Organization Science

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://pubsonline.informs.org

Mobilizing National Identity and Othering Practices as Means of Resistance

Avital Baikovich, Varda Wasserman

To cite this article:
Avital Baikovich, Varda Wasserman (2020) Mobilizing National Identity and Othering Practices as Means of Resistance. Organization Science 31(5):1220-1247. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2019.1345

http://pubsonline.informs.org/journal/orsc

ORGANIZATION SCIENCE
Vol. 31, No. 5, September–October 2020, pp. 1220–1247
ISSN 1047-7039 (print), ISSN 1526-5455 (online)

Mobilizing National Identity and Othering Practices as Means of Resistance

Avital Baikovich,[a] Varda Wasserman[b]

[a] Department of Labor Studies, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv 6997801, Israel; [b] Management and Economics Department, The Open University of Israel, Raanana 4353701, Israel

Contact: avitalb8@post.tau.ac.il, https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5597-9787 (AB); vardawa@open.ac.il (VW)

Received: March 12, 2018
Revised: November 25, 2018; August 8, 2019; October 22, 2019
Accepted: October 26, 2019
Published Online in Articles in Advance: January 30, 2020

https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2019.1345

Abstract. This paper explores the everyday practices, forms, and means by which employees mobilize national identity as a tool of resistance in opposing managerial demands of their dual, global/Western and local/Japanese, organizational identity. Drawing on an ethnographic study of a Japanese subsidiary of a multinational corporation, we show how employees use national identity to invoke three forms of othering in constructing various resistant identities: individual employees' resistant identities through verbal othering, expressed in employees' talk; departmental resistant identities through spatial othering, referring to employees' use of space; and subsidiary resistant identity through ritual othering, illustrating employees' collective use of ritual practices and symbolic artifacts. Our study makes three significant theoretical contributions: First, by illustrating the ways and means by which employees take on different national identities to construct diverse and often contradictory resistant identities to their expected dual organizational identity, we highlight the changeable nature of national identity. Second, this study contributes to our understanding of contextual constituents that shape individuals' identity-related resistance. By unraveling employees' various resistance forms, we show how resistance dynamically takes on assorted manifestations according to the organizational level in which it occurs and the managerial demands being resisted. Third, we illustrate the constitutive resources of resistance by highlighting the diverse means used by employees to construct their resistant identities.

Keywords: resistance • identity • national identity • othering • critical management studies • Japanese national identity • space

Introduction

Identities have been regarded by organizational scholars as a primary source of and a site for resistance to various forms of managerial control. Recognizing the complexity of resistance, studies have directed attention to the routinized, informal, and often hidden individual practices, while undermining the overly deterministic portrayal of disciplinary power as omnipotent (Knights and McCabe 2000; Fleming and Spicer 2003, 2007; Anderson 2008; Contu 2008; Costas and Grey 2014; Ybema et al. 2016). Focused on the significance of these mundane and subtle practices as resistance, management studies have acknowledged by now the powerful ways through which employees are able to construct opposing or alternative identities that challenge managerial prescriptions of their work lives and expected selves (Kondo 1990, Ashcraft 2005, Kunda 2006, Fleming and Spicer 2008, Thomas and Hardy 2011, Bristow et al. 2017).

Although organization studies have provided important insights into the diverse and dynamic forms by which individuals use identities to resist, their conceptualization of national identity as means of resisting managerial identity control remains largely understudied. Within the international business literature, scholars have examined national culture as a strategic and symbolic resource used by organizational actors against organizational power relations by illustrating individuals' use of their cultural identity and cultural differences discourse to promote their own interests and identity (e.g., Brannen and Salk 2000, Brannen and Thomas 2010, Vaara and Tienari 2011, Yagi and Kleinberg 2011, and Koveshnikov et al. 2016). Nevertheless, although these studies have adopted a complex perspective indicating that national culture attributes are situationally negotiated as employees manage their cultural identities in the face of organizational challenges, the ways and means by which individuals take on different national identities contextually to construct various and conflicting resistant identities against managerial demands for a dual organizational identity, often a characteristic of intercultural organizational settings, have not been sufficiently examined.

We address this gap through an ethnographic examination of a Japanese subsidiary of a multinational corporation (MNC). In an attempt to broaden our

understanding of the nuanced and situated role of national identity in individuals' resistance processes, we adopt a critical perspective to explore the everyday practices, forms, and means by which employees mobilize national identity as a tool of resistance in opposing managerial demands of their dual—global/Western and local/Japanese—organizational identity. Drawing on the concept of "othering," wherein identity is reflexively constructed through what it is not (O'Mahoney 2011), we show how employees use national identity to invoke three forms of othering in dynamically constructing various resistant identities: (1) individual employees' resistant identities through verbal othering, expressed in employees' talk; (2) departmental resistant identities through spatial othering, referring to employees' use of space; and (3) subsidiary resistant identity through ritual othering, illustrating employees' collective use of ritual practices and symbolic artifacts.

Our study makes three significant theoretical contributions. First, illustrating the ways and means by which employees take on different national identities to construct diverse and often contradictory resistant identities to their expected dual organizational identity, we highlight the changeable nature of national identity. Specifically, we show not only how employees imbue national identity with diverse meanings but also how they adopt diverse national identities and switch their national identifications contextually to form resistant identities that are relevant to specific organizational settings. Second, this study contributes to our understanding of contextual constituents that shape individuals' identity-related resistance. By unraveling employees' various resistance forms, we show how resistance dynamically takes on assorted manifestations according to the organizational level in which it occurs and the managerial demands being resisted. Demonstrating how managerial demands are viewed differently at each level of the organization's structure and thus are subjected to employees' perceptions, we illuminate the interpretative aspect of resistance. Third, we illustrate the constitutive resources of resistance by highlighting the diverse means used by employees to construct their resistant identities. Although existing studies have largely focused on the use of language and discourse to demonstrate individuals' organizational struggles (e.g., Thomas and Hardy 2011, Hinds et al. 2014, and Brannen et al. 2017), we follow recent studies on additional, nondiscursive means (Courpasson et al. 2017, McCabe 2018) to include a broader repertoire of resisting strategies, including spatial and ritual means, in light of their significance in identity-construction processes.

The article is organized as follows: The next section explores the relations between identity management and resistance. The research setting and methods are then introduced and are followed by the empirical findings. Finally, the article further explicates its main insights in a discussion.

Identity Management and Resistance in Organizations

Identity scholars working in resistance studies concentrate on identities as matters over which struggles take place (Jenkins 2000) and wherein "self-formation becomes the primary impetus for resistance" (Mumby 2005, p. 35). Although functionalistic research tends to overlook the impact of power relations on identity-formation processes, viewing resistance as deconstructive to the organization (e.g., Bovey and Hede 2001 and Pardo del Val and Martínez 2003), critical management studies (CMS) offer an alternative approach that focuses on subjugation processes, wherein individuals' identities are shaped by a set of social and managerial expectations that are internalized and/or resisted (e.g., Knights and Willmott 1989, Grey and Willmott 2005, and Alvesson et al. 2009). Moreover, although CMS emphasizes the fluid, fractured, and reflexive nature of identity-construction processes in organizations, it distinguishes itself from constructionist–interpretivist research by "critically questioning the ideologies, interests and identities considered dominant and underchallenged, through negotiations and deconstructions" (Alvesson et al. 2009, p. 14). From this perspective, the term *identity* indicates individuals' "subjective meanings and experience to our ongoing efforts addressing the twin questions: 'Who am I?' and, by implication, 'How should I act?'" (Alvesson et al. 2008, p. 6). Highlighting the dynamic and processual dimensions of identity, scholars have focused on the set of active processes that construct a sense of identity (Sveningsson and Alvesson 2003), analyzing the extent of agency inherent in identity-formation processes (Brown 2015). Viewing resistance as a process through which identities and subjectivities are negotiated and formed, critical scholars argued that resistance reflects individual and collective subjects' ability to produce alternative forms of power that are distinguished from those dictated to them (Courpasson and Vallas 2016), shaping individuals as both the site and subjects of identity struggles (Beech and Johnson 2005). Overall, identity-related resistance researchers have grappled with three interrelated questions: how processes of resistant identity construction are used to reproduce and oppose power; by what means resistant identities are crafted; and which types of identities are used for employees' resistance to managerial control.

Processes of Resistant Identity Construction

Exploring how identity-construction processes are being used to resist in organizations, scholars have become interested in "individual infrapolitics" (Mumby et al. 2017)—the mundane, subtle, and creative manifestations of micropolitical resistance, demonstrating diverse individual practices that are often hidden, "quiet interventions" (Courpasson 2017) that are ambiguous in their oppositional purpose (e.g., Prasad and Prasad 2000, Bristow et al. 2017, Harding et al. 2017, and Ybema and Horvers 2017). A particular strand of research emphasizes individuals' antiidentification or disidentification with managerial identity regulation (Sveningsson and Alvesson 2003) by subverting, reproducing, and altering the interpretative possibilities and meaning systems of their everyday lives, thus signifying their opposing identities (e.g., Kondo 1990, Murphy 1998, Collinson 2003, Fleming and Spicer 2003, Contu 2008, and Courpasson et al. 2012). Additionally, organizational members were found to disengage with corporate attempts to regulate their selves, feelings, values, and identifications (Collinson 1992, Alvesson and Willmott 2002); display avoidance and refusal of managerial private-sector practices (Anderson 2008); engage in foot dragging (Fleming and Spicer 2008); work "under the radar" (Sarpong and Maclean 2017); and distance themselves from their organizational role (Kunda 2006). Othering has emerged as a critical component in this literature, commonly expressed through individuals' self–other articulations of differences and symbolic boundaries between themselves and others in the organization (Ailon 2007, Garcia and Hardy 2007, Ybema et al. 2009). In this way, employees often construct their identities through "anti-identities" (Alvesson et al. 2008), whereby one's identity is defined by the production of the "other" (e.g., Ashcraft 2011, O'Mahoney 2011). Othering is often deprived of human qualities or attributes and is thus associated as less desirable and less moral in producing dominant identities (e.g., managerial, masculine, or ethnic) in different contexts (Thomas and Davies 2005, Kachtan and Wasserman 2015). These studies either depicted employees' rejection of their positioning as the other (e.g., Prasad and Prasad 2000) or used othering as a symbolic means to craft and maintain their identity in resistance processes (e.g., Ainsworth and Hardy 2004 and Davies and Thomas 2008). Because of its significance for identity-construction processes in intercultural contexts (e.g., Brannen 1992 and Koveshnikov et al. 2017), we draw on othering to investigate the ways in which employees use their national identity to resist managerial demands.

Means of Identity-Related Resistance

In examining the means by which identity is crafted as a tool of resistance in organizations, existing research has concentrated primarily on employees' verbal practices, which reveal individuals' discursive identity work in opposition to managerial demands (e.g., Meriläinen et al. 2004, Ashcraft 2005, Beech and Johnson 2005, Thomas and Davies 2005, and Watson 2008). These manifested in subtle subversions related to identity and are self-designed to indicate individuals' disassociation, such as humor (Rodrigues and Collinson 1995, Fleming and Spicer 2008), discourses on sexuality (Fleming 2007), and employees' use of fantasy, ambivalence, cynicism, skepticism, and irony (Fleming and Spicer 2003, Courpasson 2017).

Recent scholarship has broadened the discussion by pointing to nonverbal forms as additional means of resistance. Space and rituals have been identified as significant to identity-construction processes in organizations, as they involve the enactment of a group's values and identity in everyday work life (Kunda 2006, Dale and Burrell 2008), and thus are particularly relevant to our study of resistance. Recent research has pointed to the importance of organizational aesthetics as "identityscapes" that are resisted and even sabotaged by individuals in rejection of organizational efforts to regulate identity (Hancock and Spicer 2011). These studies demonstrate how employees appropriate space to build autonomous resisting work (Courpasson et al. 2017) or to develop different spatial practices such as "space enactment," which is used to traverse space and produce power (Dale and Burrell 2008); employees' squatting in unassigned offices and displaying personal artifacts in a nonterritorial work environment (Elsbach 2003); "spatial jamming" of an organization's work environment to resist employees' professional identity demands (Wasserman and Frenkel 2011); and "performance spaces" through the appropriation and socialization of commercial public spaces with other users (Munro and Jordan 2013). These acts of space appropriation were viewed in organization studies as a type of resistance reflecting individual inhabitants' attempts to make the space their own by marking, modelling, and shaping it.

Organizational rituals were also considered as sites of contestation and resistance (Islam and Zyphur 2009). Employees were found to use different ritualistic practices including covert, ironic organizational celebration as an outlet for tension and frustration (Fleming and Spicer 2003), enactment of traditional structures in public carnivals' rejecting commercial interests (Islam et al. 2008), staging festivals to challenge social hierarchy, and attributing agential powers to rituals beyond their instrumental factions (Koschmann and McDonald 2015). Many of

these studies, however, seem to highlight the transient, unusual, and mirthful nature of organizational ceremonies such as festivals, carnivals (Munro and Jordan 2013), and rallies (McCabe 2018), whereas the use of mundane, organizational rituals "acted out" in planned, repetitive occasions as means for individuals' resistance have remained largely unexplored. However, if employees may use verbal and nonverbal means of resisting, how, then, do they choose between the various means available to them when constructing their resistant identities in everyday life? Under what circumstances do they choose to use verbal and nonverbal actions, and how are these means related to the ways in which their resistant identities are constructed? By analyzing various practices of identity-related resistance acts as integrated, we aim to offer a detailed, multifaceted account of the diverse means and contexts used in individuals' resistance to managerial identity-regulation demands.

Using Different Types of Identities to Resist: The Role of National Identity

Studies have extensively explored the diverse identities used by employees in resisting social and managerial expectations. Individuals have been shown to resist by drawing on their professional identities (Collinson 1994, Knights and McCabe 2000, Ezzamel et al. 2001, Meriläinen et al. 2004, Thomas and Davies 2005, Watson 2008, Costas and Grey 2014), organizational identities (Kunda 2006, Ashcraft 2007, Thomas and Hardy 2011, Ybema et al. 2016), team identities (Ezzamel and Willmott 1998, Bristow et al. 2017, Gagnon and Collinson 2017), gender identities (Kondo 1990, Collinson 1992, Thomas et al. 2004, Ashcraft 2005, Wasserman and Frenkel 2015), and racial and ethnic identities (Kachtan and Wasserman 2015) as resources for resisting managerial control. As contemporary organizations increasingly operate across national boundaries, their work environments are characterized by diverse values, norms, and expected behaviors across national and cultural contexts. In these intercultural organizations, national cultures and cultural differences become significant resources of power and resistance that are relevant to our study of identity-related resistance. Nevertheless, the use of national identity as a changeable resource in resistance processes, wherein individuals may constantly switch their national identity to craft different and often competing versions of their selves in these complex organizational contexts, has been largely overlooked in organization studies.

A growing body of international business research has pointed to the significance of cultural differences in intercultural power relations (Geppert and Dörrenbächer 2014, Geppert et al. 2016). For example, host-country nationals were found to challenge the management of the parent country's culture (e.g., Wong 1999 and Brannen and Salk 2000), and cross-cultural work alienation in international mergers and acquisitions has been argued to stem from cultural differences at the various levels in the acquired organization (Brannen and Peterson 2009). Cultural differences also emerged in intercultural communication through the issue of language, which was viewed as a source of power and control in multinational contexts (Geppert et al. 2016, Brannen et al. 2017). As such, language asymmetries were shown to act as a lightning rod that creates fault lines around power and emotions and generates intense subgroup power struggles (Hinds et al. 2014), indicating that language may define hierarchies (Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio 2011) or shape subjective status-loss experience (Neeley 2013).

Other cross-cultural studies have argued that national culture is an outcome of contextual interpretations that are differently constructed in various power settings. Seeking to approve or reject the distribution of power and resources in intercultural organizations, these studies have illustrated that organizational actors draw on their cultural identities to construct cultural differences in various ways (e.g., Vaara and Tienari 2011, Koveshnikov et al. 2016, Gagnon and Collinson 2017, and Koveshnikov et al. 2017). For example, employees' multiple repertoires of cultural knowledge were found to transcend the knowledge associated with their national culture, as cultural identity was negotiated as highly fluid by individuals in order to accommodate diverse organizational boundaries (Yagi and Kleinberg 2011). Relatedly, local MNCs' employees displayed a variety of cultural profiles depending on their enacted stance toward the native culture and the cultural landscape of the MNCs themselves (Caprar 2011).

Highlighting the understanding of culture as mutable and negotiated and infused with power and contestation, scholars have argued that national culture is imbued by organizational actors with different and even contested meanings situationally. Ybema and Byun (2009) have shown that Japanese and Dutch cultural identity talk has been based upon positive or negative reception of their cultural differences, depending on the speakers' perspectives and political interests, and their hierarchical position in an organization. Ailon-Souday and Kunda (2003) have illustrated how Israeli employees mobilized their national identity in resisting a global merger. Specifically, members tailored national identity by demarcating their local separateness facing globalization and by stressing their merger partners' subordination to their local, Israeli organizational superiority as part of their struggle for global status.

Similarly, Koot (1997) argued that individuals resisted the organization by associating themselves with—as well as disassociating themselves from—the national identity of the organization's Venezuelan owner. Building on these insights, our understanding of how individuals craft and recraft national identity to construct different and potentially conflicting versions of their selves in processes of organizational resistance is yet to be discovered.

This prompts the question of how those working in intercultural organizations, characterized by national complexity and multiple sources of managerial power that frequently prescribe dual and often contending identity-control expectations, can mobilize and switch between different national identities to resist according to particular situational dynamics in their everyday work lives. Scholars of multiple identities in organizations showed that organizations impose, manage, and sustain multiple identity demands and expectations through various practices (Pratt and Foreman 2000, Smith and Besharov 2017). Others have illustrated how people cope with multiple identity demands through group-level dynamics (Ashforth and Reingen 2014, Besharov 2014) or demonstrated the ways that individual employees experience and respond to multiple organizational identity demands (Smets et al. 2015, Ramarajan et. al 2017). However, whereas organizational research has mainly focused on examining how multiple identity demands are managed and responded to at *either* the organizational, group, or individual levels, still little is known about how employees' responses to these demands operate at different levels of analysis *simultaneously*, within a single organization. Furthermore, although illustrating groups' and individuals' complex experiences and responses to multiple-identity demands, most studies highlight employees' acceptance of these demands as legitimate or desirable. Hence, employees' distancing or dissociating themselves from such demands when viewed as illegitimate or impossible to follow, which may result in constructing resistant identities, is yet to be discovered. Specifically, our understanding of how people respond by constructing resistant identities against multiple identity demands in hybrid, intercultural work environments, characterized by national and cultural multiplicity, have remained largely understudied.

To supplement the existing literature, we concentrate on how the diverse values, norms, and expected behaviors that characterize intercultural organizations influence individuals' identity-related resistance. In particular, we aim to show how employees can constantly switch their identification and mobilize national identity to craft different and often competing versions of themselves and others in pursuit of resistance of managerial dual-identity control in the work environment of a Japanese MNC's subsidiary. The following section provides an overview of the empirical context and research method used for the analysis employed in later sections.

Methods

Research Context

Our research draws on an ethnographic study of NGK Japan (pseudonym), a Tokyo-based Japanese subsidiary of NGK Systems, a multinational electronics corporation that was originally established in Israel. NGK Japan designs, develops, manufactures, and markets specialized products and inspection systems for the electronics industry. NGK Japan is characterized by diverse values, norms, and expected behaviors, shaped both by the local socio-cultural circumstances of Japan's work context and by global processes as an MNC subsidiary. This diversity is reflected in NGK Japan's management, which is cochaired by a Japanese president and senior directors, including an Israeli representative director and five expatriate managers who hold executive positions. Yet, apart from these six Israeli expatriate managers, all of NGK Japan's employees are Japanese (120 in total).

NGK Japan's national and cultural complexity is also reflected in employees' references to the organizational and cultural differences between its two product departments: automatic system solutions (AutoSS) and computerized inspection products (CIP). As the two departments diverge in the type of technology used and their related products, employees' jobs, daily tasks (e.g., customization, development, and marketing), and the type of customers they encounter and work with are substantially different. These differences are evident in employees' recurrent references to the CIP department as having a "Japanese style" (和風; *wafu*), while characterizing the AutoSS department as exhibiting a "Western style" (洋風; *youfu*). It should be noted that at NGK Japan, employees' references to the Israeli expatriates as "Western" (despite its Mediterranean, Israel-based head office) stems from the particular meaning of the term "Western" in Japanese society (Sugimoto 1999, Ben-Ari 2000), signifying anything and anyone non-Japanese and is commonly used to demarcate alterity to Japanese culture and identity. Accordingly, NGK Japan's employees view the six Israeli expatriates working at NGK Japan as "Western" (外人; *gaijin*; literally meaning an outsider), classifying them as a broad categorial other and demarcating their difference and alienation from what is considered Japanese (Brannen 1992). At NGK Japan, the terms global and Western are used interchangeably to signify separation and distinction from what is considered Japanese.

NGK Japan lends itself to the investigation of national identity and resistance due to managerial expectations of employees' organizational identity and their implications for employees. Although organizations usually seek to exclude multiple identities, demanding that employees hold a single—either local or global—identity (e.g., Ailon-Souday and Kunda 2003 and Gagnon and Collinson 2017), managerial efforts to shape employees' behavior at NGK Japan did not reflect global head-office versus local-subsidiary demands for a local or global identity. Rather, NGK Japan's management prescribed employees' organizational identity as the "double mindset," drawing on both local and global ideas and values. As NGK Japan's president summarized it,

> Employees are required to have two heads—one head, to be Japanese. To keep the Japanese way of communication, keep good relations and care about customers in this market. At the same time, the other head must think and act Western—always think globally about how to make more profits and quickly.

Thus, while NGK Japan's employees were Japanese, they were required to have a dual orientation. The first is Japanese—locally oriented, emphasizing the shared values demanded of employees—associated with essentialist notions of the singularity, exclusivity, and homogeneity of unique Japanese society, culture, and business (Dale 1986). The other is Western—that is, globally oriented, viewing employees as market-based global business players due to NGK Japan's worldwide standards as an MNC subsidiary.

Managerial demands of the twofold nature of the double mindset referred to three main aspects: first, a set of different-yet-complementary characteristics required of employees' behavior. These included individual qualities that are required of employees and are associated with the double mindset of the global, Western side, such as individual action, results-driven orientation, independence, proactivity, and initiative, along with long-term affiliation, endurance, loyalty, commitment, and group orientation associated with its local, Japanese side. Second, adjustment and cooperation between departments were described as key characteristics of the double mindset, indicating the coordination, joint action, and mutual learning required of members of both product departments for the company's common purpose. Third, employees were required to have a dual customer-service orientation, marking their ability to constantly switch between and adjust to the different and often conflicting values, ideas, and work processes characteristic of their daily work environment. Thus, employees were required not only to be bicultural and to follow two (Japanese and Western) distinct cultures (Brannen and Thomas 2010), but also to perceive the two identities required of them as compatible and complementary rather than oppositional and contradictory.

Managerial attempts to shape the double mindset were manifold and ubiquitous. To mold employees' dual identity, management engaged in a three-pronged effort: first, fostering a rhetoric of double mindset in a verbal manner (e.g., work meetings and formal and informal conversations with senior directors and Israeli expatriates in the organization), as well as in written, nonverbal representations in the company (e.g., company presentations, notifications, official statements, email correspondence, intranet, etc.); second, building a human resources management policy regarding employees' recruitment and promotion in the company, manifested in professional training programs, leadership enrichment programs, social events, and so forth; and third, applying business practices and organizational regulations regarding marketing and sales, as well as customer relations manifested in business exhibitions, internal work meetings, customer service procedures, interfaces with customers, and so forth. Throughout our fieldwork, employees repeatedly claimed that managerial demands were relentless and omnipresent in their everyday work life. However, whereas the double-mindset local and global constituents were constructed by management as coexisting and compatible, these expectations were perceived and experienced by employees as competing and incongruous, thus invoking their resistance, as will be described in the Findings section below.

Data Collection

Our qualitative data were gathered during a 14-month ethnographic inquiry conducted by the first author in 2008–2009 that included participant observations, semistructured interviews, and organizational documentation.

Participant Observations. The first author observed NGK Japan's two main product divisions (each comprising sales, marketing, research and development (R&D), customer service (CS), application, and production departments) and the finance and operations (F&O) division (comprising human resources, logistics, information technologies, and finance departments). Observations were conducted by spending two to three days per week at the company's offices, during the organization's daily routine and in specific activities or formal meetings about which the first author was informed through interviews or informal conversations. These included morning sessions, formal work meetings, team follow-up sessions, all employees' monthly gatherings, conference calls,

company professional exhibitions, and various training programs. The first author also attended informal events, including numerous after-work drinking parties and various social gatherings, a New Year's celebration, birthday parties, welcoming events for newcomers, and farewell parties for retiring employees. The nature and level of participation in observations differed according to each department's working norms, gatekeepers' requests, or the business circumstances of the content discussed. The first author also spent a considerable amount of time observing organizational areas that served as formal or informal gathering spaces for various organization members and customers: office reception, meeting rooms, kitchens, office corridors, and the smoking area. Observations included informal, unstructured conversations with employees and documentation of spatial elements (e.g., workspace design or dress code). Field notes were written up in English and Hebrew during observations or immediately afterward and provided detailed accounts of the activity attended and the first author's impressions and initial interpretations thereof.

Interviews. The first author interviewed 70 people, including employees from all departments, along with several senior managers at NGK Systems' head office (56 Japanese, 11 Israelis, and 3 employees of other nationalities; see Appendix A). A snowball sampling method was used, selecting interviewees in diverse roles, hierarchical levels, and types of employment to capture employees' experiences of managerial requirements of their organizational identity. As the subsidiary language is Japanese, the first author's daily communication with employees was generally carried out in Japanese. Interviewing Israeli managers was conducted in Hebrew (the first author's native language), while other interviews were conducted in both Japanese and English. Interviews were semistructured, exploring how employees experience managerial demands, the relationship between NGK Japan and the head office, the relationship with the local business community, and the ways in which interviewees talk about themselves and the meanings they attach to their organizational identity. Six of the 70 interviewees were key informants, with whom the first author conducted repeated interviews and conversations. All together, 90 interviews were conducted, each lasting between 1 and 1.5 hours on average.

Archival Data. The first author also collected organizational documents, including formal documents, marketing materials, training programs, company presentations, email correspondence among and between employees and customers, organizational correspondence from the company's intranet (including business updates, rules, and regulations), and various notifications posted on bulletin boards and on workers' desks. Collecting such organizational documentation and exploring the organization's spatial environment are crucial to grasping both the nuances and complexity of everyday life as it unfolds and the perspectives of the people involved, each of which is of critical importance to our research question.

Data Analysis

We approached our study with a broad interest in how employees respond to managerial demands in an intercultural work environment. During our analysis, various manifestations of resistance were revealed, and the issues of national identity and othering surfaced repeatedly. We followed iterative coding processes between the literature, data, and emergent grounded categories (Marshall and Rossman 2011) and proceeded in four stages. First, all transcripts of interviews, informal conversations, and fieldwork observations were entered as text files to Atlas.ti software and were coded based on "in vivo" words. We used participants' phrases, terms, or descriptions to generate our first-order concepts, including comments on occurrences and work-related processes that had seemed meaningful for participants' national identity, and the constant setting of boundaries and differences derived from participants' terminology regarding themselves and others in the organization. We then reread the materials, mapping all indications relating to employees' national identity and resistance, while establishing subcategories for each. We continually compared coded documents and discussed possible conceptual patterns.

From employees' emic perspective, national identity was perceived as either Japanese or non-Japanese in resisting managerial expectations. These references to national identity rest on the view of Japanese uniqueness, commonly termed *nihonjinron* (日本人論; theories of the Japanese), which explains Japanese society and its interpersonal relationships as distinctive (e.g., Dale 1986 and Graham 2004). In this view, the essentialist notions characterizing Japanese blood as the locus of Japanese national identity are used to differentiate and define it relative to Western and other Asian societies. Hence, employees' definitions of "foreign" and "Western" signify their national alterity and otherness to Japanese national identity. Second, we looked for codes across interviews that could be grouped into higher-level themes/categories, making a constant effort to retain participants' language. Several themes were then redefined through triangulation of interviews and participant observations to produce a set of first-order

categories (e.g., space used to separate groups of employees). Third, we searched for links between first-order categories in order to group these into theoretically distinct clusters of second-order themes. We recursively moved between first-order categories and the emerging patterns discovered in our data until we formulated adequate conceptual themes. We reached theoretical saturation when no new insights were obtained, no new themes were identified, and the dimensions and gaps of each category had been explicated. In the fourth stage, we organized our second-order categories into the overarching theoretical dimensions that ultimately supported our theorizing. Our final data structure of employees' three resistance forms (Appendix B) illustrates the categories and themes from which we developed our findings and defined the relationships between them. Additional supporting evidence is presented in Appendix C, which contains representative first-order data that underpin the second-order categories.

During data collection and analysis, we attempted to consider our identities as Israelis. Although all ethnographic accounts are situated narrations, issued from and bounded by the researcher's location, the first author's Israeli identity in the context of an Israel-based MNC's subsidiary seems significant. Gaining access to the organization through previous acquaintance with a senior manager at NGK Systems, the first author's relationships with organizational members, and our interpretations thereof, were undoubtedly affected by our identities as Israeli and part of the existing fabric of the organizational power relations between the Israeli head office and its Japanese subsidiary. Although the first author felt that her Israeliness facilitated her initial access to the field by establishing common ground and rapport with the expatriate managers, her immersion in academic and social life during a three-year stay in Japan also led her to experience a sense of belonging with her Japanese informants, regardless of her identity as an Israeli and a foreigner in Japan. Despite these limitations, the first author's background, her in-depth knowledge of the Japanese culture and population acquired during her prolonged stay in Japan, and her ability to speak and understand Japanese enabled her to carry out most daily communication and correspondence with employees in Japanese. This assisted her in building trust and close relationships with employees and gaining access to their interaction zones to study their individual experiences.

Findings

Although NGK Japan's management prescribed employees' dual organizational identity demands as harmonious and interdependent, the local and global ideas and the different characteristics comprising the double mindset were perceived by employees as inherently different and incompatible. In response to managerial dictates, employees sought to keep the two sides of their dual identity separate, as they found it impossible to be both at the same time. An F&O administrator explained as follows: "The Japanese mindset is very different than the Western. It's two completely opposite ways of thinking, so I must choose. I am trying to keep the Japanese and Western sides apart." Employees' views of managerial demands as competing and contradictory ("I have to choose") had an incongruous, self-contradictory effect with respect to their expected behavior in the company. A CIP customer service coordinator said the following:

> We are very stressed to be both Japanese and Western all the time. Management doesn't really understand; they don't really know what kind of situation we are in. They don't understand that we have relationships with our customers, we cannot just ask them for money like that! This switching is impossible!

The discrepancies between the Japanese-Western constituents of the double mindset were experienced as a source of internal conflict, as employees often described feeling confused about their dual organizational identity. In a spontaneous hallway conversation, an F&O project manager stated his feelings about a recent matter to an AutoSS sales team leader:

> My work is so difficult. It's dreadful (大変; *taihen*)! I never really know what to do. I have to be direct about money but also keep my promise to customers as Japanese. I always tell them: bear with me, or else just lie about the real circumstances. It's so stressful.

(For additional quotations, see Appendix D.)

Employees' recurrent experiences of the double mindset as binary-dichotomous, and thus incompatible (rather than hydridic and desirable), invoked their resistance to managerial demands. Specifically, individuals mobilized Japanese and non-Japanese identities to construct exclusive, nationally bounded resistant identities through othering. Overall, as will be described below, employees' resistant identities and their contingencies varied according to the level of the organizational structure wherein acts of resistance were manifested (i.e., individual, departmental, or organizational) and the managerial demands being resisted accordingly. These took three main forms: at the individual level—verbal othering; at the departmental level—spatial othering; and at the subsidiary level—ritual othering.

Individual Resistant Identities: Verbal Othering

The most common form of employee resistance against managerial demands manifested at the employee

level through verbal othering, referring to the ways in which individual employees verbally use distinct self–other differences associated with national identity to articulate their resistant identities. When referring to their identity as individual employees, workers resisted managerial demands of their individually different yet complementary characteristics, as they interpreted managerial demands regarding the qualities anticipated from each member of the organization as inherently incompatible (e.g., individual action along with group orientation). In response, employees defined their resistant identities as either "foreign" or "typical Japanese" situationally, according to the nature of managerial demands regarding their individual characteristics. Overall, verbal othering was common among nearly all research participants), manifesting in employees' semiformal and informal talks, including interviews and casual conversations.

A common illustration can be found in individuals' frequent references to their identity as "foreign" (外資; *gaishi*)—a term commonly used in Japan to describe things extrinsic to the Japanese business context and work organizations. At NGK Japan, employees viewed the concept of "foreign" as signifying their individual identities as external to Japan's work context. Referring to themselves as "money hunters" (AutoSS comptroller) and "greedy, profit machines" (AutoSS administrator), "foreign" was cast as immoral in terms of work ethics and thus culturally incompatible. Specifically, "foreign" frequently emerged when management's expectations of the double-mindset qualities expected of individuals' behavior were experienced by employees as inherently incompatible and a violation of core values and norms of their local, Japanese socio-cultural work (e.g., individual action or profit orientation). Consequently, employees chose to embrace the global aspect of the double mindset exclusively, linking it to a non-Japanese identity rather than enacting both local and global as expected. Responding to NGK Japan's sudden decision regarding product installation at customers' sites, an AutoSS engineer said the following:

> Big decisions are made in one day! A new product is introduced without enough preparation or learning processes, even if a project was already launched. Everything must be short term. But in Japan, you cannot make wrong and quick decisions. Harmony is the most important thing! That's why we [engineers] are foreign. I don't really try to fix technology problems; I only change parts or do technical stuff. Time is money! We are not engineers, we are "Changineers"!

Employees' perceptions of their professional identities (in this case, engineers) were tightly coupled with national culture attributes to resist managerial demands. Thus, "Changineer" was cynically perceived as indicative of materialism, instrumentality, and poor management associated with non-Japanese national identity, resulting in unprofessional and culturally incompatible service in the Japanese business context. In this way, employees drew on socio-cultural values and norms embedded in the Japanese work ethic and on cultural scripts associated with Japanese national identity (intolerance of mistakes or deviation, long-term orientation) to cast their resistant identity as the other, thus detaching themselves from the double mindset and disidentifying with its expected business conduct (Fleming and Spicer 2003, Kunda 2006). "Foreign" reflected employees' experience of fundamental contradictions and inconsistencies that exist between managerial demands of their double mindset. Specifically, managerial demands for short-term, efficient, individual-based performance, coupled with long-term, harmonious relations, were viewed by employees as both culturally and professionally incompatible qualities, thus invoking their negative use of non-Japanese identity as worse—lower even than the double mindset. An AutoSS system developer said the following:

> Foreign means to care mainly about my own responsibilities and promotion. I don't do my best (頑張る; *ganbaru*). This way of doing things weakens people's relationships, there is no real feeling of a company. That's foreign style. Managers don't like that. . . .

Throughout fieldwork, "foreign" was apparent in employees' references to management's expectations of their business-oriented behavior and its financial implications, which prompted employees to use non-Japanese identity to express their separation from and rejection of managerial demands. On the way back from a marketing meeting, a CIP marketing and sales coordinator expressed the following to a colleague in a hallway conversation her frustration with company management:

> Management says that we are one company and that everyone needs to be "double mindset." But these are just words, not actions! We are foreign. You must prove yourself all the time. Show your achievements and contribution to the company's growth. We become selfish. I just work by myself, make decisions alone, and don't really communicate with the others. Do what I can so maybe I can learn some new things and I leave. It's not the Japanese way.

In opposing management's rhetoric and stipulated everyday work practices, employees used cultural differences that they associated with non-Japanese identity (e.g., materialism, instrumentality, social isolation, and egocentrism) to construct their defiant identities. Interestingly, although all company employees are Japanese, individuals constructed a non-Japanese

resistant identity ("foreign"), indicating the changeable nature of national identity that takes different forms situationally.

In contrast to common self–other talk, frequently used to position one's definition of self as more legitimate, powerful, or morally superior to the other (Thomas and Davies 2005, Ybema et al. 2009, O'Mahoney 2011), employees' resistant identity was defined in a way that is considered pejorative in the Japanese context: They verbally portrayed themselves as different, less desirable, and culturally incompatible with their prescribed organizational identity in order to separate themselves from managerial demands. As such, "foreign" was denoted as violating significant cultural and organizational norms perceived as threatening—and, indeed, destructive—to the well-being of the organization and its members. Further, management's focus on individual objectives and its disregard for cultural considerations in relation to financial matters and business-oriented behavior prompted employees' use of non-Japanese identity to oppose managerial power by addressing their deviant behavior's negative and destructive implications for the company. Thus, by adopting their foreign otherness, individuals resisted through qualified compliance (Anderson 2008)—that is, by acceding to managerial demands in strategic, partial, and limited ways (e.g., focusing on personal promotion or fixing products superficially to accomplish tasks).

However, individuals' resistance to their dual organizational identity took on a nuanced aspect. Although employees sometimes referred to non-Japanese identity as negative and poor ("foreign") while viewing Japanese identity as favorable, at other times they drew on Japanese identity in a negative manner, pointing out its problematic and inferior nature and thus casting themselves as "typical Japanese." "Typical Japanese" was used to depict employees' resistant identity as excessively embedded in traditional Japanese culture and business customs. It was evident especially in individuals' talk about daily encounters between management and employees. A CIP team leader stated the following:

> There is only one-way information flow; from them [management] to us. There are no two sides! In Japanese culture we have to respect management—they are the bosses, no matter what. . . . Management tells us: "You have to be active." Sometimes they [management] ask for our opinion, or feedback. But we say nothing. "Typical Japanese." I just follow, like a soldier.

Whereas employees drew on the prescribed global/Western qualities demanded of the double mindset to craft their "foreign" resistant identity (e.g., individual action and independence), "typical Japanese" reflected their interpretation of its local/Japanese qualities in resisting (e.g., long-term affiliation, group orientation, etc.). Drawing on Japanese national identity to stress unique cultural and organizational attributes (hierarchy, obedience, and respect) that label them as distinctly ("typical") local and nationally bounded—and thus other—employees rejected their expected double orientation. Articulating their national identity in this context as subordinate to Japanese cultural norms and behavioral patterns that prescribe a rigid social order that is enforced by company superiors, employees' resistant identity was shaped by existing societal categories (Jenkins 2000)—values and norms lodged in the local context of their national culture and identity, which is exterior to the organizational world. Specifically, in acknowledging the problematic values and ideas embedded in Japanese culture (e.g., hierarchy and respect), employees adopted the identity of "typical Japanese" to resist the double mindset. Whenever managerial demands of the double mindset referred to employees' orientation vis-à-vis company management (e.g., independent action or actively voicing their opinions), employees presented the Japanese work context as professionally constrained and culturally inferior, thus discouraging them from following the double-mindset orientation. In this way, though individuals drew on categorical self–other distinctions and essentialist cultural differences associated with national identity, their resistant identities were not shaped as a fixed, predetermined template, but, rather, took an agentic, interpretative form, articulated by employees.

The term "typical Japanese" often emerged in our data when employees experienced conflict *within* the double-mindset demands of Japanese/local qualities, rather than *between* the different qualities required of its two sides (as in "foreign"). For example, referring to the local, Japanese side, employees often reflected on their experience of social categorization and a sense of segregation. A CIP marketing coordinator said the following:

> People feel that employees are meaningless. Managers are in charge and we have to ask them everything. They don't really care about people's needs or hardships. This gets people very upset about their job, their motivation goes down. I become passive. Like Japanese salaryman.

Although previously viewed as the symbol of Japan's successful economy (Graham 2004), employees depicted the salaryman as an unflattering representation of Japanese national identity, one imbued with negative features of conservativism, inflexibility, ineffectiveness, and submissiveness that stand in contrast to the double mindset. Similarly, an AutoSS team leader

referred to employees' efforts to condemn managerial attitudes toward employees:

> Management says we are one big family but it's kind of a mind control. They [management] have this kind of "president club"—for senior managers only. . . . Unless you have personal relations with the president or with the other directors, you are not a member of this family and you won't be promoted. I never initiate anything or come up with new ideas. That's pure "typical Japanese." Just sit around, be like everyone else, and not stick out.

The use of the term "typical Japanese" demonstrates employees' perceptions of managerial expectations as false—hiding a breach within the local demands of the double mindset (prescribing a family-like, social organization) and their actual work life (characterized by strong hierarchical, personal relations). In response, by infusing managerial demands of the local side of the double mindset with a different meaning (i.e., "president club"), employees resisted managerial power. Their ironic perceptions of managerial demands and their use of "typical Japanese" draw on negative values and moral judgments of Japanese national identity that denote it as the deprecated, marginalized other. As with "foreign," by diversely recruiting national identity to articulate an exclusive and bounded resistant identity, employees subvert management's original agenda of enacting a dual, local–global, Japanese–Western organizational identity simultaneously. Following only certain characteristics of the double mindset (group orientation and obedience), "typical Japanese" demonstrated employees' deviant and destructive behavior, indicating their calculated, restricted compliance with managerial demands. Notably, employees' resistance drew on the values and norms embedded in the Japanese work environment. In particular, although individuals' verbal othering—enacted through formal and informal private talks—remained under the radar (Sarpong and Maclean 2017), their resistant identities conveyed fairly harsh criticism of management, which they cast as disconnected from employees' everyday life, thus making absurd and often false demands of the double mindset.

Overall, employees fluidly switched between the stigmatized foreign and typical Japanese resistant identities, each formed as single and negative, as a way of resisting the double mindset constructed positively as harmonious and complementary by NGK Japan's management. Both "typical Japanese" and "foreign" resistant identities illustrate how Japanese and non-Japanese identities were mobilized situationally by employees as a means of expressing their detachment from the double mindset. (For additional quotations, see Appendix C.)

Departmental Resistant Identities: Spatial Othering

The second form of employee resistance manifested in the subgroup level through spatial othering, referring to the ways in which employees use the organizational space to construct their identities as deviating from their expected dual organizational identity. Specifically, employees appropriated and modified the organizational space to signify a single, nationally bounded identity, while distancing themselves from the other, perceived as different and less compatible, to resist managerial demands for cooperation and adjustment between the company's product departments. Rejecting the anticipated coordination and joint action toward common goals required between departments, spatial othering emerged at the departmental level and was prevalent among members of the CIP and AutoSS product departments, excluding finance and operations employees. Offering distinct technologies, serving diverse customers, and having different work processes (e.g., product customization, R&D, and customer service), the two product departments were constantly portrayed by their employees as representing "different cultures": The CIP department was associated with Japanese culture, whereas the AutoSS department was associated with Western culture. Accordingly, despite all company employees being Japanese (besides six Israeli expatriates), employees engaged in spatial practices seeking to demarcate their identities as either "Japanese" or "Western" according to their departmental affiliation (as CIP or AutoSS) in order to resist managerial demands for departmental cooperation and joint action.

Illustrative of this differentiation was employees' avoidance of visiting spatial areas wherein interactions between different product departments' members were required or likely to occur. For instance, two CIP coordinators avoided visiting the IT team (located on the AutoSS department's floor) when their personal computers broke down. Refusing to approach and interact with the IT manager, they instead sent an official email to the company's help desk, which resulted in a wait of several weeks for a resolution to their problem and led to serious delays in their daily reports and ongoing tasks. Employees' acts were described as deliberate, indicating their rejection of managerial dictates, as stated by a CIP engineer: "There is not interface between us [CIP/AutoSS]. There is no need for it. We are Japanese, they are Western." Another CIP engineer asserted the following: "I do not want to approach the IT team because we [CIP] know the right way of doing things. It is like another company over there." In avoiding areas of the office associated with the culturally

different and less desirable other, employees subverted and ignored managerial demands to engage in interactions, coordination, and joint action between the company's two product departments.

Similarly, an AutoSS program developer refrained from visiting the CIP R&D team despite senior directors' recurrent requests. Refusing to share professional information and consult over work-related matters, as expected from employees' dual orientation, he claimed the following: "All this 'double mindset' is absurd! There is a barrier between the fifth floor and third floor. People don't visit each other because we are [culturally] different. They [CIP] have their narrow, strict way of doing things. We [AutoSS] are much more flexible, more creative." Employees' resistant identities shifted dynamically, calling on Japanese or non-Japanese identity positively, depending on their functional, departmental affiliation. By withdrawing from organizational spaces wherein interactions with the other in the company were necessary, employees used physical arrangements as "identityscapes" (Hancock and Spicer 2011) to resist, while demarcating their resistant identity as culturally more appropriate and professionally preferable than their expected double mindset.

Employees' use of space to define their resistant identities as either "Japanese" or "Western" also manifested in their ongoing refusal to use office meeting rooms located on the other product department floor in everyday work life, aiming to refrain from visiting areas wherein coordination or communication between different product departments' members were required. Moreover, employees refused to take part in managerial endeavors that sought to blur their constructed cultural differences between product departments by creating for them a common, even temporarily, workspace. Typical examples are general training programs initiated by management to establish a common space for interactions and shared work experience among all product departments' employees as part of their dual orientation. Both departments' employees argued that they avoided interacting with other department members because such activity was "irrelevant to their daily work," "professionally ineffective," and "culturally incompatible." An AutoSS customer service coordinator openly stated the following:

> Why would I go to these events? We [AutoSS] have nothing in common. We are much more international and work on different technology, different markets. Have you ever been to the fifth floor [CIP]? People just sit at their desks and work. No one talks, it's like a cemetery! Conservative Japanese style. Management does all these tricks to put us together—company trips or training, but I rarely go there. I don't even know the names of people who work there.

Viewing managerial demands as irrelevant and unnecessary ("managerial tricks") due to employees' perceptions of inherent cultural differences between departments' members invoked their rejection. It also precluded cooperation or joint action between departments and led to an avoidance of the circumstances that made this interaction necessary, thus opposing managerial demands. Unlike individual-level resistant identities, which remained hidden and perhaps largely unnoticed by management, employees' departmental resistance attracted the attention of management, who recognized employees' spatial avoidance as visible acts of defiance. In acknowledging employees' opposition, an AutoSS Israeli expatriate manager asserted the following: "For the CIP and the [AutoSS], it's always We versus Them. No matter how hard we try to make them work together, even just get to know each other . . . it doesn't really work." A CIP product director admitted that employees continued to reject participation in collective activities with the excuse that "it's not necessary," and that they "prefer not to spend precious work time on irrelevant things." By refusing to engage in managerial endeavors and by appropriating office space, spatial othering emerged as a more visible, direct confrontation with managerial demands than individual-level resistance conveyed through private, intimate talk. This illustration highlights the use of national identity as a predetermined, structural construct set by collective affiliation rather than taking an agentic form, interpreted and constructed situationally by individual employees through verbal othering.

Another form of resistance that emerged from our observations is employees' appropriation of their departments' public spaces as "identity markers" (Elsbach 2004), employed to demarcate their resistant identities as either "Japanese" or "Western," by marking, modelling, and shaping these shared spaces as their own (Lefebvre 1991). Although both office kitchens at NGK Japan were built similarly and had no distinct design set by management, employees' respective appropriation and redesign of these kitchens, which were noticeably different, served "to distinguish between us," as stated by numerous employees, and in this way avoid the expected interaction and cooperation between the two departments. Thus, despite all members of the product department being Japanese, CIP employees designed their department's (referred to as the "Japanese" department) kitchen space in a way that discouraged social encounters or private conversations (no chairs or dining tables, used for drinks preparation rather than dining) in order to evoke a feeling of a professional, collective sphere (lack of personalized items) that primarily promotes functional, work-related interactions. Void of any personal notifications or photographs, the kitchen

walls were decorated with formal, work-related notices announcing an official product launch or a team meeting. The only reference to individual users of the space was a printed list of names hung on the wall specifying employees' assigned duties in the traditional Japanese custom of group cleaning (掃除; *souji*)—a mundane physical activity performed collectively on a regular basis. This type of formal public space was associated by employees with a strong work ethic and a strong commitment to company, characteristics that workers attributed to Japanese national identity. Offstage, CIP members continually declared that their department's kitchen served as a culturally segregated area, one unofficially designated for the exclusive use of CIP members rather than a common public space intended for ongoing interactions with the AutoSS department members, as required by management, thus rejecting the double mindset. In contrast, the AutoSS kitchen (referred to as "Western") was appropriated as a social and personalized space, a departure considered uncommon in traditional Japanese work environments, and thus was stereotypically associated by its members with non-Japanese, Western culture. Used as a cafeteria, it was decorated with various personal items (individual photos and pictures of international locations) and notes (posted both in English and Japanese) announcing employees' personal celebrations and social events (e.g., birthdays, birth announcements, and promotions) and was occupied at lunchtime by employees chatting in groups while seated around numerous small tables. Through this spatial appropriation, AutoSS employees signified their resistant identity by referring to values, norms, and patterns of social interaction (for example, individuality and open communication) that they explicitly associated with Western culture in an approving manner, while using their non-Japanese identity positively to demarcate their colleagues as the Japanese other. Concentrating on the Japanese or Western side of the double mindset, CIP and AutoSS employees used national identity to construct their resistant identities ("Japanese"/"Western") as preferable and more appropriate than the double mindset, and specifically from its other side (associated with the other department), which is marked as an incompatible and lower other.

Overall, employees' opposition to managerial demands to be dual manifested in their choice to be either/or through spatial separation at the departmental level. Although both departments' employees are Japanese, they utilized distinctly different values and norms to demarcate their nationally bounded resistant identity according to their subgroup's (CIP/AutoSS) culture, positioning their resistant identity against the other product department's members, whom they cast as culturally and professionally subordinate (for additional data, see Appendix C). Like verbal othering, employees' resistance relies on Japanese socio-cultural values that promote the notion of the self as a segment of a whole, of a group (Sugimoto 1999). Employees' choice to form their resistant identity in association with their fellow department members coincides with Japanese socio-cultural constructs that emphasize the self's embeddedness in relations with others and encourage individuals to associate themselves with social and professional roles accordingly (Kondo 1990, Graham 2004).

Interestingly, employees' avoidance of interdepartmental interaction and cooperation was manifested when CIP and AutoSS employees were in their department's space. However, when employees were away from their department's area, they established alternative, liminal spaces in which coordination and intercultural interactions between department members took place away from the managerial eye. Employees appropriated the office stairways connecting the two office floors as an informal smoking area where members of all organizational departments met. Similar to notions of "no man's land" (Dale and Burrell 2008) and "dwelling spaces" (Shortt 2015), the stairway was described as an area in which they enjoyed private, liberating moments away from formal, everyday office life. Yet at NGK Japan, the use of this symbolically in-between space also offered employees an interlude of relief in which they could break free from their nationally bounded resistant identities, shunning the dominant behavioral rules prescribed by management. The importance of the smoking area as employees' resistance site was apparent in the composition of its visitors and their conversations: They were smokers and nonsmokers seeking a break from work, using informal, colloquial Japanese (a form of speech considered inappropriate and thus absent from formal work environments) to talk about various work and non-work-related topics. An AutoSS salesperson said the following: "I only meet other department employees when we smoke. In real life we don't meet." A CIP coordinator referred to the lack of managerial control in the smoking area: "Here people share their honest intentions. After all, we are all Japanese. They [management] never come here." Located in the office "backstage" (not "real life"), the smoking area was not only used as a place for employees to step out of their nationally bounded resistant identities presented "on stage" (Goffman 1959), but also a place where they could exhibit a common resistance identity ("we are all Japanese"). Thus, when situated in their organizational department, employees' resistant identities were associated with their functional affiliation ("Japanese"/"Western"), yet when situated in the liminal, shared

space, individuals' resistant identity was associated with a shared identity ("Japanese"). Drawing on the local side of the double mindset, employees used Japanese identity appreciatively, denoting its preferable nature to underline their collective similarities. In establishing a common liminal space, employees blurred the distinctions they set to differentiate between departments, while demarcating management as the other in this context.

Subsidiary Resistant Identity: Ritual Othering

The third form of employee resistance emerged through ritual othering, in which individuals used repetitive, formally organized public events to position their otherness against the double mindset. At NGK Japan, employees exercised ritual practices and symbolic artifacts not only to convey their dissatisfaction with the status quo (Turner 1969) and challenge their organizational membership (Lawrence 2004), but also to invoke and reinforce Japanese national identity, rejecting their expected dual organizational identity.

As opposed to verbal othering and spatial othering, ritual othering emerged at the collective, subsidiary level. With few exceptions, employees' subsidiary resistant identity manifested among all employees who engaged in close interactions with the company's local customers and suppliers and thus were faced with the demand for dual customer service and daily relations (i.e., CIP, AutoSS, and F&O logistics employees). Employees were required to have a dual customer service orientation as part of NGK Systems' profitable-yet-attentive customer relations policy, which required constantly switching between and adjusting to different local and global values. This included following the company's customer service organizational procedures, which outlined a set of practices for providing service (e.g., signing a service contract in advance), handling and processing complaints as well as other customer feedback, completing and reporting such feedback on the service provided, and so on. Employees overtly referred to these demands as "significantly inappropriate" in their local, Japanese business environment, or even "forbidden" (だめ; *dame*), as they violate core cultural values of long-term orientation, loyalty, and harmonious relations that NGK Japan cultivated with its local customers. Managerial demands for such a dual orientation, one that casts customer relations in terms of profits and targets an orientation that supplements care and service, were associated by employees with the "global"/"Western" side of the double mindset, as well as with NGK Japan's global management (i.e., Israeli expatriate managers and the global head office). As a result, employees chose to exercise different customer-related practices, performed collectively in organizational rituals, to reject these demands. Therefore, ritual othering manifested as an organized, professed form of resistance on the part of customer service employees, conveyed through formal, public events in which employees collectively constructed their resistant identity as "Japanese."

A typical example is a formal, regular organizational gathering initiated by employees to provide ongoing work-related status reports, cynically referred to as the "budget season meeting." "Money is like air for this company," a project manager jokingly stated. "They [the head office] don't care that we work in Japan, money has to come on time no matter what! Japanese love seasons, so we call this the budget season. It's like another season to us." Employees' statements regarding the "budget season meetings" reflected their sarcastic and judgmental perception of management's relentless pressure to pursue profitable-yet-attentive customer service as an inevitable liability that fails to address NGK Japan's local business and cultural circumstances. Taking place as public events on a quarterly basis, regardless of the local socio-cultural or business circumstances, implies the collective, repetitive nature of these events, an inherent characteristic of organizational rituals (Islam and Zyphur 2009). Managerial persistence regarding the selling of additional products, sealing deals, and achieving quarterly targets as part of employees' dual customer-related behavior was experienced as a time of heightened conflict and unease for the employees involved. In response, employees usually held "budget season meetings" toward the close of financial quarters, when managerial pressure for targeted accomplishment was particularly high. An AutoSS CS engineer put it as follows: "It's this time of the year. The budget season is coming. There is no other way to deal with the corporate [NGK Systems]." Referring to the four periods of the year as a unique Japanese feature, employees treated the "budget season meeting" as an innate, distinct characteristic of Japanese identity, one that is different from the dual customer service orientation required. In this way, employees used these rituals to demarcate their collective, resistant identity as a local subsidiary vis-à-vis NGK Japan's global management.

In the course of meetings, distinct titles, roles, standing positions, bodily gestures, language, and artifacts were presented by employees to strengthen and ritually display their singular Japanese resistant identity, while creating boundaries that separate employees' resistant identity from their expected dual customer service orientation. These boundaries were reinforced first and foremost through physical divisions, which were apparent in the use of the

Japanese traditional business practice of a collective morning session (朝礼; *chorei*). Standing in a circle according to hierarchical levels throughout the meeting, individual teams provided group presentations. Meetings began with collective bowing—a traditional Japanese custom that is common in organizational morning sessions and that signifies appreciation for and submission to what is going on. It also defined the boundaries between the participants (employees) and their audience (management). Employees' presentations took a different form than the individually based, spontaneous question-and-answer sessions used to report on topics such as the service provided, personal objectives, and customer feedback, which were set by management as part of the company's customer service policy procedures that employees were required to follow. Here, they were replaced by an orderly and distinctly hierarchical performance orchestrated by the team leader and designed to enforce the roles of hierarchy and seniority that are distinguishing characteristics of the Japanese business context and of employees' identity as Japanese. Further, employees' use of formal Japanese business language (敬語; *keigo*) to communicate among themselves during meetings (rather than when speaking with clients or senior managers as commonly accepted) signaled their distancing vis-à-vis management and the demands it posed on them, while highlighting their Japanese resistant identity. Meeting formats, designed by employees to share information and to be explanatory in nature (rather than mere status report updates or follow-ups, as required for each business quarter according to the company's customer service policy), played a significant role in reinforcing employees' subsidiary resistant identity. This was evident in the various teams' accounts of their ongoing activities comprising descriptive presentations emphasizing the distinctive Japanese characteristics of company customers and the socio-cultural circumstances in which business interactions with customers are embedded, instead of following the demand to pursue profitable-yet-attentive customer relations. On one occasion, an AutoSS product development director stated the following:

> We have very strong connections with Ichiban's [a customer's name] top management. Their president is very close with Nishiyama san [NGK Japan's president]. They know each other for years! Ichiban never looked for better deals from competitors. That's why it's very difficult to ask them to sign a contract before we visit them or reply to their requests. It shows mistrust, disrespect. We are Japanese. Business is about relations, not just money.

Employees' resistance was evidenced in their statements regarding the Japanese nature of NGK Japan's customers and their culturally oriented needs, against which managerial requests were measured and found incompatible and inefficient, business-wise. Employees emphasized customers' unique organizational and cultural characteristics that are embedded in Japanese national identity to validate the notion that their attitude toward customers should be guided by corresponding values of personal, high-quality customer service and a long-term commitment. Also, despite managerial requests to use the "language of money" in presenting concrete, objective reports, any financial figures or individual performance statements were notably absent. In this context, Japanese national identity served to justify employees' refusal to comply with managerial imperatives of quarterly based target orientation and efficiency as part of employees' anticipated dual customer service.

Through these repeated presentations in the presence of company management, employees' collective enactment of Japanese national identity was positive, casting it as the preferable other. Japanese national identity was treated by individuals as a collective character type that reveals itself through strong moral traits, such as a firm commitment to the group, long-term service, and interpersonal relations with company customers that transcend the pursuit of immediate profit. Similar to departmental resistant identities, employees used national identity as a fixed, shared notion that is predetermined by the organizational structure—in this case as an MNC's subsidiary—in shaping their collective resistant identity as "Japanese." Associating distinct values with Japanese national identity when referring to their dual interface with customers, employees' resistant identity was displayed by positioning themselves as more legitimate, powerful, and compatible than the double mindset, rather than degrading themselves as less desirable and culturally incompatible (that is, as "foreign").

Employees' resistance further emerged in meetings through their ongoing attempts to reformulate managerial dictates of their dual customer orientation and to mitigate NGK Systems' ongoing pressures. This was evident in employees' collective, explicit forms of refusal to follow managerial requests presented as "inappropriate" and "impossible," while justifying their actions as more compatible to the local market. A CIP R&D team collectively challenged pricing decisions made at the head office regarding customers' product-customization requests by questioning the gap between the technical work provided and the price assigned thereto. Participants openly reported that they delayed decision-making processes at customers' sites (e.g., product-purchasing decisions or service agreements), thereby refusing to

compromise the company's customer relations in order to meet specific targets as required according to the NGK Systems' policy. In this way, employees attempted to maintain and strengthen local relationships, mutual support, and reciprocity they associated with Japanese customer service. In doing so, employees' subsidiary-level resistance through ritual othering provided its participants with collective support from the group, which allowed them to confront management in a relatively direct and overt manner. Referring to employees' refusal to adhere to set sales targets for each quarter, a CIP senior sales representative stated the following in one of the meetings:

> Customers ask for lots of specific technical information, so it takes time to make purchasing decisions. If we push or we come to have a name for being unreliable, we will not last very long! We are Japanese. Maybe in America or Europe someone can offer speedy service or lower costs for better deals. You cannot do that with Japanese companies, or you are out!

By emphasizing customers' strict requirements as embedded in values of service, care, and loyalty perceived as Japanese, employees sought to ritually reify their resistant identity in order to redefine management's focus on customers. Thus, ritually displaying their personal relations and networking with customers throughout these descriptive presentations, employees actively attempted to remove the source of incompatibility by transforming managerial demands for efficient, profitable customer service into a model of customer service based primarily on personal relations, loyalty, and long-term commitment.

For NGK Japan's management, these rituals were an ongoing source of discomfort. Managers often expressed their dissatisfaction, viewing these events as "endless efforts to adjust our [management] rules to their [employees'] business circumstances," as stated by a senior manager. However, because these meetings were interpreted as a sign of conformity to the dual customer service orientation requirements, management made no concrete effort to prevent these rituals, despite its continuous dissatisfaction with these events. These findings highlight the polysemic and dialectic relations between resistance and control (Mumby 2005), revealing that even public, overt rituals (such as "budget season meetings") might be productive in generating consent (McCabe 2018), thus constituting a form of compliance. Specifically, while employees' use of these rituals to display and reinforce their resistant identity seems to subvert and challenge the organization's power relations, their focus on enacting the "Japanese way" in terms of local customers may offer a generative, productive business resource that ultimately accomplishes the anticipated profitable-yet-attentive customer service. Therefore, although employees mobilized Japanese national identity in this context to exercise power by indicating their ability to promote or undermine the achievement of company goals, their customer-related resistance acts (e.g., not closing deals with new customers, achieving long-term service contracts, etc.) could eventually signal an assent to managerial demands rather than a rejection of them.

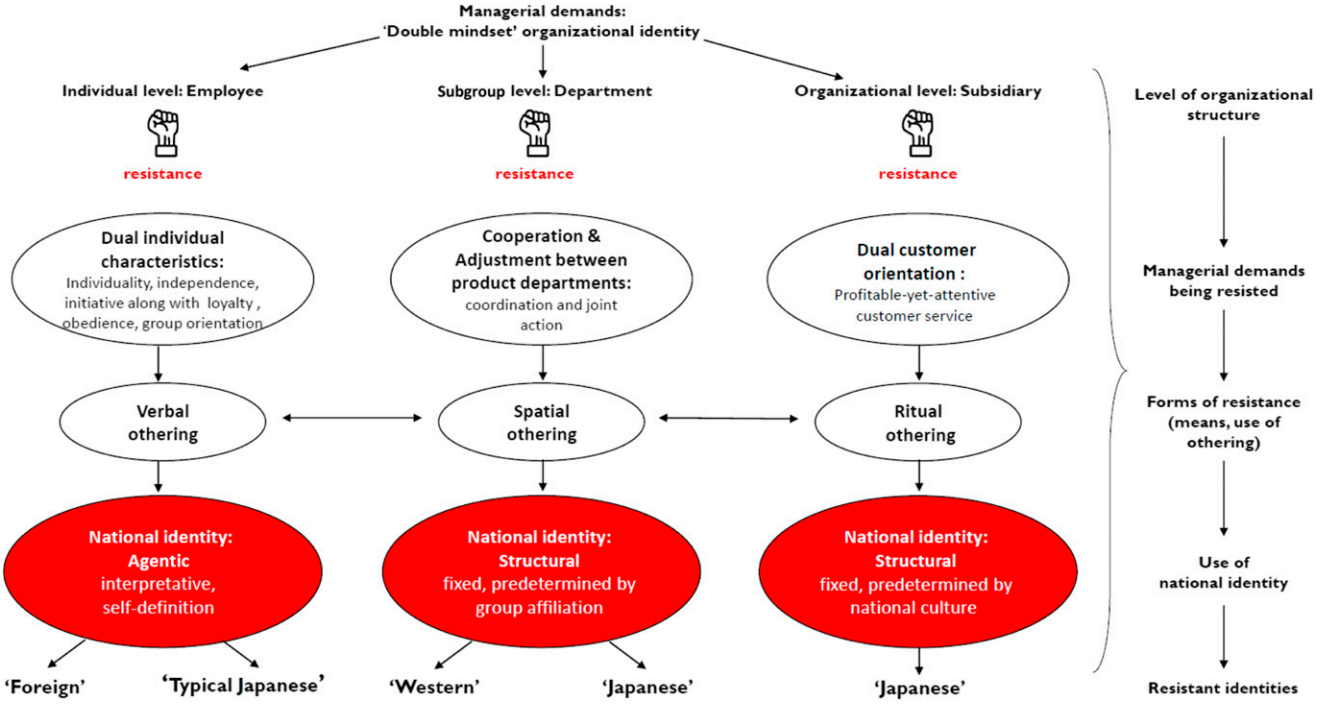
Encapsulating our main findings presented thus far, employees' resistant identities and their contingencies, along with the different analytical levels and dimensions of analysis identified as their key, interrelated constituents, are presented in the data summary table (Appendix E).

Discussion

The current study has illustrated how national identity serves as a means of resistance that is changeably and strategically used by employees against managerial demands. We have shown that employees constantly shifted their national identification to resist the double mindset by demarcating their resistant identities as nationally bounded and exclusive, using othering processes to disassociate themselves from one side of their dual organizational identity. At NGK Japan, resistance took three main forms: individual employees' resistant identities via verbal othering; departmental resistant identities via spatial othering; and subsidiary resistant identity via ritual othering. Generalizing from this case, we offer a theoretical, processual model (Figure 1) that depicts employees' dynamic constructions of diverse resistant identities as dependent on the level of organizational structure wherein resistance acts take place, and the managerial demands being resisted at each level.

As illustrated in the model, the level of organizational structure indicates employees' references to their position in the organization—that is, whether employees referred to their personal identity as individuals, to their departmental identity as members of a product department, or to their identity as members of the organization as an MNC's subsidiary. At each structural level, employees interpreted differently the locus of the conflict embodied in the double-mindset demands. These differences were a function of whether employees interpreted managerial demands as prescribing the anticipated behavior required of each individual employee, as pertaining to its different departments, or to the overall orientation required of NGK Japan as an MNC subsidiary. At the individual level, employees interpreted managerial demands regarding the qualities anticipated from each organizational member as inherently incompatible (e.g., individual action along with group orientation).

Figure 1. (Color online) Theoretical Model of Employees, Resistance Using National Identity



Perceiving the grouping of characteristics associated with the global-Western and those associated with the local-Japanese side of the double mindset as violating core Japanese socio-cultural values and norms served to invoke employees' resistance as individuals, which appeared through verbal othering. At the departmental level, management's expectations for cooperation and adjustment between the two product departments were interpreted by employees as violating their distinct expertise associated with their department's technology, work processes, and customers, thus sparking their departmental resistance via spatial othering. Finally, at the organization level, managerial demands for a profitable-yet-attentive customer service were interpreted by employees as referring to NGK Japan's business orientation as the subsidiary of an MNC. These demands for a dual customer orientation were viewed by employees as alien to the values and norms of Japanese organizational culture, therefore triggering their collective subsidiary resistance through ritual othering.

As demonstrated in our model, employees' interpretations of different parts of the double-mindset managerial demands as incompatible prompted different forms of resistance, manifested through different means and types of othering. Individual employees' resistant identities were articulated via talk (verbal othering); departmental resistant identities were constructed by using space (spatial othering); and subsidiary resistant identity emerged through collective rituals (ritual othering). Moreover, although employees relied on "self as other" classifications to define themselves as organizationally and culturally more compatible and desirable than the double mindset or than other organizational members (e.g., department and subsidiary levels), they also articulated their resistant identities as defiant and damaging to the organization by using "self as degraded other" talk (e.g., individual level). These three resistance forms underlie employees' exercise of national identity as a resistance tool in constructing various resistant identities. At the individual level, national identity was used as an agentic self-definition, subjectively and fluidly interpreted by employees in constructing their resistant identity, and thus independent of any socio-cultural collective membership. At the departmental level, national identity was used as a given, structural construct shaped by collective affiliation, thus indicating employees' resistant identity as predetermined by departmental membership. Similarly, at the organizational level, national identity was used as a structural notion, one shaped by employees' collective national culture as Japanese.

Drawing on national identity in these different ways, employees chose different sides of the double mindset (global/Western versus local/Japanese) in constructing their various resistant identities: "foreign" or "typical Japanese" at the individual level, "Western" or "Japanese" at the subgroup level,

and "Japanese" at the organizational level. As we detail in the following sections, our theoretical model makes three main theoretical contributions concerning the nature of national identity as a changeable resistance mechanism, the role of context in shaping resistance, and the constitutive resources of resistance.

National Identity as a Changeable Resistance Mechanism

Our study indicates that employees switched their national identifications contextually to form diverse resistant identities that are relevant to specific organizational settings. At NGK Japan, an employee resisted at the individual level by using Japanese identity positively or negatively; employees resisted at the departmental level by derogating Japanese identity or praising it; and they resisted at the subsidiary level by once again ritually displaying Japanese identity positively. Thus, although all employees are Japanese, they used Japanese or non-Japanese identity variously to construct their resistant identities against managerial demands situationally, without viewing themselves as inconsistent. Drawing on studies of national identity as an interpretative resource that is socially constructed by individuals in daily work life (e.g., Brannen and Salk 2000, Ailon-Souday and Kunda 2003, and Koveshnikov et al. 2016), we show that national identity is not an either/or construct (e.g., Japanese or non-Japanese); rather, individuals can adopt various national identities depending on the situation. Thus, we argue that the changeable nature of national identity must be taken into consideration, with the understanding that individuals may not only imbue national identity with diverse meanings, but sometimes take on different national identities to author different and often contesting selves that are relevant to specific organizational settings and situational circumstances.

Understanding national identity as a changeable construct allows us to contribute to three bodies of scholarship. First, our study broadens the understanding of the relations between identity and resistance. Identity-related resistance, we claim, draws not only on constructions of gender (Collinson 1992, Ashcraft 2005), race and ethnicity (Kachtan and Wasserman 2015), and their intersections, but also on national identity as a means of resistance that is strategically used by employees. Showing the changeable nature of national identity, our study further highlights the ways in which employees can take on conflicting resistant identities simultaneously. Joining recent work on identity and resistance (Ybema et al. 2016, Bristow et al. 2017, Mumby et al. 2017), we show that individuals not only dynamically construct and reconstruct different resistant identities; in fact, they may craft various and contending versions of their resistant selves situationally, without experiencing themselves as incoherent across their many resistant selves.

Second, these insights contribute more broadly to the scholarship on identity in organizations. Employees' mobilizing of national identities directs attention to the societal and cultural values, norms, and behavioral patterns as a strong influence upon which they draw in their identity construction. Illustrating employees' use of definitions of self that are considered outside the organizational sphere and the domain of work (Ramarajan and Reid 2013), our study addresses scholars' call to account for the "extra individual forces" (Alvesson et al. 2008, p. 18) beyond individual agency that shape identity construction. At NGK Japan, individuals' identity-construction processes drew on Japanese socio-cultural values and norms that construct various distinctions and boundaries (e.g., in/out or front/back) as the culturally appropriate manner through which individuals should regard themselves and others in everyday work life (Graham 2004). Considering the impact of these broader forces enriches our conceptualization of the constitutive resources and materials by which identities are crafted in organizations. By showing that identity formation is shaped both by micro individual subjectivity and macro socio-cultural principles and constraints, we follow recent calls to deepen the theoretical understanding of the dialectic and nuanced dynamics between different levels of identity-construction processes (Brown 2015).

Third, our study makes significant contributions to international business, because understanding national identity as a variable resource is of particular significance in intercultural work contexts. In elucidating the role and power implications of national identity aimed at opposing managerial identity control, our study joins recent research on micropolitics in MNCs (Balogun et al. 2011, Geppert et al. 2016). Specifically, applying a critical perspective to identity as shaped by subjugation processes (Grey and Willmott 2005, Alvesson et al. 2009), we show how national identity is used as a resource to resist managerial dual-identity control, thus challenging the existing power dynamics in MNCs.

Further, our study enhances the understanding of how national identity is used by individuals facing managerial expectations for dual-identity demands, which often derives from the national complexity characterizing MNCs. Although scholars have shown that multiple identity demands are managed and responded to at either the organizational, group, or individual level (e.g., Pratt and Foreman 2000, Smets et al. 2015, and Smith and Besharov 2017), our study illustrates that employees' responses to such demands may operate concurrently at various levels

within a single organization. Moreover, existing research has provided important insights describing subgroup splitting (Ashforth and Reingen 2014) or individuals' internal identity conflict (Ramarajan et al. 2017) in the face of multiple identity demands, they mostly illustrated how employees accepted or internalized these demands, viewing them as legitimate or useful. In contrast, our study shows that when employees do not accept dual-identity demands as legitimate or appropriate, but, rather, view them as culturally inappropriate and conflicting, they disassociate themselves and construct diverse resistant identities against such demands. Hence, our analysis highlights how multiple, intersecting differences characterizing MNCs and dual-identity organizations can spark individuals' resistance to dual organizational identity demands, thus expanding the existing literature. Moreover, by critically focusing on managerial dual-identity control, this study provides a nuanced and complex depiction of individuals' agentic power against the organizational duality that characterizes intercultural and hybrid organizations.

The Role of Context in Shaping Resistance—An Interpretative Approach

Uncovering the context shaping the formation processes of resistant identities, our study indicates that resistance is selective and segmented. Recent research has acknowledged the contextual dimensions of resistance (Courpasson and Vallas 2016, Ybema et al. 2016, Mumby et al. 2017), yet the constituents of the context-specific elements of resistance have remained largely underexplored. We have shown that employees' position in the organizational structure shaped their perceptions of the conflict between the two parts required of the double mindset. Consequently, employees chose to resist specific managerial demands at each structural level, which resulted in their construction of diverse and contradictory resistant identities. Resistance scholars have tended to treat the concept of managerial expectations of employees' organizational identity as a steady set of prescriptions designed to enhance productivity and control (Alvesson and Willmott 2002), with little conceptualization of how these demands are contextually perceived and experienced by employees. In contrast, our analysis highlights the interpretative aspect of resistance, as dependent on the ways that control and managerial demands are interpreted. Illustrating how managerial demands are viewed differently at each level of the organization and are thus subjected to employees' interpretations, we demonstrate how employees rejected particular parts of the double-mindset demands by crafting different resistant identities. For example, focusing exclusively on one side of the double mindset, employees shifted between the degraded "foreign" and "typical Japanese" resistant identities, constructed as the negative other, to resist the expected double mindset prescribed by management as positive and complementary. In this way, we show that managerial control is not a monolithic notion; rather, it is a construct that is subject to employees' interpretations in their everyday work lives. Moreover, employees' interpretation of managerial demands should be acknowledged as a powerful vehicle, one that marks management's inability to predict how its demands will be interpreted and accepted by the employees, for whom they are prescribed.

These findings offer significant theoretical contributions to resistance studies and to international business literature. Our analysis illustrates that resistant identities not only comprise various forces or address specific audiences (e.g., Ashcraft and Mumby 2004 and Ashcraft 2007). They are also affected by the level of organizational structure and the specific managerial demands employees choose to resist. Following resistance scholars' claims that resistance is inherently ambiguous and comprises multiple meanings (Ashcraft 2007, Mumby et al. 2017), our findings further demonstrate that the organization's structural level and managerial demands being resisted enable the formation of diverse and contradictory resistant identities, while allowing employees to retain a sense of coherence across their many selves: "foreign" or "typical Japanese" as individual members, "Western" or "Japanese" as departmental members, and "Japanese" as subsidiary employees. By segmenting their diverse and contradictory resistant selves according to levels of organizational structure and the varying managerial demands associated therewith, employees were able to maintain the multiplicities of resistant identities. Therefore, organizational structure does not necessarily constrain individual agency or compete with it. Instead, we show that individuals can make use of structural boundaries to enhance their agentic behavior in the face of managerial power by constructing different and situational resistant identities.

In exploring the relational character of resistance in an MNC work environment characterized by inherent national and cultural complexity, our study also contributes to the international business literature. We have demonstrated that at NGK Japan, employees' resistant identities are fashioned by different sociocultural values, norms, and expected behaviors. Drawing on scholars' claims that resistance depends on the sociocultural circumstances in which resistant acts are embedded (Birkinshaw et al. 2011, Courpasson and Vallas 2016), our study further indicates that national culture and identity are significant constituents of the context-shaping

resistance, as they provide the value-based framework for making sense of these actions as conforming to or deviating from a particular social order and power relations, as well as shaping the available resources and means that individuals can use to resist in intercultural organizations.

The Constitutive Resources of Resistance

Whereas prior studies have largely concentrated on discursive identity work in organizational resistance (e.g., Watson 2008 and Harding et al. 2017), our study shows that employees' struggles against management's identity-control demands involve a wider, more nuanced repertoire of resistance practices. As shown in our model (Figure 1), shifting between different levels of organizational structure and the managerial demands being resisted at each level affected the verbal, spatial, and ritual means and different othering practices used by employees to either strategically conform to, avoid, or refuse managerial demands for their dual organizational identity.

Exposing the variety of resources and materials from which resistant identities are crafted, we extend the theoretical understanding of othering, thus contributing to resistance studies. Specifically, despite the categorical mechanism of othering, employees constructed dynamic and often contesting resistant identities in everyday life. Studies have shown that employees use self–other categorizations (O'Mahoney 2011) or employ splitting dynamics to separate themselves (Ashforth and Reingen 2014), yet we discovered that employees engaged in "*flexible othering*" to resist. Specifically, employees' construction of their resistant identities was not based on a fixed set of cultural and organizational characteristics that together yield a stable, coherent other ("Japanese" or "Western"). Instead, the other was articulated through flexible notions that are constantly redefined by employees in constructing different resistant identities ("Japanese," "Western," "typical Japanese," or "foreign").

Demonstrating employees' diverse resisting practices, our study also illustrates the various types of resistance—both visible and overt, or more hidden and implicit—that emerged at NGK Japan: individual employees' resistance conveyed through verbal othering, which took an implicit, nonconfrontational form (private talk), yet nonetheless conveyed strong—at times harsh—criticism of company management, as it involved little or no risk to the individuals. Similarly, departmental resistant identities that emerged via spatial othering were also nonconfrontational and hidden, yet were more explicit, as they concerned subgroup acts of resistance against managerial demands that were subsequently acknowledged by company management. At the subsidiary level, employees' collective resistance identity constructed via ritual othering took the most overt, public form of resistance, manifesting through collective, organized meetings.

By directing attention to the diverse resources and materials constituting resistant identities, we also point to the subtle ways in which resistance is often worked through compliance—that is, situationally adapting and strategically negotiating managerial efforts of identity control. However, whereas employees' resistance was often combined with or concealed by partial compliance, these acts should not be viewed as insignificant or futile because they mark the limits of managerial power, without necessarily modifying the order of things (McCabe 2018). Our analysis shows that hidden, implicit resistance limited management's ability to deal with and control these acts, because employees' struggles were found to be illusory and fractional. Employees' resistant identities were not stable, but, rather, took erratic and changeable forms contextually, hence jeopardizing managerial demands for a comprehensive double mindset—for example, by strategically performing part of managerial demands (verbal othering) or avoiding particular spaces so as to reject managerial demands for cooperation and adjustment (spatial othering).

These findings also contribute to the international business literature. Individuals' ability to approve or reject the distribution of power and resources in intercultural organizations do not merely focus on the use of language (Hinds et al. 2014, Geppert et al. 2016, Brannen et al. 2017), discursive struggles (Vaara and Tienari 2011, Koveshnikov et al. 2017), discursive identity work (Caprar 2011, Koveshnikov et al. 2016), or boundary work (Yagi and Kleinberg 2011). We have shown that individuals, in attempting to resist, use both verbal and nonverbal means to mobilize and switch between different national identities according to particular situational dynamics in their daily work life. These findings provide a more nuanced and complex depiction of individuals' agentic power in intercultural organizations, one that is characterized by national complexity and multiple sources of managerial power that frequently prescribe dual and often contentious identity-control expectations. Future research needs to fully grasp the subtle ways in which resistance may be enacted through identity management and to attend to the multilayered processes comprising identity-related acts of resistance, particularly in organizations undergoing globalization.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank Gideon Kunda for his guidance and advice, Joep Cornelissen and Koen Van Laer for their

valuable remarks, and three anonymous reviewers for extremely insightful comments and suggestions. They also thank the 2018 European Group of Organization Studies (EGOS) subtheme conveners Christine Coupland, Leanne Cutcher, and Andrew Brown. Heartfelt thanks go to the people of NGK Japan for opening their organization and sharing their ideas and thoughts that allowed this study.

Appendix A. Data Sources Between December 2008 and February 2009

Source	Number
Interviewees	70
Organizational membership	
NGK Japan	61
NGK Systems head office	5
Outsiders who work closely with NGK Japan	4
Nationality	
Japanese	56
Israeli	11
Other nationalities	3
Gender	
Men	51
Women	19
Organizational hierarchy	
Senior management	11
Medium managerial ranks	14
Professional workers (engineers, salespersons, system developers, controllers, bookkeepers)	36
Administration and temporary employees	9
Observations	
Formal meetings	55
Managerial meetings	17
Team meetings	26
Various organizational events	12
Ongoing observations	81 (days)

Appendix B. Data Structure

First-order categories	Second-order themes	Aggregate theoretical dimensions
Quick and cruel decision making Profit orientation as primary goal (money over people) Selfishness—pursuit of individual interests regardless of group goals	"Foreign"	Individual employees' resistant identities—verbal othering
Obedience and conformity Hierarchical human relations Passivity, submissiveness, lack of personal initiative	"Typical Japanese"	
Space setting and use create a sense of formal, functional work-related area versus social, informal public area Organizational space used to separate between groups of employees (kitchen/meeting room)	Physical boundaries/ differences	Departmental resistant identities—spatial othering
Employees do not visit particular office areas Acts of nonattendance/absence of certain/common organizational events	Avoidance of intraorganizational interactions	
Employees interact with one another away from managerial sight (smoking spot) Types of interactions: informal, friendly, non-work-related, detached from everyday life (not "real world")	Creation/use of liminal space	

Appendix B. (Continued)

First-order categories	Second-order themes	Aggregate theoretical dimensions
Traditional office business practices/customs of collective team performance	Rituals	Subsidiary resistant identity—ritual othering
Cultural superiority and shared pride in the ritual separates ritual insiders from ritual outsiders		
Symbols and space used to distinguish participants (collective bowing, group stand-up gathering, long explanatory presentations, use of formal language)	Rules and norms	
Japanese identity as key to business networking and understanding customers' demands (language, customs, personal relations)		

Appendix C. Dimensions, Themes, Categories, and Data

Second-order themes and first-order categories	Representative data
Overarching dimension: Individual employees' resistant identities—verbal othering	
1. "Foreign"	
g. Quick and cruel decision making	G1: "Everything here is timed to market. We always feel like in a battlefield when there is some financial decision. You have to make decisions quickly otherwise you lose the fight. I don't think too much about the customers. I just cut. We have to stay alive." (CIP application manager)
h. Profit orientation as primary goal	G2: "Foreign means that the most important part is sending the correct information to the back office, in order to make decisions quickly. It means not to care too much about other people. Japanese, they tend to think: 'Oh, probably my manager wants me to do this or that, so I will want us to go this way, let's prepare, etc.' There is no preparation here, not alone and not as a team. I have to make big decisions in one day." (AutoSS product engineer)
i. Individualism/selfishness—pursuit of individual interests regardless of group goals	H1: "When I talk to customers I only think about revenues. I always think how I can make customers buy our products ASAP. You cannot be double mindset, that's nonsense. The customers' needs are not the focus. Japanese people are not like that, they think of relationships. But here it's all about money, we are foreign." (AutoSS marketing coordinator)
	H2: "People become interested in profit making, and money becomes more important than people. If you are good you get a good salary. Why should I care about my team, about my customers, about my relations if the only thing that I am evaluated for is how many deals I've closed this month?! I know that's so greedy. Like in foreign companies." (F&O controller)
	I1: "We are like a bunch of separate workers here. I am focused on my own things. People don't talk or share. 'Double mindset' is ridiculous. We are too individuals, that's foreign." (AutoSS customer service engineer)
	I2: "I don't really know what other people in this company are doing.... Working here is a 'one player' mindset. I mean you work by yourself, take decisions and have minimal communication with the others. I think about my own benefits, maybe learn some new things and leave. It's the foreign style. I know many people don't want to stay long either." (F&O Administrator)
2. "Typical Japanese"	
j. Obedience and conformity	J1: "Typical Japanese means being like everyone else. If someone says bad things about the job or the company, management often thinks he or she will leave soon and go to the competitor. He/she is marked as a troublemaker. So even though I may think in a different way or have some creative ideas, I do not stick out of the group." (CIP application developer)
k. Hierarchical human relations	J2: "Maybe management's words convey 'double mindset' but its actions do not. We are typical Japanese.... It means that it's unacceptable to just say to your manager what you want or to decide on the next move by yourself. The direct supervisor always has to take the decision. I follow, even if I know it's the wrong decision." (AutoSS salesperson)
l. Passivity, submissiveness, lack of personal initiative	K1: "A senior director or president won't listen to a young 42-year-old team leader like myself. It's a big issue. Makes me do less, because I am frustrated. Seniority is everything in Japan." (CIP R&D team leader)

Appendix C. (Continued)

Second-order themes and first-order categories	Representative data
	K2: "I think that in the American but also Danish company I worked for there was a feeling of . . . it was like a real family. There were no barriers. No walls between people. Here it's much more dry, and it's not like I can just talk to anyone. I can never approach a senior director just like that. It makes me feel less engaged, less interested. So I don't even bother, I won't stay in this company forever anyway." (F&O coordinator)
	L1: "We are not really familiar with the entire work progress, the project goals, and things like that. I don't want to be too active, so I just tend to agree with whatever. It's not like I am going to stay here forever." (AutoSS administrator)
	L2: "People feel that they cannot do anything on their own. Managers are in charge and we ask them everything. People are very upset about their job. Their motivation goes down, and people become indifferent. Narrow minded not double minded!" (CIP CS coordinator)
Overarching dimension: Departmental resistant identities—spatial othering	A1: Employees design their own workspace as personalized, informal (using markers of personal achievement, English-language stickers, family photos) or as formal workstation (no wall décor, Japanese-language items only, no personal items). (fieldwork notes)
1. Physical boundaries a. Space setting creates a sense of formal versus informal work-related area	A2: Managers' setting of their personal office: *formal* (private, inaccessible, separate, door closed, private meetings held in office, sitting in the office) versus *informal* (not private, door open, sitting with team rather than in the office, holding collective meetings). (fieldwork notes)
b. Organizational space used to separate groups of employees	B1: Physical movement in the office varies between departments. In AutoSS, people talk around or stand by others' desks while talking, while in CIP, others mostly sit at their desks, little movement or talking between desks on the department floor during work. (fieldwork notes)
	B2: Employees don't use particular office areas (kitchen, meeting room). (fieldwork notes)
2. Avoidance of intraorganizational interactions c. Employees do not visit particular office areas	C1: "There is no knowledge or information exchange, and we don't share useful advice or talk between people. If I need a solution probably someone can have an idea how to help me but I don't go there [other department] to ask anyone. . . . There is a barrier between the fifth floor and third floor. People don't visit each other's office because we are different." (program developer)
d. Acts of absence of certain common organizational events	C2: CIP employees did not approach the IT team, located on the AutoSS floor, to fix personal computer. (fieldwork notes)
	D1: "Lucky me, I was the administrator on duty last time! Hahaha . . . otherwise I would have had to make an excuse in order not to show up. These training programs are such a waste of time and company money." (F&O administrator)
	D2: "I am too busy to participate in trainings. Anyways afterwards I never work or talk with these people. We are like two different cultures here." (CIP business development manager)
3. Use of liminal space e. Employees interact with one another out of managerial sight	E1: Senior management do not visit/attend the smoking room (fieldwork notes)
f. Type of interactions: informal, friendly, non-work-related, detached from everyday life	E2: "The only fifth-floor people I know in the company are those who smoke. . . . This is basically the only place I talk to people who don't work with me closely." (AutoSS salesperson)
	F1: Communication is based on informal, ordinary, casual Japanese language in contrast to office, where formal language is spoken. (fieldwork notes)
	F2: "You sit in the desk near the exit to the stairway? Lucky you! That's where the secrets in this company are discussed." (AutoSS product engineer)
Overarching dimension: Subsidiary resistant identity—ritual othering	M1: Participants follow routine script of Japanese morning sessions (e.g., meeting format, order of speeches, collective presentations). (fieldwork notes)
1. Rituals m. Traditional business customs of collective team performance	M2: "We need to show management that with customers the only way is according to traditional business rules/customs, which are unique to Japan." (logistics coordinator)

Appendix C. (Continued)

Second-order themes and first-order categories	Representative data
n. Cultural superiority and shared pride in the ritual separates ritual insiders from ritual outsiders	N1: "It (the meeting) gives you a very strong tool of thinking and showing how you can contribute to the team all the time. Being responsible. Not just hang around until late because that appears like you are a hard worker. Being Japanese means to always think about the group and try to help, be part of the team. Like we do in this meeting." (CIP CS coordinator) N2: "There is a strong feeling of who WE [emphasis in original] are as a group, when we are in these meetings. As a team, all together, it's very strong for Japanese people. We love to feel part of the group. It's something historical, that only Japanese can understand as island people. We are very unique in the way we do things, and also in the way we communicate with customers." (AutoSS team leader)
2. Rules and norms o. Symbols and space used to distinguish participants (collective bowing, group stand-up gathering, long explanatory presentations, use of formal language) p. Japanese identity as key to business networking and understanding customers' demands (language, customs, personal relations)	O1: Participants are not allowed to use any personal financial data (tables or any individual results), just the descriptive team presentations. (fieldwork notes) O2: Participants stand in a circle throughout the meeting, while their audience (management) sits outside the circle. (fieldwork notes) P1: "Of course the Japanese company also says that profit is the most important thing. Everybody says that. But Japanese people do not think money comes first. The relations with the customer come first. Then money will accompany a good relationship with the customer. You have to be Japanese to understand. To really know our culture, our customs. Like our four seasons. That's why we call it budget season. . . ." (CIP product manager) P2: "Because the Japanese customers and the Japanese market are unique, we have to behave, to think, to treat them like Japanese. We cannot be like Westerns that when you need to decide the budget, customers don't matter." (AutoSS CS manager)

Appendix D. Employees' Perceptions and Experience of Managerial Demands of the Double Mindset

Theme	Representative data
Cultural conflict	"I think that Japanese and Western are two separate things. Two opposite cultures. About everything! About people, about communication, about work, about customers, about . . . about life! I feel I am falling between the two cultures." (CIP application engineer) "Japanese and Western have two contrasting views on things. For example, look at marriage and family. In Japanese culture, if I announce I am getting married with a guy, I'll introduce him to my friends saying how successful and talented he is, and how much of a good couple we will make together but then . . . I won't say anything about when and where we are getting married, where would we be living and . . . I will not say that to anyone before I get the parents' consent! But for Israelis, they can make big announcements and big celebration before the parents agree or sometimes before there is even a proposal. They can talk in general, about the future. Like how much they want to make it right, and to convince everyone that it's the best move for them as a couple. It's completely opposite!" (F&O logistics administrator)
Feeling a need to choose between cultures (sides of the double mindset)	"I am always very confused, because being both doesn't work for me. I feel like you have to choose one or the other . . ., because this company has two very different cultures." (AutoSS CS coordinator) "Double mindset means to be mixed. But when I interview people for this company, I always need to decide whether I recommend to the recruiting manager someone who is positive and straightforward (背曲的; *sekyokuteki*), or this kind of regular, full time employee (正社員; *seishain*), that are committed and loyal but are not so independent or open." (HR manager)

Appendix D. (Continued)

Theme	Representative data
	Corridor talk after a CIP departmental meeting: CS team leader: "They [management] put so much pressure on us, to get more profits and achieve the targets beforehand that I can't relate to my team properly. How can I care about the team work? or conduct knowledge sharing meetings when there is so much stress …" Product application team leader: "I like the people who work here but I don't like the company [NGK Japan]. You have to decide."
Double mindset as an oxymoron	"You cannot be both Japanese and Western as the same time. It's impossible. I am Japanese who works for a Western company based in Japan." (F&O accountant) In an informal, corridor conversation between the first author and two AutoSS engineers, one said the following: "They [management] want us to submit proposals for the 'efficiency campaign' [an online project of global NGK systems, where employees are encouraged to submit effective proposals as for work processes, communication, etc., that are beneficial for company goals]. So we need to be creative and efficient, but also always show we care about the customer as top priority." The other replied: "Can you stay at the same time in two different places?! That's impossible! (ダメだ!; *dame da!*)."

Appendix E. Data Summary Table

Dimension of analysis	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Level of organizational structure	What managerial demands are being resisted?	What means are used to resist?	How is national identity being used to resist? (Type of othering)	To whom is employees' resistance addressed?	Who is/is not resisting?	Types of resistance
Individual level: Employee	Different-yet-complementary individual characteristics (individuality/independence and initiative along with loyalty, obedience, and group orientation)	Verbal: talk	Depreciating self-other classifications: presenting self as the degraded other ("foreign" versus "typical Japanese")	NGK Japan's management	Resisting: nearly all research informants	Partial compliance with managerial demands
Subgroup level: Department	Cooperation and adjustment Between product departments: coordination and joint action	Nonverbal: space	Group self-other classifications ("Western" versus "Japanese")	NGK Japan's management	Resisting: CIP/AutoSS members Not resisting: F&O employees	Avoidance and rejection of managerial demands
Subsidiary level: Organization	Dual customer orientation Profitable-yet-attentive customer service	Nonverbal: ritual	Collective self-other classifications ("Japanese" versus the Western "other")	NGK Systems' head office	Resisting: CIP/AutoSS members, F&O logistics employees Not resisting: all the rest	Public, collective refusal and attempts to reformulate managerial demands

References

Ailon G (2007) *Global Ambitions and Local Identities: An Israeli-American High-tech Merger* (Berghahn Books, New York).

Ailon-Souday G, Kunda G (2003) The local selves of global workers: The social construction of national identity in the face of organizational globalization. *Organ. Stud.* 24(7):1073–1096.

Ainsworth S, Hardy C (2004) Critical discourse analysis and identity: Why bother? *Critical Discourse Stud.* 1(2):225–259.

Alvesson M, Willmott H (2002) Identity regulation as organizational control: Producing the appropriate individual. *J. Management Stud.* 39(5):619–644.

Alvesson M, Ashcraft K, Thomas R (2008) Identity matters: Reflections on the construction of identity scholarship in organization studies. *Organization* 15(1):5–28.

Alvesson M, Bridgman T, Willmott H (2009) *The Oxford Handbook of Critical Management Studies* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK).

Anderson G (2008) Mapping academic resistance in the managerial university. *Organization* 15(2):251–270.

Ashcraft KL (2005) Resistance through consent? Occupational identity, organizational form, and the maintenance of masculinity among commercial airline pilots. *Management Comm. Quart.* 19(1):67–90.

Ashcraft KL (2007) Appreciating the 'work' of discourse: Occupational identity and difference as organizing mechanisms in the case of commercial airline pilots. *Discourse Comm.* 1(1):9–36.

Ashcraft KL (2011) Knowing work through the communication of difference. Mumby DK, ed. *Reframing Difference in Organizational Communication Studies: Research, Pedagogy, and Practice* (Sage, Los Angeles), 3–30.

Ashcraft KL, Mumby DK (2004) Organizing a critical communicology of gender and work. *Internat. J. Soc. Language* 2004(166):19–44.

Ashforth BE, Reingen PH (2014) Functions of dysfunction: Managing the dynamics of an organizational duality in a natural food cooperative. *Admin. Sci. Quart.* 59(3):474–516.

Balogun J, Jarzabkowski P, Vaara E (2011) Selling, resistance and reconciliation: A critical discursive approach to subsidiary role evolution in MNEs. *J. Internat. Bus. Stud.* 42(6):765–786.

Barner-Rasmussen W, Aarnio C (2011) Shifting the faultlines of language: A quantitative functional-level exploration of language use in MNC subsidiaries. *J. World Bus.* 46(3):288–295.

Beech N, Johnson P (2005) Discourses of disrupted identities in the practice of strategic change: The mayor, the street-fighter and the insider-out. *J. Organ. Change Management* 18(1):31–47.

Ben-Ari E (2000) "Global talk"? Discourse and cognition among Japanese business managers in Singapore. Ben Ari E, Clammer J, eds. *Japan in Singapore: Cultural Occurrences and Cultural Flows* (Routledge, Abingdon, UK), 37–62.

Birkinshaw J, Brannen MY, Tung RL (2011) From a distance and generalizable to up close and grounded: Reclaiming a place for qualitative methods in international business research. *J. Internat. Bus. Stud.* 42(5):573–581.

Bovey WH, Hede A (2001) Resistance to organizational change: The role of cognitive and affective processes. *Leadership Organ. Dev. J.* 22(8):372–382.

Brannen MY (1992) "Bwana Mickey": Constructing cultural consumption at Tokyo Disneyland. Tobin JJ, ed. *Re-Made in Japan: Everyday Life and Consumer Taste in a Changing Society* (Yale University Press, New Haven, CT), 216–234.

Brannen MY, Peterson MF (2009) Merging without alienating: Interventions promoting cross-cultural organizational integration and their limitations. *J. Internat. Bus. Stud.* 40(3):468–489.

Brannen MY, Salk JE (2000) Partnering across borders: Negotiating organizational culture in a German-Japanese joint venture. *Human Relations* 53(4):451–487.

Brannen MY, Thomas DC (2010) Bicultural individuals in organizations: Implications and opportunity. *Internat. J. Cross Cultural Management* 10(1):5–16.

Brannen MY, Piekkari R, Tietze S (2017) The multifaceted role of language in international business: Unpacking the forms, functions and features of a critical challenge to MNC theory and performance. Brannen MY, Mughan T, eds. *Language in International Business: Developing a Field* (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland), 139–162.

Besharov ML (2014) The relational ecology of identification: How organizational identification emerges when individuals hold divergent values. *Acad. Management J.* 57(5):1485–1512.

Bristow A, Robinson S, Ratle O (2017) Being an early-career CMS academic in the context of insecurity 'excellence': The dialectics of resistance and compliance. *Organ. Stud.* 38(9):1185–1207.

Brown AD (2015) Identities and identity work in organizations. *Internat. J. Management Rev.* 17(1):20–40.

Caprar DV (2011) Foreign locals: A cautionary tale on the culture of MNC local employees. *J. Internat. Bus. Stud.* 42(5):608–628.

Collinson DL (1992) *Managing the Shopfloor: Subjectivity, Masculinity and Workplace Culture* (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin).

Collinson D (1994) Strategies of resistance: power, knowledge and subjectivity in the workplace. Jermier JM, Knights D, Nord WR, eds. *Resistance and Power in Organizations* (Routledge, London), 25–68.

Collinson DL (2003) Identities and insecurities: Selves at work. *Organization* 10(3):527–547.

Contu A (2008) Decaf resistance: On misbehavior, cynicism, and desire in liberal workplaces. *Management Comm. Quart.* 21(3): 364–379.

Costas J, Grey C (2014) The temporality of power and the power of temporality: Imaginary future selves in professional service firms. *Organ. Stud.* 35(6):909–937.

Courpasson D (2017) Beyond the hidden/public resistance divide: How bloggers defeated a big company. *Organ. Stud.* 38(9): 1277–1302.

Courpasson D, Vallas S (2016) *The Sage Handbook of Resistance* (Sage, Los Angeles).

Courpasson D, Dany F, Clegg S (2012) Resisters at work: Generating productive resistance in the workplace. *Organ. Sci.* 23(3):801–819.

Courpasson D, Dany F, Delbridge R (2017) Politics of place: The meaningfulness of resisting places. *Human Relations* 70(2): 237–259.

Dale K, Burrell G (2008) *The Spaces of Organization and the Organization of Space* (Macmillan, New York).

Dale PN (1986) *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness* (Taylor & Francis, Oxford, UK).

Davies A, Thomas R (2008) Dixon of Dock Green got shot! Policing identity work and organizational change. *Public Admin.* 86(3): 627–642.

Elsbach KD (2003) Relating physical environment to self-categorizations: Identity threat and affirmation in a non-territorial office space. *Admin. Sci. Quart.* 48(4):622–654.

Elsbach KD (2004) Interpreting workplace identities: The role of office décor. *J. Organ. Behav.* 25(1):99–128.

Ezzamel M, Willmott H (1998) Accounting for teamwork: A critical study of group-based systems of organizational control. *Admin. Sci. Quart.* 43(2):358–396.

Ezzamel M, Willmott H, Worthington F (2001) Power, control and resistance in the factory that time forgot. *J. Management Stud.* 38(8):1053–1079.

Fleming P (2007) Sexuality, power and resistance in the workplace. *Organ. Stud.* 28(2):239–256.

Fleming P, Spicer A (2003) Working at a cynical distance: Implications for power, subjectivity and resistance. *Organization* 10(1):157–179.

Fleming P, Spicer A (2007) *Contesting the Corporation: Struggle, Power and Resistance in Organizations* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK).

Fleming P, Spicer A (2008) Beyond power and resistance: New approaches to organizational politics. *Management Comm. Quart.* 21(3):301–309.

Gagnon S, Collinson D (2017) Resistance through difference: The co-constitution of dissent and inclusion. *Organ. Stud.* 38(9): 1253–1276.

Garcia P, Hardy C (2007) Positioning, similarity and difference: Narratives of individual and organizational identities in an Australian university. *Scandinavian J. Management* 23(4):363–383.

Geppert M, Becker-Ritterspach F, Mudambi R (2016) Politics and power in multinational companies: Integrating the international business and organization studies perspectives. *Organ. Stud.* 37(9):1209–1225.

Geppert M, Dörrenbächer C (2014) Politics and power within MNCs: Mainstream studies, emerging critical approaches and suggestions for future research. *Internat. J. Management Rev.* 16(2):226–244.

Goffman E (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Doubleday, Garden City, NY).

Graham F (2004) *Japanese Company in Crisis* (Routledge, London).

Grey C, Willmott H (2005) *Critical Management Studies: A Reader* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK).

Hancock P, Spicer A (2011) Academic architecture and the constitution of the new model worker. *Culture Organ.* 17(2):91–105.

Harding NH, Ford J, Lee H (2017) Toward a performative theory of resistance: Senior managers and revolting subject(ivitie)s. *Organ. Stud.* 38(9):1209–1232.

Hinds PJ, Neeley TB, Cramton CD (2014) Language as a lightning rod: Power contests, emotion regulation, and subgroup dynamics in global teams. *J. Internat. Bus. Stud.* 45(5):536–561.

Islam G, Zyphur M (2009) Rituals in organizations: A review and expansion of current theory. *Group Organ. Management* 34(1): 114–139.

Islam G, Zyphur MJ, Boje D (2008) Carnival and spectacle in Krewe de Vieux and the Mystic Krewe of Spermes: The mingling of organization and celebration. *Organ. Stud.* 29(12):1565–1589.

Jenkins R (2000) Categorization: Identity, social process and epistemology. *Current. Sociol.* 48(3):7–25.

Kachtan D, Wasserman V (2015) (Un)dressing masculinity: The body as a site of ethno-gendered resistance. *Organization* 22(3): 390–417.

Knights D, McCabe D (2000) "Ain't misbehavin"? Opportunities for resistance under new forms of "quality" management. *Sociology* 34(3):421–436.

Knights D, Willmott H (1989) Power and subjectivity at work: From degradation to subjugation in social relations. *Sociology* 23(4): 535–558.

Kondo D (1990) *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago).

Koot WCJ (1997) *Strategic utilization of ethnicity in contemporary organizations.* Sackman SA, ed. *Cultural Complexity: Inherent Contrasts and Contradictions* (Sage, London), 315–339.

Koschmann MA, McDonald J (2015) Organizational rituals, communication, and the question of agency. *Management Comm. Quart.* 29(2):229–256.

Koveshnikov A, Ehrnrooth M, Vaara E (2017) Headquarter-subsidiary relations in the multinational corporation as a discursive struggle. Dörrenbächer C, Geppert M, eds., *Multinational Corporations and Organization Theory: Post Millennium Perspectives* (Emerald Publishing Limited, Bingley, UK), 233–264.

Koveshnikov A, Vaara E, Ehrnrooth M (2016) Stereotype-based managerial identity work in multinational corporations. *Organ. Stud.* 37(9):1353–1379.

Kunda G (2006) *Engineering Culture: Control and Commitment in a High-tech Corporation*, 2nd ed. (Temple University Press, Philadelphia).

Lawrence TB (2004) Rituals and resistance: Membership dynamics in professional fields. *Human Relations* 57(2):115–143.

Lefebvre H (1991) *The Production of Space* (Blackwell, Oxford, UK).

Marshall C, Rossman GB (2011) *Designing Qualitative Research*, 5th ed. (Sage, Los Angeles).

McCabe D (2018) The Day of the Rally: An ethnographic study of "ceremony as resistance" and "resistance as ceremony." *Organization* 26(2):255–275.

Meriläinen S, Tienari J, Thomas R, Davies A (2004) Management consultant talk: A cross-cultural comparison of normalizing discourse and resistance. *Organization* 11(4):539–564.

Mumby DK (2005) Theorizing resistance in organization studies: A dialectical approach. *Management Comm. Quart.* 19(1): 19–44.

Mumby DK, Thomas R, Martí I, Seidl D (2017) Resistance redux. *Organ. Stud.* 38(9):1157–1183.

Munro I, Jordan S (2013) "Living Space" at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe: Spatial tactics and the politics of smooth space. *Human Relations* 66(11):1497–1525.

Murphy AG (1998) Hidden transcripts of flight attendant resistance. *Management Comm. Quart.* 11(4):499–535.

Neeley TB (2013) Language matters: Status loss and achieved status distinctions in global organizations. *Organ. Sci.* 24(2):476–497.

O'Mahoney J (2011) Embracing essentialism: A realist critique of resistance to discursive power. *Organization* 19(6):723–741.

Pardo del Val M, Martínez FC (2003) Resistance to change: A literature review and empirical study. *Management Decision* 41(2): 148–155.

Prasad P, Prasad A (2000) Stretching the iron cage: The constitution and implications of routine workplace resistance. *Organ. Sci.* 11(4):387–403.

Pratt MG, Foreman PO (2000) Classifying managerial responses to multiple organizational identities. *Acad. Management Rev.* 25(1): 18–42.

Ramarajan L, Reid E (2013) Shattering the myth of separate worlds: Negotiating nonwork identities at work. *Acad. Management Rev.* 38(4):621–644.

Ramarajan L, Berger IE, Greenspan I (2017) Multiple identity configurations: The benefits of focused enhancement for prosocial behavior. *Organ. Sci.* 28(3):495–513.

Rodrigues SB, Collinson DL (1995) "Having fun?" Humour as resistance in Brazil. *Organ. Stud.* 16(5):739–768.

Sarpong D, Maclean M (2017) Service nepotism in cosmopolitan transient social spaces. *Work Employment Soc.* 31(5):764–781.

Shortt H (2015) Liminality, space and the importance of "transitory dwelling places" at work. *Human Relations* 68(4):633–658.

Smets M, Jarzabkowski P, Burke GT, Spee P (2015) Reinsurance trading in Lloyd's of London: Balancing conflicting-yet-complementary logics in practice. *Acad. Management J.* 58(3):932–970.

Smith WK, Besharov ML (2017) Bowing before dual gods: How structured flexibility sustains organizational hybridity. *Admin. Sci. Quart.* 64(1):1–44.

Sugimoto Y (1999) Making sense of Nihonjinron. *Thesis Eleven* 57(1): 81–96.

Sveningsson S, Alvesson M (2003) Managing managerial identities: Organizational fragmentation, discourse and identity struggle. *Human Relations* 56(10):1163–1193.

Thomas R, Davies A (2005) Theorizing the micro-politics of resistance: New public management and managerial identities in the UK public services. *Organ. Stud.* 26(5):683–706.

Thomas R, Hardy C (2011) Reframing resistance to organizational change. *Scandinavian J. Management* 27(3):322–331.

Thomas R, Mills AJ, Mills JH (2004) *Identity Politics at Work: Resisting Gender, Gendering Resistance* (Routledge, London).

Turner VW (1969) *The Ritual Process* (Aldine, Chicago).

Vaara E, Tienari J (2011) On the narrative construction of multinational corporations: An anti-narrative analysis of legitimation and resistance in a cross-border merger. *Organ. Sci.* 22(2):370–390.

Wasserman V, Frenkel M (2011) Organizational aesthetics: Caught between identity regulation and culture jamming. *Organ. Sci.* 22(2):503–521.

Wasserman V, Frenkel M (2015) Spatial work in between glass ceilings and glass walls: Gender-class intersectionality and organizational aesthetics. *Organ. Stud.* 36(11):1485–1505.

Watson TJ (2008) Managing identity: Identity work, personal predicaments and structural circumstances. *Organization* 15(1):121–143.

Wong WH (1999) *Japanese Bosses, Chinese Workers: Power and Control in a Hongkong Megastore*, Anthropology of Asia (Routledge, London).

Yagi N, Kleinberg J (2011) Boundary work: An interpretive ethnographic perspective on negotiating and leveraging cross-cultural identity. *J. Internat. Bus. Stud.* 42(5):629–653.

Ybema S, Byun H (2009) Cultivating cultural differences in asymmetric power relations. *Internat. J. Cross Cultural Management* 9(3):339–358.

Ybema S, Horvers M (2017) Resistance through compliance: The strategic and subversive potential of frontstage and backstage resistance. *Organ. Stud.* 38(9):1233–1251.

Ybema S, Thomas R, Hardy C (2016) Organizational change and resistance: An identity perspective. Courpason D, Valas S, eds. *The Sage Handbook of Resistance* (Sage, Los Angeles), 386–405.

Ybema S, Keenoy T, Oswick C, Beverungen A, Ellis N, Sabelis I (2009) Articulating identities. *Human Relations* 62(3):299–322.

Avital Baikovich is an adjunct lecturer at the Department of Labor Studies and the Department of East Asian Studies at Tel Aviv University. She received her PhD from the Department of Labor Studies at Tel Aviv University. Her research interests include organizational identity, power and resistance, Japanese management, and work organizations.

Varda Wasserman is an associate professor at the Open University of Israel in the Department of Management and Economics. Her research interests include organization aesthetics, organizational control and resistance, embodiment and gender identities, and diversity in organizations. Her recent publications are in *Gender and Society*, *Organization Science*, *Organization Studies*, *Organization*, *Human Relations*, and more.