined differently in the presented cases. However several differences can be noticed between thecases, which need a more detailed analysis, and this will be given in the next chapter.

The aim of the next chapter is to analyze the individual cases according to the (1) differentiation, non-managerialist approach of socialization, and thus interpreting the events of the turning points from the perspective of identity regulation, and (2) fragmentation approach of socialization, and thus strive for a deeper understanding of the (trans)formation process of desired identities.

VI. Findings: Socialization in the ORGANIZATION

Organizational Socialization: differentiation, non-managerial approach

The goal in this subchapter is to answer the second research question: What individuals and organizational phenomena play a defining role during the desired identity transformation process and why?*What individuals or organizational phenomena play a defining role during the desired identity transformation and why?* Thus, the task is to explore what it is that newcomers pay attention to in the course of their socialization – in other words, what elements of the organizational context are relevant as far as the process is concerned.

In answering this question, the points of departure were the individual narratives described in the previous chapter; these pertained to organizational events which served as turning points, and also referenced the organizational practices and members they were elicited by. In this case, I will examine the nature of these turning points not from the perspective of threats to the desired identity, but along the lines of the identity regulating efforts of the organization.

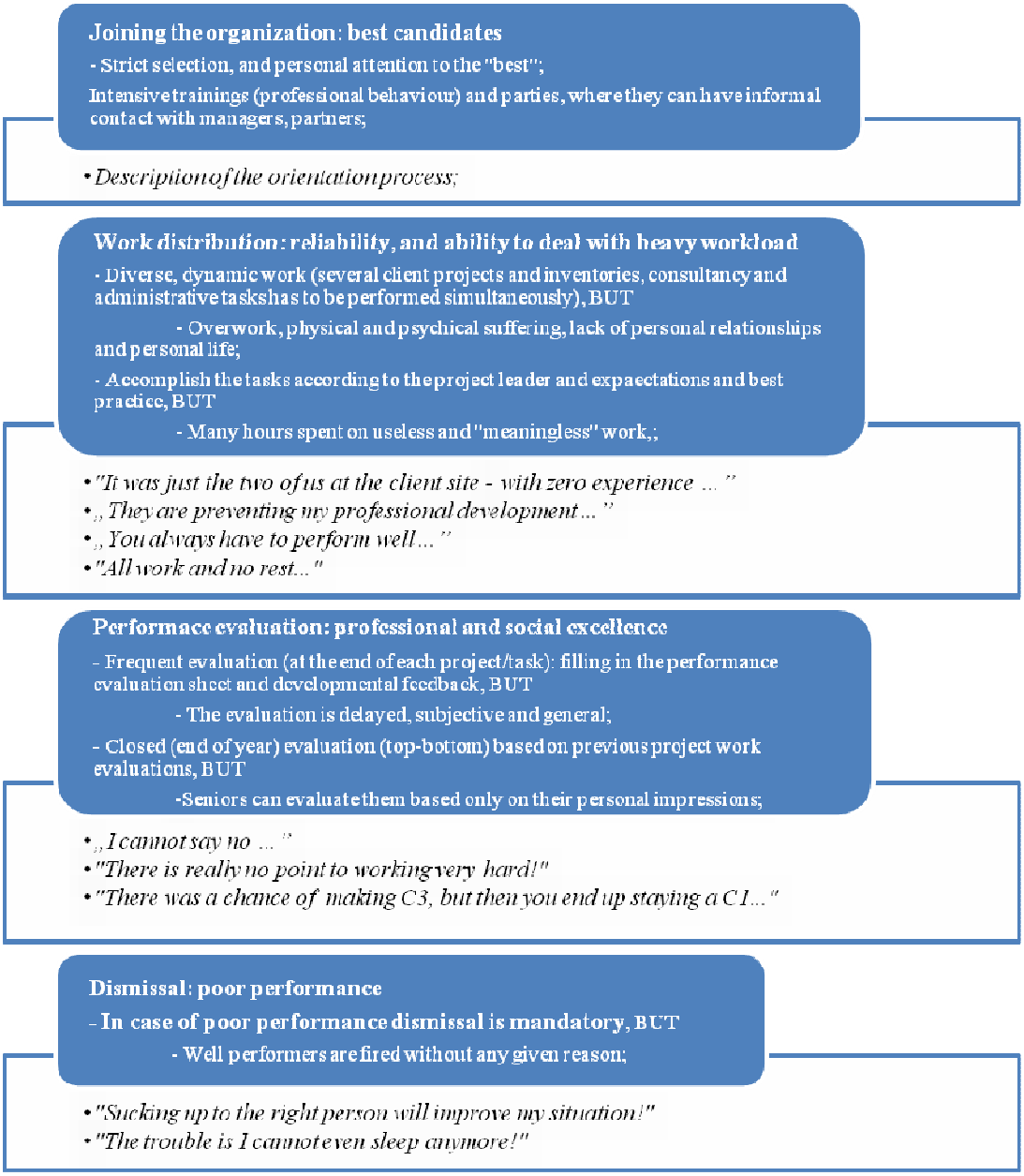
As a first step, I will identify *defining organizational practices* along the turning points through which the organization is able to influence the (trans)formation of desired identities, and which can be used to depict the prototype of the employee the organization would consider acceptable and desirable – in other words, the ideal identity (Wieland, 2010). This latter may serve as a point of comparison when analyzing efforts of the individual to realize a desired identity. As we have seen in the cases described in preceding chapters, individuals disidentify with the organization during the process: it may therefore be interesting to examine what role, if any, the ideal identity plays in this process.

Additionally, in lieu of any organizational identification, defining subcultures and key characters becomes important for newcomers, who attempt to identify with them as they work to realize their desired identities. Thus, as a next step, *I will describe those subcultures* which individuals used (through selective comparisons over the course of turning point narratives described above), to experiment with their desired identities. I will refine the interpretation of the roles of any subcultures encountered by seeking out the most important characters too.

Crucial Events

Below, I will analyze events which represent turning points, through an examination of what expectations they projected to newcomers. For ease of use, the figure below summarizes these, along with the relevant narratives.

Figure 4: Crucial events and the ideal identity projected to newcomers



Based on the turning point narratives, it may be concluded that the organization influences the newcomers' processes of socialization primarily through four practices: joining the organization (recruitment/selection/orientation), work distribution (e.g. assigning newcomers to various projects, involving them in consultancy work, assigning administrative tasks), performance evaluation and dismissal. Through these practices, the organization projects to the newcomer what is considered appropriate behavior in the workplace, the three main characteristics of which are the following: (1) professional and social excellence, (2) reliability

and (3) ability to deal with heavy workload. It can be seen that each of the practices listed above reinforce the effects of the other: the intensive and strict process of selection followed by the orientation process serve to make it clear to newcomers that they are "the chosen ones": the best of a plethora of applicants. At parties with partners and managers, they are made to feel a part of an "elite" community. Regular performance evaluations suggest that one has to perform well consistently, because only those stand a chance of becoming managers (or eventually partners) who perform consistently reliably and prove that they can handle the workload. Dismissal only reinforces this: the individual is never safe; if they don't perform well, they will surely be dismissed.

At the same time, the turning point narratives of newcomers have shown that the practices above, which were meant to reinforce the expected characteristics, were in reality often contradictory (see Fig. 4). Dismissal, for instance, is meant to select those who demonstrate weak performance; at the same time, the organization also dismisses outstanding professionals, without explanation, who served as role models to the newcomers.

As a result, newcomers constantly feel a sense of uncertainty, because it appears that theexpected identity characteristics may not be enough to ensure recognition by the organization. As a result, ideal identity characteristics are internalized in contradictory ways:

(1) Professional and social excellence: they are proud to be one of the "chosen ones," but often feel as though they were simply cheap, easily replaceable labor.

(2) Reliability: they attempt to establish close and confidential relationships with seniors who support them (e.g. project managers, mentors), by ensuring their work meets expectations; nonetheless, they often feel a sense of pointlessness and hopelessness.

(3) Ability to deal with the heavy workload: they are proud of being able to execute any challenging task professionally and by the deadline; they can tolerate stress, but they experience physical or psychological suffering, as well as a deterioration of their personal lives.

The contradictions above may make the individual insecure, which may be one reason why they would find it difficult to identify with the organization during their process of socialization. At the same time, the contradictions also provide freedom for the individual to strive to realize their desired identity. We have shown in previous chapters that both statements can be true. Individuals gradually disidentify with the organization; at the same time, they use various identity work tactics to work toward realizing their desired identity. One of these tactics is selective social comparison: through it, individuals attempt to reinforce their desired identities and transform identity threats, while identifying with various subcultures.

In the following section, I will review the social comparisons used in the narratives, eventually identifying the subcultures relevant in the process of socialization.

Relevant subcultures

By reading the individuals' turning point narratives, we were given insight into subcultures which served as a point of reference during social comparisons, and thereby had an impact on the process of socialization.

Table 12: Relevant subcultures in the socialization process

Subcultures		Social comparison	Individual's goal	Narratives
Professional		auditors vs. tax consultants	Identification with the profession; strengthening desired identity;	----------
Tax groupsk		VAT vs. income taxes, international taxes;	identification with the profession; strengthening desired identity	„I can have fewer opportunities to learn, I'll be disadvantaged…"
Hierarchy	Formal	newcomers vs. all other employees;	the situation is evaluated as temporary;	„I didn't go to school to become just a cabdriver!" „They are preventing my professional development!"
		assistants vs. senior	identifying with the profession	„I cannot say no
	Informal	outstanding vs. average employee;	strengthening desired identity;	„I will be able to take a big step away, buti t would be very painful!"
		Leader's inner circle vs. all others from the tax department	strengthening desired identity;	„I don't like simply doing nothing, I don't have all the time int he world!" „Sucking up to the right person will improve my situation"

Auditors and tax consultants both used comparisons of their respective positions with those of the other profession to reinforce their desired identities and to shape and/or maintain their identification with the profession; at the same time, this comparison is not directly present in the narratives above. It is only present in the other, supplementary, descriptions. This may be explained by the fact that members of the two groups very rarely worked together: there is no direct working relationship between them. By emphasizing the differences, members of both groups are hoping to reinforce their own roles within the organization (which group has greater prestige) and want to increase the perceived status of their chosen professions.

Consultants use the comparison to achieve a positive evaluation of the nature of their work (it is more challenging, it requires more professional knowledge and skills, and it offers more

opportunities for development) and related processes (e.g. the balance of work and personal life is easier to achieve).

"*Those in 'tax' are very important. People are made to understand that. There is a process of identification, especially as far as distancing from auditors. They tell you what the lives of auditors are like, what expectations they are faced with; those working in the tax department say lots of bad things about the lives of auditors. A tax consultant wants to distance themselves from this. This is not a life, they say initially, and then you feel that auditors are liked and then disliked – you just feel this. … This is the way it's evolved. So if anyone thinks that they have graduated from a university of that quality, like university X in Hungary, which has a good reputation, and then they agree to this kind of job, where each of the BIG4 hire 40 people a year, so 150 total – you just can't look up to them. If someone has finished university, and then their goal is to be one of 160 people, then I'm sorry, I just can't look up to them. They really shape you: a self-identification with the tax consultant's role. This is really internal to the company; if you talk about this outside, you don't start by explaining that you work in the tax department but are not an auditor; only if that's how they want to identify you."* (Viktor)

The metaphors used by Miklós also communicate the significance of these comparisons: "*There's this thing, Gosford Park, the movie takes place in an English castle, and then … it's got this huge cellar underneath where the servants live. They cater to the English lords enjoying themselves upstairs, and everyone else. They're having a good time; meanwhile, life goes on down below too, and sometimes they meet ... they serve each other but both sides are awash with gossip and such. Well, all right, the two groups are not quite so divided from one another. They are somewhat, but not completely. Still…*" (Miklós)

They attach symbolic significance to the fact that the two departments are housed on different floors. This is used to reinforce the difference in prestige between the two departments and professions, and to emphasize the inequality (tax consultants upstairs, auditors downstairs).

Auditors tended to emphasize those characteristics which reinforce them in their roles as professionals, as well as their place in the organization, by underscoring that they are the ones who bring in the money: "*our problem, I think, with other departments, especially the tax department, is that they are very slow. So…while we review an entire report within a week, they take a week to review corporate taxes. And that's nothing more than one ledger. All it has is, maybe, four different invoices. So the amount of work that they do and the amount of work we do is simply not proportional. And sometimes they don't work off of the final ledger, but then they come to us saying that all they can work with is what they have. And then we say, 'well, if all we did was work with what we had on Monday, and had nothing else by Friday, then we would never be finished auditing.'"* (Emma)

Auditors and tax consultants, by referencing one another, reinforce the positive aspects of their profession and their work. The latter also use comparisons of *tax groups* to this end.

"*I think, and I think 90% of people would accept this, that working with personal income taxes is the bottom of the job, and international taxation is top-of-the-line work."* (Viktor)

Reading Nóra's narrative, it becomes clear that this comparison is also important to her, and that she believes the VAT group is somewhere between the income tax group and the international tax group, in this informal ranking of groups. The prestige of the various tax groups is determined by the nature of the work (what kinds of development opportunities it offers to consultants) as well as by the financial implications of the projects. For consultants, the previous comparison is more important: it influences their daily work, and as the narratives have shown, it also offers a serious potential for identity threats.

The third differentiation is based on *hierarchy* levels. We differentiate between the roles of formal and informal hierarchy. When looking at formal hierarchy, we see two important comparisons, both serving different goals. First, I would emphasize the role of "class years," which had already been referred to in the description of the orientation process. In each of the cases, we encountered references to *class years*: some use it as a temporary solution in the transformation of the identity threat; others, who may already be weighing the support "classmates" could potentially provide in the future, are looking at a possibility to realize their desired identity:

"*As far as the organizational culture is concerned, this is interesting and special. I don't know how it works elsewhere, but these classes – just like at the university – are very tight. You can tell, and this will matter a great deal a year, year and a half or two years down the road.*" (Viktor)

That these "class years" are formed is explained by the fact that groups of newcomers start working at the company together, and the orientation process further reinforces their sense of belonging to this group. Their first experiences at the organization are tied to their "class." The existence of these classes is also reinforced by the career management structure: employees are able to advance one step each year. Those who advance two steps in one year are considered rare exceptions. The existence of these classes does not depend on whether one is a tax consultant or an auditor: it is determined by the opportunities newcomers have of moving between the different levels of the hierarchy (good examples of this are the cases of Nóra and Viktor). Additionally, the cases of Emma and Nóra also clearly illustrate that the significance of these classes diminishes rapidly over time: immediately after their orientation training, this was their most important reference framework. Later, however, the role of this identification was gradually taken over by the evolution of their relationships with supervisors. The easiest avenue for individuals to identify

with their profession, and the best chance at a career within the organization, would be the imitation of their direct supervisor's behavior. Interview subjects, however, mentioned examples to the contrary, where they identified with their profession against their supervisors (this finding is partly due to the research methodology chosen). I will provide additional details in the section below, when examining relations with key characters. Additional details on subcultures organized according to hierarchy can be revealed by examining two informal dimensions: (1) outstanding vs. average performers, and (2) the inner circle of the supervisors vs. other colleagues. These two can serve as points of differentiation among newcomers, both as far as the actual group of newcomers is concerned, as well as related to their relationship with supervisors. It may be interesting to note here that these subcultures are manifested in later stages of the process (performance evaluations reaffirm their significance). Both subcultures serve the realization of individuals' desired identities.

Key Characters

In the section below, I will review individual narratives which involve a turning point related to a single individual; with the aim is to provide additional detail rearding the relevant contexts of the socialization process.

Table 13: Key characters of the socialization process

Key characters		Identity regulation tactics	Relevant subcultures	Individuals' goal	Narratives
Client		defines the individual directly as auditor defines professional behavior	profession (auditor)	Identification with the profession;	„It was just the two of us at the clients site -, zero experience…" „You always have to perform well…"
Leaders	Project leading senior	defines the individual indirectly (against seniors) defines professional behavior; defines social relationship (position within hierarchy)	profession (auditor), hierarchy (A1; newcomer)	Identification with the profession;	„And she was making issue with basically everything…" „I cannot say no…"
	Mentor	defines the individual directly (as tax consultant) defines behavior (serves as role model)	profession (tax consultant); hierarchy (formal - C1)	realizing desired identity	„They prevent my professional development…" „ Sucking up to the right person will improve my situation …"
	Manager, partner	defines individual directly (prescribe their role) defines social relationships (tax groups, inner circle) defines relevant organizational context	hierarchy (formal - C1, informal/partner's inner circle); Tax groups	realizing desired identity	„ I can have fewer opportunities to learn, I'll be disadvantaged …" „There was a chance of making up C3, then you end up staying C1…" „I don't like simply doing nothing, I don't have all the time int he world …"

Based on the table above, I differentiate between two types of key characters: clients and leaders (from different hierarchy level). There are differences regarding their influence on desired identity transformation of both groups, based on whether auditors or tax consultants are concerned.

Assistants spend a significant portion of their working hours with the clients: they work on projects from the earliest point on, and spend little time in the office. Consultants, on the other hand, remain within the walls of the organization when they work, and thus have less direct contact with their clients. Thus, the client is a character that comes up in assistants' narratives within their first few months on the job. Newcomers must come across as competent and credible professionals already in this stage when working with clients. Clients, therefore, play an important role, as Emma's narrative ("It was just the two of us visiting the client – with zero experience…") has shown us, in how the individual identifies with their profession. Additionally, assistants learn the rules of engaging with clients very early on (always be patient, always adapt to the clients' needs), as Sára's story ("You always have to perform well…") showed. Thus, the client has a double role in regulating the newcomers' identity: defines the individual directly (auditor), as well as their behavior. In the day-to-day work of consultants, clients do not occupy such a central position: direct contact with them is present only on higher levels of the hierarchy.

The table above showed as well that leaders on different levels of the hierarchy also play a role in the stories of auditing assistants and tax consultants. In the preceding cases, project leading seniors had the most important roles, while in the case of the latter, other levels of the hierarchy are also present (manager, partner). Seniors have an important role in the way assistants' work is organized: they select who joins their projects; they also have important roles in performance evaluation (they evaluate assistants at the end of each project). Newcomer assistants define themselves against project leading seniors: they are at the bottom of the hierarchy, and learn rules of behavior (adaptation, patience, precision, ability to take on a large workload, proactively questioning) as well as necessary professional skills and knowledge. As a result, project leading seniors have a role in defining the individuals indirectly (they are the "important others" against which the newcomers define themselves), defining their behaviour and their social relationships, by indicating their position in the hierarchy (A1). It may be interesting to note here that auditors' narratives lacked any mention of mentors or managers/partners; this would seem to indicate that their lives were determined by the projects they had worked on at the clients' offices, and they shaped their desired identities transformation process accordingly.

In consultants' stories (C1), mentors, managers and partners show up as key characters, indicating that the various levels of the hierarchy may be more open than in the case of assistants; it also shows that individuals from various levels work together. Mentors are depicted as

supporting the professional development of the individual, and also as role models: they therefore have a role in the direct definition of the individual and in defining their behavior; thus they also support the professional identification of the individual and the realization of their desired identities. Managers and partners also appear in dual roles: they are the ones who decide over consultants' work, roles and performance; they also informally occupy supporting roles. In the case of managers, this latter also represents a mediatory role between consultants and partners (see the case of Nóra). As the narratives have shown, the formal and informal behavior of partners is contradictory: this directs newcomers' attention to the subjective transgressability of hierarchical levels, and reinforces the roles of informal subcultures (e.g. partners' inner circle). Consequently the managers and partners have a regulate the newcomer tax consultants' identity in multiple way: they define them directly (prescribing their role – see Nóra's first two narratives), define their behaviour and their social relationships (e.g. prescribing their membership to different tax groups), and the relevant context (e.g. explaining their decisions regarding performance evaluation, or role attribution – see Viktor and Nóra' narratives).

We may conclude, then, that seniors, managers and partners play an important role in the professional identification both of assistants (A1) and consultants (C1), in defining and recognizing newcomers' positions within the hierarchy, in determining rules of behavior and professional skills and knowledge, as well as in regulating social relationships (e.g. movement between levels of hierarchy). At the same time, key characters pass on the behavioral pattern expected by the organization.

Summary

In this section, by examining subjects' turning point narratives, I have identified four *definitive organizational practices* which individuals perceive as identity threats and which are able to thus influence the desired identity transformation process. Along the lines of the characteristics projected by the practices described above – professional and personal excellence, reliability and ability to deal with heavy workload – we arrive at the prototype worker most accepted and desired by the organization: the ideal identity (Wieland, 2010). At the same time, the turning point narratives have shown that individuals oftentimes perceive the practices which project the ideal identity to be contradictory, which will lead them to view the characteristics of the ideal identity in a controversial way during the process of socialization. This increases the individual's insecurity, because it makes identifying with the organization more difficult. At the same time, it also provides an opportunity for the individual to experiment with their desired identity. In view of the difficulties of identifying with the organization, the individual proceeded to identify with various subcultures which evolved on the sidelines of the profession and the

hierarchy. It may be worth emphasizing there the subculture of class years, which also points to generational differences, in addition to hierarchy. Subcultures play a dual role in the process: (1) they support the individual in identifying with their profession, and (2) they aid individuals in realizing their desired identity. As a next step, to understand better the roles of subcultures, I provided additional detail with the help of the key characters participating in the process. The social comparisons pointed out by the individuals also provided an opportunity to explore the relations between various subcultures. Accordingly, we may conclude that the existing tensions between professions, levels of hierarchy, tax groups as well as average and outstanding performers are successfully reproduced during the process.

Organizational Socialization: a fragmentation approach

An analysis of the data has shown that desired identities served as the main – thematic – axis of individual socialization cases: (1) serving as filters, they impacted on the perception of turning point events and their interpretation as identity threats, (2) they served as points of reference when interpreting the conclusions of turning point narratives, and (3) they provided direction for the entire process. Thus, the present research projects fits well with the series of studies which *operationalize socialization process as desired identity (trans)formation*, and point to the *desired identity* as *a mechanism regulating identity work* (see Ibarra, 1999; Pratt et al., 2006). As previous chapters have shown, I differentiated between two main types of desired identities: (1) career-focused and (2) open. I have identified various *career-focused identities*: (1) *expert*, if the individual desired continuous development within their chosen profession, and if the organization provided the context for that development, and (2) *vocational*, if the profession or the organization is important only because it provides working conditions (e.g. participation in decision making) which are necessary for the individual to prepare for their chosen profession within a set amount of time. In the case of open desired identities, I differentiated between *seeker* and *drifting* identities. In the case of *seeker* identities, the individual chose the organization and/or the profession for the working conditions offered (e.g. continuous learning opportunities such as training or mentoring), in the hope that they will be able to define their desired identity in the course of their work. In the case of *drifting* identities, the individual decides not to decide: their goal is to put off important career decisions. The types identified above complement the assumptions of previous socialization researches (Ibarra, 1999; Pratt et al., 2006; Petriglieri and Ibarra, 2007) regarding the nature of desired identities, because (1) they are focused not merely on the professional (Ibarra, 1999, Pratt et al., 2006) or organizational (Grey, 2004) career; and (2) they become conscious already when the individual joins the company, although they may not yet

be well defined[99], as Grey (2004) had supposed.

Struggles to realize the various desired identities did, however, *differ somewhat* from what has been described in earlier studies:

(1) I identified two types of *identity threats* in the cases examined: difference between the ideal and the desired identity (whom the individual should be vs. whom they would like to become), as well as a difference between the nature/process of work and the desired identity (what/how the individual does vs. whom they would like to become). Along these lines, the individual would question whether they are able to express their desired identity within the organization, whether the organization would recognize it and whether it is possible to reconcile the desired and the ideal identity. We have already heard about the identity threats identified in these cases in the relevant literature (Ibarra, 1999; Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Pratt et al., 2006); the processes described there, however, assumed that ideal and desired identities can be reconciled (Ibarra, 1999) and that the desired identity may be transformed in such as a way as to bring it into harmony with the nature and process of work without questioning it (Pratt et al., 2006). Each of the cases in the research study feature a turning point when the individual recognizes that their desired identity cannot be reconciled with the ideal identity, and/or the nature or process of their work: as a result, the identity threat can be neither transformed nor mitigated.

(2) Regarding *experimentation phase,* besides the (identity) development processes, the research study also uncovered various defense processes, pointing out that these must be examined simultaneously to obtain a fuller understanding of socialization processes. Ibarra (1999), Pratt et al. (2006) in their studies describe identity development, and while they note that the splinting tactic defends the embrionic desired identity, and that the true to self tactic is not especially effective as far as development is concerned, yet they fail to reflect on these later as defense tactics, but rather insert them as part of their identity development models. At the same time, the identity work literature includes several examples of defense mechanism (see table 5.), which serve as good points of departure for complementing the understanding of socialization process.

(3) We were able to track the *(re)rendering of the (desired) identity narrative* in each case, step by step.

---

[99] An exception to this is the study by Pratt et al. (2006), who differentiated between well defined and embrionic identities, but did not examine this explicitly; they just assumed that this may be the cause of the differences in the evolution of identity work tactics.

In view of the above, one of the value added elements of the present study may be understood through the additional insight offered into the phase of experimentation (which is about more than just development – it also concerns defense). Therefore it is needed to study the nature of (identity) development and defensive processes in greater detail, in the cases examined. I will consider the various turning point narratives as my point of departure, as categorized in one of three types based on the identity work tactics used by the individual and their results (see the "Narrative typology" column in tables 8-11): experimentation, recognition and defensive. We are dealing with *experimentation narratives* when individuals sought to answer the question "how can they realize their desired identity within the organization," or "how can they transforme the desired identity (realization) threats" in the case of the latter question, they were also seeking opportunities for identity development. *Defensive narratives* were recounted in cases when the individual sought to answer the question "how can one resist (or mitigate) the factors endangering the desired identity." In both of these cases, the individuals were working to move closer to their desired identity, albeit through different approaches: the individual either attempts to integrate new identity elements, or tries to resist undesirable identity elements. Accordingly: these narratives represent the two sides of the same coin. The *recognitional narrative* is different in nature: it is not about a struggle, but rather about an internal recognition. The individual realizes that their desired identity (or the transitional one) cannot be realized within the organization.

To provide a clearer summary, I will review the individual cases in a table below, where each cell represents the various turning point narratives, and each color indicates a type of narrative. In the case of experimentation narratives, I have indicated their outcomes; in the case of defensive narratives, I indicated what identity work tactics the individual employed. This was necessary in order to be able to define various sub-types of the different narratives.

Table 14: Typology of turning point narratives

Expert: Emma	Vocational: Viktor	Searching: Nóra	Drifting: Sára

Turning point narrative

Exploration narrative

Defense narrative

Recognition narrative

By examining the evolution and transformation processes of various types of desired identities along the narrative types described above, it becomes clear that prior to the recognition narrative, individuals recount an experimentation narrative which is also a defensive narrative at the same time. Viktor's case was an exception: there was no turning point posing an identity threat in this phase, and change took place incrementally, in a supportive environment. A common element of these narratives is that the individual considers them to be temporary solutions. The individual does not resolve the contradictions, but strives to achieve identity development together with them. Two different types of experimentation narratives may be identified: (1) the individual *complements their desired identity* through various organizational elements, and thereby (temporarily) links them together; and they also describe an enrichment of that through the development of desired (professional) competencies (see the cases of Emma and Nóra), or (2) the individual creates a *temporary/transitional desired identity* (see Viktor's case) and the realization of their original desired identity is confined to within their personal life[100].

[100] In the case of the drifter, I was unable to identify any experimentation narrative in the framework of the

In each of these cases, the recognition narrative is linked to the moment when the individual recognizes that their desired identity cannot be realized within the organization, and is transformed into an impossible self. It is interesting to note here that a recognition narrative linked to an imaginary event in the future (see Viktor's case) does not result in changes similar to those linked to actual (past) events. A characteristic of the recognition narrative is that this is when the individual recognizes that their desired identity cannot be reconciled with organizational expectations; yet for the individual, both the desired identity as well as organizational recognition are important (the only exception to this is the "drifter," but even for them, it is important to remain a member of the organization, as this is one way they can delay making important career decisions).

Following the recognition narrative, the individual no longer formulates experimentation narratives, but strives to accept the contradictions recognized previously and which seem to be irreconcilable (desired identity vs. ideal identity); they tell defensive narratives which are all realized through different identity work tactics. In view of the various identity work tactics and their outcomes, we discover different types of defensive narratives: (1) Those choosing jouissance believe that the presence of contradictions does not mean that the desired identity cannot be realized; one merely has to find the loopholes and has to figure out how it is possible to appear to meet organizational expectations. In this case, what we are seeing is hidden resistance, where formal and informal opinions and behavior are separated. (2) A further solution may be to project the realization of the desired identity into the future, through postalgia, while the individual struggles for organizational recognition in the present. We are also seeing hidden resistance in this case, and while in the preceding case, the individual plays with organizational expectations, here they are working to confine them to the present. (3) Different than the previous two approaches, the utilization of the true to self tactic is aimed, firstly, at the realization of the desired identity; the individual is hoping that external circumstances will change to make this possible. In this case, the individual openly professes their desired identity, and its outcomes, but also tries to live up to organizational expectations. We could see that none of the cases mean the individual would give up their desired identity.

At the same time, one has to be careful with this statement, if the individual describes a temporary desired identity. In such a case, the individual is temporarily suspending their original desired identity, and even if the individual attempts to realize that in their personal life, there is a significant danger of it eventually fading into the background. This is what happened in the case of Viktor: while initially he was enthusiastic about describing how he is able to build his own

---

present project. I will consider this a possible avenue for further research in the future.

business, he had less and less time and attention to devote to it later and his temporary desired identity gradually came to the forefront. He did not reject his original desired identity, but he did separate it in space and time. This is when the recognition narrative is connected to the transformation of the temporary desired identity into the impossible self.

Summary

In this chapter, I defined the characteristics of the identity expected by the organization, and the organizational practices designed to shape and reinforce these identities. Individuals have a conflicting experience with the characteristics of these ideal identities expected by the organization, which makes identifying with the organization difficult. Thus, identifying subcultures and key characters with whom the individual could identify to realize their desired identity is an important step. Next, I examined this process along the following steps: (1) definition of desired identity types; (2) defining the nature of identity threats; (3) interpreting the process according to different types of turning point narratives.

VII. Scientific Evaluation of Research Findings

In this ultimate chapter, I will compare the empirical results of the study with the relevant literature, compiling the most important theoretical and practical implications of the dissertation. I will also discuss the limitations of the study and explore possible future directions of research.

The Theoretical and Practical Implications of the Research Study

The present research projects fits within the research stream, which operationalize socialization process with the use of desired identity concept, and point to the *desired identity* as *a mechanism regulating identity work* (see Ibarra, 1999; Pratt et al., 2006). In the section below, I will place the results of my own research in the framework of previous studies, according to the following steps: (1) a comparison of assumptions related to the nature of the desired identity; (2) a comparison of the desired identity' (trans)formation processes; and (3) reflections on the role of organizational context. I have summarized the steps of this review in the table below (see table 15). In the column "Research results," I used the color gray to indicate where the results complement the findings of relevant socialization studies. In the column "Relevant literature," I used different color to indicate when I used results from studies not dealing with socialization, thereby complementing previous findings from socialization research.

Table 15: Research results in the framework of previous studies

	Research results	Relevant literature
Nature of desired identity	**Career focused vs. open**	Ibarra (1999); Grey (2004), Pratt et al., (2006); Ibarra and Petriglieri (2007)
Socialization: (trans)formation of desired identities	**Nature of identity threat:** difference between desired identity and work content/process, and/or difference between desired identity and ideal identity	Ibarra (1999); Beyer and Hannah (2002); Pratt et al., (2006); Ibarra and Petriglieri (2007);
	How to transform desired identity or the factors threatening its realization? Experimentation and defense narratives	Ibarra (1999); Beyer and Hannah (2002); Grey (2004); Pratt et al., (2006); Ibarra and Petriglieri (2007)
		Kreiner and Sheep, 2009
	Recognition: desired identity becomes impossible self	Ibarra and Petriglieri (2007)
	How can resist (mitigate) the influences threatening desired identity or its realization? Defense narratives	*Ibarra (1999[101]), Pratt et al. (2006), Ibarra and Petriglieri (2007)*
		Ybema, 2004; Kosmala and Herrbach, 2006;
Role of organizational context	• Organizational practices; • Characteristics of ideal identity; • Relevant subcultures and organizational characters;	Anderson-Gough et al., 1998; 2002; Kosmala and Herrbach, 2006; Thornborrow and Brown 2009

As far as the nature of desired identity is concerned, the study complements the findings of the literature, because: (1) they are focused not just on professional (Ibarra, 1999, Pratt et al., 2006) or organizational (Grey, 2004) career; and (2) they become conscious already when the newcomer joins the organization, yet they are not well defined in every case, as Grey (2004) had supposed. Pratt et al., in their 2006 study, differentiated between well defined and embryonic desired identities, but did so based on the level of the individual's identification with their profession, and assumed that the embryonic desired identity would be transformed during the process of socialization, and that by the end of the process, each individual would develop a detailed desired identity, completed with professional (and organizational) aspects. I would not list the seeking and drifting identities defined in the present research project among embryonic

[101] I wrote with italics those literatures, which assume, but do not make explicit the defense role of identity work tactics.

desired identities: I believe these are types which complement the desired identities identified already (career focused or aspirational identities).

The struggle to establish and shape the various desired identities *differed partly* from what is described in the relevant literature, for the following reasons:

(1) Regarding *nature of the identity threat* the results of this study reinforces other findings. Two types of identity threats were identified – difference between the desired identity and nature/process of work, as well as difference between the desired and ideal identity – and both have already been explored in the literature (Ibarra, 1999; Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Pratt et al., 2006).

(2) When striving to transform identity threats, the individual comes up with *experimentation narratives*. The identity work tactics listed here are either known already from relevant socialization literature (e.g. complementing, enriching – Pratt et al., 2006) or from other identity research studies (e.g. Kreiner and Sheep, 2009). Thus, I complemented the experimentation narratives described in the socialization literature already. Another important recognition was that individuals described not than just experimentation narratives, but also defensive narratives. Previous socialization studies did not integrate these explicitly. In every case, a narrative different in nature than the ones described earlier is featured: the *recognition narrative*. This is when the individual recognizes that they are unable to realize their desired identity within the organization. Ibarra and Petriglieri (2007) describe cases when the individual comes to this realization, and attributes it to the lack of role models, but does not examine how the individual moves on from here. The described cases pointed to other possible reasons: the individual is confronted with their feared identity, or comes to accept that the desired and ideal identities cannot be reconciled. Following the recognition narrative, the individual no longer describes experimentation narratives, but strives to accept the contradictions recognized previously and which seem to be irreconcilable; they tell defense narratives which are all realized through different identity work tactics. When interpreting the defense narratives, I referenced tactics encountered in the literature of identity work (jouissance and postalgia), thereby contributing to the set of identity work tactics referred to in the relevant socialization literature. Another important contribution is that the relevant socialization studies listed in the table focused on identity development, and did not deal explicitly with defense narratives. I believe it is important to differentiate between experimentation and defense narratives, as the former involved identity development, whereas the latter can make development possible, but do not realize it – it is more about the maintenance of the desired identity. I defined various types of defense narratives depending on what kinds of identity work tactics the individual employed. There is one important

difference: we encounter hidden resistance in the case of those using the jouissance (Kosmala and Herrbach, 2006) and postalgia (Ybema, 2004) tactics, while those using the true to self tactic resort to open resistance. As a result, the research study provides a glimpse into what follows the recognition narrative.

Previously, it was the identity work of the individual that was in the focus; to achieve a greater understanding of the process, however, it is important to reflect on the influence of the organizational context, thereby integrating socialization research which focused on identity regulation (Bourassa and Ashforth, 1998; Thornborrow and Brown, 2009). Thus, I identified *key organizational practices* along the turning point narratives (entry, work distribution, performance evaluation, and dismissal) as well as the *characteristics of the ideal identity* they determine. The organization strove to regulate the individual's desired identity along these lines. Research subjects spoke of conflicting experiences as far as the characteristics of the ideal identity were concerned: individuals thus gradually became distanced from the organization (disidentifying), but also used it as an opportunity to realize and/or defend their desired identity. Thus, my study confirms the results of studies where the desired identity is the tool used to resist the identity regulating efforts of the organization (Bourassa and Ashforth, 1998). Although the individual disidentifies with the organization, they also identify with various subcultures, accepting and maintaining the inequalities and tensions within.

Along these lines, and in the framework of relevant socialization studies, the most important theoretical implications of the present study are the following:

- It *enriched* the known *types of desired identities* (career, aspirational) with an additional one: the open desired identity.
- *It confirms a lesser known function of the desired identity:* a tool to resist the identity regulation efforts of the organization. In previous research, the desired identity was one tool of identity regulation, because it was assumed that the ideal identity can be reconciled with the desired identity (see Ibarra, 1999; Pratt et al., 2006 or Thornborrow and Brown, 2009).
- It *added* another element to the *set of identity work tactics* known from relevant socialization studies (Ibarra, 1999; Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Pratt et al., 2006): the temporary desired identity[102], where the individual describes a desired identity linked to the organization and valid for a set period of time, and where the individual strives to realize their original desired identity in their personal life during this period.

[102] The splinting tactic explored by Pratt et al. (2006) in their study also assumes the creation of a temporary identity; in that case, however, the individual uses an earlier positive work identity (e.g. university student) instead of creating a new one linked to the organization and/or profession, as is the case in the present study.

- It added the recognition and defense narratives to the experimentation narrative known from socialization research studies assuming less painful and positive processes, also identifying several sub-types.

Additionally, it enriched our understanding of socialization in the BIG4 organizations, by placing the role of the desired identity in the focus, alongside an identification of organizational practices aimed at regulating that identity. The characteristics of the ideal identity identified during the project confirmed earlier research findings (see Coffey, 1994; Anderson-Gough et al., 1998, 2001; 2002).

As far as the practical implications of the research study are concerned, it may be concluded that – in accordance with my personal goal – the findings of the present study also serve to support more conscious career planning and organizational socialization of young graduates. It points to the significance of desired identities and helps individuals identify their own desired identities. Once this has been accomplished, the case studies presented can serve as a good point of departure in preparing for identity threats, and can also help newcomers to an organization be more conscious and proactive during the process of joining the organization.

The study also hopes to support HR specialists in gaining a deeper understanding of organizational socialization processes, along several lines: which HR practices contribute most to the shaping of individuals' desired identities, and how – by avoiding the contradictions uncovered – can the individual be aided in better identifying with the organization. Additionally, by understanding the process of how desired identities evolve and transform, they can work with the realization that person-organization fit is not a state, but rather a process, in which both parties participate, and whose outcome depends heavily on the nature of the ideal and the desired identities and their reconcilability.

Limitations of the Research and Possible Future Continuation

One important limitation in my research was related to methodological decisions. One of the most significant such issues arose during the data collection phase, for two reasons: (1) The duration of the study (9 months) proved to be too short (see, for instance, the case of Viktor, where the socialization process ended right at the recognition narrative), meaning some of the socialization cases need to be continued. Thus, in a future project, it may be wise to examine the first two or three years. (2) The narrative interviews, as the primary means of data collection (coupled with document analysis and an observation of orientation training), despite the longitudinal nature of the study, involved the trap of retrospection. I also did not have the opportunity to examine subjects' daily work and the identity work performed during their

interactions. This may be significant because Down and Reveley (2009) in their study pointed out that only one part of identity work is narrative in nature; the other part is dramaturgical, and can thus only be observed during interactions. Accordingly, in a future project, it would be worthwhile to follow newcomers in the course of their daily work, or to ask them to keep journals. The latter methodological element would also be an important development because it would render the interactive nature of the process more operationalizable.

A second limitation was encountered during the data analysis phase, and this was due to the prescribed breadth of the dissertation. This required that the data to be processed and the focus of analysis be narrowed down. Accordingly, interviews conducted with the supervisors and mentors of newcomers were only used as background materials, which helped me better understand the organizational context; they were not, however, fully processed in the paper itself. I intend to publish the lessons of these interviews in greater detail in an upcoming article. For the same reason, the content analysis of texts omitted during the narrative analysis also did not take place, nor did I identify additional axes in the narratives (e.g. social relations, family, or gender).

Within the framework of the present paper, I have omitted an examination of what roles individual characteristics (e.g. previous identities, gender) play, but I believe this may be an important possible avenue for further research.

It is clear that the individual's experiences served as the point of departure for both the theoretical as well as the empirical research in this paper. Consequently, it may be an interesting continuation of the project to explore and research this same topic from a broader, macro (organizational, environmental) perspective.

Appendix 1: Organizational culture and workplace diversity review

Table 16. Organizational culture and workplace diversity literature review[103] (based on Martin, 2002; Nkomo and Stewart, 2006; with their extension)

	Integrationist		**Differentiation**		**Fragmentation**	
	Managerial	Non – managerial	Managerial	Non - managerial	Managerial	Non managerial
Functionalist	Ouchi (1981); Peters and Waterman (1982); Deal and Kennedy (1982); Quinn ();Handy (1985); Schein (1985); Ott (1989); Denison (1990); Hofstede (1990);		Martin and Siehl (1983); Cox and Blake (1991); Cox (1993; 2001); Trice and Beyer (1993); Milliken and Martins (1996)		Weick (1991)	
Interpretive	Garfinkel (1967) Barley (1983); Martin et al. (1983);			Gregory (1983); Gherardi (1995)		Meyerson (1991); Linstead and Grafton- Small (1992); Ybema, 1997
Radical structuralist				Willmott (1993)		
Radical humanist	Martin and Meyerson (1997, 1998); Sewell and Wilkinson (1992, 1998); Van Maanen and Kunda (1989)			Smircich and Morgan (1982) Bartunek (1984); Turner (1986); Mills (1988); Bartunek and Moch (1991); Van Maanen (1991); Ibarra (1995); Alvesson and Billing (1997); Laurila (1997); Mills and Hatfield (1997);		Feldman (1991); Alvesson (1993); Gabriel (1995); Litvin (1997); De Los Reyes (2000);

[103] In Table 16. are categorized the different studies and not the individual researchers.

Appendix 2: Institutionalized organizational socialization tactics

Table 17: Review of the major empirical studies[104] on socialization tactics (with focus on direct relationship between institutionalised tactics and adjusment variables)[105]

Relevant studies	**Input variables**	**Moderating variables**	**Measurement scale** (use of complete vs. modified version of Jones' (1986) scale)	**Study design** (cross sectional vs. longitudinal[106])	**Sample characteristics** (type of newcomer)	**Outcomes** (adjustment variables)
Jones (1986)	Socialization tactics	Self efficacy	Development of a questionnaire for the six socialization tactics[107]	Cross – sectional	MBA graduates (U.S.)	Role orientation[108] (custodial vs. innovative) Role conflict, role ambiguity; Intention to quit Commitment, job satisfaction
Allen and Meyer (1990)	Socialization tactics Use of the six dimensional tactics model		Complete version of Jones' (1986) questionnaire.	Longitudinal: after the first 6 months and again after the first year	MBA graduates (U.S.)	Role orientation Organizational commitment

[104] Based on the review offered by Saks, Uggerslev and Fassina (2007), selecting those researches which completed the previous studies on tactics experimenting with different samples, study design, adjustment- and/or mediator variables.

[105] The new outcome variables added by the different – chronologically considered studies– are shown in italics, and those interested from my perspective are shown in bold.

[106] For both study designs (cross-sectional and longitudinal) is true, that the measurement points were arbitrarily located in time, because there is no consensus regarding the specific time lines of the transition process. So the longitudinal studies were trying to measure the independent variables (socialization tactics) first time early in the transition (four or six months) and later in transition (ten months or one year) when adjustment had more or less stabilized (assuming that adjustment is a process limited in time, in accordance with the stage models).

[107] The results based on this questionnaire has to be treated carefully because the reliability of the collective and formal tactic is problematic.

[108] This was initially proposed by Van Maanen and Schein (1979), who argued that adjustment can be made by changing (innovating) or not the job (this is externally oriented, not taking into consideration the possible changes in the individual himself/herself).

Black (1992)	Socialization tactics Use of the six dimensional tactics model	Organizational tenure	Revised version of Jones' (1986) questionnaire.	Cross - sectional	American expatriates in Japan, Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan (in upper management positions)	Role orientation (specifically interested in role innovation)
Black and Ashford (1995)[109]	Personal need for control and need for feedback Job discretion and job novelty Socialization tactics (use of the six dimensional tactics model)		Complete version of Jones' (1986) questionnaire	Cross - sectional	MBA graduates (U.S.)	Job change (role orientation) *Self change*
Ashforth and Saks (1996)	Socialization tactics (use of the six dimensional tactics model)		Revised version of Jones' (1986) questionnaire	Longitudinal: after four and ten months in the new job	Business school graduates (U.S.)	Role orientation (*actual and attempted*) Role conflict, role ambiguity Organizational commitment, job satisfaction and intention to quit *Person change, stress symptoms, organizational identification, self – appraised performance*
Cable and Parsons	Socialization tactics (use of Jones' (1986) three		Reduced version of **Jones' questionnaire**	Longitudinal: after 6 months and one year	University graduates (U.S.)	(newcomers') *P – O fit perceptions* *Changes in (newcomers) personal*

[109] The first study taking into consideration the influence of factors from all three levels (individual, job related and organizational) on adjustment variables.

(2001)	factors model) *(previous) Work experience* *Job offers* *Organizational tenure*		(Jones, 1986)	in the job		*values*
Bravo et al. (2003)[110]	Fixed and serial tactics	Interpersonal relationships (supervisor, co – worker); Role stress (role ambiguity and conflict)	Jones' (1986) questionnaire for the two tactics	Cross - sectional	Newcomers entering labour market and organizations (average age 21) from 8 countries, and 2 occupations (office technology and machine operators)	(newcomers' immediate and intermediate) *career enhancing strategies*
Cooper – Thomas, Van Vianen and Anderson (2004)	Social tactics (serial and investiture)	Perceived PO fit	Jones' (1986) questionnaire for the two tactics	Cross - sectional	Newcomers entering a professional firm (average age:26)	(newcomers') PO fit perception (change) *Actual PO fit (change)* Job satisfaction, commitment
Hart and Miller (2005)	Socialization tactics (use of four factors from the original six) Unstructured	Message content	Modified version of Jones' (1986) questionnaire (dropped collective and formal	Cross - sectional	College graduates (U.S.) as newly hired hotel managers	Role orientation Role ambiguity

[110] This is the first international study on socialization tactics. The sample included newcomers from Belgium, England, France, Israel, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal and Spain. Regarding this study is also interesting, that they measured the outcome variables after two years (usin only the answers from job stayers).

	socialization (e.g. stories, informal initiations and rituals, trial by fire tactics, etc.)		because of low reliability)			
Kim, Cable and Kim (2005)	Socialization tactics (use of Jones' (1986) single factor model)	Newcomers' proactivity				Person – Organization (P – O) fit
Gruman et al. (2006)	Socialization tactics (use of Jones' (1986) single factor model)	Newcomers' proactivity	Jones' (1986) questionnaire	Cross - sectional	Undergraduate university students (average age 21)	Task mastery, role clarity, social integration, P – J/O fit, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, intent to return

Appendix 3: Summary of proactivity studies

Table 18. Review of major empirical studies on newcomers' proactivity

Relevant studies	**Proactive socialization tactics**	**Content**	**Sources**	**Study design** (cross sectional vs. longitudinal)	**Sample characteristics** (type of newcomer)	**Outcomes** (adjustment variables)
Miller and Jablin (1991)						
Chao et al. (1992)	Informal mentorship			Cross - sectional	Alumni	Job satisfaction, organizational socialization and salary
Ostroff and Kozlowski (1992)	Observation, objective referents, experimentation		Coworkers, mentors, supervisors	Longitudinal	College graduates (management and engineering)	Job satisfaction, commitment, turnover, intentions to leave, adjustment to stress
Morrison (1993b)	Observation Feedback seeking Information seeking	Performance and social technical, normative, referent	Coworkers, supervisors	Longitudinal	College graduates entering their first full time job as accountants	Acculturation, task mastery, role clarity and social integration
Morrison (1993a)	Monitoring Inquiry	Performance and social feedback Technical -, normative-, referent informations	Supervisors, coworkers, impersonal (e.g. company literature, job description, etc.)	Longitudinal	College graduates entering their first full time job as accountants	*Satisfaction, performance and intentions to leave*
Bauer and	Involvement in work related			Longitudinal	Faculty members and doctoral	*Accommodation, work*

Green (1994)	activities				students	*performance, commitment*
Morrison (1995)	Inquiry, monitoring, passive	Informations: technical, referent, appraisal, social, organizational, normative, political		Cross sectional	Business school graduates	Usefulness of information, How is information obtained (monitoring or inquiry) or received (passively)
Ashford and Black (1996)	Relationship building, sensemaking, job change negotiation, framing			Longitudinal	Undergraduate students (engineering and management)	Job performance, job satisfaction, desire for control, domain knowledge
Holder (1996)	Information seeking: overt -, indirect questions, testing limits, disguising conversation, observation, and monitoring)			Cross – sectional	Blue collar women	Role ambiguity, role conflict, social costs of information seeking
Saks and Ashforth (1996)	Self observation, self – goal setting, self – reward, self – punishment, rehearsal			Longitudinal	Entry level accountants	Motivation, job performance, job satisfaction, anxiety, commitment, turnover
Settoon and Adkins (1997)			Coworkers, supervisors, family, friends	Longitudinal	Mental health specialists	Role conflict role ambiguity, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, intentions to leave
Bauer and Green (1998)	Information seeking	Task - , social oriented		Longitudinal	College graduates, their coworkers, managers	Role clarity, feelings of acceptance by the managers, job performance, job satisfaction, commitment

References

Aaltio, I., Mills, A., J. and Helms Mills, J., C. (2002): Exploring gendered organizational cultures, Culture and organizations, 8(2);

Adkins, B. and Caldwell, D. (2004): Firm or subgroup culture: where does fitting in matter most?, Journal of Organizational Behavior, pg. 969 – 978;

Ainsworth, S. and Hardy, C. (2006): Discourse and identities, in: Grant, D., Hardy, C., Oswick, C. and Putnam, L. (eds.): The Sage handbook of organizational discourse, London:Sage Publications, pg. 153-173.

Allaire, Y. and Firsirotu, M. (1984): Theories of organizational culture, Organization Studies, pg. 193 -226;

Allen (2006): Do organizational socialization tactics influence newcomer embeddedness and turnover?, Journal of Management, pg. 237 – 256;

Allen, N., J. and Meyer, J., P. (1990): Organizational socialization tactics: a longitudinal analysis of links to newcomers' commitment and role orientation, Academy of Management Journal, pg. 847 – 858;

Alvesson, M. (1993): Organizations as rhetoric: knowledge intensive firms and the struggle with ambiguity, Journal of Management Studies, pg. 997 – 1015;

Alvesson, M. (1994): Talking in organizations: managing identity and impressions in an advertising agency, Organizational Studies, pg. 535 – 563;

Alvesson, M. (2003): Understanding organizational culture, Sage, Thousand Oaks: CA;

Alvesson, M. (2006): Shakers, strugglers, story – tellers, surfers and others. Varieties of perspectives on identities, 22nd EGOS, Bergen, pg. 1 - 16;

Alvesson, M. and Berg, P. (1990): Corporate culture and organizational symbolism, de Gruyter, Berlin;

Alvesson, M. and Billing, Y. (1997): Understanding gender and organizations, Sage, Thousand Oaks: CA;

Alvesson, M., Ashcraft, K., L. and Thomas, R. (2008): Identity matters: reflections on the construction of identity scholarship in organization studies, Organization, 15(1), pp. 5-28;

Alvesson, M. and Robertson, M. (2006): The best and the brightest: the construction, significance and effects of elite identity in consulting firms, Organization, 13(2), pp. 195-224;

Alvesson, M. and Willmott (2002): Identity regulation as organizational control: producing the appropriate individual, Journal of Management Studies, 39(5), pp. 619-644;

Anakwe, U., P. and Greenhaus, J., H. (1999): Effective socialization of employees: socialization content perspective, Journal of Managerial Issues, 11(3), pg. 315 – 329;

Anderson, N. and Thomas, H., D., C. (1996): Work group socialization, in West, M., A. (ed.): Handbook of work groups, Wiley, Chichester, pg. 423 – 450;

Anderson – Gough, F., Grey, C. and Robson, K. (1998a): Making up accountants: the professional and organizational socialization of trainee chartered accountants, Ashgate, Aldershot;

Anderson – Gough, F., Grey, C. and Robson, K. (1998b): „Work hard, play hard": the use of cliche in two accountancy practices, Organization, 5(4);

Anderson – Gough, F., Grey, C. and Robson, K. (2000):In the name of the client: the service ethic in two international accounting firms, Human Relations, 53(9), pp. 1151-1174;

Anderson – Gough, F., Grey, C. and Robson, K. (2001): Tests of time: organizational time-reckoning and the making of accountants in two multi – national accounting firms, Accounting, Organizations and Society, pp. 99 – 122;

Anderson – Gough, F., Grey, C. and Robson, K. (2002): Accounting professionals and the accounting profession: linking conduct and context, Accounting and Business Research, 32, pp. 41-56;

Anderson – Gough, F., Grey, C. and Robson, K. (2005): "Helping them to forget…": the organizational embedding of gender relations in public audit firms, Accounting, Organizations and Society, pp. 469 – 490;

Antalovits, M. (2000): Munkaköri/munkahelyi szocializáció, in Mészáros, A. (ed.): Munkapszichológia, reader of Szent István University, Gödöllő, pg. 65 – 77;

Antony, J., S. (2002): Reexamining doctoral student socialization and professional development: moving beyond the congruence and assimilation orientation, in Smart, J., C. and Tierney, W., G. (eds.): Higher education: handbook of theory and research, Kluwer Academic Publisher, pg. 349 – 380;

Ashford, S., J. and Black, J., S. (1996): Proactivity during organizational entry: the role of desire for control, Journal of Applied Psychology, pg. 199 – 214;

Ashford, S., J. and Taylor S. (1990): Adaptation to work transitions: an integrative approach, in Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management, Vol. 8, pg. 1 – 39;

Ashforth, B., E. (2007): Commentary – Identity the elastic concept, in Bartel, C., A., Blader, S. and Wrzesniewski, A. (eds.): Identity and the moders organization, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Mahwah, pg. 85-96;

Ashforth, B., E. (2001): Role transitions in organizational life: an identity-based perspective, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, New Jersey;

Ashforth, B., E., Harrison, S., H. and Corley, K., G. (2008): Identification in organizations: an examination of four fundamental questions, Journal of Management, 34(3), pg. 325-374;

Ashforth, B., E. and Johnson, S., A. (2001): Which hat to wear? The relative salience of multiple identities in organizational context, in Hogg, M., A. and Terry, D., J. (eds.): Social identity processes in organizational contexts, Psychology Press, Philadelphia, pg. 31 – 48;

Ashforth, B., E. and Kreiner, G., E. (1999): "How can you do it?": Dirty work and the challenge of constructing a positive identity, Academy of Management Review, 24(3), pg. 413 – 434;

Ashforth, B., E. and Mael, F. (1989): Social identity theory and the organization, Academy of Management Review, pg. 20 – 39;

Ashforth, B., E. and Saks, A. M. (1996): Socialization tactics: longitudinal effects on newcomer adjustment, Academy of Management Journal, pg. 149 – 178;

Ashforth, B., E., Saks, A., M. and Lee, R., T. (1997): On the dimensionality of Jones' (1986) measures of organizational socialization tactics, International Journal of Selection and Assessment, 5(4), pg. 200 – 214;

Ashforth, B., E., Saks, A., M. and Lee, R., T. (1998): Socialization and newcomer adjustment: the role of organizational context, Human Relations, 51(7), pg. 897 – 926;

Ashforth, B., E., Sluss, D., M. and Harrison, S., H. (2007): Socialization in organizational context, in Hodgkinson, G., P. and Ford, J., K. (eds.): International review of industrial and organizational psychology, vol. 22, pg. 1 – 70;

Ashforth, B., E., Sluss, D., M. and Saks, A., M. (2007): Socialization tactics, proactive behaviour and newcomer learning: integrating socialization models, Journal of Vocational Behavior, pg. 447 – 462;

Atiyyah, H., S. (1996): Expatriate acculturation in Arab Gulf countries, The Journal of Management Development, 15(5), pg. 37 – 47;

Bakacsi, Gy. (1996): Szervezeti Magatartás, KJK, Budapest

Bakacsi, Gy. And Takács, S. (1998): Honnan – hová? A nemzeti és szervezeti kultúra változásai a 90 – es évek közepének Magyarországán, Vezetéstudomány, 2;

Baker, W., K. (1995): Allen and Meyer' 1990 longitudinal study: a reanalysis and reinterpretation using structural equation modelling, Human Relations, 48(2), pg. 169 – 186;

Bandura, A. (1976): Szociális tanulás utánzás útján, in Pataki, F. (ed.): Pedagógiai szociálpszichológia, Gondolat Kiadó, Budapest, pg. 84 – 122;

Barley, S. (1983): Semiotics and the study of occupational and organizational cultures, Administrative Science Quarterly, pg. 24 – 60;

Bartel, C., A., Blader, S. and Wrzesniewski, A. (2007): Identity and the modern organization, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.;

Bartunek, J. (1984): Changing interpretive schemes and organizational restructuring: the

example of a religious order, Administrative Science Quarterly, pg. 355-372;

Bartunek, J. and Moch, M. (1991): Multiple constituencies and the quality of working life intervention at FoodCom, in Frost, P., Moore, L., Louis, M., Lundberg, C. and Martin, J. (eds.): Reframing organizational culture, Sage, Newbury Park, pg. 104 – 114;

Bauer, T., N. and Green, S., G. (1994): The effect of newcomer involvement in work related activities: a longitudinal study of socialization, Journal of Applied Psychology, pg. 211 – 223;

Bauer, T., N. and Green, S., G. (1998): Testing the combined effects of newcomer information seeking and manager behaviour on socialization, Journal of Applied Psychology, pg. 72 – 83;

Bauer, T., N., Morrison, E., W. And Callister, R., R. (1998): Organizational socialization: a review and directions for future research, in Ferris, G., R. (ed.): Research in personnel and human resources management, CT:JAI Press, Greenwich, pg. 149 – 214;

Beech, N. and McInnes, P. (2006): Relationships and obligations in identity work, 22nd EGOS, Bergen, pg. 1 – 15;

Beyer, J., M., Hannah, D., R. and Milton, L., P. (2000): Ties that bind. Culture and attachement in organizations, in Ashkanasy, N., M., Wilderom, C., P., M. and Peterson, M., F. (eds.): Handbook of organizational culture and climate, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, pg. 323 – 338;

Beyer, J., M. and Hannah, D., R. (2002): Building on the past: enacting established personal identities in a new work setting, Organization Science, 13(6), pg. 636 – 652;

Billing, Y., D. and Sundin, E. (2006): From managing equality to managing diversity. A critical Scandinavian perspective on gender and workplace diversity, in Konrad, A., M., Prasad, P. and Pringle, J., K. (eds.): Handbook of workplace diversity, SAGE Publications, London, pg. 95 – 120;

Black, J., S. (1992): Socializing American expatriate managers overseas: tactics, tenure and role innovation, Group & Organization management, 17(2), pg. 171 – 192;

Black, J., S., Mendenhall, M. and Oddou, G. (1991): International adjustment: integration of multiple theoretical perspectives, Academy of Management Review;

Black, J., S. and Ashford, S., J. (1995): Fitting in or making jobs fit: factors affecting mode of adjustment for new hires, Human Relations, pg. 421 – 437;

Bloor, G. and Dawson, P. (1994): Understanding professional culture in organizational context, Organization Studies, pg. 275 – 295;

Boisnier, A. and Chatman, J., A. (2002): The role of subcultures in agile organizations, in Petersen, R. and Mannix, E. (ed.): Leading and managing people in dynamic organizations;

Bokor, A. (2000): Szervezeti kultúra és tudásintegráció: a termékfejlesztés problémája, PhD értekezés, Kézirat, Budapesti Közgazdaságtudományi és Államigazgatási Egyetem;

Bokor, A. (2003): A szervezeti kultúra hatása a termékfejlesztés folyamatára, Vezetéstudomány, pg. 37-56;

Bokor, A. (2007): Létezik-e itthon Y generáció? Vezetéstudomány, pg. 2-21;

Bokor, A. and Radácsi, L. (2007): Aranykalitkában – Fiatal vállalatvezetők rendszerváltás utáni Magyarországon, Alinea Kiadó, Budapest;

Bourassa, L. and Ashforth, B., E. (1998): You are about to party *Defiant* style: socialization and identity onboard an Alaskan fishing boat, Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, pg. 171 – 196;

Bögre, Zs. (2003): Társadalmi – politikai változások hatása a vallásos identitás alakulására Magyarországon (1948 – 1990) – különös tekintettel az 1948-1964 közötti időszakra, doktori disszertáció;

Bravo, M., J., Peiro, J., M., Rodriguez, I. and Whitely, W., T. (2003): Social antecedents of the role stress and career enhancing strategies of newcomers to organizations: a longitudinal study, Work & Stress, pg. 195 – 217;

Brett, J., M., Feldman, D., C. and Weingart, L. R. (1990): Feedback seeking behvior of new hires and job changers, Journal of Management, pg. 171 – 192;

Brewer, M., B. (1991): The social self: on being the same and different at the same time, Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, pg. 475-482;

Buchanan, B. II. (1974): Building organizational commitment:the socialization of managers in work organizations, Administrative Science Quarterly, pg. 533 – 546;

Bullis, C. és Bach, B. (1989): Socialization turning points: an examination of change n organizational identification, Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Speech Communication Association, pg. 1-38;

Burell, G. (1994): Modernism, postmodernism and organizational analysis: the contribution of Jurgen Habermas, Organization Studies, pg. 1 – 9;

Burell, G. and Morgan, G. (1979): Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis, Heinemann, London;

Burrus, K. (1997): National culture and gender diversity within one of the universal swiss banks: an experiential description of a professional women officer and president of the women managers' association, in Sackmann, S., A. (ed.): Cultural complexity in organizations: inherent contrast and contradiction, London, Sage Publication, pg. 209 – 227;

Cable, D., M. and Judge, T., A. (1996): Person – organization fit, job choice decision and organizational entry, Organizational Behaviour and Human decision processes, 67, pg. 294 – 311;

Cable, D., M. and Parsons, C., K. (2001): Socialization tactics and Person – Organization fit, Personnel Psychology, 54(1), pg. 1 – 23;

Cahill, S., E. (1999): The boundaries of professional socialization:The case of North American Funeral Directors, Symbolic Interaction, 22(2), pg. 105-119;

Carlsen, A. (2006): Organizational becoming as dialogic imagination of practice: the case of indomitable gauls, Organization Science, 17(1), pg. 132-149;

Chan, D. and Schmitt, N. (2000): Interindividual differences in intraindividual changes in proactivity during organizational entry: a latent growth modelling approach to understanding newcomer adaptation, Journal of Applied Psychology, pg. 190 – 210;

Chao, G., T., O'Leary – Kelly, A., M., Wolf, S., Klein, H., J. and Gardner, P., D. (1994): Organizational socialization: its content and consequences, Journal of Applied Psychology, pg. 730 – 743;

Chao, G., T., Walz, P., M. and Gardner, P., D. (1992): Formal and informal mentorships: a comparison on mentoring functions and contrast with non-mentored counterparts, Personnel Psychology, pg. 619 – 636;

Chatman, J., A. (1991): Matching people and organizations: selection and socialization in public accounting firms, Administrative Science Quarterly, 36, pg. 459 – 484;

Chattopadhyay, P., Tluchowska, M. and George, E. (2004): Identifying the ingroup: a closer look at the influence of demographic dissimilarity on employee social identity, Academy of Management Review, 29(2), pg. 180 – 202;

Chen, G. (2005): Newcomer adaptation in teams: multilevel antecedents and outcomes, Academy of Management Journal, 48(1), pg. 101 – 116;

Chen, G. and Klimoski, R., J. (2003): The impact of expectations on newcomer performance in teams as mediated by work characteristics, social exchanges and empowerment, Academy of Management Journal, 46(5), pg. 591 – 607;

Chevrier, s. (1993): Multicultural management: fashion or passing fad? EGOS, Paris;

Clausen, J., A. (1968): Supplement: Recent developments in socialization theory and research, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, pg. 139 – 155;

Coffey, A., J. (1994): "Timing is everything": graduate accountants, time and commitment, Sociology, 28(4), pg. 943 – 956;

Cohen – Scali, V. (2003): The influence of family, social and work socialization on the construction of the professional identity of young adults, Journal of Career Development, 29(4), pg. 237 – 249;

Cole. M. and Cloe, S., R. (2006): Fejlődéslélektan, Osiris Kiadó, Budapest;

Cooper – Thomas, H. and Anderson, N. (2002): Newcomer adjustment: the relationship between socialization tactics, information acquisition and attitudes, Journal of Occupational and Organizational psychology, pg. 423 – 438;

Cooper – Thomas H., D., Van Vianen, A. and Anderson, N. (2004): Changes in person – organization fit: the impact of socialization tactics on perceived and actual P – O fit, European Journal of work and organizational psychology, 13(1), pg. 52 – 78;

Cooper – Thomas, H., D. and Anderson, N. (2006): Organizational socialization: a new theoretical model and recommendations for future research and HRM practices in organizations, Journal of Managerial Psychology, 21(5), pg. 492 – 516;

Corley, K., G. (2004): Defined by our strategy or our culture? Hierarchical differences in perceptions of organizational identity and change, Human Relations, 57(9), pg. 1145 – 1163;

Corley, K., G., Harquail, C., V., Pratt, M., G., Glynn, M., A., Fiol, C., M. and Hatch., M., J. (2006): Guiding organizational identity through aged adolescence, Journal of Management Inquiry, 15(2), pg. 85-99;

Costas, J. és Fleming, P. (2009): Beyond dis-identification: a discursive approach to self-alieanation in contemporary organizations, Human Relations, 62(3), pg. 353-378;

Covaleski, M., Dirsmith, H., W., Heian, J., B. and Sorwel, S. (1998): The confessed and the avowed, Administrative Science Quarterly, 43(21), pg. 293-327;

Cox, T. and Blake, S. (1991): Managing cultural diversity: implications for organizational effectiveness, Academy of Management Executive, 5(3), pg. 45 -56;

Cox, T. (1993): Cultural diversity in organizations: theory, research and practice, Barrett – Koehler, San –Francisco;

Cox, T. (2001): Creating the multicultural organization, Jossey – Bass, San Francisco;

Crant, J., M. (2000): Proactive behaviour in organizations, Journal of Management, 26(3), pg. 435 – 462;

Crisp, R., J. and Hewstone, M. (2006): Multiple social categorizations: context, process and social social consequences, in Crisp, R., J. and Hewstone, M. (eds.): Multiple social categrizations: processes, models and applications, Psychology Press, Hove, pg. 3-22;

Csepeli, Gy. (1997): Szociálpszichológia, Osiris Kiadó, Budapest;

Dahler – Larsen, P. (1997): Organizational Identity as a crowded category. A case of multiple and quickly shifting "we" typifications, in Sackmann, S., A. (ed.): Cultural complexity in organizations: inherent contrast and contradiction, London, Sage Publication, pg. 367 – 389;

Dass, P. and Parker, B. (1999): Strategies for managing human resource diversity: from resistance to learning, The Academy of Management Executive, 13(2);

Deal, T., and Kennedy, A. (1982): Corporate cultures: the rites and rituals of corporate life. Addison – Wesley, Reading MA;

Delobbe, N. and Vandenberghe, C. (2001): La formation en enterprise comme dispositif de socialisation organisationnelle: enquête dans le secteur bancaire, Le travail humane, 64(1), pg.

61 – 89 (http://www.cairn.info/article.php?ID_REVUE=TH&ID_NUMPUBLIE=TH_641&ID_ARTICLE=TH_641_0061, downloaded 03.08.2007);

De los Reyes P. (2000): Diversity at work: Paradoxes, possibilities and problems in the Swedish discourse on diversity, Economic and industrial democracy, 21(2), pg. 253 – 266;

DiSanza, J., R. (1995): Bank teller organizational assimilation in a system of contradictory practices, Management Communication Quarterly, 9(2), pg. 191 – 218;

Dose, J., J. (1997): Work values: an integrative framework and illustrative application to organizational socialization, Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, pg. 219 – 240;

Denison D. (1990): Corporate culture and organizational effectiveness, Wiley, New York;

Denzin, N., K. (1989): Interpretive interactionism, Sage Publications, London;

De Vries, S. (1997): Ethnicity cross-cutting organizational borders. Ethnic diversity in organizations: a dutch experience, in Sackmann, S., A. (ed.): Cultural complexity in organizations: inherent contrast and contradiction, London, Sage Publication, pg. 297 – 314;

Dutton, J. and Dukerich, J. (1991): Keeping an eye in the mirror: Image and identity in the organizational adaptation, Academy of Management Journal, pg. 517 – 554;

Edmondson, A., C. and McManus (2007): Methodological fit in management field research, Academy of Management Review, 32(4), pg. 1155-1179;

Eisenhardt, K., M. (1989): Building theories from case study research, Academy of Management Review, pg. 532-550;

Eisenhardt, K., M. and Graebner, M., E. (2007): Theory building from cases: opportunities and challenges, Academy of Management Journal, 50(1), pg. 25-32;

Erez, M. and Gati, E. (2004): A dynamic, multi – level model of culture: from the micro level of the individual to the macro level of global a culture, Applied psychology: an international review, 53(4), pg. 583 – 598;

Feldman, D., C. (1976): A practical program for employee socialization, Organizational Dynamics, pg. 64 – 80;

Feldman, D., C. (1976): A contingency theory of socialization, Administrative Science Quarterly, pg. 433 – 452;

Feldman, M., S. (1991): The meanings of ambiguity: learning from stories and metaphors, in Frost, P., Moore, L., Louis, M., Lundberg, C. and Martin, J. (eds.): Reframing organizational culture, Sage, Newbury Park, pg. 145 – 156;

Fisher, C., D. (1986): Organizational socialization: an integrative review, Research in Personnel and Human Resource Management, 4, pg. 101-145;

Fogarty, T. (1992): Organizational socialization in accounting firms: a theoretical frame and agenda for future research, Accounting, Organizations and Society, pg. 129-150;

Foucault, M. (1977): Discipline and punishment: the birth of a prison, Lane, London;

Fromm, E. (1993): Menekülés a szabadságtól, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest;

Geertz, C. (2001): Sűrű leírás. Út a kultúra értelmező elméletéhez, in Az értelmezés hatalma, Osiris Kiadó, Budapest (original: The interpretation of cultures, 1973, Basic Books, New York);

Gelei, A. (2002): A szervezeti tanulás interpretatív megközelítése: a szervezetfejlesztés esete, Ph.D. értekezés, BKÁE Vezetési és Szervezési Tanszék, Budapest;

Gherardi, S. (1995): Gender, symbolism and organizational cultures, Sage Publication, London;

Gregory, K., L. (1983): Native view paradigms: multiple cultures and culture conflict in organizations, Administrative Science Quarterly, pg. 359 – 376;

Grey, C. (2004): Career as a project of self and labour process discipline, in Pullen, A. és Linstead, S. (ed.): Organization and Identity, Routledge, London;

Grey, C. (2005): A very short fairly interestingand reasonably cheap book about studying organizations, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks;

Griffin, A., E., C., Colella, A. and Goparaju, S. (2000): Newcomer and organizational socialization tactics: an interactionist perspective, Human Resource Management Review;

Gruman, J., A., Saks, A., M. and Zweig, D., I. (2006): Organizational socialization tactics and newcomer proactive behaviors: an integrative study, Journal of Vocational Behavior, pg. 90 – 104;

Gubrium, J., F. and Holstein, J. (1997): Analyzing narrative reality, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks;

Gundry, L., K. and Rousseau, D., M. (1994): Critical incidents in communicating culture to newcomers: the meaning is the message, Human Relations, 47(9), pg. 1063 – 1089;

Hall, D., T. (2002): Careers in and out of organizations, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks;

Hall, D., T. and Mirvis, P., H. (1995): The new career contract: developing whole person at midlife and beyond, Journal of Vocational Behavior, pg. 269 – 289;

Hallier, J. and James, P. (1999): Group rites and trainer wrongs in employee experiences of job change, Journal of Management Studies, 36(1), 45-67 old.;

Handy, C. (1985): Understanding organizations, Penguin, Harmondsworth;

Hanges, P., J., Dickson, M., W., and Sipe, M., S. (2004): Rationale for GLOBE statistical

analysis: scaling of societies and testing hypothesis, in House, R., J., Hanges, P., J., Javidan, M., Dorfman, P., W., Gupta, V. and GLOBE associates (eds.): Leadership, culture and organizations: the GLOBE study of 62 societies, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, pg. 219 – 233;

Hart, Z., P. and Miller, V., D. (2005): Context and message content during organizational socialization: a research note, Human Communication Research, 31(2), pg. 295 – 309;

Hatch, M., J. (1997): Organization theory, Modern, Symbolic and Postmodern perspectives, Oxford University Press, Oxford;

Hatch, M., J. and Yanow, D. (2006): Methodology by metaphor: painting and the study of organizational identity, 22nd EGOS, Bergen, pg. 1 – 50;

Hatch, M., J. and Schultz, M. (2002): The dynamics of organizational identity, Human Relations, 55(8), pg. 989 – 1018;

Haueter, J., A., Macan, T., H. and Winter, J. (2003): Measurement of newcomer socialization: construct validation of a multidimensional scale, Journal of Vocational Behavior, pg. 20 – 39;

Heidrich, B. (2000): Szervezeti kultúra és interkulturálsi menedzsment, Bíbor Kiadó, Miskolc;

Hernes, H. (1997): Cross – cutting identifications in organizations, in Sackmann, S., A. (ed.): Cultural complexity in organizations: inherent contrast and contradiction, London, Sage Publication, pg. 343 – 366;

Hernes, T. (2004): Studying composite boundaries: a framework of analysis, Human Relations, 57(1), pg. 9 – 29;

Hofstede, G., Neuijen, B., Ohayv, D., and Sanders, G. (1990): Measuring organizational cultures, Administrative Science Quarterly, pg. 286 – 316;

Hollway, W. and Jefferson, T. (1997): Elicitating narrative through in-depth interview, Qualitative Inquiry, pg. 53-70;

Holder, T. (1996): Women in non traditional occupations: information seeking during organizational entry, Journal of Business Communication, pg. 6 – 26;

Holstein, J. and Gubrium, J. (2000): The self we live by: narrative identity in a postmodern world, Oxford University Press, New York;

Holton, E., F. (1996): New employee development: a review and reconceptualization, Human Resource Development Quarterly, pg. 233 – 252;

Ibarra, H. (1995): Race, opportunity and diversity of social circles in managerial networks, Academy of Management Journal, 38(3), pg. 673 – 703;

Ibarra, H. (1999): Provisional selves: experimenting with image and identity in professional adaptation, Administrative Science Quarterly;

Ibarra, H. (2003): Working identity: unconventional strategies for reinventing your career, Harvard Business School Press;

Ibarra, H. and Barbulescu, R. (2010): Identity as narrative: prevalence, effectiveness and consequences of narrative identity work in macro work role transitions, Academy of Management Review, 35(1), pg. 135-154;

Ibarra, H. and Petriglieri (2007): Impossible selves: Image strategies and identity threat in professional women's career transitions, working paper, INSEAD;

Ivanov, K. (2003): "Azt hittem, majd megváltom a világot". Kvalitatív kutatás a közgázos pálykezdők munkahelyi szocializációjáról, Vezetéstudomány, 34(11), pg. 46 – 55;

Janesick, V., J. (2000): The choreography of qualitative research design, in Denzin, L., K. and Lincoln, Y., S. (eds.): Handbook of qualitative research, Sage, Thousand Oaks, California, pg. 379-399;

Jarjabka, Á. (2001): A kultúra hatása a szervezetek stratégiájára, Vezetéstudomány, pg. 16-26;

Jávor, I. and Rozgonyi, T. (2005): Hatalom, konfliktus, kultúra, KJK, Budapest;

Jones, G., R. (1986): Socialization tactics self – efficacy and newcomer's adjustment to organizations, Academy of Management Journal, pg. 262 – 279;

Kammeyer – Mueller, J., D. and Wanberg, C., R. (2003): Unwrapping the organizational entry process: disentangling multiple antecedents and their pathways to adjustment, Journal of Applied Psychology, 88(5), pg. 779 – 794;

Karácsonyi, A. (2006): Szervezeti kultúra típusok a magyar vállaltok körében, Vezetéstudomány, Special issue, pg. 25 – 34;

Kärreman, D. and Alvesson, M. (2004): Cages in tandem: management control, social identity, and identification in a knowledge – intensive firm, Organization, 11(1), pg. 149 – 175;

Kim, T., Y., Cable, D., M. and Kim, S., P. (2005): Socialization tactics, employee proactivity and Person – Organization fit, Journal of Applied Psychology, 90(2), pg. 232 – 241;

Klein, K., J., Dansereau, F. and Hall, R., J. (1994): Level issues in theory development, data collection and analysis, Academy of Management Review, pg. 195 – 229;

Klein, H., J., Fan, J. and Preacher, K., J. (2006): The effects of early socialization experiences on content mastery and outcomes: a mediational approach, Journal of Vocational Behavior, pg. 96 – 115;

Klein, H., J. and Weaver, N., A. (2000): The effectiveness of an organizational – level orientation training program in the socialization of new hires, Personnal Psychology, pg. 47 – 66;

Klynn, B., J. (2001): Getting new executives on-board: investigating an integrated theory of socialization, PhD Thesis, Ohio State University;

Kohler Riesmann, C. (2008): Narrative methods for the human sciences, SAGE Publications, Los Angeles;

Koot, W., C., J. (1997): Strategic utilization of ethnicity in contemporary organizations, in Sackmann, S., A. (ed.): Cultural complexity in organizations: inherent contrast and contradiction, London, Sage Publication, pg. 315 – 340;

Kosmala, K. and Herrbach, O. (2006): The ambivalence of professional identity: on cynism and jouissance in audit firms, Human Relations, 59(10), pg. 1393-1428;

Kraimer, M., L. (1997): Organizational goals and values: a socialization model, Human Resource Management Review, 7(4), pg. 425 – 447;

Kreiner, G., E., Hollensbe, E., C. And Sheep, M., L. (2006a): Where is the "me" among the "we"? Identity work and the search for optimal balance, Academy of Management Journal, 49(5), pg. 1031-1057;

Kreiner, G., E., Hollensbe, E., C. And Sheep, M., L. (2006b): On the edge of identity: boundary dynamics at the interface of individual and organizational identities, Human Relations, 59(10), pg. 1315-1341;

Kroman Myers, K. and McPhee, R., D. (2006): Influences on member assimilation in workgroups in high reliability organizations: a multilevel analysis, Human Communication Research, pg. 440 – 468;

Kulik, C., T. and Bainbridge, T., J. (2006): Psychological perspectives on workplace diversity, in in Konrad, A., M., Prasad, P. and Pringle, J., K. (eds.): Handbook of workplace diversity, (p. 25 - 52), London, SAGE Publications;

Kunda, G. (1992): Engineering culture, Temple University Press, Philadelphia;

Kvale, S. (1996): InterViews: an introduction to qualitative research interviewing, Sage, Thousand Oaks, California;

Laker, D., N. and Steffy, B., D. (1995): The impact of alternative socialization tactics on self-managing behavior and organizational commitment, *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality,* 645-660 old.;

Langley, A. (1999): Strategies for theorizing from process data, Academy of Management Review, 24(4), pg. 691 – 710;

Larsson, R. and Lubatkin, M. (2001): Achieving acculturation in mergers and acquisitions: an international case study, Human Relations, 54(12), pg. 1573 – 1607;

Laurila, J. (1997): Discontinuous technological change as a trigger for temporary reconciliation of managerial subcultures, in Sackmann, S. (ed.): Cultural complexity in organizations, Sage, Thousand Oaks, pg. 252 – 271;

Lawrence, P., R. and Lorsch, J., W. (1967): Differentiation and integration in complex organizations, Administrative Science Quarterly, pg. 1 - 47;

Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R. and Zilber, T. (1998): Narrative research, Sage Publications, London;

Linstead, S. and Grafton – Small, R. (1992): On reading organizational culture, Organization Studies, pg. 331 – 355;

Litvin, D., R. (1997): The discourse of diversity: from biology to management, Organization, 4(2), pg. 187 – 209;

Litvin, D., R. (2006): Diversity. Making space for a better case, in Konrad, A., M., Prasad, P. and Pringle, J., K. (eds.): Handbook of workplace diversity, SAGE Publications, London, pg. 75 – 94;

Louis, M., R. (1980): Surprise and sense making : What newcomers experience in entering unfamiliar organizational settings, Administrative Science Quartely,*pg.* 226-251;

Lutfey, K. and Mortimer, J., T. (2003): Development and socialization through the adult life course, in Delamater, J. (ed.): Handbook of social psychology, Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York;

Maaloe, E. (2010): Approaches to case study and their validity (manuscript version of the book under publication: Varieties of validity for case study research);

Maitlis, S. 2009. Who am I now? Sensemaking and identity in posttraumatic growth, in Roberts, M. és Dutton J. E. (szerk.): Exploring Positive Identities and Organizations: Building a Theoretical and Research Foundation, Psychology Press, New York;

Major, D., A., Kozlowski, S., W., J., Chao, G., T. and Gardner, P., D. (1995): A longitudinal investigation of newcomer expectations, early socialization outcomes and the moderating effects of role development factors, Journal of Applied Psychology, 80(3), pg. 418 – 431;

Martin, J. (1992): Cultures in organizations, Oxford University Press, New York;

Martin, J. (2002): Organizational culture: mapping the terrain, London, Sage Publication;

Martin, J., Feldman, M., Hatch, M. and Sitkin, S. (1983): The uniqueness paradox in organizational stories, Administrative Science Quarterly, pg. 438 – 453;

Martin, J., Frost, P., J. and O'Neill, O., A. (2006): Organizational culture: Beyon struggles for intellectual dominance, in Clegg, S., Hardy, C., Lawrence, T., B. and Nord, W. (eds.): The SAGE Handbook of organization studies, 2nd edition, SAGE, London, pg. 725 – 753;

Martin, J. and Siehl, C. (1983): Organizational culture and counterculture: an uneasy symbiosis, Organizational Dynamics, pg. 52 – 64;

Maxwell, J., A. (1996): Qualitative research design. An interactive approach, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks, California;

Málovics, É. (2004): Szervezeti kultúra és identitás, in Czagány, L. és Garai, L. (szerk.): A szociális identitás, az információ és a piac, SZTE Gazdaságtudományi Kar Közleményei 2004, JATEPress, Szeged, pg.151 – 167;

Mármarosi, A. (2002): Szervezeti kultúra típusok a ’90-es évek végén Magyarországon, Vezetéstudomány, 6, pg. 2 – 16;

McCormack, C. (2000): From interview transcripts to interpretive story – Viewing the story through multiple lenses, Field methods, 12, pg. 298-315;

McCormack, C. (2000): From interview transcripts to interpretive story –Developing an interpretive story, Field methods, 12, pg. 282-297;

Meyerson, D. (1991): “Normal” ambiguity? A glimpse of an occupational culture, in Frost, P., Moore, L., Louis, M., Lundberg, C. and Martin, J. (eds.): Reframing organizational culture, Sage, Newbury Park, pg. 131 - 144;

Meyerson, D. and Martin, J. (1987): Cultural change: an integration of three different views, Journal of Management Studies, 24, pg. 623-647;

Miles, A., B. and Huberman, A., M. (1984): Qualitative data analysis: a sourcebook of new methods, SAGE Publications, London;

Miller, V., D. and Jablin, F., M. (1991): Information seeking during organizational entry: influence, tactics and a model of the process, Academy of Management Review, pg. 92 – 120;

Milliken F., J. and Martins, L., L. (1996): Searching for common threads: understanding the multiple effects of diversity in organizational groups, Academy of Management Review, 21(2), pg. 402 – 433;

Mills, A. (1988): Organization, gender and culture, Organizations Studies, pg. 351 – 370;

Mills, A. and Hatfield, J. (1997): Air Canada vs. Canadian: competition and merger in the framing of airline culture, Studies in Cultures, Organizations and Societies, pg. 93 – 124;

Mishler, E., G. (1986): Research interviewing: context and narrative, Harvard University Press, Cambridge;

Mishler, E., G. (1999): Storylines: craft artists’ narratives of identity, Harvard University Press, Massachussetts;

Myers, K., K. and McPhee, R., D. (2006): Influences on member assimilation in workgroups in high reliability organizations: a multilevel analysis, Human Communication Research, 32, pg. 440 – 468;

Moreland, R., L. and Levine, J., M. (1982): Socialization in small groups:temporal changes in individual – group relations, Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, pg. 137 – 192;

Moreland, R., L. and Levine, J., M. (2001): Socialization in Organizations and work groups, in Turner, M., E. (ed.): Groups at work: theory and research, LEA Publishers, London, pg. 70

– 112;

Moreland, R., L., Levine, J., M. and McMinn, J., G. (2001): Self – categorization and work – group socialization, in Hogg, M., A. and Terry, D., J. (eds.): Social identity processes in organizational context, pg. 87 – 100;

Morrison, E., W. (1993a): Newcomer information seeking: exploring types, modes, sources and outcomes, Academy of Management Journal, 36, pg. 557 – 589;

Morrison, E., W. (1993b): Longitudinal study of the effects of information seeking on newcomer socialization, Journal of Applied Psychology, 78(3), pg. 173 – 183;

Morrison, E., W. (1995): Information usefulness and acquisition during organizational encounter, Management Communication Quarterly, pg. 131 – 155;

Morrison, E., W. (2002): Newcomers' relationships: the role of social network ties during socialization, Academy of Management Journal, 45(6), pg. 1149 – 1160;

Nahavandi, A. and Malekzadeh, A., R. (1988): Acculturation in mergers and acquisitions, The Academy of Management Review, 13(1), pg. 79 – 90;

Nelson, D., L. (1987): Organizational socialization: a stress perspective, Journal of Occupational Behaviour, 8, pg. 311 – 324;

Nemes, F. (1988): A szervezeti szocializáció, mint kultúraelsajátítási folyamat, Vezetéstudomány, pg. 5 – 12;

Nemetz, P., L. and Christensen, S., L. (1996): The challenge of cultural diversity: harnessing a diversity of views to understand multiculturalism, Academy of Management Review, 21(2), 434 – 462;

Nicholson, N. (1984): A theory of work role transitions, Administrative Science Quarterly, pg. 172 – 191;

Nkomo, S., M. (1992): The emperor has no clothes: rewriting race into the study of organizations, Academy of Management Review, pg. 487 – 513;

Nkomo, S., M. and Cox, T., Jr. (1996): Diverse identities in organizations, in Clegg, S., R., Hardy, C. and Nord, W., R. (eds.): Handbook of organization studies, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks: CA, pg. 338 – 356;

Nkomo, S., M. and Stewart, M., M. (2006): Diverse identities in organizations, in in Clegg, S., R., Hardy, C., Lawrence, T., B. and Nord, W., R. (eds.): The SAGE handbook of organization studies, 2nd edition, SAGE Publications, London, pg. 520 – 540;

Omanović, V. (2004): A production of diversity. Appearances, ideas, interests, actions, contradictions and praxis, BAS Publishing, Göteborg;

Ostroff, C. and Kozlowski, S., W., J. (1992): Organizational socialization as a learning process: the role of information acquisition, Personnel Psychology, pg. 849 – 874;

Ott, J. (1989): The organizational culture perspective, The Dorsey Press, Chicago;

O'Reilly, C., A., Chatman, J. and Caldwell, D., A. (1991): People and organizational culture: a profile comparison approach to assessing person – organization fit, Academy of Management Journal, pg. 487 – 516;

Ouchi, W. (1981): Theory Z: How American business can meet the Japanese challenge, Addison – Wesley;

Parker, M. (2000): Organizational culture and identity, SAGE PUblication, London;

Pataki, F. (2001): Élettörténet és identitás, Osiris Kiadó, Budapest;

Pentland, B., T. (1993): Getting comfortable with the numbers: auditing and the micro-production of macro-order, Accounting, organizations and Society, 18(7/8), pg. 605-620;

Pentland, B., T. (1999): Building process theory with narrative: from description to explanation, Academy of Management Review, 24(4), pg. 711-721;

Peters, T. J. and Waterman, R. H. (1982): In search of excellence: lessons from America's best-run companies, Harper & Row, New York, (in Hungarian: Peters, T. J. and Waterman, R. H. (1986): A siker nyomában, Kossuth Könyvkiadó, - Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, Budapest);

Pettigrew, A., M. (1979): On studying organizational cultures, Administrative Science Quarterly, 24(4), pg. 570 – 581;

Pettigrew, A., M. (1990): Longitudianal field research on change:theory and practice, Organization Science, pg. 267-292;

Prasad, P., Pringle, J., K. and Konrad, A., M. (2006): Examining the contours of workplace diversity: concepts, contexts and challenges, in Konrad, A., M., Prasad, P. and Pringle, J., K. (eds.): Handbook of workplace diversity, SAGE Publications, London, pg. 1 – 22;

Pratt, M:, G. (2000): The good, the bad and the ambivalent: managing identification among Amway distributors, Administrative Science Quarterly, pg. 456-493;

Pratt, M., G., Rockmann, K., W. and Kaufmann, J., B. (2006): Constructing professional identity: the role of work and identity learning cycles in the customization of identity among medical residents, Academy of Management Journal, 49(2), pg. 235 – 262;

Primecz, H. (2006): Étikus és émikus kultúrakutatások, Vezetéstudomány, special edition, pg. 4-13;

Primecz, H. and Soós, Á. (2000): Kulturális különbségek és kultúrák közötti együttműködés vizsgálata egy MAgyarországon működő multinacionális és egy magyar vállalatnál kismintás kérdőíves lekérdezés alapján, Vezetéstudomány;

Radácsi, L. (2003): "One best way" a menedzsmenttudományos kutatásokban. Gondolatok a kvalitatív módszertan hazai helyzete ürügyén, pg. 4-12;

Raz, A., E. and Fadlon, J. (2005): Managerial culture, workplace culture and situated curricula in organizational learning, Organization Studies, 27(2), pg. 165 – 182;

Rhodes, C. and Brown, A.D. (2005): Writing responsibly: Narrative fiction and organization studies, Organization, 12 (4), pg. 505-529;

Riketta, M. and Van Dick, R. (2005): Foci of attachement in organizations: a meta – analytic comparison of the strength and correlates of workgroup versus organizational identification and commitment, Journal of Vocational Behavior, pg. 525 – 546;

Riessman, C. (2008): Narrative methods for the Human Sciences, Sage Publications, London;

Roberts, M. (2005): The power of the „imaginary" in disciplinary processes, Organization, 12, pg. 619-642;

Rollag, K. (2007): Defining the term "new" in new employee research, Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, pg. 63 – 75;

Romani, L. (2007): How we talk about culture. Overview of the field of culture and management, EGOS, Vienna, pg. 1 – 39;

Rozgonyi, T. and Toarniczky, A. (2007): Szervezeti kultúra vizsgálata a Magyar Vízügyi Igazgatóságok példáján, Társadalomkutatás;

Russo, T., C. (1998): Organizational and professional identification: a case of newspaper journalists, Management Communication Quarterly, pg. 72-111;

Ruiz – Quintanilla, S., A. and Claes, R. (1995): The impact of early career experiences on youth's proactive work socialization behaviour, CAHRS Working Papers Series, Working Paper 95 – 16, pg. 1 – 36 (downloaded: www.ilr.cornell.edu/CAHRS/, 01.08.2007);

Sackmann, S., A. (1997): Cultural complexity in organizations: inherent contrast and contradiction, London, Sage Publication;

Sackmann, S., A., Philips, M., E., Kleinberg, M., J. and Boyacigiller, N., A. (1997): Single and multiple cultures in international cross – cultural management research: Overview, in Sackmann (ed.): Cultural complexity in organizations: inherent contrast and contradiction, London, Sage Publication;

Sackmann, S., A. and Philips, M., E. (2004): Contextual influences on culture research, International Journal of Cross Cultural Management, pg. 370 – 390;

Saks, A., M. and Ashforth, B., E. (1996): Proactive socialization and behavioural self management, Journal of Vocational Behavior, pg. 301 – 323;

Saks, A., M. and Ashforth, B., E. (1997): Organizational socialization: making sense of the past, and present as a propogue for the future, Journal of Vocational Behavior, 51, pg. 234-279;

Saks, A., M., Uggerslev, K., L. and Fassina, N., E. (2007): Socialization tactics and

newcomer adjustment: a meta – analytic review and test of a model, Journal of Vocational Behavior, pg. 413 – 446;

Sam, D., L. (2006): Acculturation: conceptual background and core components, in Sam, D., L. and Berry, J., W. (eds.): The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge;

Schein, E. (1968): Organizational socialization and the profession of management, Industrial Management Review, pg. 1 - 16;

Schein, E. (1990): Organizational culture, American Psychologist, pg. 109 – 119;

Schein, E. (2004): Organizational culture and leadership, Jossey – Bass, San – Francisco;

Scott, C. and Myers, K., K. (2005): The socialization of emotion: learning emotion management at the fire station, Journal of Applied Communication Research, pg. 67 – 92;

Selvarajah, C., T. (1998): Expatriate acculturation: a comparative study of recent Chinese business migrants in New Zeeland, International Journal of Management, 15(1), pg. 103 – 115;

Settoon, R., P. and Adkins, C., L. (1997): Newcomer socialization: the role of supervisors, coworkers, friends and family members, Journal of Business and Psychology, pg. 112 – 124;

Sharpe, D., R. (1997): Managerial control strategies and subcultural processes: on the shop floor in a Japanese manufacturing organization in the United Kingdom, in Sackmann, S., A. (ed.): Cultural complexity in organizations: inherent contrast and contradiction, London, Sage Publication, pg. 228 – 251;

Smircich, L (1983): Concepts of culture and organizational analysis, Administrative Science Quarterly, pg. 339 – 359;

Smith, D., B., Schneider, B. and Dickson, M. W. (2006): Meso organizational behaviour: comments on the third paradigm, in Clegg, S., R., Hardy, C., Lawrence, T., B. and Nord, W., R. (eds.): The SAGE handbook of organization studies, 2nd edition, SAGE Publications, London;

Smith, D. és Sparkes, C. (2008): Contrasting perspectives on narrating selves and identities: an invitation to dialogue, Qualitative Research, 8(5), pg. 5 - 35;

Somlai, P. (1997): Szocializáció. A kulturális átörökítés és társadalmi beilleszkedés folyamata, Corvina Kiadó, Budapest;

Stake, R., E. (2000): Case studies, in Denzin, N., K. and Lincoln, Y., S. (eds.): Handbook of qualitative research, SAGE Publication, Thousand Oaks, California, pg. 435-453;

Szokolszky, Á. (2004): Kutatómunka a pszichológiában: metodológia, módszerek, gyakorlat, Osiris Kiadó, Budapest;

Sveningsson, S. and Alvesson, M. (2003): Managing managerial identities: organizational

fragmentation, discourse and identity struggle, Human Relations, 56(10), 1163 – 1193;

Tajfel, H. and Turner, J., C. (1979): An integrative theory of intergroup conflict, in Austin W., G. and Worchel, S. (eds.): The social psychology of intergroup relations, Brooks/Cole, Monterey, CA, pg. 33 – 47;

Takács, I. (2006): A munkahelyi szocializáció és munkahelyi beilleszkedés pszichológiai tényezői, in Mészáros, A. (szerk.): A munkahely szociálpszichológiai jelenségvilága, Z-Press Kiadó kft., Budapest, pg. 296 – 315;

Taksa, L. (1992): Scientific management: technique or cultural ideology?, Journal of Industrial Relations, 34(3), pg. 365 – 395;

Thomas, D. and Ely, R., J. (1996): Making differences matter: a new paradigm for managing diversity, Harvard Business Review, 74(5), pg. 79-90;

Thompson, L. and Fine, G. (1999): Socially shared cognition, affect and behavior: a review and integration, Personality and Social Psychology Review, 3(4), pg. 278-302;

Thornborrow, T. and Brown, A., D. (2009): „Being regimented": aspiration, discipline and identity work int he British parachute regiment, Organization Studies, 30(4), pg. 355-375;

Toarniczky, A. (2006): A szervezeti kultúra mérési kultúrája: kérdőív tipológia és kulcsdimenziók, Vezetéstudomány, Special issue, pg. 14 – 25;

Topcu, K. (2005): A kulturstandard-kutatás elmélete és gyakorlata magyar-osztrák menedzser interakciókban: egy magyar szempontú elemzés, PhD thesis, manuscript, Corvinus University of Budapest;

Trice, H. and Beyer, J. (1993): The cultures of work organizations, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ;

Turner, B., A. (1986): Sociological aspects of organizational symbolism, Organization Studies, pg. 101 – 115;

Turner, J., C. (1975): Social comparison and social identity: some prospects for intergroup behaviour, European Journal of Social Psychology, pg. 5 – 34;

Van Dick, R., Wagner, U. and Christ, O. (2004): The utility of broader conceptualization of organizational identification: which aspects really matter? Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, pg. 171 – 191;

Van Maanen, J. (1991): The smile factory: work at Disneyland, in Frost, P., Moore, L., Louis, M., Lundberg, C. and Martin, J. (eds.): Refraiming organizational culture, Sage, Newbury Park, pg. 58 - 76;

Van Maanen, J. and Schein, E., H. (1979): Toward a theory of organizational socialization, in Staw, B., M. (ed.): Research in Organizational Behavior, Vol. 1, JAI Press, Greenwich, pg. 209 – 264;

Varga, K. (1982): Szervezeti kultúránk koordinátái: szociálpszichológiai vizsgálat egy intézményen belül nemzetközi összehasonlítással, Ergonómia, 3. sz., 383 – 403. old;

Wanous, J., P. (1992): Organizational entry: recruitment, selection and socialization of newcomers, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, London;

Watson, T., J. (2008): Managing identity: identity work, personal predicaments and structural circumstances, Organization, 15(1), pg. 121-144;

Weick, K. E. (1979), "Cognitive Processes in Organizations," in B. M. Staw (szerk.): Research in Organizational Behavior, Vol. 1, JAI, Greenwich, 41-74 old.;

Weick, K., E. (1991): The vulnerable system: an analysis of the Tenerife Air disaster, in Frost, P., Moore, L., Louis, M., Lundberg, C. and Martin, J. (eds.): Refraiming organizational culture, Sage, Newbury Park, pg. 58 - 76;

Whetten, D., A. and Godfrey, P., C. (1998): Identity in organizations. Building theory through conversations, SAGE Publications, Thousand Oaks;

Wieland, S. (2010): Ideal selves as resources for the situated practice of identity, Management Communication Quarterly;

Willmott, H. (1993): Strength is ignorance, slavery is freedom: managing culture in modern organizations, Journal of management studies, pg. 515 – 552;

Wrong, D. H. (1961): The oversocialized conception of man in modern sociology, American Sociological Review, 26(2), pg. 183 – 193;

Ybema, S., B. (1997): Telling tales: contrasts and commonalities within the organization of an amusement park – confronting and combining different perspectives, in Sackmann, S. (eds.): Cultural complexity in organizations, Sage, pg. 160 – 186;

Ybema, S. (2004) Managerial postalgia: projecting a golden future, Journal of Managerial Psychology, 19(8), pg. 825-841;

Ybema, S., Keenoy, T., Oswick, C., Beverungen, A., Ellis, N. and Sabelis, I. (2009): Articulating identities, Human Relations, 62(3), pg. 299 - 322;

Yin, R., K. (2003): Case study research. Design and methods, 3rd edition, SAGE Publication, Thousand Oaks, California;

Zanoni, P. and Janssens, P. (2004): Deconstructing differences: the rhetoric of human resource managers' diversity discourses, Organization Studies, 25(1), pg. 55 – 74;