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Examinator: Mats Heide

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"The trustworthy Friend"

*A study of the relation between organisational communication
and member identification at a Swedish media organisation*

DOREEN KREUTZER & HEIDI WALLDÉN

Lund University
Department of Communication and Media

Abstract · Sammanfattning

“THE TRUSTWORTHY FRIEND” - A STUDY OF THE RELATION BETWEEN ORGANISATIONAL COMMUNICATION AND MEMBER IDENTIFICATION AT A SWEDISH MEDIA ORGANISATION

In order to increase trustworthiness and obtain societal legitimacy, media organisations want their members to become ambassadors. But becoming an ambassador requires identification. Often management tries to foster identification by implementing organisational values without including members in the process of constructing such values. In the present study we explore member identification in relation to organisational communication at a Swedish newspaper organisation. With the assessment that organisational communication activities should be anchored in internal co-creation in order to increase the likelihood of member identification, we propose an extended model of Corporate Branding theory. Analysing 12 conversational interviews at the newspaper as well as its recent marketing campaign by means of Critical Discourse Analysis, our study showed that members' perception of a positive organisational image can overpower a lack of communion and, further, that journalistic values *per se* — or incorporated as a symbol within the organisation — can foster identification regardless of profession.

”DEN TROVÄRDIGA VÄNNEN” – EN STUDIE OM RELATIONEN MELLAN ORGANISATIONSKOMMUNIKATION OCH MEDARBETARES IDENTIFIERING I EN SVENSK MEDIEORGANISATION

För att öka sin trovärdighet och uppnå samhällsmässig legitimitet vill media organisationer att medlemmar blir ambassadörer. Detta förutsätter dock identifiering. Ofta försöker man från ledningshåll underlätta identifiering genom att implementera organisatoriska värderingar utan att involvera medlemmarna i skapandet av dessa. I denna uppsats undersöker vi medlemmars identifiering i relation till organisationskommunikation på en svensk dagstidning. Utifrån föreställningen att organisatoriska kommunikationsaktiviteter bör vara förankrade i intern samverkan för att öka sannolikheten för identifiering, presenterar vi en utökad modell inom Corporate Branding teorin. Enligt vår analys av 12 samtalsintervjuer samt tidningens senaste marknadsföringskampanj med hjälp av kritisk diskursanalys, påvisade denna studie att medlemmars uppfattning av en positiv organisationsimage kan övervinna bristen på samhörighet samt att journalistiska värderingar i sig – eller som inkorporerade symboler inom organisationen – kan främja identifiering oavsett profession.

Keywords: Identification, ambassadorship, Corporate Branding, co-creation, mirror image, autocommunication, sensemaking, media organisations

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1 Introduction

Since the turn of the millennium, communication on the internet has developed with increasing speed; news travels faster online than it could ever be printed. For media organisations producing magazines and newspapers it has had fundamental consequences that more and more people prefer to read their news online. According to media statistics, 25 of the biggest daily newspapers in Sweden have experienced a decline with about 100,000 copies (Tidningsstatistik 2011b) from 2009 to 2010 — and the tendency is ongoing.

Therefore, media organisations face the challenge of adapting to the new habits of society. When contemplating this decline we became interested in its potential implications for organisational communication. This requires quite a lot of consideration towards branding the organisation itself, as media has a particularly central position in democracy (Adhikari, 2000). Societal expectations are high as to the morality and ethics of media organisations. In particular, the question of profit easily becomes problematic as media organisations in most cases are expected to act independently of economic interests.

Consequently, media organisations face the task of profiling themselves as trustworthy actors in accordance with the prevailing norms within the line of business in order to gain social legitimacy. In order to increase this legitimacy, people working in media are desired to identify with their organisation and become organisational ambassadors, contributing to a coherent organisational image (Einwiller & Will, 2002). As Barker (1998) puts it, “[w]hat the organization does care about is the extent to which [member] identification becomes manifest in practices that are important to the organization¹” (p. 260). To a great extent, defining such important practices begins internally in deciding upon central values and messages that distinguish the organisation from others (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Here we want to emphasise the importance of strategically anchored communication, as we argue that internal as well as external communication can only contribute to organisational success if its vantage point is within the goals of the organisation (Falkheimer & Heide, 2007). Hence, we became interested in the communicative aspects of identification in media organisations since we assume that the physical product, i.e. the newspaper, is fairly important to the construction of organisational identity as it functions as a symbol (Pratt, 1998).

¹ To us, this is the definition of ambassadorship.

1.1 Problem statement

However, it is problematic when organisations create core values and messages on a management level only and try to implement them top down, with little consideration to the process of member identification. In this paper organisational communication is defined as all communication processes from the organisation, i.e. internally as well as externally. Especially internal organisational communication should be categorised as more or less symmetrical two-way communication (Cornelissen, 2008). For employees to identify with the organisation through such values and become ambassadors, they have to be involved in the process that leads to defining organisational values (Schein, 2010). Hence, organisational communication should be symmetrical in order to engage employees in identification processes. In an organisational context, this can be obtained through co-creation (Hatch & Schultz, 2001). That is, by letting all organisational members have the possibility to engage in shaping core values and messages. We argue that this is the best way in which values can correspond to members' assumptions and be meaningful. Such an approach entails the discarding of management control and consideration towards the organisational culture. The tacit influence of democratic ideals makes co-creation well suitable for media organisations which are expected to be transparent and open towards society. Hence, by co-creating shared meanings² and values internal communication can fulfil the premises for social legitimacy.

Furthermore, organisations that work in accordance with the premises of co-creation are more likely to be successful, since members who identify with their organisation are more apt to work harder in order to achieve the overall goals of the organisation. What the organisation wants to represent is thus portrayed both internally — through symmetrical communication between employees and management — and externally — through holistic messages and member ambassadorship.

In previous studies the focus has mainly been on how co-creation can contribute to holistic marketing of the organisation (Hatch & Schultz, 1997, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2010), with little consideration taken towards organisational communication and its impact upon member identification. Since our study is conducted within a media organisation we find it important to discuss the chance that journalists and reporters might identify more with their profession than with the organisation in which they work (Bartels, 2006) making it difficult to foster identification according to organisational goals.

As members shape and constitute the identity of the organisation (Weick, 1979) they ought to participate in communicating this identity, internally and externally. However, we believe a certain degree of identity incongruence occurs once communication activities are dominated by management without reflecting organisational sensemaking processes.

² With this definition we mean a mutual understanding of the organisational identity.

1.2 Study organisation

The organisation we have chosen to study, Helsingborgs Dagblad (HD) is located in southern Sweden and an early version of HD was founded in 1847 (Brorson, 2009a). Today, HD has a circulation of 78,000 copies and is with more than 180,000 daily readers one of the largest daily papers in Sweden (Brorson, 2010; Tidningsstatistik, 2011a).

HD is part of the company Pukslagaren in Helsingborg AB which is equally owned by the family Sommelius and the family Ander via Nya Wermlandstidningen AB. In 2001, HD and Nordvästra Skånes Tidningar (NST) merged in order to create one newspaper for North-Western Skåne with three different editions: HD, NST and Landskrona Posten which each have their own local editorial office and concentrate their news around the cities of Helsingborg, Ängelholm and Landskrona. We have centred our study to HD³ in Helsingborg with its 310 employees (Brorson, 2010). As most media organisations, HD consists of two major departments: The editorial department and the marketing department. In addition there are several supporting functions such as printing, front desk and distribution.

Nowadays, the paper is politically independent, but it is yet highly involved in the societal development of the region. Recent examples include promotion of less air pollution for the city of Helsingborg, an initiative towards highlighting sports — “the HD Gala” — and sponsorship of local organisations inciting a “positive societal development” (HD, 2008).

According to our contact persons Human Resource Manager, Eskil Jönsson, and Head of Marketing, Jonas Brorson, HD has been working towards implementing internal words of value for several years (Jönsson, personal communication, March 30, 2011) by which the organisation attempts to make “what is going on in the organization meaningful and sensible to the organizational participants” (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 21) and, hence, optimise the premises for member ambassadorship. The most recent workshop concerning these words of value and their implementation took place in autumn 2010 (HD, 2008).

1.3 Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this study is to explore the phenomenon of member identification within organisational communication in media organisations. That is, how employees identify with their organisation in relation to organisational communication activities. We mean to shed light on how the theory of Corporate Branding can contribute to coherent symmetrical communication drawing upon co-created meanings, since “corporate branding requires organisation-wide support” (Hatch & Schultz, 2001, p. 1045).

In order to be able to achieve our purpose we are limiting our study to focus on the interrelation of management and employees, and employees and society within the Corporate Branding model (Hatch & Schultz, 2001) since we believe

³ HD’s organisational chart is enclosed in the appendix.

that culture is at the heart of organisational communication: “The organisational culture is the context for the heritage of beliefs, meanings, stories and other rich symbolic resources that are expressed in sense-making” (Hatch & Schultz, 2003, p. 1050). Our research questions are, hence:

- What organisational features do members identify with and how is identification reflected?
- To what extent does organisational communication contribute to member identification?

1.4 Outline

First, we will present our theoretical framework and explain how identity and identification are related on an organisational level. Then we will develop Hatch and Schultz’s Corporate Branding model with our focus upon co-creation as the fundament for identification and, hence, ambassadorship.

Drawing upon this framework which is located in social constructionism, we will present our empirical study and its results through Critical Discourse Analysis. Finally, we will discuss our findings in the empirical study in relation to the theoretical framework in order to point out implications for future research.

2 Theoretical framework and past research

This part of our study is devoted to presenting the theories that are central to our purpose. Moreover, we see this theoretical chapter as a review of past studies and we will, therefore, present past research which has been conducted in relation to the theories described below. This will place our study within the context of the field of research. Hence, we will present theories on identity and identification in an organisational context as well as elaborate Corporate Branding and its inherent co-creation in relation to sensemaking processes and ambassadorship. First though, we will lay out our social constructionist view upon organisational communication.

2.1 Social constructionist stance

Approaching co-creation and sensemaking, it is important to be aware that organisations are often being viewed from a positivist perspective, thus overemphasising managerial power (Gioia, 1998).

Certainly, social constructionism accounts for the fact that assumptions of how things ought to be, are generated externally by society and by individuals as they create their environment (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). This environment is both an enactment of organisations and a constrainer of meaning (Shotter & Gergen, 1994). Thus, social constructionism emphasises that sensemaking is a situated, developmental and relational process (Shotter & Gergen, 1994). It differs from the positivist assumption that “separate individuals understand the world external to themselves in their own inner, mental representations of it [which means that] the listener is not required” (Shotter & Gergen, 1994, p. 5).

We argue that organisations should rather be seen as an ongoing process of sensemaking: Organisations are “communication processing systems which transform diverse information into culturally patterned and constrained messages” (Manning, 1984, p. 283). Hence, organisations constitute a reality in the sense that they reflect the sensemaking of their members (Weick, 1979, 2006). This reality originates “*in the contingent, indeterminate, and historical flow of continuous communicative activity between human beings*” (Shotter & Gergen, 1994, p. 4 [italics in original]).

As all members make sense of their perceived reality in retrospect (Weick, 1995), culture becomes the enactment of the shared values that are co-produced through sensemaking, and thereby, it reflects member identification. Furthermore, culture “resides in deep layers of meaning, value, belief and assumption” (Hatch & Schultz, 2004, p. 383) and is expressed in artefacts (Schein, 2010).

However, in practice physical segregation (Russo, 1998) is an obstacle to creating an organisational identity through collaboration of management and employees, and as a consequence the establishment of shared meanings might be spoiled. Hence, we argue that the more segregated the organisation, the fewer are the shared meanings that constitute its culture and shape its identity. According to Schein (2010), organisations express cultural artefacts shaped by values that are in turn based upon mutual assumptions. Nevertheless, these assumptions may be created actively or passively. Whereas co-creation can be regarded to entail an active involvement by organisational members in gaining mutual assumptions, the process of sensemaking is implicit and does not require an active choice. Co-creation facilitates organisational sensemaking in the sense that it is easier for members to derive meaning from activities in which they have been involved.

Our stance is, furthermore, influenced by the argument often ignored by social constructionists that organisational structures function as a barrier to sensemaking and, hence, communication processes, just as they may be the glue that binds members to a certain culture. Accordingly, in organisations such barriers are the inherent rules which “constitute a central element of its culture” (Goffman, 1986, p. 27). These structures are the frames for the production and reproduction of “a larger cultural system of rules, beliefs, power and authority, practices and actions” (Manning, 1986, p. 286). This system is in turn dependent on the prevailing discourses within society (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) and in the organisation itself.

2.2 Identity and identification as reflections of sensemaking

According to Christensen, “organizational identity [is] integrated aspects [sic] of the processes through which organizations make sense of themselves and their environments” (Christensen, 1995, p. 667). This process involves all members of the organisation and their shared meanings.

When organisations make sense of their environments, i.e. when the organisation as a system reflects the sensemaking of its members, they “construct a belated picture of some environment that could have produced [some] actions” (Weick, 1979, p. 228). Thus, the environment is seen as an output in the sense that organisational members try to make actions sensible and coherent. The created environment is also an expression of how organisational members think outsiders perceive their organisation (Weick, 1995).

Social identity theory (SIT) has been the dominating approach for investigating and analysing organisational identity and organisational identification since identification is seen as being a specific form of social identification (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). This theory draws upon the works of Cooley⁴, Mead, Erickson and Goffman on individual identity (Gioia, 1998). Hence, even though in recent years the approach has been applied to studies on organisational behaviour in situations like mergers and turnovers (Van

⁴ Certainly Cooley’s (Cooley, 1922) concept of *looking glass self* which is another name for that people see themselves in the reflections of environment, i.e. how they think they are being perceived.

Knippenberg & Sleebos, 2006) especially in developing a new measure index on how to conceptualise organisational identification (Edwards & Peccei, 2007), it is still Ashforth and Mael's (1989) study on SIT, applied to organisational contexts, and Albert and Whetten's (1985) article on organisational identity that constitute the vantage point for most research on organisational identification (Edwards & Peccei, 2010). Furthermore, identity and identification have mainly been studied in relation to organisational behaviour, organisational theory and strategic management—studying it through the lenses of communication studies has been underestimated (Ravasi & van Rekom, 2003).

Therefore, we will elaborate the concepts of identity and identification and their interrelation with the help of Giddens' (1984) structuration theory and, furthermore, how identification relates to sensemaking.

2.2.1 Identity

Even though we are mainly interested in organisational identity, we need to draw upon the depiction of individual identity because organisational identity is rooted in the characterisation of members' self-identity: "identity is a classification of the self that identifies the individual as recognizably different from others" (Albert & Whetten, 1985, p. 92). That is, identity involves essential, characteristic and relatively stable features of oneself and is the answer to the question *Who am I?* (Albert, 1998). Identities function as an anchor which is especially helpful in an organisational context since the identity concept with its relatively stable rules and resources can be utilised by other organisational members (Scott, Corman, & Cheney, 1998).

Furthermore, since organisations are affected by collective and individual behaviour that both constitute and shape them, we have to consider the interplay of the individual (psychological) and collective (sociological) levels of identities (Weick, 1979). Hence, we are using SIT since it takes on a social-psychological perspective (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Smidts, Pruyn, & van Riel, 2001). According to SIT, "people tend to classify themselves and others into various social categories" (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 20), in order to locate themselves and others in the environment that is classified according to different categories. These categories form the essential characteristics of the organisation (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Gioia, 1998) through which organisational identity is obtained.

However, since organisations are rather complex entities which demonstrate different facets to different audiences, they may have multiple identities. Albert & Whetten (1985) differ between ideographic and holographic organisations. The former consists of heterogenic units each equipped with specific symbols and signs whereas the latter is determined by a domination of purpose, defining central characteristics.

Independently of whether or not organisations have multiple identities, it is interesting to discuss how they portray themselves. Just like individuals, organisations have a *public identity* and a *private identity*: The way they present themselves to outsiders is their public identity and the way they perceive themselves is their private identity (Albert & Whetten, 1985). Nonetheless,

organisations may portray different facets of their public identity to different audiences, i.e. exhibit different *front regions* (Goffman, 1959). Here, it is important to note that we see organisations as neither totally closed, nor totally open systems. They are open in the sense that they can only exist in a wider social context with its prevailing norms and discourses (Foreman & Whetten, 2002; Pfeffer, 1981). However, this openness is in itself an expression of societal expectations as to organisational openness (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) while organisations are rather preoccupied with themselves (Christensen, 1997). Accordingly, an organisation can be considered a closed system since the parts it perceives from the external environment are only those parts that are in line with the organisational identity. In this respect organisations construct their environments rather than adapting to it (Christensen, 1997; Weick, 1995).

Here, it is furthermore important to discuss how these different parts of organisational identity are developed. Since identity and culture are interrelated concepts we argue, in accordance with Hatch and Schultz (1997), “that culture needs to be seen, not as a variable to be measured, accounted for and controlled, but as a context within which interpretations of organizational identity are formed” (p. 357). Furthermore, we see the concept of co-creation as essential to assuring two-way communication between members and management. Members shape the organisation’s identity whether management wants to or not. Hence, in order for this identity to be aligned with vision; that is, how management wants the organisation to represent and be portrayed, co-creation is the essential concept of Corporate Branding due to the required internal support (Hatch & Schultz, 1997).

Even though we are focussing on the interrelation between management and employees, the way in which members think their organisation is being perceived⁵ plays an important role in the formation of organisational identity. In view of that, Hatch and Schultz (2004) argue that “organizational identity needs to be theorized in relation to both culture and image in order to understand how internal and external definitions of organizational identity interact” (p. 378). That is, “organizational images are mirrored in identity [and] will be interpreted in relation to existing organizational self-definitions that are embedded in cultural understanding” (Hatch & Schultz, 2004, p. 387). Furthermore, this *mirror image* becomes the destabilising force that makes organisational identity a dynamic and ever-changing concept (Hatch & Schultz, 2004). Since culture, vision and image are so closely related, it is our understanding that organisations can benefit from a co-creation of shared meanings when defining their identity through symmetrical internal communication processes that facilitate sensemaking. Furthermore, because the identity is co-created it is more likely that public and private identity is aligned and that members, hence, might identify with the portrayed identity.

⁵ Henceforth, we will call this concept *mirror image*.

2.2.2 Identification

Identification and identity are highly intertwined because “[i]dentity serves the function of identification and is in part acquired by identification” (Albert & Whetten, 1985, p. 92). In an organisational context identification is a connection between the individual and the organisation (Edwards & Peccei, 2010) because when members “identify with [their] organization [they] treat the organization as if it were, in some sense, an extension of the self” (Albert, 1998, p. 4). Hence, we argue that identification occurs⁶ “when an individual’s beliefs about his or her organization become self-referential or self-defining” (Pratt, 1998, p. 172 [italics in original]). This means that the question of *Who am I?* transforms into a new question: “How do *I* come to know who *I* am in relation to *you*?” (Pratt, 1998, p. 71 [italics in original]).

Moreover, when members come to know themselves in relation to their organisation, sensemaking processes play an important role since “sensemaking may be needed in order to determine which aspects” (Pratt, 1998, p. 80) are self-defining. Whatever parts organisational members pick out to be defining for them, it is interesting to discuss how identification is expressed (Van Knippenberg & Sleebos, 2006). With this we acknowledge that it might be difficult to know when the organisation has become an *extension of the self* and how *self-reference* is being expressed. Whereas Foreman and Whetten (2002) argue that identification is expressed in involvement and commitment, Ashforth and Mael (1989) warn about equating identification with commitment. Identification with an organisation is specific, i.e. the features with which members identify depend on what features the organisation stands for. Hence, identification should not be equated with involvement or commitment (Van Knippenberg & Sleebos, 2006). Our connotation is in line with Pratt’s (1998) argument that identification and commitment overlap — in the sense that we see commitment as an extension of identification. Whatever stance one takes in relation to the concept of identification, due to the need of social legitimacy “[o]rganizations must engender identification to facilitate their functioning” (Pratt, 1998, p. 71). If employees identify strongly with their organisation they are more likely to act on behalf of the organisation and, thus, strengthen its identity and image (Smidts et al., 2001).

A central aspect in regards to identification is the question of ethics — especially when members identify to the extent that they act on behalf of their organisation as ambassadors. We find it important to emphasise that due to the deterioration of boundaries between what may be considered to be internal and external matters (Giddens, 1990), the input of society in terms of ethical values is reflected in member identification and influences the premises for engagements such as ambassadorship (Morsing, 2006). As stated above, members integrate an external picture of how they think the organisation is being perceived in the forming and shaping of organisational identity (Hatch & Schultz, 2004); hence “the more positively employees think that the status and prestige of their

⁶ However, there has been an ongoing debate about when identification occurs, i.e. either as situated identification as a congruence between members’ identity perceptions and expectations, or as the perception of oneness with a collective (see for further reading Ashforth et al., 2008)

⁷ with ‘you’ being the organisation

organization is viewed by the outside world, the more positive they are towards their organization and the stronger they identify with it” (Bartels, 2006, p. 52). Moreover, since society sets the agenda for what interests an organisation may convey in order to be legitimate (Foreman & Whetten, 2002; Meyer & Rowan, 1977), members cannot become ambassadors without identifying with the mirror image reflected by society (Hatch & Schultz, 1997, 2004).

Here, we acknowledge the fact that the public identity of an organisation is fairly central when it comes to member identification (Albert & Whetten, 1985). Members most likely identify with the symbols and signs that represent the organisation outwards — to society and various target groups. These shared symbols connect individuals to a larger communion which is central to organisational identification (Pink, 2009).

2.2.3 Duality between identity and identification

As seen it is difficult to define identity and identification separately because the concepts are interrelated. Scott et al. (1998) discuss this relation with the notion of Giddens’ (1984) structuration theory which gives a good illustration of the identity-identification duality. Giddens explains the duality that exists between *structures* and *systems*.

In relation to the concepts presented above, identity is the structure and identification works as the system: Whereas structures refer to rules on a micro individual (sociological) level, social systems exhibit deeply embedded structural properties and principles, i.e. the macro sociological (society/organisation) level. Hence, his theory is suited for our understanding of identification and identity which takes place both on the micro and macro level.

Identity works as a structure because “each identity constitutes a set of rules and resources that may be drawn upon by an organizational member” (Scott et al., 1998, p. 303). On the other hand, identification can be considered the system, i.e. the “reproduced relations between actors or collectives, organized as regular social practices” (Giddens 1984, p. 25). Just as “rules and resources drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social action are at the same time the means of system reproduction (the duality of structure)” (Giddens 1984, p. 19), so are “identities [being] constructed by identifications, thus connecting individual members to larger collectives” (Scott et al., 1998, p. 311).

Here, structures are both constraining and enabling the system, as actions within the system reproduce the very system and its structure (Giddens, 1984). By expressing with what members identify in relation to the organisation, this expression of identification reinforces identity (Scott et al., 1998). Sequentially, a strong organisational identity strengthens members’ identification (Alvesson, 1990). Therefore managers often try to influence and persuade members’ identity through one-sided communication. However, identity is a concept that develops internally, and if this development occurs through co-creation and symmetrical communication processes it is more likely that the portrayed identity coheres with the internal identity, inducing identification.

This duality of identity-identification is in line with our social constructionist view of organisations: “In structuration theory structure [identity] has always been conceived of as a property of social systems [identification], ‘carried’ in reproduced practices [that are] embedded in time and space.” (Giddens, 1984, p. 70). In other words, when an individual expresses what things he or she identifies with, his/her identity becomes apparent and is being reflected; and, further, influenced by social interactions (Scott et al., 1998).

2.2.4 Sensemaking in relation to identity and identification

As we have said, organisations create their own environment through sensemaking processes (Weick, 1979, 1995). On an organisational level this means that members only perceive the parts of the organisation that fit into past sensemaking, which in turn reflects the prevailing social discourses.

Through organisational sensemaking members generate shared meanings and common understandings within the organisation (Weick, 1995). These shared meanings are anchored in organisational culture which is described as “the symbolic context within which interpretations of organizational identity are formed and intentions to influence organizational image are formulated” (Hatch & Schultz, 1997, p. 360). Hence, it is important to note that culture and identity are interrelated, however, culture may or may not be the answer to the identity question *Who am I?* (Albert, 1998).

Since identification occurs when members’ beliefs about their organisation are self-defining, making sense of one’s organisational identity resembles Weick’s (1979) enactment-selection-retention process: Through “saying” what they identify with, members “see” their own identity, i.e. who they are, which in turn influences the identity of the organisation. A shared organisational identity and a shared identification through shared meanings, thus, connect individual members to the organisation, i.e. a larger social collective (Scott et al., 1998). However, it is interesting whether such shared meanings are created within the organisation or whether they are rather an outcome of members’ identification with their profession (Russo, 1998). Especially when pondering how identification is expressed, it might be the “content of job tasks [that] may be the most important influence on organizational commitment” (Scott et al., 1998, p. 324). Journalists might view the organisation through the lenses of their profession and, hence, this might influence their sensemaking; whereas other members might rather see the organisational mission as the frame for sensemaking processes. Therefore, especially for media organisations the journalistic profession might constrain sensemaking and identification and ought to be further investigated since it would be interesting to investigate what parts organisational members find most interesting.

2.3 Corporate Branding

As noted above, we see organisations as relations between members, combined with the restraining effect of an institution and its rules on the individual member (Giddens, 1984). By making sense of their own identity members re-constitute the organisation while the organisation as a system reflects their sensemaking processes (Weick, 1979).

Presenting a more holistic approach towards branding the organisation as a unity, Corporate Branding (CB) has gained increasing awareness in recent years (Einwiller & Will, 2002). Nonetheless, this shift towards integrating external and internal communication activities has not been ongoing for a long time (Dacin & Brown, 2006) and is a new approach away from seeing organisational identity and organisational image as distinct concepts (Balmer & Greyser, 2006). Hence, the main focus of previous studies on CB has been on how organisations work with their brand as a symbol holistically (Hatch & Schultz, 2008). There have only been few studies connecting CB to identification showing that identification can moderate the effects of possible negative publicity (Dacin & Brown, 2006).

Accordingly, we are using Hatch and Schultz's (2001, 2008) notion of CB as a way to build an organisational brand, as opposed to branding a certain product or service (Hatch & Schultz, 2003). However, whereas CB is often presented as a toolkit for managers from a management perspective (Einwiller & Will, 2002; Hatch & Schultz, 2001) we want to emphasise employees' role in creating the organisational brand.

2.3.1 *The extended Corporate Branding model*

Since we are interested in how organisational communication can reflect organisational identification, we developed an extended CB model. This model takes its vantage point from Hatch & Schultz's (2001) notion that in order for a brand to work holistically the three main components of *vision* (management), *culture* (employees), and *image* (society) have to be aligned and the gaps between them have to be filled. However as mentioned above, we are focussing on the interplay between *vision* and *culture*, and *culture* and *image* in the sense of *mirror image*.

We have developed an extended Corporate Branding model in order to align Hatch and Schultz's original model with our focus upon member identification and ambassadorship.



Figure 1: The extended Corporate Branding Model (based on Hatch & Schultz, 2003, p. 1047)

It is our understanding that through co-creating the organisation’s identity as a brand, sensemaking processes are being facilitated which can be reflected in a higher level of identification, i.e. ambassadorship. Organisational ambassadors influence the organisation’s image and increase the likelihood of obtaining social legitimacy. It is also through co-creation that not only internal communication processes become more meaningful but also that external communication is aligned with the internal picture members hold of their organisation. Hence, the gaps between *vision* and *culture*, and *culture* and *image* can be filled through co-creation and by the organisation being branded more holistically.

2.3.2 Autocommunication and mirror image

Autocommunication is one of two features that are central when it comes to member identification. It is an implicit code in all types of communication and serves to enhance the ego, focus the mind and generate enthusiasm (Broms & Gahmberg, 1983). Externally directed messages are “recoded into elements of its structure and thereby acquire features of a *NEW* message” (Lotman, 1990, p. 22). This phenomenon is commonly experienced on an individual level, for instance when keeping a diary where the sender is also the receiver seeing himself/herself and his actions in a different light — or on an organisational level when members become the implicit target group of marketing adds coming from their own organisation.

As Christensen (1997) notes: “Whenever an organization uses its communication with the external world as a mirror in which it recognizes its own assumptions, values and concerns, it engages in auto-communication” (p. 214). In this way, communication directed towards external target groups entails the

expectations the organisation has to itself and its members. Since the environment reflects identity autocommunicative messages are always part of the interaction between an organisation and the environment (Christensen, 1997). However, in the context of external organisational communication, management often dominates the meanings and marketing and advertising messages (Christensen, 1997). Hence, the likelihood of an autocommunicative function in externally directed messages decreases since members do not identify these messages.

Here, the phenomenon of mirror image may prove to be helpful to member identification. With this definition we mean the way in which members *think* the organisation is viewed by society (Hatch & Schultz, 2004). Even though members might not interpret organisational messages in an autocommunicative manner, due to a lack of identification with the portrayed organisational ‘I’, they might still identify with the organisation as a whole through the perceived mirror image.

In this sense, an investigation of what members think the organisational image looks like might uncover possible obstacles to organisational identification. As Morsing (2006) notes, organisations which, according to the perception of members, meet the ethical expectations of society, generally have a high level of member identification. Hence, when the mirror image reflects positive characteristics of the relation between the organisation and society, member identification is implicitly facilitated.

2.3.3 Sensemaking by means of co-creation

With a vantage point in our theoretical stance, we believe that co-creation is more than just sensemaking since it actively involves reciprocity of meaning for organisational members across hierarchies. Whereas sensemaking is also involved in co-creation because every action that occurs is made sense of by individuals (Weick, 1979), it is through co-creation that more of these actions take on a shared meaning. Hence, sensemaking is facilitated. Furthermore, because of the entailed cross-functional collaboration, co-creation often differs from everyday organisational interaction and must be actively induced and maintained.

Organisations try to use “unifying symbols to communicate a sense of oneness with the organization” (Pratt, 1998, p. 196). In order for symbols to have this effect on identification organisational members should engage in co-creation to generate shared meanings across hierarchies. “Thus, the enterprise brand not only emerges as a co-creation of all stakeholders, but is also driven by the identity they create together and define for themselves” (Hatch & Schultz, 2008, p. 592). Co-creation contributes to closing the gap between vision and culture since culture is embedded within the organisation through symbols and signs such as artefacts, values and assumptions (Hatch & Schultz, 2008; Schein, 2010).

We argue that in practice, it is essential for top-management and middle managers to see the process of creating these symbols as a collaboration—after all in order for symbols to have a unifying effect they should portray what the organisation stands for as an outcome of co-creating these symbols. Otherwise, there is a risk that the process of co-creation might be perceived as a series of isolated incidents, detached from the organisational identity, which decreases the

possibility that members will identify with the organisation (Einwiller & Will, 2002). With this we mean to stress that it is the organisational management that has to pave the way for co-creation. Creating meaning and symbols together might sound good in theory but giving up control and power can be rather difficult. This might lead to a seemingly co-creational process which under the surface, nevertheless, turns out to be one-sided persuasion.

Depending on the size of the organisation, its hierarchies and its field of work it might be rather difficult to create shared meanings; physical segregation and different, almost opposing subcultures are merely two examples (Russo, 1998). Further, the fact of ordination and subordination always plays a part in organisational participation. Organisations engaging in co-creation, therefore, need to acknowledge that some voices might be missed during the process because team members might leave up to their team-leader to decide upon their best interests (Weick, 1979). However, it can be argued that some individuals are always more active than others and even if everyone in the organisation wanted to participate, the organisation as an institution might work as a restraining force since existing power relations and societal expectations are difficult to overcome (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). In accordance with Schein's (2010) notion of *cultural islands*, we argue that co-creation can be regarded as an opportunity for organisational members to learn from each other, negotiating meanings that make sense to all, even though their interpretation of these meanings might differ from member to member (Hatch & Schultz, 2004).

2.3.4 Ambassadorship

As noted in the introduction, ambassadorship is perhaps the highest outcome of organisational identification. It is generally welcomed by organisations with the assessment that if members act as ambassadors they are more likely to portray the organisational values and, hence, the possibility of obtaining social legitimacy is higher. However, with ambassadorship⁸ a certain preconception of members, organisations and society is entailed. We argue that it is important to discuss ambassadorship through critical lenses since the simple notion of ambassadorship might be taken for granted as being the result of genuine appreciation towards the organisation. For some members this may very well be the case but there are other incitements for ambassadorship than merely being content. For instance, in the context of modern technology, members might be expected to be ambassadors and present the organisation in a positive way on various social media—even when there is no intrinsic incitement⁹ for it (Pink, 2009). Such expectations might be derived from managers or colleagues but it may also be a reflection of self-fulfilment. That is, the wish of members to portray themselves as being successful (Morgan, 2006).

⁸ With this definition we mean when members advocate the organisation and its values towards non-members in a context outside of the organisation.

⁹ With this definition we mean the sense of commitment that is derived from organisational participation.

Hence, member ambassadorship has several underlying reasons and deserves to be scrutinised before organisations see it as a result of genuine commitment. In this respect, whether ambassadorship is some form of commitment or not might not seem important for organisations — what counts is the positive presentation in society (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). We argue, however, that ambassadorship based on intrinsic incitement is indeed important, as we assess that ambassadorship is closely interrelated with co-creation via identification. That is, it becomes a central expression of member identification in the sense that co-created meanings are reflected through it.

Here we find it interesting to point out that ambassadorship has an identification enhancing effect: In being an ambassador and expressing one's advocacy for the organisation it becomes clear with what one identifies. For this reason ambassadorship obtains an autocommunicative effect—even more when organisational members perceive their organisation to have a positive image (Morsing, 2006). In this sense, ambassadorship, as central as it may be to organisations, is perhaps more a reflection of already existing mirror images than it is an expression of members attempting to spur goodwill.

2.4 Assembling the frame

In this section we have presented theories on identity, identification, CB, autocommunication, mirror image and ambassadorship from an employee perspective. As we believe that culture is central to constructing a congruent organisational identity, member identification is fairly important to investigate. Because identity and identification are closely interrelated, members cannot be expected to identify with a public identity that is incoherent with the private. Hence, it is necessary to include co-creation between culture vision and image in order to shape an evolutionary and flexible organisation with a consistent core (Weick, 2006). Therefore we find that an extended CB model is apt for a study of this kind.

Summing up our theoretical stance, we argue that collective sensemaking is inevitably reflected in organisational communication even where there are no shared meanings; but that every opportunity to create such shared meaning is valuable. When organisations work with co-creation as an ongoing process, an elaboration within member identification is allowed. This entails, that organisations can keep up-to-date with the features with which members identify since these features are expressed through co-creation. Indirectly, organisational communication activities can hence be anchored in the internal and external relations of the organisation and reflect more than merely the vision of management.

3 Methodological design

This research is aimed at uncovering with what organisational features employees identify and how they perceive HD's communication activities. Further, we have intended to investigate whether the latest marketing campaign, as an external communication activity, is reflected in member identification, increasing the possibility of it having an autocommunicative effect. In order to explore the different aspects of identification in relation to sensemaking, we have chosen to conduct a qualitative case study at HD. Hence, we have decided to combine a discursive analysis of semi-structured, conversational interviews with a discursive document analysis of HD's latest marketing campaign. We do this because we believe that investigating identity and identification can best be done with qualitative interviews. Through these we are able to get a feeling of the person and ask follow-up questions in case some of the answers are unclear or dissatisfying — as opposed to quantitative surveys.

3.1 Qualitative interviews

After agreeing upon the focus of this study with our contact persons at HD, Eskil Jönsson and Jonas Brorson, we defined our interviewees according to the following criteria in order to obtain a multifaceted impression:

- Interviewees should have different backgrounds and either be working in the marketing department, the editorial staff or in various supporting functions.
- Further, they should differ in age¹⁰, sex¹¹ and length of employment¹².

Hence, we conducted twelve¹³ semi-structured, conversational interviews at HD in April 2011; with five employees from the editorial staff, four employees working in marketing and three employees from supporting functions¹⁴. We decided that in order to follow up on as many interview aspects as possible, it

¹⁰ Different ages were important because older employees, being more experienced, might set their current identity and identification in a different context than younger employees. The interviewees range was from mid 20's to mid 50's.

¹¹ We wanted to make sure that our interviewees were both male and female due to the possibility of either sex being more or less prone to identification — 5 of our interviewees were male, 7 female.

¹² The duration of interviewee employments might have an effect upon their identity and how they perceive HD's externally portrayed identity.

¹³ We conducted twelve interviews due to the demanded requirements for a master's thesis and because we had a restricted time frame.

¹⁴ In order to guarantee anonymity we chose not to present the interviewees further.

would be best if both of us were present at the interviews. However, four of our interviews were conducted with only one interviewer present. The interviews had a time span between 30 and 52 minutes and were held in Swedish¹⁵.

We designed an interview guide¹⁶ in order to have structured interviews in accordance with our theory and research questions that could be compared and analysed within the same terms (Lantz, 1993; Ryen, 2004). This would make us able to draw reasonable conclusions at a final stage. In order to disclose the experiences and opinions of the interviewees, we attempted to enhance their individual perspective (Lantz, 1993). It was interesting for us to uncover what HD means to each of the interviewees and, therefore, we focussed on their cognitive and emotional attachment to the organisation. Moreover, as we tried to avoid that some of the questions might feel irrelevant to certain interviewees our interviews took on different foci (Ryen, 2004) depending on their answers.

3.2 Marketing campaign

Since we were interested in finding out whether or not *HD's external communication* activities are reflected in *member identification*, we chose to analyse the latest marketing campaign “Now we’re making your HD better”¹⁷. We obtained additional information about the campaign via the HD intranet which might prove helpful both when explaining and when analysing this type of marketing material since it gives an insight as to the scope of the campaign.

Even though the campaign officially started on March 9, 2011, already at the end of February there were posters of the editor in chief, Lars Johansson, on litter bins all over the cities of Helsingborg, Landskrona and Ängelholm. On March 3, 2011 the campaign pictures were published in the paper-newspaper, online as banner-ads and in sticker-form to directly advertise HD for non-subscribers. Additionally, a big tapestry in pink saying: “News! New HD.”, was deployed on the HD headquarters in Helsingborg (Brorson, 2011b).

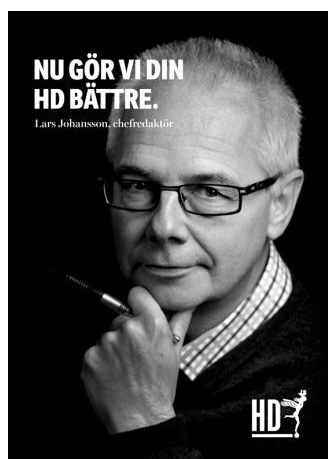


Figure 2: “Now we’re making your HD better” campaign (Brorson, 2011a)

¹⁵ We acknowledge here that neither of us is a native Swedish speaker. However, having both been living in Sweden for several years, our language skills showed to be more than sufficient.

¹⁶ See appendix for interview guide in Swedish.

¹⁷ ”Nu gör vi din HD bättre.”

On March 9, 2011, at the official start, the newspaper contained editorial information about the “new” newspaper and a personal greeting from Lars Johansson (Brorson, 2011b). Since there were no major changes within the newspaper such as new features or a different format, the campaign message was about “facelift” and “good gets better” (Brorson, 2011a).

3.3 Editing of material: Critical Discourse Analysis

As we wanted to investigate reflections of HD’s communication activities in member identification, i.e. the constitution of the identity process, we chose Fairclough’s (1992) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Like Ravasi and van Rekom (2003), we argue that “individual and collective identities are shaped by a broader discursive activity that takes place in society” (p. 121). Hence, we found it apt to investigate what part this broader context plays in shaping employees’ identification and, including the level of discursive practice, from which organisational features employees derive meaning. When transcribing our interviews it became clear that a discourse analysis of both the interviews and the marketing campaign was best suited for making the implicit motives and discourses visible (Fairclough 1992; Widerberg, 2002). Even though both texts have been created in relation to the same social practises, they might draw upon different discourses (Fairclough, 2003) and in itself this constitutes a challenge to communication being coherent.

In addition, we find it important to note that Fairclough’s definition of the term *discourse* differs from the more prevalent understanding relating to Foucault. Fairclough (2003) sees “discourses as ways of representing aspects of the world” (p. 125). These parts of the world are represented in the text as main *themes* relating to a particular perspective (Fairclough, 2003). Furthermore, Fairclough (1992) uses a three dimensional model to implement CDA. This model works as a framework and takes its vantage point within the discursive practice which, in our case, is the transcribed interviews and the marketing campaign (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002):

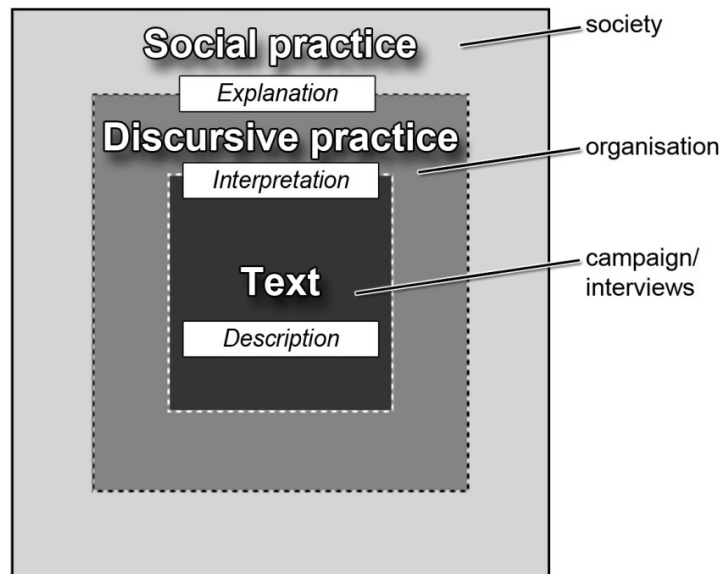


Figure 3: Framework for Critical Discourse Analysis (based on Fairclough, 1992, p. 73)

Within the organisation, being a constitution of the discursive practice, texts such as the HD marketing campaign are being produced and interpreted. How this interpretation comes about can only be explained in relation to the wider social practice (Fairclough 1992). Hence: “[t]he level of discourse is an intermediate level, a mediating level between the text *per se* and its social context (social events, social practices, social structures)” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 37).

Through an analysis of the marketing campaign and our transcribed interviews as *text* we are going to explore how meaning in different discourses reflects underlying assumptions and expectations. These expectations might be derived from society and the role of newspapers in democracies (Adhikari, 2000) or from the organisation itself in relation to other media organisations (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). This social practice functions as a background to our study (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002) and since meaning is constituted by the discourses in question and reflected by them (Weick, 2006) we found the CDA approach to be appropriate for our sensemaking perspective.

3.4 Method discussion

Within any research “the researcher always takes a position in relation to the field of study, and that position always plays a part in the determination of what he or she can see” (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 22). Hence, when conducting interviews in accordance with the interview guide, this research was influenced by our preconceptions of theories on CB, identification and sensemaking as well as by how we pictured HD and what impression and understanding we gained during our time at the organisation.

Since we are interested in member identification and in disclosing how members view their organisation, it is important to discuss the specific situation of an interview where identities are mutually co-constructed (Gee, 2005). We acknowledge that some interviewees may have felt the need to emphasise their

role in HD and what HD constitutes more positively than they usually would have, and this might be a reflection of the sociological *Social-Desirability-Response-Set* phenomenon (Brosius, Haas, & Koschel, 2009). Furthermore, our interviews entailed some rather sensitive questions, and depending on their position within the organisation and their educational background these questions were interpreted and also dealt with differently. In an interview the interviewee is the expert (Ryen, 2004), so whenever the expert does not know how to answer an awkward situation might emerge. Moreover, an interview does not only constitute a rather inconvenient situation, it presents in itself some sort of discourse since it is influenced by expectations as to what can be said and asked (Widerberg, 2002).

Even though Fairclough (1992) points out that transcribed interviews can be used for an analysis of their inherent discourses, the transcript “does not stand outside of the analysis” (Gee, 2005, p. 106). Since we present our analysis in English it has been necessary to translate parts of our interviews and the marketing campaign data. This entails that there is a certain risk of alteration in connotation. However, we are aware that CDA is connected to Critical Linguistics (Wodak, 2001) and, hence, our analysis is not focussed on analysing single words, e.g. through substitution (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002), but on reading between the lines and gathering an understanding of the overall tone. Using this approach, we are able to deconstruct discourses that are at the core of the construction of social relationships between people and of systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough, 1992).

Furthermore, we acknowledge that the very decision to include the latest marketing campaign and leave out other types of material, denotes that we had already chosen our preferences, based upon what we as researchers are able to see (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). We chose to include the latest marketing campaign because we believe that this campaign constitutes representative data of contemporary external communication discourses, i.e. discourses concerning HD’s public identity. However, there is a possibility that older marketing campaigns have had and/or still have more influence on employees’ identification.

4 Research analysis and results

The theories discussed in this paper have a potentially wide span. It is rather challenging to connect the dots of identity and identification, and of CB and co-creation. Nevertheless, we attempt to proof our theoretical outline empirically with the described combination of qualitative research methods.

As we have said, we are analysing our transcribed interviews and the marketing campaign with Fairclough's CDA framework (1992) in order to identify possible underlying assumptions, as well as to comparatively discover discursive variations. The found discourses are inspired by our theoretical framework. We applied our extended Corporate Branding model in this discourse analysis, relating the different discourses to the relation between culture and vision, respectively culture and image. Within the discourses related to culture and vision, i.e. discourses with an internal focus; we chose the notions of *public* and *private identity* as categories for the analysis. Within more external discourses related to culture vision, we chose *mirror-image* and *culture* as categories.

4.1 Interview discourses

Our interviews were guided by the adjacent areas between culture and vision, and culture and image of our extended CB model. It is also there we found the essential discourses in the answers of interviewees¹⁸. According to Fairclough (1992), when using CDA both the order of discourse and the discursive practice need to be defined: In this case the order of discourse is HD's communication activities and members' perception of them; the discursive practice is our transcribed interviews and their inherent constraints.

According to identification theory, people with a strong profession — such as journalists — tend to identify with their profession rather than with the organisation as a whole (Russo, 1998). However, since HD is a media organisation, its values and mission are aligned with the journalistic profession (Brorson, 2009b, 2010). Therefore, it is interesting to see how interviewees from the marketing department and supporting functions express identification.

4.1.1 Discourses within the field of culture-vision

The discourses within this field are characterised by their internal focus, i.e. how employees perceive HD as an organisation and how they perceive their working place (private identity) as well as how they think HD wants to portray itself externally (public identity). Furthermore, it is interesting that even though HD has

¹⁸ We have translated the used interview sections into English. Furthermore, all names have been changed.

been working with organisational values as *words of value*¹⁹ for almost four years and has held several workshops²⁰ with its employees regarding these words—one of which took place in the autumn of 2010—the discourses within this field are not characterised by these words.

“We do have a lot of words of values especially on our cups. What does HD stand for? Stability, trustworthiness... safety [...] good judgment I hope, I think at least”²¹ (Viktoria, personal communication, April 15, 2011). After mentioning the words of value, Viktoria quickly continues to explain what HD stands for: Stability, trustworthiness, safety — none of which are words of value. This might have a lot to do with how these words are being regarded in general:

Well, I understand that we as a company have to have words of values, but well... to be honest I don't know how much we work with them. They're visible at different places, but I don't actually know how much...well, how much we actively work with them... I haven't noticed it anyway. And it is above all something you can lean against, point out if things get difficult...And if we emphasised the words of value together, I would at least feel that they have some meaning, but I doubt that a single employee thinks like 'Now I'm going to plan my work according to our words of value'. If you're going to make a connection to the journalistic work there are ethical rules for the press — how you should behave. And journalists aren't that great either in admitting their own flaws, and it's the same with big companies... that you can't point out problems if you have these words of value. (Mats, personal communication, April 12, 2011)

Not only do our interviewees consider these words to be rather hollow, not having a deeper meaning or connection to the everyday work of HD, they think that these particular words are fairly obvious and “common sense” (Johan, personal communication, April 1, 2011). The words of value are considered to reflect journalism in general — journalists ought to be *curious*, *respectful*, *responsible* and *courageous*. Nevertheless, HD's four words of value do not seem to mean much to our interviewees; sometimes quite the opposite as employees believe that HD spends a lot of time fact-checking, being too careful with scrutiny and not very courageous.

Moreover, some of our interviewees made it clear that in the beginning there were words of values only for the marketing department which were meant to permeate the whole organisation. This agitated the editorial staff and, therefore, new words of values were created. Nowadays, these four words concern all departments. Nevertheless, within the editorial staff two additional words have been developed: *benefit* and *delight*. Hence, even though these words should unite the different departments they are unlikely to have this impact; firstly, because employees within the editorial department might rather draw upon the additional words and, secondly, because the words are not meaningful.

¹⁹ These are: curiosity, respect, responsibility and courage.

²⁰ Called days of value—“värdefulla dagar”

²¹ All quotes have been translated into English and the names of the interviewees have been changed. The transcription has been simplified in the translation and only pauses “...” were taken along.

It is interesting, that when first meeting our contact persons we got the impression that all employees were involved in deciding upon the words of value. However, it became clear during our interviews that these words were basically implemented top-down. This means that the employee workshops focussed entirely on providing the values already chosen on a management level with organisational meaning, discussing how each and every member might act in accordance to them, and not on creating the values from scratch. Hence, the workshops were regarded worthless by both the editorial and marketing staff:

They've had the mocking name 'days of no value' [*laughter*]. 'Now we're going to have another day of no value', and so... there was a certain amount of scepticism which I shared when this was launched a while back. I thought it was very abstract [...] with weird group exercises. (Emil, personal communication, April 13, 2011)

For Emil, this approach to strengthening the organisational identity does not entail much meaningfulness, although he has come to accept and appreciate the workshops. The fact that the discourse linked to the words of value does not dominate the field of *vision-culture* is a quite prevalent feature found in our interviews. Hence, when we asked our interviewees how they feel about HD and how they think HD wants to portray itself, it was the absence of the words of value that came to our attention.

Discourses related to private identity

As noted above, the concept of identity is divided by an internal part — *private identity* — and an external part — *public identity*. First we are going to discuss the discourses found in relation to HD's private identity, i.e. how members feel about HD and what HD means to them. This internal part is characterised by a clash of cultures — both between generations and between different departments of HD — and the consequential lack of cross-functional collaboration. However, these features are dominated by the pride our interviewees express when talking about their organisation.

DISCOURSE OF TRUST, STABILITY, AND STRONG BRAND

When describing the private identity of HD, key words such as “competence”, “knowledge”, “trustworthiness”, “safety” and “stability” were brought up as HD's central features.

Honesty, trustworthiness... [...] In my opinion HD has always been honest to me as a person and even what they write about is not far-fetched, it's real — something that has happened and has been confirmed. And this contributes to the fact that you trust them, I think. (Bengt, personal communication, April 13, 2011)

It became fairly obvious that how employees see HD has a lot to do with how HD is being perceived externally in the community of Helsingborg. We wonder whether this influenced by the possibility that employees want HD to be perceived as a trustworthy actor. When being part of a trustworthy organisation,

members are capable of adding to their own identity a sense of trustworthiness (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) and it is, thus, in their own interest to portray HD as having a positive societal position.

The pride expressed by interviewees in relation to the newspaper and its content is quite ubiquitous and can be identified when employees describe their affection for HD: “*We* publish a good product and it is a good working place” (Mats, personal communication, April 12, 2011). Here, it is interesting to note that some interviewees seem to equate HD with the physical newspaper, while others focus on the journalistic content. Whereas the newspaper is central for both marketing and editorial staff, interviewees working with HD’s webpage explicitly noted that it is the news that count; not the medium.

As this is a discourse analysis, we find it important to point out the role of society. HD is expected to be trustworthy and sincere because that is how media should be in a democratic society (Adhikari, 2000). If HD wasn’t trustworthy it would lose its societal legitimacy and, not to forget, its notion of meaning for employees (Morsing, 2006).

Moreover, HD as an organisation has been around for a long time and is a strong actor; hence, it is labelled as an established brand and an attractive place to work:

Well HD is a very nice, very stable brand, a very stable working place. It has been around for a long time. [...] If you say that you work at HD everyone knows at once what it is, where it is and, like, how many people work here or knows somebody who works here. *We* are much known and quite... Well; it has a good reputation as, like, a brand, a working place. (Cornelia, personal communication, April 20, 2011)

Interestingly, Cornelia doesn’t say “HD is much known” except “*We* are much known”. This indicates that she feels like a part of the organisation and that she is proud of its good reputation. Mats in the quote above, made a similar remark: “*We* publish...” which again underscores the fact that the *discourse of trust, stability, and strong brand* is characterised a lot by how interviewees think HD is being perceived — i.e. the mirror image — as well as how they think HD ought to be (Pratt, 1998).

Further, this discourse is contrasting to other discourses regarding the way in which employees view HD; and even though it is not the dominating discourse within the private identity it seems to be the discourse that counterbalances the other, more negative discourses.

H: How do you experience the brand from within?

Ha: I think this has nothing to do with the other one [how the brand is seen from outside]—I can still like... feel proud ... Well, I think HD is a good company... Yeah. (Hanna, personal communication, April 6, 2011)

Hanna is quite critical as to the internal collaboration and culture at HD. However, she feels proud due to the external part of the brand. This is also supported by identity theory, i.e. people tend to pick out parts of their organisation that fit their own identity; how they want to see the organisation (Pratt, 1998). It is not

surprising, that employees like Hanna focus on the positive characteristics of HD since these may function as an explanation — or even excuse — for membership in an organisation which has a problematic working culture. Hence, even interviewees who feel quite isolated due to working night shifts or being employed by the hour, tend to tolerate negative aspects and consider HD as a good working place with products and service of high quality:

H: Do you feel like a part of HD?

M: Yeah, I do. I enjoy working here. There are many good people and I think if I had been a bit more up front I would've had the opportunity to get into the newspaper. Now, I haven't been interested but yeah, I feel like a part of this, absolutely, even though I'm not a regular employee and I feel quite isolated, I do feel like a part of this company. (Mats, personal communication, April 12, 2011)

DISCOURSE OF GENERATIONS AND CULTURE

Trustworthiness, competence and quality are certainly attributes related to HD being an organisation that has been around for more than 160 years and has deep roots in the region of Helsingborg. However, younger interviewees feel that HD is characterised a lot by old values and some sort of old-fashioned establishment.

[There is] a big difference in culture that the young ones don't interact with the old ones... Many older reporters aren't interested at all [...] This general style of the 70's — some have been here since the 70's — that you don't have to worry about money... that the company is growing and has always survived... is followed by thoughts like 'No, we shouldn't be doing that'... And so you don't care about what the sales numbers are because clearly you shouldn't be doing that ... But I grew up in a world with no money, and where there are fewer and fewer readers... and I'm interested in different business models and money, and so that's how it goes. (Emma, personal communication, April 1, 2011)

For Emma, there is no use in separating marketing and editorial staff due to their dissimilar perspectives on economic issues. Despite differences in agenda, they are two sides of the same coin: HD.

Furthermore, the old establishment has another feature which is part of this discourse and characterises the private identity, i.e. a tacit culture:

*Well, it feels as if there's a lot of this culture that maybe is... When I came in as the new one, I thought it was tacit and that people maybe don't actually say what they mean all of the time. But ... at the same time, I don't think it's like this anymore. But I don't know whether it's just my getting used to it, adapting to it [*laughter*] or if people have become more open, I don't know. (Cornelia, personal communication, April 20, 2011)*

In Cornelia's opinion, media organisations ought not to be quiet and careful but open and straightforward. Her description of a rather closed culture is prevalent in

other interviews, especially in those with the editorial staff. HD is, thus, characterised by an avoidance of open criticism. As an employee you are expected to work for your organisation and in expressing critique, you separate yourself from being the “good employee”:

E: No, there isn't [an open climate], rather the other way around... and this concerns all ranks. You can have an opinion about some news being... We have the tendency here to homage everything we do, but quite likely, not everything is good. This just has to be obvious to everybody that everything in a newspaper can't be good. But we never get to hear this criticism, never. You can only talk about this with your closest friends who are the ones you trust. [...]

H: Okay... and what if you have constructive criticism, how do you go about it?

E: Well, you don't go about it at all. No, it never comes out. (Emil, personal communication, April 13, 2011)

DISCOURSE OF COLLABORATION

The most dominating discourse within *private identity* is the discourse of collaboration — or rather lack thereof. Although we asked specifically about cross-functional collaboration, in some interviews it was brought up first by the interviewee. What we found was that there is a clear separation between the marketing and editorial staff. This division does not only exist on paper or because of differences in work tasks, rather it seems as if two separate organisations work together; one doing the journalistic work and writing articles, and the other one selling in the paper to subscribers and advertisers.

Here it's more like there is a solid wall between the editorial staff and other departments [...] they sit over there and we sit here and the front desk is in between, that is in itself some sort of symbol. And another time when you're back there [visiting the marketing department] [...] they make fun of you, you can hear comments like: 'Did you get lost?' And it's the same if someone from marketing or advertising is back here with us, then you also get those comments 'What are you doing here? Don't you know where you work?' It's meant to be funny but there's some truth in it, in this, yeah... solid wall between the departments. There isn't much collaboration on this level. On a management level, well, they have their meetings and chats, for planning and stuff, and it's, like, almost contact on a daily basis, but a normal reporter or editor or photographer has no contact whatsoever with someone from advertising or marketing. [...] If you want to work here you have to know who's close to whom, not to drop a brick or so... and it's stupid and boring having to watch your mouth and remember that those are in that team, and she and maybe he are friends with him... (Emil, personal communication, April 13, 2011)

For Emil, there is no *common we* and often interviewees assess that HD is more than one organisation internally. As we have said, this might be influenced by society's expectations of good journalism which requires that the editorial staff is

objective and free from economic interests. Hence, reporters and marketing employees should not be mixed in order to secure the journalistic integrity of HD. It is remarked by our interviewees that they prefer to keep this distinction. Whereas journalists do not want to be influenced by marketing agendas, employees working in marketing might feel unappreciated as HD is associated with journalism and reporters.

There are many within the editorial department who, if you pass them by, just look down. Well, not many but — but some. [...] It's something in the walls, something in this culture of 'us and them', somehow. I don't know. [And] I experience that if you hear people saying 'Oh, you work at HD!' they think we are one happy little family. Like: 'Well, that fellow who works within the editorial staff — he's your co-worker!' and it feels like 'No, he's not my co-worker but we work at the same place'. (Hanna, personal communication, April 6, 2011)

In Hanna's opinion, working at HD certainly does not entail experiencing a sensation of communion with reporters. However, she welcomes more collaboration, and this underscores the discrepancy between the two major departments of HD. The fact that when being asked about collaboration, only interviewees working in the marketing department or supporting functions associated our question to cross-functional collaboration shows that there is a tendency within the editorial staff to think of themselves as a quite isolated unit. This characteristic can be ascribed to the journalistic work being an expert system within the organisation (Giddens, 1990) and is brought up by employees such as Mats when describing that he writes about children's books²²:

H: For how long have you been doing this?

M: Just about [2] months. I'm not a journalist you know. But I do have a lot of knowledge within the field of [literature], working in the [industry] as I am, so I think I understand very well what's interesting. (Mats, personal communication, April 12, 2011)

Though Mats is not a journalist he thinks that he is competent enough to write about children's books, since he has a lot of experience within the field. However, this underlines the assumption, that under normal circumstances, only reporters can write an eligible article. Hence, for the editorial staff collaboration occurs within the sub departments and not with other functions, another example which emphasises their specialisation:

If you work in the online dept you have a lot to do with other [editorial] departments because we are those who have most to do with other departments 'cause everything ends up online. We publish all articles and... because all articles have — well, everyone has — if there's something that we — if you think about our webpage for example and ... choose an article that should be on top, well maybe you need to call

²² We have changed some of the facts in brackets in order to guarantee anonymity. However, the meaning is still the same and does not influence our analysis.

the reporter and ask something [...] and so you do have contact with that person. [...] You have a lot of contact all the time with the rest of the editorial staff [...] because if something happens, you've got an intensified situation [...] and so you're tangled in this web. (Cornelia, personal communication, April 20, 2011)

As other reporters, Cornelia focuses on news articles and not on other parts of the webpage contents such as advertisements. However, it is mentioned from both sides that cross-functional collaboration would only help since each of the departments might gain more knowledge and experience, as Johan explains:

And there is almost none [communication between the departments]. There is at management level and that's not enough. We are only foot soldiers if we want to call us that. We, we meet in the cafeteria and greet each other. But we never sit and work strategically together. Because that doesn't work, we are marketing staff and they are journa... well... God! It's not like that at all. And to break these preconceptions and maybe dare to think so creatively that you can come into a workshop where everyone's a part of... We had those days for example [days of value]. There we discussed different things and it's very nice. And the purpose behind it is great but that's not enough with one day every third year... No, we need to meet more often and work together. Without it being... meaning that we have to come up with something extreme... Yeah, well some enrolment but we need it in order to create a better, like, togetherness. There is a big gap. (Johan, personal communication, April 1, 2011)

Public identity

Above all, we found a discrepancy in private and public identity — the separation experienced within is not presented without. This is not surprising, as public identity is about the features HD wants to enhance while the private identity is based on working culture and practicalities (Albert & Whetten, 1985). Hence, the discourses within the public identity are comparatively coherent.

DISCOURSE OF JOURNALISTIC VALUES

The dominating discourse is that of *journalistic values* and *integrity*. Furthermore, due to the fact that there is minimal collaboration between the editorial and the marketing department, it is not surprising that our interviewees think of HD in journalistic terms. It is HD's tradition of being a serious and trustworthy newspaper that is still dominating how HD presents itself externally to readers and the region of North-Western Skåne:

What we stand for, well the editorial purpose ... the fundamental purpose behind why we exist. In the beginning of the 19th century... it wasn't much about earning a lot of money but about informing people. And this... this remains. That we still operate in western Skåne like we used to, no one has got into the region and is competing with us [...]. I think it's cool to work in such a company that can survive. [...] So I think that HD wants to portray itself externally as a responsibility-taking

North-Western Skåne loving company. (Johan, personal communication, April 1, 2011)

This quote illustrates how the journalistic vocation influences employees working in marketing, such as Johan. However, whereas staff from the marketing department sees the organisation through both journalistic and economic/marketing binoculars, interviewees from the editorial department are quite explicit as to the fact that profit is not something they relate to the organisation. As Cornelia describes her perception of HD's public identity the discrepancy between editorial and marketing staff is projected into a separation between mission and branding:

H: You just said that you, in the editorial department, on the other hand shouldn't be influenced by the marketing department. To what extent would you say that you identify with HD as a business idea or with the business part?

C: That I don't do much. Well, if you think about what they do at, like, Väla²³—no, I don't identify with that at all. I almost don't think of it as HD. Well, it has our logo but this morning on the bus I was irritated because we had a logo in an ad and it was about a HIF²⁴-girls-night. It was like a glamour-girls-night at a game and there were like high heels and so on [...] and I just thought it was a bit phony 'cause just because you're a girl you can't go and watch football if you haven't taken a glamour class or so? ... I thought it was just wrong and was very irritated that HD was obviously a sponsor because we had a logo in it. But in those cases I just think that... well, I identify with journalism. [...] But it's not like I think that this is us, it's marketing. But our readers surely don't think like that. And then stuff like Väla, no I don't think at all—I think that this is, like, something else. (Cornelia, personal communication, April 20, 2011)

DISCOURSE OF LOCAL CONNECTION/HISTORY

HD's public identity, as we interpret our conducted interviews, is furthermore characterised by HD's local connection and its historic heritage.

They²⁵ want to emphasise that HD is the best information source locally. They've noticed that they're of local matter and that there are very few who care about the newspaper outside of North-Western Skåne. Except possibly in the newspaper-business... and yeah, that's what they want to point out; that HD is part of the region, partly as a spreader of news- and information, but maybe even as an actor in entertainment because they think that they're some sort of entertainment spreader. (Mats, personal communication, April 12, 2011)

²³ Väla is the biggest shopping mall in southern Sweden and HD had it extend its opening hours for one night so that people with an HD-pass, i.e. yearly subscribers, could obtain certain discounts.

²⁴ HIF, i.e. Helsingborgs idrottsförening which is a local football club

²⁵ In Swedish the pronoun "man" is used, which is often translated with "you". However here, we decided to translate it with "they". Furthermore, in this context "they" does not have the meaning of being in opposition to "us".

This discourse has a lot to do with how HD tries to win more subscribers despite the fact that the newspaper circulation is decreasing. HD wants to use its niche in North-Western Skåne with articles that focus on the local and give background information for a deeper understanding.

4.1.2 Discourses within the field of culture-image

Even though there is a discrepancy in how our interviewees perceive HD's public and private identity, the common denominator is the journalistic vocation. This underscores the notion that the legitimacy of HD is derived from democratic ideals, as is generally the case with media organisations.

Hence, it is not surprising that the notion of HD's vocation is also dominating the field of *culture-image*. This field concerns HD's external communication which is the relation of culture and image — in our case mirror image — and how our interviewees view HD's external communication in relation to how they perceive the organisation.

Mirror image

Mirror image, i.e. how our interviewees think HD is being perceived, plays a big role in how they feel about their organisation. In talking about HD's external communication, it is obvious that this external part is important when interpreting and making sense of what is going on within the organisation.

DISCOURSE OF SOCIETAL GOODWILL

According to editorial interviewees, “societal goodwill” and “trustworthiness” are prevalent features within the image of HD, reflecting the fact that HD in general and reporters in specific should be objective and journalistically independent. This focus on neutrality is reflected in the private and public identity of HD as the organisation declares its political independence²⁶ but also in the trust shown by society calling HD in cases of emergency:

As a matter of fact, many people call in...about fire trucks...or when the TV signal is out [...] ‘Have you heard anything? You usually know everything’. Yeah, they actually call us before calling anyone else [...] and then I say ‘Well, I haven’t heard anything’. But then, after a short while, it says on HD.se that a cable has been torn off somewhere. (Julia, personal communication, April 7, 2011)

Since the organisation is valued as a central source of information, Julia sees herself as an important contributor to society, which makes her feel proud. Hence, it can be noted that mirror image is essential to member identification (Hatch & Schultz, 2004).

The fact that many people call HD asking for information when they perhaps ought to call the police or other state officials indicates societal trust and, hence, legitimacy. Moreover, this part of the mirror image is commonly used by

²⁶ See for example Brorson (2009a) on HD's journalistic vocation.

interviewees in order to explain why external communication activities are separated from the production of news. Viktoria from the editorial staff noted the following when describing marketing employees: “They’re very important because they’re the ones who make all of the money and they work very hard. But we have two very different types of jobs, I think” (Viktoria, personal communication, April 13, 2011). In her mind, there is little use in engaging members from editorial staff in marketing campaigns.

The role of sponsorship as part of HD’s external communication and societal commitment is another area of concern which risks conflicting with the trustworthiness of HD:

It is always dangerous to participate in sponsoring. [...] It’s always the thing with sponsorship that it can be something/someone that we investigate later and then it’s not possible. [...] So, really I don’t like it. [...] [Supporting] HIF is not good I must say. (Viktoria, personal communication, April 13 2011)

According to interviewees, marketing features such as “HD-Passet”²⁷ are quite central for the interaction between HD and society as they reflect societal goodwill. The mirror image noted by interviewees is yet more influenced by the journalistic mission, than by the external communication activities conducted by the organisation since such activities are perceived as supplements to the primary societal contribution of HD which is about truth and guidance.

DISCOURSE OF LOCAL HERITAGE

The other discourse within how our interviewees think that HD is being viewed is the *discourse of local heritage*. This discourse is influenced by HD’s local heritage and that HD has always been a strong actor in North-Western Skåne. Our interviewees feel that a lot of HD’s legitimacy is related to the organisation being a local actor which local commitment and, hence, they perceive this locality to reflect the wants of the readers:

Readers notice the reporting of local news. The fact that Kalle had a hen which escaped and so on... I think that’s the kind of news people want to read. [...] It’s the local things that matter, like HIF. This is very interesting for us but not something covered in detail by large newspapers — but that’s what people want to read.” (Hanna, personal communication, April 6, 2011)

This discourse is also dominating when discussing HD’s future. Since the newspaper circulation is in decline HD needs to find a niche if they want the physical product to survive. Certainly, it is HD’s local connection that makes it stand out in comparison to larger Swedish newspapers. What is happening in the world can be found online; however, our interviewees assert that people are interested in learning why there is a roadblock on their way to work. This local

²⁷ a membership plastic card used by subscribers to gain free access at various cultural events, discounts on assorted consumer products etc.

connection is furthermore seen as HD wanting to sell itself as “a close friend” (Viktoria, personal communication, April 15, 2011).

Accordingly, some employees bring up the necessity of greater transparency and openness between HD and society:

I think it would be good for us to be more open. We’re situated pretty far away, it’s not like you could just pop in and have a chat [...] and I think that we’re missing a lot...Today, we see it this way, sort of, that our readers go to Våla or a HIF match [...] We have many other readers too, and some groups are being ignored (Cornelia, personal communication, April 20, 2011)

Cornelia indicates a discrepancy between what readers want and what HD thinks readers want. As the goal is to enhance the possibility of survival in a world where news travels fast HD ought to broaden the perspective to a larger part of the society in which the organisation has its roots.

Thus, facing the fact that the newspaper has experienced a gradual decrease in subscriptions, according to interviewees, HD must make use of new media and deliver “exclusive background stories” (Emil, personal communication, April 13, 2011).

Culture

The discourses within the interplay of *mirror image* and *culture* are deeply influenced by the perceived journalistic mission — a mission that is inherit for all media organisations. However, it is not the journalistic culture *as such* that dominates what our interviewees think about HD’s external communication activities but the organisational culture.

DISCOURSE OF HOMOGENEITY/UNIFICATION

It is interesting that when being asked about HD’s external communication our interviewees mainly thought about marketing campaigns and not about the newspaper being a channel per se for external communication. Therefore, they feel that HD’s marketing should be coherent to the journalistic ideals. Even though interviewees think the distinction between the departments is important, they experience that society does not distinguish between HD’s advertising and reporting part: “But it’s not like I think that it’s us but that’s, it’s like them from the marketing dept but of course readers don’t do that. [...] I think it’s better if they do what they do so that we disassociate the two” (Cornelia, personal communication, April 20, 2011). Hence, the internal culture of “us” and “them” is present in the discourses surrounding HD’s external communication.

When talking about the external communication particularly interviewees working in marketing or supporting functions express how widespread the idea is that HD merely consists of reporters.

H: What reaction do you get when you tell people that you work here?

J: 'Oh ok, what do you write?' [*laughter*], says like everyone. ... And I answer 'Affirmation letters.' (Johan, personal communication, April 1, 2011)

This is considered to reflect the fact that the editorial staff is mostly acknowledged outside the organisation even though it is employees working in marketing who represent HD at events such as festivals or presentations. We argue that this discourse may work as an incitement for dividing the marketing from the editorial staff because society's trust and, hence, HD's legitimacy is seen as being more related to HD's trustworthiness and journalistic vocation than to HD creating goodwill through societal commitment.

Hence, this discourse is characterised by a discrepancy between HD's internal culture and society's reaction to the external communication. While society sees HD as one organisation; internally they do not feel like one organisation because people from the marketing department do not feel sufficiently acknowledged. Moreover, the editorial staff wants to draw a clear line between advertising and journalism and thereby this discrepancy is further reinforced.

Interviewees focussing on unification often belong to departments outside the editorial staff. They express the perception that society thinks of HD as one organisation, thus underscoring the gap between image and culture:

H: To what extent do you think it's important to engage the entire organisation [in marketing activities]?

M: I think it's very important 'cause our readers they don't see us as...they see us as a unit. Often, when you say that you work here at HD they go like 'oh, you're a journalist!', they think that everybody's a journalist, sort of...And they don't think in terms of someone doing this and someone doing that, they think like...It's the newspaper, working at a newspaper, then you're a reporter sort of, for them it's a unit. (Malin, personal communication, April 8, 2011)

This quote illustrates the perception that HD employees ought to work together in order to meet the societal reflection of unification. This would entail more commitment by employees working in the editorial department, but as one reporter notes it might lead to a win-win situation:

I don't think anyone would mind if it was a reporter [who participated at an event] 'cause people don't know us very well and if you have a tip and search your mind 'what HD reporter do I know' and then nobody pops up, ordinary people don't know it...And that's where we could be better, get to be more known locally. (Emil, personal communication, April 13, 2011)

In Emil's opinion HD necessarily has to work towards making more employees visible to society and, hence, optimise the contact network of the organisation.

DISCOURSE OF READER ENGAGEMENT

In relation to culture it is interesting how, according to our interviews, external communication is characterised by readers' involvement in HD. On the one hand

HD wants to include its readers and our interviewees notice that it is important in order to keep HD's legitimacy. However, our interviewees experience that HD's journalistic mission and societal legitimacy is not questioned —rather, readers react to immediate problems: “I often get to hear that the newspaper delivery is late, that the paper has become worse and that we should not have changed it [to tabloid format]” (Julia, personal communication, April 7, 2011). For employees like Julia, working in supporting functions, it is important to defend the paper which she sees as the core symbol of her organisation. However, at the same time it is difficult for her to act on behalf of HD since she is not involved in choosing the focus or journalistic angle.

Even reporters find it difficult to portray HD's public identity and talk about HD in a positive manner in private situations:

If I'm asked directly I tell them about my job, but they easily go like this: ‘Why do you do this? My friend was in the paper [in an article] and it didn't turn out well, and he didn't do it and you are just lying.’ Then a friendly atmosphere might easily turn tense, and so I try to avoid talking about my job. (Emma, personal communication, April 1, 2011)

For Emma the demand that she must be aware of every organisational activity easily becomes a source of annoyance. Yet, she emphasises that she is “HD-Emma” at certain public events, for example when presenting HD to students.

Societal commitment in North-Western Skåne is important; however, sometimes this is reflected by a strong reader engagement:

They [the readers] understand themselves a bit as if they were part-owners of the paper, and this can make you feel a little irritated. [...] I got a call the other day from a woman who wanted to know something about an event at some study association. She asked me whether it was open for the public and I said that I could check their homepage for her. ‘No, it does not say anything’, I responded after a while, ‘but you can call them up and ask them, here's their telephone number.’ I considered myself to be quite service minded, after all it's not my job to investigate the opening hours of a study association, but she got very angry and said: ‘Can't HD take care of such a thing?’ (Frida, personal communication, April 15, 2011)

In Frida's opinion such expectations reflect an external failure to understand the societal role of HD. As a local newspaper HD depicts and discusses the everyday life of North-Western Skåne and this requires societal interest and curiosity but it does not mean that the organisation is a service institution. On the other hand, Frida also expresses a wish for making HD an “outside-in organisation” — as opposed to an “inside-out organisation” (Frida, personal communication, April 15, 2011) which would necessitate the creation of an organisational identity based on societal expectations.

4.2 Discourses in the campaign

As stated above, we will now analyse HD's latest marketing campaign on HD being new, better and face lifted with deeper analyses. The order of discourse is HD being a media organisation that portrays itself in a new way, thus positioning its brand in the niche of trustworthy, local news. That is, the manner in which HD tries to convey its identity in order to gain a positive image and the way in which the organisation speaks about itself in this marketing campaign is being subsumed (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000; Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

According to Fairclough (1992) the discursive practice is both the consumption and production of text, i.e. the marketing campaign. In this respect it is interesting to look into the interpretative implications of the campaign: In light of our interviews not all employees were content with the campaign wanting to portray the physical newspaper as a novelty because, in their opinion, no specific change had occurred. Still, HD wants to increase its local importance by emphasising that it represents news of high quality.

However, it is interesting that this feature is closely related to the paper-newspaper. Even though the campaign has also been visible on HD.se and has been seen in the form of a banner on the HD webpage, the impact of face-lifting with new colours and a new typography concerns the physical newspaper. In regards to the consumption and interpretation of this campaign by HD's employees, another interesting aspect is that it focuses on the editor in chief. Due to interview answers on cross-functional collaboration and physical separation of the marketing and editorial department below management level, we assert that the editor in chief mainly has contact with the editorial staff. Two interviewees from the editorial staff brought up the campaign and we argue that the clear editorial focus makes editorial staff acknowledge it more than marketing staff, although it was decided by the marketing department. The campaign conveys only a part of the organisation; the part HD thinks society associates with. According to the interviews this is also the part that HD employees perceive as being *HD*, i.e. the characteristics of the journalistic vocation.

Within the consumption of the marketing campaign it is important, according to CDA, to pay attention to the "particular usage of language which participates in, and constitutes, part of a particular social practice" (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002), p. 67. Accordingly, the campaign uses a particular advertising language. The language of the marketing posters is fairly catchy and in relation to each picture it has an ambiguous meaning. With the help of Fairclough's framework (1992, 2003) we identified the following two discourses that dominate the marketing campaign.

4.2.1 Discourse of including readers

This discourse is characterised by HD wanting to emphasise its local connection and that readers are the centre of attention. In presenting the "new" HD in the newspaper, HD mentions how they have listened to what readers want from their newspaper in order for the readers to become "a part of the new HD".

Så här till vår 164-årsdag har vi unnat oss en ansiktslyftning.

... we have
listened to what
you, as a reader,
want from us.

På onsdag dimper en ny HD ner i din brevlåda. En HD som är resultatet av att vi har lyssnat på vad du som läsare vill ha av oss.



Så här kommer nya främmande att se ut.

Resultatet är en tidning som vågar gå djupare och som rotar vidare bortom det ytligare och hänger kvar i historikerna för att ge dig mer kött på benen. En HD som släpper fram fler skribenter, vi kommer



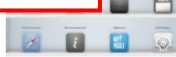
Mjuka, mustigare och lite stillare färger.

The goal is to
produce a
newspaper that
gives you a little
more of
everything.

... ha krönikörer varje dag. Vi har även en del kosmetiska grepp vilket som syns i nya, fräscha färger och ny typografi

(bokstaverna, alltså) Målet är att göra en

tidning som ger dig lite mer av allt



östra digitala kanaler.

Som inte bara skrapar på ytan utan verkligen lockar till läsning, även om vi emellanåt kommer att rekommendera

... when you
become a part of
the new HD.

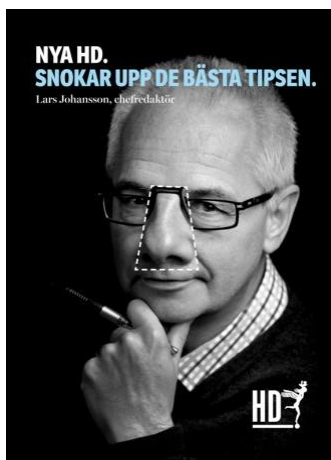
andra kanaler som webben och TV. Den 9 mars, då blir du en del av nya HD.



NYA HD. UTE DEN 9 MARS.

Figure 4: Paper-newspaper, part 2 (Brorson, 2011b)

Hence, in the campaign HD emphasises that the requests of readers are central when creating an interesting and entertaining newspaper. They want their readers to give their opinion on the newspaper, its form and contents, in order to adapt and evolve. Furthermore, they include readers when encouraging them to send in tips on local incidents or topics. HD wants to profile itself as a local expert and for this reason the organisation finds it important to write about the themes that are recognisable to the inhabitants of North-Western Skåne.



"Snoops the best scoop."



"Bigger ears towards the world."



"With more people giving their opinion."

Figure 5: Pictures of the marketing campaign "New HD" (Brorson, 2011a)

4.2.2 Discourse of journalistic vocation

The second discourse within the marketing campaign is inspired a lot by HD's public identity and mirror image; that is, how employees of HD think their organisation is expected to act. Here social practices of media ideals clearly dominate the picture.

HD wants to maintain the position of being a trustworthy actor with a good reputation. Hence, the campaign emphasises that every article has undergone a lot of scrutiny and accurate research. Furthermore, within this discourse of journalistic vocation it is increasingly important for media organisations producing newspapers to distinguish themselves from the internet and online news. HD may seldom be the deliverer of breaking news but its news is accurate and have scrutinising depth. Thus, HD entails a fulfilment of the journalistic vocation in providing background stories and analysing contexts, thus, giving readers a good understanding of how things are connected.

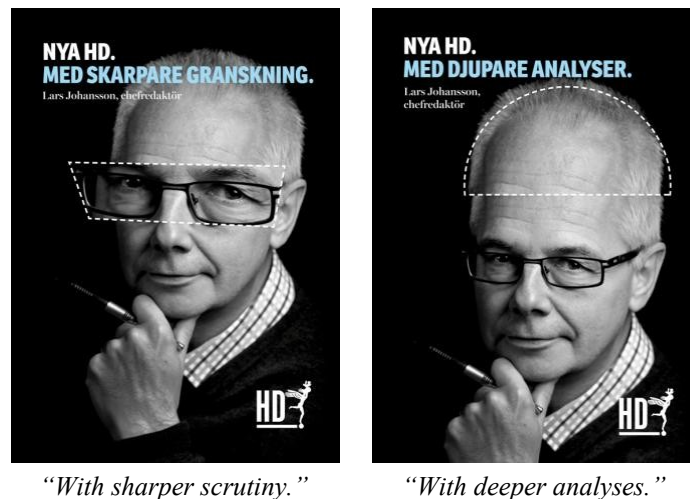


Figure 6: Pictures of the marketing campaign “New HD” (Brorson, 2011a)

The journalistic vocation is not only being portrayed in the pictures of the campaign but also with a large red banner hanging from the roof of the organisational headquarters in Helsingborg. The words “News! New HD.” can be seen from the motorway when passing by the HD building which is located in the periphery of the city.



Figure 7: HD's tapestry (Brorson, 2011b)

This style of communication has certain similarities with the paperboys of the 19th century, standing on the street with a couple of newspapers shouting “Extra, extra”. HD has been around for 164 years and the newspaper does not only goes deeper below the surface, its appearance changes with new colours and a new typography.

When looking at the text below, which has been published in the newspaper only, the approach of face-lifting is dominant. HD plays linguistically with the definitions of colour, freshness, surface and appearance. In the pictures of the campaign, which also constitute the centre of it, the organisational approach to selling HD as face-lifted can be recognised in the inserted dashed lines on the face of the editor in chief. This clearly draws a parallel to plastic surgery. However, whereas this association is inspired by the picture per se, the text below connects linguistic measures to the association of plastic surgery.

Så här till vår 164-årsdag har vi unnat oss en ansiktslyftning.

So for our 164 year anniversary we indulged in a facelift.

På onsdag dimper en ny HD ner i din brevlåda. En HD som är resultatet av att vi har lyssnat på vad du som läsare vill ha av oss. Resultatet är en tidning som vågar gå djupare och som rotar vidare bortom det ytligare och hänger kvar i historierna för att ge dig mer kött på benen. En HD som släpper fram fler skribenter, vi kommer faktiskt att ha krönikörer varje dag. Vi tar även en del kosmetiska grepp vilket bland annat svns i nya, fräscha färger och ny typografi (bokstäverna, alltså). Målet är att göra en tidning som ger dig lite mer av allt. Som inte bara skrapar på ytan utan verkligen lockar till läsning, även om vi emellanåt kommer att rekommendera dig våra andra kanaler som webben och TV. Den 9 mars är det dags, då blir du en del av nya HD.

The result is a paper that dares to go deeper and which looks behind the surface and sticks to the stories so that you gain more information.

... even going to have some cosmetic touches which will be visible in new, fresh colours and a new typography.

NYA HD. UTE DEN 9 MARS.

Figure 8: Paper-newspaper, part 2 (Brorson, 2011b)

4.3 Comparative summary

As we have shown, interviewees disclosed several recurring discourses in private identity, public identity, mirror image and culture. Especially the discourses of *journalistic vocation*, *local heritage* and *trustworthiness* are widespread among employees from both the editorial staff and the marketing department. When comparing interview and campaign discourses these three themes seems to dominate our collection of data.

In the interviews and in the campaign it appeared that HD considers itself to be an organisation with one overall purpose: to create a *local and trustworthy newspaper with a high journalistic standard*. Especially the campaign focuses on the historic ties of the organisation within the region, fulfilling its function as the fourth pillar of democracy in accordance to the vocation of journalism (Adhikari, 2000; Brorson, 2009b). The fact that HD has been a powerful and influential actor in Helsingborg and North-Western Skåne for the past 164 years further contributes to HD's journalistic mission dominating the discourses. Yet, internally HD is not able to live up to such expectations, due to discrepancies in culture and the lack of communion.

The wish and need for more transparency and openness towards society was mentioned in some interviews but is most prevalent in the campaign when directly requesting more reader interaction. In this respect, there is a slight discrepancy between the campaign and those interviewees who did not consider reader interaction through marketing events to be important for journalists.

As far as public identity is concerned, there is a certain coherency between the campaign messages and interview discourses although the campaign is not a widespread example of marketing brought up during the interviews. Hence, we cannot preclude whether the campaign has had any autocommunicative effect. Moreover, the implicit expectations of the campaign concerning organisational members partly reflect the expectations brought up by the members themselves. According to the campaign employees at HD are expected to identify with:

- Journalistic vocation
- The historic lineage of the newspaper
- Openness towards reader involvement

With this campaign focus, it can be argued that the words of value are somewhat reflected: *Courage* being linked to journalism, *responsibility* being linked to evolving the brand and *respect* and *curiosity* being linked to reader involvement. This shows that the way in which HD portrays the words of value externally is aligned with the internal work initiated by management. Nevertheless, for members, the discourses reflect a variety in identification that reveals communicative inconstancy. Not all members expressed that openness towards reader involvement is something HD expects from them, as might be the autocommunicative message of the campaign. Furthermore, the domination of profession over organisation which is particularly common among members of the editorial staff, mirrors a lack of identification with the newspaper and its history. For some of these interviewees, the organisation of HD was not found to be as important as the journalistic mission and hence, the prospect of more cross-functional collaboration was refused.

5 Conclusion

Comparing the discourses within our interviews and the marketing campaign, it has become clear that they focus mainly upon the journalistic vocation which is closely related to what HD represents in the eyes of interviewees. Now we will scrutinise the results of our study taking into account the theoretical framework and discussing possible implications of the extended CB model on sensemaking.

5.1 Final discussion and reflection

Since HD is a media organisation, which in itself implies close relations with society, it necessitates defining and redefining the brand as a symbol internally and externally in accordance to the changes in societal expectations. Hence, the difficulty of drawing a line between internal and external matters is furthermore underlined (Cheney & Christensen, 1997). Perhaps the most central feature of this study is, thus, the emphasis of how important society is to organisational identification.

As we have said, we expected to find identification to such an extent that HD's employees only identify with and act on behalf of the organisation as ambassadors if co-creation has filled the gap between vision and culture. In order for their work to be meaningful we considered it to be important for HD to portray itself as a whole in accordance with CB, branding the organisation as a unit that is open towards society. This would unite the organisation around central values and messages.

We had anticipated that the dissatisfaction expressed by employees in connection to the lack of internal communion would influence their organisational identification, but we found that a positive mirror image compensates the negativity of cultural discrepancies. Especially the lack of internal collaboration and the lack of implementation of the words of value — which makes these words rather *common sense* — could be seen as an indicator of deficient meaningfulness (Weick, 2006) since the work with words of value does not engage members to an extent where it becomes particularly meaningful.

However, what we found through our discourse analysis is that even though our interviewees were quite critical towards the internal lack of a *common we*, they experienced a high degree of meaningfulness in their working tasks while at the same time reflecting organisational identification. As expressed by our interviewees in both their answers and in how they presented themselves and HD they do act on behalf of the organisation, for example when being *HD-Emma* or when reflecting consciousness as to the fact that they are representing HD towards us. Whether there is intrinsic incitement behind these expressions of ambassadorship, is, however, difficult to determine. It is, nonetheless, interesting

that HD's public identity and mirror image seem to be fairly congruent, which might add to the importance of mirror image and facilitate ambassadorship.

Whereas other studies have shown that prestige is an important factor in organisational identification, it has hitherto been focussing on communication climate (Ale, Ad Th, & Cees, 2001; Bartels, 2006; Smidts et al., 2001). Nevertheless, our study indicates that external prestige can counterbalance and overpower internal communication discrepancies. This has had implications for our understanding of organisational sensemaking: Even though co-creation ought to contribute to alleviate sensemaking, it seems that the journalistic symbol of HD has a central function in sensemaking, making its organisational activities meaningful to employees. Hence, even though members have not been involved in creating and developing HD's words of value and experience an internal separation, they regard themselves as being a part of a larger context which makes it possible for them to function as ambassadors.

This makes us conclude that organisational identification might occur without co-creation if the organisation bases its communication activities on symbols that members may recognise as coherent to the mirror image — and if members are willing to accept these symbols as a vantage point for identification. We assess that members perceive the mirror image as positive, otherwise identification would be unlikely to occur. Yet, it appears as if not all members fulfil the expectations of HD, expressed through external communication; since some members are not open towards actively engaging with readers. This became obvious in the cases when interviewees perceived the mirror image as somewhat negative and experienced that it was fairly difficult to identify with the organisation.

Therefore, we still believe that the involvement of members in co-creating the words of value would result in a higher level of identification and facilitate ambassadorship based on shared organisational meanings. As of now, the words of values are being regarded somewhat indifferent — they are accepted but the journalistic vocation automatically contains *curiosity, respect, responsibility* and *courage*. However, this acceptance is yet to be transformed into action²⁸ such as members advocating the words of value. Here, the co-creation process might function as an anchoring of sensemaking (Weick, 1995) and provide the participants with a sense of meaningful engagement — more meaningful than it is now. Especially, since culture is the “context within which identity is established, maintained and changed” (Hatch & Schultz, 1997, p. 363) through co-creation the discrepancy between HD's private and public identity can be evened out.

The fact that HD uses the journalistic vocation as a unifying symbol (Hatch & Schultz, 2008; Pratt, 1998) is not only an explanation as to why members enhance the positive aspects of the organisation, it also explains why there are clear distinctions between the specialised units. Even though it is difficult to say whether HD *per se* is the symbol, the separation of the different departments is deeply rooted in societal legitimacy: Thus, the unifying symbol of overall identification is also the symbol of separated role identification.

²⁸ Order of communicative goals: Knowledge — attitude — behaviour (Tench & Yeomans, 2006).

This study has turned our attention to the acknowledgement that members might identify with parts of the organisation in which they themselves are not involved at a practical level. That is, not only do members pick out parts of what the organisation stands for — those they can relate to themselves (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) — but these parts are inherent to some employees and their profession and not to others. Whereas interviewees from the editorial staff seem to draw a line between journalism and marketing, respectively advertising, stressing the fact that they see the two as opposing, interviewees from other departments chose heritage and journalistic vocation as the main element of HD's identity — despite their profession and work tasks.

We conclude that there is coherence between internal and external communication, in the sense that the journalistic vocation is the symbolic core (Schein, 2010). It is interesting that the dominant discourses reflect an abstract linkage between members in identification, despite the fact that they have discrepant working cultures and rarely interact. Further, we denote that members seem to have a desire for a higher cause (Pink, 2009). On a smaller scale, this might be reflected with the creation of the newspaper; on a larger scale, it may be the contribution of “truth” to society.

Certainly our interviewees generally feel the need to emphasise the importance of news and journalism, and think that readers want — and should have — their HD every morning. Since it was mostly younger interviewees who are involved in other media channels than the paper newspaper, we conclude that a further decrease in subscribers will affect the identification of this group of employees the least.

We also found that the symbols included in the societal feedback perceived by interviewees are the same as the symbolic core. In this respect the paper newspaper is fairly central since it is widely reflected in the mirror image of HD while at the same time being aligned with journalism. This adds to the conclusion that members see HD as a “trustworthy friend” of North-Western Skåne. What has emerged, however, is that reporters seem to identify less with the organisation than staff from other departments. It is therefore our conclusion that organisational identification is based on mirror image and the professional traits reflected by it. As long as there is coherency between what members think is important and the mirror image, organisational identification is enabled. Thus, we assess that ambassadorship may occur even without co-creation.

5.1.1 Implications

Since the study enhances the fact that mirror image has a significant relevance for sensemaking, filling the gap between culture and vision cannot occur without a parallel effort to fill the gap between culture and image. In this respect, an approach to CB in media organisations ought to focus on enhancing and elaborating the symbolic core that exists beyond co-creation which is the fundament for working with CB as a holistic model. Here, it is interesting to ponder what might happen if the discourses of mirror image change to the extent that they do not correlate to the symbolic core.

From our perspective culture has been regarded the common denominator for both image and vision. Hence, in order to make the balance between the three elements more even and independent of mirror image, it is of the utmost importance to focus more on the work with culture and internal communication (Hatch & Schultz, 1997).

For the purpose of social legitimacy external communication activities are important but since members are also stakeholders the organisation ought to reflect internally what is portrayed externally — the *common we*. As we have discussed it is up to employees to create a sense of communion, management can only induce such a process and see to it that the premises for co-creation are fulfilled. Hence, for organisations like HD, strategic communication is about anchoring the shared meanings that already exist and elaborate them in accordance with CB, drawing upon a culture of common ideals.

However, due to the premises of social legitimacy a certain degree of specialisation has to prevail. As specialised competences to a great extent function independently of each other, requiring greater employee autonomy (Schein, 2010, Pink, 2009), unifying the organisation ought to take place on a level beyond professional identification.

5.1.2 Limitations and future research

As we have said, we infer from our interview answers that our interviewees identify with the journalistic vocation of being a “truth teller” — not just the journalistic profession. However, since our analysis is based upon twelve interviews and one marketing campaign, and since previous studies have mainly analysed the domination of journalists’ profession in relation to their identification with their organisation, further research is needed on how identification is reflected in non-journalist members of media organisations.

Furthermore, what remains unclear is whether reflections of mirror image are significant of media organisations at large or whether these implications are only applicable to organisations with a heritage similar to HD. Hence, further research on a larger scale is needed in order to determine when prestige becomes important to the extent that it overpowers discrepancies in internal communication processes. Moreover, in our limited case study we found that how employees understand their organisation’s external communication activities corresponds quite well with their perception of external feedback; but what role does mirror image play in organisations where employees see the external communication as less coherent with the perceived image?

We believe that ambassadorship is a behavioural expression of identification and, hence, one form of commitment. Nonetheless, this belief needs to be reinforced in the empirical field of future investigations — especially since the line between professional representation and ambassadorship is fairly problematic.

Last but not least, we hope that the insights presented here will serve to enhance the different aspects of identification in relation to organisational communication using Corporate Branding as a holistic model for communication.

6 Literature

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7 Appendix

7.1 Interview guide

Intervjuguide Helsingborgs Dagblad
<p>1. Beskriv ditt arbete – vad gör du på HD?</p> <p>1.1 Hur länge har du jobbat här?</p> <p>1.2 Har du haft en annan position på HD tidigare?</p> <p>1.3 Hur skulle du vilja beskriva din vardag – vad kännetecknar dig/ditt arbete?</p>
<p>2. Hur mycket kontakt har du med andra avdelningar/ upp och ner i organisationen?</p> <p>2.1 I vilka frågor har du kontakt med andra avdelningar? (privat/jobbrelaterat)?</p> <p>2.2 I vilken mån upplever du att du skulle vilja/behöva kontakt med andra avdelningar?</p> <p>2.3 Hur upplever du eventuellt samarbete över org. gränser?</p>
<p>3. Vad betyder HD för dig?</p> <p>3.1 Vad identifierar du dig med på HD/vad skulle du vilja identifiera dig med?</p> <p>3.2 I vilken utsträckning är ditt yrke viktigt för din identitet?</p> <p>3.3 Vilken betydelse har det för dig att vara en del av HD (och inte någon annan organisation)?</p> <p>3.4 Är du stolt över att arbeta på HD?</p> <p>3.5 Skulle du rekommendera en kollega att arbeta här?</p> <p>3.6 Vilka erfarenheter av HD skulle du vilja lyfta fram?</p>
<p>4. Upplever du att det finns några förväntningar eller idéer kring en HD-anställd?</p> <p>4.1 Kan du förklara vilka händelser som gjort att du uppfattar det så?</p> <p>4.2 Vilka kärnvärderingar uppfattar du att HD står för?</p> <p>4.3 Har din uppfattning kring din egen roll ändrats över tid/ pga händelseutveckling?</p>
<p>5. I vilken mån är du involverad i HD:s kontakt med omvärlden?</p> <p>5.1 Vilken typ av kontakt är det och med vem har du kontakt?</p> <p>5.2 Hur stor del av ditt arbete utgör detta?</p> <p>5.3 Är det viktigt att vara engagerad i kontakten mellan HD och omvärlden?</p> <p>5.4 Vad beror detta på (egen uppfattning/HD:s förväntningar)?</p> <p>5.5 Vilken betydelse har marknadsföringen för hur du uppfattar HD/dig själv?</p>

<p><i>5.6 Anser du att marknadsföringen är viktig för HD/din bild av HD?</i></p>
<p>6. Hur upplever du att HD vill profilera sig i omvärlden?</p> <p><i>6.1 Hur representeras HD externt? Hur vill företaget presentera sig?</i></p> <p><i>6.2 Stämmer denna bild med din bild av HD?</i></p> <p><i>6.3 Vilka förutsättningar krävs för att bilden ska kunna stämma överens med din?</i></p> <p><i>6.4 Hur anser du att HD kan arbeta för att bilderna stämmer överens?</i></p> <p><i>6.5 I vilken utsträckning är du med och bestämmer hur HD profilerar sig?</i></p> <p><i>6.6 I vilken utsträckning har du möjlighet att påverka profileringen?</i></p> <p><i>6.7 I vilken utsträckning är du intresserad av att påverka HD:s profilering?</i></p> <p><i>6.8 Vilka är framförallt involverade i denna profilering?</i></p>
<p>7. Hur tror du att HD uppfattas av omvärlden?</p> <p><i>7.1 Vilken respons får du när du berättar att du jobbar här?</i></p> <p><i>7.2 Vilken betydelse har det för dig?</i></p> <p><i>7.3 På vilket sätt/ i vilka sammanhang berättar du själv om HD/ditt jobb?</i></p>
<p>8. Hur kan HD bäst utvecklas i framtiden?</p> <p><i>8.1 Vilken betydelse kommer HD ha om fem år (för samhället/dig)?</i></p> <p><i>8.2 Vilken betydelse skulle du själv vilja ha för HD om fem år?</i></p> <p><i>8.3 Vad behövs för att du ska kunna/vilja representera HD?</i></p>

