The Developmental Process of Organizational Identification

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1. The Concept of Organizational Identification

In transferring the concept of "identification" to "organizational identificatinn," the concept as used by psychologists has been altered somewhat and used to denote relationships existing between the individual and his employing organization.

March and Simon have presented one of the most complete efforts to transfer the concept of identification to the formal organization.(1) They argue that 'humans, in contrast to machines, evaluate their own position in relation to the value of others and come to accept the other's goals as their own."(2) Following this line of reasoning, March and Simon link the process of identification with organizational goals to the process of identification with the organizational totality. Thus,

> Organizational identification is defined as the degree to which the individual accepts the values and goals of an organization as his own and, therefore, becomes emotionally committed to that organization.(3)

March and Simon's conceptualization of organizational identification is similar to Kelman's identification construct. Consistent with this theme, Atkinson argues that internalization is the process by which aspects of past roles come to be a part of the personality and internalizations are the residuals of *past learning* which has taken place under the exigencies of the role situation.(4) Atkinson further argues that identification refers to a certain process relatively *contemporaneous* with the behavior or attitude relevant to the integration of the role-player into his role.(5)

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(1) James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, *Organizations* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958).

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 65.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 55. Also see Douglas McGregor, *The Professional Manager*, (New York: McGraw Hill, Book Company, 1967), pp. 145-6.

(4) J.W. Atkinson (ed.), *Motives in Fantasy, Action and Society* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1958).

(5) *Ibid.*

In the former case, the process is historical and intrapersonal, and in the latter, contemporaneous and interpersonal.(6) In a sense, identification occurs chronologically prior to internalizations in that for every internalization, some prior role situations must have taken place, and hence some prior identification. Identification involves the individual putting himself in contact with the source, whereas internalization is the result of that contact once the content is perceived as autonomous from the source. This differentiation is similar to Kelman's distinction between identification and internalization.(7)

The concept of identification and several related concepts such as introjection, compliance, and internalization have now been introduced.(8) Also, the transfer of the concept of identification to the level of the formal organization has been briefly discussed. In the next sectin, different approaches to the study of organizational identification and integration will be discussed in more detail and an integrative model will be presented for the research of this study.

2. A Thoeretical Framework for the Study of Organizational Identification

In the previous section, the concept of "identification" was introduced to refer to a certain process relatively contemporaneous with the set of behaviors or attitudes related to the integration of the role-player into his role. Thus, the process of identification with an organization is a role commitment process or a "role identification process."(9) If we accept this conceptualization of "identification with an organization," we can further argue that the identification process with an organization will be greatly influenced according to the individual's personal psychological motivation and both the situationl conditions of the immediate organization and the broader socio-cultural environment.

Scholars concerned with organizational identification have pursued two distinctly different research strategies. Some researchers have simultaneously tried to maximize the effects of personal psychological variables and minimize the effects of situational variables,(10) while other

(6) Michael Brown, *Identification, Integration, and the Conditions of Organizational Involvement* (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1964), p. 13.

(7) Herbert C. Kelman, "Compliance, Identification, and Internalization: Three processes of Attitude Change," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2 (1958), 51-60.

(8) It should be noted here that the term "identification" from now on is not being used in terms of orthodox psychoanalytic theory. We use the term "identification" as defined by Kelman and Atkinson. See Kelman, *Ibid.*, and Atkinson, *op. cit.*

(9) The degree of a role commitment as an index of role identification could range from minimal to total. The criterion of minimum commitment would become bare continuance in a role while engaging in as much covert and overt role distance and deviance as the individual actor or the group can tolerate. The criteion of maximum commitment would be continuing in performing as perfectly as possible the activities associated with one role to the neglect or even total exclusion of activities connected with all others. See Renate Mayntz, "Role Distance, Role Identification and Amoral Role Behavior," *European Journal of Sociology*, 11 (November, 1970), 368-78. See also Richard A. Schoenherr and Andrew M. Greeley, "Role Commitment Processes and the American Catholic Priesthood," *American Sociological Review*, 39 (June, 1974), 407-26.

(10) Chris Argyris, *Integrating the Individual and the Organization* (New York: Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964). Also see Abraham Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, (New York: Harper, 1954). Douglas T. Hall, Benjamin Schneider, and Harold T. Nygren, "Personal Factors in Organizational Identification," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 15 (June, 1970), 176-90.

researchers have tried to maximize the effects of situational variables and minimize the effects of personal psychological variables.[11] This study, however, deals with the interrelations of the personal system and the socio-cultural system as they occur in large scale organizations. Therefore, the major research question guiding this study can be stated as follows: ***if the process of identification with an organization is the process of integration of the role-player into his role, and the process of integration of the individual goals with organizational goals, what are the most salient linkages between the individual and the organization and in what ways does linking occur?***

Obviously, conceptual efforts or empirical studies which emphasize only one level of variables, i.e., personal psychological variables or organizational structural variables, cannot fully investigate these goal integration processes in terms of their reciprocal impacts. This is so because organizational identification is a product of a simultaneous interactions among personal systems, organizational systems, and sociocultural systems.[12]

Contemporary organizational research,especially research on the developmental process of organizational identification, suffers greatly from the lack of an inclusive analytic scheme. Although there have been a number of excellent studies, empirical work in this field has been generally fragmented and uncumulative. Research on the developmental process of organizational identification needs to be guided by a more broadly conceived integrating analytic scheme. The following section, therefore, briefly reviews the three basic approaches to the study of organizational identification and integration-that is, (I) the personalistic approach, (II) the organizational structual approach, and (III) the socio-institutional approach, and then presents the integrating model of organizational identification used to guide this research project.[13]

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(11) March and Simon, *op. cit.*, Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," in H.M. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 196–245.

(12) For the theory of action based on the interactions of the actor (personal system) and object (organizational system) in the context of environment (socio-cultural system), see Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, "Values, Motives, and Systems of Action," in Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 47–278. For the behavior space in identification, see Edward C. Tolman, "A Psychological Model," in Parsons and Shiles (eds.), *Ibid.*, pp. 285–318.

(13) There have been a number of attempts to classify approaches to the study of organizations. Waldo, for example, classifies organizational studies under three headings i.e., Classical, Neoclassical, and Modern Maps. He further classifies some contemporary approaches into five basic models: the decision-making model, the systems model, the bureaucracy model, the social system model, and other models. Perrow, in contrast, classifies organizational studies under two headings, i.e., instrumental views and institutional views. See Dwight Waldo, "Theory of Organization: Status and Problems," in Dwight Waldo, Martin Landau, Hans H. Jecht, and Glenn D. Page, *The Study of Organizational Behavior: Status, Problems, and Trends* (Washington, D.C., American Society for Public Administration, 1966), pp. 5–12. See also Charles Perrow, *Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay* (Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1972), pp. 190–93. For a Classificatory approach similar to the one used in this study, see Cary M. Lichtman and Raymond G. Hunt, "Personality and Organization Theory: A Review of Conceptual Literature," *Psychological Bulletin*, 76 (1971), 271–94.

3. Models of Organizational Identification and Integration

Even though approaches to the study of organizational identification and integration can be analytically differentiated into three basic categories, it is very difficult to categorize every individual researcher or research project exclusively into one of these categories bacause some studies have used approaches which overlap categories. Nevertheless, despite this limitation, the three categories are useful for organizing the literature in the field.

Model I: The Personalistic Approaches

In Model I, the characteristics of people who populate the organization, that is, the attributes they bring with them into the organization become the core of analysis of organizational identification and integration. In this category are viewpoints that stress individual cognitive attributes, human experience, and individual differences as behavioral determinants of organizational identification. Lichtman and Hunt observe that:

> The general assumption of the personalistic view is that people react to their organization on the basis of their perception of it. These perceptions are based on people's needs, motives, and values, Therefore, to understand human behavior in organizations, one must understand how individuals differ with respect to personalistic variables; to change organizations, one must alter the perceptions of people.(14)

Even though many scholars of organizations have chosen to concentrate their theoretical and empirical efforts on the discovery of the influence of more particularized measures of personality on organizational identification, they do not provide sufficiently differentiated predictive power to be useful by themselves for an understanding of organizational behavior. As Schein observes, this is because:

> Man is not only complex, but also highly variable; he has some motives which are arranged in some sort of hierarchy of importance to him, but this hierarchy is subject to change from time to time and situation to situation; furthermore, motives interact and combine complex motive patterns.(15)

This view is in marked contrast to the earlier theoretical treatments of organizational identification. In "rational-economic man" theory, for example, organizational identification was treated as a role commitment process which linked a person to a postition in a social system to the extent that the position provided him a favorable net balance of rewards over costs.(16) This argument clearly explained the mechanisms which were associated with "binding-in," but it failed to specify either the kinds of individual motives or the types of organizational rewards the individual valued. Thus, inducement/contribution theory failed to distinguish and specify which kinds of influence are accepted by or rejected by the individual as a member of the organization. In other words, "Rational Man" statements tended

(14) Lichtman and Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

(15) E.H. Schein, *Organizational Psychology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 60.

(16) Explanations of the relationships of human behavior to reward structures are basic to the social sciences, as Homans forcefully argues. See George C. Homans, *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961). For the theory of inducement contribution, see March and Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 53. Rosabeth M. Kanter, "Commitment and Social Organization: a Study of Commitment Mechanisms in Utopian Communities," *American Sociologial Review*, 33 (August, 1968), 499–517. Ephraim Yuchtman, "Reward Distribution and Worker-role Attractiveness in the Kibbutz-reflections on Equity Theory," *American Sociological Review*, 37 (October, 1972), 581–95. For the critique of rational man models of organization man, see Chris Argyris, "Some Limits of Rational Man Organization Theory," *Public Administration Review*, 33 (May/June, 1973), 253–66.

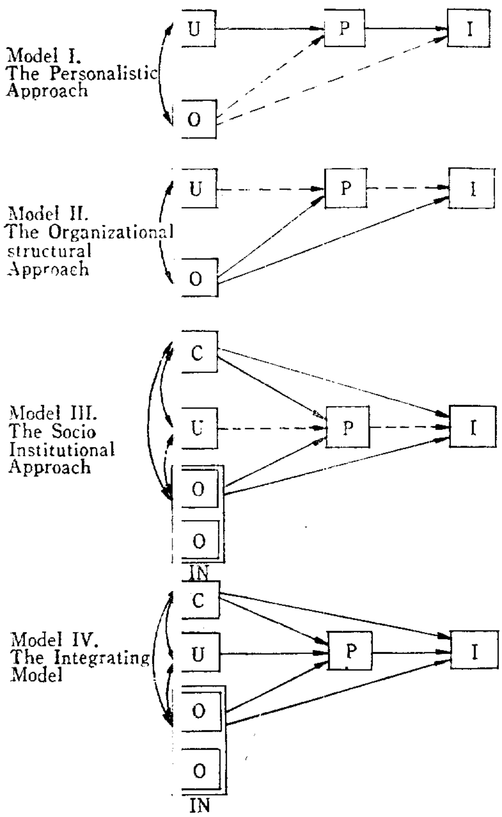


Figure 1. Alternative Approaches to the Study of Organizational Identification

to be so general that it is difficult to specify how different kinds of inducements are related to the three different forms of acceptance of influence analyzed in this study, that is, compliance, identification, and internalization.

In another approach, more consistent with contemporary developments in organizational research and theories of complex organization man, Katz and Kahn have emphasized that there are a number of different motivational bases of organizational membership.(17) Super further argues that, over time, man begins to develop a concept of himself as a distinct person, as self rather than as others.(18) The man brings a great deal to his organization: he brings his self. What he sees, what he tries, how well he tries, how well he likes it, and how well he succeeds at it, depend upon his self as well as upon the organization. Thus, a synthesis occurs between the person's self-identity and his work as his career develops.(19) Hall argues that this is actually a synthesis of the person's self-identity and his career role. Thus, it is suggested that a certain type of person is most likely to enter and be ready to identify with a certain type of organization.(20)

In sum, personalistic approaches of organizational identification view personality characteristics, needs, and self-conceptions as the primary determining factor of organizational identification.

Model II: The Organizational Structure Approaches

In Model II, structural properties of organiza-

(17) Katz and Kahn suggested four different types of motivational patterns in organizations: legal compliance, instrumental satisfaction, self-expression, and internalized values. See Katz and Kahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 340-67.

(18) Donald E. Super, *The Psychology of Careers: An Introduction to Vocational Development* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957). p. 81.

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 81.

(20) Douglas T. Hall, "A Theoretical Model of Career Sub-Identity Development in Organizational Setting," *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 6 (1971), 50-76. See also Douglas T. Hall, Benjamin Schneider, and Harold T. Nygren, "Personal Factors in Organizational Identification," *op. cit.*, p. 186. See also Joel Arnoff, *Psychological Needs and Cultural Systems* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1967), Donald D. Bowen, "Personality Patterns in Work Groups," *Human Relations*, 23 (1970), Howard S. Becker and Anselm L. Strauss, "Carrers, Personality, and Adult Socialzation," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62 (1956), 253-63.

tions are the key to organizational anlysis. March and Simon define organizational structure as "those aspects of the pattern of behavior in organization that are relatively stable and that change only slowly."[21]

Structuralists argue that a set of occupational conditions define the structural imperatives of the job and are substantially related to the psychological functioning of employees, off as well as on the job. They argue that the relationships between occupational conditions and psychological functioning result from a continuing interplay between job and man.[22] The basic thesis of the organizational structural approach is that adult occupational experience have a real and substantial impact upon psychological functioning. The structuralist considers the roles people play, rather than the nature of the personalities in these roles. It deals with the structures in which roles are performed—the relationship of groups to each other and the "climates" of values and expectations and goals in the organizations—something which will occasionally be referred to as the "character" of the organization.[23] They argue that all people have certain common needs and that the structure of the organization interferes with the expression of these needs. Most of these theorists acknowledge the existence of individual differences, but they proceed to build their models as if these differences are of no account.[24]

March and Simon suggest two different mechanisms that promote identification with organizations: interpersonal interactions occurring at the work place, and the individual's vertical mobility within an organization.[25] One important implication of the March and Simon model is that to change individual behavior you do not have to change individuals, in the sense of altering their personalities or teaching them human relations skills. Instead, you change the premises of their decisions. They further argue that:

> ...with the decline in cosensus, there may well be increased conflict or a decline in quality of interpersonal relations and organizational goal identification. And declines in cosensus are the result of multiple sources of communication and an increase in uncertainty absorption.[26]

The advantages of giving fuller information to improve job understanding are thus two-fold: if a man knows the reason for his assignment, this will often insure his carrying out the job more effectively; and if he has an understanding of what his job is about in relation to his subsystem, he is more likely to identify with his organization's goals.[27]

March and Simon further contend that expectations of vertical mobility create expectations of interaction as well as a felt similarity between subordinates and superiors.[28] The core of their argument is that peer relations and leader-subordinate relations 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.[29]

(21) March and Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 170
(22) Melvin L. Kohn and Carmi Schooler, "Occupational Experience and Psychological Functioning: An Assessment of Reciprocal Effects," *American Sociological Review*, 38 (February, 1973), 97–118. See also Charles Perrow, *Organizational Analysis: A Sociological View* (Belmont, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, 1970), p. 4.
(23) *Ibid.*, p. 2.
(24) Lichtman and Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 241.
(25) March and Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–4.
(26) *Ibid.*, p. 127.
(27) Katz and Kahn, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
(28) March and Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
(29) *Ibid.*, p. 32.

In addition to these mechanisms, Brown suggests two additional structural mechanisms related to an individual's organizational identification; task structure and collective representations.[30]

The structure of the task situation, Brown contends, effects involvement through the mediation of various psychological process such as self-actualization and feelings of achievement.[31] Individuals are, in part, "bound into" the organization through their participation in a task system which provides opportunities for individual closure,[32] and which permits the maximization of important values related to the self.[33]

Brown also contends that "collective representation" —such as latent structure, informal organization, shared values and expectations, etc., and especially groups— exercise a great deal of influence on the organizational Identification process. He states that:

> The situational constraints operate only on individuals and groups which are subject 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 normative reference groups.[34]

Model III. The Socio-Institutional Approaches

In model III, emphasis is given to the analysis of the whole organization: that is, its organic character and the influence of its environment. This approach further emphasizes central tendencies of groups, the patterned regularity of interaction among groups (i.e., social structure), social norms, and socio-cultural values.[35]

In the socio-institutional apperoach, organizations not only adapt values and norms generated externally, but also create new norms and values that they "export" into their environment. People build their lives around these organizations, identify with them, and become dependent upon them.[36] In this model of analysis, structural and cultural properties of organizations and their relationships with their environment become the key variables for analyzing orgaizations and, in turn, organizational identification and integration.[37]

It is also important to emphasize that the relationship between man, the producer, and the social world, his product, is and remains a dialectical one.[38] That is, man and his social world interact with each other. The product acts back

(30) Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

(31) *Ibid.*, p. 32.

(32) A.S. Tannenbaum and F.H. Allport, "Personality Structure and Group Structure: An Interpretative Study of Their Relationship Through an Event-Structure Hypothesis," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 53 (1956), 272-80.

(33) Daniel Katz, "The Motivational Basis of Organizational Behavior," *Behavioral Science*, 9 (1964), 131-46.

(34) Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

(35) Charles B. Perrow, *Organizational Analysis: A Sociological View*, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-3. Iinkels and Levinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-29.

(36) Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949). See also his *Leadership in Administration* (Evanston, Ill.: Row and Peterson, 1957).

(37) Talcott Parsons, *Structure and Process in Modern Society* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960). For the social sanctions and social rewards related to group oriented action, see Mancur Olson, Jr., *The Logic of Collective Action* (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), pp. 60-65.

(38) Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967), p. 61.

upon the producer. The fundamental relationships are as follows: Society is a human prduct. Society i an objective reality. Man is a social product.

Indivic ıals perform discrete institutionalized actions ' 'ithin the context of their biography. This bio; raphy is reflected upon in a manner in which th : discrete act:ons are thought of not as isolat d events, but as related parts in a subjectively meaningful universe whose meanings are not ;pecific to the individual, but socially articulat d and shared.[39] This observation has far-reach ng implications for any analysis of social ph nomena, including organizational identification ınd integraction. Berger and Luckmann's argument suggests the importance of scio-cultural values ar l influences in oranizational analysis, especially as they relate to problems of organizational ide ıtification.

Parsons and Shils assert that an actor's oriention to a situ tion reflects his motives and values. The obje ts of motivation can be perceived as more or ess desirable in comparison to other objects o ıly in terms of some value system. Accordin ly, the role identification process contains an ssessment of the net balance of rewards over cost measured in terms of the actor's own values.[40] March and Simon explicate the calculus of the gr up identification process in a similar manner:

> The reater the perceived prestige of the group, the stronger the propensity of an individual to identify with it. How an individual perceives group prestige is a function not only of how other people evaluate it but of individual standards as well.. The position of a group in a society is determined by its possession of symbols of success in culture.[41]

The same logic will apply to government organizations. Individuals in different societies will perceive the prestige of government organization differently. Furthermore, individual standars will be grealy influenced through the cultural heritage of a particular society, especially as it provides surrounding environment for the individual. Therefore, cultural variables should be simultan eously included in the analysis of organizations and social integration processes. By so doing, organizational identification processes will be more effectively explained.

Model IV: An Integrative model

In Moel IV, psychological, organizational structural, and socio-cultural variables are incorporated to explain organizational identifcation and integration. In this framework, personal preferences and organizational variables are treated as directly influencing the perceived need satisfactions of organization members. Also, these perceived need satisfactions have different meanigs to individuals in different socio-cultural contexts and, in turn, determine degrees of identifcation with the orgnization. Therefore, by using the independent psychological and socio-cutural variables together, one can explain more of the variance in the dependent variable-identification

(39) *Ib d.*, p. 65.

(40) "\ alues" is the short hand terms for the actor's entire cultural system. As Kluckhohn argues, on 's values are integrated into a set of beliefs of "existential propositions." C. Kluckhohn, "\ alues and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action", In T. Parsons and E. Shils (eds.), *T ward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 388-43 .

(41) M rch and Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-67.

(42) Ne l J. Smelser, "Sociological Theory and Psychological Theory," Paper Delivered at the A nual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, (Boston, Massachusetts, 1968). M ra Komarovsky, "Presidential Address: Some Problems in Role Analysis, "*American Sociolo ical Review*, 38 (December, 1973), 649-62. Especially, see pp. 652-55.

with the organization-than either could have explained alone.[42] The reason is that identification and integration are the results of the reciprocal effects of properties of the work environment and several facets of psychological functioning.[43] Thus, the complex interplay between job and man in certain socio-cultural contexts will produce different degrees of identification with the organization.

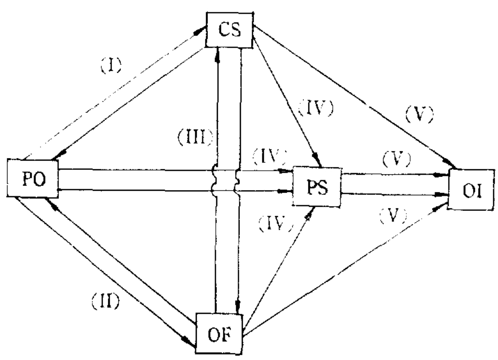
Figure 2 shows the reciprocal influencing process during the development of organizational identification (as suggested by Model IV in Figure 1). The reasoning behind this model is that an individual comes to an organization with a need system, a belief-value system, and a self-image,[44] which have been attained during the socialization process (linkage I).

Each employee's behavior toward need-satisfaction is limited to his own unique and limited capacities (linkage II). Barnard has observed that jointly acting with others allows the unique capacities of individual employees to complement one another and results in greater need-satisfaction for all of the organization members, thus providing the basic logic for organization itself and the division of labor within organizations.[45] Consequently the organizations have come to be characterized by their orientation to goal attainment and the social increment derived from joint complementary activity, carried out within the framework of cooperative relationships and authority structures which permit and promote goal achievement.[46]

Following this line of reasoning, behavior within the organization is seen as based upon beliefs about the efficacy of activities toward goal achievement, upon priorities attached to immediate and long-range goals, and the means to their realization; thereby constituting a system of beliefs and values that guide decision making and performance toward goal attainment. These organizational goals, belief-value systems, and task structures are affected by and affect the individual organizational member. They also are constrained by and create new socio-cultural realities.

This process is a continuing-reciprocal dynamic for the creation of societal reality. For this reason, the social integration of the organization can be more effectively explained by exploring

FIGURE 2. Conceptual Model of the Reciprocal Influence During the Development of Organizational Identification



Notations: PO: Personal Orientation
OF: Organization Feasibility
CS: Cultural Sanction
PS: Perceived Need Satisfaction
OI: Organizational Identification

(43) Melvin L. Kohn and Carmi Schooler, "Occupational Experience and Psychological Functioning: An Assessment of Reciprocal Effects," *American Sociological Review*, 38 (February, 1973), 97-118.

(44) R. Oliver Gibson, "Toward a Conceptualization of Absence Behavior of Personnel in Organizations," *Administrative Science Quarterly* (June, 1966), 107-133.

(45) Chester Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938)

(46) Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 66. p. 115.

these three dimensions simultaneously(linkage III). Variables of these three different dimensions simultaneously influence the individual's perceived needs (linkage IV), and, in turn, the individual's perceived needs, together with properties of the organization and the socio-cultural system, determine the degree of the individual's organizational identification (linkage V).

4. A Framework of Hypothetical Causal Relationships

This study is concerned with making inferences about the pattern of causal relationships among eight variables: length of tenure (LT); hierarchical position (HP); sociocultural norms (SC); organizational structure (OS); personal orientation (PO); social attachment (SA); gratification of the higher order needs (GH); and organizational identification (OI). These variables were selected for inclusion in the framework on the basis of their theoretical significance and empirical tractability.

Before constructing the framework of hypothetical causal relationships, some *a priori* assumptions are needed.(47) The *a priori* assumptions commonly employed in causal modeling are of four kinds:

> (I) Certain variables are not directly dependent on certain others. Sometimes such assumptions come from knowledge of the time sequence of events; (II) The errors are uncorrelated; (III) In the system under study change in one ariable always occurs as a linear function of changes in other variables; and (IV) The system contains no reciprocal causations or feedback loops, that is, if x causes y, y cannot affect either directly or through a chain of other variables.(48)

Under these *a priori* assumptions, Figure 3 presents the framework for the hypothetical causal relationships which guide this study. The core of this model is the ordering of the sets of conditions operating at individual, organizational, and socio-cultural levels. All the priorities among these segments of the developmental process of organizational identification are not absolutely fixed by a time sequence and thus are debatable.(49) A time sequence does apply, however, to some, and the other causal priorities have been assumed on the basis of widely accepted evidence.

Organizational identification results not only from a multi-phase socio-psychological process, but also from objective structural conditions.

Berger and Luckmann, for example, argue that the interplay between the individual's value system and those of the society are inherently dialectical.(50) Therefore, the model specifies that the properties of an individual's society, organ-

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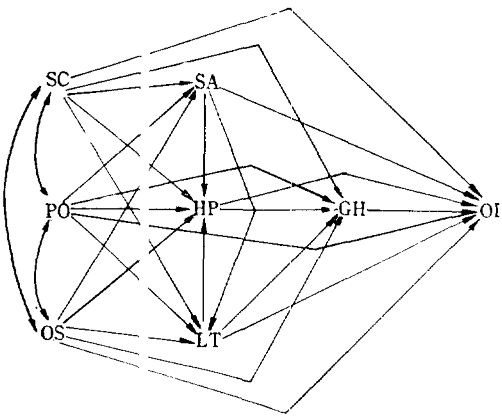
(47) Herbert A. Simon, "Spurious Correlation: A Causal Interpretation," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 49 (1954), 467–79. See also H.M. Blalock, Jr., "Four Variable Causal Models and Partial Correlations," in H.M. Blalock, Jr., (ed.), *Causal Models in the Social Sciences* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 18–32.

(48) Simon, *op. cit.*, (1954). See also David R. Heise, "Problems in Path Analysis and Causal Inference," Edgar E. Borgatta(ed.), *Sociological Methodoolgy* 1969 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1969), pp.38–73.

(49) Heise suggests "an *a priori* assumption that the causal laws governing the system are established sufficiently to specify the causal priorities among variables in a way that is undebatable." However, he interprets this assumtion in a way that the requirement is not for theory in the sense of specifying every causal path, but rather for a partial theory which a full-scale simply permits ordering variables in terms of their casual priorities. Thus, the requirement does allow for some ambiguity in the theoretical input for a path analysis. At the same time, of course, the requirement does demand a large amount of valid theoretical information. See *Ibid.*, p. 52.

(50) Berger and Luckmann, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

Figure 3. Hypothetical Causal Relationships



Notation

I. → Causal relationships

↗ =Possible correlation resulting from unspecified causal mechanisms

II. SC=Socio Cultural Norms

PO=Personal Orientation

OS=Organizational Structure

SA=Social Attachment

HP=Hierarchal Position

LT=Length of Tenure

GH=Gratification Deficiency of Higher Order Need

OI=Organizational Identification

izational structure, and personal orientation, are simultaneously antecedent to identification because they are his most remote given. He is born or moves into them;they exist prior to his coming. Also, he has some personality traits when he enters a bureaucratic organization. Thus, these three variables are considered the basic input variables in the causal model.

Among the four intervening variables—that is, the individual's social attachment, hierarchical position, length of tenure, and his gratification of higher order needs, we assume the first three variables temporarily precede the gratification of higher order needs. March and Simon argue that the longer an individual remains in an organization, the more his interactions occur within the organization, and the more his needs are satisfied within the organization.(51) Thus, we assume that the length of an individividual's tenure temporarily precedes the gratification of higher order needs in the causal processes. Also, as one ascends the hierarchical ladder, he receives greater amount of both the intrinsic and extrinsic rewards the organization has to offer.(52) Finally, the higher an individual is in an organization, the more able he is to satisfy higher order needs, especially those pertaining to self-actualization.(53) Thus, it is assumed that in the causal process, hierarchal position precedes the gratification of higher order needs.

Of the three intervening variables that precede need gratification—the individual's social attachment, his length of tenure, and his hierarchal position, we assume in the causal model that the individual's length of tenure temporarily precedes his hierarchal position and the individual's social attachment temporarily precedes his length of tenure.

The causal order of this model may invite challenges. It is presented as an heuristic approximation for testing. Developmental processes of organizational identification encompass such a complex and little understood series of social behavior that this linear recursive model is an advance in the state of our knowledge even though it is limited to the predominant relation ships among the variables. In the future, advancements to our understanding may permit more detailed analysis.

5. Test of the Hypothetical Path Model

The purposes of this section are threefold. The

(51) March and Simon, *op.cit.*, p. 74.
(52) Presthus, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.
(53) Argyris, *op. cit.* (1957), p. 66.

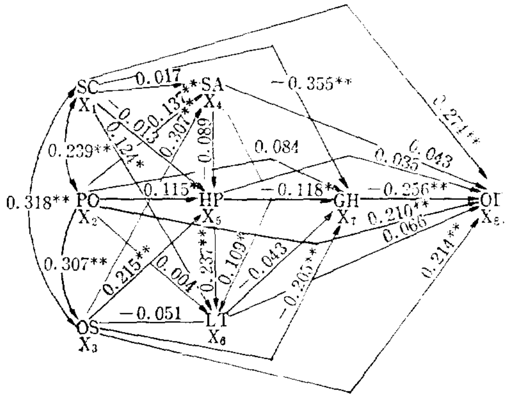
first objective is to test each path as to whether or not the relevant path coefficient (partial coefficient) is statistically significant ($p<0.05$) by the analysis of a usable sample of 339.[54] If not, we will set the path coefficient equal to zero. The impli-cation is that we regard the correlation between the two variables whose connecting path is deleted as being due to indirect effects only. By deleting certain paths a more parsimonious causal model is offered. If after the deletion of some paths, it is possible to reproduce the original R Matrix or closely approximate it; the conclusion will be that the pattern of correlations in the data is consistent with the more parsimonious model.

The second objective, therefore, is to construct a more parsimonious causal model. This does not mean that the theoretical formulation is derived from the analysis of data. All that the anlysis indicates is whether or not the relations in the data are consistent wtih the theory. If after the deletion of some paths there are large discrepancies between the original R matrix and the reproduced one, the conclusion will be that in the light of relations among the variables the more parsimonious theory is not tenable.[55]

The third and final objective is to decompose a correlation into direct and indirect effects. It will be then possible to study the magnitude of each of these components and discern the roles they play in the system.

Figure 4 presents the path diagram together with path coefficients and their significant levels. The numbers are path coefficients.

Figure 4. Hypothetical Causal Relationships



Notation

I. → Causal Relationships

↗ = Possible correlation resulting from unspecified causal mechanisms

II. SC = Socio-Cultural Noms

PO = Personal Orientation

OS = Organizational Structure

SA = Social Attachment

HP = Hierarchal Position

LT = Length of Tenure

GH = Gratification Deficiency of Higher Order Needs

OI = Organizational Identification

III. $*p<0.05$, $**\ p<0.01$

Note that the ten path coefficients (P_{86}, P_{65}, P_{84}, P_{75}, P_{72}, P_{64}, P_{61}, P_{53}, P_{52}, and P_{41}) are not significant at the 0.05 level, indicating that zero-order correlations between these relative variables were mainly due to indirect effects. For example, the direct effect of varable 4 (SA) on 8 (OI) was 0.043, while the total of indirect

(54) For the theory trimming, see David R. Heise, "Problems in Path Analysis and Causal Inference," *Sociological Methodology* 1969, Edgar F. Borgatta (ed.) (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1969), pp. 38–73. Heise suggests two kinds of criteria for theory trimming—that is, statistical significance and meaningfulness. In the absence of any guidelines for the criterion of meaningfulness, Land suggests that path coefficients less than 0.05 may be treated as not meaningful. K.C. Land, "Principles of Path Analysis," *Sociological Methodology* 1969, Edgar F. Borgatta (ed.) (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969), pp. 3–37.

(55) Fred N. Kerlinger and Elazar J. Pedhazur, *Multiple Regression in Behavioral Research* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973), pp. 317–18.

effects was 0.209 ($r_{84}-P_{84}=0.252-0.043=0.209$).[56] In other words, SA has practically no direct effect on OI. It does, however, affect OI indirectly through its correlation with other variables such as LT. The observations regarding P_{84} and other nine path coefficients (P_{86}, P_{85}, P_{75}, P_{72}, P_{64}, P_{61}, P_{53}, P_{5}, and P_{41}) lead to the conclusion that the present model can be trimmed. The more parsimonious model is presented in Figure 5.

In the new model, the path coefficients are calculated and used in an attempt to reproduce the original correlation matrix. The equations that reflect the model in Figure 5 are as follows:

$Z_1=e_1,\qquad Z_2=e_2,\qquad Z_3=e_3$

$Z_4=P_{42}\ Z_2+P_{43}\ Z_3+e_4$

$Z_5=P_{51}\ Z_1+P_{54}\ Z_4+e_5$

$Z_6=P_{62}\ Z_2+P_{63}Z_3+P_{65}Z_5+e_6$

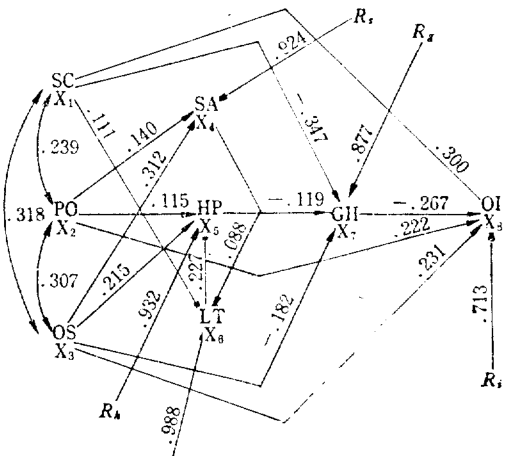
$Z_7=P_{71}\ Z_1+P_{73}Z_3+P_{76}Z_6+e_7$

$Z_8=P_{81}\ Z_1+P_{82}Z_2+P_{83}\ Z_3+P_{87}Z_7+e_8$

It is now possible to calculate the zero-order correlations between all the variables to reproduce the original correlation matrix. Table 1 presents the original and reproduced correlations for an eight-variable model.

In the correlation matrix, the orignal correlations are reported in the upper half of the matrix. The reproduced correlations are reported in the lower half of the matrix.[57] Since the discrepancies between the original and the reproduced correlations are small, it can be concluded that the data and the more parsimonious or new model are consistent with one another.

Figure 5. A Path Diagram Showing Dependence of Organizational Identification on Socio-Cultural, Personal and Organizational Variables



Notation:

See Figure 4.

R_s, R_1, R_h, R_g, R_i: Disturbance terms.*

* For the effects of disturbance terms, see Kenneth C. Land, "Principles of Path Analysis," Edgar F. Borgatta (ed.), *Sociological Methodology* (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, Inc., 1969), pp. 12–14.

6. Discussion of the Causal-Model

The model explains about 50 percent of the variation ($R^2=0.492$) of administrators' organizational identification in the Korean Ministry of

(56) To obtain the total indirect effects of a variable is to substract its direct effect from the correlation coefficient between it and the dependent variable. Thus, $TIE_{84}=r_{84}-P_{84}$. See Kerlinger, *Ibid.*, pp. 316–17.

(57) For example, r_{14} was reproduced by the following manner:

$$r_{12}=\frac{1}{N}\Sigma\ Z_1\ Z_2=0.239=P_{21},\quad r_{13}=\frac{1}{N}\Sigma Z_1\ Z_3=0.318=P_{31}$$

$$r_{23}=\frac{1}{N}\Sigma\ Z_2\ Z_3=0.307=P_{32}$$

$$r_{14}=\frac{1}{N}\Sigma\ Z_1Z_4=\frac{1}{N}\Sigma Z_1(P_{42}Z_2+P_{43}Z_3)$$

$$=P_{42}\ \frac{1}{N}\Sigma Z_1Z_2+P_{43}\ \frac{1}{N}\Sigma Z_1Z_3=P_{42}r_{12}+P_{43}r_{13}$$

$$=(0.140)(0.239)+(0.312)(0.318)=0.133$$

Other zero-order correlations between all the variables were reproduced by the same procedures.

Table 1. Original and Reproduced Correlations for an Eight-Variable Model (N=339)

	1 SC	2 PO	3 OS	4 SA	5 LT	6 HP	7 GH[a]	8 OI
1	1.000	0.239	0.318	0.418	0.125	0.112	−0.419	0.539
2	0.239	1.000	0.307	0.236	0.043	0.191	−0.088	0.389
3	0.318	0.307	1.000	0.355	0.026	0.257	−0.323	0.482
4	0.133	0.236	0.355	1.000	0.104	0.052	−0.118	0.252
5	0.123	0.047	0.065	0.103	1.000	0.238	−0.117	0.161
6	0.123	0.191	0.264	0.126	0.245	1.000	−0.205	0.235
7	−0.418	−0.149	−0.323	−0.124	−0.083	−0.209	1.000	−0.488
8	0.547	0.402	0.479	0.204	0.085	0.196	−0.499	1.000

Gratification of Higher-Order Needs (GH) is measured by Need Deficiency Scores.

Home Affais and the Ministry of Construction. In causal analysis, this figure is reasonably high, given the limited number of predictors.

Assessing the direct and indirect effects on the degree of organizational identification, we note that socio-cultural norms (one's own attitudes toward working for the government and other's perceived attitudes toward working for the government) have the largest effect on the degree of organizational identification (0.394). About 76 percent of that effect is direct (0.300). The second largest effect comes from organizational structure (0.287), that is, anticipated access and perceived institutional link. About 80 percent of that effect is direct (0.231). The third largest direct effect comes from the graitfication deficiency of the higher-order needs (−0.267) and the fourth largest direct effect comes from personal orientations (0.226). Further, more than 98 percent of the effect of personal orientation comes directly. These four variables have direct and indirect effect on organizational identification.(58) Three other variables-hierarchal position, length of tenure and social attachment have only indirect effects (0.032;0.007; and 0.001, relatively). Not only are their effects on organizational identification indirect, but they are also small. By adding these three variables, only 0.8 percent of the explanation of variation increases (from R^2=0.491, without these three variables to R^2=0.499, including these variables).

Thus, we can conclude that socio-cultural norms, organizational structure, personal orientation, and gratification of higher order needs are the most important factors and have the largest effects on the government administrators' degree of organizational identification. Furthermore, these variables have mostly direct effects on the degree of organizational identification. Other factors such as social attachment, length of tenure, and hierarchal posion have indirect effect on the degree of organizational identification through the gratification of higher-order needs.

In terms of total indirect effect ($TIE_{ij}=R_{ij}-P_{ij}$),(59) SC, PO, OS, and GH have relatively high indirect effect on organizational identification

(58) Other effects on the degree of organizational identification except direct and indirect effects discussed here come from the combined component effects of SC, PO and OS. Some researchers classify these effects as indirect effects. See Kerlinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 314–15. Also see Edward O. Laumann, Lois M. Vergrugge, and Franz U. Pappi, "A Causal Modeling Approach to the Study of a Community Elite's Influential Structure," *American Sociological Review*, 39 (April, 1974), 162–74.

(59) Kerlinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 316–17.

Table 2.)irect and Indirect Effects of Socio-Culturl, Personal and Organizational Variables on the Degree of Organizational Identification

Pa th	Effects
A. Gratification of Higher Order Needs[a]	
Direct Effect	−0.267
Total :ffect	−0.267
B. Hierarchal Position	
Direct Effect	0
Path via: gratificatin of higher-order needs (−0.119) (−0.267)=0.032	
Total :ffects	0.032
C. Length of Tenure	
Direct Effect	0
Path ia: Hierarchal Position (0.227) (0.032)=0.007	
Total :ffects	0.007
D. Social Attachment	
Direct Effect	0
Path via: Lengh of Tenure (0.088) (0.007)=0.001	
Total :ffects	0.001
E. Organizational Structure	
Direct Effects	0.231
Path via: Social Attachment (0.312)(0.001)=0.000	
Hierarchal Position (0.215) (0.032)=0.007	
Gratification of Higher-Order needs (−0.182)(−0.267)=0.049	
Total :ffects	0.287
F. Personal Orientation	
Direct Effect	0.222
Path via: Social Attachment (0.140) (0.001)=0.000	
Hierarararchal Position (0.115)(0.032)=0.004	
Total :ffects	0.226
G. Socio-Cultural Norms	
Direct Effect	0.300
Path via: Lengh of Tenure (0.111) (0.007)=0.001	
Gratification of Higher-Order Needs (−0.347)(−0.267)=0.093	
Total :ffects	0.394

a. Measure d by gratification deficiency of higher-order needs.

(TIE_{81}=0.239, TIE_{82}=0.167, TIE_{83}=0.251, TIE_{87}=−0.221, re atively).(60) Among these four variables, SC, PO, and GH have more direct effects than the total indirect effects on

(60) Table Direct and Total Indirect Effects of Four Major Variables

	Direct Effect	Total Indirect Effect
S(	0.300	0.239
P( )	0.222	0.167
O ;	0.231	0.251
G I[a]	−0.261	−0.221

[a] G: atification deficiencies of higher-order needs.

organizational indentification while OS has more total indirect effect than direct effect on organizational identification.

One of the most important findings is that perceived socio-cultural norms and personal orientation have more direct effects than indirect effect on organizational identification. These findings are consistent with our basic assumption that organizational identification could be predicted well by including the variables related to personal orientations and images toward working for the government in particular socio-cultural setting. Most of the tacit assumptions of previous research seems to have been that satisfaction and identification are due to organizational conditions alone and are not subject to personal characteristics and their environmental settings beyond relevant organizations.

Only recently has Blood; and Schneider, Hall and Nygren shown, for example, that the work values a person brings to a job may be related to his job satisfaction and his organization identification.[61]

Our findings that the degree of organizational identification is directly related with one's attitudes toward working for the government as well as his perception of the attitudes of others toward working for the government are consistent with March and Simon's assertion that the strength of identification with a group is a function of the perceived prestige of the group which is, in turn, a function of the position of the group in the society and of individual standards.[62]

The findings of this study are also consistent with Perrow's and Thompson's arguments that the creation and the maintenance of a favorable image of the organization among its salient publics are the important way of controlling dependency.[63]

In sum, our causal model not only explains paths of effects of independent variables on administrator's organizational identification but also indicates why individval orientations and socio-cultural variables should be included in predicting organizational behavior.

7. CONTINGENCY ANALYSIS

Little attention has been directed to the way in which personal characteristics of organization members are related to organizational and broader socio-political factors.[64] By linking personal, organizational, and socio-politial variables into a contingency framework, interactions among variables from these three different levels can be hypothesized and tested to aid understanding of the conditions which foster or inhibit the development of organizational identification. Following contingency reasoning, we hypothesize that an individual will have a high degree of organizational identification when his personal orientation and value standards are compatible with his organization's mission and goals. when his organ

(61) Benjamin Schneider, Douglas T. Hall and Harold T. Nygren, "Self-Image and Job Characteristics as Correlates of Changing Organizational Identification," *Human Relations*, 24 (October, 1971), 398-99. M.R. Blood, "Work Values and Job Satisfaction," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 53 (1969), 456-59.

(62) March and Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68.

(63) Charles Perrow, *op. cit.*, (1961), pp 856-66. See also James Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

(64) Robert B. Duncan, "Characteritics of Organizational Environments and Perceived Environmental Uncertinty," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 17 (September, 1972), 313~27. James D. Thompson, *Organizations in Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), p. 96. J. W. Lorsh and John J. Morse, *Organizations and Their Members: A Contingency Approach* (New york. Harper and Row, 1974), p. 2.

ization's structure is favorable for the gratification of his higher order needs, and when his organization's prestige is perceived to be high. Conversely, some or all of these conditions are reversed, we hypothesize that individuals will have lower degrees of organizational identification.

In Table 3 we assign "A" to represent favorable relationships and "B" to represent unfavorable relationships on each of the three dimensions of our contingency framework. Combining the three dichotomized dimensions produces eight different types of situational combinations: i.e., $A_1A_2A_3$, $A_1A_2B_3$, $A_1B_2A_3$, $B_1A_2A_3$, $A_1B_2B_3$, $B_1A_2B_3$, $B_1A_2B_3$, $B_1A_2A_3$, $B_1B_2B_3$.

Table 4 indicates that we hypothesize there will be different degrees of organizational identification due to different combinations of the three dimensional variables. The situational configuration $A_1A_2A_3$ will most likely yield high levels of organizational identification while the combination of $B_1B_2B_3$ will produce low levels. Combinations between these two extremes will yield either high or moderately high degrees of organizational identification.

Table 3. Symbolic Representation of the Degree of Situational Favorableness for Organizational Identification

Dimensions	Degree of Favorableness	
	Favorable	Unfavorable
Personal Orientation	A_1	B_1
Organization Structure	A_2	B_2
Organizational Prestige	A_3	B_3

Table 4. Degree of Organizational Identification in Different Types of Situational Combinations

Combinations	Degree of Organizational Identification
$A_1A_2A_3$	Very High
$A_1A_2B_3$ $A_1B_2A_3$ $B_1A_2A_3$	High
$A_1B_2B_3$ $B_1A_2B_3$ $B_1B_2A_3$	Moderately High
$B_1B_2B_3$	Low

Data related to our contingency hypothesis shows that the null hypothesis can be rejected. A one way analysis of variance for the degree of organizational identification by organizational prestige, personal orientation, and organizational structure supports the general hypothesis that there are significant differences in organizational ientification. That is, the F ratio (58.42) for the variance between groups was significant at the .01 confidence level.

Tabel 5 shows that the mean score for the degree of organizational identification of the combination of $A_1A_2A_3$ is highest (27.90) among the eight groups. On the other hand, the mean score for the degree of organizational identification of the combination of $B_1B_2B_3$ is lowest (17.22) among these groups. Finally, the mean scores of the combinations of $A_1A_2B_3$, $A_1B_2A_3$, and $B_1A_2A_3$ were higher (21.68; 23.51; 23.32, respectively) than those for the combinations of $A_1B_2B_3$, $B_1A_2B_3$, and $B_1B_2A_3$ (21.53; 20.18; 19.74, respectively).

Table 5. The Degree of Organizational Identification by Organizational Prestige, Personal Orientations, and Organizational Structure

Combinations	N	Degree of Identification
$A_1A_2A_3$	66	27.90
$A_1A_2B_3$	38	21.68
$A_1B_2A_3$	39	23.51
$B_1A_2A_3$	34	23.32
$A_1B_2B_3$	41	21.53
$B_1A_2B_3$	32	20.18
$B_1B_2A_3$	35	19.74
$B_1B_2B_3$	54	17.22
Total	339	$(\bar{X}=)$22.20

Thus, the contingency hypothesis that the degree of organizational identification is a joint or multiple product of the individual's self-image, his organization's characteristics, and his socio-political environment receives strong support from our data.

Our contingency analysis of the data suggests that the degree of employee identification with an organization can be "engineered" by the manipulation of either recruitment criteria or job factors. This implies that recruitment criteria and situational engineering should both be explored in greater depth to understand and better command the complex relationship between organizational integration and political and economic development.