RESISTING THROUGH CORPORATE VALUES

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ABSTRACT

Thesis title: Resisting through corporate values.

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Key words: Corporate values, Organizational control, Workplace resistance, Construction of Selves, Identification, Dis-Identification.

Purpose: To denaturalize the concept of *corporate values* as a necessary managerial practice to engineer culture in organization and to explore how its enactment influences power resistance interplays and the workplace construction of selves.

Method: We engaged in Critical Management Studies (CMS), using an interpretative approach to our empirical material.

Theoretical framework: The study is based on the concepts of organizational control, corporate values enactment, workplace resistance and construction of selves.

Empirical Foundation: The empirical data was gathered based on a triangulation method by employing qualitative interviews, analysis of corporate material and fieldwork observation in Asian Monetary Fund, an Indonesian financial institution headquartered in Jakarta.

Conclusion: We found that corporate values is a fragmented, fluid and fragile concept which can be used by employees to reproduce, rationalize and transform power relations in the organization and this process to resist "through" rather than "against" corporate values affects the construction of selves at work; producing individuals who simultaneously identify and dis-identify to the organization.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

1. INTRODUCTION

> "In a distant land many years ago, there lived a black sheep.
> It was executed by firing squad.
> A century later, the grieving flock erected an equestrian statue
> in honour of the slain sheep that looked very nice in the park.
> In the years that followed, every time a black sheep appeared,
> it was executed so that ordinary sheep could practise sculpture."
> *Fable: The Black Sheep. Augusto Monterroso*
> *(Augusto Monterroso, 2003).*

1.1. Background and Problem Formulation

According to Oxford Dictionary a *Black Sheep* is the member of a group who is regarded as a disgrace to it, an outcast. The origin of this expression came from the old proverb *"There's a black sheep in every flock"* and its use can be traced back the century 18th (Bartlett, 1979) aligned with the connotation of 'black' as something grim and wicked (e.g. Blackmail, blacklist, black magic, black cat, black market, black humor, etc.). In the context of this study, the Black Sheep fable is re-interpreted as a grim depiction of the mushrooming tendency in managerial practice to engineer the culture and manufacture the enterprise-selves (du Gay, 1996) or the designer selves (Casey, 1996) within organization, alongside with the trend of massive restructuring, outsourcing, organizational mergers and acquisitions that characterized global business landscape driven by enterprise endless pursuit of improving bottom-lines and hyper-competition. Nowadays, organizations are actively engaged in corporate culturism efforts (Willmott, 1993) to shape employee identity, aiming to achieve productivity through winning their 'hearts and the minds' (Kunda, 2006). They have moved from coercive control of employees' behavior to inconspicuously influence their emotional (e.g. when you must smile or show enthusiasm in front of a client) and existential domains (e.g. by showing the company as driven by 'higher' purposes) (Ashforth and Vaidyanath, 2002) turning them into 'ordinary sheep' who 'practise sculpture' of the organization. The illusion of the black sheep - the employees' authentic selves which give them a sense of purpose and freedom - lives only internally and stays within; and externally, in everyday practices, the idea of the truth of themselves is 'executed' and silenced. Feeling self-alienated, employees find 'who I really am' as an alien (Costas and Fleming, 2009) to 'what I actually do', which is reproducing what the organization is inscribing.

Culture engineering fashion - and "corporate values" concept at one of its cores - found its momentum since 1980's (e.g. Waterman et al, 1980) and since then it has become one of the most popular mantra of the management gurus. The underlying premise of the proponents of values governance is that creating an excellent organizations means having 'strong cultures' in which people are directed more by shared values - articulated by leaders and assimilated by followers - than formal rules and procedures (Watson, 2001). The idea of "Values Management" (Paarlberg & Perry, 2007) or "Fostering values in organization" (Argandoña, 2003) reasserts managerial prerogative in the governance of employees' values (Willmott, 1993) and becoming a *value-sharper* (Waterman et al, 1980) has permeated the argot and actions of managers. Enacting organizational values can be viewed as a manner to explicitly state collective beliefs in order to inspire actions, legitimize beliefs or "decorate our self justifications" and, as an occasional effect, "they can be planted like explosives" leading to unexpected transformations (Magala, 2009).

Having a common set of corporate values is a popular management practice that seems quite 'natural' and plenty of common sense, as an effective way to control political practices in organizations beyond a simple usage of neutral set of administrative techniques (Fournier and Grey, 2000) but, in opposition to the abovementioned 'common sense', Critical Management Studies (CMS) argues that corporate culture programs 'success' in securing employee commitment is at best partial and that employees can become trapped in a vicious circle of cynicism and dependence (Willmott, 1993). Lencioni (2002) states that most values statements are considered bland, toothless, or just plain dishonest, causing a highly destructive force instead of harmless to the organization; and empty values statements create cynical and dispirited employees, alienate customers, and undermine managerial credibility (Lencioni, 2002).

Corporate values as an institutionalized management practice then can also be seen as an ambiguous concept which needs to be always put under question: Could this practice generate 'unexpected' or 'negative' outcomes for management? To what extent the enactment of corporate values can mould and craft the workers authentic selves into the designer selves? We agree that research needs to challenge mainstream claims to bring out 'excellence' in organization through governance of employee values under the premise that

'things may not be as they appear' (Fournier and Grey, 2000) and emphasizing that reality is dynamic, not static, and nothing is simply 'natural'.

There's also a growing concern among critical management scholars to the tendency of romanticizing every little move of marginalized social actors in the asymmetrical power relations as acts of resistance. Fleming & Spicer (2003) highlight numerous researches on resistance at the workplace which explore different strategies employees use to thwart the cultural colonization of their identities, starting from 'hard' approaches with an emphasis on collective action (e.g. such as organized strikes through union) to 'soft' approaches through daily indirect resistance (e.g. such as sabotage or careful carelessness), until a more subtle practices through discursive tactics (e.g. such as cynicism, humor, skepticism, irony and even 'bitching', gossip, mimicry, hidden transcript, and office graffiti) (Costas & Fleming, 2009; Mumby & Stohl, 2005). As Fleming and Spicer (2008) note, with a growing body of research giving all sorts of accounts of workplace resistance, perhaps the scholarly community has moved from seeing resistance nowhere to seeing it almost everywhere. Ironically, no matter how hard researchers seek for places where practices of dissent take place even in the less obvious manners, they tend to see resistance in the forms of anything 'else' outside the corporate ideological incorporation efforts: The possibility of viewing resistance as something interior rather than exterior is hardly ever touched.

We argue that we must not neglect in seeing resistance as something that lies inside within the boundaries of the corporate culture efforts themselves: Might corporate values discourses themselves contain a fertile ground for workers' resistance? How workers are using the same 'energy' – as a two-edged sword - that the organization uses in designing their identity to resist and strike back the designer? We aim to engage with this alternative way of seeing instead of keep reducing resistance to the most banal and innocuous everyday actions (Fleming & Spicer, 2008).

Power-resistance interplays surrounding the corporate culture programs may also affect the discursive process of workers' self-formation process which, according to Mumby & Stohl (2005), is always ongoing and tensions-filled. This 'construction of selves' (Collinson, 2003) process involves drawing on larger discourses that are articulated together in ways that may be coherent and contradictory (Mumby & Stohl, 2005). We draw upon Collinson (2003) view that as a self-conscious human being in the workplace, employees are separate and at the

same interdependent with others, providing a source of ambiguity and insecurity in their attempts to secure a stable identity and giving the chance to employees to write their own versions of the *Black Sheep* fable: How they struggle in an ontological search between being an 'ordinary sheep' or becoming a 'black sheep', and between being just another head in the crowd or standing out with the risk of being executed by the firing squad. In this thesis, we are interested to explore the workplace construction of selves to understand the ways of organizational power relations may be reproduced, rationalized, resisted and transformed and how workers subjective narratives may not only become a mere identity-securing strategies but also as source to render managerial practices more visible and accountable (Collinson, 2003).

1.2. Purpose and Goals

In opposition to the mainstream management studies which celebrate corporate culture, our main purpose in this study is to *denaturalize* (Fournier and Grey, 2000) a widespread management concept: *corporate values* and to problematize the 'real' impact of its enactment in organizational life. We question the taken-for-granted mainstream management view that exalt corporate values as a necessary managerial tool through which culture can be engineered to achieve performativity and excellence in organizations.

We also aim to challenge the idea that the sovereignty of management engineered culture programs cannot be challenged or changed (Spicer, Alvesson & Kärreman, 2009) and widen our interpretive repertoire in seeing and understanding workplace resistance affected by the enactment of corporate values in organizations. This would require attempts re-imagine management through practical and direct interventions into particular debates about it (Spicer, Alvesson & Kärreman, 2009), thus we aim to shift our view, and others, from the lens of "resisting against" into "resisting through" the corporate culture efforts.

We focus ourselves on the individual perception of the corporate values enactment. To explore the meanings ascribed to corporate values by the employees and how they positioned themselves within these meanings. Therefore one of our goals is to explore on how power-resistance interplays may affect the individual at the level of subjectivities, identities and meanings based upon the idea of workplace construction of selves.

1.3. Research questions

In light of the above background and problem formulation, in this study we would like to answer the following research questions:

To what extent is the enactment of corporate values affecting the ways organizational power relations are reproduced, rationalized, resisted and transformed? How can workplace construction of selves emerge from this process?

1.4. Method

Spoelstra (2007) suggests that denaturalizing commonsensical ideas can be done through social science or philosophy. In this study we would like to focus our attempt in the former one, through a reflexive reading of empirical material located in the context of a real workplace system namely *Asian Monetary Fund (AMF)[1]*, a financial institution in Indonesia that has gone through numerous restructuring, mergers and acquisitions in the last two decades with a rich and rooted history of efforts to build and 'engineer' a unified corporate culture based on, among others, the concept of corporate values.

We conceptualize employees' resistance at the level of subjectivities, meanings and identities, thus in this research we attempt to analyze narratives through which individuals respond when confronted with feelings of coherence or contradiction within power relations imposed upon them through corporate values enactment.

1.5. Relevance

Based on the above, we consider that this research is relevant for organizational scholars because it offers both theoretical and empirical approaches to denaturalize a 'common sense' management practice from a critical perspective. We offer an alternative way of seeing and

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[1] We use a pseudonym to mask the organization's name.

understanding corporate values enactment impact to the organization, moving from a performative and commonsense idea surrounding this corporate culture effort.

We propose a generative theorizing on resistance by using the lens of 'resisting through' as complementary to the general conception of 'resisting against' in the organization studies literatures. We illustrate, empirically, a multidirectional view of resistance, emphasizing that resistance can be present in the same managerial discourse imposed upon the employee, in this case: corporate values.

At the level of subjectivities, identities and meanings, we contribute to develop new ways of examining how individuals simultaneously become both subjects and objects of their societies, organizations and relations. We represent this complex and contradictory simultaneities through the lens of identification and dis-identification as they are reproduced within the asymmetries of power relations within organizations.

Lastly, this thesis might be relevant for organizational practitioners interested in challenging their own worldview by providing an alternative way of seeing the impact of organizational culture efforts which might produce contradictory results beyond mainstream perspective. We invite them to re-think the way they are 'managing' and to use a different paradigm for transforming and changing organizations.

1.6. Summary of Chapters.

This thesis is organized in seven chapters where in this Introduction (chapter 1) we offers a general idea about why this theme has been chosen, the main purposes of this research and its relevance to critical organization studies.

Chapter 2 gives a theoretical framework to understand the evolution of workplace control and corporate culture efforts through the concept of corporate values and it also explores the idea workplace resistance and workplace construction of selves.

Chapter 3 presents and reflects upon methodological perspective and research method used during the research and fieldwork, mainly oriented from an interpretative perspective and in line with the tradition of Critical Management Studies (CMS).

Chapter 4 presents the located context of this research, Asian Monetary Fund, and a summary of the organization history and its management attempts to instill corporate values and engineer the culture.

Chapter 5 shows the main findings from empirical material, highlighting employees' perceptions and reactions towards corporate culture efforts based on 'corporate values'. We also present two mini cases to provide a detailed description of the theme under study.

Chapter 6 presents in detail our reflection about corporate values enactment, workplace resistance and workplace construction of selves based on theoretical framework and findings from our empirical material.

Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the main conclusions of our research, connecting back our relevant findings with the research question and purposes presented in the beginning chapter, providing some additional grounding for organizational scholars and practitioners interested in the theme under study.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Those are my *principles*,
and if you don't like them...
well, I have others.
Groucho Marx.

2.1. Introduction

The foundation of the mainstream management view believes that the task of management is to organize all the factors of production. Based on that, people (Human Resources) and organizational arrangements are studied in terms of their effectiveness in maximizing outputs and people are prepared to accept business values as a way to improve corporation's competitive performance (Taskin and Willmott, 2008) and to bring about excellence at work.

Gabriel (2008) says that Tom Peters and Robert Waterman's *In Search of Excellence* (1982) marked a "turning point in American conceptions" of the corporation by creating the image of manager as "the paragon of American business supremacy" in its struggle against the Japanese corporate threat in the 1980´s and, as F.W. Taylor reinvented the image of manager according to his times, maybe we will talk in few decades about "Peterism". (Gabriel, 2008, p. 1066). As a continuation to the tradition of that trend, the latest wave of management gurus even invites managers to go beyond creating a unitary set of shared values into touching employees' emotional and existential domain (e.g. by inviting employee to be themselves). In Tom Peters' latest work, for example, he argues that managers should hire the young, imaginative, underground types, who despise managerial hierarchies and authority, displaying *generation Y* characteristics and exuding subversive authenticity (Fleming & Spicer, 2008).

The idea of *neo-normative control* (Fleming & Sturdy, 2009) with an exhortation of *"being yourself"* emerging as a complement of *normative controls* (Ray 1986). Being workplace control as a dominant pole in organization, resistance arises when workers find that the *'freedom of being yourself'* and *'organizational reality/culture'* collides since either 'following the organizational path' or 'having fun' at work does not necessarily means that employees can be 'authentic' by bringing 'full selves' in an organization which they want to

be part of (as in Groucho Marx's quote). Fleming and Sturdy (2009) find that employees often interpreted 'fun' management initiatives (e.g. relaxation in dress code, partying at work, etc.) as coercive, rationalized and decidedly 'unfunny' and, ironically, programs designed to generate authentic engagements between corporate and private selves are experienced as 'manufactured', 'staged' and 'inauthentic'.

Long tradition of Organization Studies has engaged two binary oppositions which implicitly are mentioned in the beginning paragraphs of this chapter: (1) Workplace control processes dominated by the commonsensical idea around performativity and (2) Worker resistance as a natural effort to transform power relations in organization. Bearing in mind Mumby and Stohl's argument (2005) which illustrates how researches have tended to resolve the tension among these two poles by privileging one over another, in the following sections of this chapter we aim to build a balanced theoretical framework of workplace control processes and workers resistance.

We firstly explore the evolution of control in organizations and how they are moving from the realm of coercive control to the sphere of normative control, neo-normative control and recently towards 'spiritually engineered' control. Within this context, in relation with the focus of our empirical material we highlight the idea of corporate values as organizational control statements and then we discuss researches on workplace resistance and the dynamics of power relations in the organization. Lastly, we explore the concept of workplace construction of the selves as the medium and outcome of power-resistance interplays, focusing on the idea of identification and dis-identification. The summary of key concepts explored in this chapter is depicted on figure 1.
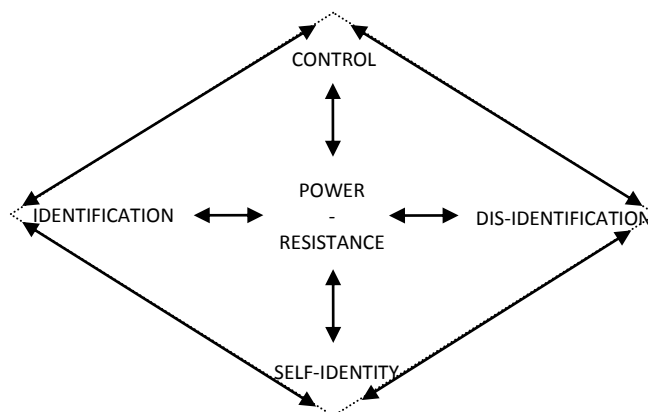

Figure 1. Summary of key concepts.

2.2. The Evolution of Organizational Control

The way we see 'managing people' in organizations have been gradually changing over time: Ray (1986) points out that organizations are moving from bureaucratic control (where people are viewed as rational, economic, competitive and future-orientated) to humanistic control (which views people as sociable, desiring satisfying work, present-orientated and cooperative) and finally to 'the last frontier of control' through corporate culture which views people as emotional, symbol-loving, and needing to belong to a superior entity or collectivity. The basic reasoning behind this shift is the belief that behavioral changes may reflect heightened surveillance and instrumental compliance rather than changes in values and meanings (Ogbonna & Wilkinson 2003).

Sveningsson and Alvesson (2008) argues that it difficult to judge whether the changed norms and behaviors also reflect an actual change in basic assumptions and beliefs. Control manifested through corporate culture engineering can be seen as efforts of top management or another powerful group to affect the values, norms and understandings of organizational members, representing a superficial and narrow view on control rather than one that views organizational culture as a matter of 'deep structures'(Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2008). According to Ogbonna and Harris (1998) cultural change efforts 'frequently degenerate into changes to behavior, commonly leaving higher levels of culture untouched', leading us to a crucial issue related to corporate culture and normative control: human beings can be seen as owner of a dual nature which, on the one hand, allow us to accept common beliefs and values from the organization, but on the other hand employees want to feel themselves as 'unique' and 'stand out' among others; bringing about a dichotomy between trying to be part of a homogeneous culture and, at the same time, trying to keep immaculate 'authentic selves' (Ray, 1986).

As a consequence of this pressure to adopt an institutional set of beliefs and the perceived rigidity of corporate cultures, some reactions among employees such as can emerge and, for that reason, the idea of *neo-normative control* has been proposed as a way to encourage employees to be themselves rather than normatively conform to an externally engineered, homogeneous and organizationally based identity (Fleming & Sturdy, 2009). Fleming & Sturdy (2009) argues that Neo-normative control involves the selective recording of private dimensions of employees' selves through a process of "existential empowerment" settled in

management rhetoric and associated practices that encourage diversity, dissent, idiosyncrasy and expression of "authentic" feelings at work. Despite of that, this kind of initiatives can be seen as 'artificial', 'manipulative' and totalitarian-oriented, where organizations show little tolerance to employees who question their 'sacred' values (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992).

The evolution and development of workplace control practices invites us furthermore to reflect upon the metaphor of organizations as 'secular religions' (Ashforth and Vaidyanath, 2002), emphasizing in their condition to establish systems of beliefs and practices that address fundamental questions about the meaning of life and individual purpose in the world without invoking a supernatural being or power. Organizations tend to offer 'transcendence' to their members, understood as connecting with a higher cause – something beyond ourselves- and can therefore arouse just as much passion, identification, and loyalty as an organized religion but 'secular' because its main objective is not to find 'existential' questions of its members (Ashforth and Vaidyanath, 2002). As Bolt (2007) said, organization regulates identities of organization members as individuals who are pursuing 'self-fulfillment' at work, understood as a higher form of life, a moral ideal based on changing our 'erroneous' attitudes and fulfilling our duties in order to get a 'meaningful' life.

Bell and Taylor (2003) expresses that the interpretation of spirituality enables to introduce 'the sacred' into diverse secular (including organizational) contexts, indicating that development of spirituality in management can be seen as a form to engineer the human soul (Bell and Taylor, 2003):

> If religion is defined not in terms of the divine or supernatural but instead as a system of meaning constructed around historical and mythical narratives and reinforced by specific ritual practices, any organization that has explicitly articulated values intended to be shared by all members could be understood as religious (Bell & Taylor, 2003, p. 339).

Within this context, the concept of 'sacred' adds the idea that core elements such as identity, values, and strategy -what goals we pursue and how- may become inviolable, affecting how these elements are conceived and enacted and how individuals respond to perceived violations (Harrison et al, 2009, p. 227). From this perspective, the manager becomes an evangelist, a shaman, a statesperson (Ray, 1986), to exhort devotion, loyalty, diligence and devotion to the organization. .

2.3. Corporate Values as Organizational Control Statements

Analyzing some definitions of 'values' (included in Table 1), we can identify common conception on values which is seen as something 'deep', permanent and enduring belief within a certain internal system which provides a mode of conduct, guidance and standards for behavioral alternatives. In corporate settings, *corporate values* can be seen as discursive representations of control, based on guiding principles or cultural cornerstones that can be used to define how members' behavior should be (Pratt, 2000, p. 38) and should believe within the organization (Bell & Taylor, 2003). Shared values, as a predetermined script of acceptable behavior, are seen as something that creates bounds and limits on individual behavior in organization (Meglino & Ravlin, 1998). They reduce role conflict and ambiguity by encouraging individuals to take decisions without reweighing the costs and benefits for each set of alternatives in each context (Paarlberg & Perry, 2007).

Author (s)	Definition of Values
Parsons (1951)	An element of a shared symbolic system which serves as a criterion or standard for selection among the alternatives of orientation which are intrinsically open in a situation.
Jacob et al. (1962)	The normative standards by which human beings are influenced in their choice among the alternative courses of action they perceive.
Rescher (1969)	Things of the mind that are to do with the vision people have of the good life for themselves and their fellows, which motivate people to achieve satisfactions and avoid dissatisfactions.
Rokeach (1973)	An enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence.
England (1975)	A personal value system which is a relatively permanent, perceptual framework that shapes and influences the general nature of an individual's behaviour.
Posner et al (1987)	General standards by which we formulate attitudes and beliefs and according to which we behave.
Hofstede (1994)	Broad tendencies to prefer certain states of affairs over others.

Table 1. Definitions of values. Source: Zhang et al., 2008, p. 1011.

Kunda (2006) expresses that ideal employees, according to Peters and Waterman's work, are those who have internalized organizational goals and values into their cognitive and affective character and, as a result, strict and rigid external control is not necessary. Likewise, Kunda (2006) indicates that, from this perspective, management is the art of creating "strong cultures" based on intense emotional attachment by the internalization of "clearly enunciated company values" that often replace formal structures.

Another point of view highlights that corporate values may also create exclusion since they limit organizational strategic and operational freedom by constraining individual behaviors and making some employees feel like outcasts (Lencioni, 2002) or *black sheeps*. By answering questions such as: How do ''we'' differ from anyone else? How are ''we'' similar to each other? How do ''the others'' differ from us? How are ''the others'' similar to one another? (Bragd et al, 2008, p. 207) corporate values emerge as a negotiation process which defines who is 'in' or 'out' the organization, an agreement between parts (individual and organization) to abide by a 'transcendent set of values' (Harrison et al, 2009, 234). These values, seen as a combination of organizational identity and interpersonal behavior standards, imply the coexistence of two –sometimes contrary- interpretations and, if personal values are not aligned with corporate ones, this may create or recreate patterns of exclusion for organizational members (Bragd et al, 2008).

There is a growing stream of research emphasizing linkage between corporate and individual values as a way to reach competitive advantage (Lencioni, 2002; Williams, 2002). Efforts to manage values involves the inducements of Organizational Behavior Science (Paarlberg & Perry, 2007), agency theory (Sullivan, 1983) and Human Resources processes (Landau et al, 2006) to enact it in the organization. Corporate efforts to enact values can be seen as a way to frame and shape employees' narrations about their authentic self by embodying organizational discourses to their own beliefs: this assumption might explain recent trends in managerial discourse and practice to create 'authentizotic organizations' where mental health is an essential priority and people can "feel good in their skin" (Kets de Vries, 2001, p.102).

Critical Organization Studies see these efforts, corporate cultural power control over subjects by inducing the internalization of a set of ready-made beliefs in the private self (Fleming and Spicer, 2003, p. 169), often lead people to be suspicious about the relationship between new espoused values and various intentions not fully in line with or even deviating from these

(Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2008). Posner *et al*., (1985) highlights that employees are increasingly critical and sensitive because of wide gaps between stated values and values in practice, and their use to support corporate actions such as downsizing, restructuring or hostile takeovers (Hultman, 2005). Collinson (2003) argues this disciplinary regime erodes trust relations and this "growing sense of mistrust and an erosion of credibility (and 'faith') in the organization" (Harshman & Harshman, 1999, p. 18) creates active or passive resistance which affects climate, cooperativeness and employee trust (McCune, 1998).

2.4. Workplace Resistance

Seeing workplace resistance as the opposite binary of workplace control processes, early organizational studies on resistance has tended to focus on reactions by a homogenous and genderless body of forms of control imposed upon it (Thomas & Davies, 2005): Resistance is often labeled as something negative, exhibiting open hostility to managerial control efforts and being constructed as the outcome of structural relations of antagonism between capital and labor (Knights & McCabe, 2000), which can first and foremost be observed in the workplace, as this is the prime location for the struggle over economic resources (Bohm, Spicer & Fleming, 2008). Inspired by labor process theory, such studies are considered too simplistic, linear (Thomas & Davies, 2005) and inadequate to capture the rich nuances of resistance and interpretive ambiguity inherent in the control-resistance interplays (Mumby & Stohl, 2005). Mumby and Stohl (2005) criticize studies which seeing resistance as discrete and understood as merely forms of behavior phenomenon that has a particular intent aimed at achieving specific organizational consequences, thus overlooks the extent to resistance and control are coproduced. Resistance is usually framed as oppositional and exterior in the forms of anything 'else' outside the corporate ideological incorporation efforts: This open possibility of viewing resistance as something interior rather than exterior, using the lens of "resisting through" instead of "resisting against".

Later studies take a 'Foucauldian turn' to the conceptualization of power and the subject where resistance is framed not as if it is outside power and shifted analysis to the level of subjectivities. Such studies highlight heightened surveillance technologies which totally remove worker opposition in management discourse to colonize their subjectivities (Willmott, 1993, du Gay, 1993). However, critics argued that Foucault can offer only a

pessimistic and nihilistic view of resistance and a highly deterministic and unidirectional view of worker identity where the subject is presented as passive and discursively constructed (Thomas & Davies, 2005). These scholars argue that power and resistance is not only the expression of structural class antagonisms but indeed involves a range of 'micro-political' strategies aiming at the subversion of dominant discourses of management and the construction of alternative subject positions (Bohm, Spicer & Fleming, 2008).

Researches on resistance then take a "discursive turn" by situating resistance within a larger framework which includes discourse, power, subjectivity and meanings (Collinson, 1994; Prasad & Prasad, 1998; Knights & McCabe, 2000; Fleming & Spicer, 2003). They attempt to counteract the impression of the negativity of power assumed within the Foucauldian framework and reject the idea that there is no possibility to escape from it. They aim to explore the possibilities for resisting managerially imposed identities through a range of identity politics and other informal strategies in the workplace (Bohm, Spicer & Fleming, 2008). Thus, positivity of power is explored, agency is conceptualized as productive more than simply reactive (Mumby & Stohl, 2005), and resistance is understood as a constant process of adaptation, subversion and re-inscription of dominant discourses (Thomas & Davies, 2005).

Collinson (2003) argues that the increasing individual freedom allows us to exercise much more discretion over what we do, how we do it and 'who we want to be', significantly increasing our individuals' sense of insecurity and vulnerability. In this scenario, Collinson (2003) defines that organizational surveillance systems might produce three kinds of selves: a 'conformist-self' as a survival practice, a 'dramaturgical-self' where individuals become increasingly skilled manipulators, and lastly a 'resistant-self' which constitute a primary means by which employees express their discontent about workplace processes. Corporate culture does not necessarily need to colonize employees 'minds', only their discursive practices (Fleming & Spicer, 2003, p.164). Current resistance research explores workers deployment of discursive strategies in attempting "resistant spaces' (Gabriel, 1999): Resistance to corporate culture is not only related to an internal practice of incredulity but also an externalization of disbelief (Fleming & Spicer, 2003). This takes place as individuals confront, and reflect on, their own identity performance, recognizing contradictions and tensions and, in so doing, pervert and subtly shift meanings and understandings (Thomas & Davies, 2005).

2.5. Workplace Construction of Selves: Identification & Dis-Identification

Some studies illustrate the process of individual resistance at the level of meanings and identities where employees' dependence is mediated by the struggle for identity and power is viewed not simply as a coercive organizational life but rather as a structured and relational feature of organizational life which frames both the identity formation and disciplining of organization members (Mumby & Stohl, 1991). Gabriel (1999) argues that we often exaggerate the extent to which we are in control of ourselves or to which others are in control of us and suggests that discourses of power are a "struggling, interacting, feeling, thinking and suffering subject" and we are capable of defining and redefining control relationships for ourselves and others. In line with this view, Alvesson and Willmott (2002) expresses that organizational control is accomplished through the self-positioning of employees within managerially inspired discourses about work and organization, but this organizational process involves active identity work since organizational members are not reducible to passive consumers of managerially designed and designated identities, rejecting any suggestion of management as omnipotent and becoming more or less identified and committed with discourses' contents (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002).

Identity work, embodied in discursive practices with the *everydayness* of organizational life (Mumby & Stohl, 1991), is seen as a significant medium and outcome of organizational control through identity regulation where self identity is constructed, reproduced and transformed (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). Employees may refine their alignment with the organization by actively shape their jobs to instill meaning into their tasks, and this searching of 'balancing' subjective and social world –inner and outer reality – bring about a sense of authenticity and constancy in the individual (Kets de Vries, 2001).

In exploring workplace construction of the selves, we draw our view upon the ideas of identification and dis-identification: Researches such as *Social Identification Theory* (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) suggest the idea of organizational identification as a form of social identification. Ashforth and Mael (1989) state that individuals tend to choose activities congruent with salient aspect of their identities and they support institutions which embodied those identities. Pratt (1998) unfolds that individual identify with organization to fulfill their safety needs, affiliation needs, self-enhancement needs and holistic needs. However, Glynn (1998) found that individuals may have difference in their needs to connect to and identify

with larger social categories of which they are part of. Likewise, Harquail's study (1998) highlights some individuals who can maintain their identities without identity-congruent behavior (i.e. environmentalists who are nor recycling or catholic whom are not regularly attending masses).

Costas and Fleming (2009) highlight workplace *dis-identification* as a tactical response that might allow employees to overcome tensions between who they feel '*they really are*' and who they have to be at work in order to maintain a sense of authenticity. Dis-identification is the active differentiation and distancing of oneself from the organization; where one's identity is defined by not being identified with the organization (Dukerich et. al 1998). Beyond dis-identification Costas & Fleming (2009) explain self-alienation where even these nominal 'authentic' selves are experienced as something alien and foreign: A discursive and non-essentialist approach to self-alienation aims to explain those reflexive moments where lived identity fails to reflect the narrated imaginary of authenticity where the foreign and fake corporate self dominates lived experience (Costas & Fleming, 2009).

Self-alienation process may lead to a state of pathologies in organization which Dukerich et al (1998) called *schizo-identification,* whereby a workers may simultaneously identify and dis-identify from the same organization at the same time, supplying a split or somewhat schizophrenic individual in organization. Where there is a space between the position of subject offered by a discourse and individual interest, a resistance to that subject position is produced (Weedon, 1987). Collinson (2003) describes similar phenomena as 'splitting self' where employees can begin to divide their identity between the 'instrumental and indifferent me at work' and the 'real me' outside.

Along with the Critical Management Studies' stream that increasingly add insights on nuanced analyses of organization control processes and workplace resistance, we want to interpretatively see how organization members may identify or dis-identify themselves as the synthesis from power-resistance interplays. Unlike the implicit assumption among scholars and practitioners that see identification is good and dis-identification is bad or vice versa, Dukerich et. al (1998) refuses to fall into the trap and argue that they may be both good and bad at the same time depending on the ongoing and existing organizational circumstances (i.e. schizo-identification may provide important organizational behaviors such as whistleblowers or precursors for change in organization). The key point here is neither to

romanticize nor to demystify surrounding the conception of workplace resistance but rather to explore how inherent tensions and contradictions can create possibilities for organizational change and transformation since, according to humanist theory, behind the alienated and fragmented surface of human consciousness there is an autonomous individual striving to come out (Alvesson and Willmott, 1992, p. 440).

3. METHOD

In their article *Structure is not Organization*, Tom Peters and Robert Waterman introduce the '7-S Framework' as "a new view of organization" (Waterman et al, 1980, p. 18). It offers a managerial model based on seven concepts: Structure, Strategy, Systems, Skills, Style, Staff and Superordinate Goals (Shared values). As a final part of the conclusion, they mention that:

> "One of our associates looks at our diagram as a set of compasses."When all seven needles are all pointed the same way," he comments, "you're looking at an *organized* company." (Waterman et al, 1980, p. 26. Italics in the original).

The "seven aligned compasses" sounds as a solid metaphor: a perfectly calibrated mechanic device would be perfect to guide us in the right direction, but what about if we are not on Earth but on the Moon? According to NASA (*Ask Us: Earth and Moon*, 2010) the Moon has nearly no magnetic field so a compass (or seven of them) would be useless for pointing at the right way.

In the following sections we present our methodological approach (based on an interpretative perspective and Critical Management Studies) and a brief explanation about the fieldwork of our research, which it is not oriented to design better compasses but to analyze the implications to use one of them (corporate values) in certain contexts.

3.1. Methodological Perspective

In line with Alvesson & Sköldberg (2000) conception that the study of empirical material can be surprising and inspiring, we believe in benefits of a qualitative research as an effective tool to 'make sense' of social phenomena affecting employees, keeping in mind the political and ethical context; providing useful analytical interpretations and supply the basis of practical guides for change and transformation processes (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000, p. 56, 195)

We follow an interpretive qualitative research focused on employees' underlying patterns of meanings related to organization's stated and enacted corporate values: rooted in hermeneutics and *verstehen* tradition in sociology, interpretive approach's main focus is on individual and subjective meaning as a way to go depth into interpretation of highly context-dependent data (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000). Hermeneutic theory argues that interpreting meanings of something can only be done from a certain perspective - a standpoint, praxis or situational context (Patton, 2002) in a circular movement between part and whole, being researcher's preunderstanding actively used, qualified, challenged and developed during the research process (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000).

In addition to our orientation to develop closely connected hermeneutic and interpretive approaches as a manner to provide insights and appreciations about people's perceived reality; we also take critical stance on our own interpretations since we seek to identify and challenge assumptions behind ordinary ways of perceiving, conceiving and acting (Brookfield, 1987, cf. Alvesson & Deetz, 2000) through exploring alternatives that may disrupt routines and established orders. The critique task demonstrates a commitment to analytical aspects of critical traditions which recognize the possibility of domination in local formations and to reconnect local forms and meanings to larger social, historical and political processes (Alvessson & Deetz, 2000).

In line with Habermas' emancipatory interest of knowledge as concerned with enhanced autonomy - i.e. an increasingly free (aware) position towards powerful institutions, ideologies and interests (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000) - we employ a critical interpretation of unconscious processes, ideologies, power relations, and other expressions of dominance entailing privileges of certain interests over others (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Likewise, we aim to fulfill the third task in critical management research, related to redefine the insight and critique generated into pragmatic aspects that enable change and provide new ways of managing in organization (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000).

Being engaged in Critical Management Studies (CMS) implies to accept the assumption that there is something wrong with management, as a practice and as a body of knowledge, and that it should be changed (Fournier and Grey, 2000, p. 16): our focus, unlike a non-critical management study, is not to build up better 'models' or 'understanding' but to concentrate on a specific organizational practice, *corporate values enactment*, and its implications in the

reproduction of power relations (Fournier and Grey, 2000, p. 18). Particularly, our research is supported on the principle of 'denaturalization', highlighting employees' unexpected reactions when they are involved in a management practice considered positive and based on the 'truthfulness' of organizational knowledge (Fournier and Grey, 2000).

CMS introduces topics not dealt with by mainstream organization studies, considering managerial theories as problematic and open to challenge through processes of resistance (Spicer et al, 2009, p. 539). Even though we agree with Spicer et al (2009) that CMS is not necessarily a negative enterprise just concerned about to contribute to the "death of management" but a vibrant approach which can try to construct and rearticulate new liberating ways of managing and organizing. Therefore, this research is not oriented to develop 'anti-management' statements but challenge some mainstream imperatives which suggest that 'there is no alternative' to some managerial actions since it is the natural way to act (Fournier and Grey, 2000, p.18) aligned to a tricky concept: *common sense*.

As Spoelstra (2007) puts it, common sense takes the form of the natural within social reality and it operates without regard reasoning and it does no need a cause in sentences such as "'Everybody knows...', 'We all know it is true that...', 'Of course you must...', 'It is only natural to...'" (Spoelstra, 2007, p.17). Common sense corrects us when we are about to do something stupid (e.g. if do not want to die don't drink rat poison or drive on the right hand side in Indonesia) by organizing our chaotic world. From a critical perspective, we might think of organizations as the systems in which common sense is stabilized: Organizations give us rules and place us in an organizational culture; but its prescriptions can become dogmatic, 'naturalizing' unfair ways of oppression (Spoelstra, 2007, pp. 18-9).

We can formulate a very logic statement related to our research focus: "the enactment of corporate values contributes to align corporate culture with employees". We consider that this is a very 'logic' phrase which can be included in most of organizational articles without provoking negative reactions, and this is the kind of phrases that CMS is interested in 'denaturalizing' by exposing its possible weaknesses.

There are two main ways to try to 'denaturalize' an apparently 'natural' concept: through philosophy (based on Spoelstra, 2007) and through empirical material. In his analysis of Gilles Deleuze, Spoelstra (2007, p. 26) states that common sense is not corrected by

discovering contradictions but doubled by creation of paradox, understood from its etymological root as "beyond (*para-*) opinion or common sense (*doxa*)"; beyond the sense that is the co-producer of social reality".

In our research it is possible to formulate a paradox, a statement beyond mainstream common sense view: the more management reinforces corporate values to create a unified set of meanings among workers the more fragmented the meanings are. Some researchers (Fournier and Grey, 2000; Taskin and Willmott, 2008) attribute the rise of CMS to a (re)focus on people and not only on managers, urging companies and management schools "to produce knowledge *of* management and not only *for* management" and also encouraging critical studies about ambivalent or detrimental consequences of management practices (Taskin and Willmott, 2008), being possible to frame our study in this tendency by guiding a reflection between two 'extreme dangers': 'anti-managerial' chaos and 'mainstream' common sense (Spoelstra. 2007).

3.2. Data Collection

In our attempt to 'denaturalize' management practices through empirical material: In this qualitative research we rely on developing data gathering supported on multiple methods, commonly called *triangulation*, with an intention to relate different kinds of data so as to counteract the threats to validity identified in each (Berg, 1995). We use three main data-gathering techniques: personal interviews, fieldwork observation and analysis of secondary material and artifacts.

In this research we gather data by interacting with workers - associated to different areas and from different background - recognizing the polysemous character of the information: The study is concentrated on internal stakeholders and their perceptions of the organizational dynamics, so that external stakeholders are not part of the study's scope.

The located context of this study is Asian Monetary Fund (from this point forward will be refered as AMF), an Indonesian financial institution headquartered in Jakarta. All the interviews took place in several AMF offices in Jakarta and were conducted by both researchers lasted on average one to one and a half hours and were tape recorded. We

conducted 18 interviews within the span of 14 days with 20 employees from different hierarchical levels (senior, middle and first line) in the following areas of the organization: Human Resources, Small and Medium Enterprise (SME), Operation, Retail Banking, Collection, Mass Market and Syariah.

Interviewees were selected and contacted through the help of our field supervisor who use his personal judgment and connections to serve the best interest in theme under study, given the limited period of time of the field research. Among the limitations taken on during the interviewing process was the size of the company (more than 1000 offices and branches in all over Indonesian archipelago with more than 40,000 employees) which would required long period of time (maybe months) if we want to get access to the whole spectrum of opinions and perceptions about the company.

We treat the interview setting not as an arena for finding out facts or data but as a social event and an empirical situation in itself (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). We tried to establish conditions for an open conversation where interviewers feel comfortable and willing to talk about (a) main challenges and feelings towards their role and works in the organization, (b) their own perceptions about the concept of values (c) the reception to organizational efforts to enact and instill corporate values throughout organization (d) reactions and signs of resistance towards corporate culture programs.

Given that one of the researchers was an ex-employee of the bank, thus still considered as "one of us", and the other was considered as 'outsider' for the respondents, this situation influenced the talk and social interaction that took place, the type of information given and the way we responded and following up questions we ask. For one of the researcher, being considered as "one of us", this was an advantage in creating an immediate mutual understanding and empathy assuming shared experiences, vocabulary and language. For the other one, his condition as a *'bule'* (Indonesian term for western people) interestingly rouse sympathy and respect, making interviewees eager to satisfy and to give the best possible answer of the matters the researchers tried to understand.

It is important to indicate that *Bahasa Indonesia* is the official language in the country and English was not mother tongue for neither of the interviewees; nevertheless, most of them possess a good command of English and interviews were developed in that language and, in

the rest of cases, were developed in *campur-campur* (Indonesian term to say 'mixed', in this case half Indonesian and half English) or in full Indonesian: in the last case the interview was lead by one of the researchers (a native speaker) who translated the main parts to his partner and support him to make questions.

All the interviews were anonymous and the material recorded was listened by researchers who transcript the most relevant excerpts following the criteria defined in the study purpose. As we mentioned above, some interviews were developed in Bahasa Indonesia that is why these excerpts were translated to English. Likewise, because of English is not the first language for the interviewees some of them committed few syntactic mistakes which have been corrected when the quote was included in this document, but these corrections were made just to facilitate the reading and meanings were not affected in any case.

On the other hand, we got access to *documentary material* related to all the previous corporate efforts to design, develop, and spread out the concept of corporate values among workers, in order to get a better understanding of the implications of the process in organizational life and its importance for corporate directives. The internal material cited is included in the 'reference list'.

Finally, the third technique consisted on a careful observation of the organizational dynamics: we assisted to training activities (see table 2), business meetings, social activities and we also 'hang around' departments and interviewees' workplaces in order to compare our pre-understanding of the company with our new perceptions obtained by analyzing data from reading and interviews.

Activity	Name	Date	Time	Place	Audience
1	Effective People Management	April 13th, 2010.	8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.	AMF, Matraman. (Jakarta).	First line Managers.
2	Winning Branch Business Model.	April 15th, 2010	8:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.	AMF University (Bogor)	Regional managers (Retail Banking)
3	Communities of Practice	April 20th, 2010	9:00 a.m. to 12 p.m.	AMF. HR office (Jakarta)	HR Staff.

Table 2. Observation: Training & Workshop Sessions.

The empirical material obtained through these techniques is analyzed in interplay where we use our perceptions, knowledge and supporting bibliography as a way to create a framework of interpretations of reality (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2000). Furthermore, employing critical theory, we attempt to conduct a third level interpretation to avoid pleasing dominant thoughts and interests by counteracting a taken-for-granted cultural stance of interpreting social reality (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

4. CASE STUDY: ASIAN MONETARY FUND AND ITS CORPORATE VALUES.

> "This is a different playing field:
> when I was in my former employer I played futsal
> and now I play total football".
> *(R2, AMF Employee, Division Head)*[2]

4.1. Understanding AMF: A short glance back to its history[3].

Shortly 10 years after Indonesian independence in 1945, the young country started to stimulate its economic life and banking licenses started to be issued to local entrepreneurs. Established in 1956 under the name of *Agrindo Bank* in Jakarta's Chinatown area, the bank was acquired in 1976 by Susilo Chan, one the Indonesian-Chinese entrepreneurs with trading background as most of the Indonesian-Chinese descendant. In 1980's the bank's customers were still mainly Chinese traders and Usman had a vision to transform the bank from a "*Red Bank*" (A local term that refers to a bank that is run by Chinese descendants and mainly serves Chinese traders) into a National Bank: He quickly renamed the bank to Asian Monetary Fund (AMF), changed its logo and expressed a new vision: "To be present in all provinces". Together with his sister and a retired local executive of a stated owned bank installed as President Director, they ran the bank professionally and grew it from only 8 branches and 300 employees in 1985 until 700 branches with close to 18,000 employees in 1997, becoming the bank with the second largest network in the country.

In the mid of 1997, the Financial Crisis hit Asia and tore down the economy of countries that were previously considered as "Miracles of Asia" including South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia. Experts analyzed that the economic boom had been created through heavy borrowing, massive debts accumulation and 'unhedged' foreign exchange transactions (Supangat, 2009) which turned out to be a big economic bubble whose explosion had pushed the Indonesian government to close down 23 banks immediately. AMF and other seven banks were categorized as "Bank Under Restructuring" and put under the

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[2] In order to keep the anonymity of our interviewees we identify them in this document by using the letter "R" (Respondent) followed by a random number given to each participant.
[3] Due to confidentiality reason, all the real identities of the organization and subjects under study will be disguised by using pseudonym names created by authors.

supervision of Indonesian Banking Restructuring Agency (IBRA), a special entity formed by the government to help the banking industry to survive from the crisis.

With 28 trillion rupiah of government bailed out, the history wrote that AMF survived and spared from extinction. In 1999, a new board was appointed together with IBRA and merged AMF with other 9 banks, a mechanism which was considered essential to avoid the outright liquidation process that contributed so negatively to the psychology of the early financial meltdown period. A retrenchment program was undergone and some 260 branches were closed and working positions were cut down into around 11.000 employees.

> Although AMF bank was a bank in need to rebuild itself from its own near death experience, it was counted on by the government to become a core bank – to serve as the surviving bank into which other struggling banks would be merged into (Supangat, 2009).

Going through this painful process and being maintained as the surviving entity, interestingly leave a strong sense of pride for employees who survived the tough period: Most of our interviewees, who are old timers AMF, generally with more than 10 to 20 years of service to the company, express a kind of pride:

> "For example when the crisis hit, why AMF was the entity which was saved (by the government)? Because AMF is not only having great people, but because the system is also more advanced, our branches are numerous, so if we're being eliminated, the government will suffer, economically it will reduce the consumption per capita"

The wave of mergers was not yet finished. In 2000, 8 other banks were merged into AMF and the government only gave 4 months to finish the mergers, which meant every week a bank must be merged into the entity. Right after the second wave of mergers, the government set out the path for the recovery by pointing out Arnold Syahid, a seasoned executive from IBRA, to move the bank into full rehabilitation.

As the symbol of breaking out from the past, Arnold changed the logo of the bank from the Gold Coin logo (symbol of prosperity in Chinese tradition) into "lighthouse guiding light" logo which resembles a source of inspiration that guides the ships that has been long lost driven by the fierce wave of the sea.

"No matter what size the ships are, they always seek the position of the lighthouse to guide them on how to come ashore safely. No matter who are at the commands of navigating the vessels, they all respect the Lighthouse as a trusted source of direction" (Supangat, 2009)

The statement softly indicated the government plan to divest the bank to public. In 2002, two years under Arnold Syahid as CEO, the government offered 51% of its shares for potential investors. Asia Conglomerate Holdings, a company owned by a Singaporean state-owned enterprise, seized the opportunity and acquired the 51% shares of the bank. This takeover unveiled a new direction for AMF.

Under Jesus Navas, the new CEO appointed by the new foreign owner, the bank set out a basic structure for a bold a "Universal Bank for All segments" approach with a new vision of "We care and enable millions to prosper". This initial foundation was in turn taken over by Carlos Messi in 2004, an executive from a global financial giant, Global Citizens Bank, whose task was to translate the new vision and transform AMF into a leading financial institution. To articulate this new strategy AMF quickly entered to the Mass Market Segment, a low income segment which has never been touched by the bank and aggressively opened 600 new branches in the span of 12 months in 2004. To strengthen its portfolio in the consumer financing business AMF also Acquired Whitegoods Finance, a leading multi finance company in Indonesia whose employees are above 10.000 by the time of the acquisition.

Within the span of 4 years the company's branches expanded into more than 1300 branches, with 14 different Line of Businesses (LOB) covering all consumer banking available segments and employee numbers passed from 13.500 into more than 40.000 employees. This path paved up an exodus of new bankers from other established banks into AMF, bringing about the idea of an imaginary 'segregation' between 'old' and 'new' AMF. As one of our old timers AMF interviewees mentioned:

> In Asia Conglomerate Holdings period more changes happened: the bosses came from Global Citizens Bank, International Standard Bank, and another banks. We blended the culture, we saw the new AMF do it better, I saw it as positive, with new spirit, but most of my friends have negative thinking towards newcomers. (R14).

In terms of assets, the bank became the 5th largest bank in the country with one of the largest network and operational complexity. One of our interviewee described the complexity of the bank as below:

"In my previous institution when we had a new product or new sales program we could just show the new program or new sales program at least in two days (…) but here in AMF we need at least a month because when you sell a new program you need to think comprehensibly in how to communicate this new program to the people in the field far away from us, in Papua[4], in other islands, right, or in Sumatra, in Aceh[5] (…) in Tahuna[6] where you only have once in a month the flight schedule (…) the culture is different, no any product can you think in the head office – it's good, it's the best product!- but when you go to Tahuna it is not necessarily a good product (…) when we create a product we really have to think through if the product can be sold in that area (…) that's the complexity we have. (R7)

Until present, AMF is still dynamically striving to change and improve company's performance. By the time we're doing the research, a new CEO is about to come on board to replace the old one. New businesses such as phone breaking have just been started and transformation of retail banking branches into a more integrated and sales-oriented posture was undergoing.

4.2. AMF's corporate culture initiatives and the enactment of 'corporate values'

As we can see throughout its history, AMF has evolved from an entrepreneurial entity to a more bureaucratic and, later, professional entity. Within that course, different management teams have developed projects in order to use the concept of 'Corporate values' to bring about a unified corporate culture. In 1991 under Susilo Chan, who wanted to remove the "Red Bank" image of AMF into a "Professional National bank", the corporation went through its first formal process to define Vision, Mission and Values, and the acronym

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[4] The most eastern island of Indonesia.
[5] The most western island of Indonesian territory (It takes 9 hrs of direct flight from Aceh to Papua, longer than it takes to reach Tokyo (Japan) from Jakarta (the capital of Indonesia)
[6] The most northern island of Indonesian territory, its geographical position is closer to Philippines rather than to Indonesia.

PRIMA (Prime Values) was established and written bilingually in Indonesian and English language:

-   Excellent Service (Pelayanan Terbaik).

-   Best Performance (Raih Hasil Terbaik).

-   Innovation (Inovasi)

-   Teamwork (Menjalin Kerjasama).

-   Actively Developing (Aktif Mengembangkan)

Supangat (2009) wrote that the bank's corporate culture efforts was launched in 1992 with a series of government rituals including a corporate song, morning recitals with story sharing and the use of the word "*Manggala*" (a designation used by the totalitarian government for the compulsory National Ideology Indoctrination) to describe the AMF executives appointed as corporate culture trainers. Every new recruit, nonetheless, had to follow a semi-military induction program in its newly opened training facilities (AMF Campus) led by a retired Marine Officer. This undertaking indicates the intention of management to engineer AMF Culture through aligning it with the Indonesian Nationalist drive, bringing the National Purpose as a 'higher' purpose that bring existential presence of the bank and thus the employee's pride.

On November 2000, after IBRA's recapitalization and the merger with eight local banks the values acronym was changed to "TRIP" as a way of describing the journey ahead of AMF to embark on a "Trip to Success"

TRIP = Transparency, Responsiveness, Integrity, Professionalism. (Supangat, 2009, 51-3).

In may 2004, one year after AMF was acquired by Asia Conglomerate Holdings, the bank oriented its efforts to reinforce the corporate culture and, in Jesus Navas' words (CEO in that time) "When you do a Due Dilligence, you focus on the financials and the operational aspects of a company, now we need to build the people side with a culture that brings us forward" (Supangat, 2009, p. 73).

Following that purpose, AMF developed seven (7) Town Hall meetings, each of them in a different city (Bandung, Surabaya, Balilkpapan, Jakarta, Semarang and Makasar) with participation of more than 10,000 employees, and other 160 branch meetings in remote areas

of the country. In November 2004, more than 10,000 inputs were received (62% came directly from the Town Hall meetings and 38% from branches) and, at the end of the month, a group of seventy directors and senior executives gathered for a two day session with the agenda to "piece together a working draft of AMF Bank's core purpose and values based on the inputs from the employees". As a result, five (5) core values were established:

Caring – "We have a genuine concern for the well being and advancement of others. This brings out the best in us".

Honesty – "We are true to ourselves and other without any hidden agenda".

Passion to Excel – "We dare to always come up with a better way of doing things whilst balancing the risks involved and never compromising the solidity of our company".

Teamwork – "We achieve better as a team. Benefiting from the strength of our diversity".

Disciplined Professionalism – "We have the freedom to act within the highest standards ethics of our profession through Disciplined People, Disciplined Thought, Disciplined Action" (Suganpat, 2009, p. 73-9).

Developed bottom up, this core values are believed to be derived from the employees across diverse regions and functions and resemble the soul of the company established within the course of its history. In Carlos Messi's words (Current AMF Bank's CEO) included in the video *'AMF Bank – We care and enable millions to prosper'*:

"All our employees participated in the creation of our values. We believe that those values are the foundation of our culture and the pillars of our long-lasting life. I urge you all to apply and life this values in everything you do… Please, apply and live these values everyday in everything you do, inside and outside: If we do that, we will continue being perceived as the best employer of choice and the best progressive company in the banking sector in Indonesia".

The last macro-effort was developed in August, 2007: this month a consumer survey was done on the AMF brand, revealing that the bank did not score high in the Top of Mind

category and, in fact, scored much below the industry leaders. AMF was described as a "faceless" institution without a clear identification of what it stood for (Supangat, 2009).

From the Top management's point of view, the AMF brand needed to be represented in a much stronger way, thus bank's directives defined a brand promise: "We Make It Happen for You" ("Untuk Anda, Bisa" in Indonesian Language) and, in order to "to activate the brand promise" a new set of "brand attributes" were designed to complement the corporate values: Energetic, Adaptive, Capable, Enabling, Proactive and Genuine. As a spearhead of this initiative, AMF Bank, supported by an external consultancy firm, designed a corporate metaphor as a way to link brand strategy with corporate values: *The AMF Tree.*

Figure 2. The AMF Values Tree. (Source: AMF Corporate Material)

The *AMF Tree* is the representation of the corporate values from the Top management perspective, the soul of the organization: the 'root' is located below ground and it is constituted by five values defined in 2004 by a large scale process and, in theory, this 'root' feeds the 'trunk' and 'leaves', six new values oriented to show how AMF is in the sunlight, creating a dynamic 'face' among stakeholders. Between August and November 2008, Town Hall Meetings were held in all seven of AMF Regions to introduce the New Brand Promise.

From our observation of training materials, corporate publications and other documents AMF has developed numerous actions in order to spread out these corporate values by using different means, among them are:

- Institutional videos: 'Makna / Purpose', 'Nilai – Nilai / Values' and 'AMF – We care and enable millions to prosper'.
- Campaigns based on posters, signs on workplaces, and wallpapers (in all the computers).
- Diffusion by using corporate magazines.
- Training programs: through Induction activities to new employees and introduction of them during technical training for old employees (e.g. during the observation of the activity 'Effective People Management' was executed a module called 'Understanding Values'). (Supangat, 2009, 101-3).

The AMF Tree is massively used in trainings, corporate documents, PowerPoint presentations, wallpapers, posters, etc. as a representation of the strong 'faith' of the company in the effectiveness of corporate values. Until now, this is the official version of corporate values in AMF, but is this initiative as effective as management wants to believe? In the following sections we present the main findings from the empirical material collected during our research and we develop a critical interpretation based our (pre)understanding and reflections upon AMF Bank organizational dynamics.

5. FINDINGS.

In this chapter we present the findings gained from our field research regarding employees' perceptions and reactions through their narratives about different management efforts to enact and internalize corporate values in AMF which had been developed during the course of its history. We invite to look in a closer detail the actual impact of culture engineering through corporate values enactment, how employees resist through it, and how the power-resistance interplays created may affect the whole organization and the individuals within.

5.1. Perception of branding attempts: The actual impact of 'culture engineering'.

> "I accept these values not because I work in AMF
> but because these are my personal values also". (R2)

In our interactions through formal interviews and informal conversations in offices, training areas or *ngopi-ngopi* (Indonesian term for 'hanging out while having coffee') a recurrent topic that emerged was that some workers show little interest in the official corporate values statement. We found that even though corporate values material is extensively used in workplace but, for instance, some interviewees turned to their PC screens in order to read the institutional wallpaper background - in which *AMF Values Tree* is the central part − since they did not feel confident enough to talk about corporate values by heart.

> I think we know but we are not doing the activities with the idea of these values, right? (…) I cannot remember what are values of AMF (...) I know that teamwork and discipline and all of these values I do in all, in everyday, in my activities, right? (…) I do not remember all of these values. (R18).

An internal trainer in a people management training that we observe suggests that the fact that he found not so many of the employee he trained remember about these values is because there is a missing link between the underlying points of these values and how it relates to the job: "They rarely draw connection between values and their daily activities, even though they already implemented them"

Despite management exhortations to 'apply and live these values everything you do" (As in Carlos Messi's statement in the previous chapter) there is a disconnection between the concept and its importance in daily activities. Corporate values enactment is seen as something redundant for employees because it does not offer them new insights about working at the company.

> Though we didn't have those corporate values, they're already there within everyone's soul: they're just being emphasized with what AMF give us. But without them, we're already 'that' kind of people, no matter where we work, banking, service, or everywhere (…) being honest is a must, being professional is a must, if we are working in any company we must be disciplined: when asked to come at 8, before 8 we must already be at the office. (R11)

Most of interviewees made comparisons between their personal values with corporate ones, because they thought that the former ones are more relevant and the later ones are not embedded enough throughout the company:

> Honesty is coming from ourselves, even though we're not at work and being at home we also have to be honest. If naturally we're not honest, it will be hard. (R11)

> I work based on my belief, what's good and what's not good. When you do something is based on your belief instead of the values of the company because if sometimes I talk in front of my colleague "hey, come on, you cannot do it because of the value" he just laughed: "Come on, what do you mean with 'disciplined professionalism'?" It happens. (R3)

These perceptions of corporate values as something redundant (e.g. we already have these values) or ineffective (e.g. it's hard to draw the connection with what I do) provoke a kind of cynicism towards them as something 'naïve', emphasizing the idea that in the business sphere the concept of 'performance' is putting 'values' relevance in the shade.

> We have to deal with facts and move on: we don't just cry to other directors: "Oh, this job is not done because they don't apply the values". Just move on (…) I feel the simple way to describe my concern is when I'm rising up the issue with another LOB's *(Line Of Business)* and the topic is values I remember they laughed at me (I: they laughed?) No, no, no, it seems as: 'Ah!!! It's nothing, what are you talking about? It's not an important thing'. (R2)

"The current challenge is that managers are not focusing on values, their focus is still on the numbers". (R1).

"Every time when we talk to the business we talk to the business: we never talk, you know, about values. We talk about the problem ahead on the business perspective, process perspective and so forth. Never did touch the connector". (R4)

Likewise, we detect skepticism about the effectiveness of this kind of efforts to 'design' the selves, rejecting the idea that such 'corporate self' does not exist in the organization:

"If you meet ten persons in one event and you can have the opportunity of having a real interaction for a week: can you define who is from company A, for company B, for company C based on the values? I don't think so because I don't have any example, here in Indonesia at least". (R2)

With the enactment of values, it's expected that outsiders will be able to see (…) you are IBM people, you are City people, you are BCA people, but I have never heard: you are AMF people. (R13)

The corporate culture efforts to instill a unified set of corporate values in a complex company was defined by one of our participants through the metaphor of *chef*, stressing the idea that a head chef who cook in a factory canteen to serve 800 workers will not be able to satisfy 800 taste of people: "If cook fish, few people don't like fish; if it's meat they don't like meat, don't like that". The culture engineering process represented by the *AMF Tree* is seen with suspicion as a way to integrate different 'flavors', different perceptions of the company which are not compatible to each others:

"When they (managers) created the values, the root values, actually was from the bottom: now it's only buzzwords (…) we have to integrate that but the integration hasn't been socialized that's why we are living in dark, we don't know what's the expectation of these values, it's an image, I cannot tell you if they are contradicting each other or not because there is no comparison". (R3)

The *AMF Tree*, understood as the representation of branding efforts to show the integration between 'old' five values - established in 2004 and designed through a large scale 'bottom-

up' process - with the 'new' six branding attributes established top-down in 2008, is perceived as unnatural and confusing:

> (I: Does these five values make AMF unique?) Not all AMF's employees live these five values. (I: you have six other values. The AMF Tree, remember?) That makes it complicated, actually my opinion is: the simpler, the better. The simpler the values we have it is much easier to live in it. We have so many values. We have to choose which values are most important and we need to instill in all AMF employees. We have twenty (sic) values but no one can remember them. (R2)

In addition, from a political perspective, we detect reactions against the *AMF Tree* as a way to impose management idea and 'engineer' culture by making up connections between concepts that employees do not see clearly related:

> (I: "What is the most important value according to you among the eleven values?") We only have five values. (I: So, are the other six not values for you?"). Those are not our values, our values are caring, honesty, passion to excel, teamwork, disciplined professionalism: Those are our values, the ones above (the leaves on the tree) is only a continuation of those values but the core values are only five. This is the ability of our people: they develop values as if they invent something new, instead it's only a development of the existing. Why can't we just look at what we have and then work on those? (R1).

The final phrase "why can't we just look at what we have and then work on those?" guides us to an essential part of our findings: employees are not passive recipients but active entities by judging the ability of the company to understand their real feelings and experiences at work. We go in depth into this concept in the next section.

5.2.Reception of corporate values: values as a trigger of resistance.

> Our value is only slogan:
> we need willingness from the top,
> people look to the leaders, right? (R7.)

In the former section we show that corporate culture enacted are perceived by employees as less relevant than what management thinks. Some expressions of cynicism, apathy and

criticism against them emerged during our conversations; but it does not mean that the concept of "value" is not relevant: in fact, it is very important for them inside and outside work but its importance is more related to internal feelings than external actions.

> "An organization needs to have values because we have to believe (…) we have something that actually regulates the way we interact each other and the way we treat each other". (R3)

From our analysis we suggest that this rooted belief in values is related with strong relevance of religious belief and spirituality in people's everyday activities, including work, drawing upon the metaphor of organization as a 'secular religion', mentioned in our theoretical framework, as a way used in organizations to fill up employees' emotional and existential gaps. As one of our respondent puts it:

> "(Here) we don't have religion (I: a religion?) Because religion is about believe, because the basics of religion is believe. If you ask me any kind of religion available in the world is on the basis, of course, they have to believe. At the end of the day you have to believe in something: that is the thing we should create. (R12)

The lack of belief in organization and its values is addressed to the missing element that employees concurrently express during our fieldwork, a gap between values statement and values in practice by the top management: role modeling. Claiming that Indonesia is an eastern country with a strong paternalistic culture, employees are seeing role modeling as a fundamental variable to create impact in any corporate values statement.

> Indonesian culture is paternalistic, most of the time I'm being asked: "*Mas* (respectful title): if our boss doesn't care, why should we care? If my boss is not honest, why are we being asked to be honest? (R1).

> It's just the question of how leaders can give example as role model for the team. So it's important but if a leader can't give examples it's not useless, but it's toothless, becoming a slogan only. (R14).

> (I: Why are you proud of working in AMF?) I'm happy to work in AMF, not proud (laughs). I'm happy to work in AMF because (it) always give me, how to call it, embracing. It's really appreciated my expertise. It's the opportunity to grow. (I: what the gap? You said you are

happy but not proud. What's lacking?) Role models: It's quite hard to find the role models (…) for my part it is more on the role model, someone who you can look up to. Someone I can learn from instead of some spiritual beliefs. (R3)

The issue of organizational role-models absence is connected with recent facts (post the acquisition by Asian Conglomerate Holdings in 2004) that most of top management and senior people in the organization are mostly hijacked executives from another banks or expatriates who, according to Indonesian labor law, can only work for a limited period of time (four years, extendable depending of the specific case). These conditions have created a perception of 'mismatch' between how managers should be acting to instill corporate values and 'mistrust' to their real possibilities in leading the process.

"But I understand if we really want to instill the values into all the employees it takes time because, of course, we really need time to try to really instill them to all the employees, we need to ensure from the top management have consistency to live by the values they have chosen for this institution (…). The new guy is coming as one of the director members; if he or she doesn't know the value or doesn't want to live in the value then there will be difficult for us". (R2)

Leaders as role models are important for employees and they consider that these new AMF employees, generally hold top level positions, have no emotional connection with the long history of the company and the 'local' culture. Their relative short term presence in the organization have made them perceived by the old-timers employees as those who have no interest in creating a long-term success of the organization through the embodiment of AMF values.

"You are asking what will happen with AMF (…) it depends on who are the leaders, our leaders' leverage, but those leaders are not working for the organization (…) they are in the company maximum five years (…) Few weeks ago I signed this thick (hand gesture) of papers saying you have been achieving twenty years of service with AMF: those are who (really) own the company, those are people who should guide the company". (R12)

There is a constant judgment to management competence to lead the company in a proper way, and that resistance is partly based on the skepticism towards leaders are 'role models'

who really understand and live the deep-rooted values of the company. There is a pessimistic perception about leadership and a feeling of uncertainty based on the "come and go" syndrome, and managers' credibility is at stake in middle and low levels.

> The recipe for me, maybe I'm not right, my personal opinion is, the recipe is: one, the top management should live this five values within themselves; the second thing is by living these five values they really have to implement this values in the organization, they have to deal with this team and the other team and they really can supervise them. (R2)

> "The CEO believes in these values because he developed them long time back but the problem is the CEO will go and we will have a new CEO (I: and you don't know if the values are going to change or not, right?) Not necessarily to be changed or not, but the thing is even though we still have these values for the next five years I don't really have confidence of the new CEO will understand the values or try to understand the values (…) I don't know because people come and go". (R2)

These judgments reinforce the idea of top management and newcomers as people with limited capacity to be models for old timers (people with long time in the company, in general more than 10 years: another usual term in AMF to make distinctions among employees). Employees feel they are 'formally' in charge but in practice they are unable to demonstrate a behavior aligned to their words.

> It's about role modeling as well: most of this new people, when I see the people there, they don't lead the values, they don't even know the values (…) we can create a poster but role model is, actually, imposed from the top: "Hey, this is the value, this is the induction, do it! And when I observe the supervisors they are not living in values" Quite sure. This is the perspective from people. (R3)

Mistrust towards top management and newcomers generates an interesting phenomenon: before doing this research we interpret 'corporate values' as Top-down statements from leaders and managers which are assimilated by followers (we had some doubts but, basically, our view was similar to mainstream literature's vision) but now we realize that 'corporate values' is a double-way road used by employees to judge management actions. In our case study we see that employees are not resisting against the enactment of corporate values (in fact, values are very relevant for them, maybe more than in a corporate located in a western

country) but they are resisting *through* corporate values by evaluating managers as morally competent as role models.

> I haven't seen in total, there's still a lack of consistency, some of them do it, but it's not consistent, so this bring doubt, my trust level sometimes start changing, o, he/she's already good, but why he/she do this, against the values, so my trust level is going down, But I still respect him/her as role model, but only to certain extent, because it's hard. Values must be carried out in our daily life. (R1)

Corporate values can be seen as management statements which are in some extent modified - and even ignored- by employees and it is not just a Top-Down managerial tool: there is a Bottom-Up resistance used by employees to judge management performance and leadership congruency.

5.3. Fragmented Identity: Splitting Organization and Splitting Self.

The former section contextualizes role modeling, as a way to instill values, as something which has more relevance and impact for employees than any other corporate management practices. At the same time, they are also expressing concerns about the top management consistency and interest in living up the values, given their little knowledge of traditional/local values or their expected short time working at the company. Thus, resisting through corporate values, in our field work, leads to an organization with fragmented identities: between top/senior management with middle and first line employees, between newcomers and old-timers and among divisions/work unit.

This disconnection between 'newcomers' and 'old-timers' can be seen through an analysis of the *AMF tree*, which is defined as a representation of the 'internal heart' of the company and its vital motivations. The 'roots' of the trees is seen more as the representation of old-timer values, while the 'leaves' as the representation of the newcomer, given the fact that the 5 'root' values was developed bottom up and the 6 'leaves' values was developed top down using a branding consultant. The latent mismatch between these two different ways to understand the company is expressed by the *Plastic tree* metaphor: reflecting an artificial link, something that has no soul and thus not really living, as a grim perspective given by one of our interviewee, a head leader:

"These are the real values (pointing at roots) and these are the leaderships attributes (Pointing at the leaves) but nowadays in AMF people only are looking on, thinking about this (leaves) (…) But it's like a plastic tree: you have flowers and leaves but it's not a real plant, it's not living because we never concentrate on this (roots). we are concentrating on this (leaves) and forgetting that (roots)". (R12)

Instead of integrating, the tree metaphor inherently implies disintegration. A phenomenon which also suspiciously understood as a way to bring out performance through creating a conflict within competing elements in the organization, as one of the employee put it:

They're (managers) just having the values to create a competition. This value is only a sort of motivational thing for them instead of actually the way they should live for". (R3)

The competing elements are seen as political power poles trying to dominate and influence one over another, leading to a question: "Who owns AMF, the old-timers or newcomers?"

"If you see America they have Indians, right: Indian is the original people who supposed to be the owner of the land, but because of the newcomers they became, you know, they gone out, basically, right? They just left some part of and they are not owners of America anymore because newcomers are more than the indigenous people. In AMF I don't think it's the case: from 2003-2004, how many are newcomers compared with old-timers? The old-timer is more in terms of percentage; you should focus on the roots, right? Because there is where the culture is. Maybe 20% of the people are newcomer but remember: every 3 years the rotation of newcomers is high and the rotation for the old-timer is very low (…) who owns AMF, the old-timers or the newcomers? (R4)

Corporate values are becoming a tool to create 'exclusion' between different parts of the organizations: (1) senior management at the top and middle/first line employees at the bottom, (2) new comers and old-timers and (3) different divisions/units/line of businesses.

(1) 80% of them (employees) live on the bottom (roots) (…) most of the leaders came from outside (…) some weeks ago, branch management explained the marketing campaigns. They have two kinds, one of them is masculine: in the ads all of them are strong, 'macho person' as AMF's icon. That's the reflection on this one (points at the tree) actually. (I: And the feminine one?) I saw advertisement about that, perhaps. That's the AMF we want to see: that one (tree/up) not this other one (tree/bottom) (R12)

(2) Ironically change won't happen, because when we recruited Global Citizens bankers or BRI-bankers, what they bring are their own perception of their banks. Now we have so many variations from various bankers, we cannot match them with AMF values (R1)

(3) With commercial and corporate sometimes teamwork is not working yet as we expect because we have too much 'silo thinking': everybody only think about their silo. We don't, sometimes, we don't care about retail bank: retail bank success has no impact at all with me with our team, (I: it's not affecting my performance) no effect at all, no effect to my salary, no effect to my bonus, no effect even to our daily job our daily life, no impact, that's the problem, 'silo thinking' (R7)

The dichotomy between being parts of the organization creates the feeling that the traditional values are being dominated by new values which are not matched.

"In actual condition, today our values are not strong enough to poison everyone in AMF, including the newcomers who joined, for example Global Citizens bankers must be poisoned to become AMF bankers" (R1).

Thus, AMF's branding attempts to show connections between old and new values are creating confusion about the 'real' company and it is not considered as an effective way to create a unified image of the company: One interviewee said that AMF has "too many flags" and other one talked about too many 'faces' but not a single one.

I know there are people in AMF fresh, and a lot of conservative people probably really hard to change and slowing down the process. (I: Does this tree represent the real AMF or maybe just one part? How do you describe AMF?) I think this tree cannot represent AMF in terms of we want to get something in mind (…) AMF is, by the people in the branch management, based on the survey (Human Sigma, a quantitative management tool designed to measure employee involvement and engagement), AMF is represented as a male, thirty-something and then young, fresh, professional. I don't know, probably (…) in terms of the face of AMF I think it is only theory (…) If I have to represent AMF, the employee of AMF, they look old, they don't look young for most of people in the retail banking. There are so many faces: I don't know how to represent AMF. (R6)

Plastic tree reinforces the idea of an apparent cohesion in theory but division in practice, and this divisions between competing elements are based on different interpretation of values at work, where the 'root' values' are considered as having 'indigenous', 'feminine', 'eastern/local' flavor while the 'leaves' values are considered as having 'alien', 'masculine', 'western/international' flavor. Emphasizing that one tries to dominate another and thus labeled as 'negative'.

> Sometimes I talk to the new business head: how do you see AMF? What's your strategy? "I want to make it the number one in the market" but if you ask to the old-timers they don't want to do that. "You, newcomers, come and go but do you really nurture certain product of certain business?"(…) Fast results, money here and tomorrow's gone. (R4)

> All I can say is that not every newcomer is good, and not all the old timers are bad, I get the impression that people think the old timers are bad, stupid. I realize that they just perform their task according to what they get. (R13)

These feelings of mistrust stress the idea that the presence of newcomers has no impact in the organization because they are unable to understand the values and, therefore, they are unable to nurture them. This idea is confirmed by the testimony from an expatriate who explains his actual working conditions which make it difficult for newcomers to see themselves as a part of the whole organization.

> There is a difference, right? One thing is working for a bank and another is considering this bank as your own bank: this feeling may not come. Maximum four years to stay here then I will never do my career in this bank (I: How to manage the performance?) Under this condition of 'maximum 4 years' rule, philosophically, that's the way will happen, right? You don't work for long time, you don't think that this bank is your bank: More often is short term: I'm coming here, I'm going to make money and I'm going out. (R20)

These fragmented organizational identities in turn provoke skepticism and disappointment feeling about being in AMF, affecting employees' sense of membership and meanings at work.

If AMF changes - CEO will change in the next 2 weeks –someday AMF's owner may change from Asia Conglomerate Holdings to Dubai Investment: I don't care. Someday AMF will change from yellow, orange (institutional colors) to become red: I don't care. (…) It's never impacted to my performance: since when I'm in AMF we have changed the corporate values 4 times. I understand the values and the meaning of the value but if you ask me how the values are changing: I don't care, ah! I was very disappointed, very disappointed, they talking about honesty but sometimes they are not honest: I don't care, ah! (R7)

(I: Do you feel people are proud of working here, in AMF?). This is one of the most difficult questions because we have Human Sigma. Human Sigma does the survey for customers and our internal employees and the funny thing is that one question there's always been answered in AMF is 'Are you happy working here? People say "No". Even if the person is a star person in the company (R2)

Even "Star workers[7]" can develop this kind of 'dis-identification' feelings, simultaneously expressing some empathy with the company and a critical view of being part of it.

If you are asking about what I am proud (of working in AMF): I was proud working with my former employer (…) with AMF, I cannot say that; I'm not really proud of working for AMF: I can see that AMF is a challenging place but I'm not bragging with my friends, "You know, I'm working in AMF!" (I: what do you say to your friends?) I'm working in a bank (I: What's the lack?) Because I see there is nothing to be proud of (…) it's not the best place to work for. It's a tough place. (R4)

Feelings of dis-identification were expressed by some interviewees through judging their managers and expressing that it is not possible to 'blindly' believe in the company and it is better to work for other purposes than working for the institution while simultaneously they still admit their dependence to the sense security given by being part of the company.

The most important is work with passion. I'm not working for AMF, I talk to you very frankly: I'm not working for AMF, I'm working for myself and for my family, so I will do my best in the office, If I do my best, I believe AMF will give me value (…) This is anomalous: you ask me how proud I am as an employee of AMF and i said, from the scale 0 to 10, maybe it's only seven, maybe less than seven, but I always try to do my best. I'm not

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[7] 'Star' is one categorization for talented employees in AMF Human Resources Process.

working for AMF: if I work for this AMF, if I work for Carlos Messi (CEO) I will get disappointed. You know I work for myself, I try to deliver always the best, I expect it's also happen to my team. (R7).

Likewise, we identify that it is easier for workers to identify with their areas than AMF as a whole: the full picture is not in AMF employees' minds. When we asked to an old-timer about his new areas (mass market) he told us that:

I've never seen and experienced (pride): within 20 years, only in the last 2 years. I feel that this is the greatest Line of Business, LOB, the spirit of the team down there to achieve, every meeting has different energy, not all LOB have what we have here. (R15).

Symptoms of simultaneous dis-identification and identification to the same organization can be considered as the 'splitting self' (Dukerich, et. al, 1998; Collinson, 2003), contradictory to the ideal goal of culture engineering to create a shared values and whole person (the corporate-self). To finish our findings chapter, we present two specific cases to describe the phenomenon of *black sheeps,* or the split self, employees who simultaneously identify and dis-identify with the organization affected by corporate values enactment and power-resistance interplays created. In the first case, our main focus is to show the impossibility to replace deep-rooted personal values by using generically designed corporate values; and in the second one we take one of the values included in the *AMF Tree* and we see the intrinsic ambiguity of implementing it in real work settings.

Case 1: Corporate values and religious values.

In *Nilai – Nilai Values,* the institutional video which explains the process developed in 2004 to define the 'root' values, a participant proposed the acronym PROFIT, consisting on PROFesional, *Iman* dan *Taqwa* (Professionalism, Faith and Godfearing): Indonesia is the largest Moslem country by population and religious beliefs are important in daily life (even for non-Moslem) and, anticipating this potential market demand, AMF has a Syariah Bank Business Unit which offers banking services based on Muslim principles of business and *halal* (lawful) instead of embracing western principles called *riba* (profitting the money), *ghoror* (manipulative) and *maisyir* (speculative). Thereby, people can get access to banking services that match with Moslem law, "which spiritually will create peace of mind because

their fund will be ploughed back to business or thing that benefits a lot of people". During our interview we asked about the differences between working in Syariah and in conventional bank to our respondent:

> It's obvious: for example, when the praying time is coming, everyone is expected to pray on time, because then what's the difference if on that side we're not better than the other? Handling customer, if I have a non performing loan the treatment is different, in conventional they may shout at you or using other techniques, if we do the same customer will complain, where's the Syariah principles? (R5).

Talking about the importance of corporate values our interviewee made a comparison between his personal values and company's one, reinforcing the idea that the first ones are much more important because they are creating foundation for the second ones.

> I believe that Islamic values are better than the company values. Some of the values may be derived from the religious values: for example, in Islam there's a prophet saying: "Today must be better than yesterday, if today's worse or just the same than yesterday we incur personal losses: we have to improve every day. It's related to the value of passion to excel. Caring in Islam: we have to pay *zakat* [8] and give charity. (R5)

Our interviewee has a previous experience in conventional banking before moving to Syariah, and he shared with us his impressions about it:

> I don't want to go to conventional bank again. (I: Why not?) Because my belief is that conventional bank is wrong. I believe Syariah bank is true because the Syariah principles are from the Qur'an. It's impossible to be wrong: the problem is the man behind the Syariah, not the principle. The man behind Syariah can be wrong but the principles: Impossible. (R5)

Being asked about the value of 'caring' in the conventional bank: Can we care in conventional bank? The interviewee responded:

> For example: Collection. In conventional banking if the customer does late payment, the customer firstly pay the penalty, secondly the margin and lastly the main (initial credit), so the

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[6] 'Zakat' is one of the Five Pillars of Islam, consisting on giving of a certain percentage of one's possessions (surplus wealth) to charity, generally to the poor and needy periodically. It serves principally as the welfare distribution in society.

bank got the penalty, the rate and the principle. In Syariah, what they pay is first the principle and the last is the penalty. The basis on Syariah principle: we must put at ease people who have debts. (R5)

Identification mismatch symptoms can be detected in this case because he feels a commitment with the whole bank as an employer but he is judging its actions and purposes.

> (I: Why are you proud of working in AMF?) R5: Because AMF is the big bank who survives after we've been hit by several crisis. (I: Why are you proud of working in Syariah?) R5: Not everyone has the opportunity to work at Syariah, not only AMF but Syariah bank, I believe work here is *ibadah* (devotion to God) and as a way of educating the community about the good principle of Syariah (…) For me there's no problem, because what I do here is in line with Syariah principle, as long as I'm not working for Mass market or SME (other Line of Businesses in AMF which practice 'usury') (…) We are part of AMF, Syariah is only a division. If something happens in AMF Syariah, it will impact AMF as a whole. (R5)

And, finally, when we asked him about what he would do it if he had to move to conventional bank he expressed an opinion based on his personal values.

> I choose to resign, because I believe going back to conventional bank is wrong. The MUI (Board of Islamic Scholars) said that interest is *haram* (impure), Qur'an (Holy Scriptures) states that too. I believe if I do that, that's very wrong. (R5).

Case 2: Contradicting interpretations of corporate values: 'Caring' as a value.

Caring is one of the 'root' values and one of the most relevant in employees' minds and even for the company which included it in its branding statement: "We care and enable millions to prosper". In this case, we present three different interpretations of the value from three different areas, and after that we present how 'caring' can be a contradictive premise for workers in a bank area: collection.

There are at least three different meanings of the 'caring' value in AMF that we found during our empirical study. The first one is more oriented to see 'caring' as an intrinsically tricky emotional state, one that is difficult to implement in banking.

(I: Is caring a value?). Ah, yeah, quite tricky because how far do you need to care? It's quite tricky (I: In Banking world is possible to be caring?) Possible, but maybe caring is more like empathy. Caring is more like to do something physical (…) caring is more on real things with the people instead of a feeling (…) caring itself, in financial service industry, is not dangerous but tricky, very tricky. When I interpret the value of caring: 'ok, I need to tolerate, I need to show my passion for each other'. (R3)

The second one is oriented to explain 'caring' in business terms, as a way to be 'fair' with customers:

(I: AMF has a phrase: "To care and enable millions to prosper"? Do you think a bank can be 'caring'?). 2008: there are lots of small business men who are not working, they lost a lot of money (…) definitively a bank should have empathy in those kind of situations (…) they have to care about the situation, not only going and say 'you pay and if not I put you in jail' (…) for an investment bank it is ok (…) but for a commercial bank your role is more for small business men and millions of small customers (…) we need to be considered. (R20)

The third one is focused on 'caring' at work and directly related to a performance criterion:

I also care to my people, very care, I push them to work hard (punching his right fist to his palm over and over again while talking) I push them, don't go home before finish all your work or job, don't go home, I push them. (R7).

In the first case (corporate values and religious values) our participant also expressed doubt about the possibility to be 'caring' in conventional banking by using collection as an example. During our interview in that area (collection area in conventional banking), one of our focus was to understand the dynamics of that division, well-known in banking as a 'less glamorous' one because of its main orientation to deal with 'non-performing accounts' and push the debtors to fulfill their commitments to the bank, and how it affects employees general feelings about working and its relation to values:

 (I: you said this process is a little bit rough. How do you think the value of 'caring', caring to the customers can be done?). R9: Sometimes we cross the value and we have to be tough with the customer. They have obligations to pay (…) our objective is to protect bank's interests.

(I: And some people cannot stand working in that area?). R9: Some people feel "I'm getting bored in this unit. Every day I shout to the customer". Sometimes we need rotation. In general we put more senior people in this area. (I: Sometimes customers can use intimidation?). R8: Yeah, intimidation. Not only to threat you, to kill you! (Laughs). R9: "You come to my house and I'm going to kill you".

The 'rough' nature of work in this division requires our interviewees to exert some kind of dis-identification with them while performing their daily work tasks, dealing with 'tough' customers in order to embrace company's interests as their own ones.

R8: Sometimes when there are difficulties collecting I do 'Beauty and the Beast': sometimes my partner is the Beast and I'm the Beauty. It's work. (I: Good cop – Bad cop). R9: Right. It's a drama. Good guy, bad guy. R8: After setting up the loan I always shake hands and say 'Sorry, I do this because it's my responsibility, because my duty, because my task'. I do the task, I do the job. I'm professional. "You have to pay because you have a debt to us. I say sorry if during my communication with you I was a bit rude'. Sorry for the way, I'm a professional". The bank says 'give me the money' and you have to getting back the money.

In the former story we can see a contradiction between 'caring' and 'disciplined professionalism' being impossible to develop both simultaneously: the most professional I am the less caring I have to be. But this dis-identification can be seen in personal roles as well:

R8: I put myself in different contexts, as a mother and as a friend. (I: that means you are different in the office?) R8: Totally. When I leave the bank, I leave the office and my husband picks me up I never talk about work. I forget it for a while. (I: do you show a different personality at work?). R8: My basic personality I always keep it for me. I have different roles: as a leader, my role is a leader, as a mother my role is a mother, as a friend my role is a friend.

Being asked about how to handle personal problems, employees refer to their personal values, particularly religious ones, as a way to create meaning and release tension at work.

R8: Sometimes I'm very tired because my house is very far and I always remind me: "Enjoy, don't complain". An important thing for me: everything I do it's always '*Ikhlas*' (She asked for the translation) Surrender. As a person, as a human, I always do, do, being surrender to the

God. (I1: I don't think there is a western word for *'Ikhlas'*: when you do something but you expect nothing) R8: Because I believe, *Iman* (faith) (…) I believe god never closes his eyes, he will give me more than I expect (…) if I give something and I surrender to the God I believe the God will give me more than I expect. I already prove it for many times, it's not only theory.

From above two mini cases, we can conclude that corporate values are actively interpreted and reinterpreted by employees by using their own subjectivity to make sense of them. In the first one we see that it is a kind of utopia to encourage people to replace very deep-rooted personal values for corporate ones, and in the second case, we see how employees construct their identity at work to bear some mismatches between their own values and corporate requirements. In the next chapter, we analyze these findings by connecting them with the relevant theoretical framework to discuss the phenomenon.

6. DISCUSSION

"In my village we eat pig, our people they really like the meat,
but there is rule: you cannot only eat the meat, but you must
also eat the bone, the head, so you can't only eat the tasty part
but you must also eat the bones, and don't throw away the
head; it must be eaten. That's the philosophy".
(R14, AMF employee).

In this chapter, we offer theoretical and empirical discussion of our findings in three steps: Firstly, we discuss our denaturalized view on corporate culture efforts, focusing on the impact of corporate values enactment from subjectivity lens in organization. Secondly, by drawing on specific cases of individuals positioned within the sphere of organizational control imposed by corporate values enactment, we illustrate how individuals 'resist through' the same managerial discourse and thus how it is used to rationalize and transform the power relation within the organization. Thirdly, by focusing to the socially constructed narratives of lived experiences of the individuals, we explore the idea construction of selves at workplace emerges in the inherent tension of power-resistance within organization.

6.1. Corporate Values: a Fragmented, Fluid and Fragile concept.

Unlike the claim of mainstream management literature which encourages organizations to engineer 'coherent' values system as one of the foundation of a 'strong' corporate culture, our empirical findings shows that corporate values as a concept is somewhat, fragmented, fluid and fragile. In the following, we discuss these three concepts one at a time.

Fragmentation

Our empirical material shows that rather than becoming a binding force in organization, corporate values may become a source of horizontal and vertical disintegration. Horizontally, corporate values reinforce the separation between the term "old AMF employees" (refers to

"old timers") and "new AMF employees" (refer to "newcomers") and it also strengthen the feelings of 'silos' between different units, divisions and lines of business and ultimately sharpen negative feelings towards senior or top management. This finding counteract mainstream view that corporate values play an important role in providing internal integration (Waterman et al, 1980; Meglino & Ravlin, 1998), inviting us to think the opposite way: as a concept, corporate values may sharpen differences and thus invoke disintegration and fragmentation within organization.

Fluidity

The fluidity of language draws our attention to the unstable, dynamic and complex (Tietze, et.al, 2003) meanings behind corporate values as a concept somewhat loose and with limited possibilities to create shared meanings across organizations. For instance, 'caring' as a value might mean different things for different people according to their backgrounds and complex meaning construction processes. There are at least three meanings of caring from our empirical analysis of individual narratives: (1) Caring as being tolerant and passionate to colleagues (2) Caring as fair and emphatic to customers (3) Caring as pushing for increase subordinates' performance. Diversity of roles, functions, nature of business and different types of customer are sources of this complex web of meanings, creating inherent ambiguity which made corporate values as a fluid concept rather than a solid one.

Fragility

Proponents of corporate values believe that once they are installed it may reduce role ambiguity through delimiting individual behaviors. Our findings show that the enactment of corporate values may provoke the contrary effect, becoming a source of ambiguity and tension in assuming roles. Even assuming consistency between values that are espoused and practiced, individuals within organizations may be confronted with mutually exclusive values (Liedtka, 1991). For instance, in our empirical material "passion to excel' can be seen as something that is incompatible with the value of 'teamwork' or 'disciplined professionalism', creating confusion in its application. Thus corporate values enactment may not lead to the creation of a 'strong' culture but, to some extent, a 'fragile' one.

Corporate Values Enactment as a Branding Effort

Having elaborated the above, corporate values concept is ineffective to be instilled beyond the surface and to get them deep into the employee skin. Its enactment can be seen as simply a branding effort, where values statement is similar to a branding statement with a typical marketing launch event to introduce them to employees. Karreman & Rylander (2008) suggest that such branding-like approach is a form of management practice to inform not only 'external stakeholders, such as customers, investors and suppliers, about the values to be associated with the organization; it also potentially instructs and directs organizational members. Although it may seems appealing, employees' understanding are only touched at best on the surface level since treating values as brand is corrosive to the expected to be instilled meaning behind 'values' (Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2008).

Some efforts to 'sell values' to the customer (in this case the employee and other stakeholders) are done through advertising efforts such as installing values statement in employees' PC and laptop wallpapers, drinking glasses at the pantry, posters and murals at the office wall, and internal magazine covers. Like a product life-cycle that reaches its expiry period, values then can be re-branded with new colors and images responding to the taste and demand of new market segments (Top management, new employees or after changes in existing employees' changing demography). This branding-like approach turns values into a mere 'buzzword' and 'slogan', providing the space for cynicism and vertical and horizontal gap within the organization. Thus, enactment of values to create a shared meaning can be seen as utopian efforts of management or it may be seen as something that is done simply because management feel they need to do something about a complex process that they will never be able to manage: web of meanings.

Van Wart (1998) argue that individuals socially construct values through their interactions with others and through their experiences with formal social institutions, including professional training and indoctrination, communication and reward of organization goals and strategies, and laws and regulations by formal legal systems. In implementation, corporate ideological indoctrination through corporate values may create conflicts with individual values learned from family, society, or religion. The later sources (family, society and religion) to some extent are considered providing more basic foundation for the individuals, leaving the corporate one as something complementary. Contradictory with the

idea of corporate culture efforts as an effective way to craft and designed the corporate selves, individuals often see corporate values enactment as something redundant and ineffective, unleashing a form of resistance to rationalize, reproduce and transform the power relations imposed upon them which are discussed in the next section.

6.2. Resisting "Through" Corporate Values.

Our findings on corporate values enactment also counteract common sense conceptions and complement critical research on resistance in three folds: First, it denaturalizes common conception of resistance as a specific activity and behavior, and highlights the resistance process at the level of subjectivity, identities and meanings. Secondly, it points at the gap in resistance researches which mostly focused on blue collars workers or shop floor levels (Thomas & Davies, 2005, Alvesson & Willmott, 1996) by highlighting that resistance also happens in managerial level by professional white collar employees. Thirdly, it rejects the linear view on resistance by developing a multidirectional view on resistance, seeing it through the lens of 'resisting through' instead of 'resisting against'.

We propose 'boomerang' as a metaphor to describe employees' resistance through using the same discourse that management imposed upon them: Inability to use the weapon carefully will become a source of subversion to the dominant power. To explain this condition we focus on the discursive production of resistance and offer a more generative view of power and agency in resistance. Our findings show how corporate values enactment might contribute to employees' resistance which affects the rationalization, reproduction and transformation of power relation in organization.

Resistance and Rationalization of Power Relations

When corporate values are enacted by top management employees immediately feels the pressure imposed upon them and, through the process, employees then make a comparison between these set of values inscribed with their existing socially constructed values. Employee measure through a rationalization process the compatibility and incompatibility of those corporate values with 'his/her personal values' (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2008; Posner et al., 1985) Moreover, employees will look to the one who dictates these values,

senior management, judging them as role models and thus render their manager's visibility and consistency in corporate values application. But this rationalization process through conceptualization of role modeling also privileges the position of senior management as a powerful pole in political arena. We recognize the ambiguity and contradictions produced by this rationalization process, as Thomas and Davies (2005) put it: To resist something also means to reify it.

Resistance and Reproduction of Power Relation

Resistance through corporate values discourse may affects the reproduction of power relation. The Plastic Tree metaphor gained from our empirical material can be seen as the representation of how power relations are reproduced. The plastic tree resembles aspirations to shift the asymmetrical power relations between different socially constructed poles/labels assumed to be exist in the organization and individuals positioned themselves within this political contest. This political contest involves struggle to balance the power relation between: (1) Old-timers (Old AMF employees) and New-comers (New AMF employees), where new comers are considered as having 'alien', 'masculine', 'western/international' values while old-timers are considered as having 'indigenous', 'feminine', 'eastern/local' values. (2) Top/Senior Management (CEO, Director and Business Head Level) and Middle & First Line Employee, where the former one is considered as role model to the later. (3) My own unit/division/line of business and "others" units/divisions/line of business, where one another seen as a competing entity, dominating force or a disconnected part of organization. The power relations between these three opposing elements within the organization is produced and reproduced through everyday reframing of resistance through corporate values discourse, including process of adaptation, subversion and re-inscription of the different pole discourse. This everyday reframing can be viewed upon statement like this:

> "In actual condition, today our values are not strong enough to poison everyone in AMF, including the newcomers who joined, for example Global Citizens bankers must be poisoned to become AMF bankers" (R1).

Creating a constant movement towards an equilibrium state, an ideal state where power-resistance is dissolved, might turn the metaphor of plastic tree to a real living tree.

Resistance and transformation of Power-Relation

As the power-reaction is reproduced, constant movement of power-resistance interplays creates everyday change and transformation within the subjectivity, meanings and identity level of individuals.

> I'm not working for AMF: if I work for this AMF, if I work for Carlos Messi (CEO), I will get disappointed. You know I work for myself, I try to deliver always the best, I expect it's also happen to my team. (R7)

Statement such as are a discursive example of how power-relation are transformed by employees' resistance through corporate values, where subject deny the dominant power assumed on him (in this case: CEO/top management), and take the power back to his circle of influence, himself and his team.

Another example of this power-relation transformation can also be seen in the other statement of employee who are asked what will happen if management ask him to work in a part of organization who apply practices contradictive to his values:

> I choose to resign, because I believe going back to conventional bank is wrong. The MUI (Board of Islamic Scholars) said that interest is *haram* (impure), Qur'an (Holy Scripture) states that too. I believe if I do that, that's very wrong. (R5).

Despite admitting the inherent formal dependency of the individual to the organization (whereby organization have the formal right to assign employee in any part of the organization and made a disciplinary action if being rejected) individuals assume that power-relations is somewhat symmetrical by saying that he has the power to resign and quit from the organization.

Kanungo and Conger (1993) also describe how organizations' emphasis on competition for internal recognition and reward, as well as external marketplace competition, may be in conflict with employees' cooperative and altruistic tendencies. One of our interviewee, an old-timer highlights this contradiction when he is questioning whether the organization financial success is worth the efforts of people who work there.

Because we're working with human not machines, I was challenged then: "But we have a great profit?" Yes, along the period of my career AMF never booked profit above 1 trillion Rupiahs[9] but where do we want to direct this organization? If we want to direct it to business that means revenues, bottom lines or profit oriented, yes, but how about the sufferings? We work with humans. (R20)

The former excerpt also show how resistance through corporate values transforms the conception of the power of capital and market over the people/human orientation: The fact that this transformation happens in the level of meanings of the subject, and actual individuals experience different realities (e.g. where revenue and profit is put on top over any other thing) may become the a source of individual insecurity, producing the splitting self who simultaneously identify and dis-identify with the organization.

6.3. Schizo Identification and The Split Self

The inherent tension and contradiction in power-resistance interplays within organization also affect the workplace construction of selves. Weedon (1987) suggests that where there is a space between the position of subject offered by a discourse and individual interest, a resistance to that subject position is produced. This gap between the designer-selves and employee 'authentic' selves may create a condition where employee simultaneously identify and dis-identify with the organization, a phenomenon called schizo-identification (Dukerich, et. al 1998) or 'splitting self' (Collinson, 2003). From our empirical material findings we identify that schizo-identification may come in the form of division, exclusion or aversion of the selves.

Division of selves

Schizo-identification may also constitute by what Collinson (2003) describes as dividing identity between the "instrumental and indifferent me" at work and the "real me" outside.

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[9] Indonesian Currency

They try to build a psychological wall between 'public' and 'private' selves (Collinson, 2003). This division strategy can be detected through narratives such as:

> R8: I put myself in different contexts, as a mother and as a friend. (I: that means you are different in the office?) R8: Totally. When I leave the bank, I leave the office and my husband picks me up I never talk about work. I forget it for a while. (I: do you show a different personality at work?). R8: My basic personality I always keep it for me. I have different roles: as a leader, my role is a leader, as a mother my role is a mother, as a friend my role is a friend.

Exclusion of selves

A schizo-identification may also come from an exclusion affected by the power-resistance interplays in the organization. This exclusion strategy includes identifying to only a certain part of the organization and dis-identifying the bigger entity: the company. Acquisitions, mergers, business diversification strategies in business are few of the main sources of increasing tendency of schizo-identification to a certain part of organization nowadays. In our empirical research, we can detect such phenomena from below narratives:

> I don't want to go to conventional bank again. (I: Why not?) Because my belief is that conventional bank is wrong. I believe Syariah bank is true because the Syariah principles are from the Qur'an. (R5)

> We don't, sometimes, we don't care about retail bank, retail bank success has no impact at all with me with our team, (I: it's not affecting my performance) no effect at all, no effect to my salary, no effect to my bonus, no effect even to our daily job our daily life, no impact, that's the problem, 'silo' thinking. (R7)

Aversion of selves

An aversive-self narratively averts their identity as individuals who are not working for the company but for something aside the company. This aversion strategy implies insecurity of the selves, preventing individuals from a feeling of disappointment to the organization. This some other thing aside the company may become in the form of family, community, nation or even God. We provide some example of a narrated aversion of the selves.

So, for whom are AMF employees working all this time? For me, I work for myself and my parents because I don't have a family yet. My colleagues, who have get married recently, say a different thing: they are working for their wife and my other colleagues who have married and have family for years they work for their family and children. Nah! At this point, working has become something that is very basic, working for the family. (Marsiana, 2009. Quoted from *AMF* magazine. Our translation from Indonesian language)

"R8: I always say to (her assistant): "You always do the best. Be responsible for yourself. Even if I close my eyes, even if management closes its eyes, remember: God never closes his eyes". (M.P.I/R.L)

Finally, as the philosophy of 'eating pig' in the beginning of this chapter, a split self subjects see that in life bad things and good things come simultaneously, like two faces of a coin, and they have to take both. We argue that the construction of split-selves at the workplace may not necessarily be negative for the organization. Given the idea that the employees with split selves may find a 'higher' purpose behind work inspiring them to give their best and deliver performance as expected by the organization. However, as the power relations transformed through constant shift of meanings and understanding of these subjects, we suggest that these individuals have the dormant potentiality to become the driver of change and transformation in the organization. A black sheep inside their identity which at anytime may thrive to come out into their social reality (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992).

7. CONCLUSION.

The Greek Philosopher Zeno de Elea was born in 490 B.C. and he was called "The first dialectician" as a credit to his paradoxes which challenge commonsense concepts through narrating situations with absurd consequences (*Zeno de Elea*, 2010). In a short summary of "Achilles and the tortoise", his most famous story, Achilles -the hero of the Trojan War- was invited to compete in a race against a tortoise and he decided to give a head start to his slow opponent. When the race finished, who won? Zeno supposedly proved that Achilles would be unable to defeat the tortoise:

> If Achilles wanted to catch the tortoise he must reach the point A but then the tortoise had moved to point B, and if Achilles arrived to point B the tortoise had reached the point C, and so. In conclusion, Achilles is closer and closer to his opponent but he can never overtake a tortoise in constant movement (Loy, 1997).

The argument of the story, described by Bertrand Russell as "immeasurably subtle and profound" (Russell, 2007/1918) is powerful not because its capacity to explain facts but its potential to bring about new ways of thinking even nowadays: for instance, some concepts of quantum mechanics such as 'Quantum-zeno' and 'Anti-zeno' have been inspired by this paradoxical story (Silagadze, 2005).

Solving out paradoxes seems an easy exercise but this particular effort demands long time. The aim of this thesis has been to develop some arguably paradoxical ideas - beyond 'common sense', as Spoelstra (2007) proposed from an etymological perspective – regarding a popular management practice: corporate values. In the study we have challenged the idea of 'engineering' strong corporate cultures by, among other means, instilling values which are transmitted by leaders and accepted by followers (Kunda, 2006; Watson, 2001): our empirical material shows that employees are not just passive recipients of managerial material and there is a struggle between official corporate discourses and individual beliefs (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Thomas & Davies, 2005).

In the case, employees employ their personal values rather than corporate ones to guide their decisions at work and they consider corporate culture efforts as something redundant, where a kind of cynical feeling about its effectiveness was detected. The enactment and internalization of corporate values - represented through the figure of the *AMF Tree* - can be

interpreted as a reasonable branding attempt to integrate 'old' and 'new' values by presenting these both visions as two dimensions of the same organization; nevertheless, from employees' perspective it can be reinterpreted as a 'plastic tree', an artificial image without a soul.

The divisions in the company - between 'newcomers' and 'old-timers', top management and middle/first line employees, and among areas - is heightened because of AMF employees' interpretation of the 'corporate values' enacted by managers: there are feelings of mistrust towards newcomers, especially those who holds top managerial positions but, simultaneously, there is a demand to see them assuming their positions as role models. In the research we identified a 'multidirectional' use of corporate values statements: As long as top management is enacting and encouraging values, employees are using them to judge their leaders' congruence in order to define if they are deserve to be followed (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2008; Posner et al., 1985) This is the first paradox found in our study: "The more the management expects to create a unity inside the organization by enacting corporate values, the more fragmented the organization might become."

The first paradox leads us to the second one. Resistance is usually framed as exterior to the corporate ideological incorporation efforts. In this study, we see resistance as something interior. Employees judge others' competence - named top management, newcomers' or other units - based on the application of corporate values in daily work activities within the company. Therefore employees are not resisting the idea to adopt corporate values but they are using them to resist the power which imposed those values upon them. By ascribing the 'role model' label to top management employees also privilege the position of senior management as a powerful pole in the organization political arena. Concluding the second paradox: resisting "through" corporate values means reifying the power of those whom you resist (Thomas and Davies, 2005).

The power-resistance interplays within corporate values enactment efforts bring about the third paradox we found in the study. A paradox that lies within the subject - the employees – at the level of their identity and meanings where they may construct narratives about their selves as subjects that simultaneously identify and dis-identify to the same organization, bounded in a love and hate relationships. This paradox of the selves - or the split selves - is affected by the gaps between organizational branding attempts and individual interests or

personal values through dividing, excluding and averting some part of their identity. By doing so, we argue that these split-self individuals have the dormant potentiality to transform and act as change agent within the organization as they may find a 'higher' purpose behind work. Leading us to the last paradox of the study: Those who are not working for the interest of the organization (through splitting their identity at work) are most likely still contribute for the interest of organization (e.g. becoming a best achiever or acting as whistleblower).

Supported by the principle of 'denaturalization' (Fournier and Grey, 2000) through analyzing a particular management practice, we concluded that the enactment of corporate values might become a source of ambiguity and tension because of its effects in the reproduction of power-resistance patterns among different divisions and roles within the company. Denaturalizing can be seen as attacking commonsense ways of seeing but it does not mean we are "against" corporate values but we see "through" it. It is necessary to critically interpret and evaluate this management practice to avoid implementing 'ready to use' solutions in search of 'automatic' excellent results. Critical Management Studies (CMS) enables us to develop reflections upon commonsense concepts in a context from a different perspective: If we, as researchers, wanted to catch the 'truth' we must reach the point A but then the truth had moved to point B, and if we arrived to point B the truth had reached the point C, and so. In conclusion, if we want to be closer and closer to the 'truth' we need to accept its intrinsic ambiguity and the impossibility to catch this surprisingly elusive tortoise.

7.1. Future Research

Drawing from the abovementioned three paradoxes, we suggest that future researches may be developed in relation with the idea of 'resisting through' as a way to interpret employees' reactions and perceptions towards practices and discourses imposed by top management. Likewise, while a 'common sense' perspective commonly sees 'resistance' as the 'enemy of change' - a symptom of organizational sickness that needs to be 'cured' - we argue that resistance and resistant-self (splitting self) may also create potential energy to bring about change. From this perspective, Critical Management Studies might go further in denaturalizing this commonsensical idea and enrich our understanding on how resistance may provide an appropriate ground for organizational change and thus changing organizations.

Another research direction may also explore the notion of corporate branding attempt as an exercise in management of meaning. In our study we understand corporate image and branding activities not primarily as marketing tools but rather as a way of expressing preferred values and meanings (Kärreman & Rylander, 2008). As highlighted in our finding, this corporate branding maybe different from the values that are 'lived' by organizational members (Kärreman & Rylander, 2008, p. 121). Management practices to incorporate organizational identity into the individual realms create an organizational dynamics and affects workplace construction of selves: How this image and culture interact and affects not only the identity of the organization but also the self-identity of the employee may be interesting to be revealed furthermore.

As a closure, we would like to say that a critical view opens up new possibilities to reinterpret reality, as Augusto Monterroso - the author of the *Black Sheep* fable - did in his new version of "Achilles and the Tortoise" paradox:

> "Finally, according to the cable, last week the Tortoise arrived at the finish line. At the press conference, he declared modestly that all along he had feared he was going to lose, since his competitor was right on his heels. As it happened, one ten-thousand-trillionth of a second later, like an arrow, and cursing Zeno of Elea, Achilles crossed the line." (*Augusto Monterroso*, 2003).

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