

# Collective Ideals and Practices in Sustainable Development: Managing Corporate Identity

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## ABSTRACT

When implementing corporate identity initiatives, CSR values are often formally distributed throughout the organization. This is done to coordinate the actions of organizational members to meet demands of social responsibility among stakeholders. However, inconsistencies between ideals and practices can often be observed. Based on an ethnographic study of the implementation of equal opportunity policies in a Danish organization, this article argues that identity making is a socially negotiated process. Consequently, policy interpretations may be guided by different incentives in the different local settings. We suggest that policies should be developed in close interaction with the different organizational members in order to facilitate CSR identity making at a local level. Copyright © 2008 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd and ERP Environment.

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## Introduction

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IN THE LAST 20 YEARS AN INCREASING NUMBER OF RESEARCHERS HAS PAID ATTENTION TO CORPORATE IDENTITY management as a source of competitive advantage (Bick *et al.*, 2003), and corporate social responsibility (CSR) policies have often been introduced to create shared organizational values in the making of a general organizational identity. This has been done because CSR initiatives are likely to evoke strong and often positive reactions among employees, costumers and other external stakeholders (Morsing and Schultz, 2006). Recognizing the urgency of this responsibility, many CSR schemes and standards have been developed and suggested by organizations world-wide (Tschopp, 2005). The implementation of CSR strategies can also be seen as organizations' search for new ways to take up larger societal goals in an effort to boost their own reputations (Morsing and Beckmann, 2006). In internal organizational policy formulation, CSR is often defined within the frame of the corporate identity and thereby considered well embedded in all organizational thought and action. However, regulatory compliance is not the best motivator of CSR (Maximiano, 2007), and formulated policies do not necessarily lead to enacted corporate identities. Inconsistencies between value statements and actual practices have often been revealed by the stakeholders and failures reported in the public press (Larkin and Larkin, 1994).

If CSR is not actively integrated into the daily routines of the organization there is a risk they will remain empty ideals. Many organizations seek to coordinate visions, strategies and identity across different departments. They

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hope to speak with one voice in order to create a unified impression of what the organization is and what it stands for. The purpose is to align the collective organizational thinking and behaviour in a homogenous corporate culture (Balmer and Gray, 2003; Balmer and Greyser, 2006). Nonetheless, many organizations express ideals that are not truly enacted in practice (Christensen and Askegaard, 2001).

One possible reason for these failures could be that corporate identity management has a tendency to become top-down communicated, leaving little room for dialogue. According to Cheney *et al.* (2004), managers tend to assume that whatever is expressed officially will more or less automatically be shared by everyone:

Corporate identity management is typically the domain of a relatively small clique of decision makers speaking on behalf of the rest of the organization. With its emphasis on integration and cohesion, conventional identity management mutes multiple voices and rarely leaves room for more than one identity (Cheney *et al.*, 2004, p. 129).

If corporate identities are imposed on employees by the top management without preceding dialogue, employees may feel disconnected from the process, and consequently not feel ownership for the new ideals. In addition, the local viewpoints and the specific context of the daily working situation may not be taken into consideration. While the top management is often motivated or driven by expectations from different stakeholder groups, line managers are primarily driven by the expectations of the customers. Therefore, the paradoxical interrelation of profitability and ethical concerns is strong, making the entanglement of the two concepts difficult for line managers to deal with (Fassim, 2005; Margolis and Walsh, 2003). In this relation, Garriga and Melé (2004) propose a possible framework for distinguishing different management approaches to CSR. They argue that the most relevant approaches are focused on one of the following aspects of social reality: economics, politics, social integration and ethics (cf. Carroll, 1999). The main CSR theories and related approaches can be classified into four groups: instrumental theories, political theories, integrative theories and ethical or value theories. Their assumption is based upon the work of Parsons (1961), who argues that four aspects can be observed in any social system: adaptation to the environment (related to resources and economics), goal attainment (related to politics), social integration and pattern maintenance or latency (related to culture and values).

The framework proposed by Garriga and Melé (2004) is useful for distinguishing basic CSR identity traits. However, official ideals of a CSR identity differ frequently from actual practices, because values are interpreted and practiced differently on lower levels of the organization (see, e.g., Holy and Stuchlik, 1983). The comprehension of conflicting corporate identities in representation and praxis demands an analytical framework capable of dealing with implicit and socially negotiated interpretation and actions. As a result, we find it rewarding to apply anthropological theories and methodologies in the understanding of the identity concept enacted in organizational practice.

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## The Dynamics of Collective Identification

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Identity must be understood in a framework that allows the inclusion of individual and collective identities within a unified analytical framework. As Jenkins (1996, p. 90) puts it, 'Social identity is the constitution in social practice of the intermingling, and inseparable, themes of human similarity and difference'.

Collective identities are constituted of two interacting but independent entailments: a name (the nominal) and an experience (the virtual). The name is primarily a matter of its consequences for those who bear it, and can change while the experience remains (and vice versa). This implies that collective identities are practical accomplishments rather than static forms (Jenkins, 2000). Cultural and social categories have to be understood in relation to practice, since it is in action they are constituted (Brubaker, 2002). Identity, in other words, is produced and reproduced during interaction between members of the social unit.

This argument is based on anthropological research on identity concerning the relationship between ideal and practice (Calhoun, 1995). It is argued that there exists a gulf between outspoken normative ideals of a coherent identity, and the way people actualize and interpret this identity. In other words, even though some people are supposed to belong to the same cultural, national or corporate identity group, it does not necessitate that they agree upon fundamental values or act in similar ways (Anderson, 1990; Barth, 1993).

Herzfeld (2005) argue that stereotypes such as organizational identities are often portrayed as fixed, simple and unambiguous. This way their great capacity for multiple interpretations is disguised. Any collective identity must in some aspects conflict with single individuals' lived experience. This way there should be an analytical distinction between the actualization of the ideal and the social practice in which the ideal is enacted.

Hence, we argue that identity making is embedded in social practice, making it difficult to manage directly (Albert and Whetten, 1985). The same thing could be said about CSR policies. They can be conceived as contextually unclear, including both ethical and business oriented considerations connected in an intangible fashion (Beckmann, Morsing, and Reisch, 2006; Morsing and Langer, 2006). Consequently, corporate procedures created to foster a CSR identity are likely to produce a number of different interpretations based on different actors' perceptions and strategies enacting the guidelines.

Even though the CSR and corporate identity concepts have been much debated, little attention has been given to the relation between the formulated ideals and the enacted practices (Morsing and Schultz, 2006). In addition to this, there is a paucity of empirical research that examines organizations' actions to manage corporate identity and CSR (Bick *et al.*, 2003; Cornelissen and Harris, 2001).

The main argument of this article is that in order to understand and deal with corporate identity management it is necessary to understand how employees enact the communicated policies. By incorporating CSR policies in the corporation's identity, it can make management aspire to imbed social responsible practices in daily organizational routines. In other words, researchers and managers need to know more about the development and structuring of local interpretations and actions related to CSR. Only in this manner will it be possible to uncover and deal with imbedded inconsistencies and paradoxes in the process of implementing CSR policies. The substance of this argument is illustrated through the qualitative analysis describing the practice of equal opportunity policies in a Danish organization.

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## Research Design

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The empirical evidence for this article has been collected by an ethnographic field-work methodology relying on openness and iteration continuously introducing new information and questions to the research cycle (Bernard, 1995; Spradley, 1980). The advantage of conducting an ethnographical fieldwork is that it gives the researcher a profound understanding of the setting that enables the researcher to present the results as what has been termed 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973), supplying the readers with multidimensional information, cross-relating different sources and perspective in the discussion of the upcoming central themes (Agar, 1986). In this study the main focus has been on participant observation and interviews (see Table 1).

## Participant Observation

To explore an organizational setting, the actual experience of its daily life is invaluable (Kunda, 1992; Wright and Shore, 1997). This makes participant observation an excellent approach to studying organizational life. During participant observation, the ideal is for the researcher to assume what could be termed a third position between the view of the informants and the view of the research community (Hastrup, 1986). This way, the researcher is continuously in the process of becoming a group member, understanding increasingly the implicit world view held by the informants.

Participant observation	240 hours
Semi-structured interviews	30
Photos	19
Corporate documents	420 pages

**Table 1.** Data collection tools

In this project participant observation included visual impressions, as well as daily interactions (Spradley, 1980). Observations comprised copies of printed corporate material, collected organizational charts, press clippings, official web pages and notes taken on the physical settings (see, e.g., Adler and Adler, 1994). Participation entailed daily interaction in teams, lunches, meetings, sports and informal gatherings. In addition to direct observations, numerous conversations with the employees were jotted down in a small notebook that was kept in a pocket at all times. All observation jottings were filed in the same way as interview transcripts.

In this project, the researcher stayed in the organization as part of a team for a month. Being situated physically in the middle of a large open office made it possible to observe and note most activity taking place in the department. Thus, listening to employees' conversations became an exploratory angle to identify central themes relevant to practicing CSR to be taken up in interviews (Spradley, 1980).

## Interview

In ethnographic method, interviewing is an important data-collection tool that can be used to discuss and document the findings gathered in daily observations (Alvesson, 2003; Kvale, 1996). The interviews become an extension of the iterative approach, introducing new information and questions to the research cycle (Bernard, 1995; Spradley, 1980). Altogether, 30 interviews (1–2 hours) were conducted with both Danish and non-Danish employees, using both the Danish and English languages. Some informants were interviewed in their native language while others spoke either Danish or English as a second language. All participants were able to keep a conversation at a coherent level. Danish interviews have been translated by one of the authors, who is of Danish origin.

The interviews took the form of an open dialogue between researchers and informants as close to 'normal' conversations as possible (Bernard, 1995). Interviews were performed in Danish as well as in English, depending on the informant's preference. All interviews were recorded and transcribed. The interviews were mainly held in a glass-wall meeting room, situated inside the open office. Interviews, which lasted for approximately one hour, followed a continuously evolving interview guide, in order to ensure that certain topics were addressed and linked coherently and allowing the respondents to take the lead in the conversations (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984).

## Analysis

During and after data collection, one of the authors took notes on emergent themes and questions. Interviews and observations were coded for a number of themes, where the discrepancy between CSR ideals and their local interpretation came out as the most often detailed (Spradley, 1980). From the coded data, a case narrative was constructed in relation to reviewed theories on CSR and corporate identity (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The process of data collection was concluded with a written report sent to all involved informants and gatekeepers. Informants were asked to comment on the conclusions and the comments were integrated into the final data material, in order to ensure that relevant topics had been addressed during the interviews and that our results coincided with the perceptions of the informants.

## The Setting

The Danish company Novo Nordisk was selected because, where formal strategy and targets are concerned, it is a leading actor within the field of social responsibility in Denmark. The Novo Nordisk Corporation is one of Denmark's largest companies and has a reputation for being highly concerned with CSR dating back 50 years. A central statement is that 'Social responsibility is more than a virtue – it is a business imperative'.<sup>1</sup> In other words, Novo Nordisk aims to portray an image in the area of sustainability, balancing the economic and social aspects of doing business.

<sup>1</sup>[http://www.novonordisk.com/sustainability/sustainability\\_in\\_short/social.asp](http://www.novonordisk.com/sustainability/sustainability_in_short/social.asp)

In this article, the practice of the equal opportunities initiative will be outlined as an example of dealing with CSR identity on a local level. By introducing equal opportunity policies, Novo Nordisk aims to strengthen the position for sustained international growth by reinforcing the organization's ability to benefit from the opportunities of the diversification of society. This was done 'not only because it is the right thing to do, but because it makes good business sense'.<sup>2</sup> The values to inform the identity of the organization are then linked to the ability of balancing business and ethics. With regard to the Danish part of the organization, it was mentioned that the strategy to a high extent was targeted at increasing the employment of ethnic minorities. This should raise awareness of the importance of complying with legislation on non-discrimination throughout the employee lifecycle. As explained by a senior vice president, 'We want to attract and retain qualified employees. That means extending the pool of potential employees to ensure that we use all of the available resources in our increasingly diverse society'. This way, equal opportunity does not only relate to ethical aspects of CSR, but also holds business aspects, as expressed in this formal statement: 'We need to recruit the best people and provide them with equal opportunities to develop and apply their skills'.<sup>3</sup> Hence, the expressed identity of being an equal opportunity workplace is linked to business strategies in such a way that social responsibility is supposed to attract and retain skilled employees. Furthermore, this provides the company with a reputation of being a socially responsible employer.

The international marketing department, where the data material was collected, is a knowledge-intensive business unit. It focuses more on business issues and useful individual resources than on ethics and the representation of minority affinities such as race, ethnicity and gender. Still, the case represents an interesting example of some of the paradoxes of CSR identity making that can be observed in many organizations today: e.g., when ethics are formally formulated as being economically viable, then some social responsibilities have a tendency of being disregarded in practice.

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## Results

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The international marketing department expressed a genuine need for ethnic and cultural diversity to facilitate strategies of international product promotion, pricing, sales and market analysis, and planning of international conferences. This means that, apart from the dedication to social responsibility, there was an important business motivation for recruitment of ethnical and culturally different human resources in the department. This was achieved by creating a target to obtain 30 per cent of employees with non-native Danish backgrounds. The target, however, has been difficult to meet.

Managers in the department were expected to focus on the professional qualifications needed in the team, while simultaneously considering equal opportunities maintaining the ethnic or gender balance. As was said, 'we are not supposed to be clones' (informant). However, special treatment of minorities in the labour market, according to managers in the department, should not determine the combination of different employees, and quotas for recruitment are looked upon with scepticism. As a team leader told the researcher,

When you say we need so and so many women bosses, then you at the same time say that they are different. It is inequality. I think instead you should treat all equally according to their professional and cultural contributions (team leader, Denmark).

This quote illustrates how ethnicity was perceived as a business asset rather than an ethical issue. A similar comment was made by another team leader:

It is the thing of employing the best candidate or people that are different because it is politically correct. But with differences one can think of other things than skin colour. What I focus on when looking for the right person is not the skin colour or nationality or the language, but on the qualifications and competencies I need to get the job done (team leader, Denmark).

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.novonordisk.com/sustainability/commitments/diversity.asp>

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.novonordisk.com/jobs/did\\_you\\_know\\_that/stakeholder\\_relation/lige\\_muligheder\\_og\\_mangfoldighed\\_for\\_alle\\_vores\\_medarbejdere\\_uk.asp](http://www.novonordisk.com/jobs/did_you_know_that/stakeholder_relation/lige_muligheder_og_mangfoldighed_for_alle_vores_medarbejdere_uk.asp)

Although the general opinion was that equal opportunity policies were not necessary, a number of individuals in international marketing noticed that very few employees really stood out from the crowd. Hardly anyone was dark skinned or wore 'different' clothing. With the exception of a small group of Chinese employees, foreigners generally came from OECD countries. Unofficially, it was mentioned that efficiency-wise, the most beneficial for the organization was a 'collection of Western backgrounds' (informant). This made some managers consider the possibility that recruitment practices maybe had developed to 'mirror ourselves' (informant), or 'We claim that we are open, but, anyways, there are some countries and some colours we are not entirely open towards' (informant). In this case, working for a homogeneous identity through recruitment strategies worked against the ideal of being different but equal – an example of a paradox in CSR identity making.

The emphasis on professionalism and being 'the best of the best' (informant) led, in consequence, to market forces determining the recruitment criteria. This can be illustrated by a statement made by a Danish team leader.

Danes think in a fairly similar fashion and we usually say if we have two thinking the same way, we only need one of them. But, I am also critical in the sense that we should not have foreigners only to have foreigners. They have to contribute and then I don't care from where they come. But, the fact is that we have very few looking different from ourselves. That is probably because a product manager needs to have a relevant university education and experience from an international corporation. We don't need people with knowledge of African marketing, but if they have both the basic education and experience, then that is just fine. We do put the bar quite high (team leader, Denmark).

## Ethnicity

The specific way equal opportunity policies were practiced in international marketing created a situation where, even though there was an expressed need for more foreigners, the high demands for international experience meant that it was difficult to find suitable candidates. Consequently, immigrants and refugees were not to be found in the organization, which was explained by several factors. A common argument was that immigrants and refugees typically did not come from countries that were important to the sale of Novo Nordisk's products. As was said,

Our product is not common in the Middle East and we like people to have practical experience with our product. Certainly, you can get skilled medical doctors from the Middle East, and probably we should consider it some more when we start up new products from scratch. In fact, I do think we could make a difference, but qualifications need to be alright. We don't take in people that we are uncertain of and then see if we can use them. We only take the people we know can do the job (product manager, Denmark).

Accordingly, immigrants and refugees were not seen to have the right kind of qualifications and international experience to be recruited, and in general only the most skilled Danes had possibilities in Novo Nordisk's international marketing Department. The identity of the department could then be related more to high proficiencies than to social responsibilities. As was observed,

In this company we have no refugees or immigrants. The reason is that they do not have a sufficient level of education. With the second generation it is different but they haven't got the needed experience yet. We don't hire newly educated candidates at all. They need the experience first. Then, maybe we can start taking them in. We are not racists, because we are so used to foreigners. Certainly, there might be an unconscious bias in favour of people similar to ourselves. That might be (team leader, Denmark).

Apart from professional qualifications, language skills were also mentioned as a qualification of importance when working in international marketing. This barrier also seemed to restrict the employment of immigrants and refugees.

It is a shame we don't have any immigrants or refugees, but they do not have the language skills that make them good enough to come in. Also, the fact that if they are doctors, their education is usually from one single country and they are not raised internationally and so on, because the ones educated at Harvard don't go to Denmark, they go to England or USA. So the pool left can be alright, but we have to say that they need to be Danish doctors first and then probably they can also improve their English language skills as well (top manager, Denmark).

The above quote shows that even though direct discriminatory structures in relation to recruitment did not exist in Novo Nordisk, the qualification demands were so high in international marketing, that they affected CSR and equal opportunities. Even though the representation of minorities was mentioned in recruitment guidelines, only a highly educated group of international experts could match the required individual competencies and qualifications. This could be related to a local departmental identity of being a community of global experts – the best of the best. In practice, business motives came before ethical consideration. Paradoxically, the maintained identity also prevented the recruitment of non-Danish individuals, which was perceived as crucial to the assignment of the international marketing department.

### Gender and Education

Besides nationality, the top management also wanted to have diversity within education because the organization worked in a cross-field between marketing and medicine. This was another reason to hire foreigners because they, according to the informants, were more likely to combine these two areas of education than the Danes. Furthermore, it was mentioned that if the company should settle with only employees educated in Danish universities they would be too similar, which would harm creativity. So all in all, foreigners were not in a more difficult position for a job than Danes – on the contrary. The valuing of variety in nationality led to the common argument that in the international marketing department prejudices did not exist. Since employees were all highly educated, experienced and resourceful people, it was assumed that they could manage without the direct introduction of formalized procedures for equal opportunities. It was even mentioned that employees were extremely tolerant and that discrimination in international marketing was 'ridiculous' (informant). However, some employees still seemed to be preferred over others based on their origin, age, gender and professional background. As was mentioned by a female employee,

We have a joke where we say that to become boss one has to be male between 35 and 40, come from a consultancy firm. You should be dark haired and have a French background and of course speak Danish. It is only a joke but it is not entirely wrong if you look at it (employee, Denmark).

While some individuals expressed such views counter to general consensus about being a non-discriminatory workplace, this was not voiced openly. Consequently, the dominating ideal of being a multicultural workplace in a subtle way undermined equal opportunity discussions in the department. As one female employee said, 'I once asked if we could hear about equal opportunity in one of the meetings. But, the majority of people were not interested' (informant). In this way cultural diversity had a negative effect on diversity issues such as gender equality. One argument was also that the organization already had some of the best gender politics and equal opportunities in Denmark, specifically with regard to maternity leave. Nonetheless, some of the women still mentioned that being a mother with maternity leave could affect one's career path negatively, and certainly they felt that there was more focus on the opportunities of the foreigners than of women. This domination was not directly enforced by any particular groups; it was an implicit ideal for a specific professional and personal profile that had over time been embedded in the department practices undermining the intend to create a CSR identity. As was described,

When you enter Novo they look for the Novo person, and you must be in a certain area on five different tables. But if they are looking for diversity, they should not try so hard to find the Novo person (employee, Western Europe).

In this way, there existed a dominating taste with regard to professional qualifications, which led to some homogeneity amongst the apparent diversity. This put a conforming pressure on the organization members that affected the actual practice of social responsibility negatively.

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## Discussion

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The case study has highlighted three specific challenges related to practicing CSR ideals in the creation of a corporate identity.

First, CSR identity management is a matter of communication and interaction with the local department when setting up policies and goals for CSR. The situation in Novo Nordisk demonstrates, for example, that the widely held opinion that the department could manage without formalized procedures for equal opportunities leads to a neglect of equal opportunity discussions in the daily debate and to ambiguous definitions of CSR. Managers were supposed to focus on the professional qualifications needed in the team when recruiting new members, but at the same time they were asked to consider the ethnical or gender wise balance. No formalized 'alignment' procedures helped them or the organization to balance professional qualifications and ethical considerations. This leads us to the second insight obtained from the case study.

Second, the handling of corporate messages and their interpretations is not possible if the employees have not 'heard about' or discussed the message or the concept, in this case the concept of equal opportunities. It is possible that the use of an abstract or ambiguous definition of CSR minimizes organizational conflict (Cheney *et al.*, 2004), but it also 'minimizes' strategic implementation. As one manager put it, '...with differences one can think of other things than skin colour'. Through an ongoing dialogue, a mutual understanding of the formulated ideal could be developed in a way acceptable to all parties. We suggest that to avoid a clear contraction between ideals and practices, the enactment of CSR initiatives requires an increased focus on communication management. Through communication, organizations can be provided with the means to establish a dialogue in order to create awareness, understanding and appreciation of the strategic goals of a company. Van Riel (2005) argues that communication is more effective when a so-called sustainable corporate story can be relied on as a source of inspiration for all internal and external communication activities. Organizational members will more readily accept a corporate story when they perceive its content as being coherent and attractive. Therefore, sustainable corporate stories must be realistic, relevant, responsive and altogether, developed in interaction with local practices and constraints (Van Riel, 2005).

Third, organizations should involve stakeholders in the process of developing CSR policies. Due to the inherent tension between social obligations and profitability in CSR, organization members should be included in the dialogue in the early stages. This will facilitate CSR identity making at the local level. In the case study, the equal opportunity policy adopted by Novo Nordisk is not feasible. According to the managers in the interviews, it was difficult to find suitable candidates for the jobs in international marketing, the main reason being, as one of the managers put it, that refugees and immigrants 'do not have a sufficient level of education'. The qualification demands were so high in international marketing that they affected CSR and equal opportunities. By involving internal and external stakeholders in the development of the strategy, the top management could have had access to the local context, and then they could have developed a more contextually informed or stakeholder oriented CSR strategy. The challenge for business is not so much to define the concept of CSR or CSR identity as it is to understand how CSR is socially constructed in a specific context and how to take this into account when business strategies are developed (Dahlsrud, 2006).

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## Conclusion and Implications

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We have argued that more research should pay attention to the way CSR ideals are actually practiced in organizations and to the circumstances structuring local reinterpretations. In the outlined case study, the discrepancy between the ideals and the practices was, to a high extent, linked to the different circumstances guiding identity



making. We have, thus, argued that the practice of CSR can be perceived as a process of local interpretation of generally formulated ideals. By viewing the content of CSR identity as a socially negotiated process, we assume that a dynamic approach to the concept is required. Hence, the practice of CSR is a continuously negotiated process of identity making and of locally relating ideals to practice in the negotiation between different stakeholders.

The main challenge for top management is to get access to the local context. This is necessary in order to manage the mutual expectations. Therefore, we argue that to reach the best results in terms of managing responsibility it is necessary to consider CSR as a participative process. The top management need to invite lower level employees to participate in the definition of CSR as part of the identity making process. This could be done through meetings at the department level. In addition, central paradoxes in ideals and practices need to be discussed and prioritized among the different stakeholders.

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