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IDENTIFICATION, INTEGRATION, AND THE CONDITIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

by

Michael Edward Brown

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INTRODUCTION

The problem of 'order' in large-scale social organizations has come to be complicated by a literature which, coming from a social psychological tradition, emphasizes the special importance of the facts of interaction and membership. Certain critical dichotomies have replaced the prior reliance on 'simple and sovereign' theoretical approaches in the social science of organizations. Manifest-latent, formal-informal, productivity-satisfaction, are some of these, and their introduction has led to a good many propositions relating to organizational involvement, participation, and the like--to an exposure of a new set of problems for theory and research.

The present paper is designed to consider one special problem suggested by the organizational research of the last two decades (March and Simon, 1958): in what way are functional units of an organization integrated into the larger whole through the special facts surrounding membership? In pursuing this, we will be obligated to discuss the concomitants of individual membership which lead to what we will call 'identification with the organization', and then to treat this same material at the level of groups or functional units. We hope to throw some light on some of the issues relating to the general problem of social order in organizations, both through a theoretical treatment and an empirical analysis.

By way of preview, there will be several concepts, the mention of which will make the first few chapters a little clearer.

1. 'Identification': An individual will be said to identify with a social entity when his involvement with that entity (anticipated or actual) is an important part of his self-definition (at the level of verbalization--awareness).

2. Symbolic motive: Symbolic motives are those motives the gratification of which is tied to a change in or substantiation of the individual's self-definition. They are generally characterized by a relative interdependence between incentive value and expectancy of success or gratification. An example of this is the 'need for achievement' (Atkinson, 1953, 1958).

3. Pragmatic motive: Pragmatic motives are those motives the gratification of which is not tied to a change in or substantiation of the individual's self-definition directly. Rather, they are related to gains which are extrinsic to performance and which are characterized by a relative independence of incentive value and expectancy of success or gratification. Thus, the value of an incentive is not related to the ease or difficulty of its attainment. An example of this is the need for food or the desire for money.

4. Unit integration: Unit integration is the degree to which a functional unit is integrated into a larger organizational whole through the peculiar facts of membership.

It has to do with what sociologists call 'normative integration,' and emphasizes one of the ways in which group or unit norms and practices come to be compatible with those of the larger organization.

In developing these ideas, we will proceed in the following way. Chapter I will deal with a general social psychological perspective useful in the study of organizations. Simply, the use of the concept of 'role' and its implications will be discussed. This will introduce the special facts relating to membership. In chapter II, these special facts will be more specifically described in terms of role participation and the representation or definition of self, and placed in a context suitable for discussing the general problem of the way in which individuals are bound into a larger organization. Two general questions will be considered: (1) what are the individual psychological correlates to 'binding-in'; (2) what situational variables are associated with 'binding-in.' In dealing with these questions, it will be necessary to consider the distinction between several kinds of motives and rewards; and it will be necessary to look at some recent developments in the literature relating to organizational structure and process.

Chapter III will deal specifically with one type of 'binding-in', what we are calling 'identification.' We will take a look at a number of previous approaches to the problem of identification with the organization, and

develop some notions which will provide the substratum for the more sociological analysis of unit integration to follow. Five factors are important in this discussion: (1) the object of orientation, the social entity toward which identification is directed; (2) the specific class of motives activated in the situation; (3) the facilities provided by the object of identification for the fulfillment of the specific class of motives involved; (4) the kind of response suitable; (5) perceptions and experiences relevant to the fulfillment of the relevant motives through facilities relating to membership or participation. From the discussion, it will appear that several things must be specified for the empirical study of identification:

1. attributes of the person, his motives, skills, and position, and experiences.
2. aspects of the social and material situation which:
    a. distinguish this relationship from others
    b. provide facilities for the gratification of the proper motives
    c. tie these facilities to the specific relationship in question.

In the following chapters we will discuss unit integration and show its relationship to the literature on cohesiveness and the literature relating to identification discussed in the preceding chapters. Unit integration will be operationalized in terms of group means on the index of identification, and will be considered to be a function of

(1) certain environmental conditions relating to social structure and task organization, and (2) demographic characteristics. A site and sample will be described for the empirical analysis to follow. Then, an analysis of data relevant to a test of several propositions will be presented. These propositions relate to the research problem suggested by the preceding chapters. Very simply, that problem involves the relationship between group means on identification with the organization, and various aspects of social structure, task structure, member perceptions of opportunities, and individual personality characteristics. The research hypothesis is that an individual will be bound into an organization, normatively speaking (reflected through his score on the 'identification' index), through those aspects of organizational life which emphasize the fact that he is a member of this organization, and that through this membership, certain motives relating to the definition of self are and can be satisfied. The relevant facts of organizational life are thought to be found in aspects of social structure and the structure of the task situation (actual and perceived): and the relevant motives are thought to be of a class which we refer to as 'symbolic motives', with the 'need for achievement', as defined by Atkinson, and McClelland, the specific exemplar for this study. Thus, 'identification' will be a function of a certain class of motives, relevant opportunities or expectancies,

certain experience, and the existence of facts which make identification an available response.

Since the analysis uses group means, attempts will be made to draw conclusions which are relevant to both group and individual functioning within the organization.

CHAPTER I

A GENERAL FRAMEWORK

The distinctive problem for a social psychology still stands as the relationship between individual processes on the one hand, and social processes on the other (Newcomb, 1950). However, it is by no means a foregone conclusion as to how these relate to each other. What aspects of the 'social stimulus situation' and what 'items of the socio-cultural setting' are relevant to the behavior of individuals (Sherif, 1948)? How do these aspects and items articulate with each other? What psychological processes in particular are available for transactions with the social environment?

Part of the problem stems from a failure on the part of social psychologists to specify what relationship is being discussed. It might be the relationship between certain individual processes (e.g., attitude formation and change) and certain patterns of interpersonal behavior (communication and influence patterns in small, face-to-face groups); or it might be the relationship between the individual processes and larger facts of social life (e.g., the structure of control, the type of solidarity, in Durkheim's terms, characteristic of a social system, or the structure of the role system--functionally speaking--in which the individual participates). When the term 'influence' or 'role' (cf. Rommetveit, 1953; Newcomb, 1950) is used to cover individual behavior in the context of a large-scale social organization

and behavior in the context of more elementary social situations, discussants may be talking past one another.

Another part of the problem stems from an attachment on the part of various investigators either to overly-large general theories or to the restrictively brute facts of empirical studies (cf. Merton, 1957; Etzioni, 1961). Unfortunately, the standards by which the middle range is reached are not very clear (cf. Merton, 1957). The point remains that a general framework is what is required, with theoretical elaboration only when necessary; and it will only be necessary where there are data and questions, rather than simply one or the other.

The concept of 'role' which has developed in one form or another from the more sociological side of social psychology seems to offer the promise of a framework sufficiently general to provide insight into many different phenomena and sufficiently specific to point toward the possible resolution of many legitimate empirical questions (cf. Rommetveit, 1953; Newcomb, 1950; Kahn et al., 1964; Sarbin, 1954). The definition of 'role' has tended to depend on whether one is interested in social systems (Parsons, 1955) or on the specific facts of interaction (cf. Rommetveit, 1953). Nevertheless, in most cases, the concept has provided a way of defining the specific aspects of the "social stimulus situation" in question. Before moving ahead, it might be worthwhile to state a working definition of

the concept 'role' in as general terms as possible. As we will use the term in this discussion, 'role' refers to a set of behavior requirements and alternatives, and susceptibilities to certain forms of influence. We leave open the questions of the functional relevance of role-related behaviors, the definition of the source of requirements, alternatives, and influences, and the point of view (whether individual role-perceiver, observer, or role-sender) from which the particular role is defined.

Thus, the development of a 'role' theory in social psychology has offered an important point of conceptual articulation for the meeting of two disciplines, the psychology of personality, and the sociology of large-scale social organizations (cf. Newcomb, 1950; Sarbin, 1954; Parsons et al, 1953; Argyris, 1957; Kahn et al., 1964; Gross et al., 1958). For instance, Talcott Parsons has, perhaps more than anyone else, developed a set of ideas relating to this which derive, in part, from work of Durkheim, Weber, Freud, Mead, and Bales. The crux of this development is that the concept of 'role' is the key to the understanding of the relationship between personal and social systems of organization. From the point of view of the larger organization seen as a system (cf. Parsons, 1955; Katz and Kahn, 1964) the role serves as the basic unit of integration, a specification, in Parson's terms, of function, and as a vessel whose chief contents are norms rather than behaviors. From

the point of view of the individual involved (cf. Sarbin, 1954), however, the role or roles may or may not be well-defined (cf. Jackson, 1959; Kahn et al., 1964)--may not be verbally conceptualized (in which case behavior will necessarily be more variable[1])--, but insofar as they are, or insofar as the individual is responding to the role-like aspects of his situation, roles serve to specify performance limits (Rommetveit, 1953) and modes and styles of justification for attitudes and behavior.[2]

For the social psychologist, the concept of 'role' permits the delineation, on the one hand, of social structural and interpersonal factors which may relate to variance in the behavior of individuals, and on the other hand, the

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[1]I am arguing at this point that the clarity with which a role is defined acts as a determinant of behavior. Thus, when an individual conceptualizes the 'core' of his behavior, it is not just that he has discovered its ideal type or what his 'behavior is all about', but that he has imposed obligations upon himself--to live up to his specifications. Insofar as this is not done, the behavior will be more variable and less predictable from simply the knowledge of role constraints and facilities.

[2]By modes or styles of justification, I mean that the person receives not only limits, but permissions, influences, or reasons why something might be done, and that these permissions or reasons are resources and facilities. 'Performance limits' refers to (cf. March and Simon, 1958) constraints on performance alternatives; and modes of justification refer to any reasons. Style has to do with the individual's "knowing his place." 'Performance limits' is analogous to causes or independent determinants; 'justifications' are analogous to conscious reasons. Thus, the phenomenology of role is distinct from an observer specification of its motivational and cognitive concomitants; and, of course, when an individual becomes consciously a 'role-player' he becomes an observer, a theorist about his own behavior, a predictor in his own right (cf. Sarbin, 1954).

specification of individual characteristics and response possibilities relevant to understanding performance to and within a social system.[3]

In the literature which has developed around the study of organizations, the concept 'role' has served primarily two theoretical purposes: from the more sociological point of view, it has been relevant to discussions of 'integration', and normative and functional structure; from the social psychological perspective, it has been important in throwing light on how individuals are 'bound in' to an organization (Morse and Reimer, 1956; Katz and Kahn, 1964)--made a part of the organization in terms of continuing and participating membership through manipulation by formal and informal instruments of control (whether internalized or not) of the role or roles that he plays within the reference organization and outside of its specific confines. Thus, there are a number of roles under which an individual performs in any social context, both at any particular time and over a period of time; and there are always competing roles and role-sets (cf. Merton, 1957), other limits and possibilities to which a person may or may not respond. This directs our attention to 'role sets', 'role sequences', and alternatives, and their antecedents and consequences.

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[3]By 'performance to', I refer to behavior which for any reason is seen as functionally relevant to membership or anticipated membership.

More specifically, an individual's roles point to conditions in the social and physical environment which, either with or without conscious mediation (cf. Jackson, 1959; Tannenbaum and Smith, 1963; F. Allport, 1955; Mead, 1934), facilitate, limit, obstruct, or suggest, lines of behavior and values which provide various degrees of satisfaction. They delineate foci of influence and some of the conditions of individual change. Here, roles are seen as bunches of external constraints deriving from social participation (cf. Sarbin, 1954). From the observer's point of view, roles are then the key to membership; they are a source of activation of certain kinds of motives; they provide cognitive conditions (cf. Asch, 1952), opportunities (cf. March and Simon, 1958), and demands (cf. Miller and Swanson, 1959); and they are the major defining source of some experiences of value (cf. Parsons, 1955).[4]

From the point of view of the social system as seen, for instance, by the hierarchical elite or the social theorist, the role is the unit for social change and action. It is described in terms of rights, duties, interrelationships, and predictable patterns of behavior (cf. March and Simon, 1958). For the social psychologist, what is most important is role definition and value, role diffusion, clarity,

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[4]For instance, ends and purposes for instrumental behavior are seen, in part, as organized in terms of roles.

multiplicity, and instruments by which the role-player is integrated into his role, and the roles into the system.

With respect to this aspect of the general problem of integration, two concepts seem most relevant. 'Internalization' has served to define the process by which aspects of past roles come to be a part of the personality in McClelland's and Atkinson's sense of relatively stable and enduring dispositions (cf. McClelland, 1951; Atkinson, 1958), important components and determinants of response hierarchies. In a sense, internalizations, as here used, are the residuals of past learning which has taken place under the exigencies of role situations. The second of these two concepts, 'identification', refers to a certain process relatively contemporaneous with the behavior or attitudes relevant to the integration of the role-player into his roles. In the former case, the process is historical and intrapersonal, and in the latter, contemporaneous and interpersonal. That is, looking at the individual at a specific time, internalizations represent the intrapersonal realm, or parts thereof, whereas identifications represent the interpersonal.

Specifically, while the individual is in a certain role situation,[5] he takes on attributes relatively consistent with that; his self-definition is determined, in part, by his membership and participation. In a very real sense,

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[5]A role situation will be thought of as one in which fairly regular demands are received from some social entity, some identifiable source with which the individual perceives or experiences interaction.

identification is the process more accurately related to 'roles' and 'participation'. To refer to a notion in communication research (Hovland et al., 1953), internalization is analogous in result to a sleeper effect after the source has dropped out leaving the content; whereas, identification is analogous to an involvement with the source, per se.[6]

In a sense, identifications are chronologically prior to internalizations in that for every internalization, some prior role situation must have taken place, and hence some prior identification.[7] While this might be an interesting notion to test under stringent controls, it has support in much of the theoretical writing (cf. Miller and Swanson, 1959). But the two processes and their different results are quite distinct, and the conditions for formation and change of each are not the same. Again, identification is like the individual's putting himself in contact with the source, whereas internalization is more like the result of that contact once the content is perceived as autonomous from the source. This is a similar point to Kelman's (cf. Kelman, 1958) distinction between identification and

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[6]Another analogy occurs. Identification involves 'functional fixedness' of specific behavior alternatives--they are dependent on the context of training. Internalization occurs when the responses are independent of their previous context, and are usable under a multiplicity of circumstances.

[7]This does not preclude our taking account of the effect of internalization on new identifications, nor is it intended to imply that all role-situations evoke identifications.

internalization, and will serve as a central theme in this paper. For now, the distinction will be left a general one. Later chapters will deal with it more definitely.

In synthesizing the sociological and psychological approaches to role theory, the social psychologist has tended to see role participation as related in predictable ways to certain items of behavior, certain patterns of interaction, and certain dimensions of personality (cf. Kahn et al., 1964); and the social structural concomitants of roles are to be found by an examination of patterns of operation within groups and organizations.

Thus far, I have attempted to outline a general position; one which would provide a framework of sorts for the development of the study of identification with social entities in general, and organizations in particular. This is not meant to be the exposition of a theory, but simply a presentation of a point of view.

The major point of the foregoing is that the concept of role has provided us with a social psychological key to the facts of membership. On the one hand, it opens the way for an understanding of social participation and its effects on certain aspects of behavior and personality, and on the other hand, it has provided a way of examining social structure with an eye to predicting behavior.

If then, 'role' is the key to membership, and, as such, the key to understanding problems relating to the 'binding-in' of individuals to an organization, then it remains for

us to consider the general problem of 'binding-in' before moving in more specifically to the central issue of this thesis, 'identification' as an important notion relevant to the understanding of the processes, and results of binding-in'. By way of anticipation, our definition of 'identification' will suggest a process relating specifically to membership as such and not to the fact that membership or aspects of membership are related to special extrinsic rewards and ulterior purposes. The latter will not be considered ways of binding an individual into the organization, but simply as ways of getting work.[8]

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[8]We will not deal as such with the fact that extrinsic rewards may lead to participation over time, and thus indirectly contribute to the individual's being 'bound into' an organization. As we will see though, it is not 'time' per se which is relevant, but what goes on over time; and this latter issue will serve as one of our points of focus.

CHAPTER II

ROLES, THE REPRESENTATION OF SELF, AND 'BINDING-IN'

The last chapter presented a very general view of some of the implications of social psychology for the specific study of individual involvement in large-scale organizations. Since the introduction of a social psychological perspective into the study of behavior in organizations, attention has naturally come to be focused on the effects of membership, and ways in which satisfactions are accomplished and morale maintained. In a way, it is not inaccurate to say that the problem of social order in organizations was no longer simply a matter of specifying system goals and instituting bureaucratic control in the sense described by Weber, and applied by the 'machine theorists' (cf. Weber, 1947; March and Simon, 1958). Facts relating to latent structure, informal organization, and the concomitants of interaction and value, exposed new problems as well as alternative solutions to those found in the older literature. These, in turn, introduced matters into the study of organizational behavior which had traditionally been reserved for other areas of psychology and the social sciences. One such issue concerns the ways in which various kinds of attachments are formed for social entities (cf. Etzioni, 1961; Heider, 1946, 1958), and the effects of these attachments on individuals' identifications with these social entities.

It will be one of the purposes of the present study to

consider this issue of 'identification with social entities,' and try to relate it to individual functioning on the one hand, and group functioning on the other. Chapters V through VII will afford a test of propositions relating to the functioning of groups or functional units within a large organization. In the meantime, it will be necessary to go into the problem of individual functioning and identification.

The point of view taken here is that the study of identification with social entities is related, in part, to the study of the ways in which individuals represent their world to themselves, and, in part, to the general literature on roles and role theory. Since these in turn are related to the general problems of social order and the integration of behavior into patterned interaction, 'identification' can be seen to have an analogue in the study of groups and organizations. 'Cohesiveness' of small groups, and 'integration' of larger organizations are notions which derive from a similar interest, that is, in the problem of order (cf. Etzioni, 1961). The analogy is not in terms of the fact of social reference; rather, in each case, the problem involves the integration of some unit into a larger whole. In the case of identification, it is the integration of many different kinds of acts (behaviorally functional units) into the self as represented or defined by the individual; in the case of cohesiveness, it is the integration of individuals as functional units into the group; and in the case of 'integration',

as used in traditional sociological theory, it is the integration of functional social units into the operating whole. I will argue that the common denominator of these three has to do with facts of membership. Insofar as this is so, we will first consider 'identification,' as such, and then move into a consideration of the other concepts in later chapters.

If, as we will argue, identification relates to the ways individuals define themselves in terms of membership and role participations, then there are two keys to the understanding of the processes underlying it.[9] First, one thinks of the various and elaborate attempts to deal with the ways in which individuals represent their world to themselves and to others. The different approaches to phenomenology, life space, cognitive style, conceptual systems, and the like, have tended to one or the other of two major points of emphasis. On the one hand, the focus has been on development through changes in cognitive style (Piaget, 1952; Werner, 1948) or through shifts in dominant motivation (Hartmann, 1958). On the other hand, there has been an emphasis on contemporaneous factors in individual functioning (Lewin, 1935; Combs and Snygg, 1959).

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[9]It should be noted here that the term 'identification' is not being used in terms of orthodox psychoanalytic theory. That usage has more to do with what has been referred to as self-identity, a problem which is related to the present analysis in ways to be described in the following two chapters.

Cutting across these two approaches, some of the most stimulating work has come from academic philosophy, and it is only recently that psychologists have applied the rigors of scientific investigation to the problem. Examples of the philosophical work are found in Bentham's theory of fictions (Ogden, 1959), Vaihinger's philosophy of 'as-if' (Vaihinger, 1924), Whitehead's psychology of perspectives (Whitehead, 1929), Cassirer's philosophy of 'symbolic forms' (Cassirer, 1957), and the work of the symbolic interactionists derived from G. H. Mead's philosophy of the present (Mead, 1932, 1934). Psychological analogues to this are to be found in the work of Werner on the development of symbolic usage (Werner and Kaplan, 1963; cf. also Piaget, 1952), Heider on the forms of representation (Heider, 1946, 1958), Harvey, Hunt, and Schroder, on conceptual systems (Harvey et al, 1961), French and Sherwood on self-definition (French and Sherwood, 1963), and Parsons on expressive symbolism (Parsons, 1953).

Apart from the distinction among these psychological approaches, between development and phenomenology, one can also distinguish the line of literature dealing with content (attitudes, values, belief systems, and the like), from that which deals with form or structure (cf. Peak, 1958; Harvey et al, 1961).

The second key to understanding 'identification' as we are using the term is the concept of 'role,' and the relationship between roles, role-sets and sequences, and representations

(phenomenology). Roles can be thought of as delineating conditions for, and effects of, representations.

In proceding with this development we will first turn to a consideration of the individual's representation of the world and his experiences. How an individual represents the world is largely a result of his cognition of interactions (French and Sherwood, 1963), and the result of a particular representation is to provide a "judgmental baseline or an adaptation level through which reality is read" (Harvey et al, 1961, p. 3; Sherif and Cantril, 1947; Helson, 1947). The cognitive unit may be thought of as the 'concept.' "Once a concept develops, it serves as an experiential filter through which impinging events are screened, gauged, and evaluated, a process that determines in large part what responses can and will occur" (Harvey et al., 1961, pp. 2-3).[10]

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[10]Similar ideas have been expressed by a number of other writers (Heider, 1958; Asch, 1952; Lewin, 1935; Tolman, 1948). It can further be argued that there is no formal difference between the representation of the external world (both social and physical) and the representation of the self (cf. French and Sherwood, 1963). Thus, if we specify some of the attributes of representations in general, it is possible to look more closely at the representation of self.

French and Sherwood (1963) point to three major attributes to which we might add three:

1. content: Representations might "vary quantitatively on the basis of the empirical content which they represent in P's cognitive world" (French and Sherwood, 1963, p. 8).
2. value: An individual's representations have "social significance for him with regard to evaluative reference groups. His values are associated directly with attributes of self-identity, determining which attributes are attractive or unattractive" (ibid, 1963, p. 9).
3. strength: "Strength of a self attribute is defined as the frequency, weighted by the intensity of arousal of that self-attribute relative to other self-attributes of P's self-identity

It seems possible to argue that there are several important differences between representations of the self and other sorts of representations. For instance, self-representations are usually more abstract in the sense that a single self-concept applies to many different events. They also seem less able to be operationalized even apart from the inherent weakness in the operationalizability of abstractions. For various reasons, lack of feedback due to

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to the relative exclusion of all other self-attributes at a moment in time. It is likely that frequency and intensity are positively correlated, although not perfectly correlated" (French and Sherwood, 1963, p. 10).

4. degree to which the particular representation is capable of being operationalized, confirmed, or verified (cf. Harvey et al., 1961, p. 7; cf. also March and Simon, 1958). This involves the degree to which a representation can be interpreted by the person in the light of external information. Among other things, it relates to the concreteness or abstractness of the representation (Harvey et al., 1961, p. 3). It is possible to distinguish at least two kinds of abstractness which are relevant: first, "increased availability of alternative concepts or schemata for coping with the same stimuli" (Harvey et al., 1961, p. 4); and second, increased number of different stimuli categorized under the same rubric (cf. Bruner et al., 1957).

5. opportunity for verification. This is not, strictly speaking, a characteristic of the representation, but of the context from which it derives its meaning, or in which its meaning is modified. The opportunity for verification is related to the peculiarities of the situation, the distance (cf. Peak, 1958) between the representation and verifying conditions, pressures of various sorts including time, interpersonal, and intrapersonal pressures.

6. source or referent for verification or operationalization. This refers to some reference entity, social or otherwise, which limits the conditions of verifiability or operationalizability of a given representation or set of representations. Variables relevant to this are the value of the reference entity, its cohesiveness, whether this entity is a membership or non-membership group, whether it is large-scale and defined in terms of functional patterns and relationships, or small scale and defined in terms of individual interactions and specific expectations, and whether there are multiple reference entities.

social constraints on giving feedback, time pressures, and the like, we rarely have the opportunity to re-evaluate our representations of ourselves. This might provide a partial explanation of the often-noted fact that representations and conceptual systems seem to 'hang together,' or operate in such a way as to maximize internal consistency. What I am suggesting is that the 'hanging together' of representations might be due in part to certain characteristics of the representations, their lack of operationalizability or their abstractness, and not simply in the order of things. To carry this a little further, in a sense, therapy often provides an interruption and an opportunity for empirical and logical verification of the suitability of representations, a chance to test and revise.

It is also necessary to distinguish the representation of self, in the sense in which we are characterizing it, from what has been called 'self-identity.' Whereas self-identity, as traditionally conceived, is more analogous to 'personality,' in a way the 'caused' base conditions for forming representations, the representation of the self can be thought of in a somewhat different way. Bradley, as did G. H. Mead (Mead, 1934, p. 136), spoke of the self as an apparent object to itself (cf. Morris, 1932, p. 62), in considering what we are calling 'self-representations.' Thus, self-representations are thought to involve the utilization of available responses from two major sources: those already

available through internalization and habit, and those available as a result of current interactions and object relations, or role participations. Thus, if the 'self' is "the intertwined totality of one's concepts" (Harvey et al., 1961, p. 6), and if it "has all the strength of other perceptual stereotypes" (Murphy, 1947, p. 715), and if 'mind' is the "functioning of significant symbols" (Morris, 1932, p. 323; and cf. Mead, 1954, p. 135), and if concepts, stereotypes, and symbols are dependent in part on role participation, then part of the definition or representation of self is dependent on role participations, past and present.[11]

If the representation of self is more difficult to operationalize, verify, or test, then is the representation of others and objects for whatever theoretical reasons one prefers, the degree of visibility of the role relationships on which part of it depends should relate to its stability. One would expect then that the more agreement among individuals as to the conditions of their mutual role partipation, and by inference the greater the visibility of roles and role-related norms, the more will their individual self-representations in terms of role participation be relatively stable and related in a predictable way to actual performance, other attitudes, and other representations.

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[11]As we shall see, the different psychological status of the past requires a different analysis of past and present participations.

One of the areas of life in which such a degree of role clarity obtains is the large-scale task-oriented organization. Thus, that aspect of the representation of self accounted for by role participation in such organizations should be related in a predictable way to other behaviors and representations, even more so than representations formed in other less defined and less stable situations.

It thus appears that, because of the partial dependence of self-representations on current role participations,[12] the use of the concept 'role' will be important in understanding them. This is partly a result of the fact that the backlog of theory and research on roles and role participation (cf. Rommetveit, 1953; Gross et al., 1958; Kahn et al., 1964; Sarbin, 1954) points rather specifically to the conditions, opportunities, and sources of operationalization and verification of this aspect of self-identity. That is, if part of an individual's self-identity involves what we have called self-representations, and if some part of individual self-representations are dependent on current role participations, then it becomes possible, through a consideration of the particulars of role participations, as exposed by prior literature, to come to some understanding

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[12] 'Current' refers to a span of time covering the individual's recent experience within the limits, relatively speaking, of the individual's memory. The point is that there should be continued awareness of the role relationship, the 'source', itself. Otherwise we will not be dealing with identification in the sense in which we will define it.

of the self-representations in question. Social psychologically, one thinks of social structure and group characteristics as relevant (cf. Cartwright and Zander, 1960), and psychologically, one thinks of the conditions for self-actualization (cf. Kahn et al., 1964; French and Sherwood, 1963).

It therefore follows that that aspect of self-representations which is dependent on role-participation will vary in content and value depending on the conditions constraining and facilitating role performance. These conditions might be social, in terms of the role system and interpersonal relations, and/or physical, in terms of the task structure. And that aspect of self-representations which depends on role participation will vary in strength as a result of certain conditions having to do with self-actualization. Specifically, with respect to this latter, these conditions have to do with the arousal and satisfaction of a certain class of motives (cf. McClelland, 1958) which I will call (and later define) 'symbolic motives.' These motives, in ways which will be clarified later, involve the representation of self and changes in the representation of self because they are related to individual performance within role relationships such that changes in performance conditions or results of performance affect the representation of self in terms of persistence, level of aspiration, confidence, preference ordering, and interpersonal choice (cf. Atkinson, 1958).

By way of preview, we will call that aspect of self-representations explained in terms of current role participations 'identification,' and consider its major dimensions to be:

1. strength;

2. content: representation of the self as a member of some social entity;

3. value, positive or negative.

These three will be largely dependent on:

1. the source of verification (the referent, whether it is abstractly defined or highly concrete, and whether available or not): the large organization in the present case;

2. opportunities for verification, substantiation, and operationalization;

3. degree of operationalizability.

This view is consistent with those views tying 'identification' to self-representation (Stotland and Patchen, 1961; Stotland and Hilmer, 1962; Kagan, 1958), and with those which emphasize current role relations (Kelman, 1958; Kahn et al., 1964).

This characterization of 'identification' permits a general summary of the above and an anticipation of later developments. Identifications, as described in the last few paragraphs in the light of the foregoing, take place under three major types of supports or conditions:

1. individual conditions: specific characteristics of the person which are differentially reinforced;

2. current social supports:

   a. social supports external to the organization or social entity in which the person is a member or to which he refers himself

      (1) friends and associates

      (2) other groups or organizations

   b. internal, or part of the group or organization in which membership is tied to self-representations by means of

      (1) social structure

      (2) the character of interpersonal interactions

      (3) the task structure

3. historical supports through internalizations, the residuals or content of past role participations where this is not cognitively tied to the original source.[13]

Figure 1, below, presents a graphic characterization of 'identification' as summarized above:

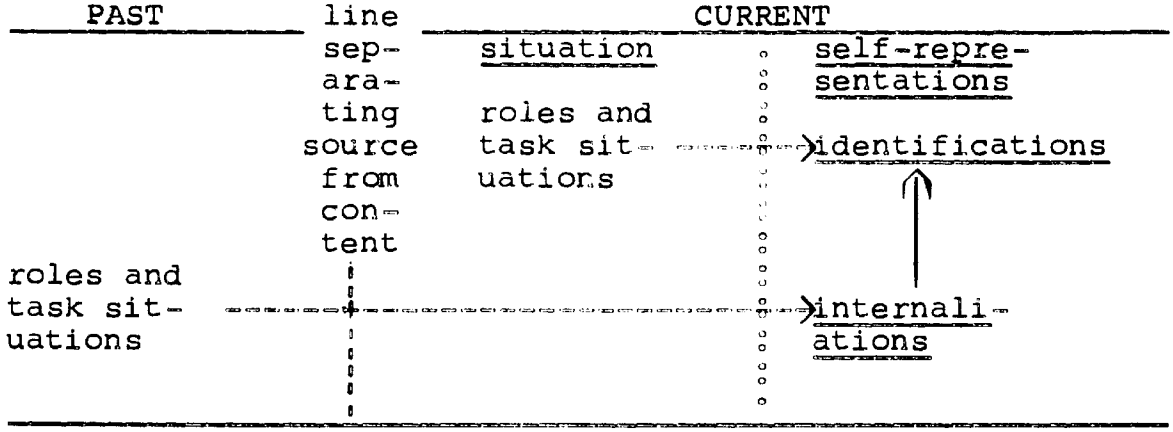


Figure 1. Determinants of identification.

[13]This varies in the degree to which the later content is isomorphic with the earlier; or the degree to which there is a one-to-one, many-to-one, or one-to-many relationship between the later internalization and the earlier identification.

Membership, Binding-in, and Identification

At this point, we can review what we have discussed. 'Identification' has been placed in the context of a very general theoretical framework which emphasizes both the ways in which the individual represents the world to himself and others, and the relationship of this to current role participations. In the following chapter, there will be a consideration of 'identification' as the term has been applied to organizational research. Then we will move into a discussion of the problem which serves as the focal point for the empirical investigation outlined in later chapters, the correlates of the 'degree to which a functional unit is integrated into the larger organization.' The discussion at the individual level will serve as the basis for analysis at the level of groups, not by analogy nor by generalization, but by virtue of supplying the filler to certain psychological assumptions necessary for more sociological analysis. Before moving ahead, then, we will look more closely at the more general issue of 'binding-in.'

In a very general sense, the term 'binding-in,' as discussed by Morse and Reimer (1956), and used here, has to do with the ways in which an individual is maintained as a member in an organization. In discussing the problem of how individuals are bound into an organization through their membership, at least two general questions arise:

1. First, it is possible to ask what psychological processes mediate 'binding-in,' or what are the psychological correlates to 'binding-in.'
2. Second, one might ask what situational variables are associated with behavioral and attitudinal measures of organizational involvement (specifically, identification) and 'binding-in.'

We will consider these questions in reverse order. There have been a number of different approaches to the question of what situational variables are associated with measures of organizational involvement. These can be classified in terms of four theoretical emphases: (1) social structure; (2) interpersonal patterns; (3) task structure; and (4) 'collective representations.' The shift in emphasis from social structure to interpersonal patterns often reflects a change from an interest in organizational productivity and institutional functioning to an interest in member or worker satisfaction and morale. Discussions of social structure, insofar as this is relevant to the study of large-scale organizations, have tended to begin with some general functionalistic framework (Parsons, 1956), and to move in those terms to a consideration of organizational goals and related processes (Blau and Scott, 1962). Some of the processes which have been investigated from this point of view involve decision strategies (Thompson and Tuden, 1959), control (Etzioni, 1961; Tannenbaum and

Kahn, 1958), and communication (Sills, 1957; Smith and Brown, 1964). The point is that these processes provide situational constraints on member involvement and binding-in (Morse and Reimer, 1956). Tannenbaum and Smith have presented evidence consistent with the view that the actual facts of such structures and processes, in their case the structure of control, are related to certain aspects of member involvement even apart from the way in which the structure is perceived (Tannenbaum and Smith, 1963).

The study of interpersonal patterns as situational constraints finds its most eloquent expression in the work of Rensis Likert (Likert, 1961), although there is a long history of studies from the point of view of 'human relations.' The gist of this literature is that peer patterns and leader-subordinate patterns are related to individual functioning in large organizations, and that the most successful patterns involve open communication, reciprocal influence, participation in decisions, and individual supportiveness. Here again the situational factor is a social one. However, it is through visible participation on the face-to-face scene which is at issue rather than a more abstract participation in a large and complex role system in which patterns are built up over time and not associated with an easily identifiable or changeable source.

The structure of the task situation (cf. Tannenbaum and Allport; French and Sherwood, 1963) is thought to have to do with involvement through the mediation of various psychological processes such as 'self-actualization' and feelings of

achievement. Individuals are, in part, bound into the organization through their participation in a task system which is not fatiguing (cf. Viteles, 1932), which provides opportunities for individual closure (Tannenbaum and Allport, 1956), and which permits the maximization of important values related to the self (French and Sherwood, 1963; Katz, 1964). While in the earlier literature the discussion of task structure had to do largely with its physical and psychopathological effects (Viteles, 1932), recent work has emphasized the relationship between the organization of work in a task structure and variables related to individuality and satisfactions (Katz, 1964).

The use of the term 'collective representations' (Durkheim, 1927) in this context reflects the fact that the last few decades have seen an increased concern for latent structure, informal organization, shared values and expectations, and the like. The mention of this at the present time is simply designed to indicate that specific values and norms, shared to various degrees, must be considered a part of the study of situational variables. The success of a specific social structure, interpersonal pattern, or task structure will depend, in part, on the degree to which it is consistent with the various collective representations both within the confines of the organization at its institutional borders (Parsons, 1956).

It is clear that the structural constraints on involvement

in an organization are in part phenomena of reference to, and membership in, groups. The degree to which an organization or a group can become a reference group for an individual will be related to the degree to which he can be bound into the group or organization. This is because of the fact that the situational constraints operate only on individuals and groups which are subjected to their influence through membership and/or through reference, and because of the fact that the chief characteristic of 'binding-in' as it is being discussed is reference. The basic idea is that individuals will respond to norms generated in the context of groups which operate as comparative and/or nomative reference groups. It might be suggested that the former provides one of the bases for what we have referred to as 'identification.' The reason for this is that identification is seen to be based in part on the opportunities for comparison (cf. Stotland and Hilmer, 1962; and cf. the next chapter) within the confines of a reference-membership group. In a sense, the distinction between comparison reference groups and normative reference groups might be seen as analogous to or subsumed by the distinction between internalization (cf. below) and identification. Normative reference is thought to provide the individual with feelings of 'oughtness', and ordinarily in discussions of this one is led to believe that the source, or group context, tends to recede into the background, while the individual responds directly to the

norms or content as if they were part of his internalized set of values. Comparative reference, on the other hand, has force only insofar as the individual relates as a member or anticipatory member to the group as such. In this sense there is a resemblance between the notion of comparative reference group and identification.

It is also clear that for a group or organization to become a reference group for an individual, norms, models, and opportunities, must be visible. Since this is more difficult in large organizations (cf. Indik, 1961), we will be led to the hypothesis later that where the small peer group becomes a reference group of this sort, the opportunities, models, and norms of that will tend to overshadow and replace those of the larger organization. For instance, in a college, one would expect strongly cohesive fraternities to be inimical to the development of identification with the larger college social context. Analogously, we will expect strong cohesiveness of work groups to be inimical to the integration (normatively speaking) of such groups into the larger organization. This does not mean that conflict flows from such a result. It simply means that organizations can command loyalties under such circumstances only by a viable appeal to the group in which the individual is a member. This is consistent with the pluralist ideal in the mass society literature (cf. Kornhauser, 1959).[14]

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[14]As Schachter and his co-workers suggest (Schacter et al., 1951), 'cohesiveness' is an important concept for

If we consider cohesiveness in its most general sense

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understanding "the key group phenomena of membership continuity--the 'cement' binding together group members and maintaining their relationships to one another... 'cohesiveness' has been defined variously as referring to morale, 'sticking togetherness,' productivity, power, task involvement, feelings of belongingness, shared understanding of roles, and good teamwork" (p. 152). More generally, Festinger, Schachter and Back define 'cohesiveness' as the average resultant force, directed toward the group, acting on members (Festinger, Schachter, Back, 1950). As we will see, it is possible to argue that the problem of social order and integration takes this form at the level of small group research. As far as the comparative analysis of organizations is concerned, the literature (cf. R. L. French, 1951) has tended to emphasize the relationship between cohesiveness and productivity. However, as Schachter et al. (1951) and Etzioni (1961) suggest, and is supported in general by research of Seashore (1954) and others, this relationship depends on the specific norms of the highly cohesive group. Thus, if these norms are directed toward increased productivity, the cohesiveness accounting for the strength of the direction, the members will increase their effort; but if these norms are not so directed, then the reverse will be the case (cf. Etzioni, 1961, chap. VIII). It is this fact that will permit us to predict that high group cohesiveness will be empirically negatively related to the degree to which the group as a functional unit is integrated into the larger organization. The point is that peer cohesion operates to affect the orientation of individuals toward the norms of the group. Etzioni has distinguished peer cohesion from hierarchical cohesion (across organizational ranks), and argues that hierarchical cohesion "may, if the high-ranking personnel are committed to organizational norms, be directly related to lower participants' positive involvement in the organization" (1961, p. 196). This is supported in turn by Likert's notion of a 'linking pin' as an incident of hierarchical cohesion (1961). In any study of organizations, the cohesiveness of peer groups and hierarchical cohesion must be distinguished from peer cohesion, or what Etzioni calls rank cohesion. Thus, one might expect that, depending on the type of organization, for instance whether voluntary or non-voluntary, rank cohesion would be related to productivity or satisfaction. In a voluntary association, one expects strong norms in the direction of productivity at the outset, and thus high rank cohesion should be related to high productivity. However, in non-voluntary organizations, especially those with highly alienative compliance structures in Etzioni's sense, this would not necessarily be the case. All of this should be distinguished from organizational integration which depends on the degree to which functional units are integrated (normatively) into the larger organization rather than individual involvement in the larger organization (cf. later chapters).

as the average resultant force directed toward the group, acting on members (Festinger, Schachter, and Back, 1950) then, the more cohesive the group or organization, the more likely an individual is to define or represent himself in terms of his membership in that group or organization, and the more likely are groups or functional units to generate norms and pressures relevant to the definition of membership. Thus, identification is one kind of force which goes into the making of cohesiveness. And cohesiveness derived from any force tends to produce conditions supportive of identification (cf. Tolman, 1943).

Moving more into a consideration of the first of the two general questions raised earlier, we find that the discussion of the psychology of identification (insofar as it is relevant to the problem of identification within the context of an organization) has two major thrusts. On the one hand, there has been discussion of the specific motive bases for identification (cf. Kelman, 1958); on the other hand, there has been discussion of the details of the process itself including the conditions for successful identification (cf. Stotland et al., 1961, 1962; Kagan, 1958; Kelman, 1958; Argyris, 1957). While these will serve as the basic issues of the following chapter, before moving into them specifically, it is necessary to make a distinction which is fundamental to the remainder of this paper. In line with the modern developments in organizational

research (cf. Likert, 1961; and cf. March and Simon, 1958), Katz has emphasized that there are a number of different types of rewards and gratifications offered through membership, and a number of different motivational bases of membership (Katz, 1964). I will use, in the argument following, a simple dichotomy to classify these types of gratifications or motivational bases. Rewards or incentives can be pragmatic, or they can be symbolic; consequently, I will refer to classes of motives (cf. Atkinson, 1958) for which incentive values are of the former sort, 'pragmatic motives,' and those for which incentive values are of the latter sort, 'symbolic motives.' As we will see, pragmatic rewards have to do with values which come to the individual by virtue of his participation in the particular organization or social entity when participation in this organization or entity is seen as a means to the obtaining of some resource important to the person but extrinsic to participation as such. Symbolic rewards involve values which redound to the individual by virtue of his participation in an organization or social entity simply because that organization embodies, or his membership embodies, certain values which are important to the individual as such and the way in which he defines or represents himself. Enhanced self-esteem and the feeling of accomplishment are examples of symbolic rewards for which participation in a social organization is itself highly valued.

This distinction can be made operational, although the carrying-through of this operationalization and an analysis of its implications will not be a task for the present paper. The operationalization might be specified in terms of a theory of behavior developed by Atkinson and his co-workers (1958), and consistent with work of Lewin, Tolman, and the decision theorists (cf. Atkinson, 1958; Lewin, Dembo et al., 1944; Tolman, 1943) whereby the tendency to perform some act is a multiplicative function of motive, expectancy, and incentive (Atkinson, 1958). 'Motive' as used in this theory refers to a relatively stable and enduring personality attribute; 'expectancy' refers to the subjective probability of an act leading to a consequence; and 'incentive' refers to a specific value which contributes to some degree to the satisfaction of motives. This theory differs from the ordinary Hullian models primarily in its specification of 'motive' as a relatively specific energizer, and in the opportunities it offers for measurement and manipulation of such a variable. As the theory has developed, there is one class of motives for which incentive and expectancy are relatively independent, and one class for which incentive and expectancy are relatively dependent one on the other. For instance, the value of food depends less on the likelihood that food can be obtained than does the value of achievement on the likelihood that success at a

task can be attained. Analogously, it might be possible to argue that one important difference between individuals is the degree to which value and satisfaction is an independent determinant of behavior, or a determinant of behavior which itself depends on the likelihood of attainment. Regardless of that speculation, the attempt here is to establish a relative difference between two classes of motives such that one class predicts to behavior only if incentives depend in part on expectancy of attainment, and the other class predicts to behavior only in terms of the available incentives and expectancies taken relatively independently.

Katz and Kahn have discussed the relative advantages and disadvantages of the application of these rewards across a system, to specific individuals, and in terms of some differentiation between subsystems or strata (cf. Katz and Kahn, 1964). While that analysis is most apt to a consideration of pragmatic rewards, there is some application to the problem of symbolic rewards as well. For instance, symbolic rewards at the system level probably appeal to individuals at the level of ideological involvement, and as such are acknowledged rather than experienced. Tannenbaum and Smith have suggested that this is not a sufficient base for binding-in to the organization, in and of itself (1963).

Symbolic rewards are usually experienced at the level

of individual involvement in tasks or in groups and require for their experience certain characteristics of the task or group (e.g., group cohesiveness, or the possibility of important points of closure in a task setting). They include expressive rewards, effects of praise and feelings of accomplishment, and over-all feelings of self-actualization, fragmented though these feelings may be. There is also a literature (cf. Cartwright and Zander, 1960) dealing with symbolic rewards at the group or interpersonal level. Much of this deals with the relationship between individual and group rewards, and since, as a practical matter, it is difficult to have a pragmatic reward which is truly a group reward (and not simply to the benefit specifically of one or more of the members as individuals), the manipulations have often involved symbolic rewards such as group praise, group prizes, and the like. It is important to remember that group rewards are meant to enhance that characteristic of the group to which the individual is attracted; and therefore for the symbolic reward to redound to the members, some change in the value of the group as such must be accomplished.

Seashore has suggested the possibility that when the larger organization is seen as supplying something in a way of symbolic reward in the form, for instance, of supportiveness to highly cohesive groups, these groups tend to generate norms which are consistent with the goals

of the organizational hierarchy and pressures which are consistent with good performance, (1954). While the Seashore study provided no strong evidence for this suggestion, except by way of statistical trends, it generated a good deal of thought and analysis, some of which should be reflected in the present study. Before concluding this chapter, it is necessary to reiterate the fact that we are not arguing that group rewards do not redound to the individual members, but that they reflect something done to the group such that participation in it is rewarding to the members either symbolically or pragmatically.

In the next chapter, we will discuss the specifics of 'identification' and indicate its relationship to some of the more general matters developed in the present chapter.

CHAPTER III

IDENTIFICATION

In this chapter, we will discuss the particulars of 'identification' and attempt to describe in more detail some of the approaches to the problem that have been taken in the past. This material will serve as the substratum for the sociological considerations to follow. In the following chapter, we will discuss the problem of integration and its relationship to our conceptualization of 'identification.' From the material developed in that chapter some hypotheses will be derived, the tests of which will constitute the remainder of this paper.

The failure to deal adequately with the empirical concomitants of 'identification,' and the failure to specify more adequately to what it refers, where it stands in theory, and how it might be used in a scientific context, depends on several things. First, there has been a tendency to deal with the concept of 'identification' from the point of view of a relatively closed theory, that of psychoanalysis. This tends to limit the kind of criticism available, and one finds discussion restricted to such issues as whether identification is to be thought of in developmental terms, or in terms of defences and coping behavior (Mowrer, 1950). Extensions of the theory of identification have had to work through the psychoanalytic development of the term and have had difficulty focusing

on a relevant empirical domain. For instance, the Freudian point of view was that identification must refer to the result of anxieties surrounding the oedipal situation. In later life, when circumstances are similar for the individual to those of the oedipal situation, his responses will be dictated largely (or constrained largely) by the extent to which he had previously identified successfully with one or the other of his parents, and the nature of that original process.

Second, and more generally, Kagan has pointed to the fact that the term 'identification' has been used to refer to three different sets of variables, and a failure to make this explicit has resulted in certain confusions (Kagan, 1958). These three are the process of identification, the content for different individuals of the behavior, motives, and attitudes resulting from the identification process, and the different effects of "various models that are used during the identification process" (Kagan, 1958, p. 297).

The third thing which has limited or qualified the use of the term 'identification' involves a failure to define 'response' or 'behavior.' While this failure is reflected in a great deal of the recent work on the more complex aspects of learning theory (Lawrence and Festinger, 1962), it poses an equally critical stumbling block in the application of the term 'identification' to an empirical domain. When one assumes that a single bar press is a

response, then the problem of explaining such problems as the increased resistance to extinction under conditions of partial or blocked reinforcement becomes virtually insoluble. However, it may be possible to define the response in terms of a coherent sequence. Under these conditions, it can be argued that it is a series of bar presses which constitutes the response.

This is also a problem in discussing 'identification.' Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (Sears et al., 1957), have considered some aspects of development in terms of 'role practice.' This notion suggests that one might consider responses as varying along a number of dimensions, one of which might be 'complexity.' Thus, a failure to be rewarded for a specific imitative act, or a punishment for a specific imitative act, will not affect profoundly the general pattern of behavior called 'role practice' because it is more complex, experienced by the child as a total response, and it is that complex set of behaviors which is subject to enhancement, inhibition, or extinction. Identification involves just such a complex relationship between environmental supports and reinforcement, and role participation or practice.

Finally, the use of the term has been restricted by different theoretical interests. The study of identification has generally been placed in three different contexts and its use has served different purposes. First,

the study of personality development has attempted to pinpoint historical causes of present behavior. Second, there have been attempts to consider situational determinants of elementary social behavior. And finally there have been attempts to consider the more general problem of commitment to social systems (Etzioni, 1961). In attempting to delineate the concept of identification in the context of the present study, I will deal primarily with the latter two. In each case, particular motivation is important to the understanding of identification, as are particular aspects of the situation as perceived and experienced by the individual. For instance, in the first case mentioned above, identification is accounted for through the assumption that a present situation is analogous in general form to a past set of circumstances or pattern. In the second case, the visibility of co-participants and their expectations and acts is critical. And in the third case, certain structural components of the organization and organizational participation are thought to provide a determining framework through which identifications are formed.

As we will see, apart from the points mentioned above, in order to discuss identification as one aspect of binding-in, several things must be specified:

1. the object of orientation, the specific event or circumstance which commands the goals or values to be attained,

the conditions of gratification. This might be a task, person, group, or large social system, and it might vary along such dimensions as degree of abstractness (Harvey et al., 1961), distance from the orienting or identifying person (Peak, 1958), and/or accessibility (Merton, 1957).

2. the specific class of motives activated in the situation whether these are symbolic or pragmatic, as defined in the preceding chapter.

3. the facilities available for the fulfillment of the above motives through participation with or within the object of orientation. These might be task opportunities, interpersonal supports, or social structural facilities. The point is that these facilities must related to participation or membership.

4. the kind of response which is supported by these facilities and its characteristics, whether behavioral, attitudinal, specific, diffuse, long-term, short-term, verbal, instrumental, etc.

5. perceptions and experiences relating to the fulfillment of the relevant motives through facilities relating to membership or participation.

The Concept of 'Identification' in Organizational Research

The use of the concept of 'identification' in organizational research and theory is one evidence of the shift from the machine view of organizations to the more general systems approach (cf. Katz and Kahn, 1964; March and

Simon, 1958). Early work from the point of view of the social psychology of human relations (Likert, 1961), tended to emphasize the fact that workers are involved in a complex social situation which has some meaning for and relevance to their self definition. Specifically, it is participation in highly cohesive face-to-face groups, primary groups, which is the format of involvement with the larger organization.

The assumption was that workers tended to 'identify' with either a group, or, to avoid possible metaphysical conundra, the individual members of a group, and in so doing took on a set of goals toward which they would work. Furthermore, insofar as these goals were consistent with the goals of the larger organization, organizational efficiency in production would be enhanced. Thus, it was argued, that by increasing worker identification withand attraction to the primary work group, there would be, all things equal, an increased identification with the larger organization, and a consequent enhancement of performance. Furthermore, later research indicated that this process would depend in part on the degree to which the work group was cohesive or not, and in part on the degree to which the organizational image was seen by the workers as supportive or not (Seashore, 1954). The rub is that all things are not equal, and it became clear that identification with small peer groups often was exclusive of

identification with the larger organization. Likert suggests a clue in this regard. Insofar as the highly cohesive group is linked structurally to the larger organization (Likert, 1961), the effects of group identification and cohesiveness will be positive. As we will see, this has important implications for the variable which will be the subject of the empirical analysis to appear later, 'the degree to which the functional unit is integrated into the organization,' as well as implications for the study of identification.

Clearly, as Whyte has pointed out (Whyte, 1956), there are many ways in which organizations can insure sufficient involvement on the part of workers to maintain a favorable balance of trade. The distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic rewards apart from the specific work group involvement of the worker serves to emphasize that fact, as does the discussion by French and Raven of the effects of different bases of power on the degree to which performance will be independent of specific agents of control (French and Raven, 1959). It is therefore necessary to consider more carefully the dimensions of worker involvement in an organization.

It is also clear that one can look at the problem of involvement in terms of what it takes to get the job done. For instance, it may well be that job performance in the upper range of the occupational hierarchy depends on the

degree to which job or organization goals are internalized whereas performance at the lower levels is dependent on less internalized processes. That is, where performance is motivated by a desire for increased self-esteem, satisfaction with performance as such, or a sense of achievement (Atkinson, 1958), that performance will depend primarily on the degree to which the situation permits the expression and gratification of such desires. However, where the nature of the task is such that performance is motivated primarily by a concern for the attainment of ends relatively extrinsic to performance as such, that performance will depend on the degree to which the situation permits the attainment of those extrinsic goals, and other goals will be irrelevant. Presumably, jobs in the middle range of the occupational hierarchy might depend on a kind of involvement which is midway between the above two and which depends on the individual's consideration of his position viz the particular role relationship in which he is currently participating. As we shall see below, Kelman refers to this as 'identification.'

This is all consistent with the often-noticed fact that middle-range people in terms either of a general socio-economic stratification system or a specific occupational scale are highly mobile, tend to anticipate further mobility, and/or perceive their positions as requiring maintenance and advancement. This suggests, tangentially, the hypothesis that lower level jobs depend on motives relevant

to what Kelman (1958) refers to as compliance for minimum performance and what he calls 'identification' for maximum performance; and upper level jobs might depend on identification for adequate performance, and internalization for maximum performance. That is, the worker in the lower-level job will perform adequately from the point of view of the organizational hierarchy if appropriate extrinsic rewards are available, and will perform maximally when he values his participation in the role system itself. From the point of view of the worker, however, it might well be that he can maximize his own goals by a lack of identification. Thus, if his major reason for being in his position relates to the attainment of certain material ends, than under some conditions, identification with the organization might tend to subvert the attainment of those ends. For example, the radical in politics might find his aims redirected and considerably changed by adopting a stance of identification with the larger social system, by being coopted into the system.

At this point, general considerations seem important by way of summary. First, I am assuming that there is a dimension which I have called 'involvement,' along which one can specify levels. For the sake of convenience and workability, it seems fruitful to specify three general levels of involvement, depending on the type of motivational base activated by the situation. We can call these

'compliant involvement,' 'referent involvement,' and 'value involvement.' These are analogous to the three processes Kelman refers to as compliance, identification, and internalization (Kelman, 1958). I have been using the term 'identification' to refer to 'referent involvement.'

Second, we have been looking at this largely from the point of view of the organization as represented by authority figures (whether legitimate in terms of consensus or not). Thus, we have been speaking of what is necessary for adequate performance or accomplishment of organizational goals. From the point of view of the individual worker, however, one might suggest, in line with the sort of analysis posed by Merton (1957), and Seeman (1959), that activity which is simply compliant, or which is motivated by rewards and punishments not intrinsic to performance or accomplishment itself, is anomic (Merton, 1957), or alienative (Etzioni, 1961; Seeman, 1959), in consequence. It is only at the level of referent involvement of 'identification' and above, that the degree of involvement increases and the activity becomes itself salient to the worker. It is here that membership as such becomes an issue for the individual.

One implication of this is that it is not especially fruitful in the context of the study of large-scale organizations as such to consider the concept of identification in terms of a theory of psychological defenses in the

orthodox sense. Nor does it seem fruitful to discuss identification purely in terms of psychological variables. Argyris (1957, p. 43), defines 'identification' as "the desire to be like someone else or to identify with other people's experiences. We have identified with someone when we act in a situation as we feel that person would act. Top management men usually have some subordinates who tend to identify with them." There is, in this definition and the context in which it is presented, a heavy emphasis on the personal need factor. The views presented below also deal with this, but do not neglect the fact that behavior in organizations seems oriented along more realistic lines, both in terms of the physical and social aspects of reality (Festinger et al., 1950). People adopt strategies varying in generality and range, depending on the demands and limits of the situations they face (cf. Miller and Swanson, 1959; Miller et al., 1960).[15]

The current literature on 'identification' has tended to emphasize the modeling aspect of interpersonal behavior. Kagan (1958), states the matter in more abstract terms: "Identification is defined as acquired, cognitive response within a person (S). The content of this response is that some of the attributes, motives, characteristics

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[15]This is somewhat at odds with the theory (cf. March and Simon, 1958), that people do what is expected of them. Rather, I would argue, they do not do what is not expected of them. This is consistent with Linton's early use of the concept 'role' (1945).

and affective states of a model (M) are part of the S's psychological organization. The major implication of this definition is that the S may react to events occurring to M as if they occurred to him." This is consistent with the more general social psychological approach of Ragache (1955). Ragache has looked at the problem in the context of the more social psychological point of view, and has distinguished two social psychological approaches to the study of personality, the macro-sociological in which personality is loosely connected to broad social determinants, and micro-sociological, in which the socialization of behavior and personality is a continuing process of adjustment to groups with which the individual is in more or less direct contact. This is similar to a distinction made earlier in this chapter. Identification is seen as an interpersonal relationship, and must be studied by looking at the interdependence of social roles.

Some of the important factors relating to this interdependence have been mentioned by Stoke (1950): the nature of impulses, various social pressures, affection from the identificand, the extent of need gratification, the degree of acquaintance, the clarity of the role of identificand, and the attitude of influential persons toward the identificand, the capacity of the individual to be like the identificand, and certain factors relating to temperament. These are similar to some factors mentioned by Blau (1956). He suggests that identification with an organization is

affected by the degree to which organizational objectives are visible to the individual identifier, the degree to which the individual is 'linked' into the organization by some agent, the degree to which the behavior that the individual must perform is rational, directed at specific and visible closure points, and the degree to which the individual is dependent on the organization in the sense that his security is under constant threat. These references suggest that facts of both personality and social circumstance are critical in describing and predicting identification. Kagan suggests that when we speak of 'identification' we are speaking of a certain kind of modeling behavior; and Ragache, Stokes, and Blau, point to specific social determinants of this behavior.

In all of this it is necessary to remember that the term 'identification' must be distinguished from a whole host of concepts (cf. Sanford, 1955; Kagan, 1958; and Kelman, 1958), such as introjection, closeness, conformity, submissiveness, imitation, fellow feeling, vicarious living, value, and the like. As we have developed the concept, identification will not be thought of as involving personality change in the more permanent sense indicated by Kelman's use of the term 'internalization.' It is likely that many of the concepts mentioned by Sanford would serve as indicators of or correlates to identification. Thus, Roach (1958), found a number of situational factors which played a part in employee morale. While he did find a

general bias factor, he also found factors relating to general attitude toward supervision, satisfaction with job standards, consideration of supervisor, and so forth. We will find that our measure of identification will not be analyzable in these terms. Roach's measurements of 'morale' went beyond that simple concept into the area we are calling 'identification,' but still remained quite distinct. The 'pride in company' index was composed of such items as: how do you feel about the company in general; are you proud of the company's product; what do you think of future prospects; how would you describe company as a place to work for a friend seeking employment. These questions tend to emphasize the facts of reference and membership rather than the facts of morale and value as such.[16]

Tolman has also considered identification in terms of group membership (1943). Some of the characteristics which allow a group to evoke identification are: possession by the group of common characteristics which set off the members, distinctive symbols and rituals, a common goal animating the group, a group set-up which capitalizes on and symbolizes early family relationships and structure

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[16]There obviously is some information contained in a study of this sort despite a number of possible objections. For instance, one might argue that the phrasing makes the person think of the company and himself in a way different than he ordinarily does. The making of judgments along scales which supply attitudinal set gives different results than other methods.

(emphasizing, presumably, basic values of the individual), and the existence of common enemies. With regard to this last point, Coch and French (1948), found that real information regarding the competitive nature of the industry they studied had some effect on worker involvement. In line with this social psychological emphasis, Stotland takes (Stotland and Hilmer, 1962; Stotland and Patchen, 1961), a very general view of 'identification.' "When an individual conceives of himself and some other person as having some trait, characteristic, or attribute in common and further conceives of this other person as having some additional trait associated with their common trait, then the first individual will tend to conceive of himself as also possessing the second trait." This is presumably so even when the second trait is only inferred, and even when it possesses no intrinsic value to the identifying person. This theory is "based on a cognitive theory of generalization of similarities" (Stotland and Hilmer, 1962, p. 341), and suggests that identification with an organization can be considered to be identification with members of an organization, and specifically with those aspects of members or a member which are relevant to the model's own membership in the particular organization.

In one sense then the problem is posed in terms of person perception (cf. French and Sherwood, 1963; Tagiuri and Petrullo, 1958), but rather than being the perception of a person in the face-to-face type of situation, it is

the perception of a criterial person, where the criterion is relevant to membership in the formal organization in question. In other words, the trait or traits observed in the first instance must be peculiar to individuals who sign in and are socialized as members of the organization in question. Whether this is an average, ideal, or mode, depends on the character of the information going to make up the definition of the criterion, and the information available for knowing the criterial member. The more concrete and available the information through actual encounters, the more likely this will be the modal member; if the information goes through some process of filtering (e.g., in a company newspaper), then the ideal or average will be relevant.[17]

Further, this all indicates that there are conditions which are at least necessary, and presumed sufficient, to the development of the requisite perceptions and behaviors for identification. Thus, it would follow that if the similarity observed is relevant to membership in some other formal organization (such as a union or professional society, or even a highly cohesive peer group) there would be little chance for identification with the organization in question,

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[17]Clearly the trait or traits will possess varying degrees of generality and varying ranges. Thus, they will be more or less related to overt, observable behavior. The trait observed must be related to specific ways of behaving rather than simply value orientations or professed loyalties for identification to be operative. We will see the justification for this a little later.

especially if identification with the one is seen as at all inconsistent with identification with the other (cf. previous chapter). It seems then that perception, motives, and opportunities are involved in identification with an organization, and for identification in fact to occur, the organization must provide conditions suitable to its development.

For identification to occur within the context of a formal organization, individuals must observe both themselves and others as operating within a social structure of a particular sort, at several levels, and their perception must be at least somewhat veridical (cf. Brunswik, 1956; Tannenbaum and Smith, 1963; Jackson, 1959; Allport, 1955). The structure must also provide stimuli for the arousal of appropriate motives and conditions suitable for their fulfillment. Obstacles either to observation, activity, or to comparison will prevent this. If, then, the relevant aspects of organization structure are those relating to performance and observation, and those relating to the arousal of certain motives of the individuals involved, then Kelman's suggestions become salient. By setting his view of identification in the context of a theory of influence, he emphasizes the fact that identification arises within the context of a relationship, and is the result of activity on the part of at least two parties, the identificand and the identifier, whether the identificand be concrete or abstract (e.g., criterial member or an actual

associate). Furthermore, the motivational bases for identification are made clearer. "Identification can be said to occur when an individual adopts behavior derived from another person or group because this behavior is associated with a satisfying self-defining relationship to this person or group. By a self-defininig relationship I mean a role relationship that forms a part of the person's self-image. Accepting influence through identification, then, is a way of establishing or maintaining the desired relationship to the other, and the self-definition that is anchored in this relationship" (Kelman, 1958). Thus, he emphasizes the bases of the relationship, or the motives activated, the fact that performance and performance requirements are involved, and implicitly, some social structure which legitimizes roles. In a way, this is to emphasize the result of what I am calling 'identification,' in that it specifies the type of appeal one person can make to the other, given that identification has occurred--given that there is in fact a relationship which, because of the facilities it provides, is a self-defining one.

Kelman has also indicated that "to maintain his self-definition as a group member, an individual, typically, has to model his behavior along particular lines and has to meet the expectations of his fellow-members" (Kelman, 1958). This notion of modeling is consistent with the previously discussed ideas of Stotland and Kagan. The limitation of Kelman's model as a description of

identification with an organization is that it is, as noted above, a discussion of a process which can only occur after what I am calling identification has taken place. That is, through the fact of an individual's participation in an already self-defining relationship, he is susceptible to influence appeals through the process Kelman refers to as 'identification.' Furthermore, Kelman has described an elementary social relationship, that between an agent or influencer, and an actor or influencee, whereas we are interested in the relationship between an individual and a criterial member of some sort (and of varying degrees of abstractness), where the relationship involves the individual's participation in some larger social system, group, or organization.[18]

What is helpful about Kelman's model for our purposes is that 'identification' is defined in terms which are workable for the study of organizations. It emphasizes motivation and behavior; and through the notion of modeling, it suggests that facilities and the type of context in which identification takes place are important. Not only has Kelman provided us with a working definition, but he has distinguished identification from other processes and

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[18]As we will see, this is not simply a problem relating to affiliative motives because those motives are not, strictly speaking, tied directly to self-definition. Affiliation is the way one adheres to a relationship, but what we are interested in are motives which are aroused through a relationship, in which the facilities for satisfaction are dependent on the relationship, and the results of which are tied directly to individual self-definition.

sources of self-definition as well as from other aspects of involvement and binding-in. Thus, "identification is similar to compliance in that the individual does not adopt the induced behavior because its content per se is intrinsically satisfying. Identification differs from compliance, however, in that the individual actually believes in the opinions and actions that he adopts" (Kelman, 1958). We would have to change this somewhat in order to be consistent with the previous formulation. The behavior must be intrinsically self-defining (e.g., as is achievement-oriented behavior), but the fact that certain motives are activated at all depends on the presence within the relationship of certain facilities, some of which relate to role-expectations. This means that we must separate membership, the conditions for the gratification of certain motives and hence of identification, from the behavior which is performed as a member and which in turn leads to identification. Again, we are interested in the identifications which must have occurred for Kelman's influence process labeled 'identification' to occur. "The behavior is accepted both publicly and privately, and its manifestation does not depend on observability by the influencing agent. It does depend, however, on the role that an individual takes at any given moment in time. Only when the appropriate role is activated--i.e., only when the individual is acting within the relationship upon which the identification

is based--will the induced opinions be expressed" (Kelman, 1958). This is consistent with what we are saying, and offers a way of predicting the result of what I have called 'identification.' "The individual is not primarily concerned with pleasing the other, with giving him what he wants (as in compliance), but he is concerned with meeting the other's expectations for his own role performance" (Kelman, 1958), which in our sense means being like a member. "Thus, opinions adopted through identification do remain tied to the external source and dependent on social support. They are not integrated with the individual's value system, but rather tend to be isolated from the rest of his values,--to remain encapsulated" (Kelman, 1958).

The conditions relating to identification can be generalized. These conditions are, simply speaking, three (Kelman, 1958): the motives aroused by the situation, the relationship between the individual or group to be identified with such that that relationship bears on the gratification of certain motives, and the specification of member-type behavior. We are not interested, as is Kelman, in the power of the influencing agent, and the fact that it derives in part from affiliative motives, but in the way in which that power comes to reside in the agent in the first place. This requires that an individual first 'identify' with the social entity represented by the influencing agent. And it is our argument that this

comes about only where certain symbolic motives are aroused by the membership situation, where the opportunities for satisfaction of these motives are contained within the membership situation and attributable to the social entity to which identification pertains (e.g., the large organization, the group, the individual), and where there is a confluence of opportunities for the satisfaction of motives tied to the representation of self, and conditions under which these opportunities occur as an incident to specific and identifiable membership.

From this discussion, it appears necessary, in order to study identification, as defined, to specify a number of different aspects of the situation:

1. attributes of the person, his motives, skills, position, and experiences;
2. aspects of the social and material situation which:
   a. distinguish this relationship from others (e.g., distinguish the relationship with the organization from the relationship with the group), or at least make this relationship a clearly definable one to which orientation is possible;
   b. provide facilities for the gratification of the proper motives;
   c. tie these facilities to the specific relationship in question.

Number 1, the attributes of the person, has to do with the particular class of motives which must be aroused in the

first place for identification to take place (regardless of what other types of involvements take place).[19] We have argued that these are the symbolic motives, especially those related to changes in self-confidence, feelings of achievement, level of aspiration, and so forth. In other words, these motives are those the satisfaction of which in the context of a role relationship will permit changes in the self definition which can be attributed to the role relationship and participation in it. Number 2, aspects of the situation, has to do with the degree to which the individual has access to the specifications of membership in the thing-to-be-identified-with, the organization, the presence or absence of facilities for gratifying the relevant motives, and the establishment of a relative prepotency among possible objects of identification--e.g., the small group versus the large organization.

Several general conclusions follow from this analysis: 1. Identification will be a function of the time spent in a relationship <u>if and only if</u> that time spent were in contact with a suitable situation as defined and under conditions of appropriate (symbolic) motive arousal. Since over time, the circumstances are variable, especially at the lower and middle-range positions, there should be no direct relationship between seniority and identification.

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[19]We do not deny the importance of other aspects of the person, skills, prior practice of taking roles, etc. These are omitted from the discussion for purposes of simplicity in exposition.

2. Where job circumstances are such that they either violate the conditions of motive satisfaction required, or carry obstacles to personal achievement and advancement, there should be a negative relationship between seniority and identification. However, this carries no implication for such variables as general satisfaction. As Festinger has pointed out (Festinger, 1957), the longer a person is in a situation, the more sources of satisfaction he tends to find. This does not mean that he would also tend to define himself in terms of that situation, since self-definition depends on the specific satisfactions enumerated above.

3. Identification will be related, in a way which is different from satisfaction and the degree to which the social entity is valued by the person, to the visibility of membership, the degree to which the person has access to the hierarchy and is linked to the organization structurally.

4. Identification will be related to the degree to which the individual perceives opportunities for motive gratification within the membership situation (symbolic motives).

5. Identification will not be related to the presence of opportunities for the satisfaction of pragmatic motives, nor to the degree to which these motives are present in the person.

6. Identification with the organization will be negatively related to the degree to which there is identification with or involvement with the smaller peer working group and the

degree to which this group is isolated from the organization. Thus, the more cohesive the group and the more task interdependence there is on the job, the less there will be identification with the larger organization.

7. All things equal, the presence of symbolic and pragmatic motives in the person should be negatively related to identification. It is only when they are given direction through the membership situation that they enhance identification.

These are some of the conclusions which follow from our conceptualization of identification. The list is not meant to be an exhaustive set of hypotheses, nor is it meant to claim clear operationalizability. In the following chapter, we will look at the implications of our discussion of identification for the study of the degree to which functional units are integrated into the larger organization. That chapter will be characterized by an introduction to the general problem, and an outline of some general hypotheses. The subsequent chapters will deal with the tests of specific hypotheses.

CHAPTER IV

IDENTIFICATION, COHESIVENESS, AND INTEGRATION

In the present chapter we will look at the concept of cohesiveness, and its relationship to individual identification and organizational integration. This chapter stems from the recognition that much of the literature on identification, especially that which comes from the human relations approach to behavior in organizations, assumes that an important mediator of identification with an organization is the cohesive work group.

The use of the term 'cohesiveness' has had a tortured history. Part of the problem stems from a failure to define adequately the question that gives rise to its consideration. If, as Cartwright and Zander allege, this question relates to the 'groupness'(1960, p. 69), of groups or the degree of intimacy characteristic of group members' participation, then the term must be defined in such a way as to highlight factors related to that. A general definition such as that offered by Festinger and his co-workers (Festinger et al., 1950), that cohesiveness is the average resultant force directed toward the group, acting on members, is not responsive to that question in that it affords the possibility that a group could be cohesive without being intimate, or that it could be cohesive with a high degree of intragroup alienation among the members. If, however, the question relates to the more general problem of social order (Etzioni, 1961), and if

this problem has both functional and normative aspects, then the general definition can serve, and it becomes possible to look at the social concomitants of different bases of cohesiveness. Furthermore, it becomes possible to look at the kinds of motives or forces which direct individuals toward the group and by analogy, the organization.

Moving now into a consideration of large organizations, let us consider Etzioni's version (Etzioni, 1961, chap. VIII). He has taken as his solution to the problem of order, or at least a partial solution, the compliance structure of organizations. Compliance is the "organizational equivalent of social order" (p. xviii). He examines two aspects of organizational cohesion relevant to this:

1. "Peer-group cohesion is not a factor which determines the direction of involvement of lower participants in the organization" (p. 175). This is consistent with evidence on the relation between cohesion and productivity (Seashore, 1954).

2. "It is valid, to the best of our knowledge, to say that the more peer cohesive a small group, the more uniform the behavior of its members. But <u>it does not follow</u> that the more peer-cohesive an organizational rank, the more uniform the behavior of the rank members" (p. 190). This depends on the definition of 'peer-cohesive' for organizations. He offers two alternatives:

a. A comparison of peer-cohesion in two organizations might depend on a comparison of the average peer-cohesion of a group in one organization to that of a group in another organization; or

b. such a comparison may involve comparing peer cohesion of the whole rank in one organization with that of another.

But it is possible to argue that rank cohesion in the second sense does not do what we want the definition to do. It does not sufficiently describe order in large organizations because it assumes that individuals are the objects to be integrated into the organization, and uniformity of individuals is not as such the issue for organizational functioning. What one is interested in is uniformity with respect to the behavior of functional units or groups, in terms of organizational structures and processes--patterns of function--not individual behavior. In these terms, groups and organizational sub-units are the minimal functional units, and not individuals. As to the first of Etzioni's two alternatives, clearly, as he admits (p. 191), we are not, as such, interested in group cohesion as directly related to organizational functioning and order, but with group cohesion <u>to</u> the organization in question. He notes that "when groups of lower participants become more cohesive, without an independent increase in rank cohesion, uniformity within each group increases, but differences between groups in the same rank <u>vary independently</u>" (p. 191). Clearly, what is

important is organizational cohesion in the sense of integration of functional units. But 'rank cohesion' is not the most important factor in this. Rather, what is important is the way in which functional units are integrated into the organization. Thus, the important interaction is between organization and group, not organization and individual, and it is structural linkage which provides the major support.

Note that when within-group cohesion is low, the problem shifts--a way of integrating individuals into the organization is needed, a far more difficult administrative problem with well-documented disfunctions (cf. March and Simon, 1958). As Etzioni recognizes (p. 191-2), some way of providing highly cohesive groups with reasons to support organizational norms must be found. This presumably must preserve the cohesion and integrity of the group, while at the same time providing means whereby group membership becomes consistent with organizational goals and relevant to membership in the larger organization.

From this point of view, organizational integration can be defined in terms of the degree to which functional units respond to more general organizational goals, and this will depend in part on the degree to which membership in the unit is seen to be consistent with and/or dependent on, membership in the organization.

Thus, I am arguing that the particular kind of attractiveness at the small group level which should define cohesion

is that which is consistent with the prior analysis of 'identification,' in terms of the specific facts of membership and self-definition; further, I am suggesting that the normative integration of the organization should depend on group scores on a measure of identification with the organization. This will indicate the degree of, and will define, the integration of the organization. In a comparative analysis, one could compare organizations with respect to their relative degrees of integration; and within a given organization we expect groups or units to differ in terms of their integration into the larger organization. This will be indicated by differences in group scores on a measure of identification, and will be called 'unit integration.'

To state all of this more formally:

1. The degree to which an organization is normatively integrated depends on the degree to which its component functional units respond to more general organizational goals.

2. One way in which normative integration is attained is through the adoption by members of the functional units of attributes of organizational membership as part of their representations of themselves.

3. This in turn, can be measured by group scores on an index of identification.

4. The group score on identification with the organization for functional units will be a measure of the degree to which the group is integrated into the organization (unit integration).

5. This integration will affect the relationship between group norms and goals established at the level of the functional unit, and organizational goals. Therefore, in Seashore's analysis of highly cohesive groups, we would argue that the highly cohesive group which is integrated into the organization will be highly productive because one of the aspects of membership in an organization which might be important to self-definition involves productivity, or conformity to ends and means related to organizational performance.[20]

6. Thus, there should be three sorts of variables contributing to unit integration, as measured by group scores on an index of identification (cf. Figure 2):

a. social structural conditions, formal and informal;

b. characteristics of the members of the functional unit (demographic characteristics);

c. the relationship of the organization to its environment (e.g. external pressures), or the degree to which a group has members whose loyalties are divided.

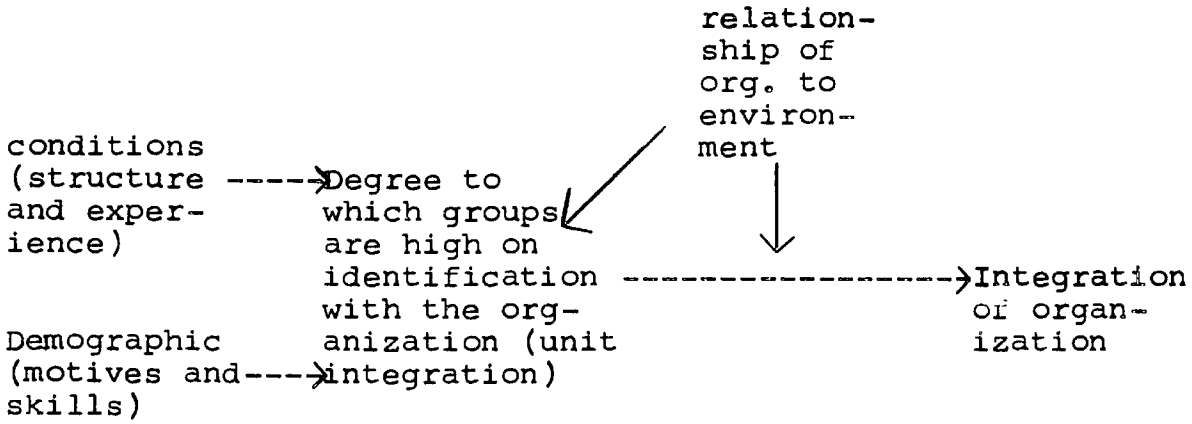


Figure 2. Unit integration and related variables.

[20]This points to the structural basis for productivity rather than socio-emotional ones--members feeling that the organization is or is not hostile. Likert's "linking pin" idea is another attempt at structural analysis (1961).

Thus, units will be highly integrated into an organization if and only if the conditions are suited to the characteristics of the members, and if and only if the organization is seen as the agent making these suitable; and this relationship will be affected in a complicated way by facts of multiple group membership and divided loyalties.[21]

In summary, definitions of cohesiveness in terms of sociometric attractiveness, common goals or fate, and common prestige do not account for the cohesiveness of a large organization. We need not only to consider how the individual fits into the group through the particular forces acting on him, but how the group fits into the larger organization. We have called this latter 'unit integration' and have argued that unit integration depends on the relationship between certain conditions of organizational life (structures and processes) and certain characteristics of the individual members of the functional unit.

The following chapters present an analysis of data in terms of group means which can be looked at in two ways. On the one hand, it can be considered as a study of individual identification with the organization. In this sense, the conclusions will take the form, '<u>individuals in functional units of the organization will, on the average, tend to</u>

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[21]Thus, a group highly integrated into the organization may, because of certain demographic factors, be divided in loyalty. If so, then the degree to which the group is integrated into the company will have depended on the relationship between the company and the external agent (e.g., the union, or professional society), and the degree to which the company is seen as the major agent by which conditions are suited to member characteristics, to the exclusion of government, other companies, or external agencies in general (e.g., union).

identify with the organization under certain conditions, and not under other conditions.' This is so because the correlations of group means give only indirect information about the functioning of individuals as such (Bachman, Smith, Schlesinger, 1964, p. 4). They "provide little information as to the structure of organizational factors as they affect members (p. 4)." On the other hand, it can be considered in terms of its implications for the functioning of groups and organizations. In this sense, the conclusions will take the form, 'the integration of functional units into an organization ('unit integration') will tend to be enhanced by certain group and organizational properties and not by others.'

CHAPTER V

THE SITE, SAMPLE, AND QUESTIONNAIRE

In this chapter, we begin the presentation of an empirical analysis of some of the variables discussed previously. First, we will describe the site and sample and the administration of the questionnaire. In the chapter immediately following, the major dependent variable will be discussed preparatory to testing a set of hypotheses.

The present study was done in five geographically separate units of the Tennessee Valley Authority. TVA is a semi-autonomous part of the United States Government devoted to overall development of the Tennessee Valley through electric power production, flood control, agricultural improvement, and other services. The larger organizational sites included were:

1. Division of Design at Knoxville, Tennessee.
2. Division of Power Planning and Engineering at Chattanooga, Tennessee.
3. Gallatin Steam Plant at Gallatin, Tennessee.
4. John Sevier Steam Plant at Rogersville, Tennessee.
5. Johnsonville Steam Plant at Johnsonville, Tennessee.

Description of Units

TVA Division of Design: This division produces the blueprints for the major new construction jobs of TVA--steam plants, dams, and the like. The division employs about six hundred persons--most of them civil, mechanical, and electrical engineers. Other occupations represented include architects and draftsmen. The work is relatively

specialized--according to the type of installation and the aspect of construction being planned. For example, within the electrical design branch, there are units which specialize in steam plant switchboard design and in hydro plant conduit and grounding design.

Basic work units are fairly small--groups of two to twenty men, with the average about nine men. There is considerable communication among men in different units working on complementary parts of a structure and some shifting of men across units from time to time. The division works under demanding time deadlines.

TVA Division of Power Planning and Engineering: Whereas the Division of Design plans major installations like a steam plant, this division designs facilities which carry the power, including transmission lines and sub-stations. Of five branches or subunits in the division, two are concerned primarily with future planning, rather than with designs for immediate construction. The occupations and the work organization in this division are generally similar to that described for the Division of Design. The two divisions are, however, administratively separate. The Division of Power Planning employs about three hundred persons.

Steam Plants: The three steam plants studied are part of a complex of fifteen TVA steam plants. They produce electricity by converting coal to steam, which powers giant electric generators. Each plant has an almost identical technology and administrative structure. The operating

section of each plant is responsible for checking and guiding the operation of a largely automated complex of equipment. The work of the operators and their assistants centers around control rooms where a set of dials, lights, and other indicators shows the conditions of various parts of the plant. The job of the mechanical and electrical maintenance sections is to maintain and repair the plant's equipment. These sections are composed of machinists, boilermakers, steamfitters, electricians, and other craftsmen. The laboratory section of each plant samples and tests the coal which is brought into the plant as well as doing other analytic and testing work. Each plant operates around the clock. Operating personnel work on rotating shifts. The day-to-day operations of each plant are largely under the control of its superintendent, but the plants are coordinated by a central office in Chattanooga.

Employee-Management Relations

Most employees included in the study are represented by employee organizations. In the engineering divisions, most of the employees are members of the TVA Engineers Association, which acts as a bargaining agent with management. Some employees in the engineering divisions are members of an office workers' union which includes both TVA and non-TVA members. Most of the employees studied in the steam plants are members of international AFL-CIO craft unions, while a few belong to other employee organizations such as the Engineers Association.

Union-management relations at TVA have been, for the most part, amicable. There is, moreover, in each of the sites studied, a conference system whereby once a month employee and management representatives meet to discuss work problems outside of the scope of the formal union contract. In each steam plant, there are two conferences, one for the laboratory employees, and one for the employees in other sections.

Sampling within Sites

Within the Division of Design, approximately half of the non-supervisory employees stationed at Knoxville were asked to take the questionnaire. In the larger work sections (seven persons or more), every other name on the organization personnel list was chosen. In the smaller work sections (six or under), every other section doing similar work was chosen. This method of sampling was adopted in order to ensure that there would be enough employees from every section represented so that mean scores on certain variables could be computed. Of those chosen to take the questionnaire, 95% actually filled it out.

In the Division of Power Planning and Engineering, a smaller division, all non-supervisory employees stationed at Chattanooga were asked to take questionnaires. 98% of those asked filled out questionnaires.

In each steam plant, all non-supervisory employees in the mechanical maintenance, laboratory, and electrical maintenance sections were asked to take the questionnaire.

Those in a portion of the operating section--that portion which is responsible for the actual operation of the equipment--were also included. Persons in that part of the operating section who do work in the yard were omitted. These men are mostly unskilled or semi-skilled, including janitors, heavy equipment operators, and laborers. One reason for their being omitted was that pre-tests indicated that these poorly-schooled men had some trouble understanding the questionnaire. Persons in the administrative section of each steam plant were also omitted from the study. Response rates to the questionnaire were 84% at Gallatin Steam Plant, 87% at John Sevier Steam Plant, and 88% at Johnsonville Steam Plant. Non-respondents included absentees, those on vacations and leaves of absence, and those who missed a questionnaire administration session and then did not mail back the form left for them.

Description of the Research Population: the 'Functional Units'

Within each of the larger sites discussed above were a number of branches or functional units which constitute the sample for the present study, n = 26. Each of these units are described in Appendix I by a title, a listing of the various subsections, and a total n. As will be seen, these units vary as to size, and complexity measured by the number of subsections within each unit. No effort was made in the original sampling to control for, or weight in terms of, unit size. This was partly because of the effort to use the total population of TVA workers (except for the extreme

low participants), and partly due to the fact that inference is to be made to groups (cf. below, the discussion of the use of groups) and not to individuals. The group means used are not taken as typical of individuals within each group, but rather as a characteristic of the group itself. These twenty-six groups are considered suitable for the analysis for several reasons, in addition to their specification in the organization charts:

1. They are functionally interdependent in that their activities must be scheduled with other units' activities in mind, they draw input from other organizational sources, and they deliver output on which other units are dependent for productivity.

2. They are describable in terms of at least one specific organizational function, one sort of operation upon which the functioning of the organization as a whole depends.

3. Each unit or group exhibits division of labor, differentiation and specialization. Thus, they are of sufficient complexity as to constitute a group capable of characterization in terms of patterns of interaction, routines, social structure, and norms.

QUESTIONNAIRE MEASURES

Constructing Items

Prior to the writing of questionnaire items and the construction of indices, informal interviews were conducted with approximately twenty-five supervisory employees and approximately fifty non-supervisory employees in various

parts of TVA. Questions were thus constructed with some knowledge of the job situations of employees in many different types of work, and with some knowledge of what responses were possible to questionnaire items.

Most of the questions were written for the present study and the project for which this data was collected. Some were adapted from items used in previous Survey Research Center studies. The questionnaire items and the indices derived from them to measure each of several aspects of employee reactions to their jobs, and from which group means were computed as characteristics of the functional units, are presented in the section which deals with the definition and operationalization of variables.

Administration of the Questionnaire

Pre-tests: Two pre-tests were conducted at TVA. In each case, employees in one engineering organization and one steam plant were asked to fill out questionnaires. The first pre-test included forty employees; the second covered sixty-six employees. These pre-tests were used to eliminate or revise questions which were inappropriate, misunderstood, or which had a poor 'spread' in response distribution.

A questionnaire nearly identical to that used at TVA was tested with sixty employees of an electronics company located in the mid-western part of the United States. Information obtained in preliminary analyses of this data suggests the applicability of the questionnaire more generally than simply to a study of TVA, and offers some data suitable

for an assessment in a general way of the test-retest reliability of the questionnaire and the constructed indices (cf. below).

Conditions of Questionnaire Administration: Questionnaires were administered at TVA in April, 1962 (and at the electronics company in January, 1963). Employees had, about a week before administration, received individual letters from the University of Michigan staff explaining the purposes and procedures of the study. They were assembled in groups of thirty to seventy. Usually this was during working hours--except for some operating employees in the steam plants who met after or before their work shift, but who were paid for their time. A University of Michigan representative again described the study and answered questions before employees filled out the questionnaires. Management personnel was not present during these sessions.

Employees were assured of the complete confidentiality of their individual answers. They were informed prior to taking the questionnaire that a code number identifying them would be placed on their questionnaires when they were finished. They were assured that these code numbers would be seen only by the University people. With only a few isolated exceptions, the explanation of the code system and its confidentiality seemed to have been accepted.

Mail-back questionnaires--to be completed either at work or at home--were left for the few persons who were unable to attend the group sessions. Most of these were filled out and returned.

RELIABILITY

Test-retest reliability was assessed by re-administering the questionnaire to a group of forty-nine employees of the electronics company. A period of one month separated administrations. The re-administration was explained to respondents in terms of the fact that the second form "is different in many ways from the preliminary form and will also permit us to get some idea of your opinions as of the present moment."

Reliability coefficients were also computed for thirteen groups at the research site at TVA. The size of these groups (persons with the same supervisor) available for test-retest was much smaller (a median of three), than the size of all groups in the study (a median of about six). Also, eight of the thirteen groups available for reliability study came from the same department, which would reduce the amount of variation in scores among groups at any point in time. Because of their special characteristics, the test-retest reliability coefficients shown for these groups are probably an underestimate of the reliability of group scores in our total population of groups, and by analogy, one would expect even stronger coefficients at the level of functional units, defined above (n = 26).

Following is a presentation of the available evidence on test-retest reliability for each of the four component questions of the index (the specifics of the index are discussed later in the section dealing with the measures of major variables) as well as the index as a whole. Since this

is the measure of the major variable at the center of the present study, the reliability coefficients are presented despite the obvious defects involved in describing reliability in such a limited way (cf. below for description of the index itself):

Individual Scores	Electronics Company		TVA*	
	r	N	r	N
Question 1 (choose org. again)	.59	49	.68	32
Question 2 (empl'ee-Mgmt. relats.)	.61	49	No data	-
Question 3 (feel about criticism)	.59**	48	.71	29
Question 4 (describe yourself)	.43	45	.36	29
Total Index (Q 1 through 4)	.61	46	-	-
Group Scores				
Total index (Q 1 through 4)	.56	12	-	-

Figure 3. Test-retest reliability.

These data show test-retest reliability to be lower than desirable at the electronics company, but there are indications, in limited data, of more adequate reliability at TVA. It may be that in the TVA setting where the organization is highly visible and publicized in the community, as well as being somewhat controversial, identification is more crystallized than in the setting of the electronics company.

*Limited data to assess test-retest reliability of these questions were available from the Power Planning and Engineering Division at TVA.

**Response categories for this question at the second administration differed somewhat from response categories at the first adminstration.

The Use of Groups

The use of groups rather than individuals as the research population is consistent with a host of similar studies (cf. Seashore, 1954, p. 35; Tannenbaum and Smith, 1963; cf. Blau, 1957; and cf. Tannenbaum and Bachman, 1964). The special reasons for using these particular groups or functional units in this investigation are, among others:

1. These are functional units in terms of the performance of which organizational functioning is gauged. They are of sufficient size and complexity and relative autonomy that they can be considered as participating units in the larger organization.

2. The major "theoretical concepts refer to groups rather than to individuals even though the operational measures may derive from individuals" (Seashore, 1954, p. 35). The notion of "the degree to which a unit is integrated into the organization" can only refer to groups. Also, the conceptualization of independent variables in terms of social structural conditions and demographic characteristics, suggests analysis at the level of social systems. Related to this is the pecularity of the way the original problem for research was posed. The question has to do with organizational integration, and the degree that this is achieved depends on the accomplishment of certain large patterns; it is assumed that these depend not on the activity of individual performers, but on the coordinated activity of individuals working within a coordinating and

coordinated group. This means that one can begin either with the way individuals are attracted to, brought into, and controlled by groups, or with the way groups are maintained in the organization. It is with this latter that we are concerned.

3. "The problems under study require the use of some measures that clearly" characterize and "refer to groups as such rather than the individuals" (Seashore, 1954, p. 35). For instance, 'complexity,' 'size,' 'cohesiveness,' 'uniformity,' are attributes of groups or systems rather than individuals.

4. The particular groups chosen are also relatively heterogeneous with respect to group means on the measures of the major variables so that there are suggested real questions of dynamics. Related to this is the fact that these groups are generally of sufficient size that the problem of contaminating group analysis with individual effects (cf. Tannenbaum and Bachman, 1964), is minimized. This is even more so if we are willing to accept the assumption that the indices used for measurement are largely a function of individual interactions with other individuals. In a sense this is to beg the question raised by Tannenbaum and Bachman, and by Blau, as to just how much of the effects are 'structural' and how much are 'individual.' It is assumed that the general outlines of the study make it different than the ordinary study of small

groups which bear no functional relationship to their social context, and that this difference tends to favor participation and structure as critical.[22]

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[22]While the emphasis in this section has been on groups, the results will not be interpreted only in sociological terms. We will also argue later that this analysis permits some inference as to how individuals will behave on the average under certain conditions of participation in groups.

CHAPTER VI

THE MAJOR VARIABLE: 'INTEGRATION OF THE GROUP OR UNIT INTO THE ORGANIZATION'

This investigation rests upon two propositions:

1. that group means on an index of 'identification' with the organization will serve to characterize groups as to the degree to which they are integrated into the larger organization;

2. that there are differences between functional units as defined with respect to the degree to which they are integrated into the larger organization.

The first of these questions was discussed in the first part of the paper. The argument was, very simply, that the degree to which a group could be considered integrated into the organization for purposes of studying and understanding important problems related to organizational order and functioning depended on the degree to which its members identified with the organization--the degree to which their membership in the larger organization constituted part of their self-representation or self definition. It is thought that mean scores on this index reflect the character of important exchanges among members as well as the range and base for individual comparison (cf. Merton, 1957).

The second question remains to be answered. Four different but related concepts (cf. Harvey et al., 1961), or meanings were combined into a measure of identification

prior to the derivation of means. They were chosen because they seemed to get at the major aspects of what we have defined as identification. The four are:

1. attraction to the organization, or the degree to which the individual would choose the organization (TVA) again;
2. feeling that individual or employee interests are consistent with those of the organizational hierarchy;
3. degree to which the individual is bothered by criticism of the organization;
4. the degree to which the individual tends to refer to himself in terms of his organizational membership.

Thus, while identification is operationally defined as the degree to which the individual would choose this organization again, feels that his goals and interests are identified with the organizational hierarchy, is bothered by criticism of the organization of which he is a member, and identifies himself as a member of the organization, the degree to which the functional unit is integrated into the organization, in turn, will be defined as the degree to which the members tend to fall high on the measure of identification. Again, it is necessary to assume that the mean is a reflection of patterns and standards of comparison within groups relevant to group functioning within the organization.

Of the four questions listed above, the one most consistent with the theoretical or formal definition of the major variable would be the fourth. It is a clear specification that the individual identifies himself with the

organization. The third criterion has to do with the willingness of the individual to defend the organization in the face of external threat. The second criterion serves to establish an identity of interest, and the first describes the degree to which the person would choose to repeat the membership role. Insofar as we have succeeded in operationalizing identification, there should be a difference between this measure of 'identification' and measures of satisfaction with which it is often confused.

The index of identification was based upon individual responses to certain questions. These are reproduced below with their response distributions. However, in considering the relationship between identification and other variables to which it is similar, analysis involves group data. Thus, the degree to which the group is integrated into the organization is different from the degree to which there is general satisfaction with the organization.

Following is a presentation of, in order, the index of identification with the distributions of individual responses, a matrix describing the relationships among the components of the index, and a statement of the correlations between group means on identification, and group means on several measures of satisfaction. Identification is defined by the sum of responses to the following questions:

Q. 83 If you could begin working over again, but in the same occupation as you're in now, how likely would you be to choose TVA as a place to work?

(1)___Definitely would choose another place over TVA	3.6
(2)___Probably would choose another place over TVA	9.2
(3)___Wouldn't care much whether it was TVA or some other place	8.2
(4)___Probably would choose TVA over another place	47.2
(5)___Definitely would choose TVA over another place for my occupation	30.2
No answer:	1.6
	100.0%

Q. 81 Following are two somewhat different statements about the relations between management and employees at TVA:

A. The relations between management and employees at TVA are much different than in private industry, because in TVA both are working together toward the same goal of building the Valley.

B. Relations between management and employees at TVA are not really very different than in private industry; management is looking out for the organization's interests, and employees have to look out for their own interests.

Which of the two statements above comes closer to your own opinion?

(5)___Agree completely with A	13.4
(4)___Agree more with A than with B	29.3
(2)___Agree more with B than with A	29.9
(1)___Agree completely with B	25.1
No answer:	2.3
	100.0%

Q. 78 How do you feel when you hear (or read about) someone criticizing the TVA method of public power or comparing it unfavorably to private power?

(1)___I mostly agree with the criticism	3.6
(2)___It doesn't bother me	25.5
(4)___It gets me a little mad	47.1
(5)___It gets me quite mad	22.4
No answer:	1.4
	100.0%

Q. 79[23] If someone asked you to describe yourself, and you could tell only one thing about yourself, which of the following answers would you be most likely to give? (Put a number 1 next to that item.)

	1	2	3	0	nr
___I come from (my home state)					
___I work for TVA	31.9	35.6	18.2	8.3	6.0=100%
___I am a (my occupation or type of work)	31.7	25.7	17.5	16.9	8.2=100%
___I am a (my church membership or preference)					
___I am a graduate (of my school)					

If you could give two answers, which one of the items above would you choose second? (Put a number 2 next to that item.)

If you could give three answers, which one of the items would you choose third? (Put a number 3 next to that item.)

The component questions were summed after correction for the direction of response. Table 1 shows the degree of inter-correlation among responses to the component questions. Those correlations are all significant at the .05 level for an N of 834.

TABLE 1

INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES ON SCALES COMPRISING THE INDEX OF IDENTIFICATION IN TVA

	Question			
Question	1	2	3	4
1		.24	.33	.22
2			.18	.20
3				.19

[23]Question 79 was answerable on a 4-point scale. Where a respondent placed a '1' by "I work for TVA," he was given credit for a high response contributing to the overall index.

These correlations are sufficiently high for us to conclude that there is a small but significant relationship among the four items--that the items are distinguishable yet somewhat related. Table 2 offers additional evidence in support of the efficacy of the index derived from a replication of the questionnaire administration on an electronics company (N = 223).

TABLE 2

INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES ON SCALES COMPRISING THE INDEX OF IDENTIFICATION IN THE ELECTRONICS COMPANY

	Question			
Question	1	2	3	4
1		.43	.35	.32
2			.35	.27
3				.12

Tables 1 and 2 and the apparent face validity of the four questions indicate that we are reasonably justified in combining the four listed questionnaire items into a single index of identification. Group means were then calculated. The average group mean for the twenty-six functional units on the index of identification is 15.081, with a standard deviation of 1.245.

At this point, we can consider the relationship between identification and a set of measures of satisfaction, a variable sometimes confused with it. The argument is that satisfactions have to do with specific motivation, and unless this involves symbolic motives in the way described in previous chapters, we would expect no relationship to

identification. For instance, satisfaction with promotion, supervisor, and present salary would appear to relate to pragmatic motives, motives having to do with specific gains which are extrinsic to satisfaction with performance itself, and which are desired irrespective of the challenge they pose. On the other hand, satisfaction with co-workers is thought to relate to affiliative motives which, for reasons discussed previously (and which will be reconsidered in the following chapters) are inimical to identification with the organization insofar as they draw the individual to his peers rather than the organization. This is because of the fact that affiliative motives can be satisfied only through personal contact and not simply through relatively formal membership.

Following is the measure of the various kinds of satisfaction. Then, the correlations between those and identification (group means) will be presented. Satisfaction was measured in terms of the following question, each part of which was taken as a separate measure:

Q. 65. How satisfied are you with the following things on your job?

A. Chances for promotion
B. Immediate supervisor
C. Present salary
D. Co-workers

Each of these was answerable on a five-point scale ranging from 'not at all satisfied,' to 'completely satisfied.'

Table 3 presents the correlations between group means on the index of identification and the various measures

of satisfaction.

TABLE 3

PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN IDENTIFICATION AND VARIOUS MEASURES OF SATISFACTION, PREDICTING NO RELATIONSHIP

relationship	r
Identification and satisfaction with promotion	.14
Identification and satisfaction with supervisor	.06
Identification and satisfaction with salary	.30
Identification and satisfaction with co-workers	-.20

While none of these correlations is significant, there is a moderate relationship between satisfaction with salary and identification, and a small negative relationship between satisfaction with co-workers and identification. From this analysis we can conclude that the measure of identification is not simply an artifact of satisfaction.[24] We will consider this in more depth in the next chapter.

[24]That identification is not related to seniority, rank, role permanence (lack of change in role during total time in TVA), and pride in TVA, is shown by the following correlations with identification.

identification and seniority, r=.01
identification and rank, r=.22
identification and role permanence, r=-.01
identification and pride in TVA, r= .33

CHAPTER VII

TESTS OF HYPOTHESES

We have seen studies of the effects on an individual of his attraction to other persons and groups; and we have seen attempts to consider groups in terms of the attractiveness of members to them. It seems equally possible and fruitful to consider groups in terms of the degree to which members identify with them or the degree to which members of them identify with the larger organization. For instance, when, in a large organization, we find smaller groups or units, they might be characterized in at least two ways:

1. the cohesiveness of the group as measured by the intimacy of the relationship, the degree of closeness, trust, or attraction, etc.
2. the degree to which the group is normatively integrated into the organization.

It is the latter of these two on which we will concentrate in the analysis to follow. We will then consider the relationship between the former and the latter, between the cohesiveness of groups and the degree to which they are integrated into the organization.

Design of the Analysis

The present investigation will study the relationships between group means on the index of identification and three other types of variables:

1. measures relating to social structure (e.g., complexity, size, and the like)

2. measures relating to the representation or perception of attributes of social structure, interpersonal situation and task situation.

3. measures of types of people who comprise organizational units (e.g., in terms of the need for achievement; pressures for mobility; and the like).

The major thrust of the analysis will be to show the degree to which identification scores for groups, the degree to which the units are integrated into the organization, will be a function of motivational variables conceptualized as demographic characteristics, experiential variables conceptualized in terms of social structure, and perceptual variables conceptualized in terms of group norms. The analysis involves the computation of correlations, and, where relevant, partial correlations.

At this point, we have been able to characterize our measure of 'unit integration' in terms of group scores (means) on an index of identification. We have seen that it is relatively independent of measures of satisfaction. It seems to provide us with a measure of a fairly specific type of phenomenon which is a composite of a number of different responses relating to the degree to which the respondent includes membership in the larger organization as a part of his self-definition.

The following hypotheses and their analyses serve to illustrate the way in which 'unit integration' is related to aspects of the situation and characteristics of members. The term 'unit integration' will be used as a synonym for "group

means on the index of identification." The hypotheses will be presented as general statements followed by specific predictions.

HYPOTHESES

1. Unit integration will be related to the degree to which the task situation as seen by members permits them to define themselves, in terms of autonomy and independence, as members of the larger organization.

Since identification depends on situational provisions for the gratification of symbolic motives, especially those related to personal achievement, identification will be enhanced where the task situation permits the individual to gratify the achievement motives and where this gratification is a result of performance as a member of the organization. Assuming that the task structure is a priori defined by the person as a means of participating in the organization as a member, then if that task structure provides opportunities for gratification of the achievement motives, identification will be higher than if those opportunities are not there. It is assumed that the situational attributes relevant to the gratification of these motives relate to autonomy and the opportunities for achievement and the utilization of skills.

PREDICTION

(a) Thus, there should be a positive correlation between unit integration on the one hand, and task autonomy, opportunities

for achievement and utilization of skills, task independence, and the degree to which the individual members determine their time limits, on the other hand.

(b) However, one would also expect a negative relationship between unit integration and measures of role conflict, overload, routinization, bureaucratization, closeness of supervision, the degree to which the leader initiates structure, and the presence of a tight time limit. All of these latter seem destined to interfere with individual achievement, and in a sense represent the other side of this first hypothesis.

Following (cf. Figure 4) is a specification of the measures used to test hypothesis 1, after which will be presented a table of correlations and some tentative conclusions.

Variable	Definition (in terms of questions)
1. Task autonomy as to means	Q. 16. When you have several things to do on the job, how often is it up to you to decide which you will do first, and how often are you expected to do things in a set order?
	Q. 11. When you get a job to do, how often is it completely up to you to decide how to go about doing it?[25]

Figure 4. Definition of variables for Hypothesis 1

[25]The response categories for each question are usually in terms of a five-point scale from more to less, always to never, or high to low. In constructing indices from the various component questions, scores on each component were added except with respect to a few which will be described later.

Figure 4, continued

Variable	Definition (in terms of questions)
2. Task autonomy as to ends	Q. 19. When you finish a given piece of work, how often do you have any say at all about what work you'll be doing next?
	Q. 26. When schedules or time limits are being set for work you are doing, which of the following appears to be the most important influence on how these limits are set? (Put a number 1 next to the most important influence.) (in question 26, the respondent rated his own estimate relative to others).
	Q. 33. When your work has been looked over by a supervisor or checker, how much say or influence do you have in deciding whether it should be changed or done over?
	Q. 36. How often do you get chances to try out your own ideas on your job, either before or after checking with your supervisor?
3. Self as source of time limit	Q. 27. Before your supervisors set deadlines, time limits, or target dates which involve your work, how often do they ask your opinion--either alone or as a member of a group--concerning how long the job will take?
	Q. 28. How much say or influence do you have (either alone or together with other people at about your level) when it comes to setting the time schedules for jobs that you work on?
	Q. 26. (This is the same question presented for the index of task atuonomy, ends, scored for the response category, 'estimate of yourself and other people at your own level')

Figure 4, continued

Variable	Definition (in terms of questions)
4. Opportunity for achievement	Q. 64. In connection with your job, how much chance do you get: D. to feel at the end of the day that you have accomplished something? F. to finish things? G. to do things your own way
5. Opportunity for utilization of skills	Q. 64. In connection with your job, how much chance do you get: C. to do the kind of things you're best at? I. to use the skills you have learned for this job?
6. Task independence	Q. 8. In your job, how often do you have to solve tough problems in order to do the job right?
	Q. 15. How often during the whole work day is your work fairly routine and how often is doing the job well a real challenge to your ability or ingenuity?
	Q. 64. In connection with your job, how much chance do you get: A. to do interesting work?
7. Role conflict	Q. 7. How often do you get conflicting instructions or advice from different people as to what you should be doing on the job or how you should do it?
	Q. 18. Has there ever been a time when you have had a misunderstanding with anyone about when some work you were doing should have been finished?
8. Role overload	Q. 97. Some jobs cause people to be frequently concerned about many kinds of things. Other jobs seem to produce fewer causes for concern. In your job, how often do you find yourself concerned about each of the things listed below? A. having too little authority to carry out responsibilities assigned to me.

Figure 4, continued

Variable	Definition (in terms of questions)
	B. having too heavy a work load. E. not being able to get information, tools, or materials needed to carry out my job properly.
9. Routinization	Q. 3. In your job, how often do problems come up which are hard to foresee?
10. Bureaucratization	Q. 2. In some jobs, there are detailed rules about what is the right way to do the job. In other jobs, a person can choose between several possible ways of doing the job. How is it with your job?
11. Closeness of supervision	Q. 64. In connection with your job, how much chance do you get: H. to work without feeling pushed?
	Q. 30. How much of your work is checked, inspected, or reviewed by someone else?
12. Leader initiates structure	Q. 53. In my kind of job, it's usually better to let your supervisor worry about new or better ways of doing things.
13. Presence of time limits	Q. 23. About what per cent of your time on the job are you working with a time limit or deadline or target date for the work you are doing?
14. Tightness of time limits	Q. 25. When there is a time limit or deadline or target date for your work, how "tight" are these deadlines usually? (if formal deadlines are often ignored, answer for deadlines you actually shoot for.)

In testing hypothesis 1, correlations were obtained between group scores on the identification index (unit integration) and the defined variables. Tables 4 and 5 present these correlations for the twenty-six functional units.

TABLE 4

PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN UNIT INTEGRATION AND PERSONAL ACHIEVEMENT-RELATED VARIABLES PREDICTING POSITIVE CORRELATIONS

Unit Integration and Variable	r
autonomy as to means	.60**
autonomy as to ends	.61**
opportunity for achievement	.47*
opportunity for utilization	.40*
task independence	.14
self as source of time limit	.44**

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$

TABLE 5

PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN UNIT INTEGRATION AND VARIABLES MITIGATING PERSONAL ACHIEVEMENT PREDICTING NEGATIVE CORRELATIONS

Unit Inegration and Variable	r
role conflict	-.30
role overload	-.19
routinization	-.17
bureaucratization	-.27
closeness of supervision	.04
leader initiates structure	-.45*
presence of time limit	.02
tightness of time limit	-.04

*$p < .05$

Tables 4 and 5 support the first hypothesis. The failure to reach significance with the predictions of negative relationship is not as important as it might otherwise be in the light of the fact that five of the eight are clearly negative. And one of the most straightforward measures of the degree to which personal achievement is limited, 'leader initiates structure,' is significantly and negatively correlated with identification. Apparently the presence and/or tightness of time limits are not factors which are necessarily inimical to identification. It may depend on whether or not that pressure is self-initiated. It also appears that either close supervision is not related to identification, or the measure employed is a weak one. As for the measure, it does not clearly specify the source of the feeling of being pushed. This feeling may or may not come from being pushed by supervisors. It could also come from being pushed by peers or self. However, it is still possible to argue that the lack of correlation might be expected on other grounds. For instance, it would depend on whether or not the close supervision was supportive or hostile, whether it diminished individual autonomy or not, and the like.

The only prediction of positive correlation which was not confirmed had to do with task independence. Insofar as that measure gets mainly at interest, it may bring in a number of unknown factors. The autonomy measures clearly designate the degree to which individual decision-making is possible. The measure of task independence does not.

It is also possible to argue that these are mediated by general satisfaction, seniority, or pride in the company. However, as is reported in chapter VI, these variables are not related to identification. It does seem reasonable that autonomy and independence should contribute to self-definition because they are, directly, characteristics of organizational roles.

2. Unit integration will be related to the degree to which the larger organization permits access to full membership as such, (the possibility of participation) and does not simply relegate work to participants (as in what Etzioni (1961) calls alienative compliance structures).

The major way in which organizations provide access to membership as such is through some sort of structural linkage. When members perceive the possibility of being taken into account by the organizational hierarchy, they will be more responsive to those aspects of membership which are self-defining, and those aspects will, in turn, be more visible and accessible to them.

PREDICTION

(a) Thus, there should be a positive correlation between unit integration and the degree to which access to the hierarchy is thought possible (anticipated access) and the degree to which some institutional linkage is perceived.

PREDICTION

(b) There should also be a negative relationship between unit integration and the size of functional units (measured by the number of members within each functional unit), and between unit integration and the complexity of the functional units (measured by the number of positions in each functional unit). Presumably, the conditions provoked by size and complexity should mitigate against member identification by decreasing the visibility of opportunities and criteria of membership in the larger organization (cf. Indik, 1961), which is otherwise provided by anticipated access and institutional linkage. This prediction goes beyond the simple confines of hypothesis 2 because size and complexity operate through many factors (cf. Indik, 1961). For instance, in an organization such as TVA where branches are semi-autonomous yet do not reach tremendous size, increased size and complexity should reflect increased unit autonomy and a consequent lowering of member identification with the larger organization.[26] The point is that as unit autonomy and complexity increases, members are required more and more to locate their concerns and activities within that unit, and consequently their relationship to the organization as reflected in identification should become more tenuous.

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[26]Complexity and size are correlated with cohesiveness (closeness), -.01, and -.12, respectively. However, they are correlated with task interdependence (cf. hypothesis 4), .38 ($p < .05$), and .20.

This is related to a later hypothesis concerning the cohesiveness of functional units. Unit complexity is simply another social factor which detracts from identification with the organization.[27]

Following (cf. Figure 5) is a specification of the measures used to test hypothesis 2, after which will be presented a table of correlations and some tentative conclusions.

Variable	Definition (in terms of questions)
1. Anticipated access	Q. 92. How much do you usually hear about what goes on in the meetings of the cooperative conference or committee of your unit?
	Q. 96. If you were to submit a good suggestion to the cooperative conference or committee in your unit, how seriously do you think it would be considered?
2. Institutional link	Q. 93. How interested are the people you work with in the work of the cooperative conference or committee?

Figure 5. Definition of Variables for Hypothesis 2

[27]When size and complexity of functional units exceeds a certain limit, our analysis would have to be modified. Under these conditions it makes little sense to speak of 'linkage' when that relates to connections between two large alternative organizations. When the unit is not seen as part of the whole, linkage is not relevant.

Figure 5, continued

Variable	Definition (in terms of questions)
	Q. 94. How much interest in the work of the conference or committee do you think the management of your division takes?
	Q. 95. How much do you feel the work of the cooperative conference or committee in your unit helps to make TVA a better place to work?
3. Size	This is defined by the number of members in each functional unit.
4. Complexity	This is defined by the number of discrete positions in each functional unit.

In testing hypothesis 2, correlations were obtained between group means on the identification index (unit integration) and the group means on the defined variables.

TABLE 6

PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN UNIT INTEGRATION AND STRUCTURAL LINKAGE PREDICTING POSITIVE CORRELATIONS

Unit Integration and Variable	r
anticipated access to hierarchy	.46*
institutional link	.43*

*$p < .05$

TABLE 7

PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN UNIT INTEGRATION AND UNIT SIZE AND COMPLEXITY PREDICTING NEGATIVE RELATIONSHIPS

Unit Integration and Variable	r
size	-.32*
complexity	-.32*

*$p < .10$ (approximately)

Tables 5 and 6 support the hypothesis. Despite the lack of significance at .05 level in table 6, the trend is consistent with the prediction. Again, it could be argued that these relationships depend on a correlation between identification and seniority, pride in TVA, rank, or general satisfaction; but the fact that identification is not correlated with them (cf. chapter VI) provides further support for the type of interpretation I am offering.

At this point, we might conclude that group scores on an index of identification (unit integration) are positively related to the degree to which members (on the average) perceive the task environment as permitting autonomous decision-making and providing opportunities for personal achievement, and positively related to the degree to which members (on the average) perceive the social environment as permitting access to membership through access to the organizational structure. However, the group scores on the index of identification (unit integration) appear to be negatively related to the degree to which the task structure and the social structure constrain autonomous decision-making, opportunities for achievement and perceived access to the organizational structure, through environmental pressures and complexity. These relationships do not depend on such factors as satisfaction, seniority, rank, or pride in TVA.

3. Unit integration will be related positively to the degree

to which member characteristics with respect to symbolic motives relating to personal achievement are seen as capable of being enhanced through participation as a member in the organization.

This hypothesis suggests that the relationships reported above between unit integration and measures of autonomy and institutional linkage, depend on differences in member characteristics, specifically scores on a measure of the symbolic motive, need for achievement (n Achievement). Partialling out group scores on the need for achievement should reduce the correlations significantly. On the other hand, there should be no change in the original correlations when measures of irrelevant motives are partialled out. Specifically, the original correlation should not depend in any way on measures of pragmatic motivation, since our argument assumes that identification is related to symbolic motives exclusively. This same line of reasoning justifies the inference that there should be no relationship between unit integration and the presence of task and social supports for pragmatic motives. More formally:

PREDICTION (a). Where group scores on a measure of n Achievement are partialled out, the original correlations between identification and measures of autonomy, independence, achievement opportunities, and structural linkage, should decrease significantly.

PREDICTION (b). Where group scores on a measure of pragmatic motivation, n Mobility, are partialled out, the original

correlations between identification and measures of autonomy, independence, achievement opportunities, and structural linkage, should not change.

Prediction (c). There should be no relationship between identification and pragmatic opportunites and satisfactions (e.g., relating to promotion, salary, and rank).

To test this hypothesis the following measures were used: 'need for achievement' served as our measure of symbolic motivation; 'need for mobility' served to measure one kind of pragmatic motivation; opportunities for mobility, satisfactions, and rank, served as examples of the perception of support for pragmatic motives, with the measures of satisfaction indicating the degree to which there was a positive response to the pragmatic aspects of organizational membership.

Following (cf. Figure 6) is a specification of the measures used to test hypothesis 3, after which will be presented a table of correlations and some tentative conclusions.

Variable	Definition
1. need for achievement	The measure of n ach (cf. Atkinson, 1958) employs ten questions from the objective measure of risk-taking devised by O'Connor (1960). These questions were imbedded in a larger scale consisting of other items as well (questions 103-126). Scores on this test therefore range from 0-10.[28]

Figure 6. Definition of variables for Hypothesis 3

[28]The measure of n Achievement is a self-report device derived from the model of achievement motivation described by Atkinson (1958). The subject is forced to endorse one or the

Figure 6, continued

Variable	Definition
2. Need for mobility	Q. 134. How old are you? Q. 136. How many dependents do you have?
3. Opportunities for mobility-probability of promotion	Q. 70. In your opinion, about what percentage of people in TVA of your grade and seniority, doing your type of work, will be promoted to a higher grade in the next five years?
4. Opportunities for mobility-degree	Q. 71. How many grades up can you expect to be promoted during the rest of the time you work for TVA?
5. Satisfaction with promotion opportunities	Q. 65A. How satisfied are you with the following things on your job? A. Chances for promotion
6. Satisfaction with salary	Q. 65C. How satisfied are you with the following things on your job? C. Present salary
7. Rank	This is defined by the individual's present grade or level as designated by the company.

other alternative statement included in each item. The choice of one statement should be consistent with high achievement motivation, and the choice of the other should be consistent with high motivation to avoid failure. Validity data are only presumptive for the measure. For instance, Brown, Feldman, Heingartner, and Schwartz (1964) found that subjects who scored high on this scale (as used in the present study) tended not to cheat at a task when given the opportunity in an achievement-oriented situation; and controlling for n Achievement as measured by this device removed much of the predictability in a performance situation in which there was normative conflict of measures of normative orientation. However, the correlations of the whole scale with the TAT measure of n Achievement and a measure of Test Anxiety are modest (.31 and -.41 respectively, O'Connor and Atkinson, 1960). Stronger results were obtained when individuals high on n Achievement (TAT) and low on Test Anxiety (Mandler-Sarason Test Anxiety Scale) were compared with those low on n Achievement and high on Test Anxiety. O'Connor and Atkinson (1960) report $X^2=14.03$, $p < .001$. These authors have also reported reasonably high correlations between this scale and grades and I.Q. (.57, and .71, respectively), although the correlation with grades drops to .31, when I.Q. is partialled out. As Eckerman points out (1963, p. 71), I.Q. probably also reflects some motivation so that the partial r is overly stringent.

In testing the third hypothesis, the correlations obtained between group means on the identification index (unit integration) and group means on the defined variables mentioned above in the tests of predictions of positive correlation, are presented with the measure of motivation partialled out. Table 8 presents the analysis of the prediction that the original correlations will diminish significantly when n Achievement is partialled out; Table 9 presents the analysis of the prediction that the original correlations will remain the same when the need for mobility is partialled out; and Table 10 presents the analysis of the prediction that there will be no relationship between unit integration and pragmatic opportunities and satisfactions.

TABLE 8

PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN UNIT INTEGRATION AND STRUCTURAL LINKAGE, MEASURES OF AUTONOMY, AND ACHIEVEMENT OPPORTUNITIES, WITH N ACHIEVEMENT PARTIALLED OUT, PREDICTING TO DECREASE IN THE ORIGINAL CORRELATION

Unit Integration and Variable	r	partial r, partialling out n Achievement[29]
task autonomy-means	.60	.58
task autonomy-ends	.61	.58
self as source of time	.44	.47
opportunity for achievement	.47	.49
opportunity for utilization	.40	.39
task independence	.14	.13
anticipated access	.46	.50
institutional link	.43	.40

[29]Correlation between unit integration and n Achievement is -.18.

TABLE 9

PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN UNIT INTEGRATION AND STRUCTURAL LINKAGE, MEASURES OF AUTONOMY, AND ACHIEVEMENT OPPORTUNITIES, WITH N MOBILITY PARTIALLED OUT, PREDICTING TO NO CHANGE IN THE ORIGINAL CORRELATION

Unit Integration and Variable	r	partial r, partialling out n Mobility[30]
task autonomy-means	.60	.60
task autonomy-ends	.61	.60
self as source of time	.44	.42
opportunity for achievement	.47	.49
opportunity for utilization	.40	.37
task independence	.14	.10
anticipated access	.46	.44
institutional link	.43	.40

[30]Correlation between unit integration and n Mobility is -.16. In defining n Mobility, we are assuming that age and number of dependents in general lead to a need for mobility. However, this hypothesis (#3) does not depend on that measure. Table 10 provides a better test, with satisfaction being more adequate indicator of pragmatic motivation.

TABLE 10

PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN UNIT INTEGRATION AND MEASURES OF PRAGMATIC OPPORTUNITIES AND SATISFACTIONS, PREDICTING NO RELATIONSHIP

Unit Integration and Variable	r
probability of promotion	.08
degree of promotion possible	-.26
satisfaction as to promotion	.14
satisfaction as to salary	.30
rank	-.22

The data do not support the third hypothesis, although they are suggestive with respect to the analysis in Table 10. That is, there was no difference between the original correlations between unit integration and the independent variables

and the partial correlations with either n Achievement or n Mobility partialled out. Since the correlations between identification and achievement-related variables are so high, it is possible that the n Achievement measure is too limited. Preference for risk may not be an adequate measure of achievement motivation in the context of work in a large organization. But there are no correlations reaching significance between unit integration and the measures of pragmatic opportunities and satisfactions. With respect to this last, the two negative correlations suggest that there may be something about the mobility system in an organization which mitigates against identification. Perhaps it involves extrinsic (pragmatic) rewards to such an extent that the intrinsic aspects of membership are actually diminished. This also suggests that when some of these pragmatic motives are satisfied, the individual is less concerned with them, and consequently more susceptible to other, symbolic, rewards and aspects of membership per se. This would help to make more understandable the correlations between satisfaction as to salary and unit integration. Regardless of this speculation, we must conclude that there is no support for the third hypothesis as a whole, although the results in Table 10 do indicate quite clearly that pragmatic motives, opportunities, and satisfactions are not significantly related to identification.

4. Unit integration will be related in a negative way to the degree to which there are other social attachments to which the work role can be referred--competing sources.

This hypothesis asserts that competing sources (e.g., fellow workers, immediate work-groups, union) will detract from identification with the organization and consequently from unit integration. It follows from our earlier discussion of the assumption that identification with a social entity requires the discrimination of that entity as the major source of self-defining attributes. One factor mitigating against this is membership in other, highly cohesive, groups. A highly cohesive face-to-face group which is relatively permanent and prominent in an individual's life (as is a work group) is more likely to serve the ends of reference than is a more abstract, more complex, secondary group such as a large-scale organization. Thus, when the individual's performance is both within the confines of a small highly cohesive work group and, at the same time, a large organization, the former will serve the purposes of reference to the relative exclusion of the latter. It becomes easier to define oneself in terms of the smaller group, and the details of performance are seen as related to its immediate context. This does not imply that there will be conflict under these conditions (cf. Seashore, 1954), but simply that the relevant membership (source of self-defining attributes) will be in the highly cohesive group, and the members will therefore respond to group norms and situational definitions more than to those provided by the organization.[31]

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[31]This same line of reasoning could be applied to membership in alternative organizations such as unions or professional societies.

With respect to this small group involvement, two things should be relevant: on the one hand, where the nature of the task requires interdependence and cooperation, an important condition of cohesiveness will be present. In a sense, the group members will be more turned in on the group than they will be turned out toward the organization. It is also assumed that affiliative motives operate in much the same way, so that a group of high affiliators will be drawn more to each other than to the larger organization. On the other hand, social factors are important as well, such as the degree of cohesiveness (as indicated by the degree to which individuals feel close to their fellows, and the degree to which sanctions relating to deviance are likely to be exerted) of the group. Another similar factor is the degree to which the individual is concerned with the union. This points to an alternative social involvement similar to that discussed above.[32]

PREDICTION

There will be a negative relationship between unit integration and factors relating to competing sources--n Affiliation, cohesiveness, task interdependence, and union concern.

Following (cf. Figure 7) is a specification of the measures used to test the fourth hypothesis, after which will be

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[32]When we speak of cohesive groups, we are assuming that measures described in Figure 7 reflect the general cohesiveness of the branches making up our n of twenty-six.

presented a table of correlations and some tentative conclusions.

Variable	Definition
1. Cohesiveness of peer group--closeness	Q. 39. Compared to people you've worked with elsewhere (other firms, other parts of TVA, the Armed Forces, etc.), how much do the people you work with in your present job help each other out?
	Q. 50. Compared to people you've worked with elsewhere (other firms, other parts of TVA, the Armed Forces, etc.), how close do you feel to the people you work with in your present job?
	Q. 76. Following are some kinds of people with whom you may now have or have previously had contact. Rank them according to how close you feel to them personally. Put a number 1 next to the kind of group which, in general, you feel closest to; put a number 2 next to the group you feel second closest to; put a number 3 next to the group you feel least close to. C. People you work with at TVA.
2. Cohesiveness of peer groups--sanctions	Q. 43. If you make a mistake or oversight, how likely is it to be called to your attention by someone other than a person responsible for checking your work?

Figure 7. Definition of Variables for Hypothesis 4.

Figure 7, continued

Variable	Definition
	Q. 41. If you do an outstanding job on something, how likely are you to be complimented by one of your co-workers (other than one of your supervisors)?
	Q. 65. How satisfied are you with the following things on your job? D. Co-workers
3. n Affiliation	This is derived from the same scale from which was derived the n Achievement measure, with a different set of questions employed. While this measure is not one which has a specific history, the questions comprising it seem to get at the degree to which the respondent is motivated by affiliative desires (Questions 103-126 contain both the measure of n Affiliation and n Achievement; cf. Appendix B).
4. Task interdependence--necessity of cooperation	Q. 45. If the other people you have contact with on the job don't do their jobs right or on time, how often would this create problems for your own work?
	Q. 46. How many people with whom you have contact on the job don't do their jobs right or on time?
	Q. 47. If you didn't do a good job on something or didn't do it fast enough, how often would this create problems for someone you have contact with on the job?
	Q. 48. If you didn't do your own job right, for how many other people with whom you have contact on the job would this create problems?

Figure 7, continued

Variable	Definition
5. Union concern	Q. 73. Suppose there was a series of lectures on the topics listed below, and you could attend only some of these. Rank order the topics according to how interested you would be in hearing an informed person talk on each topic. Put a number 1 next to the topic you would most prefer to hear about, a number 2 next to the topic which is your second choice, and so on. Give each item a different number. A. How to strengthen the union or employee association in your type of work.

In testing hypothesis 4, correlations were obtained between group means on the index of identification (unit integration) and group means on the variables mentioned above, predicting to a negative correlation in each case (cf. Table 11).

TABLE 11

PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN UNIT INTEGRATION AND MEASURES OF COHESIVENESS, INTERDEPENDENCE, UNION CONCERN, AND N AFFILIATION, PREDICTING NEGATIVE RELATIONSHIPS

Unit Integration and Variable	r
n Affiliation	-.38*
cohesiveness of peer group--closeness	-.21
cohesiveness of peer group--sanctions	-.09
task interdependence--necessity of cooperation	-.57**
union concern	-.28

*p ≤ .05
**p ≤ .01

Table 11 offers general support for the fourth hypothesis. It suggests that alternative social concerns whether through personal motivation, feelings of closeness, outside concerns with the union, or the necessity of cooperative participation, are inimical to identification. In terms of group behavior, it could be said that unit integration is inhibited by cohesiveness of the group, whether that is related to motivational characteristics of members, feelings of closeness, or task interdependence. The likelihood of sanctions being applied by co-workers to deviant behavior may not be a good alternative measure of cohesiveness due to the fact that both positive and negative aspects were included.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

In assessing what we have learned from this analysis, several findings seem important. In general, people are tied to an organization in terms of the degree to which membership is self-defining--not through the satisfaction of pragmatic motives, but through the opportunities within the organization to satisfy achievement-related symbolic motives. Furthermore, there is some suggestion that alternative social concerns whether within or without of the organization are inimical to identification with the organization when those alternative social concerns are seen as the focus of the satisfaction of symbolic motives related to self-definition. Identification is not simply a product of the satisfaction of affiliative motives as has been suggested in part by Kelman (1958), and studies of group cohesiveness (cf. Seashore, 1954). Rather, the individual in an organizational setting of the sort under analysis, on the average, must be provided with the opportunity to accomplish <u>as an individual</u> something over which he has at least a modicum of decision-making power. And he must, on the average, be permitted through social structural linkage to consider himself in fact part of the organization.

If group means on the measure of identification can be considered a group characteristic, the degree to which the group is integrated into the larger organization (cf. above), then it is possible to argue that this unit integration is

enhanced by the degree to which members feel that there are certain opportunities for achievement and for linkage to the organization within the organization itself. Looking at it from the more sociological point of view, it is also possible to argue that group cohesiveness is, by its nature, inimical to the functional unit's being integrated into the organization. This has implications for control and communication. For instance, it may be that in order for organizations to maintain patterns of normative orientation, it is inefficient to have low cohesive groups because of administrative difficulties when control must be exerted at the individual level. But it is apparently dangerous to have highly cohesive groups (cf. Seashore, 1954) because of the fact that they tend to be extreme in performance, and because of the fact that cohesiveness tends to mitigate against the integration of the unit into the organization.

But the dilemma might be solved in terms of some pluralistic ideal in organizations.[33] Thus, control and communication is a matter of exchange not between the organizational hierarchy and individual members, nor by the simple facts of rank and hierarchical cohesion in Etzioni's terms (1961), but between the organization and its functional units. This is consistent with Likert's discussion of the linking pin function (1961) but is a broader statement. Communication and exchange through control must represent an encounter with the group qua group. It is not necessary to coopt individuals,

[33]By pluralism, I mean some degree of repsentative democracy.

but it is necessary to coopt groups, for performance. This means that individual worker involvement with the organization would be mediated by group membership, and one would expect this to be more satisfying to the individual than a direct involvement with so complex and abstract an entity as the organization itself. It is also the case that certain organizations will have no choice in this matter. When work requires interdependence, our analysis shows this to be inimical to unit integration. Under these conditions, pluralism is almost a requisite for adequate organizational functioning.

An alternative to this social solution to the dilemma is one which has to do with the structure of work. While the former suggests that unit integration is enhanced by organizational exchange with functional units, the latter suggests that the structure of work can provide as firm a base, if not firmer, for identification. It might be assumed that individuals turn to a social reality (Festinger, et al., 1950) where the physical reality does not permit self-definition in terms of performance. However, by shoring up the physical reality, in this case by providing task autonomy and decision-making power with real and important consequences as well as an opportunity for individual closure, group scores on identification might also be enhanced; only in this case they would not be a result of an exchange with a group into which individuals are bound, but a result of the fact that the individuals in the unit, apart from their own

interactions, are able to define themselves in terms of their organizational membership.

It might be asked then what we can expect from identification. One would predict intuitively that identification, on the average, would be related to motivation to work and specific performance, largely because work is the way in which the individual comes to identify himself with the organization. In fact, the correlation between an index of motivation to work[34] and the index of identification (group means), is .70 ($p < .01$). However, the correlations between overall absences (as the only measure of productivity available) and identification (group means) is only -.10.

It must be emphasized that there are two interpretations of the group results. On the one hand, it can be argued that individual identification with the organization will be enhanced, on the average, by the presence of opportunities to satisfy certain motives and tie this to membership in the organization. On the other hand, inferences can be made about the group as a social entity and its relationship to the organization as another social entity. The more cohesive the group or the more task interdependent it is, the

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[34]Motivation to work was defined in terms of two questions: Q. 75. Some people are completely involved in their job--they are absorbed in it night and day. For other people, their job is simply one of several interests. How involved to you feel in your job? and Q. 20. On most days on your job, how often does time seem to drag for you? These two seem to get at the fact of persistence and involvement that one expects from a measure of motivation.

less likely will it be normatively integrated into the larger organization. The inference from the former is that identification with the organization will still depend on the relationship between the organization and the individual even though the organization is dealing with average members and average conditions. Thus, identification, on the average, will depend on most members perceiving certain opportunities for themselves as individuals. But the inference drawn from the latter is quite different. The discussion of cohesiveness and unit integration suggests that whether or not individuals identify with the organization as individuals, cohesive groups must be dealt with as groups, presumably through some structural linkage which does not simply take account of organization structure but the structure of the groups (leadership patterns, expectations, etc.) as well.

In summary, there are three general findings which seem important for the study of behavior in organizations:

1. We have measured identification with TVA in terms of a general theory and distinguished it from general satisfaction, seniority, rank, and pride in the company. The operationalization is one which seems consistent with a number of studies of similar variables (loyalty, morale, etc.) and as such should be of general interest.

2. We have been able to distinguish pragmatic and symbolic aspects of membership, and have provided support for the argument that identification is related not simply to pragmatic motives, opportunities, and satisfactions, but to

symbolic ones, specifically those relating to personal achievement as a member of TVA.

3. The data also suggest that members of a functional unit will be less likely to be identified with the organization where the unit is cohesive or where the work requires interdependence. This presumably reflects the notion that alternative social involvements are inimical to identification with the organization, and is suggestive with regard to the problem of social order.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

FUNCTIONAL UNITS AND THEIR SUBSECTIONS*

	N
Knoxville - Division of Design	200
Administrative section	8
Personnel Section	
Stenographic and Clerical Services Branch	
Architectural Design Branch	10
Procurement Staff	
Architectural Design Section (No. 1)	
Architectural Design Section (No. 2)	
Civil Design Branch	57
Highway and Railroad Design Section	
Bridge Design Section	
Steam Power Design (No. 1)	
Structural Steel Design Section (No. 1)	
Structural Steel Design Section (No. 2)	
Structural Steel Design Section (No. 4)	
Heavy Equipment Design Section (No. 1)	
Heavy Equipment Design Section (No. 2)	
Hydro Power Design Section (No. 3)	
Stenographic and Clerical Section	
Electrical Design Branch	45
Equipment Design Section (No. 1)	
Communication Design Section (No. 1)	
Switchboard and Wiring Design Section (Steam No. 1)	
Switchboard and Wiring Design Section (Steam No. 2)	
Conduit and Grounding Design Section (Hydro)	
Conduit and Grounding Design Section (Steam No. 1)	
Lighting Design Section	
Stenographic and Clerical Section	
Mechanical Design Branch	58
Procurement, Admin. Services, and Spec. Assignments	
Hydro and Steam Design (under Res., Dev., and Des.)	
Instrumentation and Controls Design Section	
Steam Plant Machinery and Piping Design Section (No. 2)	

*Functional units are indented. Underlined titles are sites. Other titles are subsections within functional units.

	N
Steam Plant Machinery and Piping Design Section (No. 3)	
Steam Plant Machinery and Piping Design Section (No. 4)	
Steam Service Piping Design Section (No. 1)	
Water Supply, Plumbing, and Misc. Building Des. Sect.	
Hydro and Misc. Machinery & Piping Design Section	
Water and Sewage Treatment Design Section	
Stenographic and Clerical Section	
Drafting and Services Branch	17
Drafting Service Section	
Maps and Engineering Records Section	
Construction Print Unit	
Inspection and Testing Branch	5
Inspection and Testing	
Chattanooga - Division of Power Planning and Engineering	177
Administrative Section	10
Administrative Services	
Cost and Budget	
Transmission System Planning	26
Administrative Section	
System Studies Section	
System Projects Section	
System Relay Section	
System Plans Section	
Communication Engineering and Design Branch	22
Inside and Outside Plant Section	
Communication Design Section	
Power Line Carrier Section	
Radio Section	
Telemetering and Supervisory Control Section	
Steno and Miscellaneous	
Electrical Engineering and Design Branch	37
Protection and Control Section	
Substation Projects Section	
Layout Design Section	
Conduit and Lighting Design Section	
Switchboard and Wiring Design Section	
Steno and Miscellaneous	

	N
Power Supply Planning Branch	12
System Development Section	
System Supply Section	
Steno and Miscellaneous	
Civil Engineering and Design Branch	37
Transmission Line Engineering Section	
Transmission Line Location Section	
Transmission Line Design Section	
Structural and Foundation Design Section	
Materials, Specification and Procurement Section	
Steno and Miscellaneous	
Drafting Services	20
Trainees and Miscellaneous	
File Clerks	
Draftsmen	
Survey Section*	13
Mapping Unit	
Gallatin Steam Plant	142
Laboratory Section	25
Mechanical Engineer	
Analytical Chemists	
Engineering Aides	
Engineering Co-op Students	
Chemical Lab Analysts	
Materials Testers	
Instrument Mechanics	
Power Plant Operations	47
Senior Switchboard Operators	
Switchboard Operators	
Unit Operators	
Assistant Unit Operators	
Electrical Maintenance	10
Electricians	
Mechanical Maintenance	60
Machinists	
Boilermakers	
Steamfitters	
Painters	
Other	

*Survey Section erroneously punched as a separate branch; actually it is part of the Civil Engineering and Design Branch.

	N
John Sevier Steam Plant	129
Laboratory Section	20
Mechanical Engineers	
Analytical Chemists	
Engineering Aides	
Engineering Co-op Student	
Chemical Lab Analysts	
Materials Testers	
Instrument Mechanics	
Power Plant Operations	53
Senior Switchboard Operators	
Switchboard Operators	
Unit Operators	
Assistant Unit Operators	
Auxiliary Unit Operators	
Electrical Maintenance	8
Electricians	
Mechanical Maintenance	48
Machinists	
Boilermakers	
Steamfitters	
Painters	
Miscellaneous	
Johnsonville Steam Plant	186
Laboratory Section	34
Mechanical Engineers	
Analytical Chemists	
Engineering Aides	
Engineering Co-op Students	
Chemical Lab Analysts	
Materials Testers	
Instrument Mechanics	
Power Plant Operations	64
Senior Switchboard Operators	
Switchboard Operators	
Unit Operators	
Assistant Unit Operators	
Auxiliary Unit Operators	

	N
Electrical Maintenance	15
Electricians	
Mechanical Maintenance	73
Machinists	
Boilermakers	
Steamfitters	
Painters	
Miscellaneous	

Appendix B

MEASURES OF NEED ACHIEVEMENT AND NEED AFFILIATION

NEED ACHIEVEMENT

Each statement in the following questions has two alternative endings. Choose the ending for each statement which brings it closest to describing you. In some cases neither of the endings will make the statement fit you very well. In other cases, both endings may fit you somewhat. However, in these cases, too, you should pick which ending comes closer to describing you. Please do not skip any items.

103. I would enjoy a party at which was played:

(0) _____ Roulette
(1) _____ Shuffleboard or horseshoes

105. If I were a relief pitcher, I would like to be called into the game when:

(0) _____ my team was losing 6 to 2
(1) _____ the score was tied

107. I like working on a problem when:

(1) _____ I have a fifty-fifty chance of solving it
(0) _____ I have a small chance of solving it

112. When I am playing a game or participating in a sport I am:

(0) _____ more concerned with having fun than winning
(1) _____ very intent on winning

115. When I am reading a magazine and come across puzzles or quizzes:

(1) _____ I often stop to try them
(0) _____ I rarely stop to try them

117. Once I am sure I can do a task:

(1) _____ I become bored with it
(0) _____ I enjoy it most

119. When I participate in a sport or game, I enjoy it:

(1) _____ more if a money bet is made
(0) _____ less if a money bet is made

122. Among three competitors:

(1) _____ I would like to be the best player
(0) _____ I would not like to be the poorest player

124. If I were a pinch hitter, I'd like to come to bat when:

(0) _____ my team was losing 5 to 2
(1) _____ the score was tied

125. I enjoy sports when I compete against:

(1) _____ one other individual player
(0) _____ several other individual players

NEED AFFILIATION

Each statement in the following questions has two alternative endings. Choose the ending for each statement which brings it closest to describing you. In some cases neither of the endings will make the statement fit you very well. In other cases, both endings may fit you somewhat. However, in these cases, too, you should pick whichever ending comes closer to describing you. Please do not skip any items.

104. The statement, "I become very attached to my friends":

(1) _____ describes me pretty well
(0) _____ does not describe me very well

106. The statement, "I feel 'out of sorts' if I have to be by myself for any length of time":

(1) _____ describes me pretty well
(0) _____ does not describe me very well

109. The statement, "I make a point of keeping in close touch with the doings and interests of my friends":

(1) _____ describes me pretty well
(0) _____ does not describe me very well

111. The statement, "I generally would rather accept a social invitation than do something by myself":

(1) _____ describes me pretty well
(0) _____ does not describe me very well

113. The statement, "I usually ignore rather than ridicule an opponent":

(0) _____ describes me pretty well
(1) _____ does not describe me very well

116. The statement, "I enjoy cooperating with others on a job more than working by myself":

(1) _____ describes me pretty well
(0) _____ does not describe me very well

118. The statement, "I maintain a dignified reserve when I meet strangers":

(0) _____ describes me pretty well
(1) _____ does not describe me very well

123. The statement, "I am very discriminating in my choice of friends":

(0) _____ describes me pretty well
(1) _____ does not describe me very well

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