Situated Organizational Identification in Newcomers: Impacts of Preentry Organizational Exposure

Keri K. Stephens¹ and Stephanie L. Dailey¹

Abstract
When employees enter organizations, they bring their life experiences with them, and those experiences may influence their organizational identification. The current study provides evidence for how Scott, Corman, and Cheney’s perspective on situated identification explains varying degrees of organization identification before and after newcomer orientation. Using a pretest, posttest survey design, these findings suggest that identification is changed by attending new employee orientation. Furthermore, prior non-work-related experiences with the hiring organization are explained as a type of membership negotiation that influences preorientation identification. The interaction effects are further examined to advance a more comprehensive view of how newcomers both individualize and adapt during new employee orientation and the role that multiple personal exposures to the organization can have.

Keywords
organizational identification, situated identification, membership negotiation, organizational socialization, new employee orientation, anticipatory socialization

¹University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX, USA

Corresponding Author:
Keri K. Stephens, University of Texas at Austin, 2504A Whitis, CMA 7.114, A1105, Department of Communication Studies, Austin, TX 78712, USA
Email: keristephens@mail.utexas.edu
Almost all organizations provide newcomers with some form of new employee orientation to bring them into the organization (Jablin, 2001). Yet new employees are often actively and passively involved in this assimilation process, and so both the adaptation and individualization experiences need to be considered as simultaneously operating (Scott & Myers, 2010). New employee orientation varies from informal, individualized approaches in which newcomers learn things such as how to do their jobs to more formal, group-based training that teaches all newcomers about the organization in a single session (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Despite the format of these programs, a central goal of most orientation sessions is to create a sense of identification between newcomers and their organizations (Cheney, 1983). Organizations invest a substantial amount of money in orientation, budgeting an average of US$54 billion on formal programs, with intentions of starting employees off on the right foot (“Industry Report,” 2000). Because organizations attempt to strengthen new employees’ identification during orientation, it is one of the best possible organizational activities to exemplify how identification can change in a specific context.

Communication and organizational scholars have spent the last several decades examining organizational identification. Research demonstrates that identification is beneficial for organizational outcomes since it enhances member adjustment (Carmeli, Gilat, & Waldman, 2007) and decreases one’s intent to leave the organization (Mael & Ashforth, 1995; Scott et al., 1999). While research has suggested that there are occasional times that organizational identification is either undesirable or unachievable—especially in terms of a temporary workforce (Burgess & Connell, 2006; Gossett, 2002, 2006)—the construct of identification is generally viewed as an important, highly communicative construct.

Contemporary organizational identification scholars have embraced more fluid and situated views of identification, largely because of the pivotal theoretical contribution by Scott, Corman, and Cheney (1998). In their structurational model of identification, the authors note that identity and identifications vary across time and space. Several studies have shown that in general, identification changes contextually (Scott & Fontenot, 1999; Scott & Stephens, 2009), that people can hold multiple simultaneous identifications (Kuhn & Nelson, 2002; Larson & Pepper, 2003; Scott et al., 1999), and that anticipatory socialization by family and friends shapes one’s attachment with organizations (Gibson & Papa, 2000; Morgan, Reynolds, Nelson, Johanningmeier, & Andrade, 2004; Russo, 1998). The current research provides an empirical example of how an individual’s personal experiences with the hiring organization prior to employment influence organizational identification in the context of new employee orientation.
In the sections that follow, we review the literature specifically related to a situated view of organizational identification—a fluid perspective that accounts for identifications that change across different situations. We also develop a rationale for why the context of new employee orientation is a particularly relevant situation to study, and we elaborate on the method and analysis. The findings and discussion not only elaborate on one way that membership negotiation occurs but they also suggest new areas where this research can be extended empirically and theoretically.

**Literature Review**

*Orientation as a Situated Context*

Orientation serves as an important time for new employees to learn the organizational norms, social environment, and their specific tasks and roles within the organization (Jablin, 2001; Myers, 2005; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Organizational entry can have a dramatic effect on perceptions of organizational and job characteristics because it is here that expectations about the organization are transformed into realistic beliefs (Wanous, 1976). This learning time in organizational life provides an opportunity for identity formation and necessitates a focus on situated identification because this is a time when identification is fluid and changing. In a review of organizational assimilation theory, research, and implications, Waldeck and Myers (2007) note that “effective assimilation experiences might also influence greater levels of identification with organizations and work groups” (p. 346). The notion that orientation is a key element of assimilation, coupled with the perspective that identification is fluid, makes orientation an ideal context to explore situated identification.

*The Role of Identification in Orientation*

Extensive research has found that organizations benefit from identified employees. Specifically, a strong sense of identification to the organization contributes to greater organizational citizenship behaviors (Dukerich, Golden, & Shortell, 2002), participation in organizational functions (Mael & Ashforth, 1992), instrumental and interpersonal cooperation, and work-related efforts (Bartel, 2001). In addition, identification is positively associated with member adjustment (Carmeli et al., 2007). Studies have also shown an inverse relationship between identification and intent to leave (Mael & Ashforth, 1995; Scott et al., 1999); however, van Dick and colleagues (2004) showed that this relationship is mediated by job satisfaction.
**Formal socialization and identification.** Formal socialization is frequently used as a means of fostering identification during orientation. Bullis and Tompkins (1989) found that socialization practices in the National Forest System, which they view as concertive control practices, inculcated identification. In addition, Pribble (1990) demonstrated how one Fortune 500 company’s rhetoric during orientation evoked a sense of identification in new employees. Vaughn’s (1997) analysis of orientation materials, including a presentation and a speech by the company’s CEO, also examined organizations’ strategic communication to employees that produced identification with the organization.

Additional research substantiates that organizations’ attempts to create a sense of identification during orientation are often successful. In one study of orientation efforts from five different organizations, simply attending orientation was directly related to new employees’ identification (Gates & Hellweg, 1989). Furthermore, Ashforth and Saks (1996) showed that institutionalized socialization tactics are positively related to organizational identification at 4 months and 10 months in the organization. While the authors do not examine orientation programs, in particular, they note that institutionalized socialization tactics “encourage newcomers to passively accept preset roles and thus maintain the status quo” (p. 150) and “represent a relatively elaborate and formalized program” (p. 158). Thus orientation programs can be subsumed under this form of socialization. Finally, Bullis and Bach’s (1989) study, which asked newcomers to recount retroactively turning points in their attachment to the organization, also identified early socialization attempts (e.g., orientation picnics) as being important for fostering identification.

However, the quality of these encounters, specifically new employee orientation, matters (Bullis & Bach, 1989). Klein and Weaver (2000) investigated the quality of orientation programs for 116 employees across a variety of occupations and found that perceptions of quality and usefulness of the program were significantly related to organizational commitment, conceptualized as one’s attachment, identification, and involvement in an organization. Organizational identification rests on the alignment of individual goals and values to organizational goals and values; thus orientation plays a role in fostering identification.

**Individuating socialization.** Yet socialization is not a unidirectional process; members also play an active role in learning the ropes. It is common for newcomers to “adapt to organizational norms in some situations but overtly or covertly resist in others” (Scott & Myers, 2010, p. 82). For example, newcomers often reduce their uncertainty during socialization through information seeking tactics (Miller & Jablin, 1991) and by using advanced
technologies to garner information (Flanagin & Waldeck, 2004). Individuals also cope through sense-making processes (Jablin & Kramer, 1998; Louis, 1980). Pratt, Rock, and Kaufmann (2001) found that medical residents made sense of organizational socialization practices through their professional identities. The authors argue that “individuals have access to multiple work-related social identities that serve as a ‘menu’ during this sensemaking process” (p. A5), which shows how newcomers actively negotiate their identity in the organization during early socialization. Because identification is fostered in this specific context and it is malleable, we turn to literature supporting a situated perspective of identification.

**Situated Identification**

The fluid perspective of identification, which we adopt here, is referred to as a situated view of identification. Identities and identifications vary by context, and a situated perspective helps understand “more precisely when [emphasis in original] various identifications are strong/weak” (Scott & Stephens, 2009, p. 371). A situated view of identification is based on situational cues in the environment (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008). Theoretically, symbolic interactionism (Blummer, 1969; Mead, 1934) provides a framework for grounding situated identification. As people interact with their environment, they are constantly reinterpreting their understandings, and identifications fluctuate. In addition, Scott et al.’s (1998) structural model of organizational identification theoretically grounds the work done on this fluid form of identification; the authors draw on Giddens’ (1984) belief that “all social interaction is situated [emphasis in original] interaction—situated in space and time” (p. 86).

**Empirical work on situated identification.** Bullis and Bach (1989) were among the earliest to examine identification as it changes over time. Through turning point analysis, their study shows how new organizational members’ identification waxed and waned throughout an 8-month period. Other scholars have also noted how certain social identities may be triggered by specific settings (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Carbaugh, 1996). Scott and Fontenot (1999) demonstrated that identification differs throughout activity foci such as team meetings and computer-supported meetings. Moreover, Scott and Stephens (2009) found that people report different levels of identification depending on whether they are communicating with volunteers and staff, friends, and family, or patrons at art events.

Despite these findings that further elaborate on the fluctuating nature of identification, research has yet to show exactly when and why identification
changes and how personal experiences during organizational preentry affect identification during newcomer entry. Since this study is also interested in how identification changes (because it is situated and fluid), it is important to measure identification not only after orientation but also before. In addition, several key preentry and early organizational experiences can likely affect how people negotiate their membership during early organizational experiences like orientation. Initial work experiences prior to orientation and previous exposure to their hiring organization can influence how these people interpret their early membership and thus influence their initial level identification.

**Research Questions and Hypotheses**

The arguments presented above raise several questions about how situated identification might change in the context of new employee orientation and how newcomers’ prior experiences have influenced their view on membership. Thus we propose the following:

*Research Question 1 (RQ1):* How does preentry experience with the hiring organization influence preorientation identification?

*Hypothesis 1 (H1):* Attending orientation will significantly increase a newcomer’s situated identification.

*Research Question 2 (RQ2):* How do the influences on preorientation identification affect the change in situated identification after controlling for orientation quality?

**Method**

**Participants and Procedure**

The participants of the current study were employees attending new employee orientation at a large university in the Southwestern United States. This sample includes individuals from many job functions in the University, such as administrative assistant, safety, information technology, and groundskeeper, so this is not a faculty sample. There is a separate orientation for faculty and another orientation for employees who only speak Spanish. New employees are encouraged to attend one orientation session within the first few weeks of their employment, but attendance is not considered mandatory. To achieve representativeness, the researchers attended 15 sessions for data collection that occurred over 4 months. The 4-hr orientation sessions were held every Monday morning, and between 20 and 80 new employees attended each
session. The authors attended all orientation sessions, and the content was consistent.

A total of 266 new employees participated in the study, a 99% response rate. Examination of the organizational tenure data revealed that 73 of these employees had worked in another position in the university prior to their current position. Since this study focused on newcomers, they were removed from the sample. The resulting sample was 53% ($N = 100$) female and highly educated, with 88% ($N = 154$) of the sample having a bachelor’s degree or higher. Age was measured categorically with 44% ($N = 83$) falling in the 18-to 29-year-old range, 43% ($N = 80$) in the 30- to 45-year-old range, 12% ($N = 23$) in the 46- to 65-year-old range, and 1% ($N = 2$) in the 65 years and older group. At the beginning of each orientation session, one of the researchers invited the new employees to participate in the first section of the questionnaire. At the end of the orientation program, about 4-hr later, questionnaires were once again distributed to the participants.

**Predictor and Outcome Measures**

Unless otherwise indicated, all variables were assessed on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The data were screened for univariate and multivariate outliers. Four multivariate outliers were found, and they were removed.

**Preorientation membership experiences.** This preorientation measure was operationalized using two separate questions. First, the new employees were asked to report the days in their current position ($M = 7.73$ days, $SD = 8.99$, with a range of 0 to 60 days, $N = 182$). Second, because we are interested in understanding the effect of prior non-work-related experiences with organizations on identification we asked if participants had taken courses from this organization. Courses are the primary service that this organization offered, and they represent a tangible way that people can have prior experience with this organization. Forty-five (24%) of the orientation participants responded yes, and 143 participants (76%) responded no. We dichotomized this measure into those who had taken courses and those who had not.

**Situated identification.** Four questions derived from Cheney’s (1982) Organizational Identification Questionnaire (OIQ) were used to measure the pre- and postorientation situated identification. These four items were chosen because they have been used in prior research where the goal has been to measure a more communicative representation of identification (e.g., Scott & Stephens, 2009). These four items have produced acceptable reliabilities of .75 to .96 in other studies (e.g., Scott & Stephens, 2009). An example of one
item is “Before I was hired to work at this organization, I felt like I had a lot in common with others affiliated with this organization.” The four items were modified in the postorientation version by replacing the wording “before . . .” with the stem, “Now that you have been through new employee training.” In this study, the identification measure was subjected to a principal components exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with varimax rotation. The preorientation identification scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 58.9% of the variance, and had a $M = 3.54$, $SD = .67$, $N = 184$, and a Cronbach’s $\alpha = .76$.

The postorientation identification scale reflected a single factor, accounted for 68.8% of the variance, and had a $M = 3.80$, $SD = .56$, $N = 175$, and a Cronbach’s $\alpha = .84$.

**Orientation quality of history and values information.** Quality of the history and values information provided during orientation was used as a control variable and was assessed using four items created for this study. These items included “I found the information provided about [the organization] helpful”; “I found the information provided about [the organization] useful”; “The information provided about [the organization] was what I needed as a new employee”; and “I learned considerably more new information about [the organization’s] history today.” Results from a principal components EFA with varimax rotation suggested a one-factor solution for this scale that accounted for 76.7% of the variance and had a $M = 3.70$, $SD = .67$, $N = 175$ and a Cronbach’s $\alpha = .89$.

**Orientation quality of benefits information.** Quality of the benefits information provided during orientation was used as a control variable and it was assessed using four items created for this study. These items included the exact same four items as in quality of history information except that the word “history” was changed to “benefits.” Results from a principal components EFA with varimax rotation suggested a one-factor solution for this scale that accounted for 77.6% of the variance and had a $M = 4.24$, $SD = .55$, $N = 175$ and a Cronbach’s $\alpha = .89$.

**Results**

Research Question 1 asked how prior experiences with the organization influenced preorientation identification. Regressing the organization tenure measure and prior experience with the hiring organization in the form of taking courses on the dependent measure of preorientation identification revealed that taking courses from the organization, $\beta = .31$, $p < .01$ was the only significant predictor, $F(2, 174) = 3.86$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .04$. Correlations among all the variables used in the study are shown in Table 1.
Hypothesis 1 predicted that attending orientation would significantly increase a newcomer’s situated identification. This hypothesis was assessed using a paired sample \( t \) test, \( t(1,169) = -6.925, p < .001 \), and revealed there was a significant change in identification level between the preorientation identification (\( M = 3.54, SD = .67 \)) and postorientation identification (\( M = 3.82, SD = .55 \)). The paired sample correlation \( r = .66, p < .001 \) suggests that the change was fairly uniform.

Research Question 2 was addressed using hierarchical linear regression to uncover potential mechanisms affecting changes in situated identification. Two blocks of variables were entered according to theoretical relevance. Because RQ2 asked specifically about prior organizational experience, this variable and the related independent variables were entered last to evaluate their contribution above and beyond the less theoretically relevant control orientation quality variables. An identification change score was calculated to serve as the dependent variable (\( M = .27, SD = .51 \)) because it is more theoretically relevant to view identification changes during orientation. Since interaction terms were included in these analyses and multicollinearity was present, all variables were converted to \( z \) scores (Friedrich, 1982) prior to the regression analysis to facilitate data interpretation. See Table 2 for the complete model. In Block 1 of the regression the two orientation quality variables were entered into the model as control variables. As expected, they were both significant individual predictors, \( \beta = .12, p < .05 \) for quality of benefit information and \( \beta = .15, p < .01 \) for quality of history and values information, and these resulted in an \( R^2 \) of .07, \( p < .01 \). The final block added prior organizational experience, the interaction between prior organizational experience...
and preorientation identification. These additions resulted in a significant $R^2$ change = .43, $p = .001$, with a model of $F(3, 163) = 33.13$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .50$. While prior organization identification was a significant predictor in the change in identification, $\beta = -.63$, $p < .001$, since the interaction was also a significant individual predictor, $\beta = -.13$, $p = .016$, only the interaction term will be interpreted.

This interaction was further explored by graphing the relationship between these variables. See Figure 1 for this graph and the regression line equation. Since the prior organizational experience variable is dichotomous (having taken courses from the organization or not), these lines were plotted separately to reveal the nature of the interaction. The largest changes in identification were present when people entered orientation having prior experience with the organization yet reporting a lower level of preorientation identification. There was a smaller effect when people entered orientation with a high level of preorientation identification. This suggests that newcomers’ entry-level identification will affect the impact that orientation has on changing their identification.

**Discussion**

Viewing identification as situated, changing, and even fleeting is a growing trend in communication scholarship. This study contributes to the current communicative-based identification literature by focusing specifically on
changes in situated identification during new employee orientation. These findings further suggest that people’s prior experiences with the hiring organization can prime them to interpret orientation differently, which in turn influences their situated identification. This study not only illustrates that organizationally driven orientation can affect identification but that members’ prior experiences also play a key role.

**Theory Contribution: A Mechanism of Multiple Exposure**

Results from the current study inform our theoretical understanding regarding the fluidity of identification. Orientation is not only a potentially important organizational activity but identification changes during orientation also suggest that it is clearly an activity for identity formation. Although other scholars have studied situated identification (Scott & Fontenot, 1999; Scott & Stephens, 2009), the current study shows that identification can significantly change in response to attending orientation and that prior exposures to the hiring organization affect this rate of change.
Multiple exposure, membership, and identification. A situated identification approach is also congruent to the ideas advanced in Scott and Myer’s (2010) theoretical perspective on organizational membership negotiations, which proposes that individuals negotiate their roles and sense of membership over time through a mutually implicative relationship between newcomers and incumbents. One of the theoretical propositions advanced in their work is that meanings of membership are (re)constituted over time through identification. In other words, identification is a medium for how membership is negotiated. Drawing from this work, people who had taken courses from this organization may be understood as having a membership negotiation experience prior to becoming an employee. Our study shows that these individuals, who had lower identification levels prior to orientation, experienced the most change in their identification during orientation. The current findings provide some support for Propositions 8, 9, and 10 in Scott and Myers’ (2010) theoretical work, which propose relationships between membership negotiation, organizational practices, and identification. Also, these findings specifically demonstrate empirical support for Proposition 11, which states that “as members experience and communicate organizational identification, they . . . also reinforce their own identification.” (p. 95) The current research substantiates this proposition, as it shows how individuals with a membership negotiation experience prior to becoming an employee were able to communicate their identification during orientation, which then reinforced or strengthened their own attachment to the organization.

This study provides a potential explanation for how identification might change through multiple membership exposures to the organization, prior to formal employment. This finding highlights the importance of studying the underlying membership mechanisms that can make identification fluid. In this case, the fluctuating nature of identification might be explained by prior organizational exposure that has put people in a state of readiness to become more organizationally identified. People’s experiences before orientation can influence how they negotiate their membership in an organization. An individual may feel identified with an organization simply based on situational cues that indicate shared interest, but when these interactions continue over time and across situations, a deeper level of identification may form (Rousseau, 1998). Individuals who have taken courses from the University and then attend orientation are experiencing collective activities over time. These activities likely contribute to the significant changes in their sense of identification.

Extending Findings
This study examined identification in a very specific context, a university, yet several important implications from these results demonstrate the
usefulness of these findings and how they might apply in other contexts. When an organization wants new employees to identify with the organization, they should consider that (a) people enter the organization at different initial levels of identification, and (b) orientation can influence identification levels. Previous research has identified that people’s interactions with family and friends who are affiliated with the organization can influence identification (e.g., Gibson & Papa, 2000; Morgan et al., 2004; Russo, 1998). In addition, Mael and Ashforth (1995) have shown how certain previous experiences—such as hunting, fishing, playing football, and academic achievements—led to greater organizational identification with the Army. This study adds a theoretically grounded explanation for how individual’ preentry membership experiences, occurring directly with the organization, can shape how newcomers interpret new employee organization and the resulting early organizational identification levels.

In this study, almost one fourth of the new employees had taken courses from this organization, and those experiences appear to have influenced the feelings they had toward their hiring organization. It is quite likely that many people have non-work-related experiences with a future employer where they actually experience a service the organization provides or purchase a product from that organization. For example, people might have a favorite brand of coffee that they drank for many years. They read in the newspaper that the company who manufactures that coffee is hiring. They apply and get the job. These preentry experiences could form the base for important membership negotiation, and these early experiences with the organization (or its products) prior to employment might have a strong effect on their organizational identification.

**Practical Implications**

Prior membership negotiation experiences are worth considering as organizations design new employee orientation. Instead of approaching orientation as one-size-fits-all or, as in this study, formal and collective (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979), perhaps orientation should be considered less as a discrete event and more as multiple activities. If the ideas advanced here on multiple exposures, states of readiness, and membership negotiation are correct, organizations might consider how they can provide potential employees with multiple opportunities to engage with the organization and its members before being hired. It is likely that organizational identification can be developed over time, and by actively engaging in organizational practices that allow for early, positive membership negotiation activities, newcomers can feel a part of their organization more quickly.
Limitations and Future Directions

This study has many of the same limitations found in much of the organizational survey research. First, the items were self-report measures and could be subject to bias and potential social desirability effects. Even though this study did a pretest of identification before orientation and then did a post-test, ideally, future research should compare various orientation approaches and develop studies incorporating experimental design with control groups. It would also behoove organizational researchers to consider using qualitative research methods to further explore the link between membership negotiation, organizational identification, and newcomer socialization activities. For example, being able to interview participants about their multiple exposures to the organization and how this may influence their identification and sense of membership would help better understand these processes. Also, longitudinal research could be used to track identification changes over time. Finally, while there were very few types of prior organizational experiences measured in this study, the ones measured were likely quite relevant. Future studies should expand these types of considerations to better understand what might constitute influential multiple exposure experiences.

The findings from this study also suggest several important directions for future research. New employee orientation provides a highly relevant context to study theoretical constructs such as identification and membership negotiation, but there are other ways that people are socialized into organizations. Workgroup orientation and one-on-one training meetings with colleagues and managers can also shape identification. Furthermore, as organizations increasingly use computer-based training to socialize their new employees, it will be important to compare computerized orientation to the traditional face-to-face process. In addition, future research should further explore messages that organizations send to prospective employees in the anticipatory socialization stage, which may influence preidentification found in this study. Information and communication technologies, especially social media and organizational web sites, provide virtual ways for employees to become acquainted with their new organization before they officially join. As this study has demonstrated, the personal membership negotiation experiences that people have with an organization before they become an employee play a role in shaping the orientation process for newcomers and their situated organizational identification.
Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank George Cheney for his comments on earlier versions of this article and also thank the University in the study for providing access to the new employee orientations.

Authors’ Note

An earlier version of this article was presented at the National Communication Association Conference in November, 2009.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The authors disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This project was funded by a College of Communication Junior Faculty Fellowship.

Note

1. Identification should be distinguished from classic studies of organizational commitment (Porter, Steers, Mowday, & Boulian, 1974), which is a construct more similar to organizational and job satisfaction. Commitment and identification are similar constructs, both conceptually and empirically, so this study provides support for the notion that orientation influences identification. However, it is important to note that commitment and identification are distinguishable concepts (see Pratt, 1998; Sass & Canary, 1991). Pratt (1998) clearly distinguishes organizational commitment and identification by equating measures of commitment to how an individual “accepts” organizational values and beliefs, whereas identification assesses the “sharing” or “possessing” of individual and organizational values and beliefs.

References


**Bios**

**Keri K. Stephens** (PhD, University of Texas) is an assistant professor in the Department of Communication Studies at The University of Texas at Austin. Her research examines how people use multiple information and communication technologies (ICTs) and how that use impacts and is impacted by organizations.

**Stephanie L. Dailey** (MA, University of Texas) is a doctoral student in the Department of Communication Studies at The University of Texas at Austin. Her research examines organizational identification, socialization, and new communication technologies.