



Loose ends: Some promising new ideas in organization theory

In this chapter you will encounter ideas that, from my point of view, have the greatest potential to realign organization theory by crossing levels of analysis, mixing basic perspectives, and/or by theorizing from the perspectives of practice and process. First up will be organizational learning and knowledge management, which realigns interests in organizational change by emphasizing the practice-based roles played by tacit knowledge, empathic understanding, and community dynamics. Another such pivotal topic is organizational identity, an idea you met in relation to the topics of organizational culture, physical structure, and power; a process theory of organizational identity will be offered here. The third is organizational aesthetics, a theme that implicates the art and artistry of performance and expression in efforts to live rich and fulfilling organizational lives. Following exploration of these themes, the idea of organizations as distributed phenomena will be thrown into the mix. A look into hermeneutics will end both Chapter 10 and the book by giving consideration to a very old interpretive philosophy that, in conjunction with pragmatism, could provide the perspective needed to realign the field in the ways suggested by practice and process theory.

Organizational learning, tacit knowledge, and knowledge transfer

In an article written with James March, American organization theorist Barbara Leavitt claimed that experience curves provide evidence that organizations can learn, just as individuals can.¹ In fact the experience curve has become such a ubiquitous symbol for organizational learning that many people now call it the learning curve. An organizational example of an experience curve might show that, the greater the quantity of an aircraft built, the more the cost of producing one of them falls. Clearly something about aircraft production has been learned, even if no one is able to say explicitly *what* was learned.

The inability to articulate what is known is a hallmark of **tacit knowledge**. Austrian-born British chemist, philosopher, and social scientist Michael Polanyi was among the first to present a theory of tacit knowledge. Polanyi's theory explained that tacit knowledge cannot be stated because it is ambiguously understood, if at all. Tacit knowledge comprises all the personal, intuitive, and context-dependent understandings and appreciations that allow you to perform expertly or to function competently within a given cultural context.

Americans Scott Cook, a philosopher, and organization theorist Dvora Yanow presented evidence of tacit knowledge used by organizations that manufactured 'the finest flutes in the world.' Their study focused on observations of highly skilled flute makers working for three companies located in and around Boston.² Cook and Yanow observed and recorded what the flute makers did and talked about as they performed their jobs, noting that their production process was sequential. Each person contributed something unique to each instrument as it passed through their hands—drilling holes, connecting springs and keys, gluing keypads onto the keys, adjusting keys and keypads, and so on.

Cook and Yanow noted that at any stage of production a worker might return the flute to the person who preceded them in the process. When this happened the worker would typically say only something like: 'This flute does not feel right.' As it progressed, a flute of superior quality emerged that was in many respects as ambiguous as it was collaborative and communal. What is more, the organization as a whole system continuously used and reshaped tacit knowledge of how a flute should feel at each stage of its manufacture. The researchers concluded that the flute makers engaged in constant learning, making the flute manufacturing company an example of a **learning organization**.

Two Japanese knowledge management experts, Ikujiro Nonaka and Hirotaka Takeuchi, also used the distinction between tacit and explicit knowledge to define four possible modes of knowledge transfer and the processes they entail (see Table 10.1).³

Nonaka and Takeuchi's framework can be helpful for understanding not only the domains in which transfers of knowledge most commonly occur, but also what methods are most appropriate for doing research in each domain. For example, as Cook and Yanow's study of flute makers demonstrated, tacit knowledge transferred through direct contact between cultural

Table 10.1 Nonaka and Takeuchi: Four modes of knowledge transfer

Mode	Process by which transfer occurs	Domain/Research Method
Tacit → Tacit	Socialization	Culture/Ethnography
Tacit → Explicit	Codification	Academia/Conceptualizing and theorizing
Explicit → Explicit	Combination	Knowledge management/Information systems development and use
Explicit → Tacit	Internalization	Practice (including applications of theory)/Action research

Source: Based on Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995).

members acts as a kind of socialization process. Their ethnographic methods revealed this insight about tacit-to-tacit knowledge transfer that might otherwise have gone unnoticed.

Alternatively, action research, in which researchers co-create change with members of an organization, is better suited to the domain of practice where explicit-to-tacit knowledge transfer takes place via internalization.⁴ It is here that theory is transformed into practice. Conversely, tacit-to-explicit knowledge transfers occur in the domain of theorizing, where codification takes place through grounded theory or rich description. This amounts to theory that is informed by practice. Modernist research methods are most appropriate to the study of explicit-to-explicit knowledge transfers that occur in the domain of knowledge management often involving combinations of what is known. This is the form of knowledge transfer that occurs when information is learned by memorization.

Exploration and exploitation

March introduced another way of differentiating modes of organizational learning, which was based on his theory that organizations constantly balance their need for efficiency against their need for flexibility.⁵ In this context he described two modes of organizational learning—exploitation and exploration. **Exploitation** refers to the use of existing knowledge and resources to reap value from what is already known, for example, by refining procedures in order to do the same things more efficiently.

Exploration is akin to rethinking knowledge and redeploying resources in previously unforeseen ways including searching for new options, experimenting, and conducting research, all of which represent organizational flexibility and create organizational change. Organizational learning through exploration presents a challenge to traditional organizational change theories and introduces the metaphor of the learning organization as a means to change how we think about change. In respect to changing change, exploration is a form of double-loop learning.

Double-loop learning and the self-organizing system

American philosopher Donald Schön built his theory of organizational learning on the observation that rapid technological change causes organizations to make a radical shift away from operational routines. In 1973 Schön wrote in *Beyond the Stable State* that:

The loss of the stable state means that our society and all of its institutions are in *continuous* processes of transformation. We cannot expect new stable states that will endure for our own lifetimes. . . . We must become able not only to transform our institutions, in response to changing situations and requirements; we must invent and develop institutions which are 'learning systems' that is to say, systems capable of bringing about their own continuing transformation. The task which the loss of the stable state makes imperative, for the person, for our institutions, for our society as a whole, is to learn about learning.⁶

Schön's ideas about learning to learn formed the foundation of his theory of **double-loop learning**, which was developed with Chris Argyris, an American professor of organizational behavior known for his work on learning organizations. According to these theorists, **single-loop learning** results from feedback generated by a process of observing the consequences

of action and using this knowledge to adjust subsequent action in order to avoid similar mistakes in the future.⁷

Argyris and Schön gave the example of a thermostat that detects when it is too hot or too cold in a room and adjusts by turning the heating or cooling unit on or off. Another example is the company budget, wherein an ideal or target for capital expenditures is set and used as a comparison point for actual spending patterns. The budget can be adjusted over time to elicit desired behavior, just as a thermostat can be reset to achieve a desired room temperature.

Although single-loop learning can appear intelligent in the sense that single-loop systems can operate on their own (for instance, to keep the temperature of a building stable over long periods of time and across extreme variations in external temperatures), the system cannot under any circumstances decide what the desired temperature should be. An operator must set the thermostat just as an executive must set the parameters within which budgeting takes place. If standards are not set properly, the system will merrily produce undesired results, helpless to alter its behavior. Single-loop systems solve problems as given, they cannot tell you why something went wrong or make corrections.

Systems performing double-loop learning *can* define what appropriate behavior is and in effect adjust themselves through adaptation. But because questioning the appropriateness of behavior involves making value judgments, double-loop learning lies beyond the mechanical and routinized single-loop model. This type of learning contains a subjective element, and this is what allows a double-loop learning system to question its own assumptions and values, an act that can fundamentally change it into a self-organizing system capable of, and dependent upon, reflexivity.

The reflexive nature of double-loop learning associated with the idea of self-organizing systems was first proposed by Chilean systems theorists Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela.⁸ **Self-organizing systems** learn to learn and thus become intelligent enough to define and change their own operating criteria, behavior, and identity. Self-organizing diffuses double-loop learning throughout an organization, which means, according to Maturana and Varela, that stability disappears and new orders constantly replace old ones from within the internal dynamics of learning rather than at the behest of top management (i.e., in single-loop systems).

Prior to the appearance of Maturana and Varela's theory of self-organizing systems, socio-technical systems theorists had described double-loop learning when they observed how minimal job specifications and appropriate training and development opportunities encouraged employees to reorganize their work to adapt to changing circumstances.⁹ The workers constantly re-optimized the fit between the social and technical aspects of their organization without the need of top management intervention, direction, or overt control.

Organizational learning from diversity, CSR, sustainability, and branding

Several studies have independently traced similar organizational learning processes across a variety of organizations. Although the studies focused on business issues ranging from diversity and corporate social responsibility (CSR) to corporate brand management, they seem to converge in ways that begin to suggest processes linking organizational learning and change.

In their longitudinal study of organizational diversity programs, American organization researchers David Thomas and Robin Ely identified three stages of development many

organizations go through on their way to learning how to make the most of diversity. Thomas and Ely characterized the first stage as organizational concern for discrimination and fairness. Executives they observed in this phase focused on compliance with Federal regulations governing equal opportunity employment and fair treatment of employees. For instance, firms in this stage typically set up systems of self-assessment using recommended metrics for the recruitment and retention of members of various identity groups (e.g., women, people of color). Although this approach usually resulted in greater diversification of staff, it did not necessarily change the nature of the work the organization performed and thus the organization gained little if any value from complying with outside pressures to increase employee diversity. Thomas and Ely noted that fear of organizational culture change resulting from diversity often created resistance to moving out of this stage and so some companies never moved beyond compliance.

Firms in the second stage, called access and legitimacy, sought to exploit diversity, often doing so in only the most obvious ways such as having employees in race or gender categories serve similarly segmented stakeholder groups. For instance, Latino employees might be assigned the task of selling to the firm's Latino customers or serving the accounts of Latino clients. As a consequence, at stage two, employees who brought diversity had access to more and better job opportunities within the organization—but only up to a point. Although the access stage offered employees more legitimacy and opportunity for advancement within the organization than did those of firms still in the compliance stage, their organizations did not fully understand what value diversity brought to the company. To use terms March provided, they only exploited the differences diversity brought, they did not explore them. Thomas and Ely characterized the mindset of a stage two company in this way:

We are living in an increasingly multicultural country, and new ethnic groups are quickly gaining consumer power. Our company needs a demographically more diverse workforce to help us gain access to these differentiated segments. We need employees with multilingual skills in order to understand and serve our customers better and to gain legitimacy with them. Diversity isn't just fair, it makes business sense.¹⁰

Although access and legitimacy typically resulted in promotions for some diversity candidates, their new positions were usually within areas carved out by a segmentation strategy, and employees continued to feel stifled by the glass ceiling they perceived as preventing their promotion to the executive level.

The third stage, not attained by many companies even today, was described by Thomas and Ely as learning to take full advantage of the benefits diversity brings. Companies enter the learning and effectiveness stage when they redefine their markets, products, strategies, business practices, and organizational cultures in response to their acceptance of the influence diversity brings. In other words, organizations in stage three are transformed by the learning that occurs through internalizing employee differences and adapting to them. Such companies naturally enjoy better recruitment and retention outcomes, but above all they find opportunities they never before imagined, such as new product ideas, new customer bases, and new businesses.

In the context of their study of companies taking on the challenges of corporate social responsibility (CSR), Philip Mirvis and Bradley Googins developed a model with striking similarities to Thomas and Ely's stages.¹¹ CSR has to do with organizational responses to issues

like climate change, poverty, hunger, and human rights. While at first companies interpreted these concerns as societal rather than organizational issues, efforts to broaden corporate responsibility to include not just shareholders but all stakeholders have prompted some organizations to move toward a more sophisticated approach to CSR. The list of organizational changes taking place as CSR becomes strategic in many organizations is long, but a few examples should give you some insight: protecting human rights in a company's overseas operations, creating eco-friendly technologies, ensuring transparency in financial disclosure, being a family-friendly employer, and using nondiscriminatory employment practices.

Although their longitudinal study of organizations engaging in CSR leaves room for divergent learning paths, in general Mirvis and Googins found that compliance with external pressures (e.g., legal, special interests) marked the first stage in which the companies they studied learned to address CSR. By learning to use the resources allocated to CSR-related activities in obvious ways (e.g., exploitation), the companies moved from compliance to more active engagement, such as strategic philanthropy and public relations campaigns. A period of innovation followed as a third stage during which new products or services were invented or discovered as a byproduct of new activities (e.g., exploration) that typically led to many, often fragmented and uncoordinated, efforts that needed to be integrated during the fourth stage. A fifth and final stage occurred in those companies where integration efforts established new values within the deep layers of culture and transformed the organization's identity as perceived from both inside and out. This stage was accompanied by market creation and substantial external attention to a firm now regarded as visionary.

Organizational change scholar Ramona Amodeo provided an example of a company that has achieved Mirvis and Googin's fifth stage. Amodeo conducted a retrospective case study of the organizational change by which Interface Flooring Systems became an environmentally sustainable company.¹² A global manufacturer of commercial carpet, this company learned to produce its innovative carpet tiles from recycled materials and then secured an endless supply of recyclable material for its manufacturing process by renting its carpet to other businesses around the world. In this way Interface not only became more sustainable, but now helps other companies pursue their own path to sustainability.

After videotaping and analyzing organizational change stories told by a variety of Interface employees, including founder and CEO Ray Anderson, Amodeo described the stages of this company's development as awakening, cocooning, metamorphosis, and emergence. During awakening Anderson recognized his responsibility as a leader and member of society to preserve the planet for future generations. As a consequence he set out to influence other organizational members to help Interface change in the direction of environmental sustainability. An internal dialogue ensued as members of the organization confronted their leader's profound change and considered his challenge to the company to follow suit. During the cocooning phase, Anderson also introduced well known advocates of the sustainability movement, such as Paul Hawkin, to the organization by creating an advisory board to guide the change process.

Transformation to accommodate the value for sustainability occurred next. During this phase company engineers worked out methods for profitably pursuing the goals suggested by the value for sustainability and marketers developed relationships with interested customers. As more and more members of the organization and its key stakeholders became enthusiastic, deep cultural change at Interface took place until, finally, in emergence, Anderson

and others began taking the story of their transformation and the message of sustainability to the world. Anderson, for example, was invited to tell the company's story in the documentary *The Corporation* and Interface received multiple sustainability awards.

Finally, Majken Schultz and I studied organizational change at LEGO Company, the Danish toymaker, as it implemented its new corporate brand strategy.¹³ Not unlike the three studies already described, we discovered four cycles of change that we labeled stating, linking, involving, and integrating. The change process was not complete when we ended our study, so there is the possibility of additional stages.

During the stating phase the company reviewed the heritage of the LEGO brand and studied its image in the marketplace, on the basis of which top managers introduced a new brand vision and architecture and announced a program of organizational change to support it. The linking phase was devoted to structurally reorganizing the company around corporate branding activities by creating a Brand Council, appointing a senior vice president of global brand communication, and forming cross-functional global brand teams. During the involving phase, LEGO Company created a Brand School that allowed its employees to learn about and influence top management decisions about the brand and altered its market segmentation strategy to eradicate age-based categories and open new channels of communication with customers. Integrating involved formalizing guidelines for brand use and expression, designing and building branded retail outlets, conducting a company-wide value chain analysis, and embracing user communities and allowing their input to shape the brand as well as new product development processes.

Although the studies reviewed here focused on organizational change in response to markedly different business issues, taken together they suggest a pattern underlying learning-based organizational change (see Table 10.2). Change begins in one part of the organization, spreads to other parts through the dedication of resources and introduction of new activities, practices, and structures, and then, as the new becomes integrated with the old, organizational learning permits change to find its way into the core of the organization's culture where values are revised and often revitalized along the lines suggested by Gagliardi's model of incremental culture change. In addition, all the models reviewed suggest that organizations need to see some economic value before they will engage in culture change, a view that supports Schein's culture theory as well as Weber's explanation of the routinization of charisma.

Some caveats about organizational learning

Leavitt and March pointed out that there are many difficulties strewn along the learning path. They suggested you need to look out for: superstitious learning, the ambiguity of success, and competency traps.

Superstitious learning can cause organizations to learn the wrong things. This trap occurs when the connections between actions and outcomes are incorrectly specified, for example, when promotions are taken to indicate high levels of performance but in fact are given because the promoted individuals duplicate the characteristics of existing leaders (e.g., white, male, assertive). This misattribution leads to superstitious learning when the promoted individuals overestimate their ability to make sound decisions for the organization.

Table 10.2 Comparison of four studies of organizational change processes

Model proposed by	Business issue studied	Stages identified in organizational change processes
Thomas and Ely (1996)	Diversity	Discrimination and fairness—compliance with laws and other institutionalized expectations Access and legitimacy—to jobs for diversity employees, to market for firms Learning and effectiveness—on the part of the total organization
Mirvis and Googins (2006)	Corporate social responsibility (CSR)	Basic—compliance with laws and standards Engaged—first awareness that CSR and environmental sustainability involve more than compliance Innovative—outreach by functional departments to their social and environmental stakeholders Integrated—comprehensive view of CSR and sustainability built into internal organization Transformative—business model, products, and services express CSR/ sustainability values
Amodeo (2005)	Sustainability	Awakening—leader recognizes responsibility and influences others Cocooning—internal dialogue and confrontation with need for change Metamorphosis—company undergoes significant transformation to accommodate value for sustainability (exploration) Emergence—letting the outside world hear the company's story about its road to sustainability (exploitation)
Schultz and Hatch (2003)	Corporate branding	Stating—company reconnects with its heritage and its customer base Linking—restructuring to emphasize desired change Involving—getting internal and external stakeholders on board Integrating—creating coherence in practices, policies, and communications

Profitability can also lead to misattribution when an organization or division believes it knows what it is doing just because it is making a profit. This phenomenon was satirized by Donald McClosky in his 1990 narrative analysis of the discourse of economists entitled *If You're So Smart: The Narrative of Economic Expertise*, which alludes to the query: 'If you're so smart, why aren't you rich?'¹⁴ Known as the **ambiguity of success**, this learning failure makes it difficult to know when organizational success has occurred because the indicators of success are constantly modified (the target keeps moving), and levels of aspiration toward particular indicators also shift over time. It is a common error to assume that organizational success means superior organizational or management practices. Claiming organizational success can be a political act having little to do with the link between organizational behavior and organizational performance. Similarly, negative outcomes create uncertainty about what organizations have actually achieved and this can serve to confuse the causal picture. When success is difficult to pinpoint, it is tough to learn on the basis of what has worked in the past.

Competency traps can lead to improvements in procedures that have limited or no competitive advantage. Such traps occur when the organization makes improvements in one or more of its frequently used procedures such that the procedure results in a series of successful local outcomes, thereby reinforcing its use and reducing motivation to search for better procedures (double-loop sacrificed to single-loop learning). If competitors are meanwhile developing better procedures, the organization can be caught in a competency trap created by its own learning process.

Organizational identity

In many cases it is considered a bad idea to conceptualize organizational phenomena using theory developed at the individual level of analysis, and critics of organizational identity theory often object to it on these grounds. Specifically they find untenable the postulation of an organizational self, which they consider to be implicit in the identity question 'Who am I?' But organizational identity scholars defend their core concept, noting that it is fairly common for members of an organization to ask themselves 'Who are we?' thereby providing empirical support for their phenomenon of interest.

That organizational identity is most visible in the language of individuals when they talk about their organization makes linguistic approaches to the topic seem natural. The earliest definition of organizational identity revolved around claims made by organizational members and other interested parties that there is something central, distinctive, and enduring about an organization, and that these elements constitute organizational identity. American organization theorists Stu Albert and Dave Whetten used this definition of organizational identity to study their university during a period of crisis. The crisis involved budget tightening that provoked organizational members to wonder who they would be if educational programs were curtailed. These theorists postulated that organizational identity comes into view mainly during crises, an organizational extension of the idea of an identity crisis at the individual level of analysis.¹⁵

Many modernist studies have been guided by Albert and Whetten's definition of identity as that which is central, distinctive, and enduring, however there have been significant

differences of opinion about whether or not these elements point to an objective essence (modern) as Albert and Whetten's work first suggested, a socially constructed reality (symbolic), or a potentially dangerous simulacra (postmodern). Whetten later took up an institutional position within this debate by defining organizations as social actors, implying that they possess categorical identity, say as a bank, a school, a hospital, or a manufacturing or service concern.¹⁶ He claimed that categorical identities bring technical, regulatory, and legal (coercive) obligations with them, as well as political, social, and cultural (normative) expectations that govern their behavior.

Social constructionists believe organizational identities to be more malleable than the essentialism of the modern position allows, hence they dismiss views of identity as enduring in favor of describing identity as existing in a constant state of flux and change. For example, Dennis Gioia, Majken Schultz, and Kevin Corley proposed replacing Albert and Whetten's concept of that which endures with the concept of adaptive instability.¹⁷ These researchers argued that what seems like continuity of identity is actually an illusion created when the meaning of stable organizational identity labels changes to allow for adaptation to changing circumstances. By altering the meaning of static labels, organizational members preserve the illusion that their organization has continuity.

Postmodernists also see organizational identities as based in the flux and change of language use. Seeing identity as a discursive simulacra, a malleable product of free floating signifiers, they doubt identity is manageable, or outright deny that it even exists. But that does not prevent critique of efforts to manage identity, and here critics raise particularly pointed objections to Albert and Whetten's idea of organizational identity as that which is central. This is because they believe that when powerful managers define some organizational feature or activity as central they marginalize those who see the organization differently, or who do not serve within the scope of those activities defined as central. Identity claims made by managers or consultants on behalf of an organization thus become fodder for deconstruction and critical reflection.

The work of both population ecology and institutional theorists undermines the distinctiveness element of Albert and Whetten's definition of organizational identity. Population ecology theory suggests that organizational identities are formed at the level of the population whose defining characteristics are adopted by the organizations that participate in its field of activity. Historical studies of banks, newspapers, and breweries show that institutionalized categories describing these organizations provide identities based on their similar activities rather than their distinctiveness from competitors. Glenn Carroll and Anand Swaminathan, for example, analyzed the history of the US brewing industry between 1975 and 1990 finding that, as the industry's resource pool became partitioned, a new population emerged.¹⁸ Findings from a qualitative study complementing their historical analysis indicated that their story of resource partitioning and subsequent evolution of the population hinged on the development of an identity for the new population – the micro-brewery.

Population ecology's attack on Albert and Whetten's distinctiveness element rests on the assumption that competitive pressures force sameness on organizational identities, an assertion located in institutional pressures for legitimacy that lead to similar pressures for sameness by the different route of coercive, normative, and/or mimetic pressures. But when processes of identity formation are viewed from the organizational rather than the population level, a different picture emerges. In this picture distinctiveness prevails, as when an organizational identity provides a differentiating rallying point around which a unique and

collective sense of belonging attracts customers, investors, partners, employees, and potential employees and either elicits their loyalty or provokes disidentification.

Differentiation is an economic, strategic, and marketing concern based on the desire to find or create and exploit competitive advantage. To the extent that organizational identity can be harnessed to these purposes, it has formed a part of managerialist thinking for some time. For example, recall Wally Olins's theory that the symbolics of organizational identity communicated through a coherent approach to architecture and corporate logo design aligned with other corporate messaging can be used to express and reinforce corporate strategy leading to better control of the organization and more reliable performance. But organizational identity theory that does not derive from modernist traditions, presents alternative, less normative views.

One such theory I developed with Majken Schultz described organizational identity as an ongoing social construction process enacted by interactions between internal and external stakeholders.¹⁹ This theory was inspired by an individual level theory of identity construction, so it illustrates both the benefits and limitations of extrapolating from the individual to the organizational level of analysis. Notice, however, that we did not assume that the individual level phenomena could be extrapolated to the organizational level, but rather assumed that the *processes* by which identity is formed do not vary significantly between these two levels. This we believe to be true, even though the organizational level processes may be more complex due to the greater number of people likely to be involved in organizational versus individual level identity construction. American pragmatist psychologist George Herbert Mead provided the individual identity theory on which we based our organizational identity dynamics model.²⁰

Mead understood individual identity to emerge from and be intertwined with the social context that shapes individuals into selves. He conceptualized identity as the product of a conversation that takes place between 'I' and 'me' (see Figure 10.1). The 'me' is embedded firmly in the individual's social context and the 'I' rises up to meet it. Mead observed that the 'me' comes into existence when an infant hears things about itself from others ('You have the cutest little nose,' 'You're getting so big!') and takes ownership of these attributions by formulating ideas about the self ('my nose,' 'my stature'). The act of owning one's 'me' brings forth one's 'I' thereby providing the individual with the capacity to resist what others say ('you may think you know me, but you don't'). According to Mead, from the moment the 'I' appears it reacts and responds to the 'me,' and vice versa, as each influences the other throughout life, thus forming individuals with a socially contextualized, always dynamic sense of who they are.

Of course, in the process of helping form your identity, your conversation partners engage in their own identity dynamics. My image of you influences your identity, which in turn reflects images of me back to my identity. This intertwining of identity construction processes provides an important individual level foundation for the collective identity conversation that creates organizational identity. It is here that individuals' identifications and disidentifications with an organization inform organizational identity theory, and vice versa, though we won't delve into the implications for individual identity here.²¹

Developing an organization level version of Mead's theory suggests regarding the identity conversation as taking place between 'us' (the organizational equivalent of 'me') and 'we' (the organizational equivalent of 'I'). The 'us' is constructed in numerous interactions with and among stakeholders, while the 'we' emerges from organizational members' interactions with one another as they respond to the 'us.' Defined as the conversation between 'us' and 'we,' organizational identity is thus distributed among employees and stakeholders; it is an ongoing, multi-directional plurality of intertwining meanings and meaning makers.

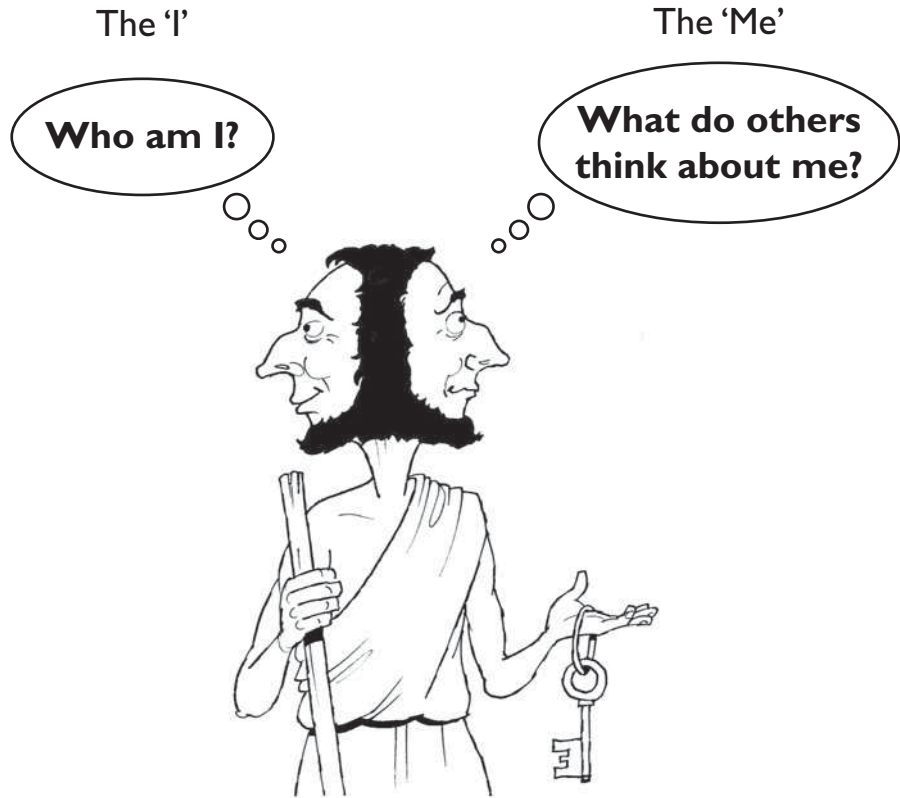


Figure 10.1 Individual level identity dynamics

Source: Based on Mead (1934) in Hatch (2011) *Organizations: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

As an example of one line an ongoing identity conversation can follow, consider McDonald's response to *Super Size Me*, a 2004 documentary film produced by Morgan Spurlock. In the film, Spurlock is shown eating three McDonald's meals every day for a month, 'supersizing' his meal to include the largest size fries and soft drink every time an employee offers him this option as part of McDonald's then current 'Supersize Me' marketing campaign. During filming Spurlock gained 25 pounds amid growing concern for his health expressed by both his girlfriend and his doctor, who in the end prevailed, putting an end to his experiment and the film.

After a period of denial that anyone would take the film seriously, and then realizing they had, McDonald's removed the supersize option at its company-owned franchises and began a series of new marketing campaigns in an attempt to convince stakeholders of its commitment to healthy lifestyles. This effort included launching a new line of salads (not the first time they had tried this, but each time they do presumably brings the company closer to making a success of healthy menu alternatives). These actions indicate that stakeholder images affected McDonald's 'us' prompting the noted responses from its 'we,' which in time will no doubt produce other actions and reactions that continue identity dynamics into the future, at least in part contextualized by ongoing public debates about the company's involvement in the obesity pandemic.

Other directions McDonald's identity conversation takes involve different stakeholders. Some of these defend McDonald's, for example, as a beloved brand or as a symbol of the consumer's right to choose. The McDonald's 'we' responds to the 'us' its fans help to construct, just as it does to the images its critics put into the conversation. And although the company's initial identity management efforts may have been designed to prevent any fundamental change in the way McDonald's operates (e.g., critics complain that its 'healthy' menu items still register extremely high calorie counts), even resistance to outside influence brings something new to its 'we.' As you can see in the complexity of McDonald's organizational identity conversation there is no reason to expect either stakeholder images or the 'us' that emerges from them to be internally consistent.

In terms of the model shown in Figure 10.2, the organizational identity conversation goes something like this: the organization collects stakeholder images using media analysis and market research techniques including reading blogs and following Twitter feeds, while other images are communicated directly via customer feedback during sales and service encounters or other interactions with members of the organization. The organization's 'us' forms around thoughts and feelings organizational members experience in regard to the identity they see in the mirror held up by stakeholders. Reflection on the 'us' then engages the organization's culture and any subcultures that provide context for interpreting the images the 'us' presents. If the 'us' confirms the 'we' there will be no incentive to change, but any response brings with it the possibility of new understandings and different constructions.

Over time the conversation brings outside influences into the organization's identity. This is because, regardless of whether reflection on the 'us' produces confirmation or disconfirmation, organizational members respond to outsiders and express who they are and what they stand for. Their responses may be intentional or unintentional, but either way responsiveness on the part of organizational members continues the conversation, leaving additional impressions on stakeholders and inviting them to adapt their images, which brings even more possibilities for change, and so on until the point of alignment is reached. Of course new issues will always arise, keeping the identity conversation dynamic.

Many other approaches to theorizing organizational identity have been proposed, some of which were covered in other chapters, including Barbara Czarniawska's narrative approach implicating culture in narratives of institutional identity, and theories of organizational, group, and individual identity construction based in the symbolism of physical structures in

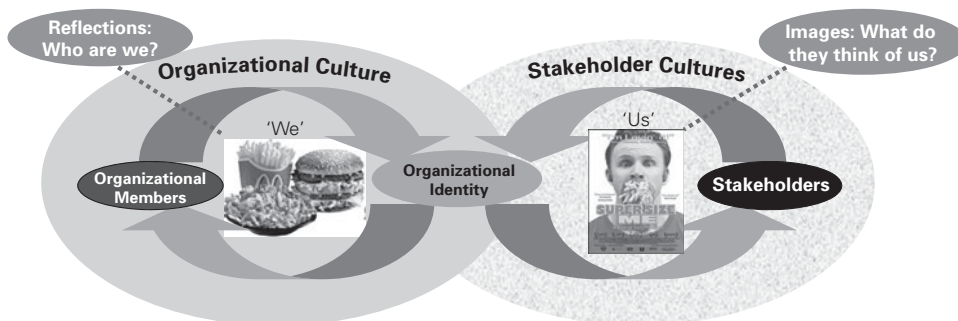


Figure 10.2 Organizational identity dynamics

Source: Based on Hatch and Schultz (2002, 2008).

organizations. Others too numerous to review in detail here include the psychodynamic approach proposed by Andrew Brown and Ken Starkey; theories based on the assertion that organizations maintain multiple identities proposed by Michael Pratt and Peter Foreman, among others; and various attempts to discuss organizational identities as effects of institutions such as have been proposed by Karen Golden-Biddle and Hayagreeva Rao. And of course there is more room for critical approaches that explore organizational identity construction as power plays in which issues of control, surveillance, conflict, and resistance all play a part, as illustrated by Mats Alvesson.²²

Normative approaches to the application of organizational identity theory take many forms, but all assume that organizational identity can be managed and, if managed well, will lead to positive outcomes for the organization, such as superior performance, more attractiveness to potential employees, investors, and partners, and not least as providing a leverage point for changing organizational culture. The later view was suggested by one of the earliest studies of organizational identity conducted, in which American organization scholars Jane Dutton and Janet Dukerich showed that threats to the identity of the New York and New Jersey Port Authority led to changes in both its organizational behavior and the basic assumptions of its culture.²³

Majken Schultz and I developed a normative framework that applies our identity dynamics model to the management of corporate brands.²⁴

In this context, identity dynamics theory encourages managers to think about their organization's identity conversation as a means of aligning their organizational culture with stakeholder images. This is done to make certain that how the organization is seen from the

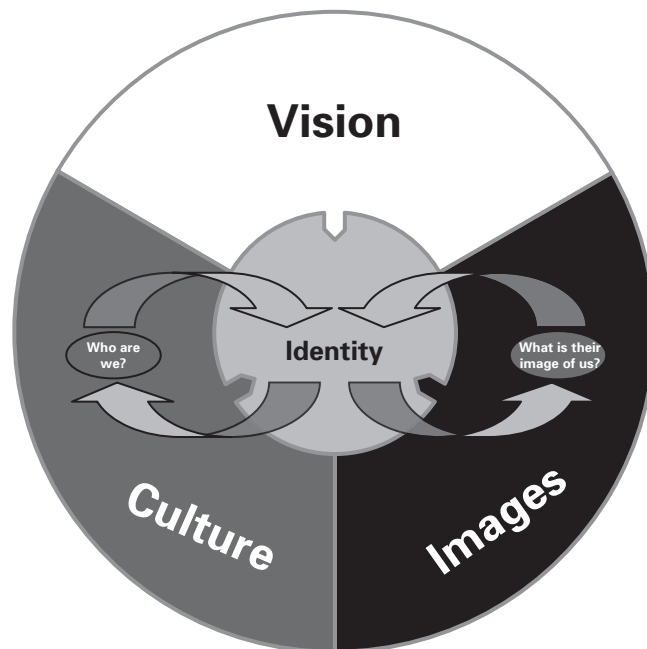


Figure 10.3 Identity dynamics as the foundation for vision, culture, image alignment

Source: Based on Hatch and Schultz (2008: 68).

outside is coherent with what stakeholders will find when they come into direct contact with the company, and that employees will not be put in the position of being inauthentic about what the organization stands for and how it behaves or operates.

When top managers involve themselves in identity dynamics, perhaps through facilitating conversations between employees and external stakeholders on pressing matters of interest to them all (e.g., customer service challenges, new product ideas, fighting obesity or river blindness or AIDS, or saving the planet's natural resources for future generations), they can more easily formulate a strategic vision that aligns with organizational culture and stakeholder images, which means that the vision they formulate will already be invested with the expectations and desires of internal and external stakeholders. This should create a situation where there is little need to sell anybody the vision, allowing more time for all parties to address implementation issues and allowing them to do so with less pressure from above. Alignment between vision, culture, and image (VCI) then provides a strong foundation for corporate branding, or for change programs. To the extent that VCI gaps produce incoherence among employees, stakeholders, and executives, they will reduce the quality of effort invested in branding or change programs.

Distributed phenomena

Organizational identity, organizational learning, culture, brands, and other symbolically rich concepts fit the description of **distributed phenomena**. American anthropologist Lars Rodseth defines distributed phenomena as: 'not essences, structures, or types, but specific sets of things in the world' they are 'historical particulars variably distributed in space and time.'²⁵

As Rodseth observed in respect to culture: 'each individual, even in a small-scale society, carries but a portion of his or her "culture" and views that culture from a unique social and semantic position.' In contrast to 'traditional anthropological concepts that stress sharing within cultures and boundaries between cultures,' culture defined as a semantic population envisions it as a relatively widespread and enduring distribution of meaning. Rodseth suggested that treating culture as a distributed phenomenon makes 'each person a unique individual carrying a unique repertoire of cultural understandings and beliefs.'²⁶ This idea complements and extends Ann Swidler's theory of cultures as symbolic tool kits.²⁷ If cultural material and meanings give cultural members a set of tools with which to construct their realities, then if each does so in their own way, as Rodseth's theory suggests, the culture itself is carried to all the places its members visit, leaving traces behind them wherever they go.

Rodseth claimed that the concept of population, borrowed from biology, is 'precisely suited to phenomena that vary, interact, reproduce, and spread—living things, in short, as opposed to abstract or inanimate objects.' Treating meanings as living things, he asserted, implies they are dynamic, metamorphic, interactive and comprised of words, value judgments, and accents. His emphasis on culture's material embodiments 'stored in human brains, expressed in speech and other forms of action, or transmitted in writing and other artifacts . . . things in the world, rather than mere abstractions' gives shape and form to the intangibles of culture.²⁸

Citing Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin, Rodseth observed that 'meanings are not just living things but social things . . . [that] interact and recombine to create flowing sequences of macroentities, which we recognize as cultural forms.'²⁹ Rodseth's evocative

description—‘thousands of living threads of culture’³⁰—is a poetic way to visualize culture’s materiality and dynamism:

Like biological populations, semantic populations consist of unique and changeable entities. Even a given word, which might seem to be a normatively identical unit, is more of a semantic bundle, with a ‘living multiplicity of meaning and accent’ (Volosinov 1986: 77). Words and their meanings, furthermore, form a unique lexicon in every human mind. No two speakers are likely to have precisely the same lexicon, and if they did, many words found in both lexicons would carry different meanings and accents for the two speakers. What is true of words and lexicons clearly applies to other components of culture as well. Such components are variably distributed within any human group, and every human being carries but a varying fragment of the meanings in the larger collectivity.³¹

Rodseth’s theory suggests that no one individual has complete ontological or epistemological access to a distributed phenomenon. It may be socially constructed inter-subjectively but we must accept our human limitations to address it in its entirety apart from abstract notions, like culture or brand, we might form to represent it. We should therefore not just respect complexity, but relish its richness and variability. As Rodseth stated:

[Postmodernism] depict[s] an extreme fragmentation of social forms and identities as part of the novelty of postmodernity. Yet within such visions of fragmentation can be discerned the subtler forms of diversity, discord, and incomprehension that characterize most of human experience, and which are best captured by a distributive model.³²

Rodseth seems to confirm what systems theory implied: as individuals we cannot physically grasp hold of a system that is distributed among us. Nonetheless, in aesthetic consciousness we may yet find the means to appreciate distributed phenomena more fully. Rather than trying to explain them, perhaps it would be best to address them in imagination and artistry.

The aesthetics of organizations and organizing

Can you think of any moment in your life that, when you recall it, gives you an overpowering sense of joy, fear, or anger? Have you ever had a memory triggered by a sight or smell? Is there a piece of music or art that evokes very strong emotions for you? Your senses can lead to a very different appreciation of experience than that which comes from your intellect. Sensory appreciation forms one useful departure point for organizational aesthetics.

For example, a few years ago Ann, who helped me write the second edition of this book, arranged interviews with the president and senior managers of a small textile company as part of a research project. As she walked through the door, the smell of damp material immediately took her back to childhood visits to her grandmother who worked in a textile mill in Lancashire, England. She reports: ‘I almost felt I was back there, holding my grandmother’s hand as I walked past lines of noisy machines weaving tapestries of richly colored cloth.’ Aesthetic experiences like Ann’s pervade work just as they do other aspects of our lives, giving color, texture, and form to our existence.

Aesthetic knowledge comes through sensory experience as opposed to intellectual effort, and the methods of studying, creating, and managing organizations aesthetically extend

to the poetic and the artistic. Aesthetic theories assume that human senses and perceptions play a major role in constructing organizations and that 'experience of the real is first and foremost sensory experience of a physical reality.'³³ Those interested in organizational aesthetics place their attention on embodied sensory experiences and their expressions and appreciation of these aspects of organizational life can reveal the beauty and joy experienced in the rhythm and flow of work; or the comedy, irony, or tragedy of everyday interactions.

Italian organizational sociologist Antonio Strati, a student of organizational culture and an accomplished art photographer, recognized the importance of organizational aesthetics to organization theory early on. Strati articulated several different ways to approach organizational aesthetics by studying:

- a. images relating to organizational identity,
- b. the physical space of organizations,
- c. physical artifacts,
- d. aesthetic understandings such as the manager as artist, or the beautiful, comic, tragic, sublime, or sacred aspects of social organization, and
- e. how management can learn from artistic form and content by using, for example, music, dance, storytelling, drawing, painting or sculpture.³⁴

In Strati's view, organizations enact aesthetics by the ways they produce products or provide services and thus their aesthetics show in the attractiveness of product designs and the design of workplaces, factories, and buildings, or in the manner in which employees are trained or politics are conducted. Nuance and subtlety, emphasis, and the unspeakable are some of what constitutes aesthetic knowledge expressed in the art and artistry of organizational work processes, such as making a product, serving clients or customers, managing others, and so on.

Another early contributor to the study of organizational aesthetics, Italian organization theorist Pasquale Gagliardi claimed that organizational cultures are sensory maps built from aesthetic responses employees use to guide them around their physical-cultural setting. He suggested that cultures be studied, not only in relation to their values and assumptions (an organization's essence or *raison d'être*) and ethos (rules, morals, and ethical codes), but also in relation to their pathos—how organizational life is felt and experienced.³⁵ Because pathos, originally defined in ancient Greece in opposition to logos and ethos, is intuitive and instinctive, Gagliardi concluded that aesthetics are basic to all other forms of knowing (including logos and ethos) and therefore should be incorporated into the study of organizations.

Some field studies guided by aesthetic theory have focused on aesthetic labor, a concept that regards workplace performances not just as acts or acting (as Goffman suggested) but as rich in embodied feelings and their enactment. Anne Witz, Chris Warhurst, and Dennis Nickson's study of workplace performance focused on the embodied nature of service work.³⁶ These authors found that a particular hotel chain created an aesthetic experience for guests, not just through physical artifacts but also through the labor of aesthetic organizing. The company hired people with the right image (based on personality, passion, and style) and transformed them and their activities into aesthetic labor by training them in grooming and deportment. However, while some employees embraced aesthetic performance, others felt the costs. These results complement Heather Höpfl's study of airline employees who lost part of themselves and experienced emotional stress as the result of the demands for workplace performance placed on them by their managers.

Patricia Martin explored the emotional and sensory experience (sight, smell, sound) of organizations in her study of retirement homes in the United Kingdom. She suggested these homes provoke profound aesthetic experiences because of their association with physical and mental decline, and the way that residents' bodies are defined and dealt with. For example, bodies are managed (cleaned, dressed, given medication), controlled (when and where to walk), and located (in bedrooms and at dining tables) depending on how residents are categorized. By talking to residents and employees, and through her sensory experiences in these organizations, Martin discovered that some places have a homey while others have an institutional feel. She suggested that by taking an aesthetic approach she was able to help others appreciate what it feels like to live and work in these organizations and to show how aesthetic experience and power are interrelated, creating either a healthy environment or one conducive to ill health.³⁷

A less intellectualized approach to organizational aesthetics is practiced by members of AACORN (Arts, Aesthetics, Creativity, and Organizations Research Network).³⁸ Many AACORNers devote their research energies to performance art in organizational settings or use organizations as subjects and/or media for artistic expression. For example, Steven Taylor, an organization theorist and playwright, has written and directed several plays about the life of young academics that express and provoke aesthetic responses to the conditions of work they experience. His cast members were drawn from the profession and performed for audiences comprised of other professional colleagues. Immediately following each performance, Taylor invited cast and audience members to reflect on their aesthetic experiences of the play and their lives through dialogue, and some of these responses, along with two of the plays, have been published in academic journals.³⁹ Thus, through drama, Taylor and his company reflexively (re)cast and dramatized their own academic practices while invading and in some cases deconstructing the discourse of mainstream organization theory.

Other AACORN members have produced aesthetic experiences in business environments. For example, Philip Mirvis uses drama and other art forms (including mask making and movement) to create aesthetic contexts for transformational change in large organizations. The Dutch foods division of Unilever adopted his approach by taking organizational members on a journey through the Scottish highlands, and later on a trek through the Jordan desert where the leadership of Unilever's Foods Group passed to a new manager.⁴⁰ These events dramatized and thereby signified the importance of change within the organization, but also provided an aestheticized context for doing the work of change in more inspired ways. Over 200 managers formed teams and planned how they would transform their organizations as they journeyed across ancient lands. The historically rich travels of these managers provided them with time and space in which to build community through the sharing of personal and work stories told around numerous campfires.

Efforts like those of the Unilever managers to give aesthetic experience a place in their organizations are critiqued by other organizational theorists for appropriating aesthetics for the purpose of domination. For example, British organization theorists Catrina Alferoff and David Knights concluded on the basis of their study of three UK call centers that the aesthetics of a workplace can be used as a form of control via the seductions of organizational commitment.⁴¹ They explored how physical layout and artifacts such as posters, signs, decorations, dress, competitions, and theme days (e.g., World Cup Soccer Day where employees dress up in the costumes of national teams and managers use images of soccer goals superimposed on performance targets) presented work as fun. These researchers claimed that the

managers were subtly trying to intensify and control work activity. Alferoff and Knights found that some employees perceived these activities as threats to their identity and resisted by refusing to wear team jerseys. Their study shows that, while managerial control can be literally dressed up as a fun aesthetic activity designed to playfully express and engage the instrumental ambitions of the organization, pathos may intervene and cause the effort to be experienced differently and to redirect energies toward less playful outcomes.

One of the interesting implications of studying organizational aesthetics is the widening of methods for the discipline. To bring empathy and artistry into research studies requires methods that are experiential and imaginative. These methods could be produced by hybridizing art and science, but at the least they need to acknowledge the ephemeral nature of performance and the subtlety of all forms of art and artistry, which will mean challenging traditional research methods or finding lines of flight within them.

Hermeneutics

The practice of interpretation known as hermeneutics began in ancient times where it developed as a method for extracting deep hidden meanings from sacred scripture, such as the Talmud or the Bible, for purposes of instructing the faithful. Eventually the method was extended to legal and literary interpretation, and later to anything that could conceivably be 'read'—from oral statements, cultural artifacts, human behavior, buildings, institutions, and the symptoms of disease or neurosis and psychosis, to advertisements, brands, and organizations. Contemporary philosophical hermeneutics refers to the theory of interpretation, which, when applied by organization theorists, most often leads to studies of interpretation processes in organizations or to understanding organizing as an interpretive act.

Although hermeneutics helped to establish the symbolic perspective as a rival to modernism in the social sciences, its influence on organization theory has been fairly limited up to now. Because hermeneutics has not taken a stronger position in the field, it makes a late appearance here, its inclusion indicating my observation that its importance, either as a method of studying interpretation processes or a full-blown theoretical perspective, is growing.

There are many different approaches that travel under the name of hermeneutics, and I will concentrate on how hermeneutics might apply to the phenomena of organization and organizing as distributed interpretations and/or interpretation processes. This strand of hermeneutics builds on the idea of the hermeneutic circle described by German philosopher Martin Heidegger, and its realization in the hermeneutic theory of twentieth-century German philosopher Hans Georg Gadamer.⁴²

Heidegger's hermeneutic circle rests on the assumption that understanding a whole is circuitously intertwined with understanding its parts. By extension this circularity implies that text and context are intertwined such that the meaning of texts cannot be separated from the social, cultural, and historical situations in which they are embedded. Thus, for Heidegger, the hermeneutic circle produces a reality (a whole) that is distributed among the detailed particulars (the parts) of everyday existence. Importantly, for Heidegger, hermeneutic understanding involved a temporal sequencing of meaning making. First of all, any understanding implies some earlier or pre-understanding that carries the process back in time. After that, meaning layers on top of meaning as additional movement traces an arc through the

ever-expanding hermeneutic circle. Thus the hermeneutic circle of interpretation is unending, connecting and reconnecting past with present and extending both into the future.

Gadamer, Heidegger's student, agreed that the hermeneutic circle is an iterative process through which new understandings of reality are continuously produced. Gadamer added to this hermeneutic theory the idea that the hermeneutic circle was produced not by individuals acting alone, but by interacting individuals operating within and creating the historical context from which they draw meaning in the present and project it into the future.

Gadamer wanted to explain how texts come to mean different things at different moments in history. For him the meaning of a text emerges from the multiple, layered interpretations made of it over time by individuals acting within their social and historical contexts. Gadamer wrote:

our historical consciousness is always filled with a variety of voices in which the echo of the past is heard . . . we have, as it were, a new experience of history whenever a new voice is heard in which the past echoes.⁴³

Applying Gadamer's hermeneutics to organizations implies that an organization is remade with each new reading, even while some of the history of previous readings is carried along with it. It is thus that the reader/stakeholder creates the organization defined as text in dialogue with others, their expectations becoming continually framed and reframed by the discourse that connects past, present, and future. Hermeneutic interpretation is thus in part the transmission of tradition, as the ancients believed, but Gadamer showed that it is also in part the anticipated future projected forward by present readings that add new meaning and shape expectations. In this sense Gadamer links hermeneutics with distributed interpretation processes that produce multiple and ever-changing understanding, suggesting that, with every pass around the hermeneutic circle interpretation processes address more layered meaning that produces understanding at that moment but also reformulates expectations that shape future passes around the circle.

James Rubin and I applied Gadamer's hermeneutic theory to the interpretation of brands, but the approach we used is applicable to organizations as well.⁴⁴ Informed by the literary theories of Hans Robert Jauss and Wolfgang Iser of Germany, and American literary theorist Stanley Fish, this version of Gadamer's hermeneutics rests on identifying three key components of the hermeneutic circle: (1) the trace of authorial intention, (2) the arc formed by expectations as they are traced from the past into the future, and (3) the reception given to meaning through reader response.⁴⁵

Authorial intention traditionally refers to what an author means when writing a text. In the case of organizing, authorial intention applies most readily to the designed aspects of organization involved, say, in strategic change and organizational identity management in the case of corporate branding, for example, where the intention is to create meaningful symbols to suggest desired emotional associations to customers and communicate strategic intention into reinforcing messages for employees.

Where authorial intention suggests equating strategist and author, the horizon of expectations introduces the cultural context within which stakeholders/audiences read a brand/text. Jauss defines the text's 'horizon' in terms of an imagined reader who, as a result of earlier readings, reads the text with 'perpetual anticipation' of what is possible. Consequently a reader may become aware that a text 'has not yet fulfilled its significance, let alone its whole

meaning.¹⁴⁶ In this sense a brand is always unfinished meaning, open to the influence of all those who ‘read’ it or who will in the future. Its distribution among readers and its temporal continuation explain why Jauss believed that the horizon of the text is a dialogue between past, present, and future. It is thus that the concept of horizon suggests the notion of ‘an arc that traces’—the movement of expectations through time.

Iser emphasized how meaning emerges from a collective effort between reader and author that takes place as readers’ expectations move through the arc of the text’s meaning. Gadamer had argued that a text’s meaning changes over time and in differing social, cultural, and historical contexts. A central idea in this approach is that texts cannot be isolated from earlier interpretations; each succeeding interpretation informs the next one. Here the notion of historical audience, no matter how implied, contingent or imagined, is a distributed notion of the way *readers* collectively saw an organization or a brand at a given time. Following the arc of expectations created by this meaning making delimits the range of interpretations that constructs the text, brand, or organization in the future.

Summary

To be honest I do not know how to write a summary for this chapter. In introducing the topics of organizational learning and identity, tacit knowledge, distributed phenomena, and hermeneutics, I intended to whet your appetite and mark this territory for future development. Some of these ideas have not gelled enough in my mind to provide more than a taste of things to come, others are better developed, but it is not yet obvious to me how their stories should be fitted into the rest of the book. It is even possible that these issues will deconstruct the framework of perspectives on which this book has been built and force me to write something completely different in the next edition. Whatever the hermeneutic circle of reading and writing has in store for us, I hope this iteration has been worthy of your engagement.

Key terms

organizational learning	superstitious learning
<i>learning organization</i>	ambiguity of success
<i>learning curves</i>	competency traps
<i>explicit and tacit knowledge</i>	organizational identity
<i>knowledge transfer</i>	<i>central</i>
<i>single and double-loop learning</i>	<i>distinctive</i>
<i>self-organizing systems</i>	<i>enduring</i>
management issues	identity dynamics
<i>diversity</i>	distributed phenomena
CSR	hermeneutic circle
<i>corporate branding</i>	

Endnotes

1. Leavitt and March (1988).
2. Cook and Yanow (1993); see also Yanow (2000).
3. Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995).
4. See Reason and Rowan (1981) for an introduction to action research.
5. March (1991); see also Levinthal and March (1993).
6. Schön (1973: 28–29).
7. Argyris and Schön (1978).
8. Maturana and Varela (1980).
9. Emery (1969); see also Emery and Trist (1973) and Weick (1977).
10. Thomas and Ely (1996: 83).
11. Mirvis and Googins (2006); Googins, Mirvis, and Rochlin (2007).
12. Amodeo (2005).
13. Schultz and Hatch (2003, 2005) and Schultz, Hatch and Ciccolella (2005).
14. McClosky (1990).
15. Albert and Whetten (1985).
16. Whetten (2006).
17. Gioia, Schultz, and Corley (2000).
18. Carroll and Swaminathan (2000); see also Lamertz, Heugens, and Calmet (2005) and Kroezen and Heugens (2012).
19. Hatch and Schultz (2002).
20. Mead (1934).
21. See Bligh and Hatch (2011) for one discussion of this issue.
22. Golden-Biddle and Rao (1997); Alvesson (1990); Brown and Starkey (2000); Pratt and Foreman (2000).
23. Dutton and Dukerich (1991).
24. Hatch and Schultz (2008).
25. Rodseth (1998: 56).
26. Ibid. p.57.
27. Swidler (1986).
28. Rodseth (1998: 55).
29. Ibid. pp.55–6.
30. Ibid. p.65.
31. Ibid. p.56.
32. Ibid. p.57.
33. Gagliardi (1996: 311).
34. Strati (1999, 2000); see also Barry (1996); Ottensmeyer (1996); Barrett (2000); Nissley, Taylor, and Butler (2002); Guillet de Monthoux (2004); Taylor and Hansen (2005).
35. Gagliardi (1990); see also (1996).
36. Witz, Warhurst, and Nickson (2003).
37. Martin (2002).
38. <http://aacorn.net/index.htm>
39. Taylor (2000, 2003); Rosile (2003).
40. Mirvis, Ayas, and Roth (2003).
41. Alferoff and Knights (2003).
42. Gadamer (1960/2004); Heidegger (1962).

43. Gadamer (1994: 267).
44. Hatch and Rubin (2006).
45. Iser (1978, 2001); Fish (1980); Jauss (1982a and b).
46. Jauss (1982b: 145).

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