

Communication Theories

Mike Nguyen

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Chapter 1

Prerequisites

This book is based on the two communications seminars

Course	Professor
Interpersonal Communication	Haley Horstman
Organizational Communication	Debbie Dougherty

Communication is defined as the exchange of messages.

```
install.packages("bookdown")  
# or the development version  
# devtools::install_github("rstudio/bookdown")
```


Part I

INTERPERSONAL

Chapter 2

Introduction

History

- Cornell School: study of speech from a humanities perspective
- Midwestern School: study speech as a science

According to (Baxter and Braithwaite, 2008), interpersonal communication is “the production and processing of verbal and nonverbal messages between two or a few persons”.

Three perspectives to study interpersonal communication (Baxter and Braithwaite, 2008)

- Individually Centered
- Interaction/discourse Centered
- Relationship Centered

Theory and data should be an interactive process. We should understand the conceptual boundaries of a theory, we should not apply it everywhere, generously improve it or dismiss it. Usually, there aren't one ultimate theory that has its own sovereignty (Higgins, 2004). Each theory has its own assumptions. “Making different predictions is not the same as making competing predictions”. (Higgins, 2004). a phenomenon can be explained by multiple theories, with different reasons, which shows its robustness.

A theory must be:

1. Testable
2. Coherent

3. Economical/Parsimonious

4. Generalizable

5. Explanability

A theory is like a child. Developing a theory is like parenting.

- Don't abuse
- DOn't spoil
- Knowing your theory and its limitation.

(Miller and Steinberg, 1975, pp. 5-30) Assumption of interpersonal communication: "when people communicate, they make predictions about the effects, or outcomes, of their communication behavior". Prediction can be made consciously or unconsciously; hence, communication has creative element. Two sets of factors influence prediction:

- **situational** set: "the given, unalterable features of a communication setting".
- **dispositional** set: "our past experience and our future expectations dispose us to look for certain behaviors and to interpret them in certain ways".

Levels of analysis used in making prediction

1. Cultural:

- culture is "the sum of characteristics, beliefs, habits, practices, and language shared by a large group of people," + can be either heterogeneous or homogeneous (homogeneity increases prediction accuracy).
- norm is "a recurrent, observable pattern", which help predict behavior
- ideology also helps predict responses to certain messages.
- prediction based on cultural data can be erroneous. The more culturally diverse a society is, the more error that you will make.

2. Sociological:

- A membership group is "a class of people who share certain common,

characteristics, either by their own volition or because of some criteria imposed by the predictor”.

3. Psychological

- Sources of behavioral differences: - learning experiences
- reactions to experiences
- perception by observers of behavior.

“Generally know a little about a great number of people and a lot about very few people”

Generalization Cultural ↓ Sociological ↓ Psychological

“When predictions about communication outcomes are based primarily on a cultural or sociological level of analysis, the communicators are engaged in non-interpersonal communication; when predictions are based primarily on a psychological level of analysis, the communicators are engaged in interpersonal communication”.

Cultural and sociological = noninterpersonal communication

Psychological = interpersonal communication.

Stimulus generalization (may have more predictive errors) vs. stimulus discrimination.

- We make stimulus generalization initially because it is not feasible to base our prediction on psychological data.
- very little interpersonal communication in our society:
 - teleological view: we should strive for interpersonal level
 - pragmatic view: we don’t need to get to the interpersonal level
- not every communicate interpersonally in similar ways.
- the difference between interpersonal communication and interpersonal relationships is that in interpersonal relationship, two people must be communicating interpersonally

(Wilmot, 1995)

There are two growth trajectories for love relationships:

- whirlwind
- friendship

The interpenetration of communication and relationships

- Principle 1: Relational Definition emerge from recurring episodic enactments.
 - An episode is “a nonverbal and verbal communication event”.
 - relational translation: attach relationship meaning to the episodes.
 - “the more frequently a relational definition is reinforced by episodic enactments, the more potent it becomes”.
- Principle 2: Relationship Definitions “Frame” or Contextualize Communication Behavior
 - :the meaning of our communication behaviors is dependent on the relational frame where they occur”.
 - “communication is interpreted and associated within given relational definitions”.
- Principle 3: Relationship types are not necessarily mutually exclusive
- Principle 4: relationship Definition and communication episodes reciprocally frame one another

A Theory of Embeddedness

- Relationship Constellations
 - definition: “interconnected networks that form patterns”.
 - the constellations influences initiating relationships by:
 - the network we are in
 - social norms
 - the position of initiator and potential partner in the network

- direct action, or approval/disapproval by others in the network on your choice.
- density of the network also influences the overall constellation.
- not only actual actions by the constellation members that affect you, even your anticipation of the reaction of those members also affects you. (Surra, 1990) + people are influenced by the support or disapproval of the network
- “Romeo and Juliet effect”: disapproval of parents strengthens relationship’s bonds.
- Cultural Considerations

Self and Other in relation

- Self was defined as independent and autonomous.(e.g., in psychology mostly dysfunctionality exists mainly in self)

Paradigm 1: The Individual Self

Self and Others are “independent units that are connected by the relational thread.” Or mere overlap of the two separate autonomous selves who just happen to have enough in common to create a relationship.”

Relationship difficulties are identified by the degree of blame of the other.

Social exchange model (assume that we try to maximize profit in relationships). Hence, we focus on building self (self-satisfaction), not relationship.

Postmodern thinking:

Constructedness: see “people as forming and reforming their selves within each relationship”.

relational self

Paradigm 2: The Embedded Self

“The identity of”I” is possible solely through the identity of the other who recognizes me, and who in turn is dependent upon my recognition”. (Wilber, 1932, p.272)

The Dialectical Perspective

There is a dynamic interplay between opposites that we need to look at. Everything is interdependent. trade off between exactitude of factual language and seeing things in a totality way.

External (e.g., contradiction between autonomy and integration, me vs. we, independence vs. interdependence, or expressiveness vs. protectiveness) and internal dialectical tensions in relationships

Paradigm 3: Nonseparable self/other/relationship

the self is the result of interaction with others.

Communication is “a conjoint reality created by two people in relation to each other”

Paradigm I | communication is a static, linear, noninteractive event.

Transformation = Expression + Connection

(Baxter, 2004)

ground relational dialectics theory:

1. Dialogue as constitutive process
 - “Communication as a conduit through which a variety of antecedent psychological and sociological factors are played out”.
 - Alternative: “Communication as constitutive”: communication constitutes persons and relationships.
 - “An individual knows self only from the outside, as he or she conceives others see him or her. The self, then, is invisible to itself and dependent for its existence on the other”. Hence, self is “a fluid and dynamic relation between self and other”. + self-becoming resembles self-expansion model.
2. Dialogue as dialectical flux
 - Dialogue is “simultaneously unity and difference”. hence, social life is a dialogue “constituted in the dialectical, or contradictory, interplay of centripetal and centrifugal forces”.
 - contrast to Hegelian approach to dialogue
3. Dialogue as aesthetic moment
4. Dialogue as utterance
5. Dialogue as critical sensibility

Braithwaite’s Perspectives on interpersonal communication

- Numerical Perspective
- Situational and contextual perspective

- Developmental Perspective
- Levels of Info Perspective (Miller and Steinberg, 1975)
- Relational (Stewart) focusing on the content.
- Constitutive Approach (Baxter, 2004)

Def of IPC = when predictions about comm outcomes are based primarily on a psych level of analysis (p. 22)

* IPC occurs when:

1. Predictions are based on personal level info
2. Have direct experience with other person
3. Initial interactions are rarely interpersonal
4. Most interactions are non-interpersonal
5. Relationships exist when both people are communicating interpersonally

Chapter 2 (Stewart (2019))

Communication is “the processes humans use to construct meaning together”.

1. Since humans live in worlds of meaning that are constantly constructed, none can affect the process significantly.
2. Culture figures (ethnicity, gender, age, social class, sexual orientation, etc) affect communication and how you respond to it.
3. we collaboratively build the sense of selves (i.e., identity) when engaging in communication.
4. Conversations are a tools for communication.
5. A useful skills in communicating is “nexting”.

Communication is “the continuous, complex, collaborative, process of verbal and nonverbal meaning-making through which we construct the worlds of meaning we inhabit.”

Worlds of meanings:

- space
- time
- laws of physics
- culture
- relationships
- work (for adults).

Interpersonal Communication:

“people involved are contacting each other as persons”

Characteristics that distinguish persons across cultures:

- uniqueness: noninterchangeability (either experiential or genetic)
- unmeasurability: human can't be described by parts. even though cognitive scientists try to assign schematas or cognitive patterns/ Emotions and feeling are embedded in communications.
- Responsiveness is different from reaction.
- reflectiveness: being aware of what's around, but also aware of your own awareness.
- addressability: difference between talking to and talking with (i.e., addressable). directed or aimed at.

“the term interpersonal labels the kind of communication that happens when the people involved talk and listen in ways that maximize the presence of the personal”.

(Floyd, 2014)

Interpersonal communication is defined as “Any communication at the intrapersonal, small group, public, or mass levels.”

Boundary condition includes:

- dyad relationships
- “IPC as close, supportive, relationship-maintaining communication occurring between people (whether in a dyad or not”

Chapter 3

Individually Centered

3.1 Uncertainty Management Theories

3.1.1 Problematic Integration Theory

Problematic Integration (PI) theory: From the theories of planned behavior and reasoned action, we believe that we can predict people's behaviors because people are assumed to be "rational". However, there are communication substance that could input uncertainty and inconsistency expectations to predict human behavior.

- Goals:
 - find important and ubiquitous communication process
 - increase sophistication
 - encourage other ways of understanding
 - increase communicators' empathy and compassion.
- Forms of PI:
 - Uncertainty
 - Diverging expectations and desires
 - Ambivalence
 - Impossible desires (theoretical vs. practical impossibility).

- Discussion regarding PI can deepen or hurt relationships
- Encounter PI, we can engage in presentational and avoidance rituals.
- PI defines uncertainty as “difficulty forming a mental association”. (Babrow and Matthias, 2009)
 - form-specific adaptation of messages means “communicating in ways that speak to the precise dilemma.” (Babrow and Matthias, 2009)

3.1.2 Uncertainty Management Theory

Uncertainty Management (UM)

- Based on two post-positivist sources:
 - Uncertainty reduction theory (BERGER and CALABRESE, 1975): managing uncertainty
 - Cognitive theory of uncertainty in illness (Mishel, 1990): depending on context, uncertainty can be either good or bad
- Uncertainty must be appraised.
- Notion of management = control

Research and practical application (e.g., health, education,)

Evaluation: not achievable under post-positivist because of its blurry boundary conditions. But under interpretivist, it can make more sense due to its contextual meanings.

Application:

Taking Control: The Efficacy and Durability of a Peer-Led Uncertainty Management Intervention for People Recently Diagnosed With HIV (Brashers et al., 2016): Uncertainty management need to be adaptable. Due to the changing nature of HIV skills and information for patients need to be communicated continuously. Supported by the theories of social support, uncertainty management can be facilitated with peer support. participant report less illness-related uncertainty, greater access to social support, and more satisfaction with the social support compared to the control group. **Illness uncertainty** was assessed with (MISHEL, 1981).

Example

(SHARABI and CAUGHLIN, 2017) Effects of the first FtF date on romantic relationship development:

- Relational choice models of romantic relationships: Choosing partners that make the most sense to you (fit an image of an ideal mates).
- Disillusionment models of romantic relationship: When you see other's aspects (e.g., personality, behaviors) of your partner, you might no longer be interested in your partner.

Predicting first date success in online dating

- Similarity and uncertainty as predictors: users want to reduce uncertainty before meeting offline.
- Communication as moderating role.

Interestingly, people disclose more deeply online compared to offline (Tidwell and Walther, 2002)

3.1.3 Theory of Motivated Informaiton Management (TMIM)

Born from the frustration with Problematic Integration Theory, Uncertainty Management Theory interepretivist orientation, and desire to incorporate individual experience's complexity with uncertainty and predictive specificity.

The theory has its basis on:

- Subjective Expected Utility theory (Fischhoff et al., 1983)
- social Cognitive theory (Locke and Bandura, 1987)
- Theories of bounded rationality (Kahneman, 2003): People make suboptimal choice due to other emotions and bias factors.

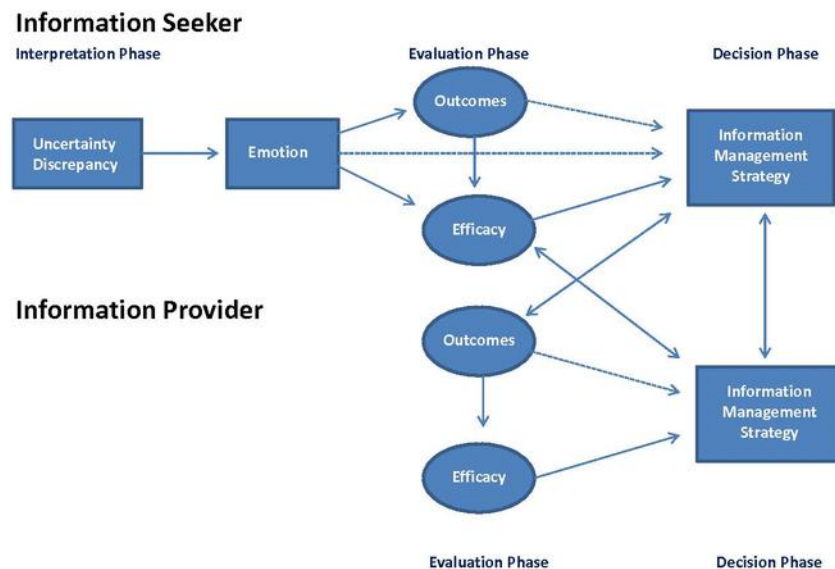
Due to its laborious process of decision, theory of motivated information management only applies to cases where the person thinks a decision is sufficient important.

Phases:

- Interpretation Phase: recognize the difference (called **uncertainty discrepancy**) in desired uncertainty and current uncertainty, which mostly produces anxiety, but sometimes hope, anticipation, anger.
- Evaluation Phase: :appraisal of uncertainty impacts assessments made in the evaluation phase", which makes you think about
 - Outcome expectancy: what happen if you search for more info
 - Efficacy: whether you are able to do the search.

- * Communication efficacy: whether a person has the skill to seek info.
- * Target efficacy: whether the target of the info search actually has and would be willing to share it.
- * Coping efficiency: whether a person could emotionally, relational, or financially deal with what he or she expects to learn.
- Decision Phase: people are likely to seek info when they expect positive outcomes with high levels of efficacy.

Model of TMIM Predictions



(picture from (Baxter and Braithwaite, 2008))

Note: Information providers go through the same process with only the latter two phases (evaluation and decision).

Research and Practical Application: (e.g., education, health)

Evaluation:

- Benefits:

- Draw attention to communication efficiency, and outcome expectancy
- Good theory: based on testability, heuristics, parsimony, scope condition
- Improvement:
 - may need to include efficacy's strength as mediator. Depending on the positivity or negativity of expectations. relationship between outcome expectancies and efficacy, and between outcome expectancies and information seeking may differ

Example:

(Morse et al., 2013) social networks and information seeking influence drug use. From Social Cognitive Theory, and Cognitive Developmental Theory, social norms and peer influence serve as bases for aversive behaviors to be accepted. According to (Wolfson, 2000), false consensus support can help explain students overestimate of the positive attitudes of their social network supported by the fact that they are uncertain about their social network's opinions.

3.2 Attribution Theory

“how and why we try to answer”how and why” questions is referred to as attribution theory” (Baxter and Braithwaite, 2008)

originated from psychology. “The more important or unexpected the event, the more likely people are to seek an explanation to make sense of that outcome. We make sense of such events primarily by determining what the cause is.”

Goals

- Event causation: understand actions or events by attributing cause(s) to behavior.
- Trait inference: make inference about a person's characteristics that makes sense of that person's behavior.

Dimensions when making attributions:

- locus: internal or external to the person
- Stability: temporary or enduring
- Specificity: causes is unique or universal
- Responsibility: the extent to which a person contribute to the event

Focus on:

- Correspondence: “When attributions are informative of a person’s nature or personality, they are considered **”correspondent”** (i.e., we perceive that another’s behavior corresponds to some underlying characteristic of who that person is)”.
- Covariation: “Events are attributed to causes with which they covary.”
- Responsibility: the more internal, intentional, and controllable we perceive one’s behavior is, the more we hold that person responsible for those actions, and their consequences”
- Bias:
 - “fundamental attribution bias, which is a tendency to make more internal attributions than external attributions for other people’s behaviors” (Ross, 1977)
 - self-serving bias: people generally make more internal, stable, and global attributions for positive events than for negative events, and more external attributions for negative events than for positive events (Malle, 2006)

Attribution Theory in Communication:

- Attribution as Explanations behind social communicative actions.
- Attribution as reason for actions and outcomes: when we think of reasons for other’s communication or behaviors, it affects how we view others, and our communication toward them.
- Attribution as the meanings given to a behavior: “how attributions reflect the meaning that people give to a communication act.”

Evaluation:

- Explanatory power: intuitive
- Scope and generality: applicability, born as universal theory of human sense-making, but actual application was limited
- Conditionship specification: strict parameters for the theory.
- Verifiability/ Falsifiability: a lot of research supports, few say the theory is flawed.

3.3 Social Exchange Theories

Costs vs. Rewards.

Originated from psychology, sociology, economics. Analogous to economic exchange. Under the post-positivist paradigm.

Definitions:

- An exchange is “a transfer of something in return for something else” (Leffler and Roloff, 1982)
- Social exchange is the result of human’s connection.

Aspect	Social Exchange	Economic Exchange
Reliance	Trust, goodwill, voluntary	Legal Obligations
Rewards and Costs	Open	Exact Specifications for both parties
Time frame	Continuous	Set, fixed for the exchange to occur
Type	Unique, individualized	Similar from person to person

Goals:

- Predict and explain behaviors.

Assumptions:

- Social behavior is a series of transactions.
- “Individuals attempt to maximize their rewards and minimize their costs.”
- After receiving rewards, people feel a sense of obligation.

Concepts:

- Self-interests: “individuals to act in accordance with perceptions and projections of rewards and costs associated with an exchange, or potential exchange, of resources.” we are motivated to serve self-interests.
- Interdependence: “the extent to which one person’s outcomes depend on another person’s outcomes”

Social Exchange in Communication:

- communication is a communication tool
- communication is the resource to be exchange (i.e., either reward or cost).
- Exchange may have symbolic or communication value (Molm et al., 2007)

Evaluation:

- love can be selfless: **Altruism** is beyond social exchange
- High in exchange orientation are likely to keep score (Murstein, 1971)
- Cultures differ in their exchange orientations: exchange orientation is more expected in individualistic and capitalistic societies. (Yperen and Buunk, 1990)
- People are not also rational (scale of inequity is not always instantly balanced)

Application:

- emotional health (individual), trusting one's spouse (interpersonal), and **feeling underbenefited in the relationship (interpersonal)** significantly predict marital well-being for both groups of women (i.e., African American and European American). While physical health (individual) and in-law relations (social and economic) showed significant influence for only African American (Goodwin, 2003).

3.3.1 Resource Theory

“Resources constitute rewards when they provide pleasure and costs when they provoke pain, anxiety, embarrassment, or mental and physical effort.”

Developed by (Foa and Foa, 1980, 2012)

Types of resources:

- Money: universal
- Goods
- Status
- Love
- Services
- Information

Exchange of similar resources results in more satisfaction (Foa and Foa, 1980). And relationship type influences the exchange of resources.

3.3.2 Interdependence Theory

Individuals assess their rewards in a relationship based on

- Comparison levels: what one *should* receive: “the standard an individual uses to judge how attractive or satisfactory a particular relationship is.”
Relate to **normative economics**
- Alternatives (Comparison levels of alternatives): what one *could* receive: “the lowest level of rewards deemed acceptable when considering possible alternative relationship.”

Note:

- Our projection is not always right. For example, the more committed and invested we are in a relationship, the more likely we are to downplay alternatives (Rusbult and Agnew, 2010)

Application:

- (Vangelisti et al., 2013): correlation between individuals’ cognition and their relational satisfaction. Individuals’ vocalized thoughts correlate with their partner’s satisfaction.
- equity and satisfaction (under the interdependence theory) influences one’s relational maintenance strategies (Stafford and Canary, 2006)

3.3.3 Equity Theory

We also consider **fairness** in our equation of gains and costs, where fairness is “equity in the distribution of costs and rewards”(Baxter and Braithwaite, 2008).

Distributive justice (Adams, 1965): “people think and act so that rewards are distributed in accordance with their effort.” Three types of inequity:

- ratio of your rewards to costs in vs. others’ ratios.
- “the exchange relationship you and your partner have with a third entity”
- your relationship vs others in similar situation.

Inequity leads to emotional distress (Sprecher, 2001). Underbenefited experiences anger, whereas overbenefited experiences guilt. To balance our inequity, we change outcomes (perceptions), or inputs (actions)

Application:

- Perceptions of equity influences caregiver burnout, and positive caregiver experiences (Ybema et al., 2002)

3.4 Social Support Theories

Supportive communication is “verbal and nonverbal behavior produced with the intention of providing assistance to others perceived as needing that aid.” (MacGeorge et al., 2011, pp.317)

Verbal person centeredness (VPC), defined as "the extent to which the feelings and perspective of a distressed other are acknowledged, elaborated, and legitimized: (MacGeorge et al., 2018). However, research sometimes use VPC for the entire interaction, or advisors or recipients.

Person centeredness is defined as "awareness of and adaptation to the subjective, affective, and relational aspects of communicative contexts" (Burleson and Caplan, 1998, pp. 249).

Dimensions of support behavior:

- content (i.e., topical focus)
- function (i.e., observed (inferred) intention of the provider/advisor) (e.g., describing, legitimizing, minimizing, recommending, justifying, blaming, criticizing, questioning, affirming, encouraging, and offering tangible support)
- experiential focus (i.e., "the person whose experiences are being referenced in the supportive behavior" (MacGeorge et al., 2018, pp. 153)

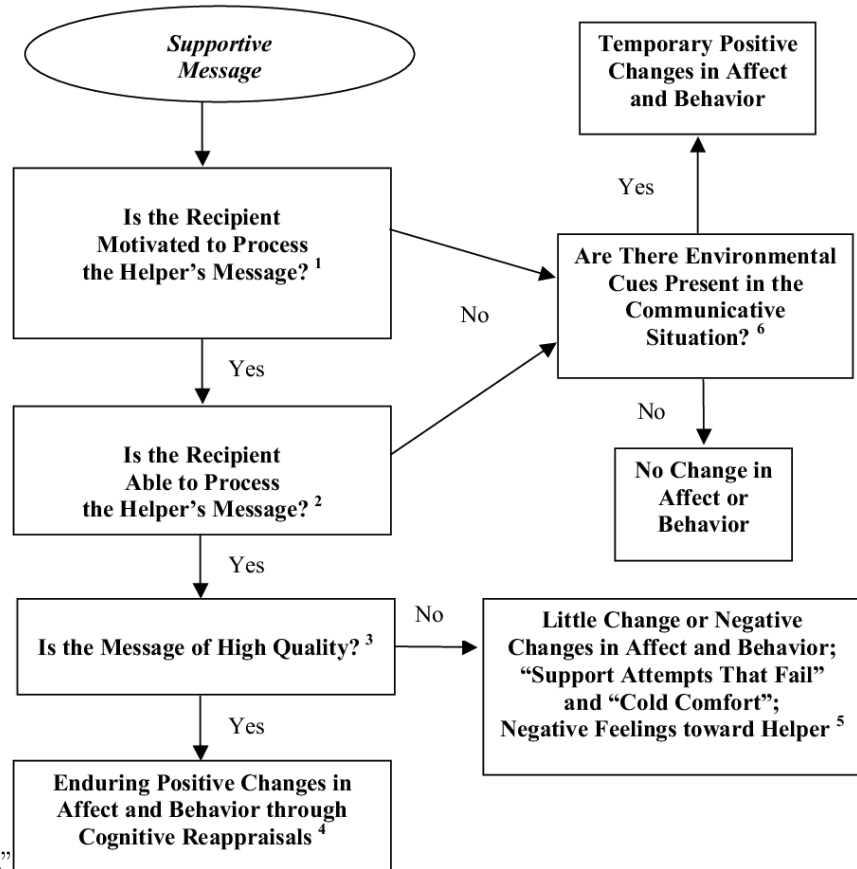
3.4.1 Dual-Process Theory of Supportive Message Outcomes

Comes from the dual-process model in psychology: "People actions are a function of the ways in which they interpret or make sense of events." (Burleson, 2010, pp.106)

Goals and Features:

- "the impact of messages varies as a function of how those messages are processed, and it provides a detailed analysis of the processing modes that can

FIGURE 1
A Dual Process Model for Supportive Communication



be applied to supportive messages.”

(Baxter and Braithwaite, 2008, pp.198)

Modes:

- Processing modes: Elaboration (i.e., “the extent to which an individual thinks with respect to message content”)
 - negative affect
 - motivation
 - ability
 - environmental cues
 - Quality of supportive message: high vs. low

Under the framework of dual-process theory, communication is defined as “a process in which a person (the source) seeks to convey or make public some

internal state to another (the recipient) through the use of signals and symbols (the message) in the effort to accomplish some pragmatic end (the goal).” (Burleson, 2010)

Application:

- emotional support
- grief management

(Davis, 2018) studies the microaggression of white women towards black women with two phases: Individual orientation phase (i.e., “friends communicating verbal and nonverbal messages that solely comforted the support seeker” - information seeking, support provision (e.g., the use of girls, hand clap)), and Collective orientation phase (phase: Hostile differentiation, Socio-political Contextualization, Collective Uplift). Age moderates the perceived microaggression (e.g., tolerance).

Racial microaggressions are “brief messages (i.e., verbal, nonverbal, and visual) that denigrate people of color because they belong to a racial group that is historically oppressed in the U.S.” (Sue et al., 2007)

Strong Black Woman Collective Theory argues that “strength is valuable resource for Black women because it helps them resist external hostilities.” (Davis, 2014)

3.4.2 Advice Response Theory

Social cognitive theory: how advice outcomes are influenced by qualities of messages, advisors, situations, and recipients.

Goals:

ART predicts how your friend is likely to respond, based on your friend’s perceptions of

1. Message features (e.g., content and style): Recipients evaluate
 1. message content
 - efficacy (i.e., if the action is likely to resolve the problem)
 - feasibility (i.e., capacity to accomplish the action)
 - limitation
 - confirmation (whether the action is consistent with the recipient’s intent)
 2. Style:
 - politeness
 - linking
 - respect
2. Advisor’s characteristics (likely to be mediated by message content)

- Expertise (to the problem)
 - trustworthiness
 - likability
 - similarity (to the recipient).
3. Situational factors (this is controversial because of conflicting empirical evidence)
- problem seriousness (perceived by the recipient)
 - solution uncertainty (about how to resolve the problem)
4. Recipient's traits or characteristic
- thinking style
 - abilities (e.g, cognitive complexity)
 - demographic (e.g., culture, gender)

Application

-

Chapter 4

Interaction/discourse Centered

4.1 Evolutionary Theories

4.2 Intergroup Theorizing

4.3 Critical Approaches to IPC Research

Chapter 5

Relationship Centered

5.1 Affection Exchange Theory

5.2 Translational Scholarship

5.3 Resilience Communication Theories

5.4 Communication Privacy Management Theory

5.5 Relational Turbulence Theory

Part II

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION

Chapter 6

Perspectives on Organizational Communication

(Mumby and Stohl, 1996) Organizational communication as a discipline can be looked under the framework of 4 problematics.

The problematic of:

1. voice: characterized by multiple voices, not only managerial.
 - + organizational communication cultivates tensions between university and firms, rather than resolving it.
 - + how voices can gain insight into marginalized groups.
2. rationality
 - + pluralist understandings + technical rationality: “knowledge that privileges a concern with prediction, control and teleological forms of behavior”.
 - + Practical rationality: “knowledge grounded in the human interest in interpreting and experiencing the word as meaningful and intersubjectively constructed”
3. organization
 - + The question of organization is fundamental in organizational communication.
 - + the complex structure of organizing, culture and larger social processes.
4. organization-society relationship
 - + organizational boundaries (separation between organization and society)

- cannot be clearly defined due to its fluid nature.
- + can study the dynamics nature of globalization.
- + communication is not just information exchange, but it is the core of organizing where organization structure is dynamically created.

(Broadfoot and Munshi, 2007)

We might have been myopic when only interpret and look at organizational communication from the perspective of Euro-American intellectual tradition. hence, we need to have alternative, rationalities, and perspectives.

Due to (Mumby and Stohl, 1996), there are four major problematics in organizational communication:

- Voice: who gets to speak for whom
- Rationality: 2 forms of rationalities: technical/instrumental and practical and the consequences.
- Organization: members create meaning through communication.
- Organization-society relationship: it's hard to distinguish between the two, hence we should study in conjunction.

there is a new shift to the non-American voices: A Postcolonial awakening.

Postcolonial self-reflexivity: a resistance from Eurocentric perspective.

(Shome, 1996) defines Discursive confinement as “a state where difference and individuality are eased or neutralized and scholars become confined to a narrow and marginalized discursive space constructed by dominant mainstream structures and ideologies”. Hence, we should break through the discipline and embed individuality through emotionality.

We can see the shift in areas such as gender, race, and globalization.

A postcolonial exploration: different perspective can contribute richly to the understanding organizational communication.

(Cheney, 2007)

Identity: from business. flow of information between stakeholders.

Breaking boundaries: expand to other issues such as informal network, social movements, etc.

Opportunities from social problems: shift from basic research to focus on society and planet.

Ethos and Confidence: The discipline of organizational communication as well as communication are constantly in need to prove for its legitimacy.

Audiences: various outlets, but mostly focus on research publication due to the need for tenure.

To get beyond the pressure for tenure, the author suggests:

- choose an issue that you care.
- listen/read well from various perspectives
- choose appropriate outlets.
- set everyday goal.
- practice what you preach
- lead by example
- do not give up
- pause and reflect.

(D'Urso et al., 2014)

History (genealogy) of organizational communication with the method of network analysis.

Author posted several research questions that could use the network analysis method to probe into such as collaboration and coauthorship, and overall development of organizational communication.

(Leonardi, 2016)

the strategy of subordination taken by organizational communication researchers are those that look at a phenomena from the perspective of organizational communication, which leads to small contribution to the literature.

To know if a one owns a phenomenon is when people know to turn to you when they want to understand such phenomenon .

6.0.1 Strategy of Discovery

2 steps:

1. Phenomenon is communication
2. What communication does and why

6.0.2 Strategy of Reconceptualization

2 steps:

1. Contradictory evidence or poor explanation
2. Communications leads to better fit (e.g., accuracy or novelty)

Chapter 7

Organizational Culture

(Martin and Siehl, 1983)

Culture:

- based on history, members can behave and expected to behave
- help construct common value for employees.
- control mechanisms which dictate patterns of behavior

culture can hardly be under control, not monolithic phenomenon

3 levels of culture:

- basic assumptions
- values/ideology
- artifacts (e.g., stories, rituals, dress): express values
- management practices (e.g., training program).

Types of subcultures:

- enhancing: same position
- orthogonal: unrelated position
- counterculture: opposite position: “most likely to arise in a strongly centralized institution that has permitted significant decentralization of authority to occur” (e.g., GM’s culture: team players, loyalty, “refrigerator story”), balancing act must be taken to manage counter culture and dominant culture

(Dixon and Dougherty, 2009) multiple meanings of organizational culture

Consulting method: in-depth and focus group interviews with student staff, artifact analysis, and observation of organization staff meetings and retreats

Common terms did not mean the same thing. 2 different fields: organizational communication, and higher education.

- Organization culture: “German approach, based in phenomenological/Interpretive epistemology”. culture is the product of symbolic interaction. Scholars tries to understand the role of human interaction. organizational culture is not easily manipulated by managers. ” organization is a culture”. purposes:
 - + increasing productivity
 - + understanding organizational processes
 - + critiquing oppressive organizational practices.
- organizational culture: American approach to study organizational variable that affect organizational effectiveness. “organization has a culture”. can be quantified, and manipulated.
 - + Institution can be measured: dynamism vs. stability and internal vs. external focus.

two subculture: First-born (tradition, consensus) and Youngest (debate, and new ideas)

The problem stems from different discipline understanding of “culture”, there was a rejection of the definition by organizational communication scholars.

” Rather than positing that there is one “right” concept, we would encourage other consultants to proactively discuss with clients, what key terms mean to them in the particularity of their context, as a means of creating a “shared discursive” reality.”

(Leonardi and Jackson, 2008) mergers between two technology companies

cultural studies of postmerger integration

A core technology is “the primary technology produced, serviced, or sold by an organization”.

technological grounding suggests that “an organization’s core technologies are, along with the work and communication practices enacted daily by members, a constitutive feature of its culture”

two dominant perspectives for understanding culture that exist in organizational literature:

- as a variable that can be changed.
 - + technology is a variable . The two variables are distinct and can be either internal or external based on researchers’ perspective.

- culture is organization.
- + in postmerger, organizations face cultural convergence. + technology is not a variable but a practice. + “When technologies are sufficiently important to an organization to become key elements in the constitution of a culture, we refer to that organization as technologically grounded.” (a continuum not dichotomy).
- + “technological incompatibility implies the incompatibility of organizational cultures and practices”

Method: a single case design, embedded design:

levels of analysis

(1) public discourse from company officials about the merger, (2) organizational practices and policies before and after the merger (3) worker responses during postmerger integration

US West built its culture on the West culture use analog data

Qwest built its culture on speed use digital data (all internet protocol - IP)

Qwest consumed US West’s culture (e.g., bureaucracy) due to its technological superiority and cultural superiority in postmerger integration

Qwest shut down US West’s Research Labs.

7.1 4

Chapter 4: Communicating Organizational Culture: A Problem-Solving Model.

Communication: is about creating message, production and reproduction of meaning.

Organizations are communication.

Gestalt Theory (figure and ground): sometimes the important part is thought of as the background

Organizational culture is an active process that shape organizations.

organizational culture is defined “as the shared communicative process through which meanings are constantly employed, negotiated, and contested to create a stable communication environment within which organizational life becomes patterned and persistent over time.”

organizational cultures does not mean shared meaning but **shared process of meaning making**.

Forms of communication:

- info sharing

- message production
- meaning making

organizational values as “those things, standards, and ideals through which we evaluate our organizational wellbeing”.

Types of values:

- Personal values
- Moral values
- Aesthetic values
- Status values: power allocation.

Organizational meanings

- Cognitive meanings
- Emotional meanings: people might mistakenly consider irrationality as emotionality.
- Social meanings sensemaking theory
- Identity meanings cultural contract theory of identity. 3 types of cultural contracts:
 - + ready-to-sign contracts: assimilation (physical, behavioral, and mental assumption of dominant culture).
 - + Quasi-completed contracts: allows adaption
 - + Cocreated contracts: mutual valuation.
- Power meanings
 - + can derived from formal hierarchy
 - + or from relationships (as opposed to isolation).

Chapter 8

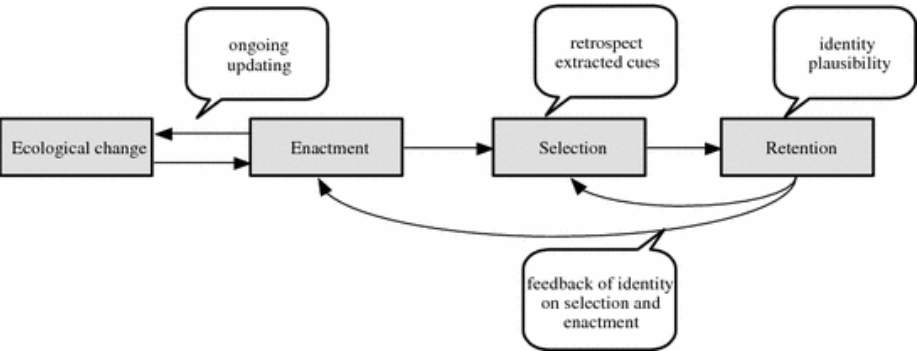
Sensemaking

Sensemaking is “how organizational members come to understand and move forward when faced with unexpected or unanticipated information” (Dougherty, 2020)

- It can help stabilize the organization in time of crisis.

The difference between sensemaking theory and Uncertainty Management Theory: they are close ties.

Uncertainty management Theory	Sensemaking Theory
based on individual level management in relationship uncertainty	group dynamics and group behavior manage in the organizational context



(picture from (Lu, 2017))

Example in business: (Kury, 2014)

(Dougherty and Smythe, 2004)

Culture of sexual harassment (i.e., Some cultures are more prone to sexual harassment than others).

From the perspective of sensemaking theory, organizational members make sense of unexpected events through a process of action, selection and interpretation (Weick, 1995).

Organizational culture is created **not** through shared meaning, but **shared experiences through processes sensemaking**. We might never come to a consensus, but the process of sensemaking can help us have shared experiences.

Properties of sensemaking:

- Identity: created through the interaction with other organizational members.
- Retrospective: make sense only looking backward.
- Ongoing: relate past, present, and future to make sense of an event.
- Enactment: actors are part of the culture.
- Extracted cues: focus their attention to parts of the environment.
- Social: based on either interaction with others, or expected interaction with others.
- Plausibility: seems reasonable.

Hence, sensemaking influence

- the acceptance of sexual harassment in an organization
- responses by nonharassed members.

Sensemaking's phases:

- Discovery
- Debriefing (e.g., humor, ridicule in case of sexual harassment)
- Dispersal (e.g., return to normalcy)

men and women make of sexual harassment differently (i.e., women label more behavior as sexual harassment than men)

Practical Applications

- Applying Humor: humor can help members involve actively in sharing sexual harassment training, sense of community. But too much can also belittle victim's experience.
- White men and sexual harassment: should to vilify, but assume that they want to help.
- Identifying Sexual harassment: should not focus on shared meaning, but shared experience.
- Responding to sexual harassment: no one-size-fit-all approach, but respect contexts of the sexual harassment.

(Shenoy-Packer, 2014)

First-generation immigrants are prone to microaggressions.

microaggressions are “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults”. (Sue et al., 2007)

Microaggression exists in 3 forms:

- Verbal: Sarcasm
- Attitudinal: Stereotypes (e.g., not fit into stereotypes, or fit into stereotypes which dismisses individual achievement)
- Professional: Skepticism (e.g., microinvalidations when immigrant professionals’ credentials and qualifications are challenged)

Sensemaking model by (Weick, 1995) explains how one can retrospectively make sense of past events and respond to future events. CSM helps make sense of immigrant professional’s experiences through the lenses of **power** (e.g., dominant-nondominant interactions).

To counter, immigrant professionals

- create another selves
 - muting/creating dual selves
 - giving in
 - giving up/ dissociating self
- rationalizes
 - perspective-taking
 - blaming ignorance
 - dismissing
 - using humor
- takes ownership
 - normalizing
 - appreciating cultural differences
 - adapting to disparate expectation

(Williams and Ishak, 2017)

Communication among stakeholders in high reliability organizations (HROs)

organizational discourse: how members make sense of the tragedy by sharing.

critical team in high-hazard organization needs effective communication processes.

HROs are “systems that successfully operate in environments that could produce catastrophic errors.”

3 broad themes from the grounded theory approach appear:

- Emotion
 - Some take time off to process the news.
 - Some get back to work to cope with the events.
- Sensemaking (why)
 - Debriefing process to understand what happened and learn from what happened.
 - Purpose of sensemaking:
 - * How could this have happened? This could happen to any other team. The fatal team was “unlucky”.
 - * Why has this not happened to our team?
- Learning (What now?)
 - Individual as well as organization(structural changes) can learn

Making changes after a tragedy in the eyes of the crew was a routine event that officials make whenever a tragedy happens regardless.

Staying away from blame

Then the question is if you did find a person’s fault led to the deaths of 19 people, we can you communicate that knowledge to facilitate learning. Moreover, the attitude of the firefighters were reluctant to changes and went back to the basics, maybe because of this blameless culture. Hence, people might blame luck in this situation. Interestingly, this blameless culture also facilitate group cohesion in the HROs.

A reconciliation is to recognize hindsight bias when trying to sensemaking/learning and avoid blaming.

(Zanin et al., 2019)

Athletes do not report concussion readily. They often conceal it due to cultural discourses and norms.

Cultural narratives

Based on (Polkinghorne, 1995) two-level conceptualization of narrative: actors use narrative to create social reality and to make sense of their experiences.

Sport narrative and sensemaking:

- Sensemaking is the basis for social action.
 - Sensemaking is where meanings materialize to create identity.
- Cultural narratives help actors sensemaking by giving them a framework to understand an event.

Method: Abductive approach

Text Archival Data: identify protagonist, actors, storyline, story values, and morals for each story. Then, identify sport story archetypes

Interview Data://{.uri} using constant comparative analysis to see how stakeholder made sense of a concussion even and reporting behavior, then compare to the types identified in the text archival data.

Findings:

5 narratives identified:

- Play-Through-Pain: enduring pain for the benefits of the team.
- Big Leagues: American Dream of becoming a professional athlete through hard work and **perseverance**.
- Commodification: abstract objects with financial value
- Masculine Warrior: protagonist defeats an opponent through strength, toughness, bravery, violence, and **perseverance**
- Need-for-Safety: Contemporary culture where “athletes that seek health-care are framed as moral and intelligent.”

Stakeholders refer to these 5 narratives to make sense of reporting behaviors.

Sensemaking use cultural sport narrative

1. to extract cues: whether you have a concussion or not
2. construct identity: positive defense mechanism (4 over 5 narratives).

Chapter 9

Constitutive Communication of Organizations

- Social Constructionist
- Structuration Theory: creation and reproduction of social systems that is based on the analysis of both structure and agents
- little d discourse: what happen in the conversation (i.e., representation)
- big D Discourse; The system of expectation you

(Schoeneborn and Vásquez, 2017)

6 premises:

- studies communication events (temporal and spatial dimensions).
- Should be as inclusive as possible in its definition of (organizational) communication.
- the co-constructed nature of (organizational) communication
- who or what is acting is an open question
- Communication events as unit of analysis
- Equal importance of organizing (process) and organization (entity)

3 schools in CCO

- Montreal School approach: (pioneered by James R. Taylor) focus on text, speech, and linguistic forms to understand the their organizing properties. Organization is “enacted through interaction and is related to processes of meaning negotiation”.
 - Cocretation: people talk → interaction

- Distanciation: through time, separated, distanced from the original conversation.
- based on actor-network theory
- Four Flows approach (pioneered Robert D. McPhee): based on Giddens' structuration theory. Organization is created only when there are four flows:
 - Membership negotiation
 - Self-structuring: constantly structuring, self here is the organization created through interaction.
 - Activity coordination
 - Institutional positioning (its environment)
- Social System Theory approach (pioneered by Niklas Luhmann): "communication constitutes systems that produce the very elements they consist of, in a self-referential way"

Key Questions

- Ontological question: "what is an organization?"
- Composition problem: "How to scale up from interaction to organization?"
- Agency: "Who or what is able to act on behalf of the organization?"

Critiques:

- Bold claim that communication is organization
- Too broad definition of communication.
- Talk is cheap.

Emerging topics in CCO:

- Authority (power, domination, legitimization)
- Disordering properties of communication.

(Bruscella and Bisel, 2018)

Example of Four Flows school

terrorist organizations are communicatively constituted by the way they refer to their material as evidence to their image, existence, and legitimacy.

organization are constructed from the following communication processes:

- **Self-structuring:** division of labor, rights and responsibility
- **membership negotiation:** membership inclusion and exclusion criteria.
- **activity coordination:** mutual adjustments of action
- **institutional position:** defining the boundaries of the organization

Question of agency:

- Four Flows theory define agency as human unique ability to make their own choice, while the Montreal School define agency as the ability to make

a difference (e.g., humans or nonhumans). Hence, this paper included materials into the Four Flow Theory as the

Materials (or economics) can give inference about legitimacy, permanence, and credibility.

Hidden organization challenged the assumption of visibility from the Montreal school.

ISIL used a propaganda magazine (Dabiq) - communication- to illustrate their image and identity to its members

three communication strategies in their institutional positioning communication:

- (1) instantiation: give artifacts to explain arguments.
- (2) cooptation: "adoption of a rival's messaging for a purpose different from its original use."
- (3) intertextual allusion: "a language form in which an association with a sacred, mythic, or origin text is insinuated by way of communication shortcuts."

(Koschmann and McDonald, 2015)

(Knuf, 1993) defines organizational rituals "in terms of their formality, sacredness, irrationality, and aesthetics."

"what rituals do is make present an authoritative text, and how they do this is through the attribution and appropriation of possessive constitution."

Organizations is an "abstract textual representations of power and legitimacy that are manifest in practice." Hence, Certain kinds of interactions (i.e., organizational rituals) create organization.

Authoritative text "portrays the structure of the organization in ways that specify roles, duties, values, activities, outcomes, and the like, while also explaining relations of power and legitimacy".

Specifically rituals found in this study:

- The opening
- Sharing the critter: appreciation
- Card signing
- Spanish lesson
- Reciting the mission statement
- Moment of silence

Ritual Agency

- Rituals remind
- Rituals discipline: instill or and constraining behavior.

Inclusion is authoritative text which constructs their organization. Hence, rituals are practices that shows inclusion.

(Cooren, 2015)

ventriloquism denotes “action through which someone or something makes someone or something else say or do things”. (Cooren, 2010). For example, a layer is a ventriloquist while a contract is a dummy or figure.

- Ventriloquism is bi-directionality.
- Figure or dummy can increase ventriloquist’s authority
- communication becomes the means through which some aspects of the world contradict or align themselves with other aspects of the world. From a ventriloqual point of view, the world is not a place where communication is detached from the things that matter.”

(Trittin and Schoeneborn, 2015)

Diversity in organization cannot be superficially achieved by pre-defined unchanged characteristics (i.e., gender). Hence, in this study, authors defined diversity as “the plurality of”voices,” that is, the range of individual opinions and societal discourses that get expressed and can find resonance in organizational settings.”

- One can have many voices, and one voice can be manifested by multiple individuals.

Instrumental Perspectives on Diversity Management:

- Traditionally, diversity was thought as the difference between individuals, where communication (unidirectional, controllable, and linear process of information transmission) is a moderator of diversity on performance.
- Later, diversity as diversified value orientation (Eastman and Santoro, 2003), work styles (Shelton et al., 2002), education background (Kearney et al., 2009).

Critical Perspectives on Diversity Management:

- Radical -critical: you can’t manage diversity in organizational settings.
- Constructive critical: instrumental approach can be both economically successful and socially just.

This paper follows the Montreal school of thought.

Chapter 10

Socialization

(Kramer, 2011)

According to (Maanen and Schein, 1979), socialization is defined as “the process by which an individual acquires the social knowledge and skills necessary to assume an organizational role.”

Levels of analysis:

- Single Organization Voluntary Socialization: Individual voluntary membership:
 - Membership negotiation
- How individuals’ multiple group memberships interact to affect their socialization
- how the multiple group memberships of other influence the socialization process of an individual.

Personally, I’d not define the way the author structured the research as levels of analysis because they are all at the individual level.

Personalization: new members try to change aspects of the organization to fit their needs.

Communication:

- Reconnaissance communication: is when prospective members to obtain info about the organization.

Membership statuses are fluid, and transitory, overlapping

(Myers et al., 2010)

Vocational Anticipatory Socialization (VAS) tries to predict individual’s interests and their career pursuit using socialization theory.

Factors affecting the number of students choosing STEM field:

- Social factors
- Personal interest

Sources of VAS:

- Family members: especially parents, socialize their children to various notions of jobs and careers.
- Educational Institution: learn about power and social skills which later affects career choice.
- Part-time jobs: good start for students to be socialize into the career network.
- Peers: influence expectation of a future career.
- Media: socialize value and expectations about careers.

Career Development Models :

1. life-space model (Vondracek et al., 2019):

- Physiological factor (e.g., country of origin, genetics).
- Psychological characteristics: (e.g., self-concept, development of intelligence, values, needs, interests, ability, aptitudes).
- Socioeconomic environments

5 life stages:

- Growth (0-14)
- Exploration (15-24)
- Establishment (25-44)
- Maintenance (45-64)
- Decline (after 65)

9 roles:

- Child
- Leisurite
- Citizen
- Worker
- Pensioner
- Spouse
- Homemaker
- Parent

2. Social-cognitive career choice model: (Lent et al., 1994)

Self-efficacy mediate the relationship between ability and interests. A feedback loop is created once a person form career choice goals from self-efficacy and outcome expectations

VAS differs from these two models that it studies the socializing agents.

Found both gender (even though students deny such an effect, but they admit the social effects of others) and culture and Socioeconomic Status affect career choice. **Experience** (exposure, job shadowing), **personal factors** (i.e., individual-level variables) also affect career choice (consistent with social-cognitive career).

VAS Messages:

- Value (e.g., family)
- Expectation (e.g., self expectation of career)
- Prescription (e.g., career choice should based on talents, interests, career's prestige and income potential)
- Opportunity (e.g., take careers that are under pursued, hence more job opportunities).
- Description (e.g., t job-specific environments, tasks, satisfaction, and required knowledge)

Check (Myers et al., 2010, pp.107) for framework of VAS in STEM.

(Smith and Dougherty, 2012):

Master narratives should be understood in tandem with personal narratives. (Tannen, 2008, pp.209) defines master narrative as “a culture-wide ideology that shapes the big-N Narrative.” In contrast with small-n where it personal stories and experiences can be found, Big-N Narratives are those that create a background for small-n narratives.

Retirement is a socialization process of the master narrative of aging and the American dream (e.g., success, and freedom - financial, responsibility).

Groups:

- Anticipatory group
- Early work life
- Preretirement
- Retiree

Fractures of the master narrative:

- Freedom/routine fracture: they still want some work (structure), to stay active and productive members of society
- Individual responsibility/universal expectations fracture: individual is responsible for one's happiness.

(Ferguson, 2017)

(JABLIN, 1987) defines socialization as a “developmental unending process which can be broken up into three stages: **anticipatory, assimilation, and exit.**”

assimilation with others African American. Later on, in college, the author tried closet his identity and desire.

(Gibson and Papa, 2000)

Organizational Assimilation Processes: blue-collar usually seen as routine and repetitive, tedious hence less creative, less motivation.

Consent that they need money and later on assimilate into the organizations. Formally, (JABLIN, 1987, pp.712) defines organizational assimilation as “those ongoing behavioral and cognitive processes by which individuals join, become integrated into, and exit organizations.”

Stages of socialization:

- Anticipatory socialization
- encounter
- metamorphosis: accepted into the organization, and consistent with the organization's expectation. (outgroup → ingroup)

Concertive control is “a form of organizational control that emerges in accordance with the dominate ideologies in the organization, usually managerial-based.”

Workers construct hard-working identity and are proud of it.

Chapter 11

Organizational Change

(Lewis, 2019) Organizations are “socially constructed largely through the communicative interactions of internal and external stakeholders”.

Stakeholders are those “who have a stake in an organization’s process and or outputs”.

Ripple effects are “the impacts that organizational actions and presence bring to stakeholders within and surrounding the organization”.

Even though the fad nature of society values change and associate with positive terms, compared to negative connotations of stability. However, changes does not equate good.

Triggers for organizational changes:

(external)

- Legal requirements
- Stakeholders
- Current business, societal, environmental trends
- Technologies
- Availability of financial resources
- Alteration of relationship, powers, and global economy.

(internal)

- innovation
- serendipity

Communication is key for changes because not until stakeholders recognize and communicate change that it materializes in an organization.

Sensemaking is both “authoring” and interpretation (Lewis, 2019). Communication among stakeholders is at the heart of change processes in organizations because of this highly social process of making sense of what is going on and “spinning it into narratives and theories of the world around us.” (Lewis, 2019).

Costs of change:

- Financial
- Opportunities:
 - Lost productivity
 - Lost time in training works
 - Workflow
 - Loss of high value stakeholders.
- Miscommunication: Confusion, fatigue.
- Brand

(Zorn et al., 1999, p.10) define organizational change as “any alteration or modification of organizational structures or processes.”

Process of change:

- Innovation: (creating) idea generation
- Adoption: (deciding) formal decision by leaders
- Diffusion: (sharing) sharing of ideas.
- Implementation: “the translation of any tool or technique, process, or method of doing, from knowledge to practice.” (Tornatzky and Johnson, 1982)
- Discontinuation: later, changes will become obsolete and a new cycle begins.

Communication is at the heart of all of these phases.

For relationships between innovation, diffusion, adoption, and implementation, check (Lewis, 2019, pp. 35)

Types of Organizational change:

- Planned vs. unplanned changes
- Objects that are changed (e.g., technologies, programs, policies, processes, personal). But not good in practice due to blur lines among these objects.

- Discursive change (i.e., new label for old things to fake change) vs. material change (i.e., real changes in terms of operations, practices, relationships, decision-making) (Zorn et al., 1999, pp.10)
- Size and scope of change (Bartunek and Moch, 1987) (however, size and scope can be subjective):
 - First-order changes: small
 - Second-order changes: large transformations, disruptive
 - Third-order changes: continuous change.

Combinations of these types of organizational change can be viewed in (Lewis, 2019, pp. 42)

Complexity of change within organizations:

- Interdependence: "The degree to which stakeholders impact the lives of other stakeholders as they engage change." (Lewis, 2019)
 - Sequential Interdependence: Stakeholders affect one another in sequence (e.g., assembly line).
 - Reciprocal interdependence: stakeholder's input are another stakeholder's outputs and vice versa. (e.g., co-authors).
- organizational structures:
 - Structures: are rules and resources (e.g., information, status, organizational beliefs,) that create organizational practices
 - Types of Structures:
 - * Decision-making patterns
 - * Decision-making processes
 - * Ladders of authority
 - * Role relationships
 - * Information-sharing norms
 - * Communication networks
 - * Reward system

- Politics

Key processes in communication of planned change

- Dissemination of information
- Soliciting input
- Socialization

Types of communication in change implementation

- Formal Communication
- Informal Communication: “includes spontaneous interactions of stakeholders with each other, with implementers, and with non-stakeholders.”

Although we talked in this book extensively about change. However, changes are not always good. Sometimes, traditions are in place for a reason or reasons: If something works for a long time, it is likely to be robust. More on this idea can be read in Nassim Taleb’s books.

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