Johnson
Cornell
SC Johnson College of Business

Administrative Science Quarterly
2017, Vol. 62(2)219–269

DOI: 10.1177/0001839216678842
journals.sagepub.com/home/asq
SAGE

Seeing More than Orange: Organizational Respect and Positive Identity Transformation in a Prison Context

Kristie M. Rogers,[1] Kevin G. Corley,[2] and Blake E. Ashforth[2]

Abstract

This paper develops grounded theory on how receiving respect at work enables individuals to engage in positive identity transformation and the resulting personal and work-related outcomes. A company that employs inmates at a state prison to perform professional business-to-business marketing services provided a unique context for data collection. Our data indicate that inmates experienced respect in two distinct ways, generalized and particularized, which initiated an identity decoupling process that allowed them to distinguish between their inmate identity and their desired future selves and to construct transitional identities that facilitated positive change. The social context of the organization provided opportunities for personal and social identities to be claimed, respected, and granted, producing social validation and enabling individuals to feel secure in their transitional identities. We find that security in personal identities produces primarily performance-related outcomes, whereas security in the company identity produces primarily well-being-related outcomes. Further, these two types of security together foster an integration of seemingly incompatible identities—''identity holism''—as employees progress toward becoming their desired selves. Our work suggests that organizations can play a generative role in improving the lives of their members through respect-based processes.

Keywords: respect, total institution, identity decoupling, identity security, identity holism

An emerging body of organizational research suggests that individuals who feel respected at work demonstrate enhanced creativity (Carmeli, Dutton, and

[1] College of Business Administration, Marquette University
[2] W. P. Carey School of Business, Arizona State University

Hardin, 2015), identification with leaders and the organization (Stürmer, Simon, and Loewy, 2008; van Quaquebeke and Eckloff, 2010; Bartel, Wrzesniewski, and Wiesenfeld, 2012), and in-role and extra-role behaviors (Tyler and Blader, 2002), as well as reduced burnout (Ramarajan, Barsade, and Burack, 2008). But despite recognition that respect has the power to improve members' performance and experience of organizational life, we lack a grounded sense of *how* receivers experience respect and *why* it acts as such a powerful driver of individual- and collective-level outcomes.

An individual's sense of self is likely key to answering these questions.[1] Wrzesniewski, Dutton, and Debebe (2003: 127) noted that a wealth of organizational research shows that "there is a close coupling between the way others make employees feel about the value of their work and how they feel valued as individuals." This suggests that receiving respect at work helps employees gain a sense of their worth as organizational members and, more broadly, as valued individuals. Spears and colleagues (2006) suggested that examining respect may be the most promising way to advance knowledge of how treatment by others affects the ongoing development of the self-concept.

But why would this connection between respect and the self-concept be particularly strong? How can receiving respect from others have such a profound impact on one's sense of self that cognitive, emotional, and behavioral changes are made possible that were previously implausible? Current theory does not adequately address these questions, in part because the literature on respect provides little insight into the actual intrapersonal experience of receiving respect over time, but also because little empirical work exists on respect-based processes and their impact in the workplace. A rich understanding of the link between respect and self-concept development may shed light on the role of the organizational context in driving the development of a positive self-concept and improve our understanding of how and why organizations can be a generative force in society by shaping a more positive work experience.

Examining how respect might affect the self-concept is timely because the desire to improve oneself and develop positive identities, those that are "favorable or valuable in some way" (Dutton, Roberts, and Bednar, 2010: 266), is increasingly recognized as a fundamental motive underlying why people join organizations and engage in their jobs.[2] Carlsen (2006: 134, his emphasis) noted that individuals approach organizational life with the goal to improve themselves and "as *a search for transformation in its own right*," while Dutton, Roberts, and Bednar (2009: 7) pointed out that "research has shown that this drive to construct a positive identity is equivalent to and sometimes even exceeds our most basic physical needs." Add to this the increasing acknowledgement of the importance of respect in the workplace—a recent study of respect revealed that "of nearly 20,000 employees around the world . . . no other leader behavior had a bigger effect on employees across the outcomes" (Porath, 2014: 1)—and it is remarkable that we understand so little about respect-based processes in organizations.

[1] We use the terms "sense of self" and "self-concept" interchangeably. To remain consistent with the literature, we use the terms "future (work) self" and "desired (work) self" to refer to aspirational self-concepts.

[2] Scholars have wrestled with how best to define positive identity in organizations (e.g., by positive content, process, or outcomes; see the chapters in Roberts and Dutton, 2009). To avoid this quagmire, we opted for Dutton and colleagues' (2010) simple definition.

Our goal was to better understand how respect, defined as the ''worth accorded to one person by one or more others'' (Spears et al., 2006: 179), promotes self-transformation in organizations. Carlsen (2006: 133) referred to this progress toward a better (and unified) self-concept as ''becoming,'' such that humans have a ''generative propensity to seek transformation and meaning. A basic human need for achieving some form of wholeness and unity.'' The notion of becoming emphasizes the importance of individuals' provisional selves (Ibarra, 1999) and future work selves (Strauss, Griffin, and Parker, 2012), as individuals typically do not approach organizational life simply to maintain the status quo (Carlsen, 2006).

To provide insights on the process linking respect and transformation of the self-concept, we conducted a qualitative study grounded in the experiences of individuals working in an organizational setting in which respect is particularly salient and positive change to the self-concept is especially difficult. We chose a company that employs incarcerated women in a state prison to perform business-to-business marketing tasks. While society in general accords little worth to incarcerated women (Butler and Drake, 2007), stereotyping them as dangerous people, evil women, and bad mothers (Schram, 1999; Clowers, 2001), this company views them as valuable individuals deserving of a chance to be successful members of the business world, a positive approach that results not only in a drastically lower recidivism rate for the employees but also industry-leading performance for the organization. Our in-depth inductive examination of these women's work lives and social interactions revealed a tight coupling between the experience of respect and change in the self-concept.

RESPECT AND IDENTITY TRANSFORMATION

Respect is a term used in many areas of organizational research, including leadership (e.g., Gerstner and Day, 1997; Brown, Treviño, and Harrison, 2005; van Dierendonck, 2011), justice (e.g., Bies and Moag, 1986; Lind and Tyler, 1988), and positive organizational scholarship (e.g., Dutton, 2003; Dutton, Debebe, and Wrzesniewski, 2016), indicating that respect is a meaningful social phenomenon in organizational contexts. Yet it is rarely examined as a construct in its own right. Recent conceptual and empirical work, however, speaks to the nomological uniqueness of the construct and the value of understanding expressions and perceptions of imputed worth in organizations (for reviews, see Grover, 2014; Rogers and Ashforth, 2014; Carmeli, Dutton, and Hardin, 2015).

Research in other disciplines suggests distinct meanings of respect, as well as diverse motivations for conveying it, ranging from the notion that respect is owed to everyone to the belief that respect is a judgment or evaluation of an individual's attributes relative to socially relevant criteria (e.g., Dillon, 2007; Huo, Binning, and Molina, 2010; Ellemers et al., 2013). Rogers and Ashforth (2014) noted that these various meanings can be distilled into two fundamental types of respect: generalized and particularized. Generalized respect is defined as ''the worth accorded by one or more others, which 'is owed to everyone [in a social category] simply as a function of their being persons' (Lalljee, Laham, and Tam, 2007: 452)'' (Rogers and Ashforth, 2014: 4). This type of respect originates from the notion that all are inherently deserving of respect as a basic human right (Kant, 1785/2002). In an organizational context, generalized respect

is something that is equally accorded to each member of a social category (e.g., all members of an organization, department, or occupation) and cannot be earned or lost. Examples of how generalized respect might be expressed in organizations include actions directed equally toward all organizational members, such as instituting participative decision making, appreciating the value of members' time, and fostering human resource practices that convey concern for employees (Fuller et al., 2006; Ramarajan, Barsade, and Burack, 2008; Takeuchi, Chen, and Lepak, 2009; Carmeli, Dutton, and Hardin, 2015; Dutton, Debebe, and Wrzesniewski, 2016).

While generalized respect provides a foundational worth for all members, particularized respect provides worth only for individuals who exhibit—or have the potential to exhibit—certain qualities or actions. Particularized respect differentiates individuals within a social category and is defined as "the worth accorded by one or more others, which is based on the target's attributes, behaviors, and achievements" (Rogers and Ashforth, 2014: 4). It is earned to the extent that a receiver's attributes, behaviors, and achievements accord with salient organizationally relevant prototypes (e.g., role occupant, organizational member) or with a prototypical person of good character (Rogers and Ashforth, 2014). Prototypes typically allow for and often encourage individuality in how they are enacted. Expressions of particularized respect include cues that differentiate one individual from others in the context, such as a leader conferring responsibilities on a specific individual, rewarding an individual for his or her performance, or expressing trust in an individual (van Quaquebeke and Eckloff, 2010; Dutton, Debebe, and Wrzesniewski, 2016). The key to such expressions qualifying as particularized respect is a clear link between the positive attribute, behavior, or achievement displayed and the signal of imputed worth.

Respect and the Construction of the Self-concept

A deeper examination of how respect is experienced at work would enrich our understanding of the means through which it facilitates the process of "becoming." Though current conceptualizations of respect suggest relationships with other variables (e.g., Branscombe et al., 2002; Smith, Tyler, and Huo, 2003; Stürmer, Simon, and Loewy, 2008; Bartel, Wrzesniewski, and Wiesenfeld, 2012; Carmeli, Dutton, and Hardin, 2015), existing theory does not provide a sufficient foundation for understanding how receiving respect affects the social construction of the self-concept at work, nor does it consider the nuanced differentiation of experienced generalized and particularized respect.

The socially constructed self-concept. Many terms are used to refer to how individuals see themselves. We use *self-concept*, "the totality of an individual's thoughts and feelings with reference to himself" (Rosenberg, 1979: 8). Following social identity theory, the self-concept is composed of two parts: personal identities and social identities (Brown and Turner, 1981; Ashforth and Mael, 1989). Personal identities refer to individual attributes that are seen as self-defining (e.g., I have high attention to detail, I enjoy challenges), whereas social identities refer to membership in groups or categories that are seen as self-defining (e.g., I am a member of this organization, I am a professional).

Although researchers have extensively investigated what the self-concept is, we know much less about how personal and social identities come to be incorporated into one's self-concept (cf. Yost, Strube, and Bailey, 1992; Pratt, 1998; Hogg, 2001; Onorato and Turner, 2004).

Many researchers do agree that the self-concept is largely socially constructed (Mead, 1934), based in part on the collective's efforts to actively manage members' personal and social identities through socialization (Pratt, 2000; Ashforth, Harrison, and Sluss, 2014) and in part on others' responses to members enacting those identities (Ibarra, 1999; Ashforth and Schinoff, 2016). Organizations often create some type of dissonance to motivate transformation of the self-concept, typically by challenging members' current self-concepts to ''create a type of identity deficit or a misfit between who one is and who one wants to become'' (Pratt, 2000: 467). This dissonance is often created through divestiture socialization tactics that undermine or even stigmatize current identities—as when, for example, drill sergeants in military basic training derogate newcomers' civilian ''bad habits''—creating shame and a readiness to incorporate a more-desirable identity into the self-concept (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979). The prison context for the present study, however, did not allow individuals to divest themselves of the derogated inmate identity, raising the question of how individuals can socially construct a positive sense of themselves while saddled with a socially undesirable identity.

The process of socially constructing the self-concept. When individuals enter and expect to remain in a new setting for an extended period, they typically have or soon develop a sense of a future work self—of becoming the kind of person they hope and aspire to be, at least in that setting (Strauss, Griffin, and Parker, 2012; Zhang et al., 2014). A future work self serves as a goal that motivates developmental steps toward realizing that self. For example, a future work self of ''excellent manager'' might motivate one to pursue an MBA and model oneself after an admired supervisor. Given the gulf between individuals' incoming identities and their desired future work selves, they tend to develop a transitional identity, ''a partially formed understanding and enactment of the [desired self] . . . a way station on the road toward being accepted by oneself and one's role set as a bona fide exemplar'' (Ashforth, 2001: 74). As individuals undertake steps toward becoming their desired selves, they implicitly or explicitly make identity claims (Bartel and Dutton, 2001; DeRue and Ashford, 2010)—assertions that they are legitimate aspirants, reaching commonly accepted signposts on the road to becoming those selves. Identity granting is then inferred if the identity claims are accepted by important audiences (Bartel and Dutton, 2001; DeRue and Ashford, 2010), typically one's manager, peers, and—if relevant—clients. Iterations of identity claiming and inferred identity granting move the individual down the road toward fully becoming the desired self, such that a transitional identity becomes a more stable and fully internalized identity. Respect may serve as a generative lever for this self-transformation, encouraging the individual to take steps toward becoming his or her desired future self. What remains unclear is how respect plays a role in this process. Hence our first research question is:

Research question 1: How does the experience of respect influence the social construction of the self-concept over time?

Outcomes of Respect

Social psychological research on respect, particularly that rooted in social identity, suggests that respect from group members ''can have fundamental implications for how we subsequently relate to the group in terms of both emotional and behavioral responses'' (Spears et al., 2006: 190). For instance, Branscombe and colleagues (2002) found that group members who perceived respect from other members were willing to donate time to improving the group's image above and beyond time invested in improving their personal image. Feeling respected also leads to increased identification and cooperation with one's group (Smith, Tyler, and Huo, 2003) and provides information about whether one is accepted in a group and the extent to which one is viewed as a worthwhile contributor (De Cremer and Tyler, 2005), which has been found to positively affect self-esteem (Smith and Tyler, 1997; Ellemers, Doosje, and Spears, 2004).

In organizational contexts specifically, we noted that respect is positively related to participation and identification, in-role and extra-role behaviors, and creativity (Tyler and Blader, 2002; Stürmer, Simon, and Loewy, 2008; Bartel, Wrzesniewski, and Wiesenfeld, 2012; Carmeli, Dutton, and Hardin, 2015). Additionally, van Quaquebeke and Eckloff (2010) found that followers are more likely to identify with a leader, be more receptive to his or her influence, and report higher job satisfaction when they feel respected by that person. Finally, Boezeman and Ellemers (2008) found that simply anticipating feeling respected increases one's willingness to donate time to a volunteer organization.

Speaking to the wider organizational context, Tenbrunsel, Smith-Crowe, and Umphress (2003) suggested that a climate of respect increases the salience of others' value in the organization and reduces self-interested behaviors. Similarly, Spreitzer and colleagues (2005) posited that a climate of respect communicates the organization's belief that members are intrinsically worthy and capable of adding value, which facilitates employees' thriving, learning, psychological and physical health, and experience of vitality. Ramarajan and colleagues (2008) conducted a field experiment and found that hospital units that made structural and cultural changes to improve the climate of respect subsequently had fewer cases of burnout than units that made no changes.

Although the literature indicates that receiving respect has a salutary impact on individuals and organizational units, dynamics related to the self-concept through which these effects are realized remain unclear. We have insight on the outcomes themselves but do not understand how they are achieved. Exploring the phenomenology of receiving respect can enable us to better explain the process through which respect leads to various positive outcomes. Therefore:

Research question 2: How does receiving respect influence organizational members' personal and work-related outcomes?

METHODS

We applied a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2006; Suddaby, 2006) to address our two research questions, enabling us to inductively build theory from the day-to-day experiences of individuals living the phenomenon.

Research Setting

We followed Eisenhardt and Graebner's (2007: 27) suggestion to choose a setting that allowed us to ''explore a significant phenomenon under rare or extreme circumstances.'' Respect is likely to be most observable where it is problematic (Miller, 2001), allowing individuals to better articulate the experience of respect because they can readily contrast situations in which they receive respect with situations in which they do not. Accordingly, we selected as our research site Televerde, a business-to-business marketing firm begun in 1994 that employs female inmates in call centers located inside state prisons. Each work day, the women leave their cell blocks and report to a call center on their designated prison yard, wearing their orange inmate clothing. Televerde does not sell products but rather contracts with technology companies (''clients'') seeking knowledge about emerging product markets or potential customers. Teleservice representatives (TSRs) generally call businesses (''prospects'') on behalf of the client with the goal of making an appointment for the client's sales team to meet with the prospect. At the time of the study, Televerde's business was conducted in five call centers: four located in a single prison that houses minimum-, medium-, and maximum-security inmates, and one located at the company's corporate office. Televerde employees earn an hourly wage. Department of Corrections (DOC) regulations stipulate that pay raises can be given for tenure only, never merit, making intangible recognition and rewards very salient at Televerde.

New hires are trained in cohorts of 6–12, engaging in an intensive three-week training program with two trainers: one from the corporate office (non-inmate) and one experienced call center employee (inmate). The first two weeks of training focus on business and technology and take place in a classroom. The curriculum is modeled after community college business courses, earning four college credits for new hires who pass the exams. The third week of training is in a call center where each new hire is paired with an experienced mentor and progresses from listening to making calls on her own. After training, TSRs typically start on fairly simple calling campaigns and then progress to more difficult campaigns as they build their skills.

Sampling

We focused our data collection on three of the four in-prison call centers in order to cover all security levels: a minimum-, medium-, and maximum-security call center.[3] We conducted theoretical sampling to select informants, which allowed us to begin with individuals whose experience seemed most relevant to the research questions and related emergent themes (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). We focused mainly on new hires because their adjustment to the prison-based call centers likely offers the most salient experience of respect at work. Thus we collected data from select newcomers repeatedly throughout their adjustment to Televerde (an average of six months) to provide a longitudinal take on their experience. Specific newcomers were recommended by their trainers with the aim of sampling varied levels of prior

[3] To maintain informants' anonymity, we do not explicitly link each call center to a security level but rather label the three data collection sites Call Center 1 (CC1), Call Center 2 (CC2), and Call Center 3 (CC3).

work experience and performance during training. To sample more-experienced call center employees, we selected inmates whom we felt could provide the most information given their long tenure and experience in multiple call centers. In addition, we interviewed managers from each call center, a training specialist, and the quality control manager whose work spanned all call centers.

Data Collection

Data collection took place over 15 months, with the majority collected in a nine-month window. To gain an initial understanding of the organizational context and call center settings, all three authors spent a full 10-hour work day with the vice president of operations touring the four prison call centers, receiving an overview of the relevant prison and call center operations, and having informal conversations and interviews with managers and employees. We reviewed our individual detailed notes together immediately after the tour and the following day, recording and transcribing the discussion for future reference. Next, the first author conducted interviews with the directors of human resources and training to gain an understanding of hiring and training procedures. Following the collection and analysis of these preliminary data, the first author began collecting the remaining data. She continued until theoretical saturation was reached, which occurred when observation and interviews produced information that was redundant and no new categories or relationships between the categories were revealed (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Observation. The first author logged 185 hours of observation, including 158 hours observing training and operations across the three selected call centers. The majority of this time was extensive non-participant observation of the two-week formal new-hire training process across call centers, although she also observed the on-the-job training period for new hires and subsequently observed how TSRs performed their jobs. She also spent 27 hours observing a series of Televerde-sponsored Saturday workshops designed to prepare employees within one year of release to successfully reintegrate into society. She took detailed notes during observations and recorded her theoretical interpretations of these observations. She shared and discussed observation notes daily with the second and third authors for the first 40 hours of observation and at least once for every 10 hours of observation that followed.

Interviews. The first author, with assistance from her coauthors, conducted 92 formal and informal interviews with 57 informants. Six of the informants were executives or managers based at the corporate office, 12 were managers or trainers in the prison call centers, 18 were newly hired inmate employees, and 21 were experienced inmate employees. The organizational tenure of informants ranged from 0 to 12 years. The 42 informal interviews were more spontaneous and open-ended and, given the inmates' skepticism of authority figures and outsiders in the prison context, were particularly critical for building credibility and rapport and for understanding the nuances of each call center. The 50 formal interviews followed a semi-structured format based on protocols

previously developed as a research team and refined by prior interviews; Online Appendix A (http://asq.sagepub.com/supplemental) provides our initial new-hire protocol, along with a sample of questions that emerged from the data collection and analysis process. We wished to avoid interfering with the existing respect dynamics or risk priming new hires to look for respect cues. Thus we did not explicitly ask questions about respect in initial conversations and interviews but rather asked about how they were treated at work and followed leads regarding respect with probes (e.g., ''How so?,'' ''Can you give me an example?''). After the initial site visit as a research team, the first author conducted all interviews, enabling her to build rapport with the informants over time. Interviews ranged from 20 to 90 minutes, averaging about 45 minutes. All recorded interviews (90 percent of formal interviews) were transcribed verbatim and proofread for accuracy. The first author took notes during and immediately following unrecorded interviews and recorded a reflection during breaks between interviews and immediately after each day of interviews. The reflections were transcribed verbatim.

Archival documents. Archival materials served as useful support for triangulation (Shah and Corley, 2006) and included mission and vision statements, white papers, media reports, training materials, and text from the company's website. This was an unobtrusive form of data collection (Webb and Weick, 1979) that provided important background information.

Data Analysis

The transcripts of recorded interviews, observation notes, interview notes, and archival documents were loaded into the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti, which helped organize the large amount of data. The first author followed Glaser and Strauss's (1967) constant comparison technique, such that data analysis and collection took place concurrently as she used open, axial, and selective coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Stage 1: Open coding. The first author began analysis with the open coding process, described as ''breaking data apart and delineating concepts to stand for blocks of raw data'' (Corbin and Strauss, 2008: 195). In this initial stage of coding, a researcher focuses on staying very close to the data and ''open to all potential theoretical directions'' (Charmaz, 2006: 46). The result is a list of concepts that remain at the first-order level, labeled in ways that stay true to the language of the informants or that are at the level of meaning for the informants (Van Maanen, 1979). Sample concepts from our analysis include ''distancing who I am from the 'orange','' ''transitional identity,'' and ''envisioning future self.''

The first author initially conducted open coding with several interviews in which respect was discussed, generating a preliminary list of concepts. The second and third authors used that list to independently code an additional interview to establish a baseline understanding (Locke, 2001). We compared our coding and found a high level of agreement; we discussed discrepancies until we reached agreement. We used the revised list of preliminary concepts as the basis for changes to the initial interview protocol and sampling decisions.

The first author then continued with further interviews and open coding independently, adding new concepts as necessary. She continued to conduct peer debriefings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) with the second and third author regarding how the emerging concepts resonated with our understanding of the context and our knowledge of the organizational literature.

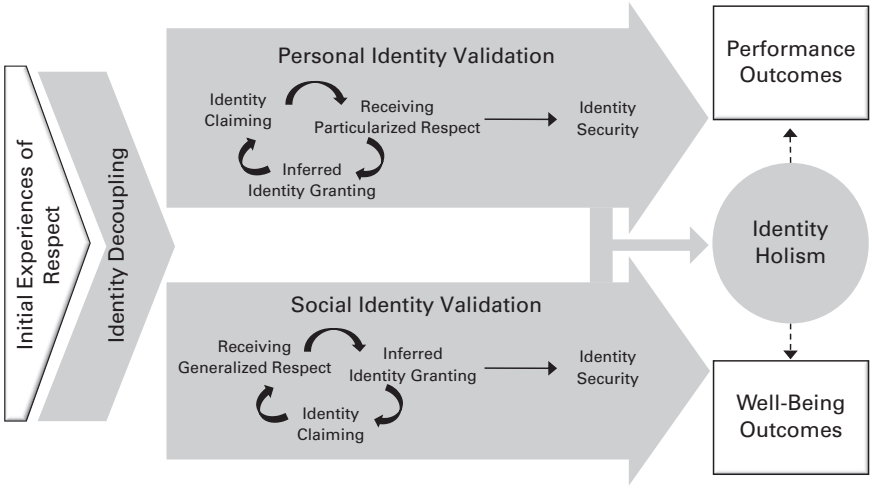
Step 2: Axial coding. The first author then began axial coding, reducing the array of concepts by placing them into second-order themes based on common properties (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Themes are meant to translate the raw data into language similar to that used in the organizational literature to which we intend to contribute (thus marking the shift from first-order concepts to second-order themes—Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton, 2013), providing the building blocks for a theoretical model. A sample second-order theme is ''decoupling identities,'' which aggregates the sample first-order concepts of ''distancing who I am from the 'orange','' ''transitional identity,'' and ''envisioning future self.''

Step 3: Selective coding. Finally, selective coding enables the researcher to identify relationships between themes (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). At this point we began to build the foundation of a coherent emergent theory. The first author paid special attention to the longitudinal components of our data, which helped her identify relationships between themes. The result was an emergent process model detailing how respect affected informants' progression through their transformation at Televerde. A sample relationship identified through selective coding is the ''experience of respect'' leading to ''identity decoupling.''

FINDINGS

Our examination of Televerde's workplace provided insight into the role of respect-based processes in identity transformation and their impact on both personal and work-related outcomes. As illustrated in figure 1, both particularized and generalized respect were experienced in initial interactions with Televerde, focusing new hires inward and initiating an identity transformation process. Identity decoupling followed, which enabled new hires to psychologically distance themselves from the inmate identity, envision a future self beyond prison, and construct a transitional identity to get there. Next, as new hires finished training and began working in the call centers, the work context and interpersonal connections served as opportunities to receive social validation for personal and social identities through cycles of identity claiming, respect, and inferred identity granting. Particularized respect led to social validation of personal identities, whereas generalized respect led to social validation of social identities. This validation in turn fostered a sense of identity security that helped individuals feel safe and confident in the transitional identity, which ultimately enabled them to integrate their personal identities and conflicting social identities of inmate and Televerdian into a coherent whole, an outcome we refer to as identity holism. The figure depicts the dominant paths of particularized and generalized respect, such that a state of identity security in personal and social identities links to performance and well-being outcomes,

Figure 1. The role of particularized and generalized respect in identity transformation.



respectively.[4] Finally, there appeared to be a positive relationship between identity holism and both performance and well-being outcomes. These relationships are indicated with dotted rather than solid arrows in figure 1 because the co-occurrence of identity holism and these two outcomes was difficult to tease out from the interviews.

Throughout the explanation of findings, each piece of supporting data is labeled with the call center (CC1, CC2, or CC3); an identifying number assigned to informants during coding; and NH to indicate new hire, EE to indicate experienced employee, or MGT to indicate non-inmate manager. We provide further data for each emergent theme in table 1.

The Prison and Televerde Contexts

The contextual features of the prison made respect cues and identity issues especially salient. Although interviews did not focus on the prison experience, the contrast between Televerde and ''the yard'' was deeply meaningful to interviewees and often discussed, especially by new hires. A prison is a prototypical total institution, defined by Goffman (1961: xiii) as ''a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead to an enclosed, formally administered round of life'' (see Stanko, Gillespie, and Crews, 2004; Levi and Waldman, 2011). Although prisons ostensibly embody the contradictory goals of punishment and rehabilitation (Tracy, 2004), the former was far more salient to our informants. As one put it, ''Being here *is* our punishment, and they like

[4] Considering the effects of particularized and generalized respect together raises the question of crossover effects of particularized respect on well-being and generalized respect on performance. Figure 1 is intended to display the dominant trajectory suggested by our data, but there were certainly instances when receiving respect for enacting a valued personal identity appeared to increase satisfaction and happiness, indicative of improved well-being. There were also instances when generalized respect seemed to enhance performance, as receivers wanted to contribute to the collective from which they derived a positive sense of self.

Table 1. Representative Quotes and Observations Supporting Second-order Themes

	Theme 1: Receiving Particularized Respect
My contribution is valued	''I started to feel my value. I started to feel that Televerde saw my value and they didn't see me as just another person on the phone . . . I have to have that. I have to feel that and have the ability to strive beyond normal means.'' (CC1, EE10)
	While listening to a TSR make phone calls, we notice that she has a certificate posted in her cubicle recognizing her for how much money she has earned for the company on a specific campaign. The trainer tells us that Televerde has to be ''very creative'' with rewards because of DOC restrictions. He says praise and certificates from management are very meaningful to employees because they have not experienced much success [in life] and/or have rarely been praised. We later notice a TSR's certificate from the CEO for earning the company $100,000. (Observation notes from preliminary data collection, all call centers)
Respect from superiors, clients, and prospects	''On my third week I had like three leads in one day, you know, and it was crazy so I remember, [my manager] she's like 'way to go.' You know, like 'good job, nobody else got any leads today.' Nobody was even supposed to get leads because it was actually the week of Thanksgiving so there was like no contact. . . . And I pulled three . . . so it made me feel good and like whenever I do something good . . . or I improved on something, yeah, they let us know.'' (CC1, NH2)
	''She [my manager] chose me to go on two different programs . . . some of the biggest companies out there . . . I told her 'I don't want to do it' and she was all 'I trust you. I put you in this position because I really feel that you are the one capable. You are the one that is going to be able to succeed and turn this program around.' . . . She pushed me out of my comfort zone . . . I took a campaign that had no leads for three months and turned it into, in a two-month period, I had 17 leads for our company. . . . And the sales reps, they were ecstatic. She was really, really proud of me because we—well, I—turned the campaign around.'' (CC1, EE9)
Tied to performance	''You know, there's still some of that same thing about earning respect [as there is on the prison yard]. But once you've got it, you don't lose it until you do something to lose it. But, you do have to earn your credibility and your respect and be diligent and dependable and all those things.'' (CC1, EE10)
	''[My manager] had given me a goal of seven [deliverables], and I had six. And so she came to me and she was like, 'you know, I just want you to know you're doing good at your job.' And I was like—I think I went home and danced I was so excited about that. And it's not like you want constant empty compliments. That's not what I'm looking for. I'm looking to give you a valuable job.'' (CC1, NH4)
	Theme 2: Receiving Generalized Respect
We are all valued/treated like people	''. . . we're treated with respect and like our opinions count. You know, we can say something and it matters. It makes a difference in here. And that's a big part of why I like being in here.'' (CC2, NH1)
	''So coming to work here we just, I just feel like I'm part of a professional environment. I feel like I'm an adult. I feel validated, intelligent, you know, part of a team. When I go back on the yard . . . you are reminded that you are an outcast of society, that you are being watched, that you have done wrong, that you are here to be supervised, watched over.'' (CC1, EE9)

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Respect from peers and managers	''They're all [other call center employees] real respectful and so are the [managers] too, you know? And they teach us how to be respectful with one another.'' (CC3, NH4)
	''[The Televerde CEO] sat there with us and [a client] a couple weeks ago. He sat back there just like a proud father. You know, just sitting there kicking his leg. . . . He did not interrupt. He didn't correct. It was very respectful and he totally trusted us to carry out an intelligent conversation with the clients that he brought in. . . . Like I said, not one time did he correct us. . . . If nothing else he just smiled or gave a wink of approval. He is a great man.'' (CC1, EE9)
The way we are treated is consistent	''And it's a consistent environment, whereas on the yard we can go and see one officer and say, 'oh, okay, they're consistent,' or we can see an officer and say, you know, it's like 'which mom is walking to the door?' You know? So, but here [Televerde], it's more or less consistent and the more consistent we [Televerde employees] are the more consistent they [Televerde management] are.'' (CC2, NH4)
	''It [life in the call center] is a constant. I mean there's—the people coming and going, you know, because people move to another unit, is probably the only change that I see. Other than that it doesn't change that much.'' (CC2, NH1)
	Theme 3: Decoupling Identities
Distancing who I am from the ''orange''	''When I come up here [to Televerde], I feel like I'm really out in society and that's where my mind is at.'' (CC3, NH4)
	''. . . when you're on the yard and you have like 150, 180 women in orange and three brown [correctional officers] and, you know, they can threaten you or they can give you tickets . . . well when you transition into the professional state of mind it's like, you know, this is me you're messing with.'' (CC2, NH4)
Transitional identity	''This is the sad part. People talk about prison rehabilitating a person and it doesn't. It's up to you. Now, it's out there and you can find like little tidbits of help, like Televerde, to help you find your humanity. But you have to find it. It's not offered to you or mandated . . . those that saw that Televerde was a great opportunity, and it was/is a great opportunity, that's the people that I liked to help to engage on a training level. Just because they were hungry. They'd go, 'okay I've got this time to do, I don't want to be this person anymore.' You know, I'm not saying they want to be a telemarketer their whole life but they want to change something about themselves to where they were open to the opportunity, open to the chance to be something different, you know?'' (CC1, EE6)
	''Once I walked through that door I was no longer just an inmate—I was part of the real world. I was talking to the CFO of a major technology company about the Internet and the new economy. I was suddenly a part of the business stories I was watching on the news every night and reading in newspapers.'' (Quote from archival documents—Televerde White Paper)
Envisioning future self	''I've never been like self-sufficient or independent, so that's what I'm looking forward to because I was homeless before I came to prison and so—and not knowing like where you will go when you get out is like a big weight. So knowing that I'm going to have some money set aside to help me to be a little more independent when I get out.'' (CC2, NH2)
	''I learn something new every day and have developed a set of skills that I apply in everything that I do—at work for Televerde or in my daily life. I know I'll leave here with a much better set of life options and expectations of myself because I've been an integral part of a learning community.'' (Quote from archival documents—Televerde White Paper)

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

	Theme 4: Inferred Identity Granting
Responses to enacting personal identities	One experienced TSR is coaching a new hire through a call. Her shift just ended and she hasn't left yet, and is apparently very familiar with the campaign. She's talking the new hire through the call and encouraging her. She's very supportive and wants her to get the lead. The new hire tried to put the experienced employee on the phone instead, but she says ''no, it's all you.'' The experienced employee listens and tells the new hire ''you rocked that call.'' (Observation notes CC3, new hires post-training)
	''There's days when I felt professional. . . . There are days when, like, the client comes here and I come in in my best oranges and make sure my hair and makeup are done and I look good, and I'm able to speak about what they're asking about. That makes me feel like I'm not in prison. That makes me feel like I have an opportunity to do something with myself.'' (CC1, NH4)
Responses to enacting social identities	''[A leading tech company] came and they showed us the plasma monitors and the cell phones and stuff of the future. . . . We talked about that on the yard and those girls [non-Televerde inmates] looked at us like we were freaks because they can't even conceive [of] that. I mean, they're like—'oh, so you got to go out and view the [tech company's products]' . . . well, you could've too! All you had to do was be a Televerdian. They parked it right out here. It was a big orange RV, I actually have photos of it I can show you. They expanded it out and it was awesome because they brought out all their new technology that we sell, every day for them, you know. And, we got to touch it and see it and experience it on some level, even ever so briefly. That was a bonus.'' (CC1, EE6)
	''And then some of the [DOC] officers, they do know that we work at Televerde. . . . That we're here for 8, 11 hours, that we're not just cooking the food in the kitchen or breaking rocks on the yard, you know, we had to fight to get this job. . . . And we had to have a certain amount of whatever it takes to get hired here.'' (CC2, NH3)
	Theme 5: Identity Claiming
I am capable of doing this job	''I learned that I'm very capable of showing up to work every day, being responsible for my behavior at work and my, you know, being responsible for my actions. . . . That I'm very intelligent and I'm very smart and that there's no reason why I can't do this out there.'' (CC1, NH6)
	''It's just—it's like a real job and I take pride in that. You know, like I want to come to work every day; I want to do the best that I can.'' (CC2, NH3)
I can act like a Televerdian	''We have the freedom within to make a difference in our lives, in our communities, and in the world. [This call center's] personal mission is to hold ourselves to high standards while keeping in line with Televerde's mission. We, as employees here, fulfill the responsibility of doing this by creating a pleasant, professional work environment where teamwork, respect, and loyalty are key.'' (Quote from archival document—Call center mission statement written by founding inmate members)
	''So my biggest accomplishment is actually being able to conversate [sic] with these people and really know what they're talking about. Like I can have a conversation so smoothly, like one of the things that I get good points for in [quality control] is . . . that I don't ever sound scripted, you know, I don't sound like, you know, like rigid. So that's an accomplishment for me because I was so scared to even go into it, you know.'' (CC1, NH2)

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

	Theme 6: Identity Security
Safe/comfortable to be myself	''She [our manager] lets us be ourselves. I mean she knows when we have had too much on the phone and she will get us up and pull us in here and do something silly with us and for me that works perfect because I'm like the loudest person in the call center and so she knows when I start getting 'Aahh' . . . I think we did the conga the other day around the call center. . . . She, like, knows how to like interact with us and get us to, you know, perform better. She's really good at that.'' (CC2, NH1)
	''I don't mind. I'm not ashamed of it [my past] at all at this point. I'm ashamed of the crime and not the journey. That's what I keep telling everybody. It's okay, I learned a lot.'' (CC1, EE6)
Confidence	''You never know where the dignity is going to kick in for her [new hires in general], you know. Or where her confidence is going to come from, where all the sudden, she's going to go—'wow, I really can do this.' But, all the sudden, you will see this light just clicks and the smile gets big and they kind of—instead of walking around like they don't know where they are, their head's up. It's really cool to see.'' (CC1, EE10)
	I spoke with CC1, NH3 during the break. She said a lot of her issues come from low confidence and she has gained confidence through succeeding at this difficult new hire training experience. She said this opportunity will enable her to stay off the streets and off drugs. (Informal interview notes, CC1, NH3)
Self-defining	''I have a really low self-image and I mean I kind of had it forever, but going through the training and then passing [my exams] and then getting into the call center has bumped it up a little bit, so now I'm like 'hey, you know, there's things I can do.' . . . Like I thought I was like, you know, beneath people and stuff, so that's pretty cool.'' (CC2, NH2)
	''Without Televerde, I would have been robbed of five years of my life. With the company I was paid to do a job, which helped me to help my family and myself. But what's so remarkable is that it gave me an opportunity to evolve into a more positive self—to emerge with an entirely new set of skills and a body of knowledge I didn't have before.'' (Quote from archival documents—Televerde White Paper)
	Theme 7: Identity Holism
Integrating personal identities and the Televerde social identity	''One of my assignments in my personal development class is what kind of person are you? What kind of jobs have you had that you liked or disliked and do you see a pattern in them? . . . When I looked at them, all of those jobs are done by myself, just me. I interact with people, but for the most part, the biggest part of my job duties are done solely by myself, and so I found that the job world that I'm choosing to take on, the career that I'm choosing to follow, is part of my personality, so that's why it fits.'' (CC1, EE7)
	''I will always be me . . . but that doesn't mean that I can't become a better person. . . . So I try to hold onto the core values and where I come from, but at the same time [I] just kind of want to adapt and become a better person as well. . . . So knowing that my goofiness and my personality, that is who I am. There's a time to rein that in for sure. . . . But [it's] definitely okay to display my personality [at Televerde] . . . that's kind of an area where just being okay with myself, knowing who I am and being okay with that. So now there's no reason I need to completely change myself, but there's definitely different levels of my personality that I can let out.'' (CC1, NH4)

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

Integrating the revised inmate social identity with other newly claimed identities	''But since I've gotten hired—yeah, I think I've stepped it up just a little bit [on the prison yard]. At least I notice with myself. I couldn't exactly tell you what, but just the way I think about things I guess and, you know, just staying in my room, staying out of trouble, not paying attention to people . . . just not worry about all that stuff over there [on the prison yard] and worry about this right here [Televerde].'' (CC2, NH3)
	''We [employees] find that we eat together, we go to the store together, we walk the track together. It's just because A) it's a trust factor, because you build trust in here. And, B) there's a level of intelligence . . . I mean, the girls that don't want to step out of that box that was their criminal mentality, whether it be that they want to play cards all day. . . . We call them yard birds. . . . That mentality gets really old when you become a Televerdian. Even if you did it before, you find that you outgrow them. When you come back home, it's really hard to blend back in again, because it's like, ugly. You know, if you start talking to a coworker and saying—'hey, I was calling on this campaign and oh my god'—the yard birds, they make fun of you or they—or they just tune out and eventually walk away. So, you find that you lose those people that were in your life that were not wanting to grow or change.'' (CC1, EE6)
Integrating the transitional identity with the desired future self	''Working at Televerde has been a life-transforming experience. Every day I'm driven to deliver the highest performance I can—to exceed all expectations, especially those I set for myself. I'm productive, I'm helping my family financially, and I'm building new skills for a meaningful career when I graduate. It's like a perfect storm that plays into the dreams I have for myself personally and professionally—and for those I have for my family. There are so many things I'll be able to do when I leave here. I'll have options. But, coming back to [prison] isn't one of them.'' (Quote from archival documents—Televerde White Paper)
	''I've also seen people that were just . . . I don't want to say troublemakers, but just kind of you know, acting out or whatever. Then, come and get a job [at Televerde] and they see that they don't really have to be that way. There's a reason to live, there's a reason to do good and this is just a blessing in disguise. This is something that is supposed to happen to help you learn or help you grow and completely change their lives when they come here. All of the sudden, you know, it's been an inspiration and they start dreaming and they start seeing themselves in the future doing good. It's happened and people have done great.'' (CC1, EE12)
	Theme 8: Well-being Outcomes
Satisfaction	''It's awesome, right? So, would I trade anything for it? Probably not. Because I never even would've known the abilities that I had if I wouldn't have been here . . . I do know that I wouldn't trade spending this 3.8 years here for anything. Just, there's no way.'' (CC1, EE10)
	''I'm very happy. I love talking to people. I love talking to people on the phone. I love the people that we call and we have some great conversations.'' (CC2, NH3)
Engagement	''I can do anything if I put my mind to it . . . sales and marketing is something that I could have a future in if I really worked to apply myself to it and really develop a love for it.'' (CC1, NH4)
	''I've got a very short time in my eyes to take in as much as I can to help me be successful, to help me continue to be successful when I go home. Because I know I'm a success. I know that. Was I seven years ago? No, not so much. But do I feel like I'm a shining star and that I can give to others what's been given to me in this organization? Yes, I do.'' (CC1, EE7)

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

	Theme 9: Performance Outcomes
Work self-efficacy	''I know that almost anything I put my mind to I can accomplish it. I am [a] very strong little person . . . I worked hard for this. And this takes priority of everything that is going on in the yard. . . . When I come in, I feel good about myself. This isn't something easy that anybody can have. Not just anybody can do [this].'' (CC3, NH6)
	''And it just starts rolling, you know? And you can do it with your eyes closed. I mean, that's how I go about this now. I know it. At least [this campaign] stuff, I know it like the back of my hand.'' (CC2, NH3)
Salience of individual performance	''I was doing [a specific campaign], I would look at what the numbers were for the other girls and I would set goals for myself as to what I wanted to accomplish. I would meet those. I found myself getting really competitive.'' (CC3, NH2)
	''But my point is that I came on the campaign like brand new, newer than everybody, and I started getting leads like crazy, like I just trickled all the way on up to the top . . . everybody's good, you know. But I was just so surprised because like I have the second most leads on the board, you know, and there's people who have been calling at it for years, like two years, you know, and I'm already kind [of] at their level.'' (CC1, NH2)

to add other stuff on top of that. And it's not necessary. Sometimes it's hard to do but you just have to deal with it'' (CC2, NH1). The enclosed and formal nature of prison creates what Greil and Rudy (1984: 260) termed a ''social cocoon,'' where inmates are subjected to strong and relentless pressure to conform to institutional demands. Certain demands appeared arbitrary and excessive to our informants, such as requiring hair to be in a ponytail, tucking shirts in at all times, and paying 30 percent of their Televerde wages back to the prison for room and board. Such demands underscored their relative powerlessness. As one informant stated:

> I eat a sack lunch with rotten meat in it every day. I get hassled out of the gate [to go to work] and back in the gate [to return home]. They forget me [on inmate] counts and I'm constantly seeing somebody in brown [DOC staff]. You know what I mean? It's a constant headache around here and DOC makes it that way because they don't want us to forget we're in prison. (CC1, NH4)

Further, as is typical of total institutions in general, the prison removed various trappings of inmates' civilian identities. All inmates were assigned a number and spent the beginning of their sentence on a maximum-security yard until their security classification was determined. They were required to wear loose-fitting orange clothing, had very limited options for buying makeup, were addressed as Ms. [last name] or inmate [last name], were required to address all correctional officers and Televerde managers as Mr. or Ms. [last name], and were often subjected to harsh and demeaning verbal exchanges with at least some correctional officers. Such practices are often the initial step by which total institutions transform individuals into a relatively homogeneous and compliant collective. As one informant summarized, ''Basically with DOC you're

expected to fit into a box, do as you're told, speak if you're spoken to, and always give respect even if you're disrespected. So you're made to feel very small, you're made to feel like a number'' (CC3, NH1).

The net effect was that informants described their prison experience as one in which everyone was broken down to the lowest common denominator and treated exactly the same. One informant stated, ''They [DOC] dehumanize you. They take you and they break you all the way down when you get there. It's a system of destroy. Take you all the way down to make it so you really have to dig deep'' (CC1, EE6). A manager added that it was not only the prison environment that made many of these women hungry for respect but also the tumultuous home lives they described. She estimated that 80–90 percent of the women she worked with at Televerde endured either physical or emotional abuse in their home lives prior to incarceration.[5] She stated, ''All they have heard is [that they are a] worthless, good for nothing, piece of crap and so it's almost like Televerde gives them an opportunity to disprove that; 'See? I am worthy, I am smart, I am productive''' (CC2, MGT13). These data are representative of both the inmates' and managers' descriptions of new hires as they entered Televerde, sharing an all-consuming social identity as inmate and experiencing an absence of respect, and they explain the salience of both respect and identity issues.

In direct contrast to the prison as a total institution, Televerde was akin to what Scott (2010: 218) referred to as a ''reinventive institution,'' a place such as a residential clinic or rehabilitation center where individuals seek to remake themselves into better people. At the time of the study, Televerde's website described the organization as ''A socially responsible company driven by a desire to restructure human lives. We believe that skills and education are the great equalizers and that no matter where a person started, with a thirst for knowledge and higher education they can climb higher.'' Televerde's goal to elevate and edify its employees was created precisely as a counterpoint to the otherwise debilitating context of prison life. Accordingly, Televerde appears to fit Greil and Rudy's (1984) description of an identity transformation organization (ITO) such that the prison as a total institution and Televerde as a reinventive institution were essentially countervailing ITOs.

First Experiences of Respect at Televerde

As noted, prior research across disciplines and in management suggests that respect is given for two primary reasons: (1) an individual meets some type of criteria deemed respectworthy in a given context (particularized respect), and (2) all individuals are inherently worthy, and therefore respect is something universally owed to all (generalized respect). These two types of respect clearly emerged in the data, as informants made meaningful distinctions between respectful treatment that they could link to a particular attribute, behavior, or achievement and respectful treatment that was consistently present and accorded equally to all Televerde members. Their earliest experiences of both forms of respect were especially impactful, likely due to the stark contrast with the prison environment.

[5] Levi and Waldman (2011: 12) concluded that more than 90 percent of incarcerated women in the U.S. ''suffered sexual and/or domestic abuse, and have lived in extreme poverty.''

These first experiences of respect occurred during the selection process. Televerde had far more applicants than positions to fill. It was easily the highest-paying job available to inmates and, according to employees, the most socially desirable to the general inmate population. As one informant said, ''When I was in the yard and I wasn't working for Televerde . . . I was like 'one day I will be on those phones and I will be a part of them'' (CC3, NH4).

Particularized respect during the selection process. Several informants discussed receiving positive signals that conveyed particularized respect for the applicant as a valuable person who would make a great contribution to Televerde. One informant explained that she was the custodian who cleaned the Televerde office until the Televerde staff saw something special in her and encouraged her to apply:

> There was a call center meeting . . . and they made me come. Usually I don't come into the meetings. You know, it's a Televerde meeting, but they made me come in and [the call center manager] gave me an award. . . . before I even worked here, so that pretty much made me feel like, you know, I've got to get off that yard and get in here. (CC2, NH1)

Others described feeling respected upon successfully clearing the various hurdles throughout the selection process (i.e., typing test, language skills assessment, personality assessment, multiple interviews with managers). Many applicants viewed this process as intimidating and highly stressful, and many Televerde employees mentioned that they were not hired on their first try but applied several times before being hired. Clearing each step in the selection process served as an important milestone for new hires, and receiving the message that they met the high standards was a sign of particularized respect, conveying that they were valued for their attributes and behaviors that could make them a successful Televerde employee: ''Yeah, because there's a lot of girls that apply for this job . . . just in this [prison] unit alone, there's like 750 women here, and there's not that many that work here. So I felt pretty special being asked to work here'' (CC3, NH5).

Generalized respect during the selection process. Similarly consistent with the literature, informants' descriptions of generalized respect indicated that everyone was valued and given a voice simply because they were members of the organization (or potential members, during the selection process); it was not contingent on any attributes, behaviors, or achievements. An experienced employee explained that Televerde values employees before they even feel valuable, saying the Televerde philosophy seems to be ''Let us love you until you can love yourself'' (CC1, EE5). As one new hire described it, ''. . . at Televerde you are always treated with respect, you are treated like an adult. You are going to be acknowledged as a human being, someone of value, someone that has worth. You're going to be given the benefit of the doubt. You're going to be given the opportunity to explain your point of view'' (CC3, NH1).

The experience of generalized respect at Televerde was often sharply contrasted with the way our informants were treated on the prison yard or by prison officials: ''Here we're people, in the yard we're inmates'' (CC3, NH6).

Informants often experienced generalized respect initially from managers during selection interviews and as new hires during training. After just a few interactions with Televerde managers and employees, new hires could articulate the generalized respect they observed in the call center setting: ''I've just noticed the way everyone talks to each other whether they're in orange or whether they're a [manager] . . . they talk to each other like we're not sitting here in orange'' (CC2, NH3). Quotes such as this suggest that expressions of generalized respect came from multiple sources and were embedded in the culture of the call centers such that employees experienced a level of respect by virtue of Televerde membership, regardless of individuating attributes and behaviors. In sum, the imputed worth that accompanied both particularized and generalized respect prompted introspection, marking the first stage of Televerde facilitating a new hire's process of becoming her desired self.

Initial Link between Respect and Identity: Identity Decoupling

Particularized and generalized respect affected the way our informants thought of themselves during the socialization process. One immediate impact was a clear sense that feeling respected at work allowed our informants to distinguish between the inmate identity and other identities. This occurred through an identity decoupling process (see Fiol, Pratt, and O'Connor, 2009; Pratt et al., 2012, for examples at the intergroup level), whereby Televerde facilitated a cognitive separation of one's identities. Decoupling enabled informants to then reconsider the meanings attached to the inmate identity label, envision a desired future self beyond prison, and construct a transitional identity to gain momentum in this direction.

Psychological distancing from the inmate identity. Separating other identities from the inmate identity, although desirable, was challenging in this context. Televerde, after all, was embedded in the total institution of the prison, thereby maintaining the salience of the inmate identity. A trainer told the first author that new hires have a difficult time seeing who they are outside the inmate role and sometimes accidentally write their inmate identification numbers on their training documents instead of their names. Data suggest that encouraging distance between the inmate identity and other identities was thus a critical part of the socialization process that was often formally communicated to new hires during training: ''You wearing orange is not who you are, it's a consequence of your behavior'' (Observation notes, Training Day 1–CC1); ''As soon as you come through that door you are a co-worker, not an inmate'' (Observation notes, Training Day 2–CC1).

Televerde employees appeared to respond to these messages by seeing themselves differently on the prison yard than at Televerde. They went to work in their orange inmate attire but psychologically separated the inmate identity from the Televerdian identity:

> Like during the day when I'm working? I don't feel like I'm in orange. I feel like I'm wearing a suit or an outfit and I'm in the regular workplace—I'm actually part of a business. You know, working. (CC3, NH2)

> When I come to work it's like you getting in your car and driving to your job. Your environment is a business, but also in your business there is nurturing, there is mentoring. . . . It's real life when I come through this door every day. It's real life, and that's how I treat it, as real life. (CC1, EE7)

Although employees were able to distance themselves psychologically from the inmate identity and view themselves as more than inmates, the enactment of the inmate role was ongoing, preventing them from truly discarding this identity. Instead, consistent with Televerde's espoused vision of facilitating personal and professional growth, Televerde's decoupling efforts were targeted toward distancing the new employees from the inmate identity as they previously thought of it (e.g., outcast from society, killing time, gossiping in the yard) and encouraging new hires to attach more edifying meanings to the inmate identity label (e.g., fresh start, recovering, self-improvement). As one trainer articulated it:

> I want them to feel that when they walk in here they're no longer in DOC because there's a huge difference in mentality when they're out there than over here, so I have to help them differentiate that. . . . So, we start here in the class, saying this is the expectation that we set for you, this is our core values; now you have these core values, we expect you to act that way here and over at the yard. So, that's why I asked them, I think it was day one we asked them—"how did you view Televerde before you got here?" They're like "oh, they're snobs. They're stuck up." . . . You feel that way because you weren't part of that. You didn't have the same core values. Now you understand it and you're like—"oh, there's an expectation of me. So, I can't be involved in the things that go on in the yard. I have to hold myself to a higher standard." So, that's where they get that like "oh, okay. It's not them being snobby, it's that they have to keep themselves out of trouble." (CC1, MGT6)

But internalizing and enacting these newly introduced meanings remained a challenge for new hires as they returned to their home on the prison yard each night. Several new hires mentioned that they were not looking to distance themselves from non-Televerde friends on the yard, and instead they felt like each day they were two different people: an inmate on the prison yard and a professional at Televerde. CC3, NH6 described this tension, saying that she tries to keep to herself at work and does not want to spend time with other Televerde employees when she gets home to the yard. She said she wants to keep her work and her life somewhat separate but acknowledges that she has lost a few of her old friends due to her job at Televerde (Interview notes, CC3, NH6).

Envisioning a desired future self. Another key practice in socializing new hires was helping them envision who they wanted to be in the future—their desired future selves (Strauss, Griffin, and Parker, 2012; Zhang et al., 2014). As stated in the opening section of the new hires' training manual: "For men and women to avoid returning to prison multiple times, they must be open to changing their life and lifestyle. What are you willing to do to avoid returning to prison? While you are a Televerde employee, this is a question we will ask you to consider" (Televerde training materials, p. 17). This message was then brought to life by two brief visits from experienced Televerdians who were released from prison and currently working at the corporate office. Each woman shared her "Televerde success story," and because she had started in

the exact place as the new hires, it was very easy for new hires to relate. Each ''Televerde graduate'' discussed her role with the company and how she had progressed through the ranks, as well as reuniting with family, successfully completing college courses and degrees, and experiencing financial stability. Observation notes from CC1 on training day 3 described one of these visits:

> A Televerde employee from the corporate office comes into training and describes her successful transition story, saying ''if I did it, you can do it too.'' She spent more than six years in prison. . . . She tells the new hire class that two weeks after her release she had her kids on weekends, at two months she had her own apartment, at one year she owned her own home and reunited with her estranged son via social media. She adds that no one says it's going to be fair or easy, life isn't fair. . . . She said she is now back to being the person she was before the drugs and crime. . . . Several new hires were crying and said that hearing her story gives them hope.

Envisioning a future self was critical to decoupling identities in this context, as it helped the newcomer see exactly where she was starting from and where she wanted to go: ''I mean I hear stories of girls getting out of here and doing so good. I want to be one of those'' (CC1, NH1).

Building a transitional identity. Although Televerde helped new hires psychologically distance themselves from the inmate identity, espoused new meanings for that identity, and facilitated the development of a desired future self, identity decoupling was not complete without providing the resources to help new hires understand who they were when the inmate identity was held at a distance. We observed Televerde practices that gave new hires the resources needed to piece together a transitional identity—a way for employees to conceive of their set of personal and social identities during their remaining time in prison—that set the stage for transformation. These Televerde practices included increasing the salience of valued personal identities and creating situations in which new hires could build momentum for change.

Televerde provided the building blocks of a new identity by focusing on valued personal identities that individuated new hires. One Televerde practice was to help new hires learn about their stable attributes through a personality inventory and a learning style assessment, explaining to the new hires that ''this is who you are'' across situations. Early in the training process, Televerde helped new hires positively interpret the results. Trainers explained what each trait and learning style meant and how the new hires' attributes had positive qualities relevant to adapting to and performing in their new role (e.g., I lack patience, which makes me an excellent multi-tasker). Additionally, these exercises also sent a clear message that all new hires had unique personal identities that were respected by Televerde. This message of individuality was incompatible with the DOC doctrine that they were interchangeable occupants of the stigmatized inmate social identity, inducing the new hires to further recognize that ''me the inmate'' is not the entire ''me.''

The transitional identity included the emergent identity as a bona fide Televerdian and the salient personal identities that were expected to be instrumental in realizing the future-self goals. Each employee's formation and enactment of an individuating transitional identity enabled her to see herself as an agentic individual and member of Televerde and to recognize her time in prison

as an opportunity to build momentum toward becoming her desired future self: ''If I didn't get in here and build on some skills and build on some good work ethics was I going to be successful out there or was I going to go back to what I was doing before? Which could mean death. . . . It was like a life or death type thing for me. Success, or back to what I was before'' (CC1, EE7).

Cycles of Personal and Social Identity Validation

As noted, the company's two-week classroom training was the same across all call centers and incorporated both particularized and generalized respect, as well as practices that facilitated identity decoupling. As the new hires transitioned from the classroom to the call center, the context introduced a dense interpersonal world of managers, peers, and clients (via telephone and occasional in-person visits to the call centers). These interpersonal exchanges played a key role in shaping each employee's self-concept, providing meaningful cues that tended to socially validate the new hires as they experimented with and began to incorporate valued identities into their emergent sense of self.

Social validation occurs when an individual enacts a given identity and observers respond positively, communicating that one is on the way to becoming or has become a bona fide exemplar (Ashforth, 2001; Smith et al., 2013). The data suggest that respect was the foundation of social validation at Televerde and facilitated the formation of a transitional identity. Such validation emerged through a cycle containing three key components: identity claiming, receiving respect, and inferred identity granting. But the way these components played out differed depending on whether the respect was particularized or generalized.

Personal identity validation cycle: The role of particularized respect. Given Televerde's ability to transcend the experience of prison as a total institution (Goffman, 1961), new hires were able to interact regularly with civilian managers, Televerde employees at the corporate office (often former inmates), clients who instructed them on the calling campaigns (employees of technology companies), and prospects they were calling on the phone (typically high-level technology professionals with authority to make procurement decisions). Each interaction could potentially serve as a trigger for the validation cycle, with new hires enacting an identity (claiming the identity) and others responding positively to the enactment, thus conveying particularized respect, which was internalized by new hires as a social cue that they were enacting the identity appropriately (inferred granting of the identity).

Generally, a new hire's personal identities involved who she was as a ''competent woman'' or an ''intelligent/skilled person.'' Particularized respect came from members of Televerde—''the more registrations I would get and the more that people would applaud me . . . or people tell me 'dang, you sounded really good right now' . . . I was like 'dang, I guess I am kind of good at this, huh?''' (CC1, NH2)—or from outsiders, such as when Televerde managers would ask clients to provide feedback on recorded calls. One new hire described an instance when the client listened to the call and assumed the new hire must be an internal member of the client's own company due to her extensive product knowledge: ''[Based on my recorded calls] they didn't know that I was from Televerde and in here [prison]. So, to present yourself that way is really nice . . . you're almost a

part of the real world. You feel like you're in a whole different element and that's nice'' (CC3, NH2). Particularized respect was perhaps most salient when a new TSR received her first deliverable (''lead'') and experienced the reaction from the rest of the call center: ''The whole call center is excited for somebody to get their first lead . . . they ding a bell anyway for every time anyone gets a lead, and they clap, but when you get your first lead it's like the whole call center is like on their feet and . . . it's great. . . . You know, it's exciting'' (CC2, NH1).

The data suggest a social validation cycle that entailed claiming the new personal identities via enacting them (i.e., one's behavior constitutes the claim) and receiving a respectful response that was internalized as granting those identities. As noted, particularized respect was earned for displaying desirable attributes, behaviors, or achievements. When asking an experienced employee about when she felt her new sense of confidence and competence, upon joining Televerde or after enacting the role, she responded:

> It took getting recognition. It took being appreciated. It took, you know, the pat on the back from your team or your peers or getting your certificate [recognizing a major work-based accomplishment] from people just saying, you know, ''wow you are doing a really good job.'' It took a lot of that before I really felt it inside that I had that confidence, you know, I got this. I understand what I'm doing. I'm kicking butt doing this. I can guide people. I could train people. . . . I could be a really great asset to a company. (CC1, EE9)

This quote also clarifies the relationship among initially claiming the identity through enactment, receiving particularized respect, and internalizing the respect as identity granting. It also demonstrates the cyclical nature of the social validation process that facilitated further enactment.

Social identity validation cycle: The role of generalized respect. Receiving continued generalized respect—the type of respect given to everyone in the context regardless of individuating attributes, behaviors, and achievements—effectively granted each receiver's identity as a Televerde member and affirmed the positive distinctiveness of what that membership conveyed. Receiving generalized respect communicated to a receiver that others saw her as a bona fide member of Televerde and that the Televerde social identity was favorably regarded by others. The Televerde identity also held a broader meaning beyond the work role or organizational membership, as this was the only professional job opportunity for inmates. Receiving generalized respect as a member of Televerde conveyed that one was different from non-Televerde inmates and part of the professional world: ''it makes you feel like—I mean, for lack of a better word—that you have more worth. That you can still do something even though you're where you're at [in prison]'' (CC3, NH3).

In the case of particularized respect, identity claiming came first and—depending on one's performance—led to particularized respect and inferred identity granting. But the data suggest that because generalized respect was accorded to all members of the call center regardless of individuating qualities, inferred identity granting typically preceded a sincere sense that one belonged and could legitimately claim the Televerde social identity. Thus new hires reported receiving generalized respect in ways that granted the Televerde identity, which gave them the confidence to make identity claims as a Televerdian. As noted above, an experienced employee summarized Televerde's philosophy as ''Let us

love you until you can love yourself'' (CC1, EE5). Consistent with this idea, one new hire said the following as she finished her formal training, but prior to making calls on her own: ''I knew for myself I could do it, but when other people tell you [you can be a Televerdian], you know, sometimes it just means more and it hits you harder and, you know, not just [that] I don't want to disappoint myself. Now I don't want to disappoint these people'' (CC2, NH3). This recognition of their role in the larger Televerde social group was not just confined to other Televerdians; prison officials, clients, and prospects on phone calls recognized and validated their status as members of a distinct and positive social category:

> And it's not just the way that the people who you work with treat you, as far as like the inmates or the Televerde staff, but it's the way that the prospects on the other side of the phone treat you because they don't know who we are. All they know is that you're a person who can carry on an intelligent conversation on their level and they give you that respect, and that is like ''wow,'' it's a very freeing experience. It's like you're not even here [in prison]. (CC3, NH1)

Of course, key to ongoing validation of their Televerdian social identity was the ongoing enactment of such an identity, which Televerde explicitly encouraged. As an example of granting the Televerde identity, new hires were instructed early on to allow their Televerde identity to cross boundaries. One trainer reminded new hires to always remember that although their workday was from 8:00 to 5:00, they should be mindful of representing Televerde 24 hours per day. He added that they would be ''under a microscope'' on the yard and should use it as an opportunity to ''step up'' (Observation notes, Training Day 1–CC3). Claiming the Televerde identity mostly had positive consequences for the way Televerdians were treated on the yard, for example: ''They've [other inmates] seen me out in the yard studying, and they are like 'is that what you have to do?' But you know they're kind of amazed that [is] what you have to do. . . . Plus when you say you get four college credits for it too, they are like 'wow''' (CC3, NH2).[6]

Strong interpersonal bonds characterized by trust seemed to represent important conduits through which validation flowed, and they acted as a catalyst for this portion of the model. The bond between a new hire and her manager appeared to be particularly important because of the manager's responsibility for grooming the new hire:

> He's a proud poppa because he seems like, we're [his] children, we say sometimes. He really focuses a lot on us, building us into and helping us get to wherever we want to be. . . . He doesn't ever, ever, ever [treat us like inmates], we're normal people. . . . you can go to him with everything and anything. He's very understanding and very perceptive to any and all things. I just love him to death, I think he's great. . . . He trusts us to do what we're supposed to do without him being over our shoulder and watching every little move that we make. (CC1, EE12)

[6] Televerdians reported that responses to membership in this social category (from inmates and DOC staff) were positive at times, but at other times they noted that Televerde membership was met with negativity and/or resentment (e.g., other inmates perceiving Televerdians as privileged and referring to them as ''Televerde princesses''). But even these cues were often interpreted positively by Televerdians who felt that the social category's positive distinctiveness was validated through such differential treatment and comments from outsiders (cf. reappropriation of stigmatized labels; Galinsky et al., 2003).

In sum, in the case of both personal and social identity validation cycles, validation encouraged further enactment and incorporation of the personal and social identities into a new hire's construction of her transitional identity.

Identity Security and Its Impact on Performance and Well-being

It was apparent in the data that many new hires reached a point in their development at which enacting the newly acquired personal and social identities no longer felt experimental. Managers described this in several interviews, stating that they eventually saw ''a transformation'' among the new hires:

> Over time you'll find that they [new hires] are coming to you [managers] saying ''hey, you know I got a deliverable? A brand new lead.'' And they'll ask for more work. There are often times when they get up and start helping people as well. It's really a beautiful thing to see that, because when you get them at first they are initially hesitant and, you know, a few years later they're on top of the world because now they've secured deliverables, they've made the client happy and their manager, and they feel like they've learned something. (CC2, MGT8)

Managers struggled, however, to explain the processes or key turning points that helped new hires achieve this transformation. Data from new hires indicate that a key turning point was when informants felt safe and authentic, such that their identities felt less transitional and more established, or a state of identity security. Pratt and his colleagues (2012: 276) defined identity security as ''when one feels safe and confident'' or ''when individuals not only see their [personal or social identity] as self-defining but feel comfortable and safe . . . as well as validated by others'' (Vadera, Pratt, and Mishra, 2013: 1265). Although the construct was developed in connection with social identities—Vadera and colleagues wrote ''group'' where we have inserted ''personal and social identity''—we see value in extending identity security to personal identities as well.

The identity security theme came from informants' statements indicating that they saw the Televerdian social identity, as well as the personal identities of competence and intelligence, as self-defining and safe to enact. New hires repeatedly mentioned progressing from feeling insecure to feeling confident and comfortable in how they instantiated their identities:

> Right at the end of training was when I started to come out [of my shell] a little bit . . . I knew I was in here and wasn't coming out and it was frustrating to me. It felt like I had chains on me. Then, I mean, even just in the last couple of weeks I've really come out [of my shell]—and I think too because I was successful in my last campaign and my self-esteem started to go up a little bit more and my self-confidence—I wasn't as shy and afraid. (CC3, NH2)

> I really wanted it. And so that's why I kept going through the training when we first started the new hire [training] and I was having difficulties. . . . Before I started changing and taking different classes to better myself I would just give up. This time it's just different. I see a total 360 [degree change] in the way I behave, the way I talk, the way I act. (CC3, NH4)

Data suggest that the ongoing claiming/granting and receiving of respect produced the social validation needed to feel safe and confident enacting personal and social identities. Over time, achieving a state of identity security relieved

the stress associated with the identity transformation process, freeing up cognitive and emotional resources to distance oneself from the inmate identity, engage more fully in the transitional identity, and move closer to the desired future self. Televedians viewed their transitional identity content favorably and expressed excitement about what was ahead. According to one informant:

> I should say what Televerde has given to me is confidence in myself, understanding that I don't have to continue to be an addict or a hustler, that I have more potential than I ever thought I had. . . . So you know, did I think I was capable of anything more? No, I didn't. Do I [now] think I'm capable of much more than where I'm at today? Absolutely. And I've come a long way. (CC1, EE7)

Personal identities and performance outcomes. Our data indicate that the security of a personal identity results from perceiving the positivity of the identity content, as well as validation of the enactment of this identity from those inside and/or outside one's group.[7]

> I've heard this from so many women and I feel the same way—when you come to work here every day, you're not in prison. You're not wearing orange. You're not, you know—I'm an educated, intelligent professional who has intelligent, educated conversations with Vice Presidents and CIOs and Directors of Fortune 500 and Fortune 1000 companies on a daily basis. That's who I am. (CC3, NH1)

This sense of identity security involved increased confidence in one's skills and a sense that one was the type of person who could accomplish her goals:

> I just learned that I'm capable. I'm competent. I'm intelligent. I don't need to get a job that doesn't pay much or [an] unskilled job because I have skills. . . . I haven't had the opportunity for a strong education in my life, and now I feel like I'm very good at learning. As long as I have the passion, the desire is there, and I'm going to go back to school. (CC1, EE9)

The data suggest that feeling comfortable enacting favorable personal identities through one's Televerde role enabled the new hires to perform well and sustain this performance. For many informants, these boosts in performance were directly linked to the respect and validation cycles:

> It's because of that respect and the confidence that we gain. And the more confident you become inside, the more confident you sound on the phone. . . . If you feel intelligent and you feel confident you're going to easily portray that confidence and that intelligence and that other person is going to be like "hey, they really know what they're talking about!" So of course that brings success and then more confidence, and then it feeds on itself in a positive snowball effect. (CC3, NH1)

[7] As noted, the literature to date has focused on identity security largely at the group level (Berry, 1991; Fiol, Pratt, and O'Connor, 2009; Pratt et al., 2012; see Jetten, Branscombe, and Spears, 2002, for one exception), which emphasizes the importance of perceived positive distinctiveness and validation from outsiders. Given the importance of *insider* validation to individuals, we speculate that validation of an individual's positivity also carries significant meaning. (Unlike groups that tend to be differentiated by mission, structure, and so on, however, the TSRs in our sample had essentially interchangeable roles; thus distinctiveness was less critical than positivity.)

Social identities and well-being outcomes. Emerging out of the social identity validation cycle was identity security as a Televerdian: ''[feeling like I belong at Televerde] actually happened when we hit our 90 days [end of probation period]. I was like, 'wow, I'm really here with Televerde, I'm here. I'm going to stay now'' (CC3, NH4). Some new hires quickly reached a point at which they couldn't imagine their life in prison without Televerde: ''Without this job I think I'd go crazy. Especially now that I know that it exists here; that it's possible here. If I didn't have it, if it got taken from me, I'd go insane'' (CC3, NH3). Employees shared their gratitude for Televerde's impact on their sense of self:

> [When I first came to prison] . . . I was lost and [now] I'm coming back to me and that feels really nice. I have to say I think working here has been a big part of that. I feel like I've evolved into something. I feel like I have a purpose and that's made a huge difference because I didn't know what to expect when I first got here. I thought that I would just waste away. (CC3, NH2)

In tracing the ultimate impact of generalized respect, the data were quite clear that informants saw marked improvements in their overall well-being as their bolstered sense of self encouraged positive self-evaluations: ''I'm happy with the choices I'm making, what I'm doing, and who I am'' (CC1, EE5). Following Bakker and Oerlemans (2012: 180; cf. hedonic well-being, Fisher, 2014), an individual has high (subjective) well-being ''if he or she is (a) satisfied with his or her job and (b) experiences frequent positive emotions and infrequent negative emotions . . . indicative of engagement, happiness, or satisfaction (as an affective experience).'' Our informants' reflections focused on feeling satisfied with their jobs and engaged in both their work and self-improvement. One new hire described her satisfaction with the job this way: ''It's easy to get real negative in a place like this [prison]. Me personally, I try and stay in gratitude every day. Even when it's frustrating . . . I'm grateful I have this job. . . . Even though it may be challenging, I do enjoy it. You know, I love my job'' (CC3, NH1). Further, feeling secure in their identity as a Televerdian facilitated our informants' sense of engagement in their work and their personal development. For some, this state of well-being extended to attitudes and actions beyond the work context. Just days before her release from prison, one experienced employee explained how improving herself through Televerde inspired her to engage in parallel non-work changes: ''I had these other goals . . . to work with Televerde and to lose weight. So, I'm literally leaving a half a person behind. Going out, and looking great, feeling great, being healthy is something I've never had. So, now I've got my sobriety, my balance, my health. . . . I have a lot going for me'' (CC1, EE10).

Identity Security and Identity Holism

As described above, over time, informants who felt validated by others in their evolving personal and social identities—the transitional identity—came to feel safe and confident, or secure. What remained problematic was how to piece these identities together and reconcile them with both the psychologically distanced inmate identity and desired future self. Following the new hires through their training and first months on the job, and also asking experienced

employees to reflect on their time at Televerde, revealed that many informants reached a point when they felt secure enough in their personal and social identities that they were able to enact them in an integrated way, and those identities became mutually reinforcing, a state we label identity holism. Ashforth (2007: 88) defined holistic identities as a state ''where the identities overlap to such an extent that the boundaries fade and the identities blend into a richer whole,'' such that the totality of personal and social identities was greater than the sum of its parts.

Integrating personal identities and the Televerde social identity. It appeared that because new hires were secure in themselves (personal identities) and in their membership with Televerde (social identity), they were able to integrate the enactment of these identities. The data suggest that identity security gave new hires a path to a coherent self-concept, and as new hires came to regard the content of their multiple identities more positively, they saw linkages between identities (cf. Fredrickson, 2003). The compatibility of these identities seemed to make for the relatively smooth formation of a consistent self-concept, such that new hires could fuse ''me'' into their enactment of the Televerdian role:

> You get to the end of your training and you realize ''you can do this'' and you've been on the phone for maybe just a week, and you realize you're doing it. It's like ''wow . . . is this really me?'' When you realize the conversations you're having with people you're like ''wow, this is ME on the phone. ME!'' And that's what's surprising. (CC3, NH1)

> I really actually do have the conversations comfortably myself. . . . I'm so down to earth and I'm so myself, you know. And I clown with them, like I've made jokes and stuff like that. I do keep it professional. Don't get me wrong, you know, like I make sure that I'm still incorporating a question or the information that we need . . . that's one thing I pride myself on is . . . it's not [like I'm] one different person on the phone and one different . . . in person. (CC1, NH2)

As indicated by the last quote, informants recognized positive connections between their identities and felt encouraged to inject their individuality (i.e., personal identities) into their enactment of the Televerde role (i.e., social identity), thereby personalizing their role enactment. As one informant said, ''you're going to have to be creative and adjust your style . . . make a script your own and personalize it'' (CC3, NH1). Informants noted further coherence between identities as they described how the transitional identity would carry into the future: ''I learned that I'm very capable of showing up to work every day, being responsible for my behavior at work and my, you know, being responsible for my actions. . . . That I'm very intelligent and I'm very smart and that there's no reason why I can't do this out there [in society]'' (CC1, NH6).

Integrating the inmate identity with the other newly claimed identities. The experiences of our informants suggest that their biggest holism-related challenge was matching their evolving personal and social identities—their transitional identity—with the seemingly incompatible inmate identity that was constantly salient. This appeared to be most evident in new

hires' struggles to maintain who they were when they went home to the prison yard each night and to reconcile their transitional identity with the identities associated with their incarceration (e.g., criminal, drug addict). This produced a great deal of angst for new hires as they struggled to internalize the new meanings of the inmate identity that Televerde espoused during the decoupling process (e.g., fresh start, recovering, self-improvement) while continuing to live an inmate life that had been more or less comfortable prior to joining Televerde.

A particularly well-articulated example of this angst-filled experience and ultimate resolution came from informant CC1, NH4, whom we will call ''Holly.'' During an informal conversation after about two months on the job, Holly said she wasn't sure if being a part of Televerde was who she truly was. She felt like she needed to be two different people each day, one on the yard and one at Televerde, and although she was slowly pushing herself to be the Televerde person, she still had the same friends on the yard and still saw herself as an addict more than a professional. Nine months into the job, however, Holly expressed her new view on life as an inmate, saying, ''I will take everything that this place has to offer me and I will become a better person because that's what prison is about to me . . . I don't want to be part of that world anymore, you know?'' She also reported no longer feeling the discomfort of being two different people each day after making changes on the yard:

> I went ahead and I kind of shed a few friends . . . I chose to do something different this time . . . people that I care about, I love, that are my friends, I just told them, you know, ''hey, I'm living different now and . . . if you're not going to leave that other stuff behind then I love you and if you need me, I'm here, but I'm not about it anymore.'' . . . So I've kind of really, I guess, carried the Televerde over to the yard. (CC1, NH4)

The data suggest that a redefined sense of what it meant to be an inmate happened as the espoused Televerde meanings of the inmate identity label were gradually internalized, allowing Televerdians to view their inmate role as an opportunity to better themselves, rather than viewing themselves as interchangeable stigmatized felons who were wasting time in prison. Given the new meanings of the inmate identity espoused during the identity decoupling process, new hires were able to see commonalities and connections across all salient identities:

> One thing that Televerde taught me to do is that just because . . . I'm one, doesn't mean that my voice doesn't count. So I'm setting up a project. My goal is to find out how many people have suffered from gastro-intestinal difficulties since they've been here [in prison] because of our diet. Because I want them [DOC officials] to realize hard numbers, and that's one thing that this Televerde has taught me. People understand the bottom line numbers. If there's a bunch of inmates saying, you know, ''we don't like the food, it's not good for us'' . . . well that's not being part of the solution. That's just being part of the problem. I figure if I . . . am able to show . . . ''you're spending X amount of money on medications to treat these symptoms that could easily be treated with fresh food or vegetables.'' So that's my goal. And before Televerde . . . I would probably just sit back quietly, saying ''yeah, somebody will change this someday.'' (CC2, NH4)

This coherence achieved across salient identities often meant that informants chose to socially encapsulate themselves in the Televerde world to buffer themselves from the physically encapsulating prison institution. For many informants, this meant that they spent as much time as possible with those who shared the Televerde ideology in an effort to avoid the more conventional prison mentality:

> I do think there's a really healthy dynamic among Televerdians. . . . this is going to sound terrible. We all know we're all just a little bit better than the rest of them. I'm not talking about *all* the rest of them, but the mass that doesn't want to change, doesn't want a different life. Doesn't want to be somebody human . . . when you need something, we go to Televerdians for it. (CC1, EE6)

Integrating the transitional identity with the desired future self. Identity holism helped dramatically change our informants' outlook on the future as the transitional identity—the personal and social identities in play—became more firmly linked to a clearer desired future self:

> I think I can be myself and be successful. I don't want to pretend to be someone else, because I'm going to get out of here and I'm going to do it as me, so it's good to get that confidence as myself right now while I'm here. So when I leave, I'll have what I need, because once I get out there, you know, having been here is going to be a big obstacle. So I think the more confidence and the more sure of myself I can become now, the better I'll be when I go home. I'm going to use every minute I have here to try and build myself up. (CC2, NH1)

Returning to our narrative about Holly above, she said just two weeks into her time at Televerde that she envisioned herself returning to dealing drugs after leaving prison if that enabled her to support her family. But after significant successes and time on the job, she said, "At this point I would do whatever it takes to take care of [my family]. Like, no, subtract that statement. Not whatever it takes because that's why I'm here. So I won't do whatever it takes. But I'll do whatever it takes within reason; within the law. . . . Yeah, that's not an option anymore." She elaborated on her new plan, which linked seemingly incompatible past identities with a desired future self: "I'm trying to at least get my level one certification [for substance abuse counseling] before I get out. . . . So that's kind of something I want to do because I'm like thinking, you know, what can I do where my felonies will assist me? Like what can I do where I think that where I've been to can help other people?"

Evidence from observation data over time suggests that identity holism resolved much of the angst employees experienced when trying to manage incompatible inmate and professional identities, and the complementarity of identities increased their abilities to perform in the role. The individuals quoted throughout this identity holism section were leaders on their campaigns and advanced to more challenging campaigns based on their successes.

Several informants' experiences over the course of their first nine months on the job were indicative of the struggle inherent in self-transformation, but two stand out as exemplifying the complete experience of holism. The first involves CC1, NH2, or "Crista." She described growing up homeless and

understood life on the street and on the prison yard, both of which she was comfortable with: ''I came in [very young], pretty much as a thug on the street.'' Crista explained that her strategy was to slowly change the way she acted and the people she associated with on the yard because the change was not going to happen overnight, and Televerde was not something she wanted to make a career of anyway. She still saw herself as a typical non-Televerde inmate. Six weeks into the job, Crista said she was contemplating quitting because she didn't feel that she fit the job. Reflecting on this juncture in a later interview, Crista said:

> Yeah, I mean because at first it was just difficult for me . . . I didn't have any idea how to talk to CEOs . . . I felt really uncomfortable a lot of the time because I wanted to meet the standard but I didn't know if I was able to do it . . . so I guess saying it wasn't ''me'' at that time—I learned something actually, since I made that statement. . . . You are what you make yourself, so . . . it is ''me'' if I want it to be. (CC1, NH2)

When we visited her after nine months on the job, Crista had become comfortable with her Televerde identity and had changed her enactment of the inmate identity. She explained that she now avoided people and situations that could get her into trouble because she did not want to lose her opportunity at Televerde, and she was focused on taking steps toward a better future:

> When I came in here I learned a lot. I learned that I'm . . . much more capable of doing so many more things than I ever held myself to . . . I've learned here that I can be somebody big if I really want to, you know, and like all I keep thinking of is the word ''capable,'' like I can do anything pretty much that I set my mind to. (CC1, NH2)

The second example comes from CC3, NH1, whom we highlight through a series of narratives in table 2. These data provide a sense of her describing the whole respect-based process, from receiving generalized and particularized respect in her job at Televerde, to the identity transformation involving identity claiming/granting and thus social validation, to a growing sense of identity security, and finally to achieving a sense of identity holism.

Was the Transformation Process Really That Clean?

Our empirical story raises the question of whether everyone at Televerde reached identity holism. Although many informants did, some new hires did not follow the same progression, which warrants attention. The common theme in these instances was a breakdown in the cycles of social validation due to a lack of identity claiming by the new hire, a lack of respect and inferred identity granting, or inconsistent observations that prompted new hires to question the credibility of Televerde's respect cues.

First, a lack of identity claiming drove breakdowns in the validation process. Two new hires who we observed during training did not stay with Televerde: one left involuntarily due to insufficient performance on the job, and the other reportedly left voluntarily due to a lack of perceived fit. It seems that women who did not perform well failed to claim personal identities (e.g., competent, skilled) well enough to receive particularized respect and did not experience the validation that comes with inferred identity granting, making identity security impossible to achieve. As one high-performing new hire observed:

Table 2. Data Examples from CC3, NH1's Identity Transformation

Generalized respect	''One of our core values is 'people first' and [the call center manager] takes an approach of interest in every single individual in the organization. So, all of those things that may not directly relate to work, they do affect our work and he knows that. And, so putting us first, he takes an active interest in all aspects of our lives . . . what's going on in our lives, with our family, with our children . . . where do we want to go with the organization, you know. . . . He takes a sincere interest in each of us.''
Particularized respect	''I know they used to do something in the past that they are not allowed to do anymore [because of DOC]. . . . Once a year, if we met our target numbers for the year, they would have a dinner where they would actually cater in a huge dinner for all of the women that work on the unit. . . . And I mean it's food that we would never get before. . . . It's a huge deal to us! They would have bacon-wrapped shrimp and roast beef and all this great, great stuff to show us how much they appreciate us. And in turn because we know that that's something we can get, if we put forth our best effort and meet all those target numbers for our clients and for Televerde, it's a win–win situation.''
Decoupling identities	''[At Televerde] I feel like a human being, I feel like I'm not in prison when I go to work every day.''
Social validation—Identity claiming, inferred identity granting, and respect	''And it's not just the way that the people who you work with treat you, as far as like the inmates or the Televerde staff, but it's the way that the prospects on the other side of the phone treat you because they don't know who we are. All they know is that you're a person who can carry on an intelligent conversation on their level and they give you that respect, and that is like 'wow,' it's a very freeing experience. It's like you're not even here [in prison].''
Identity security	''Because it's like—when we come here, and I've heard this from so many women and I feel the same way—when you come to work here every day, you're not in prison. You're not wearing orange. You're not, you know—I'm an educated, intelligent professional who has intelligent, educated conversations with vice presidents and CIOs and directors of Fortune 500 and Fortune 1000 companies on a daily basis. That's who I am.''
Identity holism	''[Since I started working at Televerde] I gained so much self-confidence and a sense of self-worth. I felt pride and I felt so much more willing to be accountable for my actions because I was proud of my actions. It just changed the way I looked at everything, the way I even held myself, and conducted myself and conversations that I have not just here but on the yard. The way I conduct myself when I go home. The way I conduct myself with the staff of DOC, and you know the staff of DOC can usually tell inmates who work for Televerde because we just carry ourselves differently. Not that we're arrogant, not that we're conceited, but we have a sense of pride and respect, not just for us, but for others.''

> A couple of them went to [a difficult campaign] and they didn't make the cut . . . they couldn't get it done. So they got kicked back to [an easier campaign] and then they kind of bounce around. . . . It's hard to work here when you don't feel valued. You have to make a niche for yourself here and prove that you're worthy. . . . And so I see that discouragement in a lot of their faces and there's definitely self-esteem issues that I think they've got. (CC1, NH4)

A lack of perceived fit also led to inadequate identity claiming. As is the case with many strong-culture organizations, not every individual experienced a strong fit, and attraction–selection–attrition dynamics (i.e., Schneider, 1987;

Dickson, Resick, and Goldstein, 2008) were apparent when new hires did not claim the granted Televerde identity. According to the manager of one new hire who quit voluntarily, the new hire was not willing to make the lifestyle changes on the prison yard that would make her successful at Televerde. She ran with a rough crowd and was not ready to separate from them. In both the performance- and fit-related instances, the breakdown in the social validation cycles seemed to derail identity transformation and explain the departures.

A second way validation cycles broke down was when claimed identities did not receive a respectful response and were ultimately ungranted, thereby problematizing identity security. This was most common in the absence of close relationships with managers or mentors. As described earlier, strong interpersonal bonds seemed to provide an important conduit for social validation. Women who claimed identities—and were observed doing so by especially supportive or trusting managers or mentors—received respect and felt validated, but those who did not form close relationships seemed to flounder and feel lost: ''They can give you little badges and stuff. . . . If your [manager] doesn't know you, how can you earn those?'' (CC1, NH6). This dynamic was very clear in one informant's progression from being filled with self-doubt and unhappy at Televerde to being a confident and satisfied employee. Initially, she described feeling as though her manager didn't care about her at all, which she generalized to Televerde as a whole: ''I feel like they could care less, they don't really care, you know, you don't really get a 'good job [name], you're doing a really good job,' when you work for [my manager]. He just expects, expects, expects, expects'' (CC1, NH1). After moving to a new campaign and quickly bonding with her new manager, however, her view of herself and Televerde changed dramatically:

> If you would have asked me last month, I think I probably would have been like ''oh, I just—I'm doing this just for the money.'' You know? But now that I see that my efforts are being noticed, it's made me so happy that [a manager] came up to me and said ''hey, you were recommended to me, and I would like you to think about coming to my team.'' . . . I can't even tell you how awesome she's been. . . . She put a light in my well. She shined a light in my tunnel. And since then I've been good. . . . I will never forget her because she helped a lot with me getting through my prison sentence, in innumerable ways. (CC1, NH1)

In addition to highlighting the importance of the validation cycles, this example reinforces that close and meaningful relationships matter for the validation needed to promote transformation.

A third type of breakdown in the validation cycles occurred when new hires observed a perceived mismatch between the espoused Televerde values and others' experiences, jeopardizing the credibility of Televerde and the validation they received in this context. Two new hires (in separate call centers and training classes) stayed with the job but told us they were not happy at Televerde and did not feel that the company was what it claimed to be during training. They each cited a similar observation: a close friend from the training class was taken off the schedule or fired rather than coached through her struggles to perform. As one put it: ''I don't feel like they worked with her and gave her the chance. They said they were going to and then they didn't'' (CC1, NH7). For these individuals, the discrepancy between what Televerde espoused and what

Televerde appeared to do seemed to invalidate the respect cues they received and made them very skeptical of the organization. Because of this rift in their validation cycles, they ultimately did not seem secure in their personal or social identities and did not progress to identity holism.

DISCUSSION

We began this study with the goal of advancing theory regarding the impact of experiencing respect on the social construction of the self-concept over time and how this respect-based process of becoming influences an individual's adjustment. Our first research question—*how does the experience of respect influence the social construction of the self-concept over time?*—speaks directly to the self-related implications of receiving respect. The findings suggest that receiving respect transformed the way new hires saw themselves, which changed the way they felt and behaved at work. When new hires entered Televerde, they had been living with a single salient social identity (i.e., inmate) in an environment that discouraged differentiation from others. The data suggest that, as a result, new hires entered the organization defining themselves as stereotypical inmates (Levi and Waldman, 2011; Brown and Toyoki, 2013) with little if any sense of personal identities that would distinguish them from other inmates or of a more salutary social identity than inmate. Televerde's socialization promoted distancing themselves from the conventional inmate identity that informants experienced as depersonalized and devalued, and (re)claiming personal identities along with the new Televerde social identity. Expressions of particularized and generalized respect conveyed worth that facilitated enacting these identities and provided social validation for doing so. Particularized respect cues fostered personal identities (e.g., competent woman, quick and adaptable learner), and generalized respect cues fostered the social identity of being a valued member of a desirable organization.

As a result of these processes, new hires became secure—safe and confident—in their personal and social identities, and they regarded their identities positively. Addressing our second research question—*how does receiving respect influence organizational members' personal and work-related outcomes?*—the findings suggest that each type of respect was primarily related to a unique outcome through identity security. Particularized respect was related to performance outcomes, which is likely attributable to the way that receiving such respect—or a desire to receive such respect—directed organizational members' attention toward meeting/exceeding performance standards and demonstrating valued attributes and behaviors. Generalized respect was related to individual well-being, likely due to the stable, supportive, and safe environment that such respect facilitated and reflected (cf. Nembhard and Edmondson, 2012; Cable, Gino, and Staats, 2013).

Further, the data suggest that identity security often promoted identity holism, such that informants reported a coherent sense of self, perceiving their personal and social identities as complementary and integrated. Those who attained identity holism enacted their broadly applicable personal identities in the context of their Televerde social identity and displayed these personal identities in ways that changed how they enacted other identities, including the inmate identity. The inmate identity took on new meanings (e.g., self-improvement, growth) that complemented the Televerde identity and invigorated the

rehabilitative function of their prison sentence, which had been largely absent to this point. Given the seemingly incompatible nature of the Televerde and inmate identities initially, holism appeared to be a substantive and life-altering accomplishment. Identity holism also seemed to bolster the impact of particularized and generalized respect on performance and well-being.

Implications for Theory on Respect

Our empirically grounded insights help advance knowledge on respect by highlighting it as a key element in positively experiencing organizational life and especially critical to the process of becoming (Carlsen, 2006). We did not ask informants specifically about respect, yet informants in nearly all interviews used the word ''respect.'' When we asked them what differentiated Televerde from life as an inmate or from other workplaces, respect was generally their answer. When we asked new hires what was most surprising to them about Televerde, they often referenced the respect with which they were treated and went on to describe the subsequent changes they saw in themselves. This indicates the power of respect-based processes and the tight coupling between respect and identity, such that feeling respected focused new hires' attention inward to evaluate, or reevaluate, the self-concept. This has an important implication for the respect literature, as empirical findings indicate positive individual- and group-level outcomes (e.g., Tyler and Blader, 2002; Stürmer, Simon, and Loewy, 2008; van Quaquebeke and Eckloff, 2010; Bartel, Wrzesniewski, and Wiesenfeld, 2012), but our work suggests that the underlying driver of such outcomes may be attributable to the identity processes initiated by receiving respect. This also reinforces the notion that respect is a critical aspect of the organizational context and central to understanding how workplaces can be a generative force and partner in positive identity construction at work (see also Grover, 2014).

Additionally, experiencing both generalized and particularized respect simultaneously provided a feeling of both membership as a Televerdian and being distinct as a unique contributor (cf. optimal distinctiveness theory, Brewer, 1991). Receiving generalized respect established a foundation for feeling valued and safe in the work context, which promoted individual well-being, while receiving particularized respect rewarded the individual for job performance and provided a sense that her particular attributes, behaviors, and achievements were valued. Thus experiencing generalized and particularized respect together enabled individuals to feel valued as members and as individuals. This study provides the first empirical evidence that generalized and particularized respect can be experienced together in organizations and that the two types are distinguishable to receivers. The marked differences in the effects of generalized and particularized respect emphasize the importance of considering them separately in future studies and further examining the complementarity of such respect cues (see also Rogers and Ashforth, 2014).

The interpersonal interactions central to received respect in figure 1 also suggest the importance of high-quality relationships in facilitating respectful experiences. An emergent theoretical point related to those who reached the identity holism state is that close, trusting, and meaningful relationships acted as a conduit for the respect cues that promoted identity transformation. Such interpersonal connections facilitated becoming, whereas the experience of

isolation reported in the absence of meaningful relationships inhibited it. This highlights the importance of relationship quality (cf. leader–member exchange and team–member exchange, Dienesch and Liden, 1986; Liden, Wayne, and Sparrowe, 2000) in the interpretations and impact of respect cues. In turn, this richer understanding of respect also enhances our understanding of relationship quality and positive relationships, affirming that respect is foundational to the formation and maintenance of such generative relationships.

The importance of relationships also speaks to the broader consideration of the sources of respect. Future research can build on these findings by investigating whether the sources of respect cues, or a combination of sources, have differential effects on the receiver. Aside from relationship considerations, we speculate that status and proximity greatly influence the interpretation and impact of respect cues. Cues from relatively high-status sources may carry more weight because of the individuals' power and credibility, and cues from relatively proximal sources may carry more weight because of the individuals' immediacy and deeper knowledge of one's qualities. This suggests that respect scholars should consider the source from which respect is received, especially the source's status and proximity vis-à-vis the recipient.

Implications for Theory on Identity Transformation

The path to identity security and identity holism, depicted in figure 2, suggests a different way of thinking about the organization's role in helping members—especially newcomers—manage identity transformation. The imputed worth that characterized both generalized and particularized respect conveyed that employees were valued as members of Televerde and as unique individuals, which influenced identity transformation through decoupling and socially validating identities. New employees gleaned the resources needed to construct a transitional identity and envision a desired future self to guide their growth. This process offers new insights on how organizations can shape personal identities in addition to the social identities typically emphasized in organizational socialization, and it is consistent with what Cable and colleagues (2013: 3) described as socialization intended to bring out newcomers' ''authentic best selves.'' Televerde took a ''partnering'' role (Kreiner and Sheep, 2009: 41) with newcomers to support their growth, thus facilitating identity holism and creating space for them to blossom into their desired future selves (cf. Fiol, Pratt, and O'Connor, 2009; Pratt et al., 2012). This process provides the basis for several contributions to theory on identity transformations.

Identity holism. The concept of identity holism is a central piece of our contribution to research on identity transformation. The literature in organizational studies and psychology more generally has tended to treat the relationships among multiple identities in several ways (see Ramarajan, 2014, for an excellent review). First, they are often treated as independent, as in a study by Johnson and colleagues (2006) that showed the additive effects of workgroup, professional, and organizational identities on job satisfaction. Second, multiple identities are often viewed as hierarchically ordered. Self-categorization theory notes a functional antagonism between personal and social identity, meaning the salience of one is inversely related to the salience of the other, although this dichotomous view is becoming less prevalent (Turner, 1999). Likewise, identity

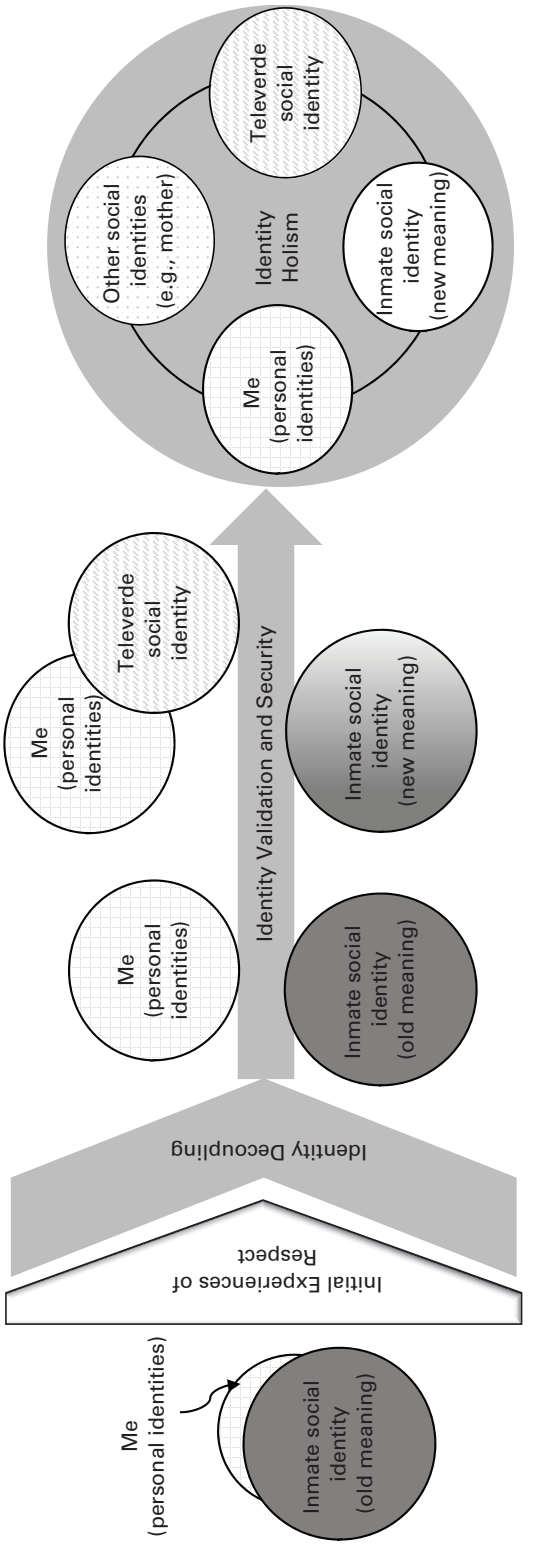


Figure 2. Self-concept transformation at Televerde.

theory views role identities such as coworker and spouse to be arranged in a salience hierarchy according to the relative centrality and importance of the identities (Stets and Burke, 2000), and research on intergroup conflict indicates that rendering a superordinate identity more salient than subgroup identities may mitigate conflict (Brewer, 2000). Third, but far less common, some research focuses on the intersection of multiple identities. Intersectionality research addresses how the joint existence of demographic identities may affect social processes (Yuval-Davis, 2006), for example, how African-American women may be treated differently in organizations than white women (Bell and Nkomo, 2003). Drawing on social identity complexity theory, Roccas and Brewer (2002) argued that individuals who define themselves according to the intersection of multiple identities, such as female lawyers, see other individuals who share that intersection as ingroup members and see other combinations of those same identities, in this case male lawyers and female non-lawyers, as outgroups.

We view identity holism as a fourth way of conceptualizing the relationships among multiple identities.[8] Identity holism involves merging or integrating identities into a coherent whole. Whereas intersectionality research is largely concerned with where two identities intersect—picture the center of an X—identity holism focuses on the gestalt or totality of the identities—picture a single circle that includes a set of two or more identities, as illustrated at the far right in figure 2. At Televerde, the unique strengths that a given employee came to see in herself infused her approach to various social identities, enabling her to personalize role enactment and create a more coherent, stable, and positive self-concept. The positive linkages and synergistic connections between identities is captured by Dutton and colleagues' (2010) notion of structural-complementary positivity, in which such connections produce greater positivity in one's experience of the overall identity set. We suggest that this positivity further facilitated desirable outcomes for Televerdians, as the integration of personal and social identities fostered a more coherent and, we surmise, more positive and authentic sense of self that promoted well-being and performance. Identity holism thus enabled the individual to make the Televerde social identity her own by enacting it in a manner consistent with who she was as an individual—potentially creating a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. We found evidence of identity holism even when someone's identities seemed highly incompatible, such as ''Holly'' (CC1, NH4) planning her future career based on how her past felonies could assist her in excelling professionally.

The notion that personal and social identities can be harmoniously integrated suggests provocative leads for future research. Currently, research suggests various tactics for managing multiple identities (e.g., Sveningsson and Alvesson, 2003; Kreiner, Hollensbe, and Sheep, 2006; Slay and Smith, 2011). In identity holism, multiple identities are not ''managed'' per se but are yoked in a synergistic way that can enhance the enactment of each identity and leave individuals feeling more authentic. Given that the positive relationships between identity holism and performance and well-being outcomes were difficult to

[8] We are not claiming to have originated the notion of integrated identities. There are various allied discussions in organization studies, from brief musings on holistic identities (Ashforth and Johnson, 2001; Kreiner and Sheep, 2009) to research on identity profiles (Lipponen et al., 2005), identity synergy (Pratt and Foreman, 2000), work–family enrichment (Greenhaus and Powell, 2006), identity integration (Kreiner, Hollensbe, and Sheep, 2006), coactivation of identities (Rothbard and Ramarajan, 2009), and identity networks (Ramarajan, 2014).

tease out from the interviews, future research could profit from more thoroughly investigating the outcomes of identity holism, including potentially negative outcomes such as cognitive overload.

Further, although the literature is unclear about how personal and social identities come to be incorporated into the self-concept, the thrust of what little research there is suggests that social identities create the context within which personal identities may manifest themselves; that is, social identities are relatively paramount (e.g., Hogg, 2001; Onorato and Turner, 2004). In contrast, our findings suggest that personal identities may significantly inform the enactment of social identities such that, for example, two people enact the Televerde identity in quite different ways (see also Elsbach and Flynn, 2013). This supports the intriguing idea that perhaps socializing newcomers to identify with a new role or organization is not always the most effective way to ensure attachment to—and enactment of—the role. Focusing on validating personal identities that facilitate enactment of the new role may be a more effective approach (Roberts et al., 2005; Cable, Gino, and Staats, 2013). Future research could explore whether more effective role enactment occurs via promoting identification with the new role per se or through social validation of personal identities that fit with the newly acquired role. More broadly, an interesting avenue for future research is to examine the factors that may moderate and mediate the recursive ''bottom-up'' and ''top-down'' links between personal and social identities.

Identity transformation organizations and divestiture vs. identity decoupling. Previous research indicates that identity transformation organizations (ITOs)—and strong-culture organizations more generally—typically induce newcomers to shed incoming identities that are inconsistent with their new organizational identity (Greil and Rudy, 1984; Pratt, 2000). This is usually done through divestiture (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979), meaning the incompatible identities are actively challenged such that the individual disidentifies with them and ''forgets'' them. Divestiture thus serves as a sensebreaking mechanism (Pratt, 2000; Ashforth, Harrison, and Sluss, 2014), clearing the way for internalizing new identities. Although divestiture works well when newcomers can leave an old self-concept behind, this was not the case at Televerde because the most salient social identity for all employees was the inmate identity. Televerde is physically encapsulated (Greil and Rudy, 1984) in the total institution of the prison, which perpetuates an opposing view of employees' worth (e.g., inmates are interchangeable parts of a stigmatized whole). Reminders of the inmate identity were omnipresent even within Televerde: employees wear orange prison attire and must obey seemingly arbitrary DOC rules at all times. Thus fully divesting the inmate identity was not an option.

Our data suggest an alternative to divestiture that facilitates identity transformation without actually jettisoning the problematic identity: identity decoupling. Just as the prison is an ITO oriented to producing a demeaned and compliant person, Televerde is a reinventive institution (Scott, 2010) and an ITO oriented to countering the prison's pernicious influence by producing a self-respecting and agentic person. Respect was a generative lever for transformation, inducing voluntary social encapsulation (Pratt, 2000) that buffered members from

the effects of prison life. Televerde used identity decoupling to reduce the relevance of the adverse meanings attached to the inmate identity but without requiring that the inmate identity be discarded. Instead, the inmate identity was held psychologically in abeyance until new meanings could be appropriated and, through identity holism, the individual could reclaim the identity as a more complementary component of the self-concept.

Beyond ITOs and strong-culture organizations, identity decoupling may be functional whenever an individual holds an identity that impairs current performance and well-being but that may ultimately prove useful if it can be later recast and reclaimed. Rather than rejecting one identity and internalizing another, seeing identities as distinct and acknowledging the strengths/weaknesses and uniqueness/commonalities of each (Fiol, Pratt, and O'Connor, 2009) can create the potential for identity holism and a richer, more nuanced self-concept. Not divesting incoming identities may enable a newcomer to draw on experiences from previous roles in ways that improve his or her enactment of the new role (cf. Beyer and Hannah, 2002; Caza and Wilson, 2009). A Televerde manager shared an example of a new hire struggling to understand business operations. When asked if she had ever sold anything, the new hire said she had sold drugs before prison. The manager told her to draw on that mindset to understand traditional business. In short, seemingly contradictory identities proved to be complementary. Clearly, the notion that identity decoupling (and subsequent identity holism) can substitute for divestiture warrants further exploration.

Identity claiming and inferred identity granting. The literature on identity claiming and granting maintains that the social construction of an identity as a valid element of one's self-concept occurs through a series of assertions and affirmations (Bartel and Dutton, 2001; DeRue, Ashford, and Cotton, 2009; DeRue and Ashford, 2010). Enacting a new identity represents a claim that one is or is becoming a bona fide exemplar of the identity, and endorsing that enactment represents a grant that one indeed is or is becoming an exemplar. Our findings suggest that the sequence of claiming and granting depends on the identity in question. For personal identities, where one seeks to establish one's unique attributes, behaviors, and achievements, a claim tends to be predicated on evidence to which an audience responds through the display of more or less particularized respect. Thus claiming usually precedes inferred granting, the default assumption in the literature (Bartel and Dutton, 2001; DeRue, Ashford, and Cotton, 2009; DeRue and Ashford, 2010). Conversely, for social identities, which involve establishing oneself as a prototypical member, one may infer identity granting through receiving generalized respect, encouraging one to embrace and enact that identity. In this case, inferred granting functionally precedes claiming, providing a signal that it is safe and appropriate for the member to claim the social identity. Accordingly, scholars need to be cognizant of the particular sequence through which claiming and granting occur.

Boundaries and Applications of Our Theorizing

The unique and extreme nature of the prison context presents both opportunities and limits for future applications. On one hand, the prison context afforded

us the ability to capture the experience of respect, which is likely more subtle in other contexts, as a transparently observable phenomenon (cf. Bamberger and Pratt, 2010); on the other hand, the context creates the possibility of idiosyncratic findings. In many regards, however, Televerde is like other business organizations in structure (relatively flat hierarchy with many semi-autonomous groups) and how it functions as a for-profit business in a competitive market. Further, although it is somewhat unusual, there are many instances of individuals entering organizations who do so with self-transformation in mind, eager to distance themselves from unwanted identities in favor of the personal and social identities implied by organizational membership (e.g., military recruits eager for the challenges of boot camp, new hires who embrace ''stretch'' assignments as a means to personal growth and career success). As noted earlier, Dutton and colleagues (2009: 7) pointed out that ''research has shown that this drive to construct a positive identity is equivalent to and sometimes even exceeds our most basic physical needs,'' suggesting that employees' experience of becoming something more positive through their organizational experience is a common one. This assertion aligns with prior research indicating that respect is a universally important experience because it meets basic social needs (De Cremer and Tyler, 2005; Huo and Binning, 2008; Rogers and Ashforth, 2014), regardless of where individuals work. Thus we feel confident that our core insights—particularized and generalized respect affect individuals in distinct and positive ways, respect provides social validation and a sense of security in the validated identity, secure identities can be brought together holistically, and the two types of respect have relatively unique impacts on well-being and job performance—are broadly transferable and have implications for managers in other organizations.

Further, the important role that managers play in conveying respect and subsequently shaping employees' sense of self speaks to the importance of investing in meaningful relationships with employees, regardless of the type of organization. Our findings suggest that respect cues tend to flow best through close relationships, and the absence of such formal or informal relationships can impede the process of becoming. Although many organizations reward managers for task-oriented components of the job and merely hope for efforts directed toward relational components (e.g., Uhl-Bien and Ospina, 2012), our findings urge managers to make the formation and maintenance of relationships with employees a priority (Dutton, 2003). Finally, in addition to forming relationships that act as conduits for respect, managers can also institutionalize practices among employees that reinforce respect cues (e.g., building such cues into formal newcomer training, providing opportunities for employees to voice opinions, facilitating consistency across managers), so that the message becomes clearer to new hires and serves as a reminder to experienced employees that all members are valued (Sutton and Louis, 1987).

In sum, our study articulates how receiving respect can serve as a potent lever for the positive transformation of the self-concept. Our emergent theory suggests that respect, while relatively easy to provide, has an outsized impact on how newcomers come to see themselves and how well they adapt to their work and organization.

Acknowledgments

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to our fantastic Associate Editor Mike Pratt, three incredibly insightful reviewers, and Linda Johanson and Joan Friedman for their time, patience, and interest in preparing the best possible version of the manuscript for publication. We thank Denny Gioia, Peter Hom, Glen Kreiner, and Beth Schinoff, along with audience members of presentations at Aalto University, Arizona State University, Boston College, DePaul University, Georgia Institute of Technology, Marquette University, Munich School of Management, Northern Illinois University, Pennsylvania State University, University of Colorado–Boulder, University of Kansas, University of Notre Dame, University of Oregon, University of Texas–San Antonio, and University of Virginia for their helpful comments. We also appreciate P.E.O. International and Arizona State University GPSA for financial support that enabled this project. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 2013 Academy of Management meetings in Orlando. Finally, we thank the members of Televerde's management team for opening their doors and the phenomenal group of women working for Televerde who opened their hearts to us.

REFERENCES

Ashforth, B. E.
2001 Role Transitions in Organizational Life: An Identity-Based Perspective. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Ashforth, B. E.
2007 ''Identity: The elastic concept.'' In C. A. Bartel, S. L. Blader, and A. Wrzesniewski (eds.), Identity and the Modern Organization: 85–96. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Ashforth, B. E., S. H. Harrison, and D. M. Sluss
2014 ''Becoming: The interaction of socialization and identity in organizations over time.'' In A. J. Shipp and Y. Fried (eds.), Time and Work, vol. 1: How Time Impacts Individuals: 11–39. London: Psychology Press.

Ashforth, B. E., and S. A. Johnson
2001 ''Which hat to wear? The relative salience of multiple identities in organizational contexts.'' In M. A. Hogg and D. J. Terry (eds.), Social Identity Processes in Organizational Contexts: 31–48. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.

Ashforth, B. E., and F. Mael
1989 ''Social identity and the organization.'' Academy of Management Review, 14: 20–39.

Ashforth, B. E., and B. S. Schinoff
2016 ''Identity under construction: How individuals come to define themselves in organizations.'' Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior, 3: 111–137.

Bakker, A. B., and W. G. M. Oerlemans
2012 ''Subjective well-being in organizations.'' In K. S. Cameron and G. M. Spreitzer (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Positive Organizational Scholarship: 178–189. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bamberger, P. A., and M. G. Pratt
2010 ''Moving forward by looking back: Reclaiming unconventional research contexts and samples in organizational scholarship.'' Academy of Management Journal, 53: 665–671.

Bartel, C., and J. E. Dutton
2001 ''Ambiguous organizational memberships: Constructing organizational identities in interactions with others.'' In M. A. Hogg and D. J. Terry (eds.), Social Identity Processes in Organizational Contexts: 115–130. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.

Bartel, C. A., A. Wrzesniewski, and B. M. Wiesenfeld
2012 ''Knowing where you stand: Physical isolation, perceived respect, and organizational identification among virtual employees.'' Organization Science, 23: 743–757.
Bell, E. L. J. E., and S. M. Nkomo
2003 Our Separate Ways: Black and White Women and the Struggle for Professional Identity. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
Berry, J. W.
1991 ''Understanding and managing multiculturalism: Some possible implications of research in Canada.'' Psychology and Developing Societies, 3: 17–49.
Beyer, J. M., and D. R. Hannah
2002 ''Building on the past: Enacting established personal identities in a new work setting.'' Organization Science, 13: 636–652.
Bies, R. J., and J. S. Moag
1986 ''Interactional justice: Communication criteria of fairness.'' In R. J. Lewicki, B. H. Sheppard, and M. H. Bazerman (eds.), Research on Negotiation in Organizations, 1: 43–55. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
Boezeman, E. J., and N. Ellemers
2008 ''Volunteer recruitment: The role of organizational support and anticipated respect in non-volunteers' attraction to charitable volunteer organizations.'' Journal of Applied Psychology, 93: 1013–1026.
Branscombe, N. R., R. Spears, N. Ellemers, and B. Doosje
2002 ''Intragroup and intergroup evaluation effects on group behavior.'' Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28: 744–753.
Brewer, M. B.
1991 ''The social self: On being the same and different at the same time.'' Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 17: 475–482.
Brewer, M. B.
2000 ''Superordinate goals versus superordinate identity as bases of intergroup cooperation.'' In D. Capozza and R. Brown (eds.), Social Identity Processes: Trends in Theory and Research: 117–132. London: Sage.
Brown, A. D., and S. Toyoki
2013 ''Identity work and legitimacy.'' Organization Studies, 34: 875–896.
Brown, M. E., L. K. Treviño, and D. A. Harrison
2005 ''Ethical leadership: A social learning perspective for construct development and testing.'' Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 97: 117–134.
Brown, R. J., and J. C. Turner
1981 ''Interpersonal and intergroup behaviour.'' In J. C. Turner and H. Giles (eds.), Intergroup Behavior: 33–65. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Butler, M., and D. H. Drake
2007 ''Reconsidering respect: Its role in Her Majesty's Prison Service.'' Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, 46: 115–127.
Cable, D. M., F. Gino, and B. R. Staats
2013 ''Breaking them in or eliciting their best? Reframing socialization around newcomers' authentic self-expression.'' Administrative Science Quarterly, 58: 1–36.
Carlsen, A.
2006 ''Organizational becoming as dialogic imagination of practice: The case of the indomitable Gauls.'' Organization Science, 17: 132–149.
Carmeli, A., J. E. Dutton, and A. E. Hardin
2015 ''Respect as an engine for new ideas: Linking respectful engagement, relational information processing and creativity among employees and teams.'' Human Relations, 68: 1021–1047.
Caza, B. B., and M. G. Wilson
2009 ''Me, myself, and I: The benefits of work-identity complexity.'' In L. M. Roberts

and J. E. Dutton (eds.), Exploring Positive Identities and Organizations: Building a Theoretical and Research Foundation: 99–123. New York: Routledge.

Charmaz, K.
2006 Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Clowers, M.
2001 ''Dykes, gangs, and danger: Debunking popular myths about maximum-security life.'' Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture, 9: 22–30.

Corbin, J., and A. Strauss
2008 Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory, 3rd ed. Los Angeles: Sage.

De Cremer, D., and T. R. Tyler
2005 ''Am I respected or not? Inclusion and reputation as issues in group membership.'' Social Justice Research, 18: 121–153.

DeRue, D. S., and S. J. Ashford
2010 ''Who will lead and who will follow? A social process of leadership identity construction in organizations.'' Academy of Management Review, 35: 627–647.

DeRue, D. S., S. J. Ashford, and N. C. Cotton
2009 ''Assuming the mantle: Unpacking the process by which individuals internalize a leader identity.'' In L. M. Roberts and J. E. Dutton (eds.), Exploring Positive Identities and Organizations: Building a Theoretical and Research Foundation: 217–236. New York: Routledge.

Dickson, M. W., C. J. Resick, and H. W. Goldstein
2008 ''Seeking explanations in people, not in the results of their behavior: Twenty-plus years of the attraction–selection–attrition model.'' In D. B. Smith (ed.), The People Make the Place: Dynamic Linkages between Individuals and Organizations: 5–36. New York: Erlbaum.

Dienesch, R. M., and R. C. Liden
1986 ''Leader-member exchange model of leadership: A critique and further development.'' Academy of Management Review, 11: 618–634.

Dillon, R. S.
2007 ''Respect: A philosophical perspective.'' Gruppendynamik und Organisationsberatung, 38: 201–212.

Dutton, J. E.
2003 Energize Your Workplace: How to Create and Sustain High-Quality Connections at Work. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Dutton, J. E., G. Debebe, and A. Wrzesniewski
2016 ''Being valued and devalued at work: A social valuing perspective.'' In B. A. Bechky and K. D. Elsbach (eds.), Qualitative Organizational Research: Best Papers from the Davis Conference on Qualitative Research, 3: 9–52. Charlotte, NC: Information Age.

Dutton, J. E., L. M. Roberts, and J. Bednar
2009 ''Positive identities and organizations: An introduction and invitation.'' In L. M. Roberts and J. E. Dutton (eds.), Exploring Positive Identities and Organizations: 3–20. New York: Routledge.

Dutton, J. E., L. M. Roberts, and J. Bednar
2010 ''Pathways for positive identity construction at work: Four types of positive identity and the building of social resources.'' Academy of Management Review, 35: 265–293.

Eisenhardt, K. M., and M. E. Graebner
2007 ''Theory building from cases: Opportunities and challenges.'' Academy of Management Journal, 50: 25–32.

Ellemers, N., B. Doosje, and R. Spears
2004 ''Sources of respect: The effects of being liked by ingroups and outgroups.'' European Journal of Social Psychology, 34: 155–172.
Ellemers, N., E. Sleebos, D. Stam, and D. de Gilder
2013 ''Feeling included and valued: How perceived respect affects positive team identity and willingness to invest in the team.'' British Journal of Management, 24: 21–37.
Elsbach, K. D., and F. J. Flynn
2013 ''Creative collaboration and the self-concept: A study of toy designers.'' Journal of Management Studies, 50: 515–544.
Fiol, C. M., M. G. Pratt, and E. J. O'Connor
2009 ''Managing intractable identity conflicts.'' Academy of Management Review, 34: 32–55.
Fisher, C. D.
2014 ''Conceptualizing and measuring wellbeing at work.'' In P. Y. Chen and C. L. Cooper (eds.), Wellbeing: A Complete Reference Guide, vol. 3: Work and Wellbeing: 9–33. Chichester, UK: Wiley.
Fredrickson, B. L.
2003 ''Positive emotions and upward spirals in organizations.'' In K. S. Cameron, J. E. Dutton, and R. E. Quinn (eds.), Positive Organizational Scholarship: Foundations of a New Discipline: 163–175. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler.
Fuller, J. B., K. Hester, T. Barnett, L. Frey, C. Relyea, and D. Beu
2006 ''Perceived external prestige and internal respect: New insights into the organizational identification process.'' Human Relations, 59: 815–846.
Galinsky, A. D., K. Hugenberg, C. Groom, and G. Bodenhausen
2003 ''The reappropriation of stigmatizing labels: Implications for social identity.'' In J. Polzer (ed.), Research on Managing Groups and Teams, vol. 5: Identity Issues in Groups: 221–256. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group.
Gerstner, C. R., and D. V. Day
1997 ''Meta-analytic review of leader–member exchange theory: Correlates and construct issues.'' Journal of Applied Psychology, 82: 827–844.
Gioia, D. A., K. G. Corley, and A. L. Hamilton
2013 ''Concept development in organization studies: Seeking qualitative rigor in inductive research (notes on the Gioia methodology).'' Organizational Research Methods, 16: 15–31.
Glaser, B. G., and A. L. Strauss
1967 The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. Chicago: Aldine.
Goffman, E.
1961 Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
Greenhaus, J. H., and G. N. Powell
2006 ''When work and family are allies: A theory of work–family enrichment.'' Academy of Management Review, 31: 72–92.
Greil, A. L., and D. R. Rudy
1984 ''Social cocoons: Encapsulation and identity transformation organizations.'' Sociological Inquiry, 54: 260–278.
Grover, S. L.
2014 ''Unraveling respect in organization studies.'' Human Relations, 67: 27–51.
Hogg, M. A.
2001 ''Social identity and the sovereignty of the group: A psychology of belonging.'' In C. Sedikides and M. B. Brewer (eds.), Individual Self, Relational Self, Collective Self: 123–143. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.

Huo, Y. J., and K. R. Binning
2008 ''Why the psychological experience of respect matters in group life: An integrative account.'' Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 2: 1570–1585.
Huo, Y. J., K. R. Binning, and L. E. Molina
2010 ''Testing an integrative model of respect: Implications for social engagement and well-being.'' Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 36: 200–212.
Ibarra, H.
1999 ''Provisional selves: Experimenting with image and identity in professional adaptation.'' Administrative Science Quarterly, 44: 764–791.
Jetten, J., N. R. Branscombe, and R. Spears
2002 ''On being peripheral: Effects of identity insecurity on personal and collective self-esteem.'' European Journal of Social Psychology, 32: 105–123.
Johnson, M. D., F. P. Morgeson, D. R. Ilgen, C. J. Meyer, and J. W. Lloyd
2006 ''Multiple professional identities: Examining differences in identification across work-related targets.'' Journal of Applied Psychology, 91: 498–506.
Kant, I.
2002 Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals. (First published in 1785.) A. W. Wood, ed. and trans. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Kreiner, G. E., E. C. Hollensbe, and M. L. Sheep
2006 ''Where is the 'me' among the 'we'? Identity work and the search for optimal balance.'' Academy of Management Journal, 49: 1031–1057.
Kreiner, G. E., and M. L. Sheep
2009 ''Growing pains and gains: Framing identity dynamics as opportunities for identity growth.'' In L. M. Roberts and J. E. Dutton (eds.), Exploring Positive Identities and Organizations: Building a Theoretical and Research Foundation: 23–46. New York: Routledge.
Lalljee, M., S. M. Laham, and T. Tam
2007 ''Unconditional respect for persons: A social psychological analysis.'' Gruppendynamik und Organisationsberatung, 38: 451–464.
Levi, R., and A. Waldman
2011 Inside This Place, Not of It: Narratives from Women's Prisons. San Francisco: McSweeney's Books.
Liden, R. C., S. J. Wayne, and R. T. Sparrowe
2000 ''An examination of the mediating role of psychological empowerment on the relations between the job, interpersonal relationships, and work outcomes.'' Journal of Applied Psychology, 85: 407–416.
Lincoln, Y. S., and E. G. Guba
1985 Naturalistic Inquiry. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
Lind, E. A., and T. R. Tyler
1988 The Social Psychology of Procedural Justice. New York: Plenum.
Lipponen, J., K. Helkama, M.-E. Olkkonen, and M. Juslin
2005 ''Predicting the different profiles of organizational identification: A case of shipyard subcontractors.'' Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 78: 97–112.
Locke, K.
2001 Grounded Theory in Management Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Mead, G. H.
1934 Mind, Self, and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Miller, D. T.
2001 ''Disrespect and the experience of injustice.'' Annual Review of Psychology, 52: 527–553.
Nembhard, I. M., and A. C. Edmondson
2012 ''Psychological safety: A foundation for speaking up, collaboration, and

experimentation in organizations.'' In K. S. Cameron and G. M. Spreitzer (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Positive Organizational Scholarship: 490–503. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Onorato, R. S., and J. C. Turner
2004 ''Fluidity in the self-concept: The shift from personal to social identity.'' European Journal of Social Psychology, 34: 257–278.

Porath, C.
2014 ''Half of employees don't feel respected by their bosses.'' Harvard Business Review, November 19. https://hbr.org/2014/11/half-of-employees-dont-feel-respected-by-their-bosses.

Pratt, M. G.
1998 ''To be or not to be? Central questions in organizational identification.'' In D. A. Whetten and P. C. Godfrey (eds.), Identity in Organizations: Building Theory through Conversations: 171–207. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pratt, M. G.
2000 ''The good, the bad, and the ambivalent: Managing identification among Amway distributors.'' Administrative Science Quarterly, 45: 456–493.

Pratt, M. G., C. M. Fiol, E. J. O'Connor, and P. Panico
2012 ''Promoting positive change in physician–administrator relationships: The importance of identity security in managing intractable identity conflicts.'' In K. Golden-Biddle and J. E. Dutton (eds.), Using a Positive Lens to Explore Social Change and Organizations: Building a Theoretical and Research Foundation: 267–288. New York: Routledge.

Pratt, M. G., and P. O. Foreman
2000 ''Classifying managerial responses to multiple organizational identities.'' Academy of Management Review, 28: 18–42.

Ramarajan, L.
2014 ''Past, present and future research on multiple identities: Toward an intrapersonal network approach.'' Academy of Management Annals, 8: 589–659.

Ramarajan, L., S. G. Barsade, and O. R. Burack
2008 ''The influence of organizational respect on emotional exhaustion in the human services.'' Journal of Positive Psychology, 3: 4–18.

Roberts, L. M., and J. E. Dutton (eds.)
2009 Exploring Positive Identities and Organizations: Building a Theoretical and Research Foundation. New York: Routledge.

Roberts, L. M., J. E. Dutton, G. M. Spreitzer, E. D. Heaphy, and R. E. Quinn
2005 ''Composing the reflected best-self portrait: Building pathways for becoming extraordinary in work organizations.'' Academy of Management Review, 30: 712–736.

Roccas, S., and M. B. Brewer
2002 ''Social identity complexity.'' Personality and Social Psychology Review, 6: 88–106.

Rogers, K. M., and B. E. Ashforth
2014 ''Respect in organizations: Feeling valued as 'we' and 'me.''' Journal of Management, published online ahead of print. DOI: 10.1177/0149206314557159.

Rosenberg, M.
1979 Conceiving the Self. New York: Basic Books.

Rothbard, N. P., and L. Ramarajan
2009 ''Checking your identities at the door? Positive relationships between nonwork and work identities.'' In L. M. Roberts and J. E. Dutton (eds.), Exploring Positive Identities and Organizations: Building a Theoretical and Research Foundation: 125–148. New York: Routledge.

Schneider, B.
1987 ''The people make the place.'' Personnel Psychology, 40: 437–453.

Schram, P. J.
1999 ''An exploratory study: Stereotypes about mothers in prison.'' Journal of Criminal Justice, 27: 411–426.
Scott, S.
2010 ''Revisiting the total institution: Performative regulation in the reinventive institution.'' Sociology, 44: 213–231.
Shah, S. K., and K. G. Corley
2006 ''Building better theory by bridging the quantitative–qualitative divide.'' Journal of Management Studies, 43: 1821–1835.
Slay, H. S., and D. A. Smith
2011 ''Professional identity construction: Using narrative to understand the negotiation of professional and stigmatized cultural identities.'' Human Relations, 64: 85–107.
Smith, H. J., and T. R. Tyler
1997 ''Choosing the right pond: The impact of group membership on self-esteem and group-oriented behavior.'' Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 33: 146–170.
Smith, H. J., T. R. Tyler, and Y. J. Huo
2003 ''Interpersonal treatment, social identity, and organizational behavior.'' In S. A. Haslam, D. van Knippenberg, M. J. Platow, and N. Ellemers (eds.), Social Identity at Work: Developing Theory for Organizational Practice: 155–172. New York: Psychology Press.
Smith, L. G. E., C. E. Amiot, J. R. Smith, V. J. Callan, and D. J. Terry
2013 ''The social validation and coping model of organizational identity development: A longitudinal test.'' Journal of Management, 39: 1952–1978.
Spears, R., N. Ellemers, B. Doosje, and N. R. Branscombe
2006 ''The individual within the group: Respect!'' In T. Postmes and J. Jetten (eds.), Individuality and the Group: Advances in Social Identity: 175–195. London: Sage.
Spreitzer, G., K. Sutcliffe, J. Dutton, S. Sonenshein, and A. M. Grant
2005 ''A socially embedded model of thriving at work.'' Organization Science, 16: 537–549.
Stanko, S., W. Gillespie, and G. A. Crews
2004 Living in Prison: A History of the Correctional System with an Insider's View. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
Stets, J. E., and P. J. Burke
2000 ''Identity theory and social identity theory.'' Social Psychology Quarterly, 63: 224–237.
Strauss, A., and J. Corbin
1990 Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques, 2d ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Strauss, K., M. A. Griffin, and S. K. Parker
2012 ''Future work selves: How salient hoped-for identities motivate proactive career behaviors.'' Journal of Applied Psychology, 97: 580–598.
Stürmer, S., B. Simon, and M. I. Loewy
2008 ''Intraorganizational respect and organizational participation: The mediating role of collective identity.'' Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 11: 5–20.
Suddaby, R.
2006 ''From the editors: What grounded theory is not.'' Academy of Management Journal, 49: 633–642.
Sutton, R. I., and M. R. Louis
1987 ''How selecting and socializing newcomers influences insiders.'' Human Resource Management, 26: 347–361.

Sveningsson, S., and M. Alvesson
2003 ''Managing managerial identities: Organizational fragmentation, discourse and identity struggle.'' Human Relations, 56: 1163–1193.
Takeuchi, R., G. Chen, and D. P. Lepak
2009 ''Through the looking glass of a social system: Cross-level effects of high-performance work systems on employees' attitudes.'' Personnel Psychology, 62: 1–29.
Tenbrunsel, A. E., K. Smith-Crowe, and E. E. Umphress
2003 ''Building houses on rocks: The role of the ethical infrastructure in organizations.'' Social Justice Research, 16: 285–307.
Tracy, S. J.
2004 ''Dialectic, contradiction, or double bind? Analyzing and theorizing employee reactions to organizational tension.'' Journal of Applied Communication Research, 32: 119–146.
Turner, J. C.
1999 ''Some current issues in research on social identity and self-categorization theories.'' In N. Ellemers, R. Spears, and B. Doosje (eds.), Social Identity: Context, Commitment, Content: 6–34. Oxford: Blackwell.
Tyler, T. R., and S. L. Blader
2002 ''Autonomous vs. comparative status: Must we be better than others to feel good about ourselves?'' Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 89: 813–838.
Uhl-Bien, M., and S. M. Ospina (eds.)
2012 Advancing Relational Leadership Research: A Dialogue among Perspectives. Charlotte, NC: Information Age.
Vadera, A. K., M. G. Pratt, and P. Mishra
2013 ''Constructive deviance in organizations: Integrating and moving forward.'' Journal of Management, 39: 1221–1276.
van Dierendonck, D.
2011 ''Servant leadership: A review and synthesis.'' Journal of Management, 37: 1228–1261.
Van Maanen, J.
1979 ''The fact of fiction in organizational ethnography.'' Administrative Science Quarterly, 24: 539–550.
Van Maanen, J., and E. H. Schein
1979 ''Toward a theory of organizational socialization.'' In B. M. Staw (ed.), Research in Organizational Behavior, 1: 209–264. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
van Quaquebeke, N., and T. Eckloff
2010 ''Defining respectful leadership: What it is, how it can be measured, and another glimpse at what it is related to.'' Journal of Business Ethics, 91: 343–358.
Webb, E., and K. E. Weick
1979 ''Unobtrusive measures in organizational theory: A reminder.'' Administrative Science Quarterly, 24: 650–659.
Wrzesniewski, A., J. E. Dutton, and G. Debebe
2003 ''Interpersonal sensemaking and the meaning of work.'' In R. M. Kramer and B. M. Staw (eds.), Research in Organizational Behavior, 25: 93–135. New York: Elsevier.
Yost, J. H., M. J. Strube, and J. R. Bailey
1992 ''The construction of the self: An evolutionary view.'' Current Psychology: Research and Reviews, 11: 110–121.
Yuval-Davis, N.
2006 ''Intersectionality and feminist politics.'' European Journal of Women's Studies, 13: 193–209.

Zhang, Y., J. Liao, Y. Yan, and Y. Guo
2014 ''Newcomers' future work selves, perceived supervisor support, and proactive socialization in Chinese organizations.'' Social Behavior and Personality, 42: 1457–1472.

Authors' Biographies

Kristie M. Rogers is an assistant professor in the Department of Management, College of Business Administration, Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI 53201 (e-mail: kristie.rogers@marquette.edu). Her research focuses on the topics of respect, identity, and stigma in organizations. She especially enjoys qualitative work in novel contexts. Kristie received her Ph.D. in organizational behavior from Arizona State University.

Kevin G. Corley is a professor in the Department of Management and Entrepreneurship, W. P. Carey School of Business, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287 (e-mail: kcorley@asu.edu). His research largely springs from the question, ''Why do people in organizations experience change the way they do?'' Answering this question has led him to do field research examining the processes by which managers and employees organize around their roles and practices, as well as how they make sense of the changes that occur within their organization, using foundational concepts such as identity, image, identification, culture, and learning. He received his Ph.D. in organizational behavior from the Pennsylvania State University.

Blake E. Ashforth is the Horace Steele Arizona Heritage Chair in the Department of Management and Entrepreneurship, W. P. Carey School of Business, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287 (e-mail: blake.ashforth@asu.edu). His research concerns the ongoing dance between individuals and organizations, including identity and identification, socialization and newcomer adjustment, and the links among individual, group, and organizational phenomena. Recent work has focused on dirty work, ambivalence, and respect. He received his Ph.D. in organizational behavior from the University of Toronto.