

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: FACULTY MEMBER RESPONSES TO MULTIPLE ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITIES: JESUIT, CATHOLIC, AND UNIVERSITY

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Many organizations, including Catholic universities, make concerted efforts to foster their organizational identities, yet little research has been conducted to explore the issues pertinent to doing so and there is little research published on the concepts of organizational identity and organizational identification. Using grounded theory methodology, this study explored why and how faculty members respond to multiple organizational identities and the conditions, actions, and consequences that are part of that process. This study sought to understand what responses faculty members make to the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities and what factors influence their responses. Results are based on a grounded theory analysis of thirty faculty member interviews at one Jesuit university.

In general, the organizational identities made a difference to how faculty members enacted their roles depending on the degree to which faculty members had a sense of connection with the organizational identities. A sense of connection was made by the degree to which a faculty member shared the values and/or beliefs that were embodied in

the organizational identities and whether or not faculty members perceived the organizational identities as being relevant to their jobs, i.e. to their roles or subject matter. The stronger the sense of connection, the more likely the faculty member would implement the organizational identities into their roles, unless other conditions/factors intervened, e.g. perceived conflict between identities, perceived importance of identities, attitude towards identities and broader organizational forms. In response to the level of connection, faculty members took a variety of actions or inaction: implemented the identities into all roles (full implementation), some roles (fragmented implementation), not at all (no implementation), or simply had actions that were coincidentally consistent with the organizational identities but were not the result of the identities (coincidental actions). Consequences of a personal nature arose based upon the level of faculty members' connections and resulting actions/inactions; these included a range of feelings: positive, mixed or ambivalent, negative, or neutral. Contributions to the organizational identity and identification literature are discussed and ten guidelines offered for practitioners in Catholic higher education who wish to foster their identities.

FACULTY MEMBER RESPONSES TO
MULTIPLE ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITIES:
JESUIT, CATHOLIC, AND UNIVERSITY

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to two very special women: my aunt, Nira Ledoux and my mother, Florence Ledoux Deshotels, who always encouraged me to follow my heart and who always believed that I could achieve whatever goals I felt called to fulfill.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Within any single person or organization there may exist multiple identities and multiple answers to the questions, “Who am I?” or “Who are we?” Psychologists and sociologists have long argued for the existence of multiple identities within the same individual (Pratt & Foreman, 2000). For example, an individual may have multiple identities such as being a parent, a religious person, an alcoholic, or an artist. Similarly, organizations have been conceptualized as having many “selves” (Pratt & Foreman, 2000). For example, a symphony orchestra may have both artistic (normative) and business (utilitarian) identities. Musicians enact the artistic identity, which is governed by artistic interests, and administrators (managers and board members) enact the business identity, which is governed by values of economic rationality, the maximization of profit, and the minimization of cost (Glynn, 2000). This particular research project studies how faculty members respond to a Jesuit university’s formally claimed identities: Jesuit, Catholic, and university.

While organizational identity is perceived as being vitally important to organizations (Cheney, 1991), it appears that the research in organizational identity is only in its toddler stage. In 1985, Albert and Whetten offered the first major articulation of identity as an organization-level construct (Gioia, 1998). They defined organizational identity as that which members believe is central, distinctive, and enduring about their organization (Albert & Whetten, 1985). At that time, Albert and Whetten acknowledged that the organizational identity literature offers not a single concept or theory but a

diverse set of ideas, modes of analysis, questions, and propositions. This remains true even today and the organizational identity literature is primarily conceptual with few empirical or qualitative studies (Foreman & Whetten, 2002; Whetten & Godfrey, 1998).

Multiple Organizational Identities

Recent writings on organizational identity have begun to focus on multiple organizational identities. Revising Albert and Whetten's original definition (1985), Whetten (2000) asserts that organizations have multiple organizational identities when the organization, through formal claims, holds different views about what is central, distinctive, and enduring (Albert & Whetten, 1985). Pratt and Foreman explain that multiple identities do not presume that the organization members' multiple and distinct views are in conflict with or are universally shared by organizational members, or that organizational members are always conscious of them. The multiple identities may be congruent or they may have a neutral relationship with one another. Examples of organizations with multiple identities are universities (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Reger, et al, 1998; Foreman, 1998), co-ops, and hospitals (Reger, et al, 1998; Foreman, 1998). For example, universities may have both land-grant missions (identity) to provide service to the state and regional community and a research mission to advance knowledge. Foreman (1998) describes co-ops as "businesses" created to redress farmers' lack of market power, "communities" established to support and advance rural life and values, and "unions" designed to increase farmers' political clout. Hospitals may have a teaching and research mission, a service mission, and a for-profit mission.

Multiple identities may be both a benefit and a detriment for organizations. Pratt and Foreman (2000) propose several benefits and costs of multiple organizational

identities. Among the potential benefits of multiple organizational identities is that entities with multiple identities have the capacity to meet a wider range of expectations and demands than similar entities with only one identity. In addition, having multiple organizational identities allows an organization to meet the expectations of multiple internal stakeholders. But there are potential costs of multiple identities as well: multiple roles or role identities may lead to role conflict and overload and this conflict and overload can cause inaction or inconsistent action. Organizations with multiple identities may be more likely to engage in intra-organizational conflict and/or to expend valuable resources in negotiating among entities holding different identities. Multiple identities can cause ambivalence and, thus, have significant effects on the strategic management of the organization. Finally, organizations in which conflicting identities are not only embodied within the organization but also are connected to external stakeholders may find themselves in a 'Catch 22'. For example, a Catholic university may lose legitimacy with its faculty members if it takes academic actions based upon its Catholic identity, and the university may lose legitimacy with Catholic Church officials if it takes actions in the academic arena based only upon its university identity, to the exclusion of its Catholic identity.

Managing identities is a central issue for modern organizations (Cheney, 1991). Pratt and Foreman (2000) argue that it is in the organization's best interest to maximize the benefits of multiple identities and to minimize their costs. Managing the multiple identities is a means of achieving that end.

Recently, organizational scholars have turned their attention to how organization managers manage multiple identities. Reger, et al (1998) propose six strategies that

managers use to manage multiple identities when the identities are considered conflictual. Pratt and Foreman (2000) developed a more sophisticated classification scheme for this situation. Drawing on psychology (multiple individual identities) and organizational behavior and theory literature, Pratt and Foreman “take a ‘configuration approach’ and offer a classification scheme that ‘maps’ the range of potential identity management responses” (pp. 18-19). They also suggest parameters that affect when and where these responses are employed and the possible benefits and liabilities of each response.

Pratt and Foreman (2000) suggest that when organizations have multiple conflicting identities, managers will wish to obtain an optimal level of identity multiplicity to avoid problems associated with having too few or too highly related identities and too many or too highly unrelated identities. Managers can reach an optimal level of identity multiplicity in at least two ways.

First, managers of organizations with multiple identities may choose to increase, decrease, or maintain the actual *number* of their identities. Thus, managers’ responses to multiple identities may be high or low in *identity plurality*. Second, they can manage the *relationships* among existing identities so that they are either more divergent or more convergent. In this way managers move toward an optimal level of multiplicity by either (1) increasing *identity synergy* and, thus, decreasing the potential for conflicting demands, or (2) decreasing synergy and, thus, allowing the organization to better meet the demands of more of its stakeholders (p. 24).

Using the underlying dimensions of identity plurality and identity synergy, Pratt and Foreman propose four major types of managerial responses to multiple conflicting organizational identities: compartmentalization, deletion, integration, and aggregation.

Compartmentalization occurs when the organization and its members choose to preserve all current identities but do not seek to attain any synergy among them (p. 26).

Deletion occurs when managers actually rid the organization of one or more of its multiple identities (p. 29).

Integration occurs when managers attempt to fuse multiple identities into a distinct new whole (p. 30).

Aggregation [occurs] when an organization attempts to retain all of its identities while forging links between them (p. 32).

While efforts have been made to classify the response *managers* make to *manage* multiple organizational identities that are considered conflictual, the organizational identity literature in psychology and management does not reveal how organization *members respond* to multiple organizational identities except to speak in terms organizational identification.

Organizational Identification

Many organizational identity scholars draw a close connection between organizational identity and organizational identification. According to some scholars, the more a person conceives of himself or herself in terms of the membership of a group, that is, the more the person identifies with the group, the more the person's attitudes and behavior are governed by his or her group membership (van Knippenberg & van Schie,

2000). Thus, the more an individual identifies with an organization, the more likely the member is to take the organization's perspective, and to act in the organization's best interest, expending effort on behalf of the organization (Dutton, Dukerich & Harquail, 1994; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Mael & Ashforth, 1992). Bartel (2001) defines organizational identification as "a perception of oneness with or belonging to an organization (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) such that a member's perception about its defining qualities become self-referential of self-defining (Pratt, 1998)" (p. 380). Explicit in much of the identity literature is the belief that if organization members identify with their organization, then they are also identifying with the organizational identity and that members will act on behalf of the organization. Implicit in this is a belief that the organization member is acting on behalf of the organizational *identity* by acting on "behalf of the *organization*." However, general supportive behavior by members for their organization may not be sufficient from the perspective of organizational leaders, such as seen in Catholic higher education. Many leaders of Catholic higher education believe that their institutions may lose their distinctive identities unless actions are taken by faculty and staff to enliven their institution's particular identities.

Catholic Higher Education

Catholic institutions of higher education are organizations with multiple identities. In addition to the identities of being both "Catholic" and "universities," some also have a sponsoring religious order identity (e.g. Dominican or Franciscan). Since the 1960s, leaders in Catholic higher education have been actively engaged in a process of defining the meaning of Catholic and religious order identities within a university setting (Gallin, 2000; O'Brien, 1994a). Today, many leaders in these institutions fear that their

universities are losing their Catholic and religious order identities, becoming more and more like secular, non-religious universities (Buckley, 1998; Holtschneider & Morey, 1996). In response, many Catholic university leaders are making concerted efforts to foster their Catholic and religious order identities in the university setting, in addition to affirming their university or academic identity.

The population of Catholic colleges and universities is a significant part of the ecological system of higher education. In 1988, there were over 600,000 students enrolled in the 229 Catholic colleges and universities, of whom approximately 400,000 were full-time (Gallin, 2000). Numbers of students enrolled have continued to increase, reaching over 678,000 in 1999 according to *The Official Catholic Directory* (2000). The 229 institutions included 11 research/doctoral universities, 100 comprehensive colleges, 91 liberal arts colleges, and 24 two-year colleges (Gallin, 2000).

The largest group of Catholic colleges and universities sponsored by a religious order are those founded by the Society of Jesus. According to the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities' Fact Sheet on Jesuit Higher Education in the United States (1999) there are 28 Jesuit colleges and universities in the United States with a total enrollment of approximately 188,000 students, about 10,000 full-time faculty and 9,000 part-time, and nearly 1.4 million living alumni.

In an attempt to understand the responses organization members make to multiple organizational identities and some of the factors that influence these responses, I will study the responses that Jesuit university faculty members make to three identities: Jesuit, Catholic, university. The intention of this study is not to generalize to all of Catholic, or

even all of Jesuit, higher education, but to understand some of the dynamics involved in organizations with multiple identities.

Research Questions and Design

Using the grounded theory approach, I conducted research at a Jesuit university. I chose a Jesuit university because these institutions are presently making concerted efforts to foster their Jesuit and Catholic identities (Deshotels & Currie, 1998). For a variety of reasons, many leaders of Catholic universities believe their institutions are losing their Catholic and religious order identities (Holt Schneider & Morey, 1996). Now, Jesuit universities, similar to other Catholic universities, are attempting to foster their religious identities, that is, of being Jesuit and of being Catholic. These initiatives make each of the multiple identities (Jesuit, Catholic, university) more salient at these institutions, and thus provides an opportunity to study organization member responses to multiple identities.

Using a Jesuit university for my research sites, I addressed the following questions.

1. What are faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities?
 - a. What interpretations do faculty members give to each of the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities?
 - b. How do the perceived Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities influence how faculty members conduct their roles as faculty members?
2. What factors (e.g. religious affiliation, departmental affiliation, attitudes towards identities, perceived conflict/congruence of identities) influence faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities?

Grounded theory was an appropriate method for this study because there is little empirical research on the concepts of organizational identity and organizational identification (Albert, 1998); and little is known about how members respond to multiple organizational identities. Put another way, an important question for many organization leaders is, “What difference, if any, does an organizational identity make to the roles of its members?” While the organizational identification concept has some relevance in answering that question, the theoretical position of the organizational identification concept is controversial (van Knippenberg & van Schie, 2000). Some scholars use the concept to speak in terms of identifying with the organization as a whole (van Knippenberg & van Schie, 2000) and others use the term to more explicitly address identification with the organizational identity(s) (Whetten & Godfrey, 1998). Still, a question not fully answered remains: “What are the various factors that affect organization members’ responses to multiple organizational identities?”

The grounded theory methodology provides the opportunity to understand not only the factors that affect member responses, but the process and effects of their responses. This study addresses why and how faculty members respond to multiple organizational identities and the conditions, actions, and consequences that are part of that process (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998). Using the grounded theory approach, I used “a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 24). The theory that is developed in this study is a substantive level theory, that is, it is a low-level theory that is applicable to immediate situations (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The theory in this study arises from one

situational context, i.e. a Jesuit university and is based upon the interviews of thirty faculty members, known as respondents (Yin, 1994) in this study.

Significance of the Study

The findings from this grounded theory study adds to the understanding of the organizational identity and organizational identification concepts. This study provides insights in ways organization members respond to multiple organizational identities and why organization identities may or may not make a difference in organization members' roles. Little progress has been made on researching multiple identities in organizations (Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Foreman & Whetten, 2002). This grounded theory study helps to fill the gap in the body of literature and research on an important issue many organizations face. Those in leadership positions may be limited in their attempts to foster multiple identities if they do not understand how members may respond to the multiple identities. It is important to note that while qualitative findings cannot be generalized to all other settings, the findings may be generalizable to theory (Yin, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This study's findings add to the broader literature on organizational identity and organizational identification, while recognizing the limitations of a substantive level theory.

In addition, an important segment of higher education, Catholic universities, will benefit from understanding the dynamics of faculty member responses to the university and religious identities. Generally, many in Catholic higher education believe that their institutions are quickly becoming secularized, losing their sense of a Catholic or religious order identity. If this is true and if the trend continues, an important segment of higher education may be lost forever. While this study's findings cannot be generalized to all of

Catholic higher education, this study provides insights into *some* faculty member dynamics of having both university and religious identities in a higher education institution.

Overall, this study's findings provide the kind of information that is valuable to practitioners as Jesuit and/or other Catholic university administrators consider fostering their organization's multiple organizational identities. While faculty member responses to the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities are complex, clear guidelines for practitioners emerged from this study's findings. The ten guidelines, which are explained in detail in Chapter V, arise directly from this study's findings and are also grounded in relevant literature.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The focus of this study is on how organization members respond to multiple organizational identities. The literature reviewed for this study's purpose is presented in two sections. The first section provides an overview of the conceptual literature on organizational identity and organizational identification. The second section focuses on the organizational identity concepts of Jesuit higher education. As a grounded theory study, I do not provide an orienting framework, but rather, I include what is known about organizational identity and organizational identification, and what are the questions these concepts do not address that are relevant to practitioners.

Overview of Organizational Identity and Organizational Identification

Currently, there is no one precise meaning or definition for organizational identity, nor for organizational identification (Albert 1998). But this lack of definitiveness need not be a weakness. Albert argues there need not be complete consensus about what the concepts of organizational identity and organizational identification includes and excludes, implies or does not imply. He explains that a definition can serve an orienting function even if it is not precise. The following is an overview of how some scholars define and understand the concepts of organizational identity and organizational identification.

Organizational identity

Definitions

Albert and Whetten offered the first major articulation of identity as an organization-level construct in 1985 (Gioia, 1998). Virtually all later treatments of

organizational identity in scholarly works are predicated on their definitional pillars (Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000).

Albert and Whetten (1985) propose that questions of identity arise in organizations for members when there is conflict among alternative decision choices. When rational debates cannot resolve the issue of alternative decision choices and the issue is of consequence, questions of information will be abandoned and replaced by questions of goals and values. For example, when doctors at a religiously affiliated hospital consider performing abortions, it is likely that administrators and members of the organization will raise questions of identity. That is, “‘Who are we?’ ‘What kind of business are we in?’ or ‘What do we want to be?’” (p. 265). When these discussions become heated, when there is deep and enduring disagreement or confusion, organization members ask the kinds of questions stated above. Usually, questions of identity will be raised only when easier, more specific, more quantifiable solutions have failed. Since identity questions are often profound, consequential, and difficult, the answer to the identity question under ordinary circumstances is taken for granted by the organization’s members (Albert & Whetten, 1985).

Typically, organization members look for answers to identity questions in the organization’s culture, philosophy, market position and membership (Albert & Whetten, 1985). At these times, an adequate statement of organizational identity satisfies the following criteria:

1. The answer points to features that are somehow seen as the essence of the organization: *the criterion of claimed central character.*

2. The answer points to features that distinguish the organization from others with which it may be compared: *the criterion of claimed distinctiveness*.
3. The answer points to features that exhibit some degree of sameness or continuity over time: *the criterion of claimed temporal continuity* (p. 265).

While Albert and Whetten define organizational identity as that which members believe is central, distinctive, and enduring about their organization, Reger, et al (1998) take issue with Albert and Whetten's definition: "Central, enduring, and distinctive are characteristics or variables that could describe a firm's identity, but not the definition of identity per se" (p. 105). As an example, Reger, *et al* explain that firms can vary in how distinctive members believe the fundamental nature of their organization is compared to other organizations. In addition, they believe that central, enduring, and distinctive are not the only dimensions along which organization identity varies. They argue organizational identity can vary along the following dimensions:

1. Homogeneity: members of the organization share a common set of beliefs about the organization's identity
2. Intensity (Conviction): strength of belief and degree of positive affect toward the identity
3. Complexity: number of beliefs that comprise the identity and the number of identities
4. Abstractness: extent to which the identity is couched in abstract language
5. Content: what the identity is

6. Context: the internal and external context, identity is path dependent (p. 105).
...the antecedents, consequences, and effects of identity are different for every organization... and the history of the organization matters (p. 111).

In challenging Albert and Whetten's definition, Reger, *et al* (1998) define organizational identity as "the theory members of an organization have about who they are" (p. 103). Similar to Albert and Whetten (1985) Reger, *et al* explain that the theory does not have to be broadly understood by the organization members, nor explicit. It may be implicit, taken for granted, or there may be disagreement among the organization members about what that organizational identity is. Reger, *et al* conceptualize the notion of identity as a story about who one is and what one stands for.

Other scholars also challenge Albert and Whetten's seminal definition. Gioia, Schultz, and Corley (2000) argue that because of the reciprocal relationships between organizational identity and organizational image (how organization members think outsiders perceive the organization), organizational identity, rather than enduring, is better viewed as a relatively fluid and unstable concept. They contend that organizational identity, contrary to most treatments of it in the literature, is actually relatively dynamic and that the apparent durability is somewhat illusory. They argue that the *labels* organization members use to express who or what they believe the organization to be is stable, but the meaning associated with these labels changes so that identity actually is mutable. Gioia, Schultz, and Corley see the instability of identity arising mainly from its ongoing interrelationships with organizational image, which are characterized by a notable degree of fluidity.

More recently, Whetten (2000) revised his and Albert's earlier definition (Albert & Whetten, 1985) of organizational identity. In addition to describing organizational identity as that which is central, distinctive, and enduring, he says that organizational identity is coherent, that is, the organization's identities will "hang together" in some orderly, sensible, plausible manner.

Whetten made other changes to the 1985 definition of organizational identity. Now, the organization's identity is that which is "formally claimed" by the organization (Whetten, 2000) rather than that which is claimed by the organization members¹. The "organization's identity is 'owned' in the sense of being accepted as the official, institutionalized representation of who we uniquely claim to be" (Whetten, 2000, p. 18). By official, Whetten means that these claims are made on behalf of, or in the name of, an organization, generally by officials of the organization. Even so, "identity claims are generally ambiguous, either because they can't be stated more precisely or because there is perceived merit in ambiguity" (p. 15). Whetten also now articulates four core elements of organizational identity:

- 1) An organization's identity consists of a set of claims that serve as its essential, foundational explanations and justifications for its activities and actions.
- 2) Identity claims are formed via a two-stage process of self-classification. First, an organization claims 'membership' in a set of institutionalized groups or groupings (the result being a 'comparison set' of relevant organizations, with whom it shares similar characteristics).

¹ Whetten sees the collective sense of "who we are" as an organization, as determined by the organization members, as being too closely related to the concept of organizational culture. Thus, he has made the distinction that organizational identity is that which the organization formally claims. (Whetten, 2000; conversation with Whetten, April 25, 2001).

- 3) After specifying its ‘significant others,’ the organization claims additional identifiers (qualifiers) that both distinguish it from the organizations in its comparison set and support its necessary claim of distinction.
- 4) Organizational identity claims must pass the test of plausibility, in the sense that they are logically and empirically defensible (Whetten, 2000, p. 6).

For the purposes of this study, I use Albert and Whetten’s (1985) definition because it is the one that is most often quoted in the organizational identity literature and it is congruent with my own thoughts regarding organizational identity. In addition, I use Whetten’s (2000) updated definition of organizational identity because it represents the most recent thinking on organizational identity and it is helpful in understanding the organization under study for this research project. It is important to note that the revised definition does not conflict with Albert and Whetten’s (1985) earlier definition.

Multiple identities

Albert and Whetten (1985) critique the assumption that organizations have a single (mono) identity. In doing so, they introduce the concept of dual identity and explore its implications for the management of organizations. These scholars believe that the alternative assumption to organizations having one identity is that many organizations, if not most, are hybrids composed of multiple identities. By a hybrid, Albert and Whetten mean an organization whose identity is composed of two or more identities that would not normally be expected to go together, i.e. part X and part Y. Thus, a dual identity organization “is not simply an organization with multiple components, but it considers itself (and others consider it) alternatively, or even simultaneously, to be two different types of organizations” (p. 270). Similarly, Foreman

uses the analogy of a chimera² to capture the phenomenon of multiple-identity organizations, “where any number of distinct, and often incongruous, identities are embedded and maintained in a single entity” (Foreman, 1998, p. 132). For example, arguably, some within and outside of Catholic higher education would consider these institutions to be dual types, that it is incongruent for universities to be both Catholic and a university (e.g. Jencks & Riesman, 1968). Some people see these two identities as being incompatible. Consider the well-known dictum proclaimed by George Bernard Shaw, “A Catholic university is a contradiction in terms” (Buckley, 1998, p. 131). Yet, over the decades (and centuries) Catholic universities appear to have maintained both identities, that of being Catholic and that of being a university.

Albert and Whetten (1985) distinguish two forms of duality: holographic and ideographic. In the holographic form of an organization with multiple identities, each internal organizational unit exhibits the properties of the organization as a whole. The ideographic or specialized form is one in which each internal unit exhibits only one identity, that is, the multiple identities of the organization are represented by different organizational units. These two forms of internal structure give rise to different kinds of organizations. “In the ideographic form of dual identity the central mission of the organization is sheltered from external demands by a cadre of specialists who are only marginally involved in the core activities and ideology of the organization. Oftentimes, their primary commitment is to their professional role in the organization, rather than the central institutional values of the organization” (Albert & Whetten, p. 271). Perhaps, this may be true for higher education in general and religious higher education in particular.

² In Greek mythology, the Chimera is a fire-breathing monster with a lion’s head, a goat’s body, and a serpent’s tail. In botany, the term chimera is used to describe plants in which genetically different tissues co-exist, typically as a result of grafting or mutation (Foreman, 1998).

It may be that faculty members' primary commitment is to their professional (academic) role in the university, rather than to the central institutional [religious] values of the organization. Therefore, the internal faculty units may be likely to exhibit only one identity – their academic/disciplinary identity and not the institution's religious identity.

A disadvantage of the ideographic organization is the relative difficulty it has gaining commitment from its members for a given course of action (Albert & Whetten, 1985). The conflict in this type of organization is a struggle, “not simply over alternative budget proposals, but over the very soul of the institution” (p. 272). The identity of the organization will be altered in complexion as the relative power of the various ideological groups build and diminish. This is likely to result in outsiders complaining that “the organization cannot decide what it wants to be or who it wants to serve” (p. 272). As a result, conflict is likely to occur among organization members resulting from policy decisions made based in the multiple, conflicting identities and the organization risks losing legitimacy as outsiders critique the limp purpose of the organization (Albert & Whetten, 1985).

Building on Albert and Whetten's (1985) definition of organizational identity, Pratt and Foreman (2000) posit that organizations have multiple organizational identities when different conceptualizations exist regarding what is central, distinctive, and enduring about the organization. Multiple identities refer to the organization as a whole. It does not refer to the multiple identity conflicts that may occur *within* an organization and that are not *about* the organization. For example, social identity conflicts revolving about such issues as gender, race, or age do not constitute an organizational identity conflict, *unless* these issues were somehow inherent to the essential nature of the

organization. For example, members' religious affiliation would ordinarily not constitute an organizational identity conflict, but could become one in a religiously-affiliated university.

For an organization to have multiple organizational identities, members³ must hold different views about what is central, distinctive, and enduring (Pratt & Foreman, 2000). "That is, organizational identity consists of those attributes that members feel are fundamental to (central) and uniquely descriptive of (distinctive) the organization and that persist within the organization over time (enduring)" (p. 20). Pratt and Foreman's definition "does not presume that these multiple and distinct views are in conflict with or are universally shared by organizational members, or that organizational members are always conscious of them" (p. 20). Pratt and Foreman's assumptions are explained below.

First, multiple identities need not be in competition (Pratt & Foreman, 2000). For example, an organization that has both an innovative identity and a for-profit identity may find that these identities rarely, if ever conflict.

Second, members need not always be conscious of multiple organizational identities. Pratt and Foreman (2000) cite an example by Pratt and Rafaeli to make their point. A rehabilitation unit long had elements of an acute care identity embedded in nurses' roles, but organizational members did not become conscious of these aspects of the organization's identity, nor did these aspects conflict with the unit's rehabilitation identity, until a variety of issues made the acute care identity more salient (e.g. a change

³ Whetten (2000) may say here that the organization, through formal claims, must hold different views about what is central, distinctive, and enduring. In keeping with Whetten's (2000) revised definition of organizational identity, for the purposes of this study, the organization's identities are determined by formal claims of the organization, rather than by members in general.

in the unit's patient population). "Thus, whereas some conceptualizations of identity may be consciously held, others may be latent" (p. 20).

Third, "multiple identities need not be universally held by organization members" (Pratt & Foreman, 2000, p. 20). The explanation Pratt and Foreman give for this is Albert and Whetten's (1985) articulation of holographic and ideographic forms of multiple organizational identities, which are explained above.

Finally, Pratt and Foreman (2000) assume that multiple identities can be managed. They assume that individuals within organizations can alter organizational identities. Building on the logic of early symbolic interactionism and on the work of more recent structural symbolic interactionists, Pratt and Foreman state that the relationship between individuals and organizational identities is reciprocal: "just as organizational identities can influence individual behavior, individual behavior can influence organizational identities" (p. 21). For an example, they cite Albert and Whetten (1985), "organizational identities may be altered when a young organization loses its founder or when any organization experiences drastic changes in its membership" (p. 21).

Unlike Pratt and Foreman (2000), other scholars presume organizational conflict will occur when certain characteristics are met for multiple organizational identities. Reger, *et al* (1998) propose three characteristics for comparing alternative organizational identities (p. 156):

1. Articulable: Can the identity be clearly articulated?
2. Energizing: Does the identity capture the imagination of organizational members?
3. Robust: Can the identity survive the market test?

Reger, *et al* state that if the identities or the sub-identities of organizational units are high on all three of these dimensions, then the organization is a multiple-identity organization and there is likely to be “significant conflict between the different units that hold these different identities” (p. 156).

For the purposes of this study, I use a modification of Pratt and Foreman’s (2000) definition of multiple organizational identities (which is based on Albert and Whetten’s 1985 seminal definition) as updated by Whetten’s 2000 redefinition of organizational identity. I propose that organizations have multiple organizational identities when the organization, through formal claims, holds different views about what is central, distinctive, and enduring.

Responses to Multiple Organizational Identities – Relevant Theories

Managerial responses to multiple identities (Pratt & Foreman, 2000)

While Pratt and Foreman (2000) assert that multiple organizational identities need not be antithetical, consciously held, or shared by all organizational members, they examine a subset of these potential multiple identity conditions. That is, they offer a set of managerial responses to multiple identities when the multiple identities are problematic and consciously held. They examine those conditions where multiple identities are highly salient, such as when identities are causing visible difficulties for the organization.

Pratt and Foreman (2000) examine the phenomenon of multiple conflicting organizational identities and suggest that they can be managed in organizations by the number of (identity plurality) or relationships among (identity synergy) the identities. Using “plurality” and “synergy” as response dimensions, they present a classification

scheme identifying four major types of managerial responses: compartmentalization, deletion, integration, and aggregation.

Response dimensions

Based upon individual identity theories, Pratt and Foreman (2000) argue that there may be an optimum number of identities an organization maintains, as well as optimum relationships among those identities. Pratt and Foreman cite the work of Thoits who found some support for a curvilinear relationship between multiple individual identities and psychological distress. Further, Pratt and Foreman cite Hoelter's work where individuals with too few identities do not have adequate response strategies, especially in complex social environments. On the other hand, individuals with too many identities are more prone to role overload and conflict. "Individuals who have an 'optimal number' of identities, however, are the most satisfied because they can respond to and be validated by a variety of people across a variety of settings" (Pratt & Foreman, 2000, p. 23).

Pratt and Foreman (2000) indicate there is evidence that how identities *relate* to each other can also explain whether individuals experience positive or negative outcomes from multiple identities. Individuals manage multiple identities by cognitively organizing them. Identities can vary to the degree that they are tightly or loosely related to each other. For instance, identities that are too unrelated may increase the potential for identity conflicts. That is, competing demands from multiple identities can be mitigated when identities are tightly related or aligned with one another. Pratt and Foreman (2000) offer the example where working for a religiously affiliated organization may help align one's religious and work-related identities to the extent that acting to fulfill work demands may also satisfy one's religious needs. Pratt and Foreman (2000) conclude that

individuals can manage multiple identities by managing both their relationships and numbers to create an “optimal level” of identity multiplicity (p. 23).

Pratt and Foreman (2000) propose that the multiple identity conditions that exist for individuals may also exist for organizations. Organizations with too few or too highly related identities may have difficulty meeting the demands of all of their members, while organizations with too many or too highly unrelated identities may become ineffective due to the conflicting demands imposed by them.

Thus, organization managers may wish to reach an optimal level of identity multiplicity, which can be accomplished in at least two ways (Pratt & Foreman, 2000).

First, managers of organizations with multiple identities may choose to increase, decrease, or maintain the actual number of their identities. Thus, managers’ responses to multiple identities may be high or low in *identity plurality*.

Second, they can manage the *relationships* among existing identities so that they are either more divergent or more convergent. In this way managers move toward an optimal level of multiplicity by either (1) increasing *identity synergy* and, thus, decreasing the potential for conflicting demands, or (2) decreasing synergy and, thus, allowing the organization to better meet the demands of more of its stakeholders (pp. 23-24).

In summary, “identity plurality” is the actual number of organizational identities and “identity synergy” is the nature of the relationships among existing identities; they can be either more divergent or more convergent.

Four types of managerial responses

Pratt and Foreman (2000) assert that the two fundamental decisions regarding identity plurality and identity synergy offer a means of classifying potential responses managers can make to manage multiple identities in organizations. There are four major types of responses managers can make to manage multiple organizational identities: compartmentalization, deletion, integration, and aggregation. A dashed line separates the response types, denoting that the boundaries between different classes of techniques are not always precisely delineated. There may be specific responses to multiple identities that seem to fall in between the pure response types. Also, the boundaries separating the response types are permeable. Pratt and Foreman argue that organizations and their managers can move back and forth among the responses.

Compartmentalization.

“Compartmentalization occurs when the organization and its members choose to preserve all current identities but do not seek to attain any synergy among them” (p. 26). In this situation, multiple identities are maintained but are separated from each other. The compartmentalization strategy does not necessarily decrease the potential for conflicts between identities, because it does not facilitate an understanding among managers regarding how multiple identities might work together. For example, Pratt and Foreman note that compartmentalization may give rise to political disagreements as organizational decision makers try to allocate resources that affect the multiple identities. For instance, universities may have great difficulty discussing budget crises and funding battles, because the compartmentalized science and liberal education identities have so little experience conversing with each other. Regarding plurality and synergy,

compartmentalization responses are high in the plurality dimension but low in the synergy dimension.

Range of compartmentalization responses.

“In the purest case of compartmentalization, multiple organizational identities are completely separated, but each maintains a strong base of power and resources” (p. 28). Pratt and Foreman call this kind of compartmentalization response a ‘separate but equal’ *segregation* response (p. 28). This segregation response type is high along the identity plurality dimension but low along the synergy dimension. The segregation identity management response may be most likely when each of the multiple identities is extremely well established and legitimate, and/or when the identities are embodied in highly influential stakeholders who are critical to the success of the organization but there is little need or desire for coordination or cooperation among them.

As compartmentalization management responses lean more towards the deletion response, compartmentalization looks less like a segregation strategy and more like *subordination*. In this situation, rather than implementing a complete eradication of one or more identities, an organization may want to choose a dominant identity but then to seek to nurture the subordinate identity. “Here, a subordinate identity (or identities) is maintained in order to engender greater internal cooperation and maintain organizational flexibility in case the subordinate identity might be needed for future strategic moves” (p. 28). A subordinate identity, unlike segregation, is not fully embraced by the organization. Pratt and Foreman illustrate how the subordination response may be most common in “professional” organizations, such as hospitals, law firms, and universities. In these types of settings, the organization has multiple interests and identities, yet, the

professional identities within them are so strong that they nearly always dominate.

“Thus, the organization becomes most closely identified with the profession inherent to it, yet, at the same time, it typically retains ‘subordinate’ economic-, political-, or community-based identities” (pp. 28-29).

Deletion.

“Deletion occurs when managers actually rid the organization of one or more of its multiple identities” (Pratt & Foreman, 2000, p. 29). Organizations, like individuals, can shed identities, particularly negatively valued ones, either quickly, by utilizing conscious choices, or slowly, by unconsciously allowing identities to atrophy over time. However, Pratt and Foreman’s focus is on how managers *consciously* choose to limit the number of identities within an organization. When managers have little concern for either plurality or synergy, deletion responses occur.

Range of deletion responses.

Organization managers may choose from a range of deletion responses. The most extreme, and unlikely, form of deletion response is the *suicide* response, whereby all organizational identities are deleted. For instance, this could occur if an organization sells off all of its units to other organizations. Another managerial option may be to delete all but one of several organizational identities, resulting in a single, *dominant identity*. Finally, a less extreme form of deletion response is *identity pruning*. “Pruning involves the cutting of ‘superfluous branches or parts (from) so as to improve growth’ or survival” (Pratt & Foreman, 2000, p. 30). In identity pruning, to improve organizational functioning, an organization strategically removes identities that are on their periphery, while retaining identities that are closer to their core competencies. As a result, the

organization retains a diminished amount of plurality, but the identities that remain are viewed as being similar in that they are all critical to the organization's functioning.

Pratt and Foreman (2000) explain that while pruning does not explicitly create synergies among existing identities, the identities that remain after pruning may have more commonalities than the set of identities that existed before the pruning. "Thus, pruning may eventually lead to integration, or even aggregation, responses as managers capitalize upon these potential synergies" (p. 30).

Integration.

"Integration occurs when managers attempt to fuse multiple identities into a distinct new whole" (Pratt & Foreman, 2000, p. 30). Unlike deletion and compartmentalization, with integration, identities do not remain apart from each other. For example, integration may occur in organizations when two distinct corporations come together via a merger or acquisition and an entirely new organizational identity emerges from the fusion of the previous corporations' identities. Pratt and Foreman propose that integrating responses are most appropriate when the support by powerful stakeholders for, the legitimacy of, and/or the strategic value of existing identities is low and/or resource constraints are high, and when the compatibility, interdependence, and/or diffusion of the identities is high. This type of managerial response is a low-plurality, high-synergy response.

Range of integration responses.

The purest form of integrating response is a *synthesis*, where a single, new identity emerges from the complete integration of existing identities. In a synthesis strategy, the barriers between multiple identities break down so completely that only one

identity remains, thus synthesis is the most highly synergistic response. Organization managers may also choose a form of “pseudo integration” or *Janusian integration*, where two existing identities are closely joined together to make a new “two-faced” one (p. 31). The new identity maintains many of the core elements of the original identities, unlike the complete synthesis. Pratt and Foreman ground the logic underlying Janusian integration in the notion of “ambinormative expectations” proposed by sociologists. This is where conflicting norms can be managed through the adoption of ambinormative expectations, which fuse two or more conflicting norms together to create a new norm. Pratt and Foreman provide the example where the competing demands for doctors to be both objective and compassionate are united when doctors practice the ambinormative expectation referred to as “detached concern.” Pratt and Foreman also provide an organizational example of the Janusian integration response. They explain that a true hybrid organization such as an agricultural cooperative illustrates Janusian integration. Over time, cooperative members so intensely internalized the competing economic, social and educational purposes of cooperatives that the term “co-op” came to evoke a unique two-sided identity – one that is wholly “business” and “family.”

“Janusian integration is higher on the plurality dimension than a true synthesis, because it maintains distinct elements from the pre-existing identities” (p. 32). As such, the Janusian type of integration response is closer to aggregation responses.

Aggregation.

“Multiple identities are aggregated when an organization attempts to retain all of its identities while forging links between them” (p. 32). Aggregation does not involve buffering the identities or seeking to keep them separate as is the case with

compartmentalization. With aggregation, efforts are made to identify relationships and exploit synergies between and among the identities.

Linkages between and among multiple identities, within individuals and organizations, can take at least two forms: (1) the creation of an identity hierarchy and/or (2) the creation of new beliefs. Based on the work of several scholars, Pratt and Foreman (2000) assert that individuals can aggregate their identities by ordering them in an identity *saliency* hierarchy. Saliency is the probability, for a given person, of a given identity being invoked in a variety of situations. Saliency hierarchies involve the ordering of identities according to these probabilities. “The ordering of these identities is not rigid: it is plastic in the sense that some identities (e.g. identity as a teacher) will be more salient in some contexts (e.g. lecturing in the classroom) than in others (e.g. collecting data in a lab)” (p. 32). Underlying saliency hierarchies is an implicit understanding of how the multiple identities relate to one another. Saliency hierarchies allow individuals to avoid role conflict and overload by signaling which identity should be enacted under which conditions. In addition, Pratt and Foreman explain that within organizations, managers often attempt to respond to multiple identities by sorting or organizing them based on their saliency or relevant importance. Managers attend to or evoke the identity most salient to the immediate context.

A second aggregation response is managing multiple identities through the creation of new beliefs (Pratt & Foreman, 2000). A central finding in social psychology is that individuals will create justifications in order to explain internal inconsistencies in such a way that they appear to be rational. Similarly, Pratt and Foreman explain that scholars have posited that successful organizations develop and maintain myths or stories

that mediate internal conflicts and engender the support of all members. “That is, organizations create and propagate myths that reconcile ideological inconsistencies, such as discrepancies between the values held by the organization and the policies adopted to enact them” (p. 33). Extrapolating from this work, Pratt and Foreman claim that multiple organizational identities may be managed by linking them together through the creation of mediating myths or beliefs. In a similar vein, managers can endorse abstract notions of the organization to minimize identity conflicts among stakeholders, using various “common ground techniques,” such as the “assumed ‘we’” or the espousal of shared values. These strategies are used to achieve feelings of unity among disparate organizational groups.

Aggregation may be most appropriate when managers believe that maintaining each of the organization’s multiple identities is important and when there are considerable needs for or advantages in cooperation among individuals holding these multiple identities. Pratt and Foreman believe that by seeking synergy through aggregation, managers decrease the potential for conflicting demands or expectations, thus avoiding a major pitfall of compartmentalization. Using segregation and other compartmentalizing responses to manage multiple organizational identities likely leads to ambivalence, or even paralysis, when issues arise that elicit strong responses from more than one identity at the same time. Aggregation on the other hand may facilitate action by highlighting relationships among issues. Also, aggregation that results in the hierarchical arrangement of identities may facilitate organizational action by determining which identities are most important and therefore, are of a higher priority. Finally, “aggregation responses through prioritization or through the adoption of myths allow

organizations to retain their response flexibility when dealing with multiple stakeholders by maintaining the probability that various stakeholders will be satisfied with what the organization ‘stands for’ or represents (Pratt & Foreman, 2000, p. 33).

Range of aggregation responses.

“At its purest, aggregation may take the form of identity-mediating myths that reconcile the contradictions or inconsistencies between the identities” (Pratt & Foreman, 2000, p. 34). The identity-mediating myths may evolve into full-fledged identities themselves, becoming “meta-identities.” The use of meta-identities preserves all existing identities within the organization, as does compartmentalization. However, meta-identities involves the production of a new identity that serves to organize or gather existing identities underneath it. Meta-identities increase identity synergy by making the relationship among existing identities clear. Moreover, meta-identities can open the door to a fully integrated response. If the organization members strongly buy into the new meta-identity and begin to fuse their multiple identities with the superordinate identity, then the organizational identity may eventually evolve into something akin to a fully integrated identity.

Another means by which organization managers may manage multiple identities is by organizing or prioritizing the identities based on the immediate situation or context. These *contextual identities*, similar to the individual-level plastic hierarchies discussed above, allow organizations and their members to hold multiple notions of “who we are” and then evoke the most appropriate identity for any given context (Pratt & Foreman, 2000). Pratt and Foreman offer the example of physician-managers, in a physician-owned and –managed clinic, managing their multiple identities by engaging in an

ongoing process of switching back and forth between their “business” and “professional” identities.

Finally, organization managers may find it difficult or politically unwise to forge explicit synergies between identities and, instead, choose to link them more obliquely (Pratt & Foreman, 2000). This strategy is known as *robust action* or *multivocality*.

“Robust action is strategic action that has multiple interpretations, accomplishes multiple agendas, and yet preserves long-term flexibility” (p. 34). Pratt and Foreman cite the work of Padgett and Ansell who argue that “robust action must be coupled with multivocality, or single actions that can be interpreted coherently from multiple perspectives simultaneously” (p. 34). Pratt and Foreman offer the following example to help explain multivocality.

Alexander. . . has noted that art museum directors often use multivocality to respond to conflicting pressures from various funding and patron stakeholders. Directors, for example, will mount exhibits that are multifaceted and appeal to several different audiences on different levels. In this way, the museum manages the conflict among its identities as a prestigious social institution, a forum for advancing and guarding artistic expression, and a public venue for popular consumption of art – via exhibits that embody elements of all three identities (p. 34).

Pratt and Foreman explain that multivocality produces a rhetorical connection among all identities, thus it is similar to aggregation. “However, because the objective is to frame identity so that different groups hear different messages – and, by implication,

these groups are kept separate from each other – this strategy falls lower on the synergy dimension and, thus, moves closer toward compartmentalization” (p. 34).

While Pratt and Foreman offer ways to classify the response *managers* make to *manage* multiple organizational identities that are considered conflictual, relevant literature in psychology and management does not reveal how organization *members* *respond* to multiple organizational identities, except to speak in terms organizational identification.

Organizational identification

To some extent, the responses made by an organizational member to multiple organizational identities may be influenced by the degree to which the member identifies with the organization. According to some scholars, the more one conceives of oneself in terms of the membership of a group, that is, the more one identifies with the group, the more one’s attitudes and behavior are governed by this group membership (van Knippenberg & van Schie, 2000). Thus, it is important to look at the literature on organizational identification.

Much of the organizational identification literature is predicated on the work of Ashforth and Mael’s (1989) treatment of identification.

Social identity theory and identification

Using social identity theory, Ashforth and Mael (1989) propose that organizational identification is a specific form of social identification.

According to social identity theory, the individual defines him- or herself partly in terms of salient group memberships. Identification is the perception of oneness with or belongingness to a group, involving direct or vicarious experience of its

successes and failures... Identification induces the individual to engage in, and derive satisfaction from, activities congruent with the identity, to view him- or herself as an exemplar of the group, and to reinforce factors conventionally associated with group formation (e.g., cohesion, interaction) (p. 34).

Applying the social identification concept to organizations, Ashforth and Mael (1989) see organizational identification as shared identity, that is, a member shares a particular identity with the organization.

Ashforth and Mael (1989) propose that the social identity theory literature offers three general consequences of relevance to organizations.

First, individuals tend to choose activities congruent with salient aspects of their identities, and they support the institutions embodying those identities... A second and related consequence is that social identification affects the outcomes conventionally associated with group formation, including intragroup cohesion, cooperation, and altruism, and positive evaluations of the group. It is also reasonable to expect that identification would be associated with loyalty to, and pride in, the group and its activities... Identification also may engender internalization of, and adherence to, group values and norms and homogeneity in attitudes and behavior.

Definitions

In a review of the organizational identification literature, Pratt (1998) notes that “there are some differences in how identification has been defined, but most conceptualizations agree that identification involves an individual coming to see another

(individual, group, object) as being definitive of one's own self" (p. 172). Pratt provides (p. 173) some of the more "influential" definitions:

Aronson – Identification is a response to social influence brought about by an individual's desire to be like the influencer.

Ashforth and Mael – Social identification, therefore, is the perception of oneness or belongingness to some human aggregate.

Cheney – Identification – with organizations or anything else – is an active process by which individuals link themselves to elements in the social scene.

Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail – When a person's self-concept contains the same attributes as those in the perceived organizational identity, we define this cognitive link as organizational identification.

Tajfel – In order to achieve the state of identification, two components are necessary... a cognitive one, in the sense of awareness of membership; and an evaluative one, in the sense that this awareness is related to some value connotations.

Building on the definitions above, Pratt suggests that "organizational identification occurs when an individual's beliefs about his or her organization become self-referential or self-defining (p. 172). He goes on to say that organizational identification occurs when one comes to integrate beliefs about one's organization into one's identity. Pratt notes three important aspects about his definition. "First, it focuses on beliefs... Second,...organizational identification explicitly refers to the social aspects of a person's identity or self-concept... Third, this definition leaves open the possibility of two different ways or paths to identification: through the recognition of an

organization deemed similar to one's self, or through changes in one's self to become more similar to an organization" (p. 173). Pratt explains that "most conceptualizations of identification involve some sort of perception of value congruence between an individual and an organization. However, such perceptions of congruence do not necessarily entail radical changes in individual values. Rather congruence can also be perceived when individuals join organizations that they believe reflect their own values" (pp. 173 – 174).

The focus of the limited number of studies on organizational identification tends to be on identification with and commitment to the organization as a whole (van Knippenberg & van Schie, 2000). In reviewing the literature on organizational identification, it appears that some scholars' conceptions of organizational identification have evolved from a general sense of identification with an organization, where the organizational identity plays a large, but not exclusive role in that identification to a much more direct relationship between the concepts of organizational identity and organizational identification. In a more recent publication, Elsbach (1999) presents an "expanded model" (p. 179) of organizational identification. In this new model, Elsbach defines organizational identification as "a self-perception based on (1) a sense of active connection between one's identity and the identity of an organization, and (2) a positive relational categorization of oneself and the organization" (p. 179). However, there does not seem to be any consensus yet among scholars as to whether organizational identification refers more to identification with the organization in general, or with specific organizational identities. In 2000, van Knippenberg and van Schie noted that there appears to be some controversy regarding the theoretical position of the organizational identification concept.

Organizational identification, organizational identity and actions

Building on the work of Ashforth and Mael (1989), some scholars draw a very close connection between organizational identity, organizational identification, and the actions taken by organization members. They share the view by Albert (1998), “An organization’s identity is (or can be) part of the answer to the question of identification: *With what* is he or she identifying” (p. 8). And when an organization member identifies with an organization, then that member will more likely act on behalf of the organization, as explained below.

Organizational scholars postulate that the more an organizational member identifies with an organization, the more likely the member is to take the organization’s perspective, and to act in the organization’s best interest, expending effort on behalf of the organization (Dutton, et al, 1994; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Mael & Ashforth, 1992). Smidts, Pruyn, and van Riel (2001) state, “Employees who identify strongly with their organizations are more likely to show a supportive attitude toward them (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) and to make decisions that are consistent with organizational objectives (Simon, 1997). Hence, organizations should engender identification to facilitate their functioning (Cheney, 1983; Pratt 1998)” (p. 1052). When referring to the actions that organization members take when they identify with their organization, the actions spoken of are more general in nature, rather than on specifically incorporating the organizational identity into one’s roles.

Other aspects of organizational identification

While some members of an organization will experience identification with the organization, others will not, and Dukerich, Kramer, and Parks (1998) name another

dimension of the organizational identification concept: disidentification.

“Disidentification is the active differentiation and distancing of oneself from the entity or organization – where one’s identity is defined by *not* being identified with the organization” (p. 245). They explain that disidentification is different from *not identifying* – it is identifying *as not*. In disidentification, a specific contrast or differentiation is made, disidentifying with the organization. In contrast, “identification is where there is a high need for inclusion and a reduced need to distinguish oneself from the organization. It is where one defines oneself in terms of one’s association with the organization. Identification focuses on similarities, whereas disidentification focuses on differences” (p. 243).

Using identification and disidentification as two orthogonal dimensions, Dukerich, Kramer, and Parks (1998) arrive at four general states of organizational identification: apathetic identification, conflicting identification, focused disidentification, and focused identification.

Apathetic identification occurs when individuals define themselves neither in terms of the organization and its identity (low identification), nor in terms of their differentiation *from* the organization (low disidentification). The organization – whether positively or negatively – simply is not central to the individual’s identity. In some sense, they do not care whether they belong to the organization or not. There is little, if any, specific overlap between the identity of the individual and the company....

Conflicting identification is a condition in which part of the individual wants to identify with the organization (merge with) and another part wants to

disidentify (separate from). Key to conflicting identification is that one simultaneously identifies and disidentifies with the *same* organization....

Focused disidentification occurs when there is no overlap between the individual and the organization, *and* there is a need to define oneself by stating that one is *not* part of the organization. ...in the case of focused disidentification, not only is there no overlap, but the identities between the individual and the company are seen as opposing forces, repelling one another....

Focused identification occurs when the overlap between the individual and the organization's identities is great, where the individual strongly identifies with the organization, and there is no motivation for the individual to define him- or herself as *not* part of the organization (low disidentification) (pp. 243-247).

Similar to Dukerich, Kramer, and Parks (1998), Elsbach (1999) proposes an expanded model of organizational identification that comprises "four forms of cognitive connectedness between individual and organizational identities: (1) organizational identification, (2) organizational disidentification, (3) organizational schizo-identification, and (4) organizational neutral-identification" (p. 178). The four forms of identification represent a range of relationships between individual and organizational identities: positive, negative, or neutral relationships. "The expanded model recognizes the notion that an individual's identity is defined by what a person connects to, what a person disconnects from, and what a person neither connects to nor disconnects from"⁴ (p. 178). An important difference between the models presented by Dukerich, Kramer, and Parks (1998) and by Elsbach (1999) is the former speaks more in terms of

⁴ Elsbach's (1999) four forms correspond closely with Dukerich, Kramer, and Park's (1998) four forms, thus details of Elsbach's four forms are not provided here.

identification with the organization in general and Elsbach speaks more in terms of identifying with the specific organizational identities.

Remaining questions regarding organizational identification

The practice of organizational identification is important to organizational behavior, yet this area of research remains relatively unexplored (Pratt, 1998, Elsbach, 1999). Several questions remain to be answered concerning organizational identification.

Pratt (1998) writes about several of these questions. For a more complete understanding of organizational identification, “a better understanding is needed of (a) the role of emotions in the identification process, (b) the subtleties and complexities of identification and disidentification, (c) the role of organizations (if any) in developing and managing multiple identifications in their employees” (p. 200). Pratt asks whether and how organizations might manage multiple identifications (and disidentifications), given that managing members’ multiple identities and identifications is the central issue for modern organizations (Cheney, 1991).

Another relevant question was raised in a conversation amongst identity scholars (Whetten & Godfrey, 1998). As one person put it, ““But I see a difference between identifying with values and identifying with the organization’ ... The issue is one of whether identification occurs with the organization itself or with the constituent elements of that culture, such as its core values” (Barker, 1998, p. 262). This begs the further question, are the organizational values only embedded in the organizational identity, or are there other values lived out in the organization that do not arise from the organizational identity. It seems plausible that an organization’s values will include values other than those arising from the organizational identity. If so, with what are

members identifying? When there is a sense of identification with the organization, are members identifying with the organization in general, with the values in general, and/or with the organizational identity specifically? Also, when there are multiple organizational identities, there will be multiple values arising from those identities and the values may conflict with one another, such as is found in “hybrid” (Albert & Whetten, 1985) organizations. In this case, how do multiple identities and multiple values affect an individual’s organizational identification? And what does organizational identification mean – is it identification with the organization in general, or is it identification with specific organizational identity(s)?

While scholars reason that when members identify with their organization, members will take actions that are supportive of their organization, generally, the scholars do not speak specifically to how and why organization members respond to particular organizational identities and what difference those particular identities might make to organization members’ job roles. That is, how and why might the organizational identities become integrated into how employees conduct their job roles other than in general supportive behavior of the organization, such as, loyalty to the organization, putting forth greater effort in one’s job, et cetera. For example, if company executives declare that their company has an identity of innovation, do employees strive to be innovative in how they do their work, versus, do employees value the innovation identity and therefore feel loyal to the company, but do not attempt to be innovative in their roles? Does the type of job make a difference to whether or not the identity gets incorporated into the job; for example, is it more likely that a company engineer will be innovative than a company secretary? The organizational identity literature is vague when it comes

to explaining or understanding what difference, if any, an organizational identity makes to how employees / members conduct their jobs; and what are the factors that affect implementation of the identity. The question remains, how and why might the organizational identity be incorporated by employees in how they conduct their jobs?

Catholic, Jesuit Higher Education

A Multitude of Identities

Catholic higher education in general, and Jesuit higher education in particular, are facing what some call an identity crisis (Buckley, 1998). What does it mean to be a Catholic university, a Jesuit university, a Jesuit, Catholic university? How are Catholic and Jesuit identities of Jesuit universities and colleges defined? What are the similarities and differences between the Catholic and Jesuit identities and between these two identities and the identity of being a university? How do Jesuit and Catholic universities maintain their religious identities and a university identity as well? These are not easy questions to answer. Many scholars who are immersed in Jesuit and Catholic universities are currently debating these questions and are having a difficult time answering them. Gallin (2000) notes that the ambiguity regarding the distinctive Catholic identity of Catholic higher education institutions and how that identity can be maintained continues.

In this section, I provide some historical background on the current identity issue in Catholic and Jesuit higher education, differing understandings of what it means to be a Catholic university, a Jesuit university, and in general, a university, and then I compare and contrast the Catholic, Jesuit, and university identities. The thesis of this section is that the Catholic, Jesuit, and university identities are sometimes considered to be in tension with one another.

Catholic Higher Education

Most authors writing about Catholic higher education today note that the American Catholic universities' Catholic identity and identities of the religious orders that sponsor them have suffered as a result of significant changes in these institutions since the 1960s. These identities have constantly been negotiated with government, American higher education, the Catholic church, and the universities' internal constituencies (Gallin, 2000). As a result, many Catholic university⁵ administrators fear that these institutions are losing their Catholic and sponsoring order identity and becoming secularized⁶ (Holtschneider & Morey, 1996). There is a fear that Catholic higher education will go the way of formerly Protestant universities, losing all sense of a religious, Christian identity (Marsden, 1994; Buckley, 1993; Burtchaell, 1998). Since the late 1960s and early 1970s (see e.g. Jencks & Riesman, 1968; Power, 1972) the authentic identity of a Catholic university has been the subject of international conferences, Vatican documents, canonical treatises, and many articles, monographs (O'Hare, 1992) and books.

Important changes in Catholic higher education

American Catholic higher education has undergone significant changes in the last 40 years that have impacted the sense of Catholic and religious order identity. There is a

⁵ The term "university" is used in this dissertation to represent both colleges and universities.

⁶ Secularization has been defined in different ways. Based on the work of Randall Collins, Byron (2000) provides one definition of secularization, ". . . secularization [is] a displacement of the church as an authoritative intellectual font, as an official source of ideas of interest to the broader community of intellectuals. . . [intellectuals] open a sphere of activity which they recognize as autonomous from ultimate religious commitments, and attack intrusions in this sphere as illegitimate" (p. 345).

great deal of consensus among the many scholars⁷ who have chronicled these changes.

Among the many changes were:

- greater emphasis was given to improving the academic standing of Catholic colleges and universities within the American academic culture;
- separate incorporation of the Catholic higher education institutions from the religious orders who founded them; the ownership and governance of the institutions were turned over to lay boards of trustees;
- academic freedom and tenure policies of the American Association of University Professors were formally adopted or endorsed;
- faculty were granted decision-making authority appropriate to their status;
- greater emphasis was placed on strictly professional criteria in the selection of personnel rather than on previous concerns about religious preference and commitment to the institution's Catholic identity;
- greater emphasis was given to research and scholarship;
- the numbers of religious personnel decreased and the numbers of lay faculty and administrators increased;
- an emphasis on a Catholic identity was decreased in order to make the institutions eligible for state and federal government funding.

Important moments in Catholic higher education

A call to academic excellence.

Ultimately, most of the changes that have taken place in Catholic higher education in the last 40 years seem to result from the institutions striving to reach the

⁷ For example, see Gallin, 2000; Appleyard and Gray, 2000; Heft, 1999; Burtchaell, 1998; Gallin, 1996; Gleason, 1995; Gleason, 1993; O'Brien, 1994a; O'Brien, 1994b; O'Hare, 1992; Leahy, 1991.

standards of academic excellence set by the very best universities in the United States. For Power (1972), a landmark movement in Catholic higher education's search for excellence as academic institutions of higher learning began with Monsignor John Tracy Ellis' public critique of American Catholic intellectual life in 1955. While not directed specifically towards Catholic higher education, Power shows how Ellis' speech had particular relevance for Catholic higher education. Self-criticism and a "search for excellence" along the model of Harvard or Berkley became the order of the day in the late 1950s for Catholic colleges and universities. Prior to this time, Power states that Catholic colleges and universities were insensitive to any criticism, regardless of its source, and notoriously complacent about their stature as American institutions of higher learning, despite the absence of quality. Power documents significant change after Ellis' indictment. As a result, these institutions went through a long period of self-reflection and self-criticism (Power, 1972; Gleason, 1995).

A call to academic freedom and institutional autonomy.

Another landmark moment in Catholic higher education's movement towards academic excellence and debate over the identity of Catholic higher education (O'Hare, 1992) was the gathering of 26 Catholic bishops, university presidents, and Catholic intellectuals at Land O'Lakes, Wisconsin in 1967. In preparation for an international meeting on Catholic higher education, the group met to discuss the relationship between the institutional Catholic church and its colleges and universities (O'Brien, 1994a), in essence, the nature of the contemporary Catholic university (Gallin, 2000). It was a defining moment for Catholic higher education. The outcome of this meeting, a document entitled "The Nature of the Contemporary Catholic University," but more

commonly known as the Land O'Lakes Statement, "has often been acclaimed as a statement of independence from the church by Catholic colleges and universities in the United States" (Gallin, 2000, p. 56). The document states:

The Catholic university today must be a university in the full modern sense of the word, with a strong commitment to and concern for academic excellence. To perform its teaching and research functions effectively the Catholic university must have a true autonomy and academic freedom in the face of authority of whatever kind, lay or clerical, external to the academic community itself. To say this is simply to assert that instructional autonomy and academic freedom are essential conditions of life and growth and indeed of survival for Catholic universities as for all universities.

The Catholic university participates in the total university life of our time, has the same functions as all other true universities and, in general, offers the same services to society. The Catholic university adds to the basic idea of a modern university distinctive characteristics which round out and fulfill that idea. Distinctively, then, the Catholic university must be an institution, a community of learners or a community of scholars, in which Catholicism is perceptibly present and effectively operative (Gallin, 1992, p. 7).

Gallin (2000) notes that the opening statement of the first paragraph was often hailed by many as a legitimate and necessary claim and others saw it as a destructive one that would lead the Catholic universities away from the church and down the slippery path to total secularization (i.e. to a loss of Catholic identity). Gallin also notes that both groups often ignored the last sentence of the second paragraph.

How Catholic universities were to reach the standards of academic excellence and to simultaneously maintain a Catholic character was left ambiguous. The “Catholic character” was left to a voluntary policy within an independent and self-governing institution (O’Brien, 1994a). O’Brien writes that since the time of the Land O’Lakes statement, the question of Catholic meaning and identity regularly appeared on the agenda of the national Catholic educational bodies. Included were discussions on how to combine the autonomy proper to a university with the preservation of an institution’s Catholic character (Gleason, 1992). Gleason states that attempts to define the institution’s Catholic character revealed that Catholic educators were no longer certain what constituted the distinctively *Catholic* curricular or programmatic elements in Catholic higher education. Curran (1997) notes that some of the ferment over defining what it means to be a Catholic university was stimulated by the extensive consultations, which began in 1965, between the Vatican and Catholic higher education leaders, in an effort to strengthen and promote Catholic higher learning throughout the world. These conversations resulted in the publication of the Vatican document, *Ex corde Ecclesiae*.

A call to renew the Catholic identity.

In 1990, after many years of deliberation, Pope John Paul II set forth *Ex corde Ecclesiae*, an apostolic constitution on Catholic higher education. *Ex corde Ecclesiae* is an ecclesiastical statement of the meaning and mission of Catholic higher education, claiming for the Catholic university a central role in the mission of the Catholic church. This central role is reflected in its very title, “From the Heart of the Church” (O’Brien, 1994a). Essentially, the document calls on Catholic universities, across the world, to strengthen and clarify their religious, Catholic identity.

Catholic higher education identity

While Catholic higher education identity remains ambiguous for many (Gallin, 2000; O'Brien, 1994a) we can look to an authoritative source and to a scholarly source to gain insight into what it means to be a Catholic university: *Ex corde Ecclesiae* (Paul II, 1990) and Michael Buckley's (1998) *The Catholic University as Promise and Project, Reflections in a Jesuit Idiom*.

Ex corde Ecclesiae – There are several significant passages in *Ex corde Ecclesiae* that address the identity of a Catholic university. In *Ex corde Ecclesiae*, Pope John Paul II writes,

Since the objective of a Catholic university is to assure in an institutional manner a Christian presence in the university world confronting the great problems of society and culture, every Catholic university must have the following essential characteristics⁸:

1. A Christian inspiration not only of individuals but of the university community as such.
2. A continuing reflection in the light of the Christian faith upon the growing treasury of human knowledge, to which it seeks to contribute by its own research.
3. Fidelity to the Christian message as it comes to us through the Church.
4. An institutional commitment to the service of the People of God and of the human family in their pilgrimage to the transcendent goal which gives meaning to life.

⁸ These "essential characteristics" come from the Vatican document, "The Catholic University in the Modern World."

In the light of these four characteristics, it is evident that besides the teaching, research, and service common to all universities, a Catholic university, by institutional commitment, brings to its task the inspiration and light of the Christian message. In a Catholic university, therefore, Catholic ideals, attitudes, and principles penetrate and inform university activities in accordance with the proper nature and autonomy of these activities. In a word, being both a university and Catholic, it must be both a community of scholars representing various branches of human knowledge, and an academic institution in which Catholicism is vitally present and operative....

In a Catholic university, research necessarily includes (a) the search for an integration of knowledge, (b) a dialogue between faith and reason, (c) an ethical concern, and (d) a theological perspective (Gallin, 1992, pp. 417-418).

In *The Catholic University as Promise and Project, Reflections in a Jesuit Idiom*, Buckley (1998) writes that a Catholic university is Catholic in four ways: through

- (1) the community out of which it comes and by which it is sustained;
- (2) the purpose that it is to serve;
- (3) the spirit and structure that informs it; and
- (4) the serious presence of Catholic tradition and reflection as one of its most significant components.

The Catholic university comes out of the faith of the Catholic community, which, in the teaching of the Second Vatican Council, 'strives to relate all human culture eventually to the news of salvation.'...

Second, the university is Catholic in its deliberate determination to render to the church and the broader world this unique service: to be an intellectual forum, a center of higher studies, where in authentic academic freedom the variant lines of Catholic tradition and thought can intersect with all human learning and contemporary reflection, moving toward a unity of world and Word, that all things be assimilated into the Christ. This mutual implication of human culture and religious faith takes place within the intellectual and moral habits of the students and the instruction and research of the faculty....

Third, such a university is Catholic because of the spirit and activity that energizes it. Academic exchange in thought and collaborative inquiry formally constitute the specifying activity of any university. The only spirit that can further specify any community as Christian is charity, that love of friendship for God and for other human beings that bespeaks the influence and teaching of Christ. To the degree that the university's characteristic interchange is permeated by a love both for the truth to be explored and for the human beings who are to come to know it and that this in its turn mirrors the love and influence of Christ as it comes through the church... is that university Catholic in its spirit... The structure of such a university will be set by the priority of questions it entertains and by the knowledge that is agreed is the most worth having. Both these issues and this knowledge dictate the presence and influence of theology and philosophy as architectonic wisdoms within the curricula and research commitments of the university....

Fourth, strong and influential, but not exclusive, among its elements must be the serious presence of Catholic intellectuals, those who understand the church in her tradition and in her teaching and for whom faith has been found illumination... Without the presence of a diversity of intellectual traditions, there is no university. Without the significant presence of Catholic scholars and professors, the Catholic identity of these institutions will inevitably fail... (Buckley, 1998, pp. 141-142).

Jesuit Higher Education

The Society of Jesus, more commonly known as the Jesuits, is considered the first teaching order in the Catholic Church “insofar as the Jesuits were the first ever to undertake the founding, management, and staffing of schools as a formal ministry” (O’Malley, 1999, p. 9). While Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, never intended the Society to undertake an educational ministry, circumstances soon changed their priorities. By the time Ignatius died in 1556, education had become the primary ministry of the Society. At that time the Jesuits were operating approximately thirty secondary schools and several colleges. By 1773,⁹ the Jesuits were operating more than eight hundred universities, seminaries, primary, and secondary schools around the world (O’Malley, 1999). Today, there are 90 Jesuit universities, (28 located in the United States) and 430 secondary schools around the world (retrieved from Fairfield University website, <http://www.faculty.fairfield.edu/jmac/se/sjedtrad.htm>, on April 19, 2001.)

⁹ In 1773, the Society of Jesus, and all its ministries, were suppressed and could no longer function (O’Malley, 1993).

Jesuit higher education identity

As a part of the larger Catholic university genre, Jesuit higher education has experienced the same evolution of institutional and identity changes as Catholic higher education in general. However, there are identifiable responses made by Jesuit higher education to the more general changes taking place in all of Catholic higher education.

Responses to changes taking place in Catholic and Jesuit higher education.

Over the last several decades, concern about identity in American Jesuit higher education has gone through three stages: 1) talking and worrying about mission, 2) writing statements about mission, and 3) doing things to make mission a reality (Appleyard, 2000).

In 1975, the United States Jesuit provincials¹⁰ expressed several concerns about Jesuit higher education, including such concerns as secularization, the loss of a Catholic atmosphere, the decline of Jesuit influence in the Jesuit institutions, and the legal separation of the institutions from Jesuit and Church control (Byron, 2000). Known as “Project One,” in an attempt to develop a national rationale for and understanding of Jesuit higher education, the provincials asked local Jesuit communities to articulate a collective statement of their mission at each Jesuit school. Very few were able to do so. There was a failure to find consensus terms to define Catholic or Jesuit identity and mission (O’Brien, 1981). Since that time, there have been numerous programs and conversations to define and to foster a Jesuit identity at each of the 28 American Jesuit

¹⁰ The Society of Jesus has divided the United States into ten regions or provinces for governance purposes of the Jesuits. There is a provincial for each province. The provincial is the regional superior of the Jesuits in each geographical region (Lannon, 2000).

universities (Appleyard, 2000; Deshotels & Currie, 1998). Finally, in 2002 the United States Jesuit provincials approved a national statement of Jesuit identity, that is, characteristics of a Jesuit university. The characteristics are explained in a publication produced by the national Jesuit Conference (*Communal Reflection on the Jesuit Mission in Higher Education: A Way of Proceeding*, 2002) to assist each of the 28 Jesuit colleges and universities in their professional self-evaluations, their recruitment, and their fund raising. The characteristics are provided as guidelines to assist individual Jesuit colleges and universities in fostering their identity and are not meant to be a definitive statement of Jesuit higher education characteristics. The characteristics are named below, following other sources that explain the foundations of the Jesuit identity.

Jesuit educational ideals

The defining characteristics and ideals of the Jesuit identity are rooted in the history of the Society of Jesus and in the life of its founder, Ignatius of Loyola. Three documents are foundational to Jesuit education: the Jesuit *Constitutions*, the *Ratio Studiorum*, and the *Spiritual Exercises*. It should be noted however, that ultimately, both the theory and practice of Jesuit education are rooted in the life and spiritual vision of Ignatius of Loyola (Williams, 1997).

Constitutions of the Society of Jesus.

Ganss (1991) enumerates eleven of the educational ideals and principles for Jesuit education based on Part IV of the Jesuit *Constitutions*¹¹ and on Ignatius' letters. The *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* are a collection of statutes applying the Society's fundamental law in greater detail. Part IV of the *Constitutions* includes statutes written

¹¹ *Constitutions* refers to the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. The Jesuit *Constitutions* are a collection of statutes applying the Society of Jesus' fundamental law in greater detail. The statutes written for Jesuit education is found in Part IV of the *Constitutions* (Ganss, 1991).

for Jesuit education. The eleven educational ideals and principles below were operative in the Jesuit schools from 1547 to 1773. Ganss argues that these same ideals have been those of the subsequent Jesuit tradition of secondary and university institutions, in which they have been applied with adjustments to the continually changing cultural circumstances.¹²

1. The educator has the ultimate objective of stimulating the student to relate his activity to his or her final end: the knowledge and love of God in the joy of the beatific vision
2. The immediate objective of the teacher and the student is the student's deep penetration of his or her fields of study, both sacred and secular... All this educational work should be ordered to the praise of God and the well-being of humankind here and hereafter
3. The Society of Jesus hopes by means of its educational work to send capable and zealous leaders into the social order, in numbers large enough to leaven it effectively for good
4. The branches of study should be so integrated that each makes its proper contribution toward the goal of the curriculum as a whole: a scientifically reasoned Christian outlook on life, a Christian worldview enabling the student to live well and meaningfully for this world and the next. The student should learn the philosophical and theological basis of his or her faith. . . .
5. Theology is the most important branch in the curriculum, since the light it offers is the chief means of gaining the Christian worldview, and of tying

¹² For a historical survey of the Jesuits as educators on an international scale, read *The Jesuits, Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540 – 1773*, (1999). O'Malley, J.W., Bailey, G.A., & Harris, S.J. (Eds.). Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.

matters treated elsewhere into a unity by showing how all creation can be directed to God's greater glory. . . . and greater fulfillment of human beings here and hereafter. . . .

6. In a Jesuit university, any faculty can function as long as it contributes to the Society's general purpose. . . .
7. The formation offered should be both intellectual and moral, insofar as it provides, from Christian ethics, scientifically reasoned motives for moral living. . . .
8. As far as possible, the professors should be personally interested in the students and their progress. . . . This leads to a sense of helpful Christian presence and community. . . .
9. Jesuit schools should transmit the cultural heritage of the past and also provide facilities for persons engaged in research or creative activity. . . .
10. Jesuit schools should be alert to appropriate and adapt the best procedures emerging in other schools of the day – as Ignatius showed by his example and letters. . . .
11. Jesuit schools should continually adapt their procedures and pedagogical methods to circumstances of times, places, and persons. . . . (pp. 279-280).

Ratio studiorum of 1599.

Another well-known distinguishing element of Jesuit education is the *Ratio*

Studiorum of 1599.¹³ The *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599 is a supplementary document to Part

¹³ For more information, read the important collection of essays in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*, (2000), Duminuco, V.J. (Ed.). New York: Fordham University Press. Of particular interest in that volume are articles by John O'Malley, S.J., John Padberg, S.J., and Howard Gray, S.J.

IV of the Jesuit *Constitutions*. The *Ratio Studiorum* is a “Program” or “Plan of Studies” with rules for Jesuit education, which is an application of Ignatius’ guiding principles found in the *Constitutions* (Ganss, 1954). It is an organization of curricula and of instructional methods (Buckley, 1998). The *Ratio Studiorum* is considered the Magna Carta of Jesuit education (O’Malley, 1999).

In the Middle Ages, other religious orders had documents similar to the *Ratio Studiorum*, which were intended for the training of members of the orders, but the *Ratio* of the Jesuits was different in that it was meant for the education of lay students as well as for the education of Jesuits. It also was different because

the “plan of studies” now included the humanities – literature, history, drama, and so forth – as well as philosophy and theology, the traditionally clerical subjects.

This meant that the Jesuit *Ratio* assumed that literary or humanistic subjects could be integrated into the study of professional or scientific subjects; that is, it assumed that the humanistic program of the Renaissance was compatible with the Scholastic program of the Middle Ages (O’Malley, 1999, p. 10).

The Society of Jesus’ commitment to education meant a special relationship to culture in that the Society as an institution had a systematic relationship to “secular” learning. That is, the Jesuits had to be prepared to teach both the classics of Latin and Greek literature of the humanistic tradition as well as the scientific texts of Aristotle in the Scholastic tradition (O’Malley, 1999). O’Malley notes that “philosophy” meant to a large extent “natural philosophy,” subjects currently called biology, physics, and astronomy.

Spiritual exercises.

Written by Ignatius of Loyola, the *Spiritual Exercises* encapsulates the essence of Ignatius' own spiritual conversion to a deeper awareness of God's presence in all of the circumstances of his life. The *Spiritual Exercises* is a book that guides others to analogous changes of awareness and motivation through a process of prayer, meditation, and discernment. For the first Jesuits, the *Spiritual Exercises* had special relevance in that the *Exercises* set the pattern, goals, and style for all of the ministries in which the Jesuits engaged (O'Malley, 1999), and today, including education (Fagin, 1986).

Fagin (1986) presents some of the key ideas and themes of the *Spiritual Exercises* as they have shaped Ignatian spirituality and the Ignatian vision of the world, and in particular, the Jesuit mission in education. Based on the work of Fr. James Sauve, S.J., Fagin talks about the following characteristics of Jesuit education arising from the *Spiritual Exercises*.

- Jesuit education is centered on the person, requiring a personal care for each student individually. Each student is treated with respect and reverence and each student should grow in an appreciation of the dignity and value of each other person they encounter.
- Jesuit education is a call to human excellence, to the fullest possible development of all human qualities. This implies a call to develop the whole person – head, heart, intellect, and feelings, a call to academic excellence, a call to critical thinking and disciplined study, and a call to a genuinely humanistic education – literature, history, arts, science, philosophy, and theology.

- Jesuit education is a call to make responsible decisions based on values, a goal that implies an education that aims at formation more than information. It implies an active involvement of the student in the process of education. It implies that students learn how to be critical, how to examine attitudes and challenge assumptions and analyze motives.
- Jesuit education is meant to open students to the wonder of creation, the giftedness and beauty of life, to lead them to be grateful and trustful and responsible stewards of creation, to enable them to find God in their experience and in the world around them, and to feel a sense of reverence for God and for creation.
- Jesuit education is world-affirming because God is to be found in all things. All areas of study can reveal God and can reveal God working in the world. Therefore, through academic excellence the student can come to know the world better, which is to know God better. Study will ultimately lead to worship, to praise and reverence for the Giver of all gifts [God].
- Jesuit education is a call to service. A goal of Jesuit education is to shape a person for others, a person with a passionate and responsible commitment to social justice and to be men and women of action. In essence, the goal is to produce leaders, the kind of people who are able to influence society, who are committed to ideals and values to such an extent that they will work to change society out of concern for others.
- “In summary, Jesuit education is committed to produce men and women who are free, grateful, reverent, critical, committed, compassionate, loving and generous” (Fagin, 1986, p. 11).

National statement of Jesuit characteristics.

A recent articulation of Jesuit university characteristics¹⁴ is provided by the national Jesuit Conference (representing all ten Jesuit provinces of the United States) as a means of stimulating conversation about the mission and identity of the Jesuit colleges and universities. The five characteristics named are in harmony with what was stated above regarding the characteristics of Jesuit higher education. The five characteristics include:

1. Dedication to human dignity from a Catholic/Jesuit faith perspective
2. Reverence for and an ongoing reflection on human experience
3. Creative companionship with colleagues
4. Focused care for students
5. Well-educated justice and solidarity

The one characteristic that seems distinctive from what is previously reviewed in this chapter is the characteristic named “creative companionship with colleagues.” At the 34th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus in 1995, the Jesuits wrote a document expressing the wisdom and importance of working in collegiality with lay members of their apostolates, including higher education (conversation with G. Fagin, S.J., December 13, 2004). This particular characteristic honors the important contributions that the laity make in Jesuit higher education and the importance of ongoing dialogue amongst those who work in Jesuit colleges and universities.

¹⁴ For detailed descriptions of the characteristics, read *Communal Reflection on the Jesuit Mission in Higher Education: A Way of Proceeding*, (2002); available from the Jesuit Conference, 1616 P Street, N.W., Suite 300, Washington, DC 20036-1405.

The University Identity

How does one define a university identity in the United States? While there does not seem to be a succinct statement defining what it means to have a university identity, one way to answer the question is to explore the idea of an “academic culture.”

Academic culture

Citing Clark, Morrill and Speers, and Ruscio, Kuh and Whitt (1988) state that “the culture of the academic profession is based on the concepts and symbols of academic freedom, the community of scholars, scrutiny of accepted wisdom, truth seeking, collegial governance, individual autonomy, and service to society through the production of knowledge, the transmission of culture, and education of the young” (p. 76). While there are differing disciplinary cultures, an academic or faculty member identity is based on the assumption that all college and university faculty members share a common view of the world and scholarship. “This world view is based on similar understandings about the nature and purposes of higher education and of colleges and universities, and the role of faculty within them” (Kuh & Whitt, 1988, p. 76). Clark (1983) refers to this shared identity amongst all faculty members as the identity of “academic man” (p. 91). Citing Bowen and Schuster (1986), Kuh and Whitt explain the components of a common faculty or academic identity. The components include three basic values shared by faculty members across academic specialties and institutional types.

The first basic value is the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge as the purpose of higher education. The primary responsibility of faculty members, then, is to be learned and to convey this learning by means of teaching, inquiry, and publication. The second basic value shared by faculty is autonomy in the conduct

of academic work. Faculty members believe that freedom is necessary to advance learning and so have developed structures that reinforce autonomy: peer review, tenure, and relatively independent colleges and universities. The third shared value is collegiality, and it is demonstrated in a community of scholars that provides mutual support and opportunities for social interaction and in faculty governance. Thus, according to faculty members, an ideal academic community is a college or university in which the pursuit of learning, academic freedom, and collegiality are strongly held values (p. 76).

In addition to the three values of an academic identity just explained, Clark (1983) proposes four “special privileges” or norms for faculty members: freedom of research, freedom of teaching, academic freedom, and scientific freedom. Resisting all external controls, the academic culture emphasizes personal autonomy and collegial self-government.

Generally, academic freedom (which includes the freedom of research and freedom of teaching) (Clark, 1983) is defined as the freedom for faculty to research and publish the results, to discuss their subject matter in the classroom and to speak or write as citizens, free from institutional censorship, discipline (O’Neil, 1997) or dismissal (Bok, 1982). Academic institutions should observe strict neutrality toward all political, economic, and social issues, allowing faculty to freely express their opinions on controversial subjects. This principle of neutrality was conceived as a necessary bulwark to prevent the university administration from establishing official orthodoxies that it might use, directly or indirectly, to inhibit professors from expressing unsettling ideas and unpopular opinions. Also, the concept gradually came to include recognition of

institutional autonomy in matters of educational policy. These policies included such decisions as curricula, admissions, and academic standards (Bok, 1982). Institutions have come to seek the greatest possible freedom from outside interference with their teaching, research, and educational policies.

Citing Walter Metzger, Clark (1983) explains that “scientific freedom” differs from “academic freedom.” The problems of academic freedom center on restraints within colleges and universities, and organized systems thereof, that could apply to all faculty members regardless of specialty. The problems of scientific freedom center on restraints on work within the academic disciplines, whether inside or outside academic systems. For example, it is “the freedom of chemists to proceed according to the canons of chemical science whether they work within governmental bureaus, business firms, nonprofit organizations, independent laboratories, or universities and colleges” (p. 92).

Citing Robert K. Merton, Clark (1983) asserts that the basic norms of the academic profession are the norms of science. The following four sets of imperatives comprise much of the ethos of the academic profession:

- “universalism,” the idea that the same standards should apply everywhere, without regard, for example, to politics or religion;
- “disinterestedness,” a commitment to the advancement of knowledge;
- “organized skepticism,” the norm that everyone should suspend judgment about a contribution until it has been critically reviewed; and
- “communality” or “communism,” the belief that the results of inquiry should be fully disclosed and made readily available (p. 93).

Again, while a “university” identity is not succinctly explained as such, the aforementioned aspects of an academic culture provides some key points for what may be considered a university identity. In addition, it is generally known that the primary roles of faculty members are to do teaching, research/scholarship, and service.

A Comparison of Identities

At first glance, it may appear that the Jesuit and Catholic identities could really be the same thing and that the university identity may have nothing in common with the Jesuit and Catholic identities. In this section, I indicate what may be some of the differences and similarities between the identities and how some people interpret the identities to be different or similar things.

From my observations, it seems that the Jesuit identity may be seen as a class within the larger genre of the Catholic university identity. However, the Jesuit identity has evolved from a history that is unique to Jesuit higher education since the Jesuit educational identity is based in the life of its founder, Ignatius of Loyola, and will differ from other types of Catholic universities. Even so, the Jesuit identity is also based in a Catholic ethos and will reflect the broader sense of a Catholic identity.

Perhaps, another way of distinguishing the Catholic and Jesuit identities is that the Catholic identity may be more abstract and the Jesuit identity more concrete. O’Brien (1994b) points out, when there is a discussion of Catholic identity, it is usually abstract, or when concrete (dealing with the Vatican and bishops and orthodoxy), threatening. In contrast, O’Brien notes that the Jesuit identity tends to be more specific in how it may be implemented on campuses. For example, the Jesuit identity emphasizes a personal care

of the student, encouraging students to find God in all things, and encouraging students to be of service to others.

Perhaps even more important are the distinctions that faculty members make between the Jesuit and Catholic identities. In what might be considered a preliminary study (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998), under the auspices of the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities (AJCU), I interviewed faculty members, administrators, professional staff, and students from three Jesuit universities during the summer, 1999, to ascertain what are some of the issues involved in fostering the Jesuit and Catholic identities at Jesuit universities (Deshotels, 2000). Overall, most respondents made distinctions between what the terms Jesuit and Catholic mean and reacted differently to the two terms. Respondents were not asked about the “university identity.”

Most respondents who were of a religious faith other than Catholic, or of no faith, made distinctions between the terms Jesuit and Catholic, seeing them as being very different. Of these, many articulated that while Jesuits are Catholics, they are very different things. Most Catholics seemed to hold the ideas of “Jesuit” and “Catholic” together, viewing Jesuit as a “strain” of Catholic.

In general, many Catholic respondents and many of those of other faiths or no faith spoke in very negative terms of their understanding of what “Catholic” means and very positive connotations of what “Jesuit” means. Consistent with their interpretations of meaning, these respondents either accepted and embraced the Jesuit aspect of their university or expressed concerns about fostering the Catholic aspect. When asked what it would mean for the university to foster its Catholic aspect, some respondents indicated

that it might mean infringements on academic freedom or making students attend Catholic Mass.

Again, consistent with their interpretations of “Jesuit,” most respondents stated that the Jesuit aspect of the institution made a positive difference in how they did their jobs or to their roles as students. Some respondents indicated that the Catholic aspect made a difference to how they did their jobs because the university placed particular restraints on them due to the Catholic identity, e.g., restraints on the kinds of student activities that could take place on campus. Other respondents stated that the Jesuit and Catholic aspects of the institution did not make any difference to their roles at the institution at all.

In the same AJCU study, some of the respondents described the term “Jesuit” in such a way as to indicate an overlap between the Jesuit and university identities, in that, an aspect of the Jesuit identity is academic excellence and the Jesuits themselves are known as being intellectuals. In addition, some of these respondents defined the Jesuit nature of their universities as exemplifying strong educational values.

In contrast to the common elements some respondents perceived in the Jesuit and university identities, some of the respondents defined the term “Catholic” in ways that would indicate strong differences between the Catholic and university identities. Some of the words used to describe the term Catholic were “anti-intellectual,” “indoctrination,” and “suppression.” It should be noted that in the AJCU study, the respondents were not asked specifically about the “Jesuit *identity*,” or “Catholic *identity*.” Rather, they were asked to say what “Jesuit” and “Catholic” mean. However, it seems reasonable that their

answers would have a strong relationship to how they would perceive the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities.

While some Catholic scholars argue that the Catholic and university identities are congruent and have a positive relationship to one another, others in higher education voice concerns on how the Catholic identity or aspect infringes on the university identity. One advocate for the positive relationship between the Catholic and university identities is Michael Buckley, S.J. Buckley (1998) asserts the “mutual and inherent unity between the religious and the academic” (p. 47). He states that the religious intrinsically engages the academic and the academic intrinsically engages the religious, each bringing the other to completion.

Any academic movement towards meaning or coherence or truth, whether in the humanities, the sciences, or the professions, is inchoately religious... The human intellect... keeps asking questions – unless this natural drive is suppressed – until they lead to questions about ultimate explanation or intelligibility, about the truth of the finite itself, which all human beings call God... Similarly, the commitments and the instincts of faith are inescapably towards the academic... It does mean that the dynamism inherent in the experience of faith – if not inhibited by fideism – is towards the understanding both of itself and of its relationship to every other dimension of human life... The experience of faith becomes the source of questions that lead naturally into the sciences and arts, questions that bear upon the meaning and truth of the commitments of faith and upon the relationship of so universal a stance towards everything else that falls within human experience (pp. 15-16).

Others in higher education, in general, and in Catholic higher education in particular, voice concerns about infringements on university or academic ideals due to the Catholic nature of Catholic universities. According to their website, since 1963, the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) has censored some Catholic colleges and universities for such infringements. It is important to note that those censorships may have a “chilling effect” on free and open scholarship and teaching in these institutions. The following are examples of AAUP censored universities. In 1990, the Catholic University of America fired a tenured theology professor because he published views on sexual ethics that contradicted Catholic Church beliefs; in 1995, Saint Meinrad School of Theology dismissed a tenured theology professor for having joined in signing a letter to the pope asking for continued discussion of ordaining women to the priesthood; and in 1987 the Pontifical Catholic University of Puerto Rico dismissed a tenured professor upon learning that she had remarried after a previous Catholic marriage had ended in civil divorce (retrieved from American Association of University Professors website, <http://www.aaup.org/Censure.htm>, on April 5, 2001).

Catholic Church Canon Law (1983 Revised Code of Canon Law) has two laws that are particularly incongruent to the principles of a university identity, i.e. academic freedom and institutional autonomy. These two laws have become a part of the norms that United States Catholic bishops have written for the implementation of *Ex corde Ecclesiae* in American Catholic higher education. Canon 810 asserts that faculty in Catholic colleges should be outstanding in their integrity of doctrine and probity of life [and] when those qualities are lacking they are to be removed from their positions. It is based upon Canon 810 that the tenured professor was dismissed from the Catholic

University of Puerto Rico (Curran 1991; Slaughter, 1997). Canon 812 requires all Catholic theologians who teach theological disciplines in Catholic higher education to have a *mandatum* (mandate) from the local bishop to teach (Gallin, 1996). The bishop has the right to give or not give a *mandatum* and may take away a *mandatum* at any time once given. If the presidents of Catholic universities choose to enforce Canons 810 and 812, and other such norms as found in the *Ex corde Ecclesiae* implementation document, their institutions may have a difficult time legitimately claiming to be universities in the traditional sense of the word. The very heart of what it means to be a university, academic freedom, freedom to teach, freedom to research, scientific freedom, and institutional autonomy are at stake in American Catholic higher education. It should be noted that most presidents of Catholic colleges and universities took a stance and lobbied against the implementation norms of *Ex corde Ecclesiae*.

Beginning with the Land O'Lakes Statement in 1967, Catholic colleges and universities embraced the academic principles of American higher education. McBrien (1992) stated that "[Today], there is near unanimity of agreement among Catholic university and college presidents on the essential importance of academic freedom and institutional autonomy for their respective institutions" (p. 130). However, over the years, the Vatican consistently resisted accepting the new understanding of American Catholic higher education regarding academic freedom and institutional autonomy, finally writing and publishing *Ex corde Ecclesiae* in response (Curran, 1991). At this time, the consequences of *Ex corde Ecclesiae*'s norms for Catholic higher education in the United States are unknown.

While the fate of university ideals in Catholic higher education is being debated, many faculty members are nervous or angry about the implications of *Ex corde Ecclesiae* for the academic principles of their institutions. These reactions were voiced by several faculty members in the AJCU study which I conducted in 1999 and several journal and newspaper articles in Catholic publications also represent similar concerns of faculty members, both theologians and faculty members from other disciplines.

Conclusion

For organization leaders who see the need to foster particular organizational identities, such as leaders in Catholic higher education, with the desire that the organizational identities become incorporated into employees' jobs, (such as seen in the holographic model of organizational identity), then a better understanding of how and why members respond to organizational identity(s) is needed. In its current state, the organizational identity and identification literature do not adequately address these concerns; and there are few empirical studies regarding organizational identification (Elsbach, 1999) and organizational identity (Foreman & Whetten, 2002). In addition, most of the organizational identification and identity literature refers to organizations as having a singular identity and do not address organizations with multiple identities. Further study is needed to address these gaps in the literature. This study attempts to address those gaps by asking: (1) What *responses* do organization members make to multiple organizational identities: Jesuit, Catholic, and university? (2) What *factors* influence their responses?

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the research design and methodology used to understand how faculty members respond to multiple organizational identities. The chapter has seven sections: 1) research questions, 2) research design, 3) research methods, 4) data analysis procedures, 5) considerations for enhancing the trustworthiness of qualitative research, 6) ethical considerations, and 7) limitations of the study.

Research Questions

The purpose of this research study was to understand how faculty members respond to multiple organizational identities, specifically to the “Jesuit,” “Catholic,” and “university” identities at a Jesuit university.

The following questions were addressed in this study:

1. What are faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities?
 - a. What interpretations do faculty members give to each of the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities?
 - b. How do the perceived Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities influence how faculty members conduct their roles as faculty members?
2. What factors (e.g. religious affiliation, departmental affiliation, attitudes towards identities, perceived conflict/congruence of identities) influence faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities?

Specifically, based on interview data I analyzed faculty members’ responses to the “Jesuit,” “Catholic,” and “university” identities of a Jesuit university. I also analyzed

the interview data to understand what factors seemed to shape the faculty members' responses to the multiple organizational identities.

Research Design: Grounded Theory

As noted in Chapter I, studies have not been conducted on member responses to organizational identities, thus little is known empirically about a topic considered important to organization leaders. Grounded theory was chosen as the methodology for this study due to the lack of research on and knowledge about member responses to an organizational identity, either in the singular or plural. In addition, grounded theory provides the opportunity to understand not only the factors that affect member responses, but the process and effects of their responses.

In grounded theory, Strauss and Corbin (1998) explain that the analyst seeks to answer questions of who, when, where, why, how, and with what consequences, and in so doing, uncovers relationships among categories. They explain that by answering these questions, analysts are able to relate structure with process. While "structure or conditions set the stage, that is, create the circumstances in which problems, issues, happenings, or events pertaining to a phenomena are situated or arise... process denotes the action/interaction over time of persons in response to certain problems and issues" (p. 127). Strauss and Corbin state that by combining structure with process, analysts can get at some of the complexity that is so much a part of life. They assert that process and structure are inextricably linked, and it is important to understand the nature of their relationship (to each other and to the phenomenon in question) in order to truly grasp what is taking place. On the one hand structure explains why certain events occur but not how, and on the other, process explains how persons act/interact but not why.

The analyst “must study both structure and process to capture the dynamic and evolving nature of events” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 127).

In order to relate structure with process, Strauss and Corbin (1998) state that the analyst creates linkages between categories using clues from the data, however, the actual relating of categories takes place at a conceptual level. They explain that the linkages among categories can be very subtle and implicit, therefore, “it helps to have a scheme that can be used to sort out and organize the emerging connections” (p. 128). Strauss and Corbin (1998) propose the use of an organizational scheme that they call a “paradigm.” The paradigm is “a perspective taken toward data... [an] analytic stance that helps to systematically gather and order data in such a way that structure and process are integrated” (p. 128).

In developing a theoretical model to explain the data I use Strauss and Corbin’s components of a grounded theory paradigm. The components include a central category to which all other components are related (1990, 1998). This central category is also known as the “central phenomenon” (Creswell, 1998). The other components of a paradigm are conditions (causal, contextual, and intervening), actions/interactions, and consequences. “Conditions / consequences represent the structural context in which action/interaction occurs” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 192). In this study, the structure includes the multiple conditions that influence faculty member actions and resulting in certain personal consequences. The process is how all those pieces interact resulting in faculty member actions regarding an organizational identity. In this study I sought to understand what responses faculty members make to the organizational identity(s), that is, what interpretations faculty members give to each of the Jesuit, Catholic, and

university identities, how the perceived Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities influence how faculty members conduct their roles, and what factors influence faculty member responses to the multiple organizational identities. This study addresses why and how faculty members respond to multiple organizational identities (Jesuit, Catholic, and university) and the conditions, actions, and consequences that are part of that process.

The theory in this study is a substantive level theory, that is, it is a low-level theory that is applicable to immediate situations (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). It is developed by using “a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon” (p. 24). The theory in this study evolves from one situational context, i.e. a Jesuit university. (Note, more detail regarding grounded theory design is provided throughout Chapter IV as it is applied to the data.)

Research Methods

Sample

I interviewed 30 faculty members at a Jesuit university because these institutions are presently making concerted efforts to foster their Jesuit and Catholic identities (Deshotels & Currie, 1998). These efforts make the multiple identities particularly salient at Jesuit colleges and universities.

I chose to interview faculty members at one university for several reasons. First, if I interviewed faculty members at more than one university, I was less likely to get at maximum variance in one setting. Strauss and Corbin (1998) stated that “one can learn a lot from the study of one factory or organization . . . [because] we are studying concepts and their relationships. . . . If our concepts are abstract enough, then they are likely to occur in similar or variant forms in other organizations” (p. 284). Also, the goal of this

study was to develop a substantive theory, not a formal theory. A substantive theory evolves from the study of a phenomenon situated in “one particular situational context” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 174). Finally, since there is no published research on member responses to organizational identities, this study is an initial one which can be followed up by studying the topic at other universities and in other settings. Thus, using one Jesuit university as a site, I produced a model of faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities and explored the factors that affected individual faculty member’s responses to those identities.

Unit of analysis

The study’s unit of analysis focused on the individual level, that is, “what is happening to individuals in a setting and how individuals are affected by the setting” (Patton, 1990, p. 166). The individuals in this study were faculty members at a Jesuit university. I chose faculty members because, as Albert and Whetten (1985) indicate in their example of religiously affiliated universities, faculty members are most likely to find the multiple identities to be problematic due to their professional identities. Faculty members may be more likely to feel a tension between the academic nature of their professional identity and the religious nature of the Jesuit and Catholic identities because of perceived potential conflict between academic freedom and church doctrine. Some faculty members may also find a tension or conflict between the Jesuit and Catholic identities, depending on how they define those identities, while other faculty members may find congruence. In a study I conducted for the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities some faculty members used polar adjectives to describe the terms “Jesuit” and “Catholic.” For example, words used to describe the term, “Jesuit,” included

“intellectual,” “academic excellence,” “inclusive,” and “open to ideas and to diversity.” Words used to describe the term, “Catholic,” included “anti-intellectual,” “indoctrination,” “suppression,” “doctrine,” “exclusive,” and “hard on women and non-conformists of various kinds.” Other faculty members, usually Catholic, made less distinction between the Jesuit and Catholic identities, viewing Jesuits as a “strain” of Catholic (Deshotels, 2000).

Selection of Sample

Selection of university.

The institution at which I conducted this study was a master’s degree granting, comprehensive university. In this study, I use the pseudonym, Ignatius University.¹⁵ The master’s degree granting university, also known as a comprehensive university, is the most common amongst Jesuit universities. It was appropriate to select a comprehensive university for this study because it was most likely to include both “locals” and “cosmopolitans.” That is, faculty members who are considered cosmopolitan are more likely to be committed to their professions, while faculty members who are considered to be locals are more likely to be committed to their institutions and focused on cohesion (Weick, 1983; Gouldner, 1957). In a 1996 study by Dwyer and Zech, the comprehensive university’s faculty members fell between the two types of institutions whose faculty members either identified most strongly with their institution’s Catholic mission and those who felt the least connected. Respectively, these were liberal arts colleges and research universities (Dwyer & Zech, 1996). In this current study, to get as much

¹⁵ St. Ignatius of Loyola founded the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in 1540 and during that period he included education as one of the Jesuits’ ministries. The schools he founded eventually evolved into a worldwide Jesuit educational system, including both secondary schools and higher education institutions (O’Malley, 2000; O’Malley, 1993). None of the 28 Jesuit universities in the United States use the name of Ignatius University.

variance as possible in faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities, it was important to find an institution that did not go fully to either extreme, and a comprehensive/master's degree granting institution was most likely to meet this criteria. In addition, the university selected for this study can be considered a "typical situation" or case (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998) amongst the 28 Jesuit universities regarding the efforts being made to foster the Jesuit and Catholic identities.

It was important to select a comprehensive Jesuit university that was actively attempting to foster its Jesuit and Catholic identities, in addition to having a strong academic reputation. By taking initiatives to foster the multiple identities, the religious and university identities should have been more salient, rather than latent. Based upon an analysis of the *Mission and Identity Activity at Jesuit Colleges and Universities in the United States* (Deshotels & Currie, 1998). I chose Ignatius University, a Jesuit, master's degree granting university because it demonstrated making multiple concerted efforts to foster its Jesuit and Catholic identities. Also, Ignatius University demonstrated a strong academic reputation, which was important since one of the identities to be explored was the identity of being a university. An institution with a strong academic reputation was judged based upon a recent edition of *U.S. News & World Reports'* ranking of colleges and universities. According to this publication, Ignatius University ranked in the top five percent of the colleges and universities in its geographic region.

Finally, the president of Ignatius University agreed that this study could be conducted at the institution.

Selection of respondents.

Respondents (Yin, 1994) are faculty members who I interviewed concerning their responses to the Jesuit, Catholic and university identities. The grounded theory in this study was developed based upon the analysis of their interviews.

Interviews play the primary role in data collection in a grounded theory study; all other data collection methods play only a secondary role (Creswell, 1998). A goal of grounded theory research is to reach “theoretical saturation.” Theoretical saturation “simply means (within the limits of available time and money) that the researcher finds that no new data are being unearthed. Any new data would only add, in a minor way, to the many variations of major patterns” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). To reach theoretical saturation, Creswell (1998) recommends that a grounded theorist interview 20 to 30 individuals. I interviewed 30 faculty members and I seemed to reach theoretical saturation with this number since the information emerging from the interviews became repetitive.

Since there has been virtually no research on member responses to multiple organizational identities, there was a lack of theoretical criteria on which to select respondents for this study. This being the case, I used purposeful random sampling (Patton, 1990) to select the faculty member respondents. Purposeful random sampling provided a means to maximize variance in the types of responses faculty members make to multiple identities because an SPSS program was used to generate the random sample. By using random sampling, faculty members were selected “in advance of knowledge of how the outcomes would appear” (Patton, 1990, p. 180). It is important to note that the aim of a small (*purposeful*) random sample is credibility; that is, to reduce suspicion

about why certain cases were selected for the study. The aim of *representative* random sampling is to generate statistical generalizations, which is not possible with a small sample size (Patton, 1990). Some of the variance produced by the random sampling technique used in this study included variance in disciplines, religious backgrounds, race, age, time at institution, gender, faculty level/titles, and opinions about the topic of this study – the Jesuit, Catholic and university identities. As Bogdan and Biklen (1998) point out, “if you cannot see everything and talk to everybody, you want to make sure that you sample widely enough so that a diversity of types are explored” (p. 61). Thus, it was particularly important that a variety of faculty members be interviewed.

To select the 30 faculty members for this study, I over-sampled the population, generating 40 names through a random sampling process. It was important to generate additional names in case some faculty members did not wish to participate in the study or in case they were not available during my campus interview visits. Also, when random sampling is conducted, it is possible to get a skewed sample. By over-sampling I was able to guard against having to work with a skewed sample. To prioritize who I would ask amongst the 40 names generated, I selected those people who seemed to represent the most diversity on certain characteristics, such as length of time at the institution, faculty level (assistant, associate, or full professor), age, gender, and I wanted as much diversity as possible in academic discipline. Appendix A, Respondent Characteristics, provides general information on characteristics of respondents. Since the issue of mission and identity is a sensitive topic for many faculty members and even for universities, the information is presented in a way to protect the anonymity of respondents and of the university.

Selection of informants.

Key informants (Yin, 1994) are university administrators that I interviewed concerning their insights into the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities at Ignatius University, and into the topic of faculty member responses to those identities. However, this study's findings and resultant model are based upon respondent interviews, not upon key informant interviews.

I interviewed several¹⁶ key informants: the university president, academic vice-president, deans of the colleges and those responsible for implementing institutional efforts to foster mission and identity. These informants were in a position to attempt to “manage” the multiple identities at Ignatius University and were the most likely to have an influence on the faculty. I was interested in knowing the methods the key informants used to foster the multiple identities, the definitions they had of the university's Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities, what identities they actively attempted to foster, their perceptions of the reactions from faculty members towards their efforts to foster the identities, and their perceptions on where the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities stood on campus (see Appendix B, Informant Interview Questions).

Data Collection

Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998) of 30 faculty members and of the administrators who served as key informants. The interviews lasted 1 – 1 ½ hours, with the exception of one interview that took 45 minutes. Most interviews lasted either 1 ¼ or 1 ½ hours. Every person interviewed signed an informed consent form approved by the University of Maryland Human Subjects Committee. All

¹⁶ To protect the anonymity of the institution, the actual number of informants are not provided.

respondent and informant interviews were taped with the permission of the interviewee, with the exception of one respondent who requested that only notes be taken during the interview. Typed transcripts were made of the interviews.

I developed respondent and informant interview protocols (see Appendix C, Respondent Interview Questions and Appendix B, Informant Interview Questions) based upon pilot tests (Yin, 1994) conducted at a different Jesuit, comprehensive university. Two faculty members from different disciplines participated in the initial respondent pilot test and the academic vice president and dean of Arts and Sciences participated in the initial informant pilot tests. Revisions to the interview protocols were made and a second respondent pilot test was conducted with two faculty members from the same institution used in the first pilot test. Based on the pilot tests, I designed final interview protocols for respondents and for key informants.

Campus Visits

I made three visits to Ignatius University to collect data. During the first campus visit in August, 2001, I spent three days interviewing key informants. After the interviews each day, I made field notes of impressions I got from the interview. In addition, I took observational notes of the campus environment and collected relevant documents to read. In mid-September and mid-October, I made second and third campus visits, spending five days each trip interviewing faculty respondents and making field notes following each interview.

Data Analysis Procedures

Strauss and Corbin (1990) put forth a set procedure for analyzing data, which was used in this study's data analysis. The essential element of the grounded theory approach

is coding. Coding is “the analytic process through which data are fractured, conceptualized, and integrated to form theory” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 3). The purposes of coding procedures are

1. Build rather than test theory.
 2. Provide researchers with analytic tools for handling masses of raw data.
 3. Help analysts to consider alternative meanings of phenomena.
 4. Be systematic and creative simultaneously.
 5. Identify, develop, and relate the concepts that are the building blocks of theory
- (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 13).

According to grounded theory there are three types of coding: open, axial, and selective. While they generally proceed in the order stated, in reality the three types of coding sometimes take place simultaneously (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

To begin the open coding process, I read twelve interview transcripts to get a sense of the codes that would emerge from the data. Then I began the initial open coding process using the NVIVO computer program, breaking down the data by phrases and sentences. I identified concepts and categories of information, starting from the most basic code, e.g. feel frustrated, feel marginalized, feel affirmed, sense of fulfillment, to identifying these codes as properties of a larger category, i.e., range of feelings. Properties are “characteristics of a category, the delineation of which defines and gives it meaning” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 101). As categories and properties within the categories were developed, the categories became more dense and better defined, that is, the dimensions of the properties were identified. Dimensions are “the range along which general properties of a category vary, giving specification to a category and variation to

the theory” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 101). For example, one category was “range of feelings” and it included feelings that varied along a dimension from positive, to ambivalent, to negative, and to neutral feelings.

Even as the open coding process was taking place, axial codes began to emerge. Axial coding is “the process of relating categories to their subcategories, termed ‘axial’ because coding occurs around the axis of a category, linking categories at the level of properties and dimensions” (p. 123). The tasks of axial coding include the following:

1. Laying out the properties of a category and their dimensions, a task that begins during open coding
2. Identifying the variety of conditions, actions/interactions, and consequences associated with a phenomenon
3. Relating a category to its subcategories through statements denoting how they are related to each other
4. Looking for cues in the data that denote how major categories might relate to each other (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 126).

An example of the axial coding that took place in this study was that the “range of feelings” category was identified at a more abstract level as the “personal consequences” of faculty member responses to the organizational identities. Furthermore, the “personal consequences” category was broken into three separate categories that were dimensionalized along the various ranges of feelings (e.g. “range of positive feelings,” “range of mixed feelings,” and “range of negative or neutral feelings.” These three subcategories for “personal consequences” were then related to the range of “actions” that faculty members took in response to the organizational identities. Under the broader

category of “actions,” faculty members exhibited a range of possible actions that flowed out of their level of sense of connection with the organizational identity(s).

In the axial coding process, conditions, actions, and consequences of faculty member responses were identified and related to each other [these are explained fully in Chapter IV]. While the interview text provided clues about how categories relate, the actual linking took place not descriptively but rather at a conceptual level, which is the norm of grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). It was in the next coding process, selective coding, that a systematic and integrative theory was developed.

Selective coding is similar to axial coding but done “at a higher more abstract level of analysis” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 117). Selective coding is “the process of integrating and refining the theory” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 143) and is the final phase of coding the information. In selective coding, a central category is identified (which is explained fully in Chapter IV), categories are systematically related to one another, those relationships are validated, and categories are filled in when they needed further refinement and development (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). As a part of this selective coding process, I developed a “conditional/consequential matrix” (see Figure 1 in Chapter IV, Model of Faculty Member Responses to Organizational Identity(s)). The conditional/consequential matrix is “an analytic device to stimulate analysts’ thinking about the relationships between macro and micro conditions / consequences both to each other and to process” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 181). Another way of stating this is that I developed a model to illustrate the structure and processes of faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities, indicating the complex interplay of categories with one another. The model was particularly helpful in identifying categories

and relationships that did not quite “gel.” As is usually the case for researchers doing grounded theory I went through several iterations of the model until all categories were sufficiently dense and developed in terms of properties and range of variability along its dimensions, that is, there was theoretical saturation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In addition, I worked and reworked the model until all the categories (causal, contextual and intervening conditions; central phenomena; actions; personal consequences), and their relationships to one another, fit the data and made conceptual sense. To validate the scheme, or in my words, model, Strauss and Corbin recommend comparing it against the raw data, doing a type of high-level analysis and also asking respondents to give their feedback on the model. As they suggested, I constantly returned to the interview transcripts, field notes, and previously written memos. However, instead of asking the faculty member respondents to provide feedback on the model, I sought the feedback on the model from people (initially from two staff members and then three faculty members) who worked at three similar Jesuit universities, none of which was Ignatius University. Because the topic of Jesuit and Catholic identity is an especially sensitive one for many faculty members, I did not wish to make the faculty member respondents in this study nervous about what interpretations I gave to their interviews and/or anxious that I somehow might reveal their perspectives to their university administrators. The final three faculty members with whom I shared the model gave the final test of validity for the model; the schematic theory was recognizable to them and while it did not fit every aspect of their own cases, the larger concepts applied to them (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and it represented what they perceived to be the realities of their colleagues.

Additional Data Analysis Techniques

Similar to the grounded theory method of data analysis, I used several analytical techniques proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994) to generate meaning. It should be noted however, that there is a great deal of overlap in these concepts with grounded theory. For ease of description, I have chosen to write about the techniques I used in this study by using Miles and Huberman's language and explanations.

- *noting patterns, themes* – during data collection, field note-writing, and reviewing transcripts, I noted themes and recurring patterns and pulled together separate pieces of data into categories
- *seeing plausibility* – I continued to analyze the data and rework the model until it “made good sense,” was “plausible” and it “fit”
- *clustering* – I grouped data to understand the topic of study, conceptualizing the data into broader and broader categories, e.g., data that were conditions/factors were grouped as causal, contextual, or intervening; feelings were subsumed under the category of personal consequences
- *making contrasts/comparisons* – to test my conclusions, i.e. model, I compared and contrasted the responses of the differing experiences of faculty members to the model
- *partitioning variables* – to protect against undue integration, at the stage of initial conceptualization to unbundle variables rather than to assume a monolithic simplicity – all of the factors in the study (types of conditions, actions, and consequences) were first identified as separate entities/codes and then tested in differing combinations to see what ‘fit’ or ‘made sense’ – looking for plausibility

- *subsuming particulars into the general* – to locate the immediate act, event, actor, or activity in a more abstractly defined class – the many individual variables/factors were placed into constructed groups of conditions, actions, and consequences (see clustering above)
- *noting relations between variables* – to note how variables relate to one another – a conditional matrix / model was developed showing the relationships between variables and between categories of variables
- *finding intervening variables* – to look for other variables that interrelate with variables of interest – a category of intervening variables emerged in this study, which were called intervening conditions
- *building a logical chain of evidence* – quotes from interviews are used in Chapter IV to provide a logical chain of evidence to support the categories and relationships between categories that became part of this study's substantive theory
- *making conceptual/theoretical coherence* – a goal of grounded theory research is to develop a conceptual model representing a substantive theory; this study provides a coherent conceptual/theoretical model and substantive theory of faculty member responses to the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities of Ignatius University.

Considerations for Enhancing the Trustworthiness of Qualitative Research

Constructs of Trustworthiness

Strategies for establishing and judging the soundness of qualitative research differs from that of quantitative research. In 1985, Lincoln and Guba (as cited in

Marshall and Rossman, 1999) wrote about four constructs that reflect the assumptions of the qualitative paradigm. This study can be evaluated in terms of its trustworthiness by applying Lincoln and Guba's four constructs for judging the soundness of research: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

The goal of credibility is "to demonstrate that the inquiry was conducted in such a manner as to ensure that the subject was accurately identified and described" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 192). In this study, credibility was assured by the deep, rich description of the data, complete with an integrative diagram of conditions, actions, and consequences supported by quotes from the data. In addition, the method of data collection, purposeful random sampling, use of informant checking by faculty and staff at other Jesuit universities, and use of the constant comparative method in checking the data against the findings all add credibility to the findings. Also, the theory developed is a substantive one, which is valid within the context from which it arises and no claim is made that this study generalizes to all organizations. It is clearly stated in Chapters IV and V that this study's findings are contextually bound.

Transferability is how useful the "findings will be to others in similar situations, with similar research questions or questions of practice" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 193). In order to protect anonymity, it is not possible to provide a detailed description of the institution that participated in this study, however, Ignatius University is fairly typical of the comprehensive Jesuit universities in the United States; Ignatius University was not an unusual case. The diversity of perspectives and experiences that arose in this study, which led to a coherent theoretical model, adds to the study's potential transferability. However, it is the responsibility of other researchers and practitioners to establish the

transferability to other settings (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Others in Jesuit higher education and other Catholic universities will need to consider to what degree does this study's findings ring true to their own situations and experience.

The third construct by Lincoln and Guba is dependability. In this concept, recognition is given that the social world is always being constructed and that the positivist notion of replication of studies is problematic. In qualitative research, the "researcher attempts to account for changing conditions in the phenomenon chosen for study and changes in the design created by an increasingly refined understanding of the setting" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 194). Built into the findings of this study is an illustration of the dynamic evolving process of faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities, giving recognition to the always changing conditions of our social world.

"The final construct, confirmability, captures the traditional concept of objectivity" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 194). The emphasis is moved from objectivity of the researcher to how well does the data confirm the general findings of the study and do the data lead to implications? Chapter IV provides evidence that the data confirm the general findings and several implications of the data are presented in Chapter V. At the same time, steps still need to be taken to limit potential bias in interpretation of data. Some of the strategies taken in this study to limit bias included several helpful tactics by Miles and Huberman.

Miles and Huberman (1994) provide several other constructs or ways of testing or confirming findings, which can serve to enhance the trustworthiness of this study. In this study, I used the following tactics to test and confirm my findings:

- *checking for representativeness* – to guard against a non-representative sample and unfounded inferences – in a grounded theory study, the norm is to select respondents using theoretical sampling; however, due to a lack of theory on which to make sampling decisions, respondents were chosen using a random sampling technique
- *checking for researcher effects* – to guard against two possible sources of bias: 1) the effects of the researcher on the case and 2) the effects of the case on the researcher – I continually tested ideas out against the data; when I became aware of using information from my past research on the topic of study, I made sure to test out assumptions against the data; when I reflected on my own experiences with the topic of study, I recognized that I was doing so and again checked the data for accuracy
- *triangulating* – of data sources, method, researcher, theory – this study triangulated data sources by including interviews of thirty faculty members
- *checking the meaning of outliers* – to look for outliers that provide exceptions to the findings in order to protect against self-selecting biases, to build a better explanation based upon all the data and not ignoring or missing the exceptions, to test the generality of a finding – variability of responses by faculty members to organizational identity(s) provided richness and depth to this study. All differences in responses were built into the theory.
- *using extreme cases* – extreme cases of outliers are used to verify and confirm conclusions – the extreme cases served as the end point in the dimensional ranges of the properties in this study

- *looking for negative evidence* – to seek *disconfirmation* of what is thought to be true, to look for data opposing conclusions, or are inconsistent with a conclusion – I continually tested my findings against the raw data to see if the categories and their relationships to one another were accurate
- *making if-then tests* – to formalize propositions for testing by giving a statement of an expected relationship – in this study’s model, statements of an expected relationship are provided; these relationships were tested against the data, e.g., I tested the expected feelings against the faculty member’s perspectives on the identities and on their sense of connection, and I tested the degree of implementation against the central phenomena, sense of connection
- *ruling out spurious relations* – to look for intervening variables that will undo a relationship that looks plausible and strong – a category of intervening conditions emerged in the data and this study’s model indicates how the intervening conditions can serve as a modifying condition on the sense of connection, e.g., even if a faculty member has a strong sense of connection with an organizational identity, that faculty member may not implement the identity into his or her roles because of an intervening condition such as lack of resources (time and money for research)
- *checking out rival explanations* – to generate several alternative explanations fairly promptly in fieldwork and sustained until they prove genuinely unviable or prove to be better – the theoretical model went through several iterations of rival explanations until the final one was developed that seem to best represent the data; the final model looked very different from the initial model

- *getting feedback from informants* – to corroborate major findings of a study by getting feedback from informants on the findings, this may take place both during and at the end of a study – feedback on the emerging theory, model, and implications for practitioners were solicited from several individuals who work in Jesuit higher education: two staff members and three faculty members; none of the individuals were respondents in the study due to ethical concerns stated in the data analysis section above.

Research perspective

Joanne Martin (1992) postulates that organizational scholars tend to approach the concept of organizational culture from one of three research perspectives: integration, differentiation, or fragmentation. These research perspectives were helpful in maintaining a balanced perspective on the topic of this study.

Studies conducted from an *Integration* perspective have three defining characteristics: all cultural manifestations mentioned are interpreted as consistently reinforcing the same themes, all members of the organization are said to share in an organization-wide consensus, and the culture is described as a realm where all is clear. Ambiguity is excluded.

In contrast, research conducted from a *Differentiation* perspective describes cultural manifestations as sometimes inconsistent (for example, when managers say one thing and do another). Consensus occurs only within the boundaries of subcultures, which often conflict with each other. Ambiguity is channeled, so that it does not intrude on the clarity which exists within these subcultural boundaries.

Studies conducted from a *Fragmentation* perspective focus on ambiguity as the essence of organizational culture. Consensus and dissensus are issue-specific and constantly fluctuating. No stable organization-wide or subcultural consensus exists. Clear consistencies and clear inconsistencies are rare (p. 12).

Martin argues that working within any one of the three perspectives forces a researcher to ignore and distort cultural phenomena. Instead, she proposes that to study a cultural context from all three perspectives, (integration, differentiation, and fragmentation) is to broaden and deepen understanding.

When any single organization is viewed from all three perspectives, a greater understanding emerges than if it were viewed from any single perspective. If any cultural context is studied in enough depth, some things will be consistent, clear, and generate organization-wide consensus. Simultaneously, other aspects of the culture will coalesce within subcultural boundaries and still other elements of the culture will be fragmented, in a state of constant flux, and infused with confusion, doubt, and paradox. For this reason, it is useful to understand the difference among the perspectives and to use a multiperspective approach or, at least, acknowledge what is excluded when only one perspective is used (p. 4).

To guard against a biased perspective on organizational cultures, I used Martin's three competing perspectives that researchers use to understand cultures in organizations to understand responses to multiple organizational identities. As such, I analyzed the interview data from this study on faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities keeping in mind the integration, differentiation, and fragmentation research perspectives.

Researcher as instrument

Qualitative research is interpretive research and as such, it is important for the researcher to examine the biases, values, and judgments they have towards their subject matter (Creswell, 1994). My research interest in studying faculty member responses to the organizational identities of Jesuit, Catholic, and university arise from my past experience in working in Jesuit higher education and in a preliminary study I conducted on the subject matter. Personally, I have experienced the tension of living out the sometimes conflicting identities embodied in Jesuit higher education. I value each of the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities, yet I recognize the difficulties that these identities can sometimes have in relation to one another. On the one hand I believe that these institutions have the right, and even obligation, to foster their unique identities. On the other hand, I am very aware that efforts to foster the identities can sometimes have tremendously negative, and even painful, effects on differing members of the campus community. In my judgment, it is important that Jesuit and other Catholic colleges and universities find a way to faithfully live out their multiple identities, while also maintaining a genuine openness to diversity and sensitivity to the perspectives of all members of the campus community. Being an instrument of research, it is critically important that I am aware of my biases, values, and judgments in order to avoid, as rigorously as possible, any bias in the data collection and analysis process.

Ethical Considerations

Anonymity

Since faculty member responses to the Jesuit and Catholic identities was likely to be a sensitive topic for faculty members, it was important that they be granted anonymity

in this study. Anonymity was provided to all faculty members interviewed for this study. They were not identified by name, but they were identified by disciplinary area when it seemed appropriate, using general terminology such as the humanities or hard sciences. In addition, the university participating in this study remained anonymous, thus providing an added degree of anonymity for all respondents. Finally, the fact that respondents were chosen by random sampling aided in keeping respondents anonymous, even to their own administrators. Pseudonyms were used for all participants and for the name of the university studied.

Study approval

In keeping with University of Maryland, College Park policy, a request to conduct this study, with full explanation of the study, was submitted to the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. Permission was granted by the Board to conduct this study. Informant and respondent participants in the study signed forms agreeing to participate in the study and to be audiotaped. The forms were provided by me and approved by the University of Maryland Institutional Review Board.

Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations to this study that should be noted. First, the context for this qualitative study was a Jesuit Catholic university so the results and implications may not apply in other organizational contexts or even at other Jesuit universities. In particular, since the causal conditions in this study played a significant role in the responses that faculty members made to the organizational identities, then as the causal conditions differ in other contexts, so too might the responses differ to the organizational identities.

Second, respondents self-reported their behavior in relation to the organizational identities and there will necessarily be some level of bias associated with their doing so. In addition, many respondents had not previously reflected upon the types of questions I had asked, and given more time to reflect on the questions, their answers may have differed. Each respondent was only interviewed once and had the respondents been interviewed more over the course of time, their answers may have differed or become more nuanced.

Third, in the interview I asked the respondents, what difference, if any, did the organizational identity make to their roles as faculty members, and this was likely a difficult cognitive task. It is very possible that an organizational identity had more effects on how they enacted their roles than which they were actually aware. Also, as respondents shared how an organizational identity affected their roles, their responses ranged from a single distinct identity affecting their roles, to two or more identities merged into one affecting their role, to speaking in terms of the *shared* aspects of two or more identities affecting their roles. For example, for many respondents there was a great deal of overlap between the Jesuit and university identities, thus, it could be a difficult cognitive task for the respondents to distinguish which identity is affecting their roles, or rather if it is a combination of the shared values of the two identities. However, some respondents did make clear distinctions of the effects of the differing identities on their roles.

Fourth, the Jesuit and Catholic identities became the dominant identities studied in this dissertation. These identities were particularly value-laden and belief-laden ones, thus, the model developed in this study may be limited to organizational identities which

are particularly value- or belief-laden, although, it may be argued that all organizational identities are value- or belief-laden. The difference might be that some organizational identities, depending on the types of values imbued, such as religious values, may invoke stronger reactions and feelings than others.

Future studies in Jesuit higher education and in other organizational contexts can further explore these limitations and the viability of this grounded theory.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The participants in this study were thirty faculty members who generously and openly spoke with me about their experiences of working at a Jesuit, Catholic university. This chapter presents the findings of a grounded theory study and the theory that emerged from the experiences shared by the faculty respondents. This chapter presents the findings and a model to illustrate how and why faculty members responded to multiple organizational identities. The findings and model answer the following research questions:

1. What are faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities?
 - a. What interpretations do faculty members give to each of the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities?
 - b. How do the perceived Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities influence how faculty members conduct their roles as faculty members?
2. What factors (e.g. religious affiliation, departmental affiliation, attitudes towards identities, perceived conflict/congruence of identities) influence faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities?

Originally, this grounded theory study began as an opportunity to learn how faculty members respond to multiple organizational/institutional identities. Part of the emphasis of the study was on the concept of “multiple” identities. However, as the study progressed, other fundamental questions emerged: “What difference does any given organizational identity make to a faculty member’s roles?” “Why does or doesn’t the identity make a difference?” Also, the identities that were the most salient in the minds

of faculty members were the Jesuit and Catholic identities and the model developed in this study is predominantly based on responses to those identities. However, the university identity was also explored and the findings from faculty member responses to that identity are incorporated in this chapter and the model as well. It is important to note however, that from the perspective of the faculty members, there seemed to be a fundamental difference between the Jesuit, Catholic identities and the university identity. The university identity determined faculty members' roles (note, this would not be true for most other university employees), whereas the Jesuit and Catholic identities tended to be more peripheral to their roles unless they chose to incorporate those identities into their roles. Several faculty members stated that Jesuit and Catholic were adjectives and university was a noun. The university identity was not something upon which faculty members necessarily reflected perhaps because it was at the very heart of their chosen career and the university identity pre-determined what they should be doing in their jobs.

A review of the literature reveals that the questions in this study have yet to be researched and the findings published until now. Based upon interpretations of the individual faculty member interviews, I have developed a model illustrating the process by which faculty members respond to a university's formally articulated identities; and why a university's formally articulated identities make or do not make a difference in the roles of its faculty members. Specifically, I identified the central phenomena/central category, the causal, contextual, and intervening conditions, the actions that faculty members took regarding an organizational identity, and the personal consequences of the organizational identity for the faculty members. Since the theoretical model presented in

this chapter emerged from the interviews with faculty members, their words¹⁷ are used to provide evidence for each aspect of the theoretical model and to enrich the reader's understanding of the model. Following is an overview of the theory. Details of the theory are explained and illustrated further along.

Overview of Emerging Theory

Three of the organizational identities that were claimed and fostered at Ignatius University were Jesuit, Catholic, and university. There were multiple means by which these identities were articulated and fostered: documents and publications, programs to explain the mission and identity, presidential speeches, and rituals, signs and symbols. The articulation and fostering of these three identities served as the causal condition (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to which faculty members responded.

It appeared that Ignatius University's identities (Jesuit, Catholic, and university) made a difference to how faculty members conducted their roles depending on the degree to which faculty members had a connection with the organizational identity. The two contextual conditions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) through which a connection was made seemed to be whether or not faculty members perceived that they shared the values and/or beliefs that were embodied in the organizational identity and whether or not faculty members perceived the organizational identity as being relevant to their jobs, i.e. to their roles or subject matter. Thus, the links connecting the faculty member with the organizational identity were values and/or beliefs and job relevance. When there existed a perception of shared values and/or beliefs, then the connection tended to be strong with the organizational identity. When there was perceived job relevance, in addition to

¹⁷ Direct quotes are used whenever possible, however, some quotes are paraphrases from the original interview. This was done for the sake of readability and to limit overly long quotes.

shared values, then the connection was at its strongest. On the other hand, when there was only job relevance and no shared values, then the connection was less strong. And when there was not any sense of shared values or beliefs and there was no perceived job relevance, then there was no sense of connection.

The stronger the connection between the faculty member and the organizational identity, the more likely the faculty member was to implement the identity into his or her roles. However, the effect of the organizational identity on faculty member roles, even with a strong connection, was sometimes altered by intervening conditions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The intervening conditions did not serve as links as did the contextual conditions, rather they served to impact the contextual conditions, to modify the level of connection either by strengthening the sense of connection, or more likely by negatively impacting the sense of connection, and to modify the actions taken in response to the level of connection. These intervening conditions included such things as the faculty member's level of knowledge about the organizational identity, whether or not the university was seen as being consistent in living out the organizational identity, perceived conflicts or tensions between the identities, attitude towards several things (the identities, their roles, the Catholic Church, and the Jesuits), the perceived importance of the identity, if implementation of the identity was encouraged, required, evaluated, or rewarded (by the university administration, the organizational culture, accrediting agencies), and availability of resources (e.g. time, money for research, energy for the job).

In response to the organizational identity(s) and whether or not the faculty member experienced a sense of connection with the identity(s), the faculty members took a variety of actions or inaction: implemented the organizational identity into all of their

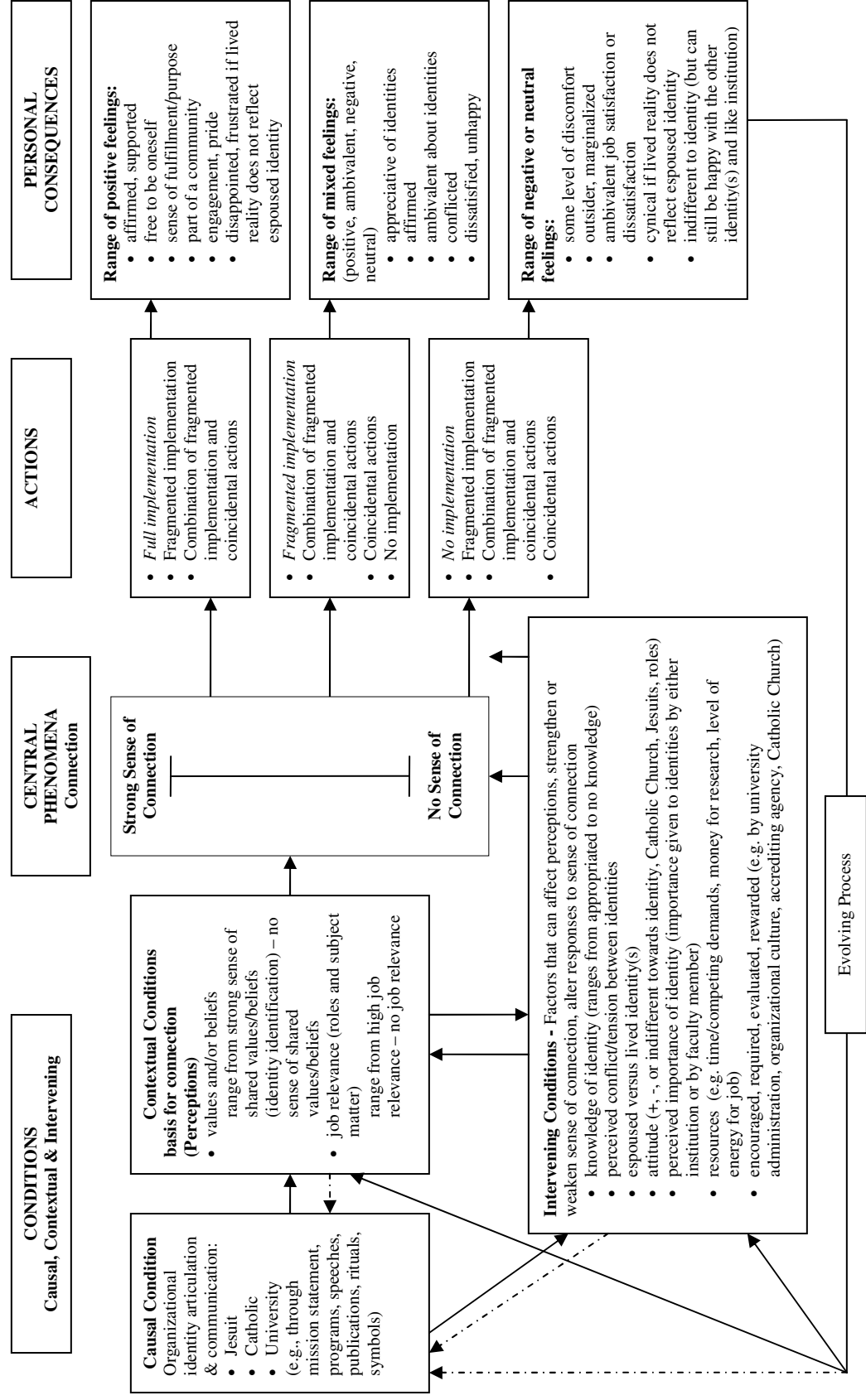
roles (full implementation), some of their roles (fragmented implementation), or not at all (no implementation), or simply had actions that were coincidentally consistent with the organizational identity but were not the result of the identity (coincidental actions).

In this study's findings, consequences (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998) of a personal nature for the faculty members arose based upon the level of faculty members' connections and resulting actions/inactions. These personal consequences were a set of feelings that tended to be positive, mixed or ambivalent, negative, or neutral.

Chapter outline

In the following sections, I explain fully the central phenomenon of "connection" and the differing aspects of the model, using the words of the faculty members to illustrate each point. It is important to note that the model may make it look like faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities is a linear process; however the responses that faculty members made to the identities were not necessarily linear. Additionally, there were many factors that operated in various combinations (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to impact faculty member responses to the multiple organizational identities. Especially complex to lay out in writing were the multitude of conditions (causal, contextual, and intervening) and how they interacted not only with each other, but with the central phenomena and with the actions taken by faculty members. To aid the reader in seeing the overall process, and not get lost in the details of the data, I have developed a model (see Figure 1, Model of Faculty Member Responses to Organizational Identity(s)) to be used as a supplement to reading this chapter.

FIGURE 1: MODEL OF FACULTY MEMBER RESPONSES TO ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY(S)



The following outline illustrates how the chapter is organized.

Central Phenomena/Central Category

Conditions overview

Causal conditions

Contextual conditions

Intervening conditions

Actions

Personal Consequences

Evolving Nature of Process

To best explain the theory on the process of responses faculty members made to the organizational identities, I begin with the “central category” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), which constitutes the “central phenomenon” (Creswell, 1998). The central phenomenon represents the main theme that emerged from the research (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). By beginning with the central category/central phenomenon, it is easier to understand the conditions and key reasons why an organizational identity affected or did not affect the roles of faculty members. Since the theoretical model presented in this chapter emerged from the interviews with faculty members, their words are used to provide evidence for each aspect of the theoretical model and to enliven the reader’s understanding of the model.

Central Phenomenon/Central Category

As mentioned above, in grounded theory a central category emerges around which a theory develops (Creswell, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and it represents the main theme of the research (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The central category is actually a

conceptualization or interpretation “condensed into a few words that seem to explain... what the research is all about, what the salient issues or problems of the participants seem to be” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 146). Strauss and Corbin (1998) explain that while another researcher coming from a different theoretical orientation might arrive at a different interpretation, other researchers should be able to follow the analyst’s path of logic and agree that it is one plausible explanation for what is going on. The central category in this study is “connection with the organizational identity” and is placed at the center of the grounded theory model and labeled “central phenomenon” (Creswell, 1998).

Connection with the identity(s)

The central category in this study was an emergent one, not conceived prior to the study. Through the open coding process, the idea of a connection between the faculty member and the organizational identity became the heart of this grounded theory regarding faculty member responses to an organizational identity. Even in the pilot study interviews, it became very apparent that whether or not an organizational identity had an effect on faculty members’ roles depended upon whether or not the faculty member had some sort of “connection” or “linkage” with the organizational identity. Based upon the pilot study, I then incorporated questions of connection with the identity(s) into the interview protocol, but these were left until the latter part of the interview in an attempt to not lead the interviewee in his or her responses. Most respondents gave indications in the early part of the interviews that they either had some sort of connection to the identity or they did not. Throughout the interviews, it became evident that a sense of connection with the identities was a primary factor affecting faculty member responses, however, it was in the open, axial, and selective coding processes that two primary factors became

evident: whether or not faculty members shared the values and/or beliefs of the identity and whether or not they perceived the identity as being relevant to their jobs.

The concept of “connection” is a conceptual one that captures the essence of the process. When data are analyzed in grounded theory research, there are usually two levels of explanations: 1) the actual words used by respondents and 2) the conceptualization of their words (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 126). The central category, connection, is a conceptualization, as explained above, of the process through which faculty members responded to an organizational identity.

Definition and means of connection

To explore further the idea of connection, it was useful to look at a dictionary definition of “connection.” According to the *Merriam Webster Online* dictionary, the definition of connect is “to join or fasten together usually by something intervening,” and the definition of connection is “the act of connecting or the state of being connected.” The definition of connect is used here as a transitive verb – a verb that takes both a subject and an object, e.g. “I ate dinner.” “You went to school.” (*Merriam Webster Online*) “I share the values of the Jesuit identity.” From the *Merriam-Webster* definition, it is that “something intervening” that joins/connects the faculty member with the organizational identity(s).

In studying faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities, it quickly became apparent that a sense of connection, or lack of a sense of connection, with the organizational identity was at the heart of the responses that faculty members made to an organizational identity. The sense of connection was made by having a sense of shared values and/or beliefs with those of the organizational identity, and perceiving

that the organizational identity was relevant to the job, i.e., to faculty members' job roles or subject matter.

It appeared that Ignatius University's identities (Jesuit, Catholic, and university) made a difference to how faculty members conducted their roles depending on the degree to which faculty members experienced a sense of connection with the organizational identity. The sense of connection ranged from a strong sense of connection to no sense of connection. When there was a strong sense of connection, they shared many of the values and/or beliefs as found in the organizational identity, and the faculty members thought that the organizational identity was relevant to their jobs (to their roles or to their subject matter). At the other end of the continuum were faculty members who either thoughtfully believed that they had no connection with the identity (i.e., no shared values/beliefs and no job relevance), or faculty members who simply did not experience any connection with the identity because they did not give the identity much thought at all. When faculty members did not experience any sense of shared values or beliefs with the identity and did not see any relevance of the identity to their jobs (roles or subject matter), then that resulted in no sense of connection. However, when there was at least some level of shared values or beliefs, and/or some level of perceived job relevance, then the faculty member fell somewhere between the extreme ends of the continuum, in-between a strong sense of connection and no sense of connection. The majority of faculty members fell somewhere between the two extremes on the Jesuit identity, approximately half fell closer towards no sense of connection with the Catholic identity, and most fell closer to strong sense of connection with the university identity.

Values and beliefs, and job relevance served as the contextual conditions that created the link or connection between the faculty member and the organizational identity. However, it is important to note that it was faculty members' perceptions of shared values/beliefs and of job relevance that mattered most. Given a particular job and a particular set of values, one faculty member may see them as resonating with an organizational identity and another faculty member might say that there was no relationship between the values/job and the organizational identity. In addition to contextual conditions, other conditions (causal and intervening) affected the central category, and each other, as well. To understand the concept of connection, it is important to also look at the conditions that affected that sense of connection and the resulting actions by faculty members. In the following sections I explain the concept of conditions and provide evidential data for the following: 1) causal conditions that instigated the process of faculty member responses, 2) contextual conditions through which the sense of connection with the identities was created, and 3) intervening conditions that served to alter the perceptions of the contextual conditions, the sense of connection, and to impact faculty member actions arising from the level of connection.

Conditions

“Conditions are sets of events or happenings that create the situations, issues, and problems pertaining to a phenomenon and, to a certain extent, explain why and how persons or groups respond in certain ways” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 130). Strauss and Corbin provide a variety of factors from which conditions can arise, such as, time, place, culture, rules, regulations, beliefs, economics, power, gender factors, social worlds, organizations, institutions, personal motivations, and biographies. Also, conditions “may

be micro or macro, shift and change over time, affect one another, and combine in various ways along different dimensions” (p. 131). In addition, conditions’ paths of influence on actions may be direct or indirect and more or less linear. Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) name three labels (causal, intervening, and contextual) as a means of trying to sort out some of the complex relationships among conditions and their subsequent relation to actions/interactions.

Through data analysis in this study, several factors, or conditions, arose that served to either create a sense of connection or to alter that sense of connection, and to possibly alter the responses to the sense of connection. However, as noted by Strauss and Corbin (1998), while it is desirable for a researcher to discover all relevant conditions, the researcher never should presume to have discovered all conditions or that any condition or set of conditions is relevant until proven so by linking up to the phenomena in some explanatory way. The conditions discovered in this study are many and they have complex relationships to one another and to the central phenomenon itself. Below, using data from the respondent interviews, I name the various types of conditions and explain their relationships to one another, to the central phenomenon (sense of connection), and their impact on the actions that resulted from the central phenomenon. However, it is possible that other conditions existed, but were not discovered in this study.

Causal conditions

According to Strauss and Corbin’s (1998) explanation of grounded theory, “phenomenon... is a term that answers to the question ‘What is going on here?’” (p. 130). Phenomena are “repeated patterns of happenings, events, or actions/interactions that represent what people do or say, alone or together, in response to the problems or

situations in which they find themselves” (p. 130). Influencing the phenomena are causal conditions that “usually represent sets of events or happenings” (p. 131).

The issue under study in this research project is the concept of organizational identities and how faculty members respond to them. At Ignatius University, as set forth in the faculty handbook and mission statement, the organization had three identities to which it expected the faculty members to respond: Jesuit, Catholic, and university. Based on Strauss and Corbin’s (1990, 1998) idea of causal conditions, I use the term, causal condition, to name the situation to which faculty members were responding. The causal condition was the articulation and fostering of Ignatius University’s Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities. As explained below, Ignatius University had several means through which it sought to articulate and foster its identities including such things as documents and publications, programs to explain the mission and identity, presidential speeches, and rituals, signs and symbols. The causal conditions impacted the contextual and intervening conditions as explained later in this section.

Definition of organizational identity

It may be helpful here to review the definition of organizational identity that was used as the basis for this research project. An organization’s identity is that which is formally claimed by the organization in the sense of being accepted as the official, institutionalized representation of the organization (Whetten 2000). By official, Whetten explained that these claims are made on behalf of, or in the name of, an organization, generally by officials of the organization. In addition, an organizational identity is central (seen as the essence of the organization), distinctive (distinguishes the

organization from others), and enduring (maintains a continuity over time) (Albert & Whetten, 1985).

Ignatius University's identities

Ignatius University had several organizational identities, three of which were studied in this research project.¹⁸ In university documents and publications, Ignatius University claimed its identities as being Jesuit, Catholic, and university. The Ignatius University Mission Statement stated, "Ignatius is a Catholic institution in the Jesuit tradition, an urban university firmly rooted in the principles and convictions of Judeo-Christian tradition and in the best ideals of American heritage." The Ignatius University website and brochures stated that Ignatius University is a "Catholic University in the Jesuit tradition."

In several documents, explanations of what it meant to be a "Catholic University in the Jesuit tradition" were given. One small brochure explained the Jesuit philosophy of education as,

Jesuit education prepares the whole person, developing knowledge, values, spiritual growth and responsibility for others. The Jesuit focus on ethics and values helps prepare Ignatius students for the moral decisions they must make in their lives and careers.

A one sentence version of the mission statement that was grounded in the Jesuit, Catholic identity stated the institution's purpose in the following way, "To form students intellectually, morally, and spiritually, with rigor and compassion, toward lives of solidarity and service." In addition, the full mission statement, in which the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities were embodied (Ignatius University Faculty

¹⁸ Other identities included "liberal arts" institution and "comprehensive" university.

Handbook, 2000), had several lines representing the university expectations of faculty members regarding the organizational identities:

Our essential activity is the interaction of students and faculty in an educational experience characterized by critical thinking and articulate expression with special attention given to ethical issues and values...

...while primarily an undergraduate institution emphasizing the liberal arts, is also committed to providing graduate and professional education in areas of its demonstrated competence and where it meets a particular need of society, especially of Ignatius's regional constituency. Faculty members, moreover, are strongly encouraged to engage in research outside the classroom in order to maintain the professional standing of the institution.

With attention to the student as an individual, Jesuit education seeks to develop: 1. intellectual skills for both a full life in the human community and service in the Kingdom of God; 2. critical attention to the underlying philosophical and theological implications of issues; 3. a world view that is oriented to responsible action and recognizes the intrinsic value of the natural and human values; 4. an understanding and communication of moral and religious values through personal concern and lived witness, as well as by precept and instruction; and 5. a sense of the whole person – body, mind, and spirit.

In keeping with this Jesuit tradition, Ignatius believes that religious insights are complementary to the intellectual life, and that a continuing synthesis of the Christian perspective with all other forms of human knowledge is conducive to wisdom and understanding. Ignatius shares in the worldwide Jesuit

commitment to a creative and intelligent engagement with questions of peace and justice....

Ignatius believes that these goals can be achieved only through academic programs of high quality that are served by a faculty devoted primarily to excellence in teaching, are nurtured by scholarship and research and are supported by a broad range of university ministry and student life programs.

In a publication/brochure given to all new faculty, the relationship between the identities, which could be seen as conflictual, was addressed. Essentially, through the publication, Ignatius University's administration acknowledged the tension between the university and religious identities, but stated that "faith and learning are partners and not enemies since both are dedicated to ultimate truth." It stated,

The open-ended search for truth in the context of a religious tradition can, of course, pose problems if the search seems to threaten the tenets of that tradition. But faith and learning are partners and not enemies since both are dedicated to ultimate truth. The relationship between faith and learning has to be nourished constantly by serious and often challenging dialogue. Ignatius University is committed to remain a 'university:' an ongoing conversation among disciplines, respecting a wide variety of opinion in the context of academic freedom. It also intends to be 'Catholic' and 'Jesuit:' reflecting on the centuries of Catholic and Jesuit wisdom and how that wisdom sheds light on the perplexing questions of today.

Matching the noun, "university," and the adjectives, "Catholic" and "Jesuit," can often imply tension, but, in the end, tension can provide a passage to

new knowledge. A university such as Ignatius, committed to living these creative tensions, brings a unique vision to American higher education.

In addition to formally claiming its identities as being Jesuit, Catholic, and university, Ignatius University expected its faculty to live out these identities in their roles of teaching, scholarship, and service. The Ignatius University faculty handbook set forth the obligations of the tenured and tenure-track faculty:

[Through their teaching, scholarship, student advising, and service] faculty members are expected to demonstrate their commitment to Jesuit, Catholic, liberal education by their acceptance of the Mission Statement and to promote the principles and ideals upon which the University stands, without prejudice to academic freedom....

... The faculty member must develop the students' intellectual skills, expose the underlying philosophical and theological implications in the discipline, where applicable, and present a world view through the discipline that is consistent with responsible action and human values....

Identity articulation at Ignatius University

In addition to the above articulations of the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities, there were other written and verbal explanations of the identities and it appeared that it was in more recent years that Ignatius University had made a concerted effort to articulate its identity of being Jesuit and Catholic. Many faculty members made note of the strong emphasis that some university administrators were placing on these identities and that the faculty were being made more aware of the identities. One faculty member spoke of the Jesuit identity being “pounded in.”

Until right now, this is the longest I've probably thought (laughs) or talked about it [Ignatius University's identities] in twenty-some years, and I think that's probably true with an awful lot of faculty. But yet, of late, we're hearing more about it. You know, it's *being pounded* [emphasis in original] in more in terms of all the things that you go to, all the events, and what's really pounding it in is, "This is Jesuit," you know.

Many respondents mentioned a number of other ways in which the organizational identities were articulated at Ignatius University: through university literature, e.g. pamphlets, university documents, a Jesuit magazine, brown bag luncheon discussions of articles and current issues, identity programs and retreats, university gatherings, presidential speeches, Catholic rituals, and symbols.

In addition to formal programs to explain the organizational identities, some faculty members said they learned about the identities by "just picking up on it." Similar to some of the other senior faculty members interviewed, Professor Therese, a long-time faculty member explained that Ignatius University did not have programs to explain the identity when she started working there and that she picked up her understanding of the organizational identity by "just observing and hearing the things that are talked about." Professor Therese said,

I think you pick up on this as you're here. It's not something that you walk in the door and somebody hands you a book and says read this about Jesuits (laughs). Now, there are programs that they've been doing throughout the university where they have different departments spend a day or a day and a half on a retreat where apparently they go through a lot of this stuff. My department hasn't done that yet.

And I know I've heard faculty from other departments who have been here as long as I've been, who have said, 'Why didn't they do this when we first came?' And then when you go through whatever this process is, you learn so much more about the Jesuits (laughs). So maybe, if you came back here a couple years from now after everybody had been through that, we'd all know more about the Jesuits, but I mean, as to me these are the things that as a lay faculty member, you pick up by just observing and hearing the things that are talked about. But it's not, I don't think on the campus itself, to the faculty and maybe not even to the students, that it's always that strongly conveyed from the Jesuits themselves as to what this is all supposed to mean.

Thus, as seen in the examples above, there were numerous means through which the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities were being fostered at Ignatius University and to which the faculty members responded, as will be seen throughout this chapter. The Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities and the multiple efforts through which the identities were fostered served as the causal conditions in this study to which faculty members responded.

Contextual Conditions

A second type of condition are contextual conditions. Strauss and Corbin (1998) state that contextual conditions explain why a phenomena is limited for some, whereas it might be extensive for others. They are "are the specific sets of conditions (patterns of conditions) [values/beliefs, job relevance] that intersect dimensionally at this time and place to create the set of circumstances or problems [sense of connection] to which persons respond through actions/interactions [degree of identity implementation]" (p.

132). Also, contextual conditions have their source in causal conditions and intervening conditions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this study, in reaction to the organizational identity(s)¹⁹ that were claimed and fostered at Ignatius University (the causal condition), the faculty members had knowledge and interpretations of the identities and attitudes towards them (intervening conditions), with resulting perceptions of whether or not the organizational identities had anything to do with them and with their jobs. The contextual conditions were perceptions that faculty members had regarding whether or not they shared the values and/or beliefs seen in the organizational identity, and whether or not the organizational identity was seen as relevant to their jobs (including their roles and their subject matter). It appeared that the stronger the sense of connection (through shared values/beliefs and strong job relevance), the more likely faculty members would implement the organizational identity into their roles and vice versa – the weaker the sense of connection (lacking shared values/beliefs and job relevance), the less likely the faculty members would implement the organizational identity into their roles.

Contextual conditions are differing conditions that enter into a context, each having its own specific dimensions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In this study, the context was not an external context (e.g. the organizational culture), but rather the context of the faculty member – their perceptions of how their values and/or beliefs intersected with those of the organizational identity and their perceptions of the relevance of the organizational identity for their roles and subject matter. In this study, the contextual

¹⁹ While there were multiple organizational identities addressed in this research project, faculty members usually made enough distinctions between the identities to make them identifiably separate, therefore, I will usually make reference to an identity as if it were singular. However, some faculty members expressed a great deal of overlap between some of the identities, usually the Jesuit and Catholic identities, sometimes simply linking the two together (e.g. Jesuit is a subset of Catholic) and other times identifying the Jesuit and Catholic identity as one and the same thing. When the faculty member treated two identities as one, then I treated the two identities as one as well.

conditions were values/beliefs, and job relevance. Each of these conditions had a range of dimensions. Values and beliefs ranged from a strong sense of shared values and/or beliefs, even to the point of identifying with the identity, which I term “organizational identity identification” to no sense of shared values and/or beliefs with the organizational identity. Note, “no sense of shared values and/or beliefs” included those faculty members who thoughtfully did not see any shared values or beliefs and those who did not experience a sense of shared values or beliefs because they did not give the identity much thought. And job relevance ranged from the faculty member seeing the organizational identity as being highly relevant to his or her job to not being perceived as relevant to his or her job. Again, through thoughtful consideration, the faculty member may have come to the conclusion that there was no job relevance or the lack of job relevance could simply be because the faculty member did not give the identity any thought, thus he or she would not see any job relevance. Note: it appears that those faculty members who consciously gave thought to the organizational identities and determined that there was a lack of shared values and/or beliefs with the identity(s) were more likely to express some negative feelings about the identities than those faculty members who just did not give the identity(s) much thought at all. When little to no thought was given to the identity(s), then faculty members tended to have neutral feelings about the identities. Also, whether or not the faculty member thoughtfully gave consideration to potential job relevance did not seem to make a difference in faculty member feelings about the identity(s).

Finally, Strauss and Corbin (1998) explained that contextual conditions crosscut to combine into various patterns dimensionally. In this study, they crosscut along their dimensions to combine into a new dimensional pattern – sense of connection. It was the

crosscutting that resulted in the degree of sense of connection with the organizational identity. That is, the degree to which a faculty member experienced a sense of connection with the organizational identity depended upon the crosscutting of the degree to which the faculty member thought they shared the identity's values or beliefs, and the degree to which the faculty member saw the identity as being relevant to his or her job. The greater the sense of shared values/beliefs and perceived job relevance, the greater the sense of connection and the greater the likelihood that the faculty member would implement the identity into his/her roles, unless other factors intervened. And the opposite was true – the lesser the sense of shared values/beliefs and perceived job relevance, the lesser the sense of connection and the lesser the likelihood that the faculty member would implement the identity into his or her roles, unless other factors intervened. It also happened that some faculty members had strongly shared values and/or beliefs with the organizational identity, but they did not see the identity as being job relevant. In this situation, the lack of connection regarding job relevance negatively combined with the sense of connection with the values, placing the faculty member somewhere between the extremes of strong sense of connection and no sense of connection.

It is important to note that there were other conditions, intervening conditions, that impacted the contextual conditions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), as well as impacting the level of connection and the actions taken by faculty members based upon their level of connection with the identity. The intervening conditions and their various effects will be explained later in this chapter.

Contextual Conditions that Created a Sense of Connection

As explained above, the means through which faculty members had a connection, or not, with the organizational identity(s) was through a personal context of perceptions, i.e. whether or not the faculty member had a sense of shared values and/or beliefs with the organizational identity, and whether or not the organizational identity was perceived as being relevant to the faculty member's roles or subject matter. In the data analysis, these contexts emerged as being significant to how faculty members responded to the organizational identity. In the following paragraphs, I explain some of the properties and dimensions of the properties that I found in the data. Properties are the characteristics of a category. These properties have dimensions, a range along which the properties vary (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Personal context – level of shared values and/or beliefs.

A sense of shared values and/or beliefs seemed to be the most important way in which faculty members experienced a connection with the organizational identity, and ultimately, on the organizational identity's influence on faculty members' roles. For most faculty members interviewed, there was a strong sense of whether or not their values resonated with those of the organizational identity. For example, in speaking about the Jesuit identity, Professor Madeline stated, "I very much enjoy being part of an organization that I can support and have a sense that what they're doing is something that I believe in." That "something that I can believe in" regarding the Jesuit identity is "being of service to others... helping students take a look outside of themselves and really looking at the effects of their decisions in a professional sense, as well as a personal sense." Professor Thomas stated that he had a "high degree" of identification

with the Jesuit Catholic identity “because it’s a match for my personal life” and that he also highly identified with the university identity because of this type of institution’s contributions to society throughout its history. He thinks “the university is a great institution that alleviates suffering,... benefits people,... improves lives,” things that Professor Thomas appeared to value himself.

The sense of shared values and/or beliefs ranged along a continuum from no sense of shared values/beliefs to strongly shared values/beliefs, even to the point of having a sense of shared identity with the organizational identity (identity identification). In between those two extremes were several faculty members who expressed some level of values resonance with the organizational identity or with only certain aspects of the organizational identity. For example, Professor Roger, a self-proclaimed atheist said that he was uncomfortable with the religious aspects of the Jesuit and Catholic identities, but that he particularly valued the contributions that Catholic higher education makes to preserving the liberal arts. Professor Roger said,

Catholic higher education, and Jesuit universities in particular, have preserved the liberal arts in a way that other, secular universities no longer do. And I highly value that contribution and the value that is placed in a liberal arts curriculum here at Ignatius University. The philosophical exploration that we encourage in our students is very important and I feel like that’s a great fit for me and for what I teach. I’m very happy with that aspect of the Jesuit and Catholic identities.... [However,] I am very uncomfortable with any religious aspect of the Jesuit and Catholic identities. Since I’m an atheist, I do not share the religious beliefs and values.... In many ways, I feel like an outsider here, not because anyone here

makes me feel that way. I think it's because I know that I don't share the Jesuit and Catholic values, except for the liberal arts aspect.

Some respondents voiced appreciation for the values that were rooted in an organizational identity saying that they shared some of these same values, while others' appreciation extended to the point where they said they identified with the organizational identity, and even further along the continuum, some said that the organization's identities and its values were part of who they were, thus the organizational identities were part of the individual's self-identity. For example, Professor Gerald stated, "I think my interests merge with the identity of the place. That's why I think it would be easier for me to teach here than at a state university.... I am a Roman Catholic and I teach as Roman Catholic and so teaching within this institution allows me, and researching within this institution, allows me to be who I am." Where respondents voiced a sense of shared values with the organizational identity, they also voiced a positive regard for the identity.

Sense of religious or spiritual values.

Since there is an inherent religious foundation to the Jesuit and Catholic identity(s), this particular area of values resonance needs further explication. In some instances the values match faculty members experienced was because they had a religious or spiritually²⁰ shared set of values with the organizational identity. Many faculty members expressed a sense of shared religious or spiritual values with the Jesuit and/or Catholic identity. In some cases, the sense of a shared set of religious or spiritual values was because the faculty member was a Catholic. For example, Professor Vincent said, "I

²⁰ The term "religious" has a common connotation of having to do with a particular religion and its practice such as the Catholic, Methodist, Hindu, and Jewish religions. The term "spiritual" has a common connotation of having to do with a belief in God and other beliefs resulting from a belief in God, which may include formal religious beliefs. Both terms are used here since some faculty members had the shared values of the Catholic religion and other faculty members had a shared sense of spirituality that God, and the things of God, play an important role in their lives.

buy into the Catholic identity because I have a Catholic background,” and Professor Frasier said, “Because I am Catholic I fairly strongly identify with the Catholic identity.”

Perhaps more interesting were the faculty members of other faith traditions who appreciated and valued the Jesuit and/or Catholic identities for their religious nature. These faculty members had a strong sense of sharing more general spiritual values with the Jesuit and/or Catholic identity(s) and they felt more comfortable expressing their own religious nature at Ignatius University than they would be able to do at a secular university. Professor Stacey, a Baptist, found that “the Catholic identity gives you that freedom of religion and faith and to be able to live my faith in the way that I want to do that and be proud of my faith.” Professor David, a practicing Jew, said, “Yeah, I mean, I couldn’t be real comfortable in a totally secular institution... I’m enough of a spiritual human being that I kind of like being part of a place that has this option [religious opportunities] available.” Similar comments were made by other Jewish and other Christian faculty members, and a faculty member from another religion.

However, just because someone had a strong sense of a religious identity that is other than Catholic, it did not necessarily mean that there would be a sense of shared spiritual values. For one respondent, he had a strong sense of being a religious person, Jewish, but he said that “perhaps there’s too wide a gulf between my religious beliefs and those of Catholicism to really appreciate the religious nature of Ignatius University or to identify with that aspect of Ignatius University.”

In a few instances, faculty members interviewed expressed having no religious or spiritual beliefs and for these reasons, the Catholic identity had little meaning or importance to them. Professor Robert said, “I am not a spiritual person at all. I don’t do

anything spiritual in my classes for sure. I wouldn't be caught dead doing that. It just would be hypocritical for me to do that... For me personally, the Catholic identity is a non-issue.”

Job relevance – roles and subject matter

Another means through which faculty members made a link, or not, with the organizational identity(s) was the relevance they thought the organizational identity had for their particular subject matter or for their roles. When asked, “What difference, if any, do the identities make to your roles as a faculty member?” many respondents replied saying either that their subject matter fit well with the organizational identity or that the organizational identity was not relevant to their subject matter, or that the identity was or was not relevant to their role(s). It appeared that certain disciplines and subject matter had a natural fit with the organizational identity(s), such as with the Jesuit identity. For example, faculty members whom I interviewed from theology, philosophy, nursing, management, counseling, psychology, and education typically expressed some degree of relevance of the Jesuit identity for their roles and discipline/subject matter. For instance, Professor Angela said, “That’s one thing I like about the Jesuit identity, is this holistic idea of the person. It fits very nicely with my background in counseling, which says that we should look at everyone from many perspectives, not just one.... So I really like that philosophy.” However, faculty members from some of the science-based and math disciplines had a harder time making any connections. Professor Nira, a science faculty member, told me, “You know, there’s no such thing as Catholic or Jesuit [science discipline]” and she expressed difficulty in finding any way that the Jesuit or Catholic identity could make a difference to her teaching or research in her discipline. Professor

Mark summed up some difficulties in the Jesuit and Catholic identities being relevant to “factual-based disciplines.”

Well, I think part of it is because when you teach my discipline, there’s not a whole lot of, you know... I mean, I think that I would challenge anybody (laughs) to take either mathematics, or physics or computer science and say, okay, cash this in, in terms of any ecumenical tradition, alright? Or any religious tradition. I think that would be hard. Now, if you were to teach a history of mathematics, ah, now there you can, because now you’re talking about, ‘Hey, we’re using a Gregorian calendar because Pope Gregory didn’t like the Julian calendar.’ But if you’re teaching, you know, quote, unquote, a *fact*, it’s more difficult. For cold, scientific, fact-based disciplines, it’s relatively hard to see how the Jesuit or Catholic identity would impact it in any way.

It was interesting that in some cases, while there may have been a natural fit between an organizational identity and the discipline, the organizational identity may not have been perceived as relevant to the actual subject matter being taught within that discipline. This was true for a philosophy professor interviewed who taught analytical philosophy. He said, “If I was teaching history of philosophy I think there would be a more explicit connection with the Jesuit Catholic identity.” Thus, it was in the eye of the beholder whether or not there was any relevance of an organizational identity for one’s job. Another example was the perspective that Professor Lee had. Professor Lee’s discipline in the arts was not necessarily relevant to the Jesuit and Catholic identities; however, she said that the Jesuit and Catholic identities made a difference to all her roles as a faculty member because her own self-identity embodied the Jesuit and Catholic

identities. She said, “The Jesuit and Catholic identity is who I am, therefore it has to affect all that I do.” When I shared with her that another faculty member in the sciences told me that he could not find any connection between the Jesuit identity and his area of research and subject matter, even though he personally valued the Jesuit identity, Professor Lee said, “It wouldn’t matter what discipline I taught, the values of the Jesuit and Catholic identities are my own, therefore it permeates everything that I do. It cannot *not* affect my roles as a faculty member because it is who I am.”

In addition to whether or not the organizational identity was relevant to the faculty members’ subject matter, faculty members considered whether or not the identity was relevant to their roles. For example, most faculty members considered the discussion of ethical decision-making to be relevant to and appropriate for their teaching role. Since one aspect of the Jesuit identity, as understood by most faculty members interviewed, was the value of an ethical lifestyle, many faculty members, regardless of discipline and subject matter, found ways of incorporating a discussion of ethics into their courses. In addition, since having a genuine concern for students as individuals, which was a stated aspect of the Jesuit identity, was a value shared by most respondents and relevant to the teaching role, most faculty members incorporated this aspect of the Jesuit identity into how they worked with students in their teaching and advising. However, beyond these two means of implementation, typically, those faculty members who did not see the Jesuit identity as being relevant to their subject matter, said that the Jesuit identity did not make a difference to their research or teaching.

Intervening Conditions

The third type of conditions is intervening conditions. Intervening conditions “mitigate or otherwise alter the impact of causal conditions on phenomena,” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 131), which in this study the phenomena is the sense of connection, and in addition, there are times in which intervening conditions can either facilitate or constrain action/interaction (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In this study, differing intervening conditions affected where the faculty members fell along the dimensions of the contextual conditions (shared values/beliefs and job relevance), where they fell along the dimension of sense of connection (strong to no sense of connection), and some intervening conditions affected the responses that the faculty members made as a result of the level of connection. Additionally, the intervening conditions themselves were impacted by the causal conditions. Each of these are explained below, but first I name the intervening conditions.

Multiple Intervening Conditions

The conditions that affected faculty member perceptions of shared values/beliefs and job relevance, strengthened or weakened the sense of connection, and that altered actions taken in response to the level of connection included such factors as the faculty member’s level of knowledge about the organizational identity (ranging from appropriated knowledge to no knowledge), the interpretations the faculty members made of the identity(s) (sometimes editing out aspects of the identity and sometimes linking or keeping separate the multiple identities), whether or not the university was seen as being consistent in living out the organizational identity (espoused versus lived identity), perceived conflicts or tensions between the identities (especially between the Catholic

and university identities), attitude towards several things (the identities, their roles, the Catholic Church, and the Jesuits), the perceived importance of the identity (either the importance given to the identity by the institution or that the faculty member gave to the identity), if implementation of the identity was encouraged, required, evaluated, or rewarded (by the university administration, the organizational culture, accrediting agencies, or the Catholic Church), and availability of resources (e.g. time, money for research).

In the following sections I explain the potential interactions of the intervening conditions with other conditions, with the central phenomenon, and with actions. Following those sections, I provide quotes as evidence of the intervening conditions and their impact.

Impact of causal conditions on intervening conditions.

The causal conditions in this study were the articulation and fostering of Ignatius University's Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities, and those efforts had a direct impact on several of the intervening conditions that arose in this study. For example, the amount of knowledge (an intervening condition) that a faculty member had about an organizational identity was greatly due to how well the identity was articulated and fostered at Ignatius University. The ways in which the organizational identity was fostered impacted such intervening conditions as the faculty members' attitudes towards the identity, the interpretations made by the faculty member of the identity and the perceived importance of the identity. Note: it is likely that the intervening and contextual conditions also impacted the causal conditions, e.g. a lack of knowledge by faculty members would likely create a need for additional programs to explain and foster the

organizational identity. However, since the causal conditions arose from the organizational level, and this study focused on the individual faculty member level of analysis, these types of impacts were not studied and did not arise in the data.

Impact of intervening conditions on contextual conditions.

In some instances, intervening conditions impacted the contextual conditions. For instance, intervening conditions can either negatively or positively impact the perceptions of faculty members regarding the organizational identity(s), that is, whether or not they perceive that they share the organizational identity's values/beliefs and whether or not they believe that the organizational identity is job relevant. For example, if a faculty member has a negative attitude towards Catholicism or the Catholic Church, then that faculty member may be less likely to be open to learning about the Catholic identity, they may resist seeing any way in which their values or beliefs may be similar to those of the Catholic identity, and they may resist seeing how the Catholic identity may be relevant to their roles or subject matter. An example of a positive impact could include the following scenario. A faculty member has a positive attitude towards the Jesuits and towards the Jesuit identity, and sees the institution as placing a great deal of importance on the Jesuit identity, then the faculty member may be more enthusiastic in learning about the Jesuit identity, which results in more opportunities to find where there is commonality in values and beliefs. The faculty member may also be more likely to strive to find relevance of the Jesuit identity for his or her job. One of the most significant intervening conditions impacting contextual conditions was the amount of knowledge a faculty member had about the organizational identity. If a faculty member does not know what the identity is, it would be difficult to see any shared values or job relevance, which

would result in no sense of connection. However, in the situation where a faculty member has a great deal of knowledge about the organizational identity, while it may increase the opportunities to discover any connections (of shared values/beliefs or job relevance), it certainly does not guarantee that any connections will be made.

Impact of intervening conditions on level of connection.

Intervening conditions can serve to either strengthen or weaken a faculty member's sense of connection with an organizational identity. For example, a faculty member who strongly shares the values of the Jesuit identity and who sees them as relevant to his or her job, may become disillusioned with the Jesuit identity at that university if the university administration is seen as living out values that are antithetical to the Jesuit identity values. In this situation, the faculty member's sense of connection may become weakened.

In the opposite direction, a faculty member may have a fairly strong sense of connection with the Jesuit identity (i.e., shares the Jesuit identity values and sees job relevance) and that strong sense of connection may be strengthened even more as a result of being rewarded by the university administration for his or her successful efforts of implementing the identity in his or her job. This may result in a deepening sense of connection for the faculty member.

Impact of intervening conditions on actions.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) explained that there are times when intervening conditions can either facilitate or constrain action/interaction. Intervening conditions can serve to alter faculty member actions taken in response to the sense of connection or lack of connection with the organizational identity. For example, a faculty member who

knows a great deal about the Jesuit identity, who shares the Jesuit values, and the Jesuit identity is relevant to his or her subject matter, will likely result in a strong sense of connection. However, while the faculty member may wish to implement the Jesuit identity into his or her teaching, research, and service, the faculty member may not have the funding to implement the Jesuit identity into the research role. As explained by a couple of faculty members, the types of research for which they could get grants, were not the types of research that they would have liked to do in connection with the Jesuit identity. Oftentimes, faculty members conducted the types of research for which the grant funders decided were important. Thus, the lack of resources (money) for research can negatively impact potential responses to a faculty member's connection with the Jesuit identity. Another important resource that may serve to limit an implementation response is time available and level of energy that the faculty member has for his or her job. While a faculty member may feel a fairly strong sense of connection due to shared values, if the person lacks time or energy for doing his or her job, then the person will be less likely to take the time and energy to figure out how the identity is job relevant and how to implement the identity into his or her roles.

The following sections provide a detailed description and supportive data for the intervening conditions.

Explanation of Intervening Conditions

Knowledge and meaning of identity.

It appeared that the amount of knowledge a faculty member had about what the organizational identity was and meant impacted the contextual conditions (perceptions of shared values/beliefs, job relevance), the central phenomena (sense of connection), and

therefore whether or not the identity affected the faculty member's roles. Even though Ignatius University had been making extensive efforts to articulate and foster its identities (causal conditions), several faculty members expressed a lack of knowledge about the Catholic identity and some about the Jesuit identity and what those meant. In addition, most faculty members seemed to have a limited understanding of any given identity. For example, while Professor Mike was able to name some aspects of the Jesuit identity, he did not really know what it meant. Professor Mike stated that aspects of the Jesuit identity included "educating the whole person, including spiritual, moral, and seeing God in all things." When asked if his values resonated with those ideas, he said,

Yeah, I guess I resonate with those. But those are harder to pin down and I don't think anyone is against educating the whole person. I'm actually about doing that, but what that actually means I guess I have a harder time articulating clearly. So, if there's anything stopping me resonating with it, is just wondering what it really means.

Thus, Professor Mike's lack of knowledge about the Jesuit identity prevented him from having a real sense of values resonance and from seeing the relevance of that identity for his job. Therefore, it would be difficult for Professor Mike to experience any real sense of connection with the Jesuit identity and to then incorporate that identity into his roles.

Professor James also expressed similar confusion regarding what it meant to be a Catholic, Jesuit institution and how that might affect his roles as a faculty member. Professor James stated,

I still feel that I do not know a lot about what it means to be a Catholic and what it means to be a Jesuit institution. So I can see where there might be problems, you know, with regard to how I operate as an individual, as a Christian man on a campus that describes itself as a Catholic, Jesuit institution.

On the opposite end of the continuum were faculty members who were very knowledgeable about the organizational identities, including Jesuit and Catholic. The more in-depth amount of knowledge they had about the identities seemed to make a difference to the level of connection they made with the identities and to the effects of the identities in their roles. Perhaps a quote from Professor Pauline expressed it the best,

I mean I do, I would recommend that to my colleagues (attending a particular Jesuit identity program). I thought it was a good opportunity to learn more about what the mission and the Jesuit thing is and think about how my piece fits within that and how that gets trickled down to the students.

Professor Pauline had attended several programs aimed at fostering the Jesuit, Catholic identity and appreciated the opportunity to not only learn about the identities, but to reflect on what the identities might mean to her as a faculty member. In a sense, Professor Pauline had a level of appropriated knowledge about the Jesuit identity that most faculty members interviewed did not have. She knew a great deal about the Jesuit identity and how it applied to herself personally and to her job. Through her knowledge of and reflection upon the identities, Professor Pauline figured out ways that she could implement the Jesuit identity into her roles.

Two things should be noted here. First, when asked to define or say what the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities meant, respondents usually gave vague answers

and the definitions and meaning shared for each identity seemed fairly limited. This was not surprising since each of the identities, Jesuit, Catholic, and university, have broad philosophical underpinnings and in general, anyone may feel challenged to succinctly answer that type of question in an interview, including top level administrators whom I interviewed as informants²¹. In addition, the administrators responsible for articulating the mission and identity on behalf of Ignatius University, appeared to focus most heavily on explaining the Jesuit identity, very lightly on the Catholic identity, and the least amount on the university identity. However, it seems plausible that top level administrators would not see a need to explain the meaning of a university identity to faculty members, expecting that the faculty members already have a clear understanding of its nature. Second, it was interesting that when asked to define each of the identities and to share what those identities meant, most faculty members spoke about the Jesuit identity in terms of a set of values (e.g. educational, humanistic, and/or religious values). As opposed to seeing the Jesuit identity in terms of a set of values, faculty members usually explained the Catholic identity in terms of religious beliefs/doctrine and of an hierarchical church structure, and for many faculty members, with which they disagreed. Note that even though most faculty members did not clearly articulate the definition or meaning of the Jesuit identity, they still seemed to have a strong sense of whether or not they liked and shared the values of the Jesuit identity. Also, since faculty members tended to see the Catholic identity more in terms of a belief system rather than a system of values, and in many instances they knew little about those beliefs but they perceived that they disagreed with them, they usually did not seem to look beyond those beliefs to

²¹ Even in researching the literature for this dissertation, it was difficult to find a succinct and clear definition for each of the identities in this study.

any system of values embodied in the Catholic identity. This is important in that faculty members who saw the identities in terms of “values” seemed to more easily see how their own values intersected, or not, with those of the organizational identity. When they had a strong sense of shared values, then they tended to have stronger, more positive feelings towards the identity. However, when the organizational identity was seen in terms of “beliefs,” such as was found mostly with the Catholic identity, then the feelings expressed in support of the shared beliefs did not seem as strong as when there were expressions of shared values. Conversely, when there was a lack of shared beliefs, or there were opposing beliefs, then the faculty members seemed to feel this more strongly than when there was simply a lack of shared values. These levels of feelings regarding the meanings of the identities seemed to impact the level of connection felt with the organizational identities.

Perceived conflict / tension.

As addressed in Chapters I and II of this dissertation, it is possible for multiple organizational identities to be in conflict with one another (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Pratt & Foreman, 2000). Both Ignatius University and a few faculty members expressed a tension or conflict between the Catholic and university identities. On an official university website, Ignatius University stated there that was an inherent tension between the Catholic and university identities, but that it could be a creative tension. When faculty members expressed a tension or conflict between the Jesuit or Catholic identities and the university identity, they usually gave priority to the university identity and did not implement an identity when it was seen to be in conflict with the university identity. However, for one faculty member, he selectively suppressed the influence of the Catholic

identity depending upon which area of expertise he was using. For example, when asked about the possible influence of the Jesuit and/or Catholic identities on his scholarship or research, Professor James said,

I probably would want to *de-emphasize* issues which had to do with my religious faith inasmuch as those issues might create certain biases in how I analyze, I don't know, one particular kind of data. If I'm thinking of myself primarily as a Christian, a Catholic, a Jesuit, then, I mean, Christian morality and so on and so forth, might inhibit my ability to dispassionately address certain issues. On the other hand, in another area of my scholarship, I don't know if it's because that's not my primary area of study, but I'm a little more comfortable with being a Christian or being associated with a Catholic institution and addressing my scholarship from that perspective. But in general, I think that there are ways in which the Catholic identity could be negative if I let it influence the way I analyze the data I collect.

Professor William expressed a more general conflict between the Catholic and university identities, seeing the Catholic identity as being “anti-intellectual.” He stated,

I think the Catholic identity can be dangerous in some respects. Theology is more belief, and it's alright to study different people's belief, but arguably it can be anti-intellectual. There is a conflict between religion and openness to ideas and so on. And you don't want anything to suppress that openness of ideas, and so you can run into those kinds of things here.

*Espoused identity versus lived identities.*²²

While many individuals learned about the organizational identities through mission and identity programs, some individuals critiqued Ignatius University as living out a reality that differed from the articulated organizational identities. A few individuals expressed concerns that indicated some of the institution's policies and administrative decisions communicated values and ways of life that were incongruent with or antithetical to the institution's identity(s). This is important because the perceived incongruencies seemed to effect some respondents' perceptions of, reactions to, and feelings about the organizational identities.

Professor Madeline expressed concerns about some inconsistencies in living out the institutional identities. Her comments indicated that when the lived identity/reality was different from the espoused identity and values, people tended to believe what they saw, not what they heard were the values of the organizational identity. She said,

I think people really like working here because we are so adamant about what our mission is, and that's a nice feeling, you know? How it plays itself out is sometimes very, very positive, and sometimes you say, 'that ain't in line with who we are.' And we've had lots of discussions about that. And in general, I'm not speaking out of turn. These are official discussions about well, if we are who we say we are, why do we pay our adjunct faculty nothing? And that's a serious question. In an ideal world, I would like to see the Jesuit mission applied within the organization as much as it's applied to the students and curriculum. And I don't think it is right now.... And that's sad because that's what we teach. If you

²² This is similar to Argyris and Schoen's (1978) concept of espoused values (the way organizations say they do things) and values-in-use (the way organizations actually do things), which describes the void between the real and the ideal use of values in an organization.

don't model what you're preaching, people are going to learn the different behaviors.

Professor Tillie expressed a good deal of regret and dissatisfaction with what she saw as a change in living out the Jesuit identity and that at least one aspect of the Jesuit identity was only being given “lip service.” In the past, she said that the emphasis at Ignatius University had been on teaching, based in the values of the Jesuit identity. However, she believed that teaching and the Jesuit identity were de-emphasized and that research became the primary emphasis in the business school due to external accreditation pressures. Professor Tillie continued,

Because of the Jesuit identity, this university has teaching as a primary mission and still gives lip service to putting that first. However, I don't think that's really the case in terms of what's emphasized in the reward system for faculty anymore in the business college. I think we're moving more toward what you might see at a university that isn't Jesuit. So I think we've really moved away from our Jesuit origins in order to satisfy accrediting agencies in the business college. That would be something that probably everybody knows, but that's never going to be admitted as the official party line. So there's some things that are still somewhat true, but there's a period in which some things have become more lip service than actually true in comparison with what used to be the case.

Regarding the changes noted, Professor Tillie said, “I think that's a shame for Ignatius” and “I'm unhappy with the administrative policies that I see as being not well aligned with our mission.”

Attitude (e.g., towards identity, Catholic Church, Jesuits, roles).

In the interviews, faculty members expressed a variety of attitudes towards the organizational identities, Catholic Church, Jesuits, and their roles. These attitudes ranged from being very positive to very negative, or indifferent. When the attitudes were positive towards the organizational identity, they usually shared the values and/or beliefs of the organizational identity and when they were negative, they tended to not share the values and/or beliefs. It is likely that the contextual condition regarding resonance with values/beliefs and the intervening condition of attitudes towards the identities and the Catholic Church or Jesuits, had a great deal of affect on each other.

For example, Professor Pauline, who belonged to a Christian denomination, had a positive regard for the Jesuit identity and said that with the Jesuit identity “there’s a lot of emphasis on social justice, social outreach, which I can relate to and even though I am of a different faith, we have similar traditions and beliefs.” However, an interesting point about Professor Pauline was that she named several aspects of the Catholic Church that she disliked and she also stated, “My personal values I think are very different from Catholicism.” Professor Pauline’s attitude towards the Catholic Church seemed to negatively affect her ability to find any shared values or beliefs with the Catholic identity, even though she shared “similar [religious] traditions and beliefs” with the Jesuit identity. Since Jesuits are Catholic, the Jesuit identity is a subset of the Catholic faith tradition, and it stands to reason that the Jesuit identity values and beliefs are also Catholic values and beliefs. Thus, the intervening condition of negative attitude towards the Catholic Church negatively impacted the contextual condition of seeing shared values/beliefs with the Catholic identity.

Note that Professor Pauline, like many others interviewed, equated the Catholic identity to Catholicism and to the Catholic Church. In these cases, the faculty member usually had a very negative attitude towards the Catholic Church. (Note, the mission and identity coordinator did not define the Catholic identity in a university context to be the exact same identity as in a church context.) Overall, faculty members' beliefs and feelings about the Catholic Church seemed to affect the connection with the Catholic identity. In general, I found that faculty members who tended to see the Catholic Church in terms of a hierarchical church structure with doctrinal rules with which they disagreed were less likely to exhibit a connection with the Catholic identity. For example, Professor Madeline shared, "I think the negative effects on the Catholic side of it are that I'm very aware of the traditions in the Catholic church in terms of management and that hurts when I think of women not being in positions of authority, when I think of decisions being made without the input of the people that are actually going to implement the decisions." Furthermore, Professor Madeline said that the Catholic identity, "as a non-Catholic could be negative for me because I don't have the social structure and I am not part of that, that community." Professor Madeline expressed feeling marginalized or excluded because she was not Catholic. Perhaps as a result, the Catholic identity did not influence any of Professor Madeline's faculty member roles.

Those most likely to find a connection, as explained earlier in this chapter, were either Catholic or had a sense of their own spirituality. Even for those who were spiritual, but not Catholic, their connection with the Catholic identity was somewhat limited, as might be expected, and if they also had a negative perspective of the Catholic

Church in general, their connection was limited to appreciating the ability to live out their own faith because Ignatius University had a religious identity.

Even for those who were Catholic, some expressed concerns with the Catholic Church. Professor Debbie, a Catholic, explained it in this way,

I think there's a lot of Catholics having problems with Catholicism right now because there's such a retrograde pope. Right now the pope's not hearing his people and so there's a lot of disgruntled Catholics around and on the campus here, a lot of us selectively embrace or don't embrace aspects of Catholic right now. I think a lot of people are just saying, 'well I'm Christian.'

For Catholics with these types of feelings, their feelings of connection with the Catholic identity were likely to be negatively affected.

While some faculty members had a range of positive to negative attitudes towards the Jesuit, Catholic, or even university identities, some faculty members had an attitude of indifference to an organizational identity. Professor Francis expressed indifference towards the Jesuit and Catholic identities and towards his teaching role that flowed from the university and the Jesuit identities saying, "I don't know anything about the Jesuit and Catholic identity. That has nothing to do with me... I was hired to do research and that is what I'm interested in. I teach because it is required, but I teach as few courses as possible. What I want to do is research."

Since the university identity determined the faculty members' roles and the Jesuit identity, and perhaps the Catholic identity for some faculty, affected role prioritization, it should be noted here that the attitudes faculty members had towards teaching, research/scholarship, and service affected whether or not they made a link with the

university, Jesuit, and Catholic identities' emphasis on roles. For example, some faculty members did not like doing research, and as a result, they did not identify with that aspect of the Jesuit and university identities. Professor Robert, in particular was very vocal about his attitudes towards his roles of teaching, research, and service. At the time of the interview, he seemed to dislike all three and did as little as possible with his roles.

Regarding research he said, "Right now I am non-promotable because I do not publish. I simply refuse to do that. And you know, Ignatius University is very much a publish or perish institution and that's just something I feel is worthless. I don't, I don't engage in it. So that's it. And that's been my background within the department and the university." For several of the respondents, the same dynamic was true for the university and Jesuit/Catholic value of community service.

However, most faculty members, except for two, enjoyed teaching and they appreciated the value placed on teaching by the Jesuit identity. Professor Therese shared, "I have always enjoyed teaching. In addition to that though, you realize that at the university level you can't be a really good teacher unless you yourself have some opportunities for scholarship. And so, the aspect of scholarship that comes along with this here at Ignatius in the sense that again, they give you the notion that both of those things, teaching and scholarship are tied together, which is important to me."

Professor Therese appeared happily to engage in teaching and research, seeming to find a job related connection with the Jesuit and university identities regarding the emphasis on those faculty member roles.

Perceived importance of the identities.

Whether or not respondents perceived institutional administrators and other institutional members valuing and living out the organizational identity(s) likely had an effect on how important they themselves perceived the identities to be. In reading the section below on “encouraged, expected, required, evaluated, rewarded” the reader may notice that the Catholic identity is not mentioned as having an influence on faculty members’ roles. This is because the faculty member respondents spoke almost exclusively in terms of the Jesuit and university identities. For some faculty members, the Jesuit and Catholic identities were essentially the same and these respondents seemed to speak in terms of the Jesuit identity, perhaps because institutional administrators and those responsible for the mission and identity programs most often spoke in terms of a “Jesuit” identity and not in terms of a “Catholic” identity. Professor Angela said, “Most things I’ve gone to are more Jesuit focused” and “I think that that’s (Catholic identity) less of our identity.” Similarly, Professor Bernard explained that Ignatius University “says we’re a Jesuit institution,” and “It does not speak in terms of a Catholic identity.” Professor Tillie indicated that the Jesuit identity is articulated extensively and explicitly, the university identity tended to be articulated in more of an implicit manner through carrying out the business of being a university, and the Catholic identity tended to be articulated implicitly through Catholic rituals on campus and less so explicitly. When questioned about the efforts that Ignatius University had made to foster the organizational identities, Professor Tillie said,

Lots and lots, extensive, without trying to give you a whole list, extensive things both to foster the identity as a university and also as a Jesuit university. And, also

things that would tie in with that, but maybe it hasn't been explicitly stated that this is to foster our view of ourselves as a university, but it could be seen as doing that, I mean, I wouldn't know where you draw the line. Things that I think deliberately have that as their primary reason are things that just are so aligned that you could say that they do that. And while they usually talk in terms of the Jesuit identity, there are certainly specific Catholic activities, such as Masses, but they don't talk much about the Catholic identity.

Regarding Ignatius University's mission and identity programs, an Ignatius University administrator who worked to foster the institution's mission and identity similarly stated, "We paid relatively little attention to the Catholic dimension at least in terms of identifying it as such. The word Catholic didn't come up much." While he went on to say that the Jesuit identity was spoken of in the faculty orientation program and not the Catholic identity, for those faculty members who were interested in a more in-depth understanding of Ignatius University's identities, they did have mission and identity programs that talked about the "Catholic intellectual tradition," which would be about the Catholic identity. Also he said that the university president had talked "about Catholic and Jesuit, mentioning them almost as synonymous or right next to each other" in his presidential speeches, but overall, that the Catholic identity was not an articulated emphasis.

Resources – money for research and time.

As explained above, while a faculty member may have a strong level of connection with an identity, intervening conditions can serve to limit the effects of that connection on their actions, i.e. the degree to which a faculty member incorporates an

organizational identity into their roles. The effects of lack of money for research and lack of time had strong countervailing effects on faculty members' actions. While many faculty members had some level of connection with the Jesuit identity, (some level of shared values/beliefs and job relevance), several of them stated that the Jesuit identity did not affect their research because they did not have the funding to conduct research as they pleased. Professor Thomas, an education faculty member, explained that the lack of research funding limited the freedom to do research that was rooted in the Jesuit, Catholic identity and that education faculty needed to seek external funding which then influenced which research topics a faculty member believed would get a grant. Professor Thomas explained,

So what we have now is people basically go to the areas of their discipline, try to get some funding, some grants and produce the research and publish it. At Ignatius University, we have very, very little money for research. In my discipline, we're all facing the same topics, that is, school reform and renewal, urban education, school finance, student achievement. In our business it's preparation of teachers, and accreditation, and proficiency tests. I think it's pretty standard all around. Now, if we had the resources, there's a whole area of research out there, that I'd be interested in too, and that is the growing home instruction, charter schools and parochial schools, religious schools, and all those kind of things. They'd be fair game for anybody if the resources were there. But they'd be of special note to us if we had the resources. If we had a lot of money for research, I think we could focus on those things that would be related to our Jesuit identity.

Similarly, Professor Charles, said, “I don’t have a big grant. I don’t have financial support for that. I’d love to have my research make a difference in people’s lives and I think that flows from the Jesuit identity,” yet, Professor Charles did not have the research funding to do this.

Another resource limitation mentioned several times by faculty members was time. In reference to doing research, a value flowing from the academic excellence aspect of the Jesuit identity and a role determined by having a university identity, Professor Lee explained, “You can’t do it all because the demands of working with students takes an uncountable number of hours” and she indicated that research/scholarship would be limited as a result. For other faculty members, their time was burdened by administrative responsibilities. Professor Albert, a department chairperson said, “There is no time to do research when you are chairing a department.” Thus, a lack of time served to limit the effects of the university and Jesuit identities’ emphases on academic excellence, partially understood by faculty members as producing scholarly works and research.

Encouraged, required, evaluated, rewarded²³ – by university administrators / institutional policy, accrediting agencies, and/or organizational culture.

Regarding what difference, if any, an organizational identity might make to the roles of faculty members, many respondents said that they felt encouraged, expected/required, evaluated, and/or were rewarded for implementing the organizational identity(s) into their roles, by either university administrators/policies, accrediting

²³ The concepts of encouraged, expected/required, evaluated, and rewarded are related, but distinct concepts. For example, university administrators can encourage the implementation of the Jesuit identity into courses, but they may not require it. Even if something is required of the faculty members, it may or may not be evaluated, and even if something is evaluated, it may or may not be rewarded.

agencies, or by the institutional culture. (Note, this intervening condition had the potential to positively or negatively affect the contextual conditions, sense of connection, and the actions taken by faculty members.) Usually, in connection with the organizational identity(s), what was encouraged, expected/required, evaluated, and/or was rewarded was felt in terms of what priorities faculty members should give to their roles and even what their roles should be.

Role determination and role prioritization.

When I asked the faculty respondents, “What difference, if any, does the “university” identity make to your roles?” the respondents usually hesitated a moment, then would say, “It means that I do teaching, research, and service.” Professor Stacey said, “I think having that university identity determines what your roles are within the university setting” and “the university has basically three things that have to be fulfilled (required) to get tenure and promotion: teaching, research or scholarship, and service.” She also explained that the Jesuit and Catholic identities affected “where your emphasis should be.” As required by institutional policy, while the university identity determined their roles as faculty members,²⁴ the priority given to the roles in years past seemed to come most from the Jesuit identity and then in more recent years, from what many faculty members saw as an overlap between the Jesuit and university identities. Many faculty members said that in the past the university administrators had made teaching their priority, because it was a Jesuit university. From what Professor Tillie learned about the Jesuit identity in her time at Ignatius University, she said, “The Jesuit university should have teaching as a primary mission.” Many respondents indicated that the

²⁴ While the university identity determined faculty members’ roles, this may not be true for many other university employees, such as groundskeepers, secretaries, or human resource administrators.

university administrators emphasized the need to be outstanding teachers and as a value rooted in the Jesuit identity; meaning that they were fully knowledgeable about their subject matter and engaged in scholarship, they had strong pedagogical skills, and that they gave special attention to the needs of every individual student, a value strongly rooted in the Jesuit tradition, known at many Jesuit universities as *cura personalis*.

While the teaching role had been most strongly emphasized in the past at Ignatius University, in more recent years, many respondents indicated a growing emphasis placed on research and scholarship by their university administrators, a part of the concept often mentioned as “academic excellence.” Professor Bernard said, “When I started here at Ignatius University they didn’t care about research. It was more important that you did a good job in the classroom, and publications and research were not important. That has changed. I’ve done more research in the last five years than I probably did in the first 25, because the model changed.” Professor Debbie said, “I think everyone’s seen the transition. Scholarship is much more important.” It appeared that Ignatius University administrators grew to embrace the idea of “academic excellence,” which they articulated as a core value of a Jesuit educational institution and as a core value of being a university. Professor Debbie stated that the “president has made it clear that his big focus is on academics” and Professor Nira said, “We’re constantly being reminded that we are not just any institution, that we are a Jesuit institution and that Jesuit stands for excellence in education.” Other faculty members used the phrase “academic excellence.” Through the choices made by particular university administrators over the years in their changing understanding of and appreciation for both the Jesuit and university identities, and through some accreditation agency pressures, such as found in the College of Business,

more research/scholarship was required of the faculty members to get tenure and once tenured, it was expected and evaluated that the faculty members were to be both top scholars and outstanding teachers.

While service was emphasized as an important aspect of the Jesuit identity, it seemed to be the third priority out of teaching, research, and service. Also, it was the role that was least likely to get rewarded, even though it was formally evaluated as required by institutional policy. Ignatius University defined service in terms of internal service to the university community and external service to the city community based on faculty members' professional expertise. Doing service internally by serving on committees seemed to be an expectation of their faculty member roles, arising from the university identity. Current Ignatius University administrators spoke about and promoted the idea of "University as Citizen," that Ignatius University should make significant contributions to the well-being of the external community in which it resides. As such, the faculty members were encouraged to use their professional/disciplinary expertise in service to the surrounding community. Professor Debbie said, "Our service is supposed to be related to our profession... There was a real criteria about that for a long time and I felt a real emphasis on that, certainly in my beginning years. I haven't felt that as much now, but I really felt pressured to do it all when I first started teaching here." Professor Tillie said that "no one is going to get a raise on the basis of having done an extraordinary amount of service," but that service was part of their faculty evaluations.

Finally, while the Jesuit and university identities seemed to play a large part in role prioritization at Ignatius University, it should be noted that role prioritization also arose from faculty member tenure status. Professor Stacey, a faculty member for

approximately ten years, said that all three roles, based in the organizational identities, were very important, but where the emphasis was placed depended upon the tenure status of faculty. She said, “The non-tenured faculty need to spend more time on scholarship and service is not as important. Teaching is always important and I think that again, is the whole Jesuit identity.” Professor Stacey said that “when you get tenure, then service becomes very important.” She said that “the [faculty] handbook says, the non-tenured faculty need to be spending their time getting their scholarship done.” Professor Mike, a non-tenured faculty member said that he did not do any service because “at this stage, it seems what they primarily want from me is to teach and to do research.”

Encouragement

Beyond role prioritization, some faculty members found a particular emphasis and encouragement to implement an organizational identity into their roles. One example mentioned by Professor Tillie and others was an emphasis on incorporating service learning into courses based upon the Jesuit identity. Professor Tillie stated, “There really is a lot of emphasis on actually trying to bring some of that (service learning) into the classroom” and she sees “a direct tie to the Ignatian” or “Jesuit beliefs” in doing so. Another example seen in several respondent interviews was an emphasis on raising ethical issues in the curriculum, which seemed to be rooted in the Jesuit identity. Professor Bernard explained, “So, I think most people, to some degree, make a conscious effort to bring those kinds of things (ethical issues) into the classroom conversations.” Professor Tillie explained that “There certainly is a lot of emphasis on being concerned about what’s ethical in addition to other things such as being concerned about the world, concerned about and involved in the world around us. I think there is an expectation that

we would encourage our students in that direction... because this university has this kind of mission.” She went on to explain that while raising ethical issues in courses “would be the case at most places (universities), it probably is more of a stated thing at a Jesuit university.”

Evaluation and reward

While a faculty member may have had a strong sense of connection to an identity (shared values/beliefs and job relevance) the actions flowing from this sense of connection may have been constrained by intervening conditions, such as the evaluation and reward system. For example, Professor Tillie spoke of Ignatius University having a new emphasis on faculty members conducting inter-disciplinary research/scholarship, which she attributed to the Jesuit identity. Professor Tillie seemed to have a strong connection with the Jesuit identity because she had shared values with the emphasis on teaching and on conducting inter-disciplinary research and she saw it as highly job relevant. Yet, while she had an interest in conducting inter-disciplinary research, she said, “So there’s almost a dis-incentive to inter-disciplinary research in terms of how we’re actually evaluated.” Ignatius University’s evaluation system did not seem to have a means of giving equal credit to the faculty members from differing disciplines for their shared research/publications. Professor Tillie explained, “the faculty member that I would be working with in the [other discipline] area would get more credit for it than I would, so I end up not doing the inter-disciplinary research.” Thus, the effects of feeling connected to the Jesuit identity, with possible actions of implementing the Jesuit identity into her research role, were modified by the intervening conditions of evaluation and reward.

Organizational culture.

One of the stronger influences on the effects of an organizational identity on faculty members' roles was the influence of an organizational culture. Several respondents indicated strong cultural influences operating at the institutional level, as well as within the colleges, around the issue of organizational identity. In many ways, the implementation of the Jesuit identity was strongly encouraged by the institutional culture. This cultural influence is over and above what is encouraged, required, evaluated, and rewarded by university administrators. With the ebb and flow of differing university administrations, what is encouraged, required, evaluated, and rewarded by them may change, but generally, an organizational culture is more stable and can be a very powerful influence on the organization members. This may be more so than the influence of some administrators, especially when some employees have a great deal of autonomy in deciding how to conduct their jobs, such as is found with faculty members.

Overall, most references made by respondents to cultural influences were ones that seemed to permeate the institution and were most often articulated as emanating from the Jesuit identity. These references seemed to center around three themes: a genuine care for students, academic excellence, and service.

As explained by Professor Gerald, "The identities (referring to Jesuit Catholic university) create a different atmosphere from other universities. They at least encourage, if not actually create, different expectations. They foster different kinds of emphasis." Professor Bernard asserted that "any organization has a culture that's created over time and the people who don't care, leave here." Professor Barbara also explained that Ignatius University is "a place that's very caring about its students, and I think that's

kind of the culture there is this commitment to society, commitment to making the world a better place, and real basic care about students.” Professor Barbara said that she sees “a lot of people trying to pick up on a [student] problem early and not letting a kid crash.”

Several respondents also made reference to a culture of “academic excellence.” Professor Nira explained that “we are a Jesuit institution and to everyone, I think that I know, it means excellence. It’s just kind of saturating the whole atmosphere I think.” Similarly, Professor Lee explained that “there is not one thing that happens in other places (universities) that doesn’t happen here. But the overall umbrella is very much that of academic excellence and then the development of the whole body and mind, that you work with the whole person.”

A final cultural influence worth noting is that of a Catholic culture. While there did not seem to be an overall Catholic institutional culture permeating Ignatius University, there was a sub-culture where it thrived, particularly amongst the staff members who were Catholic. Professor David observed,

It is a culture of a traditional Catholic setting that’s very important to many of the secretaries, to many of the support staff, to a few of the faculty, most of the old time faculty... There’s kind of a community within the community... There’s this nice, Catholic group that takes care of each other, and then there’s some of us who kind of don’t mind being around that, respect it, and then there’s some who just ignore it. They’re probably the majority.

Professor Angela’s experience seemed to be the most typical one for the faculty members I interviewed who were not Catholic. She said, “I know I’m working at a

Catholic university, but really, other than the chapel being on campus and our president sometimes wearing a collar, I sometimes don't know that. It doesn't feel any different to me... I feel more of a Jesuit type of presence." In contrast, Professor Frasier, a faculty member respondent who is Catholic did experience a Catholic culture saying, "It's not so much doctrine, but it's more a culture... we are a higher educational institution within a Catholic framework."

While there did not seem to be a Catholic culture, except amongst a sub-group of Catholic staff and some Catholic faculty, that permeated Ignatius University at the institutional/organizational level, there was evidence of a strong religious or spiritual culture that created a "friendly climate" for people of different faiths where they felt comfortable living out their own spirituality. This held true for all respondents, except one, who mentioned the importance of their own faith and included respondents who were Jewish, another religion, various Christian denominations, as well as Catholic. (See section on "Sense of religious or spiritual values" addressed earlier in this chapter.)

In summary, an example from Professor James's interview illustrates cultural effects well. Professor James said, "I know that peace and justice is a big issue on this campus because of either the Catholic or Jesuit identity. . . and I kind of by osmosis am being affected by this. It's made me more active than I otherwise would have been in the pursuit of justice."

While some faculty members may have been affected by an organizational identity due to cultural influences, at least one faculty member did not. Professor Robert, a faculty member who did not identify with the Jesuit, Catholic, or university identities, was skeptical of cultural influences regarding the organizational identities. He said, "I'm

not sure that the environment can change you a hundred and eighty degrees. It could change you some to be sure, but it is not going to result in a U-turn by any means I don't believe." Professor Robert seemed proud of the fact that the organizational culture, and the organizational identities in general, had little influence on him.

Regarding service, there were pockets of an institutional culture that encouraged faculty to do service. For most of those interviewed, conducting service seemed to be an expected faculty role arising from the university identity, academic culture, and from the Jesuit identity. Also, faculty service was part of the evaluation system. For most faculty members, conducting service internal to the university was an expectation similar to what would be found at most universities. As Professor Thomas explained, "Everybody just accepts that you're gonna do service." However, there were some faculty members for whom service was an important element of living out the Jesuit identity. When there was a value placed on external service to the surrounding city community, this cultural value seemed to arise from the Jesuit identity. Professor Albert proudly stated, "Community service is very important at Jesuit schools and that is very nice for a community to find a university that is concerned about the welfare or the standard of living of the, ah, neighbors living around it. So yea there is some community services involved, committees within the university we work with very closely. So these are the types of work we do."

Accreditation agencies.

Several faculty members within the College of Business and one of the nursing faculty members said that their accreditation agencies had an impact on their roles. For the nursing faculty, Professor Alice said that they were required by their accreditation

agency “to show how the mission of the university fits the mission of the department, and that it’s carried out within the courses and objectives, and then the graduates.” She explained that “with this thread being part of our accreditation, we are maybe more linked, maybe our department would be more linked to the whole Jesuit identity than other departments, if their accrediting bodies aren’t focusing so much on an identity.” Thus, even though the nursing faculty may not have felt any sense of connection with the Jesuit and/or Catholic identity(s), the accrediting agency required that they show proof of implementing the Jesuit, Catholic identity(s) into their roles. Thus, the intervening condition of accrediting agency requirements forced some faculty members to implement the Jesuit and Catholic identities into their roles, even if they had a weak or no sense of connection with the identities (shared values/beliefs and job relevance)

For the College of Business faculty, their accreditation body strongly influenced their role prioritization, forcing the faculty members to make research the priority. Whereas Professor Tillie believed that a “Jesuit university should have teaching as a primary mission,” and that they have “really moved away from [their] origins,” “because the accrediting agency required it of” them, the priority had become research over teaching and their rewards systems were then based on that.

Actions

The actions that faculty members made in response to an organizational identity flowed out of the level of connection made with the organizational identity(s),²⁵ unless

²⁵ As respondents shared how an organizational identity affected their roles, their responses ranged from a single distinct identity affecting their roles, to two or more identities merged into one affecting their role, to speaking in terms of the *shared* aspects of two or more identities affecting their roles. For example, for many respondents there was a great deal of overlap between the Jesuit and university identities, thus, it could be a difficult cognitive task for the respondents to distinguish which identity is affecting their roles, or rather if it’s a combination of the shared values of the two identities. However, some respondents did make clear distinctions of the effects of the differing identities on their roles.

other factors intervened. The following were the range of actions made by faculty members: implementation of identity into all faculty member roles, which I named “full implementation;” implementation of identity into some roles and not others, which I named “fragmented implementation;” the identity was not implemented into any roles, which I named “no implementation.” Finally, some faculty members had actions that were consistent with an organizational identity, but were not the result of the identity. For example, several faculty members said that they did things, such as service, that were consistent with the Jesuit identity, but they were not doing these things because of the Jesuit identity. They said that their actions just happened to be consistent with the Jesuit identity and that they would do the same things no matter at which university they worked. However, many said that they felt particularly appreciated for doing those things at Ignatius University, where they may not have received that type of affirmation elsewhere. I named this response “coincidental actions.”

Types of Actions

Strauss and Corbin (1998) use the term “actions/interactions” to name the specific actions or interactions that occur as a result of the central phenomenon. They explain that the actions/interactions may be strategic, routine/reflexive (1990, 1998), unrelated, or non-existent (1990). Using examples from the data, these actions/interactions are explained below.

Strategic actions are purposeful or deliberate acts that are taken in response to a situation or problem (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998). For example, as explained earlier in this chapter Professor Albert changed the type of research he conducted due to Ignatius

University's Jesuit, Catholic character. (For Professor Albert, Jesuit, Catholic, and university were integrated into one identity – Ignatius University.) Professor Albert said,

I was dealing with pure research before I came to Ignatius, pure mathematical research. But coming to Ignatius, that taught me that I needed to do more applied research. That shifted the gears from pure theoretical to applied and I think being at Ignatius having an applied research, I think that fits the mission as well. If I was at a pure research institution, I think I would have continued with that pure mathematical line rather than an applied line. Even the type of journals we publish in has changed, shifted.

Routine or reflexive actions are more habituated ways of responding to occurrences in everyday life (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998). A quote from Professor Stacey illustrates this point well:

But I do think you take it for granted, the Jesuit identity piece and you don't really realize how much it does play a part in your roles. Now, I know that the Catholic part and the part that we are a religious institution is a very good fit for me because I am able to share with or live within my faith [Christian].... And I guess over time you take on that identity even more because everything that's done is done from a Jesuit identity and a Catholic identity so you know some of that has to soak in.

At times, actions/interactions can be taken for purposes unrelated to the phenomenon under study, but have consequences for that phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998). For example, when asked what difference, if any, the Jesuit identity made to her teaching, research, and service, Professor Pauline responded,

Umm, (pause) I don't think that I do what I do because it's a Jesuit school or that I would do anything differently. Like I said, I mean I do think my own personal faith tradition makes the difference in terms of what it is that I get involved with service-wise and it probably leaks out when I teach the graduate students. I don't know how it could not. But that's not about being Jesuit, although I think it's complimentary with being Jesuit. I mean I don't think it's at odds with being Jesuit at all, it's just I would use different words to explain it, but we say a lot of the same things.

In this example, Professor Pauline's actions were consistent with the Jesuit identity, but she acted out of her own faith identity, not out of the Jesuit identity. However, since her actions were consistent with or complimentary to the Jesuit identity, as according to Professor Pauline, then her actions had consequences for Ignatius University and its identities. The students likely would not be able to distinguish whether or not Professor Pauline's actions were emanating from Ignatius University's identities or from her own. Thus Professor Pauline's actions would likely communicate the institution's Jesuit identity to the students since this is what the students may have expected. (Note, as mentioned under fragmented implementation below, Professor Pauline later indicated in the interview that the one area of influence of the Jesuit identity was in service-learning. She said that she incorporated service learning because she thought it was a good thing and it was good for the students. Thus, Professor Pauline exhibited a combination of fragmented and coincidental actions as explained further below.)

Finally, "failed action/interaction" occurs when "someone should, or ordinarily would do something in a situation and he or she doesn't." (Strauss & Corbin, p. 104,

1990). For example, even though the university identity defined the roles of faculty members as teaching, research, and service, some faculty members interviewed did not engage in service. For instance, when asked about his roles, Professor Mike shared that he did not do any service: "...I'm not sitting on any committees or anything. No, within the university I'm not really doing any service... And at this stage, it seems what they primarily want from me is to teach and I don't serve on any administrative roles yet. I haven't really had any particular pressure to do that."

In this study, the faculty members had a wide range of actions or reactions to the organizational identities depending on the level of connection they felt to the identities, or if they felt any connection at all. Their responses to the organizational identities, as illustrated above, included strategic, routine, unrelated, and failed actions.

In addition to the types of responses made, whether intentional or not, faculty members implemented the identities to varying degrees in their roles. I classified this category in the model, "actions." This aspect of their responses to the organizational identity(s) included what I termed full implementation, fragmented implementation, no implementation, and coincidental actions. These are explained more fully below, but the following is an overview of the terms. Full implementation constituted the faculty member implementing the organizational identity into each of his or her roles in what might be considered strategic or routine/reflexive ways. Fragmented implementation was when a faculty member implemented the identity into only certain roles and not all roles. This response may have included strategic, routine/reflexive, or failed actions. No implementation is when the faculty member did not implement the identity into any of his or her roles. According to Strauss and Corbin's schema, this could be considered a form

of failed action/interaction (1990). Finally, coincidental actions were when actions within faculty member roles were consistent with the organizational identity, but were not the result of the identity. Similar to Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998), the faculty member's actions might be considered taken for unrelated reasons, but the actions had consequences for the organizational identity and the faculty member's roles.

Of the differing kinds of actions taken by faculty members, most faculty members exhibited a fragmented implementation response, where the organizational identity(s) had some effect on their roles, but not on all of their roles. With regards to all three organizational identities, only a few individuals exhibited full implementation or no implementation of the identities, and several faculty members exhibited coincidental actions. With regards to individual organizational identities (Jesuit, Catholic, and university), faculty members were most likely to implement the Jesuit and university identities into their roles, and least likely to implement the Catholic identity.

Full implementation.

I use the term "full implementation" to describe the situation when an organizational identity (Jesuit, Catholic, or university) made a difference to all the faculty member roles, which were usually named as teaching, research/scholarship, and service. Typically, this was the case when the faculty member had a connection to the identity that was based in strongly shared values/beliefs and the organizational identity was seen as job relevant. In these situations, the faculty members' responses to the organizational identity were either purposeful, routine/reflexive or a combination of both. For many of the faculty members who implemented an organizational identity into all of their roles,

the faculty members tended to integrate the organizational identity, or even all three identities, into their own self-identity.

For Professor Vincent, the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities were integrated into his own self-identity, his responses to this identity tended to be routine/reflexive, and the identities affected all three roles of teaching, research, and service. In different parts of the interview, he explained that the identities affected all three of his roles. For example, Professor Vincent said,

For many on campus, I think they are much more aware than I that they have a Catholic Jesuit commitment. I have always been an integrationist. I have tried to integrate these various factors comfortably into my life, and it's just part of me. So, as a result I'm not aware of mentalizing it. I'm not fully aware of it, but an outsider who would critique a book or article that I've written would see it, when I would not see it. So, yes, the Jesuit and Catholic identity is tied into absolutely everything that I do, and as you asked about, it's tied in my teaching, research, and service.... All of the identities [Jesuit, Catholic, university] are a part of me, a part of my make-up. That's why, you're asking me why I do this, often I really don't know. I just do it because it's part of my make-up, you know? My values are interwoven, intertwined with the three identities we've been talking about. They're inextricable.

When questioned more about how the Catholic identity was tied in with his research, Professor Vincent said,

In the mechanical techniques, it has nothing to do with it. The way that I would perhaps put together and interpret the facts that I come up with, you know, they

would be sort of slanted, you know, in one direction or another because of that kind of a background.

Similarly, the Jesuit, Catholic and university identities had become a part of Professor Lee's self identity and those identities affected all of her roles. Professor Lee shared,

I can go through day after day and never talk about Roman Catholic Jesuit University but every single solitary day, my whole relationship to what I am doing is built on that identity. It permeates all that I do, no matter what I do. And most of the time because it is so much, it is so much a part of you, you don't take it apart. You know when you are very young, you can say, 'well I love him for this reason and I love her for this reason'. When you have been in love for thirty-five years with the same person you have grown so intently with, you can't take that apart.... It is like; it is just me. It is who I am and it's what I do.

Fragmented implementation.

The term "fragmented implementation" is used to describe the situation when an organizational identity made a difference to one or more faculty member roles, but not to the remaining role(s). This typically occurred when the faculty member may have had a sense of shared values/beliefs, but they did not see any job relevance. A comment from Professor Pauline expressed this concept well,

I mean I think that the reality of it is that the Jesuit identity does make a difference to how I do my job. I mean I certainly have tried to incorporate service learning because I believe that, it's not a stretch. I do think that's a good thing. I think it's good for the students and I think it's helpful to the student. Umm, (long

pause) but you know it's not going to fit in every situation so to say that you should do that like you're going to legislate it or you're going to force everybody to do that, then I think you're going to lose something because in certain disciplines, in certain courses and so forth that doesn't work.

One of the best examples of faculty members who experienced a fragmented response was Professor Samuel, a science faculty member. Professor Samuel's subject matter was in the hard sciences and he explained that while he very much shared the values of the Jesuit Catholic identity (these were one identity for Professor Samuel), he did not see how to apply the Jesuit Catholic identity to his research and service because of his discipline and subject matter. Regarding his research, Professor Samuel said,

I have this problem of finding that my [area of science] is going to solve social problems, it might, or it might not. So, my research, nope has nothing to do with the Jesuit Catholic identity...I don't really know how I can help with my [science] background, how I would be able to contribute to doing research that helps the disadvantaged in the community.

Regarding his service, Professor Samuel did not see how the Jesuit Catholic identity was relevant to him because of his subject matter.

Here at Ignatius University we have an emphasis on service learning, which is bringing the classroom into the community. I think that's part of the Jesuit tradition also. The Society was formed for education, but that doesn't confine them to their universities nor should I guess that faculty totally be confined to our universities. But I don't want to step out and do service learning. Because I teach [in the hard sciences], I don't know how I would step out and interact with the

core community myself. I don't want to do it because I don't know how to do it and I don't know how my education can afford the community any opportunities by doing it. But, certainly there are people in our education departments, psychology departments, English departments who feel differently and can do it. Good, they should do it. They should do it then. So, it's important. A university should not exist as an isolated library. That's certainly not my view of what any good university or institution should be.

However, Professor Samuel said that the Jesuit Catholic identity did make a difference to his teaching because that identity is so much of who he is, that it comes out in his teaching without his being intentional about it. Professor Samuel said,

How does the Jesuit Catholic identity fit into the classroom? I think the students identify me and the faculty we have, here in the classroom as being committed to an idea of a moral and ethical lifestyle. I think that we reflect that in our classes, even though I don't bring it up often, in my [science] classes, I don't bring up for discussion ethical issues, except peripherally. But, I think they understand my stances on them and that I am committed to the mission of this university. Also, because of the Jesuit identity, I give more emphasis to the individual student than I would if I were at a state university.

No implementation.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) write “failed action/interaction” occurs when “someone should, or ordinarily would do something in a situation and he or she doesn't” (p. 104). This may be analogous to the situation where the faculty member reported that the organizational identity did not have an effect on any of the faculty member's roles. I

labeled this “no implementation.” No implementation typically was the case when there was not any level of connection between the faculty member and the organizational identity. For example, Professor Robert, who felt fairly indifferent to the Jesuit and Catholic identities and who did not feel any obligation to those identities, said, “I think I would do what I do pretty much the same way wherever I was, wherever I happened to teach or be.” He went on to say, “My obligation is no different from what I had before [at a public university] and I do it just, just the same.” When there was not any level of connection with the organizational identity, the faculty member seemed to generally ignore the existence of the organizational identity and usually perceived the identity as being irrelevant to him or her as seen in Professor Robert’s quote regarding the Catholic identity, “For me personally, it is a non-issue.”

For most faculty members interviewed, of the organizational identities explored in this dissertation, the identity most likely to result in “no implementation” was the Catholic identity. This identity seemed to be the one that was least understood, least articulated by the institution, least likely for faculty members to find a disciplinary or subject matter connection, and most resisted by faculty members who did not have a religious/spiritual value system or who disliked the Catholic Church. For those who had a religious value system other than Catholic, most did not have an understanding of the Catholic identity, but some did have a level of appreciation for the spiritual aspect of the Catholic identity, through which they felt free to live out their own spiritual/religious identity. When asked if the Catholic identity made any difference to their roles, the following are some of the responses given. Professor Angela said, “The Catholic part probably isn’t important at all. Other than occasionally I’ll go to some events, you know,

but to say that that influences me professionally or anything, no, it really doesn't. It really doesn't make a difference to my job." Professor William said, "No, the Catholic identity doesn't have anything to do with my job. In fact, I think it can be dangerous in some respects. Theology is more belief, and it's alright to study different people's belief, but it is in some ways, arguably it can be anti-intellectual." Professor Tillie interpreted the Catholic identity to mean religious beliefs and that is not something that she would incorporate into her job. Professor Tillie stated, "To tell you the truth, as far as I'm concerned in my job and in the business college the Catholic end of it doesn't really come into play. There's really no discussion, as far as I know, within the faculty member's job in the business college in particular, of specific Catholic beliefs.... No, I can't think of any ways that the Catholic identity makes a difference in what I do."

Note, for most faculty members interviewed, there was some level of connection with the Jesuit identity due to a level of shared values and perceived job relevance, particularly to their teaching role. As a result, the Jesuit identity seemed to have some effect on their roles, particularly on the teaching role where faculty members tended to give added emphasis to caring for the students. In addition, the Jesuit identity seemed to have a large effect on role prioritization, placing teaching as the priority and research/scholarship as a competing top priority in more recent years with higher expectations placed upon the faculty. Perhaps because most faculty members perceived some commonality between the Jesuit and university identities, the Jesuit identity had some level of influence, even though it was sometimes minimal, on most faculty members.

Finally, while it would seem difficult to find a situation where the university identity did not have any effect on the roles of faculty members, because the university identity defined faculty members' roles, it came close to being true for one faculty member, Professor Robert. Regarding research/scholarship, Professor Robert did not value it, saying, "I do not publish. I simply refuse to do that." Regarding service, Professor Robert said "I have been asked to do things and refused... that I thought was just worthless for me and that they needed somebody else." He did only minimal service and only things that he liked and believed was relevant to his expertise. Finally, regarding teaching, he taught for several years because he liked teaching students, but that it had become "less enjoyable" and he said, "I no longer have the energy to teach anymore." At the time of the interview, Professor Robert had been making plans to step down from teaching while maintaining his faculty status. However, for most faculty members interviewed, they said that the university identity defined their roles, thus they engaged in the roles. Even then, some faculty members only engaged in two of the three roles as explained above under fragmented implementation.

Coincidental actions.

As Strauss and Corbin (1990) explained, at time actions/interactions can be taken for purposes unrelated to the phenomenon under study, but have consequences for that phenomenon. This is the case for the situation which I label "coincidental actions." The term "coincidental actions" is used to describe the situation where the faculty member reported his or her actions in one or more of their roles as very consistent with the organizational identity but that the organizational identity did not have any influence on the role(s). In this situation, the faculty member's actions seemed to arise from the

person's own sense of self-identity, not from the organizational identity. The faculty member usually stated that he or she would do the same things in the role(s) regardless of whether or not the particular organizational identity existed. This held true for several faculty members whom I interviewed. For example, Professor Debbie stated, "I don't think in any overt way that the Jesuit Catholic identity has made me a certain kind of teacher, has made me obliged to service or even made me a certain kind of scholar. I was who I was when I came here and it just so happened that I guess ultimately, there's a good deal of humanist values in the Jesuit Catholic identity at this institution that is kindred to me." She went on to explain, "I think I would be the same kind of teacher whether I was here or not. But the way the Jesuits stated it worked well, it fit."

Similarly, while the Jesuit identity made a difference to Professor Stacey's teaching, she said that it did not make a difference to her research and service, but that her research and service were complementary to the Jesuit and Catholic identities. Professor Stacey shared, "I really don't think it [Jesuit and Catholic identity] played that much into my research projectory, but again, there is a fit with me and with the identity." Regarding her service, Professor Stacey explained that the Jesuit and Catholic identity did not have much to do with her service and that "even if it weren't an expectation, I enjoy doing service."

Most faculty members interviewed who exhibited "coincidental actions" felt some level of connection with the organizational identity(s). However, one faculty member interviewed did not feel any connection with the Jesuit and Catholic identity(s), but he thought that his actions were probably consistent with those identities. Regarding his community service at a local hospital, Professor Robert stated emphatically, "I mean I am

not doing this because I am an Ignatius University faculty member. I am not doing this because I am considered a Catholic or a Jesuit would do it, I just thought it was appropriate to do.” Professor Robert believed that while his actions “could be complementary [to the Jesuit, Catholic identity(s),]... it would be accidental if that were the case.”

Actions Flowing from Level of Connection

The actions that faculty members made in response to an organizational identity flowed out of the level of connection made with the organizational identity, unless certain conditions intervened to modify their responses. The intervening conditions, as described earlier in this chapter, had a strong influence, serving to either encourage actions that were consistent with a sense of connection, or to negate expected actions that would flow from a sense of connection.

The following were the types of actions that flowed from the differing levels of connections (strong sense of connection, no sense of connection, and everything else in between). For those faculty members who had a strong sense of connection to an organizational identity, the range of possible responses included full implementation, fragmented implementation, combination of fragmented implementation and coincidental actions. In the situation where a faculty member did not have any connection with the organizational identity, the possible responses were no implementation, fragmented implementation, combination of fragmented implementation and coincidental actions, and coincidental actions. The range of responses arising from the situation where a faculty member experienced a more mid-level connection with the organizational identity

included fragmented implementation, combination of fragmented implementation and coincidental actions, coincidental actions, and no implementation.

Personal Consequences

“Whenever there is action/interaction or a lack of it taken in response to an issue or a problem or to manage or maintain a certain situation, there are ranges of consequences, some of which might be intended and others not” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 134). The consequences, or outcomes, may be positive, negative, or neutral (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). To this, I add “ambivalent.”

Since the unit of analysis for this study was on the individual level, i.e., individual faculty members, the consequences that became evident in the data were of a personal nature, thus I have labeled this section “personal consequences.” Furthermore, the consequences were of an affective nature, how the faculty member felt about the organization, himself or herself, the organizational identity and their responses to it. While there were likely other consequences on a personal level, and some evidence of this in the study’s data, these did not strongly emerge in this study. For instance, when a person begins to identify with certain values, then the person is likely to become shaped by those values. For example, with a Jesuit and Catholic identity emphasis on peace, and justice, a faculty member’s values and belief system may have changed, resulting in a growth of compassion towards the poor and less fortunate. Professor James experienced this, as was described earlier in this chapter regarding the effects of an organizational culture on faculty members. In addition, while there were likely other consequences from an institutional level, such as granting tenure or merit pay, or the institution’s emphasis on the identities is strengthened by the enthusiasm of those connecting with the

identities, the focus of this study was on the individual faculty member and his or her actions and the consequences of those actions.

Range of Positive Feelings

When there was some level of connection with the organizational identity and this identity affected the faculty members' roles, then the faculty members typically had very positive feelings. They may have felt affirmed, supported, free to be oneself, sense of fulfillment/purpose, appreciative of identity(s), part of a community, connected to institution, engaged in the university, energized, and proud of the institution. The one negative feeling expressed was a level of disappointment or frustration when the lived reality of the organizational identity did not reflect the espoused organizational identity. In addition, some faculty members who experienced a connection with the organizational identity and who had coincidental actions expressed a sense of appreciation for the organizational identity, saying that the organizational identity affirmed who they were. Evidence of these findings are the following.

Professor Gerald, who exhibited "coincidental actions," said that he could do what he does at any university, especially any Jesuit university, but it would be harder for him to do what he does at a public university. The values resonance between himself and the Jesuit and Catholic identities seemed important to him for his own sake. Ignatius University seemed to enable him to live out who he was and who he wanted to be. While he may have been able to do similar things at a public university, the culture and university values system of that kind of place would not support him in the same way that Ignatius University did because of the resonance of values. Professor Gerald said,

Who we are [Jesuit, Catholic university] allows me to do what I want to do. And I think my interest merge with the identity of the place. That's why I think it would be easier for me to teach here than at a public university...I am a Roman Catholic and I teach as Roman Catholic and so teaching and researching within this institution, allows me to do who I am, be who I am. Well, I've often said to myself, 'It would be harder to do what I do and be who I am at a public university.' At least I think it would be harder for me at this point in my life. So, Ignatius University happens to be the place where I am in fact doing it... the Jesuit Catholic identity of this University really supports and encourages what I want to do and who I am.

For Professor Albert, who had a strong sense of connection (shared values/beliefs and job relevance) with the "Ignatius University identity" (that encompassed Jesuit, Catholic, and university), the identity "reinforced" why he went to work there. Professor Albert sought out a Jesuit university in which to work because he believed that a Jesuit university would have similar values to his own – wanting to be of service to others in a meaningful way through his roles as a faculty member. Professor Albert seemed to feel affirmed and supported by Ignatius University's organizational identity. He said, "Ignatius University's identity reinforces why I came here. They reinforce the notion that I had in my mind before I came to Ignatius because I said that I wanted to be in a place where I could do something to help others, something sustainable."

Professor Barbara, who experienced a strong sense of connection (shared values/beliefs and job relevance) with the Jesuit Catholic identity (she saw the Jesuit and

Catholic identity as one identity) said, “I’m finding validation and encouragement due to the Jesuit Catholic identity.”

Professor David, who was Jewish and who had a strong sense of connection with the Jesuit Catholic identity, expressed a great deal of pride in working at Ignatius University. Professor David said,

I’m proud to be at Ignatius. I’m proud that we raise the spiritual questions. We ask people and for me, in my courses, I ask students, ‘Do you take care of yourself spiritually, ethically?’ I push those kinds of issues. It’s a little more questionable whether I could do it in a public institution.

Professor Madeline, who felt a strong sense of connection (shared values/beliefs and job relevance) with the Jesuit identity, but not with the Catholic identity said, “I very much enjoy being part of an organization that I can support and have a sense that what they’re doing [flowing from the Jesuit identity] is something that I believe in.”

Finally, not all of the feelings expressed regarding the organizational identities were positive. Some respondents expressed frustration and job dissatisfaction that the reality of the organizational identities did not live up to the espoused identities and values. For example, Professor Gerald said that he had “challenged the president on his mission statement to bring the Jesuit Catholic piece back into focus.... There was a time when I was really frustrated with the lack of that [focus on the Jesuit, Catholic identity] happening and even considered leaving the University because it wasn’t happening.”

Range of Mixed Feelings

When there was a more mid to low level connection with the organizational identity, (may have lacked either shared values/beliefs or job relevance, or the person

may have had shared values/beliefs with only part of the identity and may have had opposing values/beliefs with other aspects of the identity) a wider range of feelings was expressed. Depending upon the nature of any opposing conditions (contextual or intervening), respondents may have maintained an appreciation for an organizational identity or may have experienced mixed feelings toward the identity. Many of the respondents expressed ambivalent or mixed feelings toward the identities when there were some aspects of the organizational identity that they liked and other aspects that they disliked. Because there were opposing conditions, perhaps ambivalence and mixed feelings regarding the organizational identities were stronger.

As addressed above, Professor James was an individual who had some level of connection (mid to low level) with the Jesuit aspect of the Jesuit Catholic identity, but that connection was modified by opposing intervening conditions. He expressed sharing the Jesuit values of peace and justice and the educational values of the Jesuit identity, yet he seemed limited in his knowledge regarding what the rest of the Jesuit Catholic identity might mean. While Professor James seemed to have some level of appreciation for the Jesuit Catholic identity, because of its emphasis on peace and justice and education, he also felt uneasy about the identity, especially its religious nature and about issues of academic freedom. Thus, overall, Professor James seemed to feel ambivalent regarding the Jesuit Catholic identity. The following quote expresses Professor James's sense of unease about the Jesuit Catholic identity of Ignatius University and the role it should play in the institution and in his job.

It's crossed my mind a number of times, what is expected of me. You hear that word, Jesuit, so often that you begin to wonder, well, am I supposed to be doing

something to be acting Jesuit-like, whatever that (laughs) entails. And at times I kind of feel a little unnerved by it when the issue has been brought up in say, search committees for example. I've been on a number of search committees where I felt the university was looking for an individual who was competent in whatever field that they were expected to work. The Jesuit identity was sometimes inappropriately raised in comparing the candidates. Someone might say that one candidate seems to have all these advantages over the other one, but this other one is a Jesuit or Catholic and this person might know more about Catholicism or the Jesuit tradition than this first person, and then at moments like that, I pause and question myself about what it is the university wants. Does it want people who are competent in their field of expertise, or does it want people who are going to be evangelists? People who promote the faith and so on and so forth. And I have been uneasy at times about that. I have concerns about whether in fact this is what is needed of me.

Also I'm a little uneasy about whether the Catholic Church has a direct role to play in what is taught at a Catholic institution. Not being a Catholic myself, you probably could understand why I might be uneasy about orders coming from Rome about what I should be teaching in my courses.

In selective ways, Professor James's values fit with the Jesuit identity: the peace and justice emphasis, the Jesuit identity overlap with the university identity, i.e. openness to exploring ideas. In other ways, he said his values did not fit or that he did not really know what Jesuit means. Professor James said,

Yeah, I'd like to be neutral about it and say that there are things about the Jesuit tradition that I like. You know, that I relate to them, there are others which I have doubts about, and doubts maybe because of my ignorance. I perceive Jesuits to be a certain way or Catholics to have certain views, which may be incorrect.

Professor Roger also liked a certain aspect of the Jesuit and Catholic identities and disliked the rest of those identities. Professor Roger felt very positively about the liberal arts component of the Jesuit and Catholic identities, seeing embodied in these identities a strong value and historical emphasis on philosophy, something that he personally and professionally valued. However, Professor Roger identified himself as an atheist and seemed to strongly reject the religious aspects of the Jesuit and Catholic identities. He expressed strong discomfort with that aspect and said that he felt like an outsider because he did not share many of the institution's values.

You know, Catholic higher education, and Jesuit universities in particular, have preserved the liberal arts in a way that other, secular universities no longer do. And I highly value that contribution and the value that is placed in a liberal arts curriculum here at Ignatius University. The philosophical exploration that we encourage in our students is very important and I feel like that's a great fit for me and for what I teach. I'm very happy with that aspect of the Jesuit and Catholic identities.... [However,] I am very uncomfortable with any religious aspect of the Jesuit and Catholic identities. Since I'm an atheist, I do not share the religious beliefs and values.... In many ways, I feel like an outsider here, not because anyone here makes me feel that way. I think it's because I know that I don't share the Jesuit and Catholic values, except for the liberal arts aspect.

While many faculty members expressed mixed feelings, some faculty members who experienced opposing conditions continued to feel good about working at Ignatius University and about the organizational identity(s). It depended upon the nature of the intervening conditions. For example, Professor Mike only experienced a mid to low level of connection with the Jesuit identity because he had little knowledge on which to find shared values and he did not see any job relevance for his subject matter, but he said that he respected the Jesuit identity, especially because of its emphasis on academic excellence, something which he valued and which he thought made Ignatius a good university.

Range of Negative or Neutral Feelings

When the faculty members did not have any connection with the organizational identity, then their feelings tended to be more negative and at times neutral. The feelings included some level of discomfort with the identities, feeling like an outsider or somewhat marginalized, some level of job dissatisfaction, cynicism or anger if the lived reality or the organizational identity did not reflect the espoused identity, and finally, some individuals remained indifferent towards the identity(s) and towards the institution. In the cases where faculty members were indifferent to an organizational identity, and had no sense of connection with that identity, it was still possible for the faculty members to be happy with the other identities and with working at Ignatius University. Several examples of these feelings follow.

While Professor Madeline experienced a fairly strong connection (shared values/beliefs and job relevance) with the Jesuit identity, and had very positive feelings about it, she did not experience any connection (lacked shared values/beliefs and any

perceived job relevance) with the Catholic identity and had negative feelings about it. Professor Madeline talked extensively about the campus' Catholic community, which seemed strongest amongst the staff, and she seemed to feel like an outsider because she was not Catholic. Also, she seemed to experience some level of job dissatisfaction because of the Catholic identity. She said, "If any organization excludes some of their population, their workers, because of an underlying feeling that they shouldn't be there, because they're not Catholic, then we're not happy campers. When we're not happy campers, we're not going to be the best teachers, or researchers, or service people."

In addition to feeling like an outsider due to not sharing in the Catholic religion, Professor Madeline felt like an outsider and a "second-class citizen" because she did not teach in the traditional undergraduate liberal arts curriculum. It should be noted here that Ignatius University also had the identity of being a liberal arts school, in addition to being a university. Professor Madeline explained,

The biggest issue that I have is that I only teach graduate students. I only teach adults. There is a we-they kind of environment. The people that teach the core courses in the liberal arts, they're directly related to the Jesuit mission and those of us that will never teach that, they would never want me to teach anything in the liberal arts. It's a whole different world and we feel like, speaking for myself and I think a lot of graduate professors, we feel like second class citizens. And I think it's been a serious problem. Whether it's one that will ever change given the nature of who we are, I don't know.... I think any type of culture that separates people, and stigmatizes people, because there is a stigma, you know? If you're not Catholic and you teach graduate students then, "What the heck are you doing at

Ignatius University?” So, I think that, and I've never had anyone say that to me, believe me. But I think that there's an underlying current of that.

A different personal consequence for Professor William, who did not have any connection with the Jesuit or Catholic identities, was to become cynical about those identities and about the university administration because he did not see the expression of those identities as being genuine in the issue of service learning. Professor William said,

You wonder if they're serious about service learning, then why don't they just make a requirement of all students instead of just saying “Here's a few students, we'll give them scholarships and it's not for the classrooms, it's for providing a help desk downtown.” So, the cynic in me says, well is this a little more image or do you truly believe this type of stuff? Because they got press on CBS.

Evolving Nature of Process

There was some evidence in the data that a faculty member's responses to an organizational identity is an ever-changing, evolving process. Over time, a faculty member's sense of connection with the organizational identity will change as the various conditions change at the institution and for the individual, and as the faculty member experiences the personal consequences of their responses to the identity. For example, if a faculty member has a fairly strong sense of connection with an organizational identity, implements it in some of his or her roles, and then feels really good about that implementation, then that faculty member may seek to learn even more about the organizational identity by attending more identity programs and their sense of connection may become even stronger. On the other end of the spectrum, a faculty member who lacks any sense of connection, does not implement the identity into his or her roles, and

who feels marginalized, then that faculty member may begin to distance himself or herself ever further from the organizational identity, and have an ever increasing negative attitude towards the identity, which therefore serves to create more of a gulf between the person and the organizational identity.

Another type of evolution that took place over time was that due to increasing emphasis on and evolving definitions of the Jesuit and university identities, differing emphases on role prioritizations were created. For example, Professor Therese, a veteran faculty member of more than 20 years, indicated that the role prioritizations had changed over the years, based on changes occurring in the organizational identities. She said that “the emphasis on scholarship, as again, kind of a Jesuit type of thing, and also as a university type of thing, has grown in terms of... what’s expected of the faculty” and that “much more is expected of the faculty in terms of research types of things.” Over the years, Ignatius University made concerted efforts to raise the level of academic quality at their institutions, using a new emphasis on the Jesuit and university identities as the reason for the increased expectations of academic quality. Professor Therese also said that there had been changes at Ignatius University in terms of “this whole notion of service.” At Ignatius University, there were several service learning programs built into academic courses, which was stated as arising from the Jesuit identity. She said that 20 years ago she did not remember “the Jesuits talking along those lines” of service.

Similar to Professor Therese, Professor Debbie had found changes in the role prioritizations emanating from the organizational identities. Professor Debbie explained that she “really felt pressured to do it all when [she] first started teaching at Ignatius University.” By all, she meant giving a great deal of emphasis to teaching,

research/scholarship, and service and she saw that giving such emphasis to all three roles emanated from the Jesuit identity. As a result of trying to “do it all,” she “was really stretched in a million directions” in her first six years there. Since then, she said that she had pulled back from doing so much service because equal emphasis to all three roles became too much. However, over the years, the role prioritization seemed to have changed again and Professor Debbie said, “I haven’t felt that as much now,” that is, that there is equal emphasis given to the roles. She indicated that more prioritization is now given to research, then teaching, and finally to service; however, even though there seemed to be role prioritization taking place at an institutional level, there remained high expectations of each role.

Professor Stacey, a faculty member for approximately ten years, said that all three roles, based in the organizational identities, were very important, but where the emphasis was placed depended upon the tenure status of faculty. She said, “The non-tenured faculty need to spend more time on scholarship and service is not as important. Teaching is always important and I think that again, is the whole Jesuit identity.” Professor Stacey said that “when you get tenure, then service becomes very important.” She said that “the [faculty] handbook says, the non-tenured faculty need to be spending their time getting their scholarship done.” Professor Mike, a non-tenured faculty member said that he doesn’t do any service because “at this stage, it seems what they primarily want from me is to teach” and he later added research to this notion of what is expected of him. Thus, as faculty members become tenured, the expectations of them in relation to the identities changed.

As seen above, as the understanding of the organizational identities changed, so too did the emphases on the faculty members' roles. As was explained earlier in this chapter, some faculty members felt pressured by external accrediting bodies to change their role emphasis from teaching to research. As Professor Tillie and several other business faculty members explained, this was especially true for the College of Business faculty members.

Conclusion

Thus, the process by which faculty members responded to the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities was a very complex one that included causal, contextual, and intervening conditions, a central phenomenon, actions, and personal consequences, all of which evolves over time. In the next chapter I explore the contributions to the literature made by this study's findings and implications for practitioners and further research.

CHAPTER V

CONTRIBUTIONS

The purpose of Chapter V is to view the findings of this study in relationship to relevant literature and to practitioners in the field of Catholic higher education. This chapter is divided into three sections: contributions of emerging theory to existing literature, implications for practitioners, and implications for further research.

Contributions of Emerging Theory to Existing Literature

As seen in Chapter II and more recent publications, some organizational identity scholars advocate the management of organizational identity (e.g. Pratt & Foreman 2000; Foreman & Whetten, 2002; Reger, et al, 1998) with the hope of engendering employee behavior that supports and acts out of the organizational identity, generally under the rubric of organizational identification (Pratt, 1998). However, until now, research has not been conducted on what types of responses employees make to organizational identity(s). This study has added new insights into the concepts of organizational identity and organizational identification by detailing the complexity of faculty member responses to the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities.

Organizational Identification

As presented in Chapter II, many organizational identity scholars draw a close connection between organizational identity and organizational identification. Organizational identity is that which an organization formally claims itself as being (Whetten 2000) and which is central, distinctive, and enduring about the organization (Albert & Whetten 1985; Whetten 2000). Similar to other identity scholars, Bartel (2001) defines organizational identification as “a perception of oneness with or belonging

to an organization (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), such that a member's perceptions about its defining qualities become self-referential or self-defining (Pratt, 1998)" (p. 380). "Most conceptualizations of [organizational] identification involve some sort of perception of value congruence between an individual and an organization" (Pratt, 1998, p. 173). The common thought among identity scholars is that when an organizational member identifies with the "defining qualities" of the organization, a.k.a., with the organizational identity, then the more likely the member is to take the organization's perspective, and to act in the organization's best interest, expending effort on behalf of the organization (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Mael & Ashforth, 1992).

Much of the literature that addresses organizational identification speaks in more general terms of supportive employee behaviors. For example, as explained in Chapter II, Ashforth and Mael (1989) claim that individuals tend to choose activities congruent with salient aspects of their own identities, and they support the institutions embodying those identities; organizational identification enhances support for and commitment to the organization; organizational identification is likely associated with loyalty to, and pride in the group and its activities; and identification may engender internalization of, and adherence to, group values and norms and homogeneity in attitudes and behavior. Explicit in the identity literature is the belief that if organization members identify with their organization, then they are also identifying with the organizational identity and that members will act on behalf of the organization. Implicit in this is a belief that the organization member is acting on behalf of the organizational *identity* by acting on "behalf of the *organization*." However, general supportive behavior by members for their organization may not be sufficient from the perspective of organizational leaders.

For example, in my research, some of the leaders of Ignatius University very much wanted the faculty members to incorporate the Jesuit and Catholic identities, *as well as* the university identity into their roles and not simply to be only outstanding faculty members as they would at any university. A major aim for many Catholic university presidents, including the president at Ignatius University, is to not only maintain, but to enliven the Catholic and sponsoring order identities of their universities. There is a nationally shared concern by many leaders within Catholic higher education that their institutions are losing their unique Catholic and sponsoring order identities and that definite steps must be taken to reverse that trend, or else Catholic universities will become indistinguishable from secular universities. The desire is to keep alive the Catholic and sponsoring order identities and for that to be a reality, those identities must be lived out through the employees and how they conduct their jobs.

While some identity scholars' explication of organizational identification includes identifying with the values of the organization (Pratt, 1998), there still remains the question of whether or not identifying with the values of the organization is the same thing as identifying with the organization (Barker, 1998). A further question is whether or not identifying with the organizational values, or with the organization in general, is the same thing as identifying with the organizational identity. It seems plausible that an organization's values will include values others than those arising from the organizational identity. At this time, it seems that the organizational identification concept still needs refining.

Based upon my research, I see several problems with the concept of organizational identification as a means through which organizational members will live

out an organizational identity. First, when organization members identify with their organization (organizational identification), it is most likely that the members do not think only in terms of the organization's formally claimed identities and the values embedded in those identities, since organizations are much more than their formally claimed identities. It is possible that organizational members do not identify with the organization's claimed identity and identity values, but rather, they may identify with the overall organization and with the values embedded in such things as the organizational climate, the ways in which the organization treats its members, their colleagues in the organization, the activities or products of the organization, et cetera.

While the organizational identity is likely to play some role in the members' identification with the organization, it is not a sole reason for identification. Thus, it is possible that an employee may identify with their organization, expending a great deal of effort on behalf of their organization, but he or she may never actually identify with the organizational identity(s). When there is a lack of identification with a particular organizational identity, the members' behaviors are less likely to be directly related to the organizational identity. In my study, every faculty member I interviewed who strongly identified with Ignatius University also identified with at least one of the organizational identities. However, I can imagine a situation where this may not necessarily be the case. For example, a groundskeeper at a major university may identify strongly with the institution, not because of its formally claimed research and land-grant identities, but for other reasons, such as their great basketball and football programs, because generations of the employee's family have worked there, and because the institution treats that person well. Perhaps this example points to an inherent problem with the concept of

organizational identification as a means of members enacting the organizational identities. Those employees whose jobs are unrelated to the core identity and mission of the organization have less reason to identify with the organization on the basis of the organizational identity. In these situations, their jobs could be conducted in the same manner, no matter in what organization they worked. Examples of these types of jobs might include clerical and maintenance work. Thus, the organizational identification concept may fail to explain responses to organizational identities for all types of employees or members of an organization.

Second, when an organization has multiple identities, and perhaps conflicting ones, such as in a hybrid organization (Albert & Whetten, 1985), then it is quite possible for an employee to embrace one organizational identity and reject another, such as was found in this study, and similar to the concept of conflicting identification (Dukerich, Kramer, & Parks, 1998) and schizo-identification (Elsbach, 1999). Foreman and Whetten (2002) acknowledge that the process of organizational identification may be complicated by the presence of multiple identity claims, as suggested by several identity scholars. Thus, if a member identifies with one aspect (identity) of the organization and not with another, what happens to the concept of organizational identification and the expected resulting behaviors? Most of the organization identification literature does not account for the situation in which there may be multiple identities and potentially conflicting identities at that. As found in this study, if a member identifies with one identity and has conflicts with another identity, then that employee may feel ambivalence about being a part of that organization. And where there is ambivalence, there is likely to be less than a whole-hearted attempt to live out the full aims or goals of the organization.

The literature does not provide for the subtle nuances needed in the organizational identification concept and resulting behaviors when there are multiple, and possibly conflicting, identities.

Third, as was found in this study, it is possible for some members to strongly identify with a particular organizational identity that the organization claims, but not with the organization itself. For example, some faculty members interviewed in this study strongly identified with the “university identity,” but they did not identify with Ignatius University itself. One faculty member in particular told me that this was his situation. He had once worked at a university with which he strongly identified and he could “feel” the difference in that experience and in his current experience at Ignatius University. While he strongly identified with the idea of a university identity, and he acknowledged that Ignatius University was a good university, he did not identify with his particular institution. However, because he highly valued the university identity, (but not Ignatius University itself), he expended a great deal of effort in being the best faculty member that he could be in living out the university identity.

Fourth, just because members identify with an organization *and* with its identity(s), does not mean they will incorporate those identities into how they act out their roles in the organization. As was seen in this study, there are numerous factors that can serve to impede actions that may naturally flow out of identification. Also, some faculty members who identified with the organization and with the organizational identity exhibited actions supportive of the identity, but the actions were “coincidental” in that the member would have taken those actions no matter in which university they worked, e.g., service to community using their area of scholarship, and care for the individual student.

All of the above calls into question the definition of organizational identification and its relationship to organizational identity. As stated above, the organization is much more than the organizational identity and the concepts of organizational identification and organizational identity should be treated as separate, but related; and the concept of organizational identification needs clarification. My research indicates that the definition of organizational identification should be restricted to identifying with the organization itself, which may or may not include identification with the organization's identity, and that organizational identification is really defined from the member's perspective – what they know, think, and feel about the organization, which may or may not include the member's perspective on the organizational identities. In many cases, the member may be totally indifferent to the organizational identities, perhaps depending on the type of job/position held, but the member may care tremendously about how the organization treats the member regarding benefits, care and concern for members, work relationships, pride in what the organization produces, et cetera.

So, if the heads of organizations are concerned about fostering their organizational identity(s), then it seems they need to be concerned with fostering not only member identification with their organization in general, but identification with the organizational identity in particular. Perhaps a new concept or term is needed – perhaps, “organizational identity identification.” Borrowing concepts from the organizational identification literature, I believe that organizational identity identification occurs when a member shares the values or beliefs of a particular organizational identity and there is a level of affective feeling attached to that. When “identity identification” (a shortened term for “organizational identity identification”) occurs, then organization members are

more likely to enact behaviors that support the particular organizational identity, incorporating the identities into their roles. However, as seen in this study, there are numerous factors, which can intervene to prevent members from incorporating the organizational identities into their roles, such as a lack of job relevance, lack of resources, and other intervening conditions. The term identity identification allows for the concept of multiple organizational identities, whereas the concept of organizational identification does not deal well with multiple identities (Foreman & Whetten 2002), or with the problems I indicated above.

Other Contributions to the Literature

As noted by Foreman and Whetten (2002) there has been little empirical study on organizational identity and organizational identification. And more specifically, until their study in 2002, they state that they had found no peer-reviewed studies that empirically examined organizational identification in multiple identity organizations, although there had been some unpublished papers. This study that I have conducted is a contribution to the extremely limited research in understanding responses to multiple organizational identities.

In the study by Foreman and Whetten (2002), “Members’ Identification with Multiple-Identity Organizations,” they had some significant findings, which my study affirms. First, they found that identity congruence, between an individual and an organizational identity, had an effect on affective commitment to the organization. They found support for the assertion that organization members make a cognitive comparison between their perceptions of what the organization’s current identity is with what they would prefer the identity to be. They explain that “the ‘preferred,’ ‘expected,’ or ‘ideal’

organizational identity essentially acts as an extension of the member's self-identity" (p. 619). Thus, "a member compares his or her perceptions of an organization's *current identity* (beliefs about the existing character of the organization) with his or her expectations for its *ideal identity* (beliefs about what is desirable, informed by the member's sense of self)" [italics in the original] (p. 620). They found that "the resulting identity gap/congruence (the cognitive distance between the current and ideal identity claims)" significantly affected the members' affective commitment to the organization. Using Myer and Allen's definition, Foreman and Whetten state that "affective commitment reflects the degree to which a member 'wants' to remain in the organization" and that "affective commitment focuses on a member's positive feelings about their involvement in the organization, as well as their expressed sentiments of loyalty and desire to help the organization be successful" (p. 621).

In my study, it was clear that most faculty members actively considered how their beliefs and values compared to those of the organizational identities that Ignatius University claimed, which is similar to the comparison process that Foreman and Whetten studied. The Jesuit and Catholic identities seemed to be more salient than the university identity, however. Thus, it may be that not all identities are given equal levels of comparison. In addition, my study showed that when there was more identity congruence than gap, the faculty members had positive feelings about the organizational identities and about the organization and when there was more gap than congruence, there were either negative, neutral, or ambivalent feelings towards the organizational identities and/or the organization. This held true even for those faculty members who strongly identified with an organizational identity, but not with the organization. In some

of these cases, the faculty member held an “ideal” identity, which the person did not believe the institution was living up to, thus, the faculty member tended to have less affective commitment to the organization. In fact, one faculty member was strongly considering leaving the university because that person did not believe that Ignatius University was living up to the Jesuit and Catholic identities that it claimed.

My study also confirms a second finding by Foreman and Whetten (2002) where they conceptualize organizational identity at “multiple levels of abstraction.” Similar to the first finding, Foreman and Whetten proposed, and found, that organization members also make comparisons not only with their local organization’s identities, but with its “encompassing *organizational form*” [italics in the original] (p. 622). An encompassing organizational form is the larger, broader institution with which it has a relationship. For example, a Jesuit, Catholic university has several organizational forms with which it is related: the Jesuit order (Society of Jesus); the Catholic Church; and the institution of higher education/universities. Foreman and Whetten proposed and found that members make an analogous organizational form-level identity comparison process in which the cognitive comparisons affect members’ attitudes towards the encompassing organizational form, specifically in terms of perceived legitimacy of the encompassing form. Foreman and Whetten argue that “the legitimacy of an organizational form is partly a function of the degree to which that form’s key identifying characteristics are congruent with its surrounding institutional environment and the associated norms and expectations of its constituents” (p. 622). Similar to Foreman and Whetten’s results, I found that many of the faculty members I interviewed made comparisons with Ignatius University’s encompassing organizational forms, primarily with the Jesuits and with the

Catholic Church, although some faculty members also made comparisons with the institution of higher education/university. In many instances the Catholic Church was not perceived favorably and was considered by some as being inappropriate (not legitimate) as part of a university. In many of these instances, the Catholic identity of Ignatius University was perceived as being synonymous with the Catholic Church, a perspective with which some leaders in Catholic higher education would disagree. These leaders would likely say that the Catholic identity and purpose of Catholic higher education is not the same purpose and identity as that of the Catholic Church. Extending Foreman and Whetten's finding, some faculty members also made comparisons *between* the encompassing organizational form-level identities. For example, the Catholic Church was seen by some faculty members as being antithetical to the institution of higher education/university and the Jesuit order (Society of Jesus) was seen as being complimentary to the institution of higher education. Most faculty members interviewed judged the encompassing Jesuit order form favorably and as congruent with their university identity ideals. An important finding in my study is that the judgments made by faculty members regarding the encompassing organizational form-level identity had a direct impact on their attitudes towards the respective identity at Ignatius University. For example, those faculty members who negatively judged the Catholic Church, also tended to negatively judge the Catholic identity at Ignatius University, seeing the Catholic identity, or aspects of the Catholic identity as an inappropriate or non-legitimate identity for a university.

A final contribution to the literature that my study makes is that it goes beyond Foreman and Whetten's (2002) in that I studied members' perceived behavioral

responses to multiple organizational identities. In concluding their paper, Foreman and Whetten explain that although they “illustrated the significant relationships between multiple identities and a member’s *attitude* toward his or her organization, [their] survey data did not assess a member’s *behaviors*” [italics in the original] (p. 632) and that there is a need to do so. My study investigated the responses that faculty members made to multiple identities, including members’ perceptions of their behaviors, factors affecting their responses, and the resulting feelings, which goes beyond Foreman and Whetten’s recommendation for further study.

Implications for Practitioners

The topic of organizational identity is a particularly important one for Catholic higher education. As explained in Chapter II, Catholic university presidents and others within those institutions are concerned that they may be losing their unique identities, becoming secularized, similar to what happened to Protestant universities in the past. Since the late 1960s, there have been decreasing numbers of religious, (priests, nuns and brothers), and active lay Catholics working in Catholic higher education. In addition, beginning in the late 1960s, an expanded workforce of faculty and professional staff was hired, based on their level of faculty expertise and professional competence, leaving the Catholic and sponsoring order identities out of the hiring equation. Also, once faculty and professional staff were hired, the Catholic and sponsoring order identities were not explained to them, because the institutions did not have the language to articulate them, and there was no perceived need to do so. Up until approximately the mid-1980s, the Catholic and sponsoring order identities were taken for granted in these institutions. [Read Chapter II for more details and references.]

Since the mid-1980s, Catholic higher education leaders have been making concerted efforts to foster their Catholic and sponsoring order identities, but they have been doing so with very little knowledge produced by research. This study provides insights into the complexity of their task and it raises challenging questions regarding how they will continue to maintain the identities of Catholic higher education, especially in light of the many factors that can serve to negatively impact employee responses to the identities. Based on this study's findings and model and other relevant research and publications, this chapter offers implications for practitioners in Catholic higher education who are concerned with maintaining and strengthening their unique character.

As illustrated in Chapter IV, faculty member responses to organizational identities are very complex, and most likely, not controllable. However, with a clearer understanding of the many factors that influence responses to the organizational identities, those individuals involved in fostering the university's mission and identity may be able to optimize the conditions under which faculty members and other employees respond. Based upon this study's theoretical model and relevant literature, clear guidelines emerge for practitioners who wish to actively promote or foster the identities of their institutions. I offer ten guidelines as stated and explained below.

1. Articulate the identity of the institution through written and spoken means (e.g. in the mission statement, publications, and speeches). It is important to articulate more than an historical and factual explanation of the identity. It is essential to describe the values and beliefs that are the foundation of the identity.

The organizational identity needs some level of clarity if institutional members are to understand the identity and to intentionally implement the identity into their roles.

In this study, many faculty members struggled to be able to define and/or explain the organizational identities or could articulate them in only a limited way. As discussed in Chapter IV, some of the faculty members indicated that they could not implement the identities because they could not articulate them and did not fully understand them. Thus, there must be greater clarity of explanation by the organization as well as the development of a language that members can understand and which they can draw upon to more fruitfully reflect on these identities. In developing language to express the identity, a cautionary note should be sounded.

Albert and Whetten (1985, p. 268) propose that precise self-classification regarding an organization's identity may be both impossible and, more importantly undesirable for a number of reasons:

1. ambiguous classification may prevent the organization from being typecast and thereby rendered more predictable than desired;
2. The complexity of the organization may make a simple statement of identity impossible;
3. Since organizations change over time, an overly precise or micro-classification might quickly become outdated;
4. Since identity is usually assumed and only critically examined under certain conditions and then resolved with a minimal answer, we would not expect the formulation of identity to be honed to great precision.

However, while there may be some benefit to ambiguity in the definition of an organizational identity, or it simply cannot be stated more precisely (Whetten, 2000), this study indicates that an organizational identity needs to be articulated with some level of

clarity and distinctiveness and it needs to be broad enough to include a variety of interpretations, while remaining true to the identity. If the identity is too tightly/well defined, it will leave out a number of people who still have things to contribute that are of value to the institution; and when there are multiple identities, one member may not identify with one identity, but may strongly identify with another, thereby still contributing something important to the institution. Both the Jesuit and Catholic identities encompass a great deal of history, traditions, values, and beliefs; it is hardly possible to name that in a simple, definitional way. The danger in defining the identity is that by including some aspects of the identity, other aspects are of necessity left out. However, if language is not developed to give some definition to the identity, there is little hope for it to be a viable identity for the institution, whereby it can be introduced and explained to new members of the institution and where it can shape decisions, by both university administrators and by faculty, staff, and students. Also, the aspects that are chosen to be included may not be shared by all members of the organization and the aspects that have been excluded may be the ones with which they could have identified. Perhaps it would be best for members of the institution to join in exploring and naming what they perceive to be the most important, and relevant, aspects of the identities for their institution.

Another thing to keep in mind is that inherent in organizational identities is a set of values and/or beliefs, and this is true for individuals as well. What then becomes important is how well an individual's values and/or beliefs match with those of the organizational identity. This is important because, based in the social identification and organizational identification literature, there is a belief that if an individual identifies with

an organization, and by extension, with an organizational identity, then that individual is more likely to act on behalf of the organization, taking into account its objectives. Thus, it becomes important for university administrators to articulate the values and/or beliefs of the organizational identity to enable an employee's judgment of the level of congruence between the organizational identity and their own identities. It is not enough to give an historical and factual explanation of an organizational identity, but rather, an explanation of the values underpinning the organizational identity is essential to allowing the individual to identify with the organizational identity itself. It was at the level of values where faculty members tended to connect most strongly with an identity, and for those who strongly shared the values, there seemed to be a level of affective commitment to the organizational identity. However, the danger lies in having organization members who, once the identities are more clearly explained to them, and in terms of the values and/or beliefs, may reject the identities and may have more negative feelings regarding their employment at the institution. Thus, it becomes even more important to articulate the identity in a broad enough way to include a variety of interpretations, while remaining true to the identity.

2. Clarify the distinctions between the encompassing institutional form-level Catholic Church identity and the organizational form-level of the Catholic identity at the university/college.

An important finding in my study is that faculty members tended to judge Ignatius University's identities based in part on their judgment of the respective encompassing organizational (institutional) form-level identities (Foreman & Whetten, 2002), i.e. Jesuits (Society of Jesus), Catholic Church, higher education. The judgment of the

institutional form-level identity had a direct impact on faculty member attitudes towards the respective identity at Ignatius University. For example, because some faculty members disliked the Catholic Church, they also negatively judged the Catholic identity at Ignatius University, perceiving the Catholic identity as not being a legitimate one for a university. These faculty members tended to equate the Catholic identity at Ignatius University with the Catholic Church itself. For them, Ignatius University's Catholic identity tended to be defined in terms of doctrinal religious beliefs and of a church structure, usually with which they disagreed. Thus, it may be important for university administrators at Catholic universities to make a distinction between what is meant by the encompassing institutional form-level identity of the Catholic Church and the local organizational form-level identity of the Catholic identity in a university context. This same recommendation could be applied to any organization that has an encompassing institutional form, especially when that encompassing form is not considered to be legitimate as part of the organizational form-level.

Also, it is important to note that in this study, many of the faculty members who were not Catholic themselves and who had negative perspectives towards the Catholic Church also tended to have some level of negative feelings such as feeling like an outsider and marginalized, having ambivalent job satisfaction, or feeling angry towards the institution. As I found in an earlier study, the institution may need to take a cautious approach in emphasizing its Catholic nature. At two other Jesuit universities, many people who were not Catholic expressed feelings of marginalization as a result of an increased emphasis on the Catholic identity. An increased emphasis on the Catholic

identity may serve to alienate some members of the university community, some of whom actively support the Jesuit nature of the institution (Deshotels 2000).

One respondent in an earlier study (Deshotels 2000) offered an interesting insight that adds to the implications of this study. He suggested that it may be wiser and more effective for the institution to focus on fostering an understanding of the university's mission rather than focusing on the university's identity. He said that as a non-Catholic, he will never be able to identify with the Catholic identity, but he very much identified with the institution's mission. He saw that within the university's mission is an expression of the Jesuit values, beliefs, and principles, things people can get excited about because they can relate to them. He saw the promotion and actualization of the mission as everyone's responsibility in the institution, but the responsibility for promoting the identity was not something he and many others were interested in doing; he saw this as being the responsibility of the university's Jesuit identity person and of campus ministry. In this scenario, it would be important that the values of the various institutional identities, including the Catholic identity, be embodied in the mission statement. Only time and experimental implementation of this idea will tell if emphasizing and fostering the mission is a more effective means of enlivening the Jesuit and Catholic character of the institution than emphasizing and fostering the Jesuit and Catholic identities directly.

3. Communicate the identity to members of the institution in a variety of ways, ranging from descriptive information to experiential knowledge.

The amount of knowledge that faculty members had about the organizational identities affected whether or not they could see values/belief congruence with the

organizational identity and whether or not they could see any job relevance for the identity. So, any sense of connection that the faculty member might have with the identity may be limited due to lack of knowledge about the identity, which is likely to result in no implementation of the identity into the faculty member's roles. Therefore, it is particularly important that the organization communicates information about the identities and at different levels, ranging from descriptive information in brochures to experiential knowledge that can be "felt" through such programs as directed retreats. It is at the experiential level that knowledge about the organizational identities can become deeply appropriated; however, not all employees will be open to this level of knowledge, therefore, the more simple and surface-level explanations are also important, as well as being a good starting point for communication regarding the identities.

4. Create dialogue on the meanings of the organizational identities to help resolve any perceived conflict or tension between identities. Also dialogue about how faculty members' own values and beliefs overlap with those of the organizational identity.

While there may always be perceived conflict or tension by some faculty members between two or more of the organizational identities, the perceptions of the conflict should not be based upon erroneous information. For example, many faculty members who saw conflict between the Catholic and university identities did so based upon what appeared to be a lack of information about the Catholic identity in a university context and even based upon misinformation about the Catholic Church itself. While there is likely to never be only one definition of a Catholic identity in a university context, or of the Catholic Church itself, knowing that there is perceived conflict about

the Catholic, and in some cases, the sponsoring order (e.g. Jesuit) identity, university administrators should strive to create dialogues on the meanings of the identities and how faculty members feel about them. Administrators in Catholic universities need to explain what the Catholic identity is and what it is not, which is likely to be a difficult task since the Catholic identity of Catholic higher education does not seem easily definable.

At the same time, it may be helpful for university administrators to draw the links between the organizational identities (e.g. Jesuit, Catholic, and university) showing the overlap of values and/or beliefs. This idea is similar to the aggregation method (Pratt & Foreman's, 2000) in how some managers manage multiple organizational identities [see Chapter II for explanation of Pratt and Foreman's model]. For example, within the Catholic intellectual tradition there is a search for truth, for a deeper understanding in which reason is used to understand faith and faith gives insight to reason, i.e. reflection on all secular knowledge in the light of the faith and the Catholic intellectual tradition (retrieved from Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities website, www.accunet.org/display.asp?Category=18, October 3, 2004). Similarly, the Jesuit tradition focuses on developing the human intellect to understand creation better and to share one's gifts, and to understand the human person better (G. Fagin, S.J., personal communication, October 4, 2004). And finally, in the university tradition there is a value placed on the exploration of truth and the development and dissemination of knowledge. A common thread of the search for truth and development of knowledge runs through each of the identities.

Also, as mentioned in the first guideline above, it may be important for Catholic university administrators to define and give emphasis to the *values* that are inherent in the

Catholic identity. Perhaps it is at the level of values that people of other religious traditions, or no religious tradition, can find commonality with the Catholic identity, especially if they feel strongly that they disagree with Catholic beliefs. There should be opportunities through mission and identity programs for faculty members to explore how their own values and/or beliefs overlap with those of the organizational identities. An example of such a program might be an afternoon of reflection in which faculty members of a particular department spend the day learning about the university's identities and then dialoguing on how they see their values, personally and in terms of their discipline, intersect with those of the organizational identities, as well as exploring what possible relevance the identities have for their jobs.

One note of caution when creating programs that ask for deeper level dialogues on the identities. In an earlier study (Deshotels 2000), I found a comment by one respondent to be quite revealing of how nervous some faculty and staff members may be in speaking honestly about the identities. The respondent shared,

Even though there is a lot of freedom to discuss things, a lot of people are so scared to discuss these issues because they think there is this invisible hand that kind of punishes them. That it's like the church is there through the administration or that the university itself is a church when it comes to punishing those that are not walking on the right path...I think there is a lot of rhetoric that there is openness, but people don't believe it...There's this feeling that if you say something people will remember when promotion time comes or when you apply for something else or when your evaluation comes up....And people, I think, feel that the environment is not really an environment where open discussions could

happen because when you talk about some of those things people immediately may put a label on you as whether you're 'with us' or 'not with us.' [These comments by the respondent addressed both concerns that individuals have who struggle with the Jesuit and Catholic nature of the institution as well as the concerns that people have who see contradictions between the institution's stated [identity] values and the lived reality in institutional decision-making.] (p. 4)

Thus, a great deal of thought needs to be given on how to create safe spaces for deeper level dialogues on the organizational identities by organization members. It is also likely that some members will continue to be cautious and may never engage in open dialogue, but may privately reflect on the identities if given a productive means to do so.

5. Provide opportunities for faculty to explore and discover the relevance of the identity to their jobs and how the identity affects their perspectives of their jobs.

As explained in Chapter IV, when faculty members thought about the identities, they usually had a strong sense of whether or not their individual values resonated with the organizational identities and whether or not the organizational identities were relevant to their jobs (i.e. to their roles and subject matter). When they perceived a lack of job relevance, then faculty members' sense of connection with the organizational identity was lessened, which then negatively impacted the degree to which they would implement the organizational identity into their roles. Since a strong sense of connection is based upon both a sense of shared values/beliefs with the organizational identity(s) and that the identity is perceived as being relevant to the faculty member's job, then it is particularly important for the organization to provide opportunities for faculty members to explore and discover what the relevance of the organizational identity(s) might be for their roles

and subject matter. The interesting thing was that some individuals, no matter in what discipline they taught, claimed that all three organizational identities had relevance to their jobs, while other faculty members had a difficult time seeing this relevance. Thus, it is important that the mission and identity programs provide opportunities for faculty members to reflect on the possible relevance of the Jesuit and Catholic identities for their jobs and mission. Identity coordinators may need to help members identify the relevance. It is important that the organization communicates not only what the identity is, but that the organization provides opportunities for members to actively reflect on the meaning of the identity for the organization, for themselves, *and* for their own roles in the organization. Through programs aimed at identity exploration and reflection, members' responses to the identities may be less likely coincidental or routine/habituated ones and they may incorporate more strategic actions in living out the identities.

Also, it is important to note here the possibility that while some organization members do not see any relevance of the organizational identity for their actual jobs, the fact that they actively identify with the organizational identity does in fact make a difference in doing their work. For example, Professor Samuel seemed to bring a Jesuit and Catholic perspective into what he did and why he did it, although he said that the actual work that he did looked very similar to what he would have done at a secular university or what other science faculty members may have done who did not know anything about the Jesuit and Catholic identity. For Professor Samuel and others like him, it *matters* that they believe in the identity or in the values/beliefs/ideals of the identity, partly because even when they are not doing anything identifiably different, *they* are different because of the identities and others can pick up on this – as suggested by Professor Samuel's comment that students

know what he stands for, even though he is not doing anything very differently in his classes because of the identity. In addition, a consequence for Professor Samuel, and others like him, is that they tended to have very positive feelings about working at an institution in which they believed in the identities. There are implications for employees who share the values, but cannot find any job relevance in actually doing their jobs differently because of the identities, e.g. some groundskeepers, science and math faculty, janitors, secretaries, et cetera. Their belief in and support of the identity, even though the identity does not make an obvious difference to their jobs, contributes to an ethos or organizational culture that is rooted in the particular organizational identity. Others in the institution may identify them as supportive of the particular organizational identity(s), and the employee manifests positive feelings, such as fulfillment and job satisfaction, because he or she identifies with the organizational identity. It may be helpful for mission and identity officers to point this out to those types of employees so that they can see the contributions they are making to fostering the organizational identities in which they believe.

6. Be a role model for identity implementation by making decisions and taking actions consistent with the institutional identity. Such decisions are opportunities to explain how these decisions are grounded in the identities. If decisions are not consistent with the identity, administrators should explain why.

When faculty members perceived the university administration as making decisions and taking actions that were inconsistent with what they claimed the organizational identities to be, then this affected those faculty members' perceptions of, reactions to, and feelings about the organizational identities and about the university. There are two dangers when the administration's actions are inconsistent with the

proclaimed organizational identities. First, some faculty members are less likely to see the organizational identities as being genuine and may dismiss the identities, and second, other faculty members who believe in the identities are likely to become disillusioned or angry about the inconsistencies, which were seen clearly in this study. Thus, it is important for university administrators to make decisions that are consistent with the identities; when this is not possible due to other considerations, then perhaps it would be wise for the administrators to explain why they made their decisions. Also, when administrators make important decisions, such as policy ones, these occasions are excellent opportunities to explain how their decisions are grounded in the values of the organizational identities. As explained by Birnbaum (1992), “When [university] presidents are motivated by strong and consistent values, they are likely to influence others in their institutions to focus on these values as well” (p. 184). By explaining the connection between the decision and the identity, university administrators can serve to reinforce the importance of the organizational identities and the value that they place on them. This also serves as a role-model for implementing the identities into one’s roles at the university.

7. Demonstrate the importance given to identities through such means as allocation of resources of time and money and by encouraging and supporting the implementation of the identity, without necessarily requiring or rewarding such implementation.

As mentioned in Chapter IV, faculty members’ perceptions of whether or not university administrators and other university members valued and lived out the organizational identity(s) seemed to have had an effect on how important they themselves

perceived the identities to be. It seems that as an organizational identity is emphasized, discussed, used as the basis for decisions, et cetera, it becomes more salient, more important, more likely to become an active part of the organizational culture, and to be incorporated into faculty member roles, but this is not guaranteed. There are many other factors affecting how faculty members respond to an organizational identity. Still, it is important that university administrators demonstrate in obvious ways the importance that they give to the organizational identities.

In many ways, a university president can help faculty and staff to make meaning of their environment and to determine what is most important in the university environment. The kinds of decisions presidents make and where they place their priorities help to create the university culture and the priority given to the institutional identities in the culture. Birnbaum (1988, 1992) writes persuasively about a similar concept. He asserts that “In the development of an institutional culture, the kinds of data collected and the ways they are interpreted can serve to construct common perceptions of reality, to identify what is important, and to establish a common vocabulary. All these can help organizational participants ‘make sense’ of what they are doing and verify the legitimacy of the organization” (1988, p. 79). In a similar way, university presidents can interpret what the organizational identity means to the well-being of the student and of the university. What university and college presidents, and other administrators do and say in smaller institutions is watched closely by organization members; this matters especially when it comes to issues of organizational identity, and as mentioned above, the basis on which decisions are made. By giving their time and genuine attention to the identities, presidents and other administrators help organization members to make

meaning of the identities. As one “exemplary president” said in Birnbaum’s study on how academic leadership works, “You [a president] cannot articulate a global vision and walk away. The real problem of leadership is translating [the vision] into practical things” (1992, p. 34).

One means of practically demonstrating the importance of an organizational identity is to provide the necessary resources to implement the identity in faculty members’ scholarship and research. For example, while some faculty members would have liked to conduct research in a way that tied into the Jesuit identity, they felt like they did not have the resources to do so, primarily lacking money for research and/or time. When possible, university administrators may want to make financial resources available for identity-related scholarship and, in an ideal world, perhaps reallocate faculty time for their identity related scholarship as well.

Second, some scholars state that the organization should indicate organizational imperatives by what it rewards, supports, and expects (see e.g. Schneider, 1975; Schneider, 1987; Schneider & Reichers, 1983, Schneider & Bowen, 1985). Also, in this study, the effects of some identities on faculty members’ roles were also a result of what was required and evaluated. While Schneider, et al’s concept has direct implications for the organizational identities in Jesuit higher education, it should be used with caution. Once the university administration communicates the organizational identities to its faculty members, it seems important that those identities be reinforced as an institutional priority through other efforts, such as encouraging the implementation of the organizational identities into employees’ roles and role-modeling that at the administration level. However, due to the autonomous nature of faculty members

(Birnbaum 1988), it may be wiser for university administrators to hope for identity implementation rather than requiring identity implementation into faculty member roles. The use of influence, support, and encouragement is likely to be more effective than requiring, and even evaluating and rewarding, the implementation of the organizational identities. Since some faculty members actively disliked one or more of Ignatius' University's identities, anything more than encouraging the implementation of the identities may backfire on the institution. In an earlier study that I conducted regarding the organizational identities in Jesuit higher education (Deshotels 2000), several members of the three Jesuit universities where I conducted interviews explicitly stated that the university administrators should not base their evaluations and rewards on the implementation of the Jesuit and Catholic identities, but only on the university identity and that the university should not require the implementation of the identities into their roles. This was even stated by members who actively supported the Jesuit and Catholic identities, perhaps because only the university identity was considered a legitimate basis for requirements, evaluation, and reward.

If the organizational identities are part of the organizational culture, this is likely to be a more positive and stronger influence on faculty members than if the university administration required its implementation. At Ignatius University, the Jesuit identity seemed to be embedded in the organizational culture and seemed to greatly influence many faculty members in terms of how they cared for students and the emphasis on academic excellence. However, note that even if an organizational identity is embedded in the organizational culture, the identity may not be implemented in all faculty members'

roles if the faculty member does not share the values and/or beliefs of the identity and/or does not see the relevance of the identity for his or her roles and/or subject matter.

8. Hire for mission, which includes hiring people with expertise and who have an orientation toward the values of all of the identities based on the applicant's own sense of congruence with the values.

Some faculty members stated that while their actions in the organization were consistent with the organizational identity(s), the actions were not taken because of the organizational identity; I have named these coincidental actions. Thus, identity fit becomes more important, that is, the organization may want to hire people who have an orientation towards the values of the identities; the employees would live out those values anyway and their efforts to live out their own values can be enhanced by working at that particular institution/organization. In these instances, the employees are likely to feel affirmed and supported by the institution, as seen in this study, and thus likely to have a more positive and satisfying work-life. Their actions will subsequently contribute to the organization's living out its organizational identity(s) and to a culture embedded in the identities.

However, while selection based on values fit²⁶ seems important, perhaps the values fit should be determined by the applicant. Values fit is harder for the organization to assess and may even be difficult for the job applicants themselves. The commitment to the organizational identity generally needs to develop in time as the employee learns about and experiences the organizational identity. Several faculty members in this study had stated that when they had applied for the job, they did not know anything about the

²⁶ Many of the Jesuit universities are exploring the idea of "hiring for mission," which is similar to the concept of selection based on values fit.

Jesuit and Catholic identities and had they been judged on whether or not they fit the organizational identities, then it is likely that they would not have been hired. Many of these same individuals had grown to like, appreciate, and to share the values of the organizational identity(s). Thus, it may be wiser for the job applicant to select themselves out of the process if they find that the organizational identity is too incongruent with their own values and beliefs, rather than the organization making this decision. In order to assess this, the job applicant needs information regarding the organizational identities at the time of application.

One theory that is particularly relevant to hiring is the ASA Framework²⁷ (Attraction, Selection, Attrition) by Benjamin Schneider (1987). Schneider asserts that people behave in organizations in a certain way because they were attracted to that environment and to the organization's goals, selected by the organization, and stayed with the organization; those who do not fit leave the organization. This attraction, selection, and attrition process yields particular kinds of persons in an organization and these people determine organizational behavior. Essentially, he argues that it is the people behaving in organizations that make organizations what they are and that environments are a function of persons behaving in them, that is $E = f(P, B)$. This is in contrast to Kurt Lewin's proposition that behavior is a function of person and environment, that is, $B = f(P, E)$. It is the kinds of persons in environments who determine the kinds of human environments they are. Therefore, when there is an attempt to change organizations by changing their structures or processes the results "are

²⁷ There has been subsequent research to support the ASA Framework. For more information, read "The ASA framework: An update," by Schneider, Goldstein, and Smith, 1995; and "Personality and organizations: A test of the homogeneity of personality hypothesis," by Schneider, Smith, Taylor, and Fleener, 1998.

not likely to be useful... structures and processes will change when the behaviors of people change, and the behaviors of people will change when different kinds of people are attracted to, selected by, and stay in an organization” (Schneider, 1987, p. 446). Schneider offers a note of caution for any organization desiring to select only those applicants who fit with the organization. Over time, an organization’s employees can become so homogeneous that the organization begins to occupy an increasingly narrow ecological niche and when this happens, the organization’s people, structures, and processes may become so appropriate for a particular segment of the environment that, when the environment changes, the organization may not be aware of the changes and may not be capable of changing in response to environmental changes.

The ASA Framework has a great deal of relevance for Catholic higher education. First, from an historical perspective, the changes that have taken place in Catholic higher education seem to affirm the model. Prior to the 1960s, a majority of faculty and staff in Catholic higher education were priests, nuns, and lay persons who were Catholic. However, following the Land O’Lakes statement [see Chapter II for more information] in 1967, new goals began to be emphasized based upon a university identity, that of academic excellence and of becoming similar to the best universities and colleges in the country. Faculty and professional staff were selected to fit these new goals, on the basis of professional expertise and not on fit with the unique Catholic and sponsoring order character of the institution. Thus, the homogeneity of a Catholic workforce began to fade and a different employee base emerged based on hiring the best professionals. Perhaps the type of homogeneity found today in many Catholic colleges and universities is highly competent faculty and professional staff who are committed to excellence in their fields,

and as a result, they are diverse in other characteristics. Today, there is some movement back to the idea of “hiring for mission,” that is, hiring faculty and staff who fit with the Catholic and sponsoring order identities of the institution. The work of Jennifer Chatman (1991) on “person-organization fit” affirms the wisdom of the hiring for mission concept. A study she conducted suggests that “selection and socialization practices ought to include considerations of value congruence rather than focusing exclusively on how well a candidate fits a particular job” (p. 480). However, many of those who were hired based upon professional expertise since the 1960s will likely be resistant to that idea because it does not fit with the university identity which would advocate hiring based only upon professional expertise. This resistance was evident in my earlier study (Deshotel 2000) and in this one as well.

Another way in which the ASA Framework has relevance to Catholic higher education is the note of caution offered by Schneider regarding homogeneity. If the organization becomes too homogeneous in terms of the Catholic and sponsoring order identity, the organization may be less adaptive to changes in the environment, and may create a narrower constituent base. If the identity of the institution becomes too narrowly defined and implemented, the Catholic colleges and universities may suffer enrollment losses due to lack of perceived fit by potential students who come from diverse backgrounds. In addition, they are also likely to lose current faculty experts because they feel like they no longer fit with the institution (Schneider’s attrition piece) and other faculty experts may be less likely to apply for jobs in a Catholic university that is perceived as being too “Catholic” (Schneider’s attraction piece).

While there is some wisdom in “hiring for mission,” mission may need to be

defined in terms of both the university identity *and* the Catholic and sponsoring order identities. Schneider (1987) states that in a situation where administrators want to change the organization by hiring new people, they are likely to seek new “right types.” However, he states that a serious mistake is made if the “right types” do not have secondary or tertiary inclinations that fit the old “right types.” Unless there are some shared attributes, such as having expertise as a faculty member, the “old-timers” will force out the newcomers, which in the case of higher education, means newcomers will not be granted tenure. Also, current faculty will resist hiring new faculty who do not fit their current commitment to academic excellence (Schneider’s selection piece). Thus, it may be important that hiring in Catholic higher education is based upon two criteria: hiring based upon professional expertise *and* upon fit with the unique Catholic and/or sponsoring order identities. And even then, it may be wise to aim for the “critical mass” concept that is spoken about among Catholic college presidents.

Currently, the prevailing concept among Catholic college presidents is the idea of having a “critical mass” of faculty and staff who believe in and support the Catholic identity. In a powerpoint document (2003), the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities states, “We need a critical mass of people who understand and will maintain the [Catholic] tradition. We welcome collaborators who value our vision and our tradition” (retrieved from www.accunet.org/display.asp?Category=18, October 3, 2004). Based in my understanding of the ASA Framework and of the values inherent in the Catholic identity, I believe that it may be the wiser route to take in hoping for a critical mass of active supporters, but welcoming all to find their own particular fit within the institution.

9. Be aware of the range of reactions and feelings, both positive and negative, evoked by the identities of the institution. Give consideration to the reactions and feelings when deciding how to articulate, communicate, and foster the institution's identities.

There were a range of reactions and feelings associated with the organizational identities at Ignatius University, including ones that were positive, negative, ambivalent, or neutral. From the perspective of the organization and the individual, the optimal personal consequence of the organizational identity is likely a hope for positive feelings. However, many faculty members interviewed had negative or ambivalent feelings towards their jobs and/or working at Ignatius University, especially when they had negative or ambivalent feelings towards one or more of the identities.

What may be most important about this finding is the need for university administrators to be aware of the range of reactions and feelings evoked and that when organizational identities have strong value and/or belief systems, they are likely to evoke strong feelings about them, feelings which when negative, may not be communicated to the university administration (Deshotels 2000). Thus, there may be an underlying tone of dissatisfaction, which can impede organizational performance and a sense of well-being for the individual. In particular, of strong consequence are the feelings of marginalization that some faculty members expressed because they were not Catholic. While none of the respondents indicated that the university administration deliberately meant to marginalize those who were not Catholic, the simple fact that there were Catholic rituals on campus in which the individuals did not wish to participate and/or in which they did not feel welcomed, served to create a sense of marginalization. Also,

even the simple fact that there is a Catholic identity can create a sense of being an outsider for those who do not share the Catholic faith, a consequence that may be unexpected.

The process of change in an open system, such as found in a university, is not a stable one and unexpected consequences may result (Birnbaum, 1988), such as strongly negative feelings and even a sense of pain from feeling marginalized (Deshotels 2000) when fostering the identities. In an earlier study, when a Jesuit university began giving more emphasis to its Catholic identity, several faculty members interviewed interpreted this movement to mean that they were going to be asked to sign a statement that they would bring Catholic values into the classroom, that there would be infringements on academic freedom regarding teaching and research, and that students would be required to attend Catholic Mass, none of which the university administrators intended (Deshotels 2000). Thus, it will be important for those within universities to monitor feedback from their environment (Birnbaum 1988) of how people are reacting to institutional efforts to foster those identities; this information should be used to inform institutional efforts to articulate and foster the identities.

Based on the results of this study and upon my earlier study, (Deshotels, 2000), it may be important that university administrators on Catholic campuses re-evaluate how they are articulating and communicating the Catholic identity (needing to explain what it is *and* what it is not) and they may need to be intentional in making people of all faiths, or of no faith, feel welcomed and part of the campus community. At the same time, opportunities to reflect upon and to discuss the organizational identities, as mentioned above, may help members find others who feel as they do and help them to feel less

isolated by realizing that there are many cultures within the faculty. In addition, the opportunities for people to reflect upon and talk about the organizational identities might help those who have negative feelings realize that the institutional fit is not right for them at that university and for their own sake, they may want to seek another institution in which to work.

10. Consider possible forms of identity integration given the dynamics of what faculty members perceive is appropriate and legitimate for a university context.

Universities are loosely coupled systems (Birnbaum, 1988; Weick, 1976), which is helpful when fostering identities that are in tension with one another. As one faculty member in this study indicated, it is fine for the Catholic identity to play a role in rituals on campus, and another suggested that it may be appropriate in the work of the division of student affairs, however, they thought it should not have anything to do with the classroom process, except perhaps for determining how many theology and philosophy courses are required. Since a university is a loosely-coupled system, it is possible for the Catholic identity to thrive in some aspects or units of the university, but be kept external to other aspects, having little effect on them. When the Catholic and/or sponsoring order identities are played out in some university units, but not others, then the ideographic form of identity implementation is in effect, which was explained in Chapter II. In the ideographic form, each unit internal to an organization exhibits only one identity, as compared to the holographic form in which each internal unit exhibits all of the organizational identities (Albert & Whetten, 1985). For example, in the ideographic form, academic departments might integrate only the university identity into their functioning and not the Catholic and/or sponsoring order identities. In the holographic

form, academic departments would integrate the university, Catholic, *and* sponsoring order identities.²⁸

For practitioners attempting to foster the Catholic and sponsoring order identities, it is important that they understand the ideographic and holographic forms of identity integration and that faculty members may be divided regarding which form they find acceptable. For example, some faculty members may consider the Catholic identity to not be a “legitimate” identity for a university’s core functioning (i.e. in academic affairs), but they do tolerate it as a part of official university rituals. In this scenario, they only accept the ideographic form of identity integration. Other faculty members may embrace the holographic form of identity integration because they feel strongly connected to the Catholic identity (they perceive shared values and job relevance) and strive for “full implementation” or integration of the identity into their roles.

Birnbaum (1988) writes about a cybernetic model, such that when something in an organization has moved beyond the scope of what is expected and acceptable, people within organizations take actions to bring the behaviors back within what is acceptable. As seen in an earlier study, once the Catholic identity was invoked, it became more salient and many people had a variety of negative reactions to it (Deshotels 2000). Many Catholic university presidents believe that their institutions have moved too far from their Catholic cultures in an effort to live up to a “university” standard of excellence. As a result, they are making concerted efforts to move their institutions back within an acceptable range of being a *Catholic* university. Just as many Catholic

²⁸ Note, while not addressed by Albert and Whetten (1988), it may be likely that there are hybrid forms of the ideographic and holographic forms. For example, two of three identities might be integrated into every unit, but not the third identity. Another possibility is that only *certain* aspects of a second and third identity are integrated into every unit, but not *all* aspects of the second and third identity.

university presidents are making efforts to return their institutions to a more “Catholic” state, many faculty members who were hired in the late 1960s and up until more recent years, are invested in maintaining the current state of affairs, that is, having a primary emphasis on the university identity and rejecting the idea of integrating a Catholic identity into their work, and even into the academic arena. These faculty members are likely to make strong efforts to maintain what they consider to be legitimate standards and practices for a university, such as rejecting the concept of “hiring for mission.” The rejection by many faculty members of “hiring for mission” was seen in this study and the Deshotels 2000 study as well. It is important to realize that the faculty members who reject the holographic form are not likely being perverse, but are more likely living by the standards and expectations upon which they were hired and to which they are committed professionally.

As described above, there is a tension between the two cybernetic dynamics which result from efforts to either implement a holographic form of identity integration or to maintain the ideographic form. Those individuals who are responsible for fostering the organizational identities need to decide what type of identity integration they are hoping to achieve, what is possible for their institution, and what are the likely reactions. They should keep in mind that subcultures exist amongst departments and that these cultures may express a preference about which form is appropriate, but ultimately, it can only be on an individual basis by which faculty members choose the ideographic or holographic forms, or a hybrid of those forms (even though they are not likely to name it as such.) The faculty members and staff who are open to the holographic form are most likely to be receptive to efforts to foster the organizational identities. Those faculty

members who are only open to the ideographic form (i.e., thinking only the university identity should be integrated into academic departments) are likely to have strong negative reactions to efforts to foster the holographic form (e.g. the integration of the university, Catholic and sponsoring order identities into all university units, including all academic departments.) Given the diversity of faculty and staff in Catholic higher education, it may never be possible to achieve a pure holographic form of organizational identity integration whereby the Catholic, sponsoring order, and university identities are all integrated into every university unit. There would likely be not only a tension with institutional efforts to create a holographic form, but strong reactions to those efforts depending upon what faculty members consider to be legitimate organizational identities for their work. Faculty members who embrace the ideographic form, where only the university identity is considered legitimate in the academic arena of a university, will likely reject university efforts to institute a holographic form where the Catholic and sponsoring order identities are fully integrated into every academic unit.

Another way of considering the appropriate type of identity integration for a particular campus would be to use the Pratt and Foreman theory of how managers manage multiple organizational identities (2000) [a detailed description of the Pratt and Foreman model is provided in Chapter II of this study.] The four primary ways managers may manage multiple identities is deletion, compartmentalization, aggregation, and integration. Deletion, which would be to get rid of an organizational identity, will not likely be considered by university presidents to be an acceptable method to manage the Catholic and sponsoring order identities for Catholic universities. However, it should be noted here that if the Catholic and/or sponsoring order identity is ignored and not

fostered, then in time, the identity may likely be, de facto, deleted; or minimally, subordinated to the other identities. Compartmentalization, which occurs when managers preserve all current identities, but do not seek to establish any synergy, i.e., relationship, between the identities, will likely result in a more ideographic type of identity integration, where identities are compartmentalized in different university units. Again, if the desire is to enliven the Catholic and sponsoring order identities throughout the university, then the compartmentalization method is not likely a desirable method. Pratt and Foreman's aggregation and integration management methods may be more conducive to creating a holographic type of organization, where the organizational identities are integrated into all units. In the aggregation method, all identities are retained and relationships are established between them. It does not involve buffering the identities or seeking to keep them separate as is the case with compartmentalization. If an overlap in values is seen between all of the identities, then it becomes a stronger possibility that all identities can be integrated into all university units. Finally, integration occurs when managers attempt to fuse the multiple identities into a "meta-identity." The meta-identity subsumes all individual identities and creates an identity that is more than the sum of its parts/sub-identities. For example, in this study, if an integration method would have been used, then university administrators may have talked in terms of an Ignatius University identity that is rooted in the Jesuit, Catholic, and university traditions.

The language of a meta-identity may be more acceptable to some faculty members than to speak in terms of the Catholic and sponsoring order identities. In an earlier study (Deshotels, 2000) two significant comments were provided by a respondent that has relevance for the integration concept. The respondent explained that he was not

Catholic, therefore he would never be able to identify with the Catholic identity and would not work to foster that identity. He also stated that he did not believe that he had any responsibility for fostering the institution's identities. He believed that it was the responsibility of campus ministers and of the mission and identity coordinator to foster the identities. However, he did believe that as an employee he was responsible for actualizing the institution's mission and embodied in that were the institution's values which arose from the identities, including the Catholic identity. Thus, he suggested that the institution's administrators should speak in terms of asking employees to live out the institution's mission, rather than asking them to incorporate the institution's identities into their jobs. If this idea is followed, it would be very important that the underlying values and/or beliefs of all institutional identities be incorporated into the institution's mission statement. However, it should be noted here that if the language of a meta-identity is used, it remains important to explain the traditions and values/beliefs from which the meta-identity arises (e.g., Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities) in publications and in mission and identity programs. For example, university administrators could talk in terms of an "Ignatius" University identity that is rooted in the sponsoring order, Catholic, and university traditions and these traditions would still need to be explained and explored with organization members.

Implications summary

In summary, there are a number of implications for those in Catholic higher education who are concerned with fostering the Catholic and sponsoring order identities, and the actions suggested in this study may be more appropriately implemented by one

person than another. Below are my recommendations for who should have primary responsibility for the guidelines suggested in this study.

Most important guidelines for university administrators:

- Articulate the identity, including the underpinning values and beliefs
- Role model identity implementation, make decisions and take actions that are consistent with the identities
- Demonstrate the importance given to the identities
- Hire for mission, which includes fit with all of the identities, letting the applicant determine the degree of fit
- Be aware of the range of feelings that are a consequence of the identities and use this knowledge in deciding how to articulate and communicate the identities
- Consider appropriate forms of identity integration

Most important guidelines for mission and identity people (faculty or staff members whose job descriptions include fostering the university's mission and identity):

- Articulate the identities, including the underpinning values and beliefs
- Clarify the distinctions between the encompassing institutional form-level identity of the Catholic Church and the organizational form-level Catholic identity in the university context.
- Communicate the identities in a variety of ways and at differing levels
- Create dialogue on the meanings of the identities to help resolve conflicts and about how members' own values and beliefs may overlap with those of the organizational identities

- Provide opportunities for members to explore and discover the relevance of the identities to their jobs and their perspectives of their jobs
- Be aware of the range of feelings that are a consequence of the identities and use this knowledge in deciding how to articulate and communicate the identities
- Consider appropriate forms of identity integration

In conclusion, the answers to this study's research questions are complex and they have strong significance for practitioners. The process and factors that affect faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities entails three sets of conditions and multiple factors within those conditions (causal, contextual, and intervening), multiple ways of responding, and a range of affective consequences. Thus, efforts to foster the mission and identity of Catholic higher education is fraught with important considerations. In this section on implications for practitioners, I integrated this study's findings, as illustrated in the model, with insights from the literature to develop ten guidelines for practitioners. This study's findings give rise to a series of ten guidelines to help practitioners foster the institution's multiple identities.

There is an integral connection between the "implications for practitioners" and the theoretical model presented in Chapter IV; that is, the guidelines provided above flow directly out of the theoretical model presented in Chapter IV. For example, guidelines one, two, and three (articulate the identity, clarify distinctions, communicate the identity) are directly related to the causal and intervening conditions in the model (see Figure 1 in Chapter IV, Model of Faculty Member Responses to Organizational Identity(s)). Guidelines four and five (create dialogue regarding values, provide opportunities to explore relevance to jobs) are directly related to the model's contextual conditions.

Guidelines four, six, and seven (create dialogue to help resolve conflicts, be a role model, demonstrate importance) are grounded in the findings of the intervening conditions. Guideline eight (hire for mission) arises from the model's findings under actions and personal consequences. Guidelines nine and ten (be aware of reactions/feelings, consider form of identity integration) arise from the model's personal consequences and the evolving nature of responses to organizational identities. So clearly, the theoretical model developed in this study has strong significance for practitioners. The ten guidelines make clear how this study's findings and model are significant to understanding the responses that faculty members make to multiple organizational identities and understanding the multiple issues involved in fostering the institution's Catholic, sponsoring order, and university identities.

Implications for Further Research

There is a paucity of literature on organizational identity that empirically examines member responses to multiple organizational identities and resulting behaviors and feelings. Using a grounded theory approach, this study examines the structure and process (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) of faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities: Jesuit, Catholic, and university. This study unveils why and how faculty members respond to multiple identities and the consequences of that process. The study names some of the factors that affect responses, some of the actions or behaviors that flow out of their level of connection with the identities, and some of the affective consequences of that process for faculty members. This study contributes an understanding of the complexity and the inter-relatedness of the many conditions/factors,

actions, and the resulting feelings. However, several areas remain to be addressed by future research. These areas are presented below.

First, the Jesuit and Catholic identities became the dominant identities studied in this dissertation and the results of this study may be limited in transferability, or in generalizing to a more formal theory. The Jesuit and Catholic identities are particularly value-laden and belief-laden ones, thus, the model developed in this study may be limited to organizational identities which are particularly value- or belief-laden, although it may be argued that all organizational identities are value- or belief-laden. The difference might be that some organizational identities, depending on the types of values embodied, such as religious values, may invoke stronger reactions and feelings than others. Future studies should be conducted to see if the process of faculty member responses to organizational identities differs between religious and secular higher education, and even amongst institutions of religious higher education. It would also be interesting to conduct a grounded theory study similar to this one, but in other organizational contexts, such as in for-profit businesses and non-profit social agencies. It is likely that the causal, contextual, and intervening conditions will differ in other contexts, thus the responses and consequences may differ as well. In addition, the causal, contextual, and intervening conditions may differ even in Jesuit universities if studied in other countries, (e.g. the United States cultural values of autonomy and individuality may impact faculty member responses to the identities in a certain way as opposed to how other national cultures will affect responses to the same organizational identities), or even in other time periods given differences in current societal issues (e.g. current Catholic Church issues.) Questions to be asked in future studies might include the following: Does the central phenomena,

“sense of connection” apply to how members relate to an organizational identity in other contexts? Do all organizational identities have the same general patterns of conditions, actions, and consequences? Do the specific factors within each type of condition differ in other contexts? Do some identities have more of an emotional reaction to them than others? Are some organizational identities more salient than others; if so, why?

It is possible that an organizational identity is only salient when the organization gives emphasis to the identity and/or when employees feel out of sync with it, e.g., the identity is not seen as legitimate or the values inherent in the identity are not compatible with the employee’s own identity. If a faculty member’s identity is primarily wrapped up in the university identity, then the university identity at a research university is likely to be taken for granted when the institution is fully and faithfully living out the university identity. That is, when the faculty member’s identity is in sync with the university identity, it may be taken for granted and may not be salient, may not be invoked. Just as in Catholic higher education up through the 1960s, the Catholic and sponsoring order identities were largely taken for granted, because there was nothing in the environment to indicate a discrepancy between the institution’s and the faculty member’s identities. The organizational identities may not be invoked when there is no discrepancy between the organizational identity and an individual’s identity.

Second, this study relied upon self-reported behavior by faculty members and there will necessarily be some level of bias associated with their doing so. In addition, many respondents had not previously reflected upon the types of questions I had asked, and given more time to reflect on the questions, their answers may have differed. Each respondent was interviewed only once and had the respondents been interviewed more

over the course of time, their answers may have differed or become more nuanced. At the same time, I had asked the respondents what difference, if any, did the organizational identity make to their roles as faculty members, and this was probably a difficult cognitive task. It is likely that an organizational identity had more effects on how they enacted their roles than which they were actually aware. Perhaps a case study, phenomenological study, or ethnography would be appropriate ways to conduct a study where the researcher could go in-depth into respondents' perceptions over time and where other sources of data would be used, such as participant observation (e.g., sit in on courses taught), document analysis (e.g., syllabi, publications), and interviews with supervisors, students, and colleagues of the faculty member respondents.

Third, an individual's self-concept is likely to embody multiple identities. A question to research might be, "How are the structures of self-concept related to the dynamics of organizational identities and identification with an organizational identity?" A phenomenological study could offer interesting insights into how individuals negotiate the tensions they experience within themselves when one aspect of their self-concept resonates with an organizational identity and when another aspect of their self-concept experiences tensions or conflicts with the organizational identity. How do individuals deal with these tensions? Do they reconcile or manage these tensions, or deal with them in some other way? How might an organization help people to understand and deal with these tensions?

Fourth, more research is needed to determine if the concept of organizational identification, as presented in the literature, is the right concept for understanding behavioral responses to organizational identities by organization members. This study

suggests that the organizational identification concept is too broad to understand the subtleties of member responses to particular organizational identities, especially when there are multiple identities in an organization. A future study could test the viability of the concept that I introduce in this paper, organizational identity identification, which is meant to refine the concept of organizational identification in relation to a member identifying with an organizational identity rather than with an entire organization. Perhaps a quantitative study would be the best means of ascertaining the degree of identification with an organization in general and with the organizational identities specifically, and the resulting actions and feelings based upon those identifications.

Fifth, it would also be interesting to take the results of this study and test its generalizability by creating a quantitative study. However, it will be a very difficult task to construct a questionnaire that faculty members in Catholic higher education will be comfortable answering. The topic of Catholic identity, and to some degree sponsoring order identities, is a very sensitive topic for many faculty members, especially for those who are uncomfortable with or dislike the identities. Also, a quantitative study should take into account the impact of multiple levels of influence on faculty member responses to multiple organizational identities, e.g. departmental, organizational-level, and external influences. The use of a quantitative method such as hierarchical linear modeling might be one means of studying multiple levels of influence on faculty member responses.

Finally, the issue of maintaining or enlivening organizational identities in Jesuit and other Catholic colleges and universities may necessitate a commitment to those identities by members of the boards of trustees for the respective institutions. Questions to consider are, “To what degree are members of the boards of trustees committed to the

Catholic and religious order identities of their institutions?” “What effect do their levels of commitment have on the institutions’ organizational identities?” “How important is it that members of the boards of trustees be committed to the organizational identities of their institutions?”

Conclusion

The study of organizational identity and member responses to it can provide helpful insights to those in organizations who are concerned with fostering the particular character, goals, values, and beliefs that are rooted in the organizational identities. This is particularly relevant to the leaders of Catholic higher education in general, and Jesuit higher education in particular. The leaders of Catholic higher education have a major concern that they are in the process of forever losing their Catholic identity, and that of the sponsoring religious organizations, such as the Jesuits. Their concern is based on the history of Protestant universities and the changeover of many of them to now being secular universities, and the history in Catholic higher education of an influx of employees who do not seem to know and appreciate the religious identity of their universities, and the drastic loss of numbers of religious (priests, nuns, and brothers) working in Catholic higher education. Catholic higher education leaders are making concerted efforts to foster those identities, but they are doing so with very little knowledge produced by research regarding their organizational identities. They lack a theoretical model rooted in such research and an articulated set of guidelines for approaching the challenge of fostering multiple organizational identities. This study provides insights into the complexity of their task and tries to provide a research based model, as well as initial guidelines for fostering their identities. This study also raises

challenging questions of how leaders will continue to maintain the identities of Catholic higher education, especially in light of the many factors that can serve to negatively impact employee responses to the identities. Each Catholic university will need to work out how to approach fostering the organizational identities given its own history, situations, needs, and desires. As provided above, this study adds some insights into how they might work to effectively foster their identities, however further research is needed to test the viability of this study's model. The validity of the model and the future of Catholic higher education will be played out over the next several decades.

APPENDIX A

RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS

Gender

12 women

18 men

Age

5 30 – 39 years of age

11 40 – 49 years of age

10 50 – 59 years of age

4 60+ years of age

Tenure Status

24 tenured

6 non-tenured

Rank

8 Assistant Professors

14 Associate Professors

8 Professors

Departments & Colleges

18 departments and colleges represented and these were fairly evenly distributed between the colleges of the university (to protect the anonymity of the university, I do not provide the number of colleges)

Religious Affiliation

11 Catholic

2 Non-practicing Catholic

6 Other Christian religion

2 Non-practicing other Christian religion

4 Jewish

1 Other religion

1 Claims no religious belief

1 Athiest

2 Unknown

APPENDIX B

INFORMANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Opening questions

How long have you been at Ignatius University?

What is your role here at Ignatius University?

2. What institutional identity or identities would you say that Ignatius has?

Follow-up:

- How do you define each of those identities?
- On what are you basing your answers as to what the identities are and how they are defined?
- If any of the Jesuit, Catholic, or university identities are not named, ask the informants, "It appears to me from looking at Ignatius' web site that the institution has a Jesuit, Catholic, and University identity or identities. Some may see these as being three separate identities, others may see them as being one or two identities. First, how accurate is my observation that Jesuit, Catholic, and University represent identities of Ignatius?"
- How are these identities the same or different?
- How do you define the identity(s)?
- On what are you basing your answers as to how they are defined?
- How clearly are the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities defined by the institution?
- Are there explicit definitions of the identities? If so, where? If not, why not?

3. How important are Ignatius' Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities to this institution?

Follow-up:

- If they are important, ask how long they have been seen as being important.

4. What institutional efforts, if any, are used to sustain or foster the institution's identities?

Follow-up:

If there are efforts to sustain or foster the identities, ask the following questions:

- Who has the responsibility for sustaining or fostering the identities?
 - Can you tell me about the efforts made to do so? (Who target, what is done, level of participation, how long has the institution been making concerted efforts to foster its identities?)
 - What kind of reactions from faculty members do you or others get from efforts to sustain or foster the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities?
 - What difference, if any, do these efforts to sustain or foster the identities seem to make on campus?
5. To what degree do you think the faculty have a sense of shared identity with the institution?

Follow-up:

- If there is a sense of a shared identity, ask, “What is this sense of shared identity rooted in?” (e.g. academic reputation, successful athletic program, Jesuit and/or Catholic identity, etc.)

6. To what degree do you think the faculty here agree on what are Ignatius’ identities?

Follow-up:

- What would most faculty members say that the identities are?
- How do they know what the identities are?
- To what degree do you think they *understand* the identities?

7. To what degree do you think the faculty here support Ignatius’ institutional identities? (Make sure they address each of the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities in addition to anything else they name.)

8. What difference, if any, does each of the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities make to how faculty members conduct their roles as faculty? (Ask them for examples and what might be a range of differing responses. Make sure the informant addresses each of the identities.)

Follow-up:

- What difference would you like the identity(s) to make to faculty member roles here?

9. Have there ever been any conflicts between Ignatius’ various identities?

Follow-up:

- Can you tell me more about them? How were they handled?

10. To what extent does Ignatius University look for a fit between the job applicant and the institution?

Follow-up:

- Can you tell me more about this process? (process, how long in place, difference it seems to make)

12. What kind of effect has *Ex corde Ecclesiae* had, or not had, on how faculty members feel about Ignatius' Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities? On how they respond to each of the identities?

13. Is there anything else you want to share with me about Ignatius University that we haven't discussed?

APPENDIX C

RESPONDENT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Background questions:

I want to ask you a few brief background questions, then we'll get into the heart of the interview.

- How long have you been at Ignatius University?
- What attracted you to come to Ignatius University?
- How would you describe your role or roles here?
- How much did you know about Ignatius before coming here?
- Have you ever been affiliated with religious education prior to coming here? If so, how?

2. What would you say is or are the formal institutional identities of Ignatius?

Follow-up:

- Can you tell me more about the identity(s)?
- If the respondent does not name the Jesuit, Catholic, or university identity(s), say, You've said a lot about _____. I know this University describes itself as a Jesuit and Catholic university, can you tell me more about each of those identities or aspects, that is, the Jesuit, Catholic, and University identity or identities? How are those identities defined by the institution?
- Do you define the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities in the same way as the institution does, or do you somehow differ in the definitions?
 - Follow-up:
 - If the definitions differ, ask how the definitions differ.
 - How do you define each of Ignatius' identity(s) of Jesuit, Catholic, and University?
 - What do you think brings you to define the identities differently from the institution?
- How are those identities, Jesuit, Catholic, and university at this institution the same or different?
- Where did you learn about these identities?

- Is there an explicit statement of Ignatius' identity(s) somewhere? If so, where?
 - To what extent have the formal identity(s) changed over the years?
3. What does it mean to you to be a university professor or faculty member?
- What does it mean to be a university professor or faculty member at this particular university?
4. Regarding the identities of Ignatius, what difference, if any, do the identities make to you? [By using probes, be clear as to whether the respondent is referring to the formal identities or their own definitions of the identities]

What difference do the identities of Ignatius make to you as a faculty member?

What difference do Ignatius' identities make to your *roles* as a faculty member?

Follow-up:

- If any of the Jesuit, Catholic, or university identities are not named, ask the respondent to address those identities as to what difference, if any, each identity makes to their roles. Make sure respondent addresses each identity one at a time. If respondent does not make a distinction between any of the identities, then I will not make a distinction in asking what difference does the identity make to their roles.
- Ask the respondent why each identity makes a difference or doesn't make a difference to their roles.
- What role, if any, should the institution's identities play in how faculty members conduct their jobs?
- Do you feel pressure in any ways to adapt, to fit in, to change how you conduct your job/roles as a faculty member?
- How has *Ex corde Ecclesiae* affected your perceptions of Ignatius' identity as a Jesuit and Catholic university?

5. In many ways, I think you may have already answered the following question, but perhaps you could summarize your response to it. What are your opinions on the university, Jesuit, and Catholic identities of Ignatius?

Follow-up:

- So, to what degree would you say that you identify with each of the university, Jesuit, and Catholic identities? (Make sure respondent addresses each identity, one at a time, or holding identities together for those where the respondent does not make a distinction)

- What do you think impacts the degree to which you identify or don't identify with each of the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities?
 - How do you resonate personally and professionally with the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities? How do your personal and professional values align or not align with each of the Jesuit, Catholic, and University identities?
 - If you were to rank order the importance of the identities, Jesuit, Catholic, and university, in what order would you place them?
6. Can you remember a situation in which *you* found the Jesuit, Catholic, and University identities to be in conflict? What did you do?

Follow-up:

- Have there ever been any conflicts at Ignatius University among Ignatius' various identities? (Check for understanding how respondent is defining the conflict and what is the conflict between them; use clarification questions.)
 - If yes, ask for examples of the conflicts and how the conflicts were resolved.
7. Is there anything else you want to share with me about Ignatius University that we haven't discussed?

Additional questions if there is time in the interview:

What efforts does Ignatius University have to foster each of the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities?

Follow-up:

- What do you think of these efforts?
- How important is it that Ignatius foster each of its Jesuit, Catholic, and University identities?
- If Ignatius wanted to increase its emphasis on any of the identities, Jesuit, Catholic, or University, what would you think about this?

Who determines the identity(s) of this institution?

- Who should determine the identity(s) of this institution?

We've talked a lot about the Jesuit, Catholic, and university identities of Ignatius, what do you think others think about these identities of Ignatius University? (Make sure they address what other faculty at the institution and other faculty from other institutions think.)

Follow-up:

- Why do faculty members come here?

- Why do they stay here?

- Why do you stay here?

- To what degree do you think the faculty here have a sense of shared identity with Ignatius?

- If there is a sense of shared identity, ask, “What is this sense of shared identity rooted in?” (e.g. academic reputation, successful athletic program, Jesuit and/or Catholic identity, etc.)

- To what extent does Ignatius University look for a fit between the job applicant and the institution?

- If there is a process of looking for fit, ask respondent to explain the process and how fit is defined.

- What do you think about this process?

- Should the process include looking for fit between the job candidate and the institution’s Jesuit and/or Catholic identities?

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