ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP AND THE FORMATION OF DISSONANT IDENTITIES

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to explore the processes and strategies through which members of a group or organization use their organizational identity to make salient a normatively dissonant identity. Using both the functionalist perspectives of social identity theory and the existing narrative literature on identity formation in organizations, a conceptual process model of identity formation is created that integrates the identification process with the interaction of multiple identities, including the identity as members of an organization, a normatively dissonant identity, and other salient preexisting identities such as race and gender. This research also examined part of this conceptual model empirically, using members of a national running organization for Black women, Black Girls Run!, using a mixed-methods design including interviews and surveys of participants. Distance running, as a form of physical activity, is not a normative identity for Black women in the United States. Findings from Study 1 showed that members developed a running identity that informed their running behavior. Study 2 highlighted the process through which members used their identity as members of the organization to negotiate through their dissonance and become runners using modeling strategies. Findings from this study contribute to both sport management and organizational literature by empirically demonstrating the effects of and the processes through which an organizational identity might create a pathway for marginalized groups to adapt previously dissonant identities. It highlights the importance of organizational identities in the formation of deeper connections with physical activity, which has been shown to be an essential element of health maintenance and a conduit for sustainable active behaviors.

To my mother,

who gave up trying to make me wear dresses

and do the things that little girls are “supposed” to do,

allowing me to discover my own identity.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The importance of an individual's identity, their overall sense of self, in guiding behavior is not a new concept (Mead, 1934; Stryker & Serpe, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Research in numerous fields, including public health, business, social psychology, sociology, and sport management have all highlighted the importance of identity and the identification process in producing action within individuals and groups (e.g. Anderson & Cychosz, 1994; Gwinner & Swanson, 2003; Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004; Mael & Ashforth, 1992). In sport management, for example, an individual's identity as a fan of a team is believed to be positively associated with several behaviors, including social media engagement, game attendance, and merchandise purchases (Gwinner & Swanson, 2003). Literature in organizational behavior has found that employees' identity within the organization they work predicts satisfaction with their work and intention to stay (Kreiner & Ashforth, 2004), and this work extends to groups for whom there is no monetary remuneration (Mael & Ashforth, 1992). The health behavior field, meanwhile, has found a strong link between an exercise identity and engagement in physical activity (Anderson & Cychosz, 1994; Strachan, Flora, Brawley, & Spink, 2011).

Identity, therefore, may be in an important piece in understanding long-term engagement with sport and physical activity. Both policy makers and researchers in the United States have turned towards facilitating deeper psychological connections that enable sustained behaviors over the course of one's lifetime (Beaton, Funk, & Alexandris, 2009). More important than creating interventions and programs that promote

a particular behavior, is the ability to create and sustain a deeper psychological connection to the activity (Beaton, Funk, Ridinger, & Jordan, 2011), which is accompanied by long-term participation. Participation is then followed by the other positive physiological and psychological outcomes known to be associated with physical activity (World Health Organization, 2010) .When individuals perceive the activity as an essential part of their identity, they are more inclined to make time for it.

Although individuals often create and change identities by retrospectively making sense of the world around them (Burke, 2003), both psychological and social barriers exist that can prevent the internalization of a particular activity. This is especially true for marginalized populations, for whom a priori, organic identities are often more salient, and accompanied by a stronger urge to resist the introduction of identities that are not considered normative (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This creates an important problem for sport and physical activity programs who target marginalized populations such as Black women in the United States, as a non-normative identity with certain types of activity contributes to lower levels of participation, along with structural barriers such as facility access and socio-economic capacity (Shaw, 1994).

Recent statistics show that 82% of Black women in the US are overweight or obese, compared to 69% for the overall population (Flegal, Kruszon-Moran, Carroll, Fryar, & Ogden, 2016; Ogden, Carroll, Kit, & Flegal, 2014). Barriers to participation in physical activity for Black women in general have shown in some ways to be the same as the general population, which universally include time, money, and access to facilities (Armstrong, 2001). However, creating lasting involvement with physical activity for

Black women is also constrained by unique circumstances that in some ways preclude physical activity as part of their identity (Crenshaw, 1991). Black women face constraints that are influenced by both their race and gender identities: lack of exposure to physical activity as a child, a deficit of physically active Black female role models, idealization of a larger body type, and hair maintenance have been among the constraints that interfere with participation in physical activity in a way that is unique to Black women (Harley, Odoms-Young, Beard, Katz, & Heaney, 2009). Meanwhile, both leisure and sport management researchers have recognized that, as a marginalized group, Black women have been underrepresented in both the institution of sport and in the sport and physical activity literature historically, perpetuating this problem (Bruening, Armstrong, & Pastore, 2005).

Statement of the Problem

A number of disciplines, including social psychology, management, and sport management all acknowledge the importance of identity and the identification process in understanding relationships with groups, organizations, and activities. But empirical studies that examine the change and interaction of identities over time has to this point been limited in scope. Social complexity theory proposes the ways in which multiple identities can exist within a single individual (Roccas and Brewer, 2002). Those identities are a mixture of identities that are a priori to the individual, such as race and gender, and those in which individuals self-select, such as organizations and social groups. Organic identities, such as those associated with family, community, and a priori categories, have the power to change each other over time: as one identity changes due to new information

or experiences, new meanings must be formed, which in turn can effect change in an individual's other organic identities (Burke, 2006).

Organizational literature has also been interested in the ways in which particular organizational identities are formed and strengthened (Ibarra, 1999, Pratt, Rockman, & Kaufman, 2006), and conceptual work highlights the importance of a priori identities such as race and gender in both the formation and outcome of work identities (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Brickson, 2013). However, the way in which organic, a priori identities and orchestrated, self-selected identities interact over time, and inform one another, has not been empirically tested. It is therefore yet unexplored the extent to which organizational identities can actually inform other identities, particularly when the behaviors and attitudes associated with that particular identity are dissonant from other salient identities.

Further, while the previously mentioned organizational literature examines the process through which members form new organizational identities, the ability of organizational identities to change other identities has not been explored. The extent to which organizational identities can inform the salience of other identities, particularly identities that are not normatively associated with a particular group or population, may have implications as the missing link between sport and physical activity organizations and sustained connection to the activity.

Significance of the Study

Founded in social identity theory as well as theories of identity formation, this research contributes to the sport management and organizational literature by investigating the interaction amongst identities, potentially making a previously dissonant identity is made more salient and consonant for the members of an organization. In doing so, it empirically examines that which has currently only been explored conceptually. Findings from this study may offer insight into the ability of organizational identities to not only inform existing identities, but also to remove the dissonance associated with certain identities.

Identities within organizations are essential to understanding numerous positive outcomes for the organizational member as well as the organization as a whole (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). However, organizations, as social agents, may have the power to facilitate more than this (Whetten, 2007). Organizations have been shown to contribute to communities and societies through strong corporate social responsibility initiatives (Aguinis & Glavas, 2012), and to leverage core activities as a means of addressing societal issues through social entrepreneurship (Mair & Marti, 2006). This research also contributes to the conversation acknowledging that organizations are themselves essential pieces in the individual identification process. In that, results of this process may have implications beyond the individual, something this research seeks to highlight.

Embedded within this is the knowledge that while identity change can happen naturally for individuals within various domains over the course of their lifetime (Burke, 2003), identities are informed by social forces. Normative, prototypical identities are

contextually dependent, and a priori identities such as race and gender in particular have strong prescriptions for attitudes and behavior (Alcoff & Mohanty, 2006). Moments and experiences that are dissonant, or ill fitting, to individuals' prior structure of self, are seen as identity threats (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). In that, this research is also attempting to contribute to a better understanding of the power of an individual's organizational identity to do more than simply create positive outcomes for the organization. As the social identity perspective suggests, identities are an avenue through with individuals can change their social condition, particularly marginalized groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Despite this, studies of this nature have been lacking in the organizational literature. Findings of this research may start to illuminate the ways in which organizations can act as agents for social change through the manipulation of identity.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the processes and strategies through which members of a group or organization use their organizational identity to make salient a normatively dissonant identity. Specifically, it studies a national running organization for Black women, Black Girls Run! (BGR!), and examines the process through which its members use their identity in BGR! to form consonant identities within the activity of running. Distance running, as a recreational activity, is still normatively dissonant in the Black/African American community. Despite the fact that it has recently undergone a gender paradigm shift, and now women's participation numbers are greater than men in every distance road race except the full marathon (Running USA, 2014), the activity

remains predominantly white. The respondents of Running USA's National Runner Survey (2015), who were representative of more than 10 running organizations throughout the country, were comprised of 88.1% White/Caucasian, and only 3.3% Black/African American. While this activity has become normatively a female activity, it is still considered a "white" activity.

Using various conceptual models of identity construction, formation, and composition, it creates a conceptual model that examines the interaction between the sense of self that BGR! members have as part of the organization with their sense of self as runners. It proposes that, despite the incongruence between the normative identity of Black women and that of distance running, it is possible for an organization to effectively facilitate an identity with the activity for this population that, along with their identity as members of the organization, predicts sustained behavior with the activity of running. The processes through which individuals use their organizational identity to become runners are examined using and expanding similar strategies that individuals use to create identities in an organization.

Delimitations of the Study

In addition to the limitations within each of the research designs, as outlined in Chapter 3, there are several limitations and considerations to make regarding the overall design of this study. First, the study as a whole, in that it only examines a single case, has limited ability to generalize across other populations of participant organizations. For example, as mentioned, this organization in particular is interested in promoting physical activity through running specifically. The mechanisms through which the Black women

utilize the organization (in the sense that the organization in some ways "legitimizes" the activity of running for them), may create similar paths to identification as a group that teaches amputees to swim, but different paths than groups such as Team Philly that cater to a population whose salient identities are often already congruent with the activity of running. However, as a distinct case, and as identification development is still as of yet insufficiently researched, the results still make a contribution to the literature.

Second, as previously noted, this study looks at identity formation and change from a single perspective—that of the organizational member. Yet, it is known that identity formation is an interactive process in which individuals interpret the environment around them and are informed by social forces (Ashforth et al, 2008). In the case of this study, understanding the scope of identification development was analyzed through the lens of the perceived meaning of those social forces. However, broader research questions that involve looking at those social forces through a second lens might be necessary for creating a more comprehensive picture of the process. This includes from the organization's perspective as well as that of the broader community and society in which it operates.

This study also uses a self-selected panel of BGR! members recruited from a survey sent to the BGR! population. As population parameters for both demographic and psychographic variables are unknown, this study is unable to make generalizations about the organization as a whole; it can only compare the panel respondents to the initial subsample. The selection bias creates a barrier to being able to truly generalize the findings of this study to the BGR! membership as a whole. However, it is the purpose of

this program of research to explore a phenomenon that has previously been unstudied. Any initial findings can be used to justify further studies with larger known populations.

Measuring the construct of identity is also problematic. As suggested by the subsequent literature review, identity can be defined on a spectrum from its narrowest to broadest conception (Ashforth et al., 2008), can be conceptualized using several various dimensions, and may be measured both quantitatively and qualitatively (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). This problem has been highlighted within the sport management literature, where there is little consensus about how identity as a fan of a team should be conceptualized (e.g. Wann & Branscombe, 1993; Heere & James, 2007), and recent research has problematized even established scales within the discipline (Lock, Funk, Doyle, & McDonald, 2014). It is for this reason that the current research involves both quantitative and qualitative pieces, and identity has been defined in its simplest form. However, this work acknowledges that it is possible that other elements of identity may offer different perspectives on the same problem, and is not captured in this study.

Definition of Terms

Table 1.1 on the following page provides definitions of the terms central to this study, including those incorporated in the conceptual model as well as key terms necessary to understand the process of identity formation and identification within this context.

Table 1.1 Definition of Terms

Terms	Definitions	References/Notes
Social Identity	The knowledge of membership in a particular group as well as the cognitive and affective relationship attached to that membership	SIT; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986
Organizational Identity of the individual	An individual's knowledge they are a member of an organization (BGR!) and the importance and pleasure they derive from that membership	Ashforth et al., 2008; Hogg & Terry, 2001; Scale used: Ellemers et al., 1999, which incorporates three subdimensions of social identity
Identity of the Organization	That which is distinctive, enduring, and central to an organization.	Albert & Whetten, 1985; called "organizational identity" in management literature. Changed here to distinguish it from identities of organizational members
Identity Work	The act of producing a new sense of self either with a particular role, group or activity.	While the literature uses several different term to describe this process, Ibarra, 1999, and Pratt et al., 2002 study this action for individuals in organizations
Identity Threat	Experiences or actions that challenge an individual's sense of self	Breakwell, 1983; Kreiner & Sheep, 2009
Identification	The process through which an identity with a particular group or being is formed	Grotevant, 1987; He & Brown, 2013; Pratt, 1998
Social Identity Complexity	The way in which individuals incorporate multiple identities, partially in accordance with their salience	Roccas & Brewer, 2002
Dissonance	The realization of a lack of fit or incongruence between two experienced cognitive elements	Festinger, 1957; Used predominantly in attitude formation literature, although its connection to Social Identity Theory is suggested by Hogg & Terry, 2007
Sensemaking	A process of identity formation in which individuals use cues to retrospectively create meaning	Weick, 1995

Overview of Chapters

The content of this proposal is organized in the following manner: Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical background for the study. It begins with a review of the origins of Social Identity Theory (SIT), the first theoretical perspective through which the problem is examined. It follows by highlighting the complementary theories, frameworks, and concepts through which SIT can be understood, including identity salience and social identity complexity. It then reviews literature surrounding the process of identity formation and identification, and the concept of dissonant identities. It also links these concepts to their ability to be applied to social change for marginalized populations. It finishes by using the literature to create a new conceptual model of an identity change process that utilizes organizational identities to create a space for other new identities that are normatively dissonant for the population. Chapter 3 outlines the overall methods and study context through which this study will examine the conceptual model developed in Chapter 2. Study-specific methods, results, and discussions of Study 1 and Study 2 are detailed in Chapters 4 and 5, respectively. In Chapter 6, the overall research findings are used to compare and reflect on the conceptual model. The discussion of the findings then leads to the contributions of the current research, managerial implications, limitations, future directions, and a conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The following chapter outlines the relevant theoretical and empirical work contributing to understanding the research problem. It is divided into two main parts. First, it reviews the theoretical background through which an individual's multiplicity of identities is understood, the social identity perspective. This section reviews the relevant background literature from social psychology, as well as reviews the relevant literature from both mainstream management and sport management that theorize and empirically examine the way in which identities act, interact, and how they are useful in understanding behavioral outcomes.

The second part of the literature review moves from the theories and concepts that create a definitional picture of social identities, to process theories that examine how identities form and change, specifically in organizations. This includes process models of change that look at how individuals come to identify themselves as prototypical members of an organization, as well as how they react to dissonance, or identity threats, as this formation takes place. The combination of the components of an individual's identity as proposed by social identity theory, and the process models of identity formation, together are used to create a conceptual model that aims to understand the processes through which organizational identities inform other potentially dissonant identities.

Fundamentally, this study examines the stated problem through Bhaskar's (1979; 2014) critical realist perspective, whereby answers are sought through a somewhat subjectivist approach, while understanding the objective "truth" is unable to be

recovered. Hodgkinson (2013) recently highlighted the unique role that the critical realist perspective can play in organizational research, particularly those that concern themselves with identity and identification. In moving past the post-positive approach, critical realism allows for other perspectives such as narrative and postmodern to help inform the dominant functionalist approach to research questions in this field.

Therefore, while much postmodern and post-critical perspectives have themselves been critical of the theories presented here, including social identity theory and self-categorization theory, using the critical realist perspective allows this research to seek answers through these theories while being mindful of the subjective truth that they produce. Likewise, Alvesson, Ashcraft, and Thomas (2008) suggest that identity scholarship within the organizational studies field can benefit from understanding how functionalist, narrative, and critical formulations of identification and identity formation can actually work together to create a fuller conversation about the topic.

Social Identity Perspective

Social Identity Theory (SIT), and its extension, Social Categorization Theory (SCT), focus on identification as members of particular groups, an identity made salient through the extent to which in-group and out-group differences are identified (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Tajfel is often seen as the father of this perspective, beginning with his articulation of intergroup dynamics (1978) in which he outlined four concepts essential to group comparison amongst individuals: social identity, social categorization, social comparison, and psychological group distinctiveness. The common denominator amongst these concepts was the attempt to understand the complex

relationship of individual or interpersonal behavior with the social processes of intergroup conflict, and has led to a stream of research not only within social psychology, but numerous other fields including political psychology, business, and sport management.

Social Identity Theory

Tajfel (1978) noted that, in congruence with much of the social psychology of his day, individuals have personal identities, that which makes them unique. But they also have social identities, as individuals organize themselves into groups associated with particular categories, including gender, race, occupation, religion, etc. In the interest of personal self-esteem and self-enhancement, individuals strive to create a positive concept of social identity with their associated groups, which may also force them to positively distinguish their group in some ways from other out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). A particular social identity, then, is defined as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership." (Tajfel, 1982, p.255)

The first part of identification then, the knowledge of membership, happens through the self-categorization process, "the ordering of social environment in terms of groupings of persons in a manner which makes sense to the individual" (Tajfel, 1978, p.61). While this process is purely cognitive, it relies directly on interactions, which give individuals an orientation of their place in society, channeling Berger's (1966) contribution to the parent perspective of symbolic interactionism: "society not only

defines but creates psychological reality. The individual realizes himself in society—that is, he recognizes his identity in socially defined terms and these definitions become reality as he lives in society" (p.106-107).

Once individuals have conceived of themselves as members of a group or social category, they also come to share in the emotional involvement in defining themselves as part of a collective with other individuals. Group members, in an effort to seek positive esteem, collectively create a positive evaluation of their own group, and, in doing so, simultaneously create evaluations of other groups in an effort to maximize esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Thus part of an individual's self-definition within society includes not only those social categories to which they are a part, but also a comparative definition to those groups of which they are not.

From the basic arguments outlined above, Tajfel and Turner (1986, p.16) outlined three general formal assumptions that underpin social identity theory:

1. Individuals strive to maintain or enhance their self-esteem; they strive for a positive self-concept.
2. Social groups or categories and the membership of them are associated with positive or negative value connotations. Hence, social identity may be positive or negative according to the evaluations (which tend to be socially consensual, either within or across groups) or those groups that contribute to an individual's social identity.
3. The evaluation of one's own group is determined with reference to specific other groups through social comparisons in terms of value-laden attributes and

characteristics. Positively discrepant comparisons between in-group and out-group produce high prestige; negatively discrepant comparisons between in-group and out-group result in low prestige.

The two theorists go onto to then outline the following three theoretical principles to be derived from the assumptions:

1. Individuals strive to achieve or maintain positive social identity.
2. Positive identity is based to a large extent on favorable comparisons that can be made between the in-group and some relevant out-groups: the in-group must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant out-groups.
3. When social identity is unsatisfactory, individuals will strive either to leave their existing group and join some more positively distinct group and/or to make their existing group more positively distinct. (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, p.18)

These assumptions and their associated principles have since been the foundation for a body of work in numerous fields that concerns itself with understanding the categorization process, intergroup processes, relations, conflict, and resolution.

Social identity theory also focuses on prejudice, discrimination, and conditions that can promote both conflict and social change. There is an emphasis on intergroup competition and the motivational role of self-enhancement through positive social identities. As social categories that are more salient create a stronger sense of in-group and out-group, members of an in-group that are also part of a marginalized group, i.e.

groups where membership confers negative esteem, may feel their collective identity more strongly (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Much of Tajfel and Turner's work was dedicated to understanding the way in which group members acting as collectives can create social change through social movements, rather than understanding the state of intergroup conflict for the sake of itself. These authors suggest, therefore, that the theory is not most useful "for what it is in a static sense," but rather "as an intervening causal mechanism in situations of 'objective social change'" (Tajfel, 1978, p.86).

Social Identity in Management and Sport

Organizations often play an important role in the life of individuals, as they are institutionalized beings that embody the characteristics of its prototypical members (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Similar to organic identities like family, gender, and race, an identity as a member of a group or an organization can provide positive esteem for individuals, as they seek out those who are like them (Hogg & Turner, 1985). For this reason, the importance of identities as members of organizations has found its way into the management literature in very specific ways. As much of this literature concerns itself with employees within organizations, the cognitive component of identity, identification, or the extent to which an individual feels a sense of oneness with the organization, has dominated the conversation (Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

Ashforth and Mael's seminal work set the stage for 25 years of work aimed at understanding the outcomes and antecedents associated with this state. It is no surprise then, that organizational studies following this tradition use predominantly Mael and Ashforth's (1992) unidimensional scale to measure the construct, a scale which has also

shown the highest validity amongst scales in the human resources management literature (Riketta & Van Dick, 2005). Using the Mael and Ashforth scale, the state of identification has been linked to several positive organizational outcomes, including extrarole behaviors (Blader & Tyler, 2009), task performance (Yurchisin & Damhorst, 2009), and intention to stay in the organization (Mael & Ashforth, 1995). It also carries with it several antecedents, including distinctiveness and prestige of the organization (Mael & Ashforth, 1992), perceived organizational identity and external image (Dukerich, Golden, & Shortell, 2002), and perceived organizational leadership (Ellemers, De Gilder, & Haslam, 2004; Walumbwa, Avolio, & Zhu, 2008).

While this stream is informed by the social identity perspective, the framing of the research question for this study is one's identities, who one is within a particular group, and its ramifications, rather than the state of identification per se. It is important to make this distinction as an identity highlights multiple components within an individual across various life domains. While the state of identification has been operationalized primarily cognitively, an identity contains an affective and evaluative component, whether it is seen as an attribute or outcome of the identity. It begins with the core, defined as the self-definition, importance, and affect associated with it (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008).

The model proposed by Ashforth and colleagues (2008) purports that these three components make up the enduring attributes of a particular identity—and the more an individual embodies the core, the more prototypical they are as members of a particular identity. A broader definition of the construct can include the content of identity: the

values, goals, beliefs, traits, and abilities associated with it. However, the line between core and content is cloudy: depending on the saliency of the identity, some or all or none of these beliefs or traits may exist for any one individual (Ashforth et al., 2008). In its broadest formulation, it includes the behaviors of identity. While predominantly perceived as an outcome of a particular identity rather than a component of it, behaviors are important in the self-construction process, and it is therefore possible to act one's way into an identity (Ashforth, 2001; Daft & Weick, 1984).

Identity in sport management in particular has been recognized as an important concept, as sport teams tend to often be a group that individuals incorporate into their own self-definition (Jacobson, 1979; Lock, Taylor, Funk, & Darcy, 2012; Wann, 2006; Wann & Branscombe, 1993). For this reason, team/fan identity and identification have been extensively studied to understand implications on fan attitudes and behaviors, in a similar way that marketing researchers have been interested in the antecedents and outcomes of identification with a brand. Gwinner and Swanson (2003) use Ashforth & Mael's conceptualization as well as the Mael and Ashforth (1992) scale to examine the antecedents of team prestige, domain involvement, and fan associations, and the outcomes of sponsor recognition, attitude toward the sponsor, sponsor patronage, and satisfaction. Meanwhile, Wann and Branscombe's (1993) Sport Spectator Identification Scale (also used later by Lock, Darcy, & Taylor, 2009) is also unidimensional, but includes the extent of behavioral identification in its seven-item measure. To this end, their conceptualization suggests that the extent of internalization into one's self-concept

is also dependent on the extent to which they exhibit behaviors like going to games and watching them on television.

Meanwhile, another stream of sport literature defines identification as "an orientation of the self in regard to other objects…that results in feelings or sentiments of close attachment" (Trail, Anderson, & Fink, 2000). In doing so, Trail and colleagues drew their definition directly from interpretation of Mead's work on symbolic interactionism, a predecessor of social identity theory (Mead, 1934). In this way, identification or "attachment" with some aspect of the sport is then heavily related to motivations for watching the sport (Robinson & Trail, 2005). This conceptualization of identification, however, is not firmly rooted in identity theory per se, which is reflected in the inconsistency in its operationalization of each of the attachment points that vary considerably.

In an effort to create an operationalization more theoretically founded, Heere and James' (2007) developed a team identity scale with seven dimensions, founded upon Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin-Volpe's (2004) concept of collective identity. It distinguishes itself somewhat from SIT, in that it acknowledges that *all* parts of one's identity are socially constructed, even those thought of as a "personal identity." In this way it combines the traditions of Tajfel and Turner (1986) and identity theory, as conceived by Stryker and Serpe (1982). Nonetheless, building from this holistic perspective, it identifies seven dimensions of a collective identity: self-categorization, evaluation, importance, attachment, social embeddedness, behavioral involvement, and content and meaning. These dimensions are gathered from the previous literature,

predominantly in social psychology, including Luhtanen & Crocker's (1992) popular conceptualization of collective self-esteem.

As definitions of team identification expand to include multiple dimensions, it has also expanded into multiple levels of identification, as proposed in the social psychology literature by Roccas and Brewer (1991) and the organizational literature by Ashforth (2001). Recent work in spectator sport acknowledges that similar to nested identifications within an organization, fans have multiple identifications with a team, ranging from the relational to the superordinate team or league as a whole (Lock & Funk, in press). Subordinate identities, such as those as a member of a particular tailgating community, are formed organically and collectively, rather than assigned by an organization (Katz & Heere, 2013, 2015). This work highlights the importance of different identities within a single organization, and the ability of multiple identities to exist within a single individual towards a particular entity.

The role of one's identity as member of the organization, similar to the state of identification, has been found to be important in understanding organizational structure and positive collective and individual outcomes (e.g. Ashforth, Johnson, Hogg, & Terry, 2001). Further, when this relationship is examined, it is almost explicitly studied with the knowledge that although important, a single identity does not exist alone, and is interactive with the other personal and social identities that comprise individuals. Therefore, it is important to understand the relationship amongst identities of varying salience simultaneously (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001).

Identity Salience

As members of multiple inherently based and self-selected groups at any given time, individuals inhabit multiple social identities (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Identity salience, then, is the activation of a particular identity within a given situation, and the extent to which it would be activated in any situation (Stets & Burke, 2000). When an identity is salient, it is "one which is functioning psychologically to increase the influence of one's membership in that group on perception and behavior" (Oakes, 1987, p.118). Evidence from experiments by Oakes and Turner (1986) also helped to show that social categorizations/social identities become salient under conditions of perceived cognitive and normative fit, and that the level of social identity is a separate important component in decision-making, beyond merely personal identity. These findings not only shed light on the nature of social identity salience, but further highlight the existence of behavior that results from a social level of abstraction, and that relative salience of identities are important antecedents of that behavior (Oakes, 1987).

The relative importance, or salience, of any given identity within the hierarchy of identities, is dependent on both situational factors as well as the identity's subjective importance to the individual (Ashforth, 2001; Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). Situational relevance is determined by external factors—individuals use cues from their environment to enact a particular identity to a specific degree in a given situation. For example, work identities typically tend to be separate from personal identities, unless there is some aspect of a personal identity that is congruent with their work identity (Brickson, 2013). Someone who perceives herself as a caregiver in her personal life would find this identity

more salient at work if she were a nurse rather than a computer programmer. Or if the caretaker identity were extremely salient, she might take on this role in her work life not matter what her occupation. Further, demographic identities such as race and gender tend to have a high subjective importance to individuals, and can remain salient in organizations even when the group with which they identify are not present (Wharton, 1992). This is particularly true when individuals are part of groups that infer negative esteem and strong negative stereotypes exist (Reicher, 2004).

Social Identity Complexity

Identities may be in confluence or conflict across varying situations, and the way in which individuals incorporate multiple identities, partially in accordance with their salience, has been termed social identity complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). According to this concept, multiple group identities may intersect, may be merged, may be compartmentalized, or may exist in a hierarchy of dominance, depending on a particular identity's saliency given the situation. The result of balancing multiple identities in a given context, for example, work and family identities, has implications for individuals' actions and attitudes as "members" of both groups. Roccas and Brewer (2002) propose that the extent of overlap in group stereotypes as well as group membership is a continuum, and provides an indirect index to understanding the level of complexity of any given individual's social identity.

According to Roccas and Brewer (2002), social identity complexity represents the structure of intersection, whereby multiple bases, some of which may have more or less salience, combine to form a single social identity within a single group. For example, in

this structure, the identity of "Black woman" would include those who identify themselves as Black and as women. In the second structure, or dominance, one identity is primary to self-definition, while the second is only supplementary. In this model, individuals who are not part of the primary category are considered part of the outgroup, regardless of whether they share any other supplementary identities. For example, if an individual's primary identity is a long-distance runner, those who are not long-distance runners, regardless of whatever other commonalities they share, are part of the outgroup. Meanwhile, in compartmentalization, identities are separate, completely context or situation specific. For example, at work, other shared identities of sex, race, or religion are not activated, and only one's professional identities matter. This might shift when one moves to the home. Finally, identities can be merged, and one's "social identity is the sum of one's combined group identifications" (p.91).

There are several antecedents to a particular level of social identity complexity, which include stable experiential factors such as societal structure, personal attributes including needs and values, and situational factors which can include those that decrease attentional resources or those that make a particular in-group more or less salient (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Of particular importance is the similarity amongst various socially identified groups. Groups that have similar attributes will lead to low levels of complexity—as there is less distinction amongst the groups. However, when groups are different, oftentimes the group that is perceived to be most distinctive becomes the most salient (McGuire & McGuire, 1988). This may result in a relative dominance of that particular social category (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). This suggests that dominance of a

particular identity can make it difficult for other identities to become salient enough to inform attitudes or behavior, particularly those that may be in conflict in some way with the primary identity.

These varying structures accentuate the belief that examining merely one level of identity may not be sufficient in understanding what causes outcomes of the construct (Ashforth et al, 2008; Ashforth, et al., 2011). Kreiner, Hollensbe, and Sheep (2006) suggest that individuals must use specific tactics to find optimal balance between their personal identities and work identities, particularly in contexts where they are highly identified with their work. This phenomenon has also been studied within numerous other disciplines in order to understand the implications for multiple, sometimes conflicting identities, including but not limited to gender and race (Burke & Hoelter, 1988; Crenshaw, 1991) and nationality and religion (Cassidy & Trew, 1998).

Roccas and Brewer's theory, however, does not state *how* an individual's level of complexity is established, particularly when identities become more salient and must be placed accordingly into the hierarchy. Therefore, while useful in understanding both the importance of multiple identities at a given time, and the negotiated structures that individuals create for multiple identities that may or may not be entirely congruent with each other, it does not speak to the process through which this is able to happen.

Summary

While an individual's identity with a particular group has specific outcomes, it is important to note that the composition of any given identity is contingent upon, and informed by, the interaction with other identities within the individual. An identity's

saliency can vary within individuals and some identities can be more or less important depending on the situation. For this reason, understanding the interaction of various salient identities within an individual are equally important for understanding the outcomes of a particular identity—as they can both inform and be in formed by each other.

Social Identity and Social Change

Practically speaking, organizations can utilize SIT to create positive identities in their organization to achieve particular business outcomes. For organizations interested in creating a sustainable connection to sport and physical activity, however, those outcomes can also include an increase in behaviors within that activity. For an organization like BGR!, the development of a running identity for its members would result in greater amounts of actual running over time. This is further amplified by the ability of identities to create even greater positive social change for marginalized groups, for whom creating a long-term connection to physical activity has been constrained further than the general population (Ogden et al., 2014).

Work within leisure studies has found that an individual's identity as an athlete (their athletic identity) informs their level of participation in the activity as a critical part of a negotiation process that allows them to sustain their engagement (Jun & Kyle, 2011a, 2012). To this end, individuals can have identities within particular activities, such as an identity as a golfer (Jun & Kyle, 2011a) or as a hockey player (Pelak, 2002). Athlete identity was also found to be extremely salient for professional athletes, such that it made

adjustment away from this identity difficult after retirement (Webb, Nasco, Riley, & Headrick, 1998).

The health behavior literature places an emphasis on something called exercise identity, the extent to which one considers him or herself an exerciser (Anderson & Cychosz, 1994). The saliency of one's identity as an exerciser has been found to be positively associated with exercise (Strachan & Brawley, 2008; Strachan, Brawley, Spink, & Jung, 2009). This literature hopes to highlight the relative importance of a salient identity with a particular activity as a means of promoting sustained healthy behavior (Strachan et al., 2011). What is not explored, however, is the mechanisms through which identity with a particular activity is actually formed.

Beyond the outcome of physical behaviors, however, are even more powerful positive outcomes of identities. The line of research that has resulted from the social identity perspective in the management, sport, and health behavior literature has in some ways managed to bury much of the dialogue that Tajfel and Turner (1982) intended to have surrounding intergroup conflict and the discrimination of marginalized minority groups. Much of the mainstream management and social psychology literature draws upon SIT's proposed power of a particular group identity, to the point that in-group and out-group can be made salient for individuals through mere categorization (Reicher, 2004). This originates in Tajfel's (1970; 1973) lab experiments along with work he did with other colleagues (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Randomly assigning individuals to a group was enough to induce categorization, identification, and therefore positive esteem with other members of the in-group and negative esteem for individuals

who were part of the out-group. What this study ignores, however, is that within this paradigm, there is only one point of comparison on which to identify—that of the group randomly assigned (Reicher, 2004). SIT is fundamentally a complex system. Reicher (2004) also points out that identities are forever tied to context—culture, history, and other environmental conditions that make an identity manifest itself in a particular way. Not only do individuals inhabit multiple identities, and those identities are made salient to varying degrees across situations, but those identities are founded in more than personal perception, and are defined in part by the social context in which they exist.

Social norms create certain proscriptions and prescriptions for behavior. Sport and physical activity is no exception. In the same way that male and female gender identities are associated with certain attitudes and behaviors overall, sport and physical activity, as a historically male endeavor, assigns inherently male and female activities based on stereotypes. Gender congruency in sports has been well-studied, as societal norms prescribe such sports as football and weightlifting as masculine, and cheerleading and gymnastics as feminine (Jackson & Henderson, 1995; Shaw, 1994), often creating negative stereotypes for those who choose to participate in gender deviant activities (Harrison & Lynch, 2005). The saliency of gender identity can also preclude certain individuals from participating in activities considered gender deviant altogether. For example, Jun and Kyle (2011) found that a strong prototypical female identity was negatively associated with an identity within the activity of golf.

Meanwhile, a strong racial identity among the Black community in the United States has historically created negative consequences for "acting white," that is, engaging

in activities perceived as deviant from Black culture (Ogbu, 2004). Participation in racially congruent sports starts at a young age, as children are pushed into sports that "support" their race in terms of participation rates (Goldsmith, 2003; Edwards, Bocarro, Kanters, & Casper, 2011). Prescription and stereotypes continue throughout levels of participation, as Black female athletes are subjected to both the sexism in sport that masculinizes women who play traditionally male sports, as well as racism that seeks to dehumanize Black athletes (Bruening et al., 2005; Gill, 2011). It is pervasive still in even in managerial positions within the sport industry, at the intersection of the underrepresentation of women in sport organizational leadership (Sartore & Cunningham, 2007), and the underrepresentation of Blacks, what Armstrong (2011) called "Anglocentric permeations in sport management" (p.99).

Tajfel and Turner (1986) would suggest that those social groups underrepresented within certain opportunities, such as women, Blacks, and Black women, hold even more salient identities of their respective social groups. While marginalized, the saliency of the group allows for a strong sense of collective power. That collective power can then be harnessed to promote positive group esteem and shift normative definitions.

There are several strategies that marginalized groups can use to challenge the status quo: "they can seek to change their position on those dimensions where they have been defined as inferior; they can reinterpret as positive those dimensions of the group that had previously been defined as negative; or they can create new dimensions on which they can be defined positively" (Reicher, 2004). Reicher (2004) went on to call collectives that seek to shape collective action "entrepreneurs of identity" (p.937). These

groups have the power to resist established norms through the process of identity creation, in effect "reproducing the terms of that world in its own internal practices" (p.939).

This power of collective identity has not been lost in the political psychology literature, which recognizes the role collective identification plays in social change for underrepresented groups. Simon and Klandermans (2001) outline the way in which collective identities become sites of political power and struggle, and therefore can also be sites of collective social change. As they see it, groups are inherently embedded in asymmetrical relationships, as relative power is a part of any relationship. These power structures amongst groups not only have consequences between groups, but also have repercussions for the overall power structure within a society. As the term politics is typically thought of as the constrained use of power by one group of people over another (Weber, 2009), "the struggle between social groups for power within a society can therefore be understood as political group activity" (Simon & Klandermans, 2001, p.323).

The outcome, or action of a collective is dependent on three conditions, outlined by Reicher (2004). First, when individuals in a group feel that the status is impermeable, or that their fate is invariably to be a group member, they are more likely to act collectively, as a single voice. Second, in order to move from mere collective categorization to collective action, the marginalized group must perceive the power of the dominant group to be illegitimate, and simultaneously recognize an existence that is more equitable. Third, the nature of the action itself is determined by interactions between the

subordinate and dominant groups through the strategies they use to challenge and assert power, respectively.

There is a fair amount of empirical work on the subject that supports the use of identities and identification by marginalized groups to lead large scale social change within social movements. Simon and colleagues (1998) found that collective identification within a movement, as perceived within the SIT/SCT perspective, was a key predictor of an individual's willingness to participate in a social movement. A similar, longitudinal panel study later showed comparable results (Stürmer & Simon, 2004). Furthermore, Pelak (2002) found that this sense of collective identification, which facilitated change, did not have to emerge through an entity whose primary purpose it was to create social movements. Her study actually examined the way in which the collective identity of a women's ice hockey team was able to change the social norms of masculine and feminine sports within the local community.

This final example by Pelak (2002) suggests that the use and manipulation of collective identities are tied in some ways to the normalization of identities, although this study did not explicitly use theories of identity creation to convey the power that re-appropriating the meaning of the identity of "hockey player" had on the social norms within that community. This case study is important to highlight because not only was the hockey team attempting to give the identity of female hockey player more positive esteem, but it was seeking to change the meaning of hockey player to convey gender neutral identity. The players in some sense were also forcing themselves to identify with an activity that was normatively male, at least historically.

This literature, while useful, fails to explore, however, the mechanism through which the collective identities form, or the tools through which they create social change. As existing identity literature supposes, individuals as agents use social structures and prototypes to create new identities and alter existing ones (Callero, 2003). The same can be said then of collectives (such as groups, programs, or organizations), using particular cues to enact strategies through which change is made to both personal identities (as well as their outcomes) as well as collective, normative definitions of identity. The following section explores how this literature can be combined with the preexisting organizational identity literature to create a process model of identity formation and change with potentially incongruent identities, as informed by collectives and organizations, resulting in outcomes that exceed those for the organization itself.

Identity Formation

While the importance of identities within the organization and the individual have been well-studied, more recent scholars admit that the processes through which identities are constructed are in some ways more useful, as identities rarely remain stagnant over time and are often in a state of flux within the individual (Ashforth et al., 2008; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). Static conceptualizations of identity, including much of the social psychology literature and the subsequent management literature founded in it, are important to try and capture individuals in a particular state and those outcomes. However, identity is an ongoing narrative for individuals, an "evolving story that results from a person's selective appropriation of the past, present, and future" (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010 p.136). Without understanding the process through which an identity is

formed, shaped, and changed, it is much more difficult to utilize identity to achieve positive organizational and social outcomes.

Despite its importance, the question of how individuals form identities as members of organizations is under-researched within the organizational identification domain, similar to mainstream social psychology and sociology (Ashforth et al, 2008). This is due in part to the knowledge that identification is an ongoing process, difficult to measure holistically over a short period of time (Pratt, 1998). For this reason, much of the previous empirical research has examined the development of organizational identities through a single perspective (Brickson, 2013). However, "a process model of identification should account for the dynamism of identity, explicating the intense episodes that require conscious, deliberate decisions that serve to either solidify or transform identities…" (Ashforth et al., 2008).

Beyond the individual, identities are also narratives co-constructed by institutional logics and the individuals interpreting these logics (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Identity does not occur in a vacuum, developing to varying degrees through a social structure. A priori groups that are socially assigned, such as race and gender, often require individuals to make a decision as to what extent they choose to identify with, and conduct the core attitudes and behaviors of the social norms of their gender and/or race (Callero, 2003a). It is possible then, that groups into which members are unable to self-select will always play a role in the creation of new identities, to the extent that their saliency may force individuals to make a decision about what attributes of the prototype they wish to maintain in their group membership. For example, when a woman chooses to become an

American football player, an identity that is not normatively associated with women, she must choose to what extent her core, her beliefs, and her overall behaviors reflect her identity as a football player, perhaps at the sacrifice of those that counter her identity as a woman.

Identity Work

The concept of identity work has become a popular lens through which to understand the general processes through which individuals take on organizational identities. It is a fundamental move between the conventional, essentialist view of identity and the decentered, postmodern orientations (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). It follows the epistemological stand of Holstein and Gubrium (2003), which, while acknowledging more extreme postmodern perspectives that the narrative self is impossible to capture, argues that an individual demarcates the self through narratives, and therefore, through the evolving retrospective narrative, the self can be more or less "known."

For this reason, the theoretical lens of identity work may be useful for framing Ashforth and colleagues' call for a dynamic model of identity formation (2008). The earliest articulations of the concept refer to "the range of activities individuals engage in to create, present, and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self-concept" (Snow & Anderson, 1987, p. 1348). However, Sveningsson & Alvesson's (2003) more recent definition has become the standard: "people being engaged in forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive of a sense of coherence and distinctiveness" (p.1165). In essence,

identity work involves the various processes through which individuals create a coherent version of themselves. While this definition can be applied to any particular kind of group of individuals, it has been applied extensively in the organizational theory and behavior literatures.

Identity work uses narratives and stories to create meaning—the narratives must meet a person's identity aims, so the focus of narrative identity work is the social efforts that achieve this (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). A wide range of general processes have been used to describe this effort (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002) and the array of research in some ways admits that these strategies are idiosyncratic to context, which include the identity work of priests (Kreiner et al., 2006), correctional officers (Tracy, 2004), and lawyers (Brown & Lewis, 2011). As a process, then, identity work is an ongoing narrative within an individual, informed by social cues, that both sheds light on the mechanisms through which individuals form and change identities, but also acknowledges that an identity, even at one particular point in time, is constantly in a state of flux (Beech, 2010; Gergen, 1991).

As an ongoing interaction between individuals and their environment within an organization, identity work is said to be connected to nearly every topic within organizational studies (Alvesson et al., 2008). Identity work is a crucial part of the socialization process in new careers (Ibarra, 1999), and is key in understanding why individuals become entrepreneurs (Fauchart & Gruber, 2011). Further, it is the general process through which individuals create a sense of legitimacy within their organization (Brown & Toyoki, 2013).

Identity formation is a struggle—it is not merely a process of integration, but also one of fragmentation (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). The objective of identity work is to be granted, or to fit into, a particular identity, both internally through self-perceptions and externally through recognition of congruence with the prototype of a particular social identity (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). In attempting to convey or "inhabit" a particular role, however, individuals strive to be both consistent and authentic, which can lead to discrepancies between what they really feel and what they believe they are expected to feel as inhabitants, or potential inhabitants, of a particular identity (Ibarra, 1999; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). This creates a threat to one's identity, evoking a feeling of dissonance.

Identity and Dissonance

Dissonance, and its opposite consonance, are two cognitive elements through which individuals define the knowledge they have about the world (Festinger, 1962). Dissonance theory is essentially a theory about the way in which people try to make sense of their environment and make their surroundings and behaviors meaningful (Aronson, 1992). When something is dissonant with something else, they don't fit together (Festinger, 1962). Therefore, when someone encounters an element in the environment that they perceive to be dissonant from their preexisting beliefs or knowledge about the world, there is a sudden lack of fit, which can cause distress. Festinger outlines the core of the theory with the following:

1. There may exist dissonant or "nonfitting" relations among cognitive elements.
2. The existence of dissonance gives rise to pressures to reduce the dissonance and to avoid increases in dissonance.

3. Manifestations of the operation of these pressures include behavior changes, changes of cognition, and circumspect exposure to new information and new opinions. (p.31)

In sum, individuals experience dissonance when they encounter something psychologically inconsistent with prior knowledge or beliefs. When this discomfort happens, they do what they can to minimize and ultimately eliminate this discomfort using one or more strategies.

The ability of dissonance to be reduced through changes in cognition require an understanding of the extent to which that cognitive element that is faced with dissonance is resistant to change (Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959). Festinger charges that if the cognitive element is behavioral, then certain circumstances, such as imminent pain, present satisfaction, or an involuntary nature may preclude an individual from changing that element. If the element is environmental, ability to resist depends on the extent to which the environmental reality is physically or socially constructed. While an element in the physical environment might be almost impossible to change, an element of a socially constructed reality requires support for a change in cognition. Festinger and Aronson (1960) argued that one could not understand how dissonance is either experienced or reduced without a greater grasp of the environmental and psychological circumstances under which an element is received. They argued that Festinger's initial experiments did not take into account the relation to the element for the subject, and assumed an overall positive self-concept.

Similar to Reicher's (2004) criticisms of the Tajfel (1978) experiments, cognitive experiences do not happen in a vacuum, and therefore one must take into account real social context. When an element is an important part of the self-concept, the effects of dissonance are going to be strongest when a particular element reflects negatively on some important element of integrity and self-worth within the individual (Thibodeau & Aronson, 1992). Aronson (1960) offers an example of a liberal at a conservative cocktail party, who lip services a few positive remarks about politicians on the extreme right so as not to insult company. In this case, dissonance does not occur because he spoke positively about conservatives when liberal, but because, as a person of integrity, he actually lied, which is a dissonant behavior for those with a strict moral compass. Meanwhile, a pathological liar would experience no dissonance, since lying is an important part of his self-concept.

The concept of dissonance is predominantly tied to the formation of attitudes: as individuals encounter a message that is dissonant with their pre-existing attitudes, they seek to reduce this dissonance, and can do so with the strategies outlined above (Festinger, 1962). It has been called one of the most important theories in social psychology in the last century (Thibodeau & Aronson, 1992). Yet, it has yet to be utilized fully in disciplines such as business or sport management. The importance of self-concept in the modern conceptualization of the theory leaves the door open for exploring dissonance in concert with identity formation.

Identity Formation and Dissonance. In the aforementioned experiments, dissonance was reduced through a change in behavior, relying on a particular social

identity for cues to reduce the feeling. Not only can one's salient group memberships form or change attitudes, but as social identities form, attitudes regarding the group form as well. Identities form as individuals make sense of their environment, first categorizing themselves into a particular group (Tajfel, 1982). The catalyst for categorization differ across contexts depending in part on the origin of the identity. It is often thought to be an inherently socialized process for a priori groups such as race and gender (Oaks, 1987; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, in terms of self-selected groups like an identity with a sport team, or an identity with a particular activity, a need for belonging or the desire to fill an emotional gap may catalyze the identification process (Funk & James, 2004). Fundamentally, then, individuals desire to join groups that can enhance their positive self-concept (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and tend to seek out identities that are congruent with their other identities (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Further, when individuals are asked to take on an identity that is not congruent with their other identities, individuals may experience "emotive dissonance" if they feel that an identity does not conform to expectations. In order to reduce this dissonance, they seek out images that fit more with the self (Ibarra, 1999).

This might have a greater effect for identities into which individuals can self-select—as the prototypes of a priori identities such as race, gender, and sexuality are less likely to change, individuals may choose to opt-in and opt-out of other orchestrated identities that cause dissonance. For example, Jun and Kyle (2012) found that stronger feminine identities were negatively associated with identity as a golfer. The authors speculated that the activity's association as an activity played more often by men created

a tension for women playing the sport, such that they distanced themselves from the activity.

Identity Conflict and Threat. Similar to the conceptualization of identity work in general, the definition of identity threat is somewhat fluid in the literature. However, both Breakwell (1983) and Kreiner and Sheep (2009) define it as experiences or actions that challenge an individual's sense of self. The narrative space in which organizational identities are formed are ideal contexts for identity threat, as individuals self-select, or are selected into, organizations that may or may not be consonant with their current sense of self (Petriglieri, 2011). Sources of identity threat can include a wide range of experiences within the organizational context, including events (Elsbach, 2003), interactions with others (Fine, 1996), or actions of the individual within the organizational identity that directly contradicts the sense of self (Anteby, 2008). Identity threat work to date has not examined the possibility of a new, proposed, dissonant identity as a threat, but rather examines threats posed by experiences within an organizational identity. However, the strategies used to overcome threats to identity within an organization may also extend to those created by the organization, in the formation and development of other identities across the life domain. While this literature does not link itself to Festinger's (1957) dissonance theory explicitly, it can be framed as an important derivative of his work.

Sensemaking

The concepts of both identity work and identity threat as a part of identity formation are founded upon the post-structural philosophical position that identity is fluid, and individuals are constantly renegotiating and reintegrating their self-concept

(Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft, & Thomas, 2008). The strategies associated with identity creation, work, and threat are therefore best understood through theories of sensemaking (Ashforth et al., 2008). Fundamentally a process of organizing, "sensemaking unfolds as a sequence in which people concerned with identity in the social context of other actors engage ongoing circumstances from which they extract cues and make plausible sense retrospectively…" (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005, p. 409). It supposes that individuals are forced to use cues in their environment to make sense of their place and relationship with other entities as they encounter surprises or discrepancies in the world around them (Maitlis, 2005). In this way, sensemaking can be viewed as a strategy undertaken when one encounters either dissonance (Maitlis & Christianson, 2014) or a threat to identity (Petriglieri, 2011).

It is also an inherently social process, as meaning can only be constructed in a collective context (Weick, 1995). Individuals make sense of the world through their interaction with others (Gephart, 1993). This property of the process makes it extremely useful in understanding identity formation, as identities form through interpretation of self, social interactions, and broader social contexts (He & Brown, 2013). As an ongoing iterative process, sensemaking also understands that, unlike the static models of identity complexity of Roccas and Brewer (2002), negotiation and integration of multiple identities are constantly interacting over time, not only through cognitive elements but through identity enactment as well (Daft & Weick, 1984).

The identity work and identity threat literature to date has used sensemaking as a way of understanding the critical events and cues that individuals use to construct and

reconstruct identities across various contexts that may be sites of discrepancy or surprise. Ibarra (1999) explores the identification process from the perspective of the new organizational members—their identity enactment and sensemaking. This study explored provisional selves, in which consultants and bankers developed their identities through "trying on" possible selves to examine fit. Pratt et al. (2006) studied the identity construction of individuals new to a profession (what they do, not where they work). Petriglieri (2011) conceptually, rather than empirically, identified the cues and strategies used to assess and eliminate threats or dissonance within identity.

When individuals are confronted with a new (organizational) identity, the literature has identified several forms of sensemaking used to negotiate any feelings of inconsistency, and integrate the identity into the preexisting sense of self. Ibarra (1999) called the strategies within this process creating, testing, and refining the new identity. Meanwhile, Pratt et. al. (2006) broke this down even further, recognizing that the sensemaking required when confronted with a new identity, was dependent upon the extent to which it was consonant with a pre-existing notion of both self, as well as the expected prototypical inhabitant of the identity. Dependent on the situation, individuals use enrichment, patching, or splinting.

Identity enrichment involves deepening an understanding of a given identity. Primary care residents, through their sensemaking experiences, came to realize the scope of responsibility that was required for their new professional identity, and therefore engaged in enriching to make it deeper (Pratt et. al., 2006). These strategies are most often used when individuals feel that the professional identity to be acquired met with

very few threats or inconsistencies to one's current sense of identity. In this case, the sensemaking process is straightforward, as individuals can draw upon other identities to help them create new meanings for the nascent identity.

The strategy of patching creates a new composite identity, made up of pieces of several preexisting identities (Pratt et al., 2006). Patching reflects a kind of overlap in the identity construction process that Grotevant (1987) described in his model of lifetime identity formation, albeit in the construction of two types of professional identities (i.e. two identities in the same domain rather than in different domains). Patching can be fairly straight forward when the structures of the two identities are coherent and can overlap easily. Meanwhile, when an individual's established identity is threatened by something dissonant, individuals may have to change the importance of an identity, either preexisting or new (Petriglieri, 2011). While this concept speaks to importance change across professional identities, this can involve the interaction of personal and professional identities as well, as individuals are forced to restructure their levels of social identity complexity: i.e., the extent to which identities overlap, and the relative importance or salience of each identity. This restructuring allows individuals to regain balance of their overall sense of self and diminish conflict (Brewer, 1991; Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2009).

The final process presented by Pratt and colleagues (2006) is known as identity splinting, which involves using other salient identities as a splint until a fragile, developing identity becomes stronger. For radiologists, this meant identifying as students, as they were not exposed to a strong work identity in the first year of their residency

(Pratt et al., 2006). As years passed and they gained more relevant experience, their identity as radiologists became more salient on their own. Splinting is also similar to Petriglieri's (2011) conceptualization of meaning change. This involves seeking out information and associating a new set of meanings to a particular identity (Merton, 1968). When identities cannot function independently, individuals can use a preexisting identity to create a new set of meanings in order to create overall consonance within the self.

Identity exit happens when the threat to identity is strong, and when there is another identity available (Rudy & Greil, 1987). Within the context of an occupation, this might mean an alternative identity as an organizational individual. For groups into which individuals self-select, the most likely outcome of identity exit is attrition. If individuals choose not to exit the identity in some way, changing the meaning of an identity usually happens when individuals are entering a new identity, and they encounter conflict, and must change the meaning of the new identity (Ibarra, 1999). Weick (1993) described this inability to use new cues as a failure of sensemaking.

Organizational literature utilizing sensemaking to this point has focused predominantly on the sensemaking forced by a particular disruption or event, mainly because these events offer the best opportunity to gauge moments of meaning construction (Weick, 1993). However, Weick et al. (2005) also suggests that sensemaking is ongoing, and therefore, even without a significant, singular event, the process of identification can still be examined. This is an important point to make when examining organizational members over time, as periods of identification contain both moments of sensemaking and periods of stability (Ashforth et al., 2008).

Sensebreaking and Sensegiving

Beyond just exploring changes and interactions within the individual, examining the organizational perspective helps to answer the question: "how do organizations come to persuade individual members to identify with the organization?" (Pratt, 1998, p.195). Sensebreaking and sensegiving are related constructs within the sensemaking domain used by organizations to try to convey a particular meaning of themselves to individuals, thus informing a member's identity as part of the organization. Empirical work has found organizations capable of: inducing feelings of common ground with organizational members (Cheney, 1983), using unifying symbols, stories, and myths (Trice & Beyer, 1993), and uniting the organization against a common enemy (Cheney, 1983). These tactics, while not processes in themselves, can serve as rhetorical strategies when organizations are viewed as a collective sharing similar values (Pratt, 1998).

Sensebreaking involves the breaking down of previously believed cognitions and conceptions (Pratt, 2000). It can lead individuals to question and reexamine their sense of self and course of action (Laurence & Maitlis, 2014). Meanwhile, sensegiving is part of a process of influence, in which organizations or individuals attempt to assign meaning to particular realities (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991). These two often act in concert, as organizations break down prior notions of being and promote new ways of enacting a particular sense of self or identity (Pratt & Foreman, 2000).

Just as members of organizations have traits, attitudes, cognitions, and behaviors that are associated with their identity as members of the organization, a second stream of literature looks more directly at the organization itself, as an entity, capable of

embodying its own identity. This stream of literature grows out of the work that recognizes organizations as interpretive systems. Daft and Weick (1984) suggested that organizations are more than merely the composite of individuals of whom it is made up: "individuals come and go, but organizations preserve knowledge, behaviors, mental maps, norms, and values over time" (p.285). Organizations have their own cognitive structures (Hedberg, 1981).

Organizations are in some ways organisms of their own, transcending the individuals comprised of them (Weick, 1995). The identity of the organization can then be something that transcends the collective identity of the individual, as the organization itself is a social actor, with referents that project in a particular way to stakeholders (Whetten, 2007). These referents are cues in a set of legitimate identity claims made by the organization over time, without necessarily the presence of particular individuals (Whetten, 2007). In addition to being authored by key organizational leadership (Buenstorf & Murmann, 2005), they can be embedded in defining moments within the history of the organization (Kimberly, 1987), and central themes within the organization's biography (Czarniawska, 1997). While the claims require members to pass on the stories to new members, they can be embedded within the structure of the organization in a way that does not require a particular individual or group.

The term "organizational identity" then (for the purposes of this study called "the identity of the organization"), can refer to a set of claims, or referents, about what is central, distinctive, and enduring about it (Albert & Whetten, 1985). In formulating the organization as a social actor, it can possess all three broad components of identity: the

core, i.e. its self-definition, importance, and affect; the content, i.e. its values, goals, beliefs, traits, and knowledge; and its behaviors (Ashforth et al., 2008). These components help to define the distinctive and central referents that organizational members can use to understand the identity of the organization.

Pratt and Foreman (2000) used the sensemaking narrative to examine Amway distributors in an attempt to understand how the company defines new identities for individuals through a sensebreaking (dream-building) process. Individuals in the company experience sensebreaking when their current self is found to be somehow deficient from their ideal self, leading to dissatisfaction. This deficiency is created in the prototypical identity of the organizational member, regulated by the organization, and reinforced by the collective membership. A new member compares his/her own identity against this prototype, and situationally suppresses that which is incongruent. The organization, then, through sensegiving, provides "dreams" that allow members to fill this gap.

Organizations then, as agents, theoretically have influence to shape identities for the individuals of which they are comprised via the construction and composite of their own identity (Whetten, 2006). As individuals utilize the agency to build a self through the creation of different identities (Warren, 1992), it follows that organizations may too have the capacity to provide a new collective identity for a group of individuals through mechanisms and institutional logics that promote the outcomes of identity, although this has not been empirically studied.

A strong identity as an organization can only build a strong identity for individuals through its set of legitimate identity claims (Whetten, 2006). The goal of the identity claims is to create a lasting, enduring, but also authentic version of a prototypical identity (Whetten & Mackey, 2002). As the identity of an organization must help members to answer the question "who are we?", it must have referents and discourse that are viewed both externally and internally as legitimate (Whetten, 2006). Beyond supplying definition, organizations must also provide a legitimacy for the identity, a task more difficult, but also more important when that identity is not normatively consonant with members' other salient identities.

Summary

The identity formation literature in organizational studies is founded within the identity work perspective. The various strategies utilized by individuals and organizations retrospectively create a cohesive definition of what it means to be the member of the organization or of a particular profession. These strategies, informed by the theory of sensemaking, depend upon the extent to which these potential identities are consonant or dissonant with individuals' personal identities (Ibarra, 1999; Pratt et al., 2006). The greater the sense of dissonance, the larger the adjustment or compromise that must be made in order to integrate an organizational identity into a preexisting hierarchy.

This literature, while insightful and part of an important story of how identities form within organizations, leaves large gaps to be explored. It does not examine the role of the organization in facilitating, changing, or creating identities outside of the organization. While previous conceptual research suggests that personal identities may

change as organizational identities form (Pratt, 1998), this has not been the focus of empirical research. If it's true that personal organic identities somehow inform professional and organizational identities (Brickson, 2013), then its opposite may also be true, particularly when organizations act as agents themselves (Whetten, 2007).

The potential of organizational identities to influence other social identities (including a priori identities such as race and gender) means the outcomes available for organizational facilitation of identities may extend beyond organizational outcomes and into individual as well as broader social outcomes. The processes of sensemaking (including sensegiving and sensebreaking), aimed at defining and legitimating claims about an identity, may be even more important when considered with the interaction of dissonant identities. This is particularly the case when observed through SIT's proposition that marginalized groups hold more salient identities than those in hegemonic groups.

The Conceptual Model

The conceptual model, built upon the preceding literature, combines two theoretical perspectives: first, the existence of multiple identities within the individual, informed by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and social identity complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002); and second, process models of organizational identification, identity formation, and identity work (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). While these studies do not create comprehensive process models of identity formation and change, together they are useful in informing the various sensemaking strategies engaged by

individuals throughout their identification. Finally, the concept of dissonance plays a role in understanding those effects that pull against the identification process.

Model Components

A model of identity formation (presented in Figure 2.1) must first acknowledge the presence of multiple identities within an individual (Tajfel & Turner, 1986, Ashforth, 2001). These include not only that which is orchestrated through the organization (organizational identity of the individual), but also organic identities like race, gender, and sexuality, which coexist within an individual (other salient identities). The way in which these are integrated vary across individuals, depending upon the saliency of each identity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). In the conceptual model, these various identities are represented by "organizational identity of the individual," which represents who individuals feels they are with respect to their organizational membership; "dissonant identity," which is the new identity, facilitated by the organization and potentially contrasted to prior identities; and "other salient identities," which represent other identities that matter within the context of the organization and/or the dissonant identity. How these are incorporated both within each other and in respect to the other two identities are dependent on individual traits that inform the way individuals have chosen to integrate existing identities, which, as previously mentioned, can range from compartmentalization to complete merger (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

The outcomes of new identities can be both individual and collective. On an individual level, consistent with literature in business, sport management, and health behavior, the creation of a salient identity leads to behaviors associated with that identity

(e.g. Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Heere & James, 2007; Jun & Kyle, 2012; Lock et al., 2012; Strachan & Brawley, 2008). For sport organizations, in particular those that seek to facilitate a long-term connection to an activity and sustained engagement with the activity, such as sport for social change programs or participant sport organizations, an identity with that activity may lead to a sustained connection to that activity, not only psychologically, but in terms of their behavior as well (Wegner, Jordan, Funk, & Clark, in press).

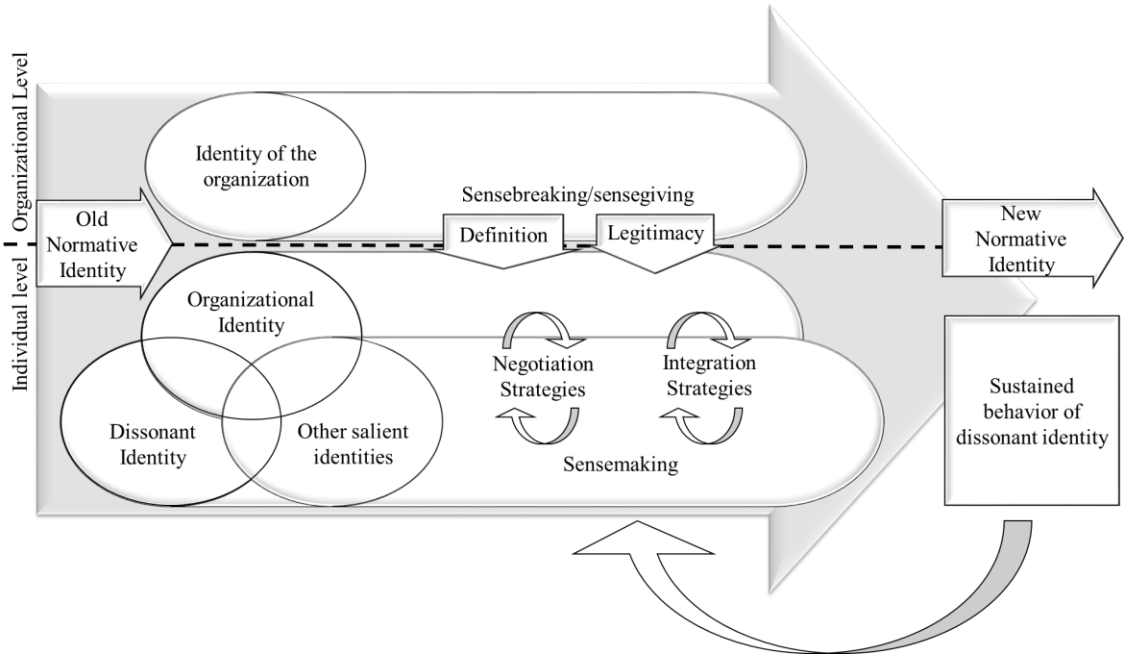


Figure 2.1 A Model of Overcoming Dissonance through Organizational Identities

The identity formation process also leads to the collective outcomes observed in the political psychology literature. The creation of an identity for a new population creates a space for behaviors associated with it for those even outside of the organization (Pelak, 2002). Further, as more and more individuals from the marginalized group take on the new identity, it has the potential to redefine a socially normative identity for that

entire group, both internally as well as externally viewed (Simon et al., 1998). For this reason, during the identification process, the "old normative identity" is transformed into a "new normative identity," both for members within the organization on the individual level, and on a collective level, affecting what those outside the organization perceive the normative identity to be.

Behavior ("sustained behavior of dissonant identity") has typically been thought of as a probabilistic outcome of identity rather than a component of it (Ashforth et. al, 2008). However, a fundamental part of the sensemaking process is action (Weick, 1995). Identity creation can also happen through behavior (Ashforth, 2001). Therefore, the conceptual model includes a feedback loop through which the behaviors associated with the new identity actually contribute back to the identification strategies. As the behavior becomes habitual, the action itself can be viewed as a strategy of adoption or integration.

Model Processes

As individuals choose organizations and groups with which to identify, they form identities as members of those groups, based upon the prototypical group members that exist, as proposed by the social identity perspective (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In a simplified model, these organizational identities are formed through an iterative, sensemaking process, in which individuals use cues to assess fit and integrate the organizational identity into a relationship with their other identities (Ibarra, 1999). The strategies that are used are dependent upon the level of incongruence contained within the proposed identity (Pratt et. al, 2006).

Various process models of identity work and formation within organizations suggest that the creation of a new identity is far from straightforward. When organizations try to promote identities for individuals that are not congruent with their other salient identities, dissonance occurs. If this dissonance cannot be overcome, individuals will leave the organization (Pratt, 1998; Schneider, 1987). Yet, when the social identity perspective, its applications to marginalized groups, and the theory of dissonance are imagined holistically, the research offers the possibility for a way to understand how marginalized groups in particular can use existing identities to confer positive esteem through the modification and the creation of new identities. A strong social identity is a space of resistance for marginalized groups to fight against the social norms that keep the dominant groups in power (Reicher, 2004). The creation of a new identity that is somehow dissonant from the normative prototype of their preexisting identity both changes their positions on a previously negative dimension and creates a new dimension of positivity. The new, dissonant, identity both incorporates the positive prototype of the dominant group and that of the marginalized group. Therefore, dissonance itself, while it creates conflict and discomfort, is not in itself enough to deny the creation of a new identity.

When individuals choose to stay with the organization, the identification process is similar to the way in which individuals come to identify with the organization, except the strategies are filtered through the organizational identity co-created by the individuals and the organization. The organization provides the definition of the new identity through sensebreaking and sensegiving tactics. Sensebreaking involves the breaking down of old

prototypes of the new, dissonant identity. Sensegiving involves the creation of a new prototype through organizational cues and symbols that signify its own identity, which give definition to the new, potentially dissonant identity through the prototype of the individual's identity in the organization. More than merely definition, the organization projects legitimate identity claims about this new identity through that which is enduring, central, and distinctive about the organization, as well as the prototype of the potential organizational member (Whetten, 2006). The organizational space (as a member of the organization) allows individuals to overcome their dissonance to a particular identity.

From the individual perspective (that which exists below the dotted line in the model), organizational members use their identity within the organization to negotiate consonance with the dissonant identity (Ashforth et. al, 2008). In doing so, they must negotiate aspects of the dissonant identity that undermines in some ways other saliencies (Ibarra, 1999). Threats to their other salient identities by the dissonant identity, such as the inconsonance of a particular activity with their race and gender identity, will necessitate negotiating the existence of the nascent dissonant identity, through either the strategies of meaning change or importance change, similar to what Petriglieri (2011) suggested for organizational identities. Individuals can simultaneously use re-defining and legitimizing cues to alter the meaning of a particular new identity to create consonance. Or, they may renegotiate the importance of the dissonance cognitions associated with their other identities, although this is less likely for marginalized groups, for whom those a priori identities are particularly salient.

Once members have negotiated the existence of the new identity in their overall self-concept, they can use the cues provided by organizations, as well as those pre-existing prototypes of their salient identities in order to make sense of the new identity through integration strategies. Through enrichment, patching, or splinting, individuals are able to integrate organizational identities into their self-concept (Pratt et al., 2006). For new identities then, this involves using organizational cues, which can provide a means of congruence with other identities, to make sense of the new identity's place within the individual. Similar to negotiation processes, this must involve not only organizational identities, but an individual's other salient identities, as individuals attempt to create a particular balance of social identity complexity involving both the new and existing.

The ongoing nature of the conceptual model reflects the processual nature of identity formation, as well as the constant and retrospective nature of sensemaking. As interpretive approaches to identity formation suggest that identities are crafted through narratives and stories (Alvesson et al., 2008), this model mimics this perspective in that it acknowledges that the identification process is continual. Further, as the model allows for identities to continually interact, be renegotiated and integrated through episodes of sensemaking, sensegiving, and sensebreaking, and inform and be informed by behavior, it attempts to answer Ashforth et al.'s (2008) call for a process theory of identification that reflects dynamic strategies through which identities can be transformed or reaffirmed.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The current research concerns itself with answering questions of particular parts of this conceptual model using members of BGR!. The purpose of this research is to examine the interaction of organizational and other potentially dissonant identities over time, and the role of an individual's other salient identities in this interaction. Specifically, it examines how individuals in BGR! come to integrate new dissonant (running) identities through their organizational (BGR!) identities, and explores the mechanisms through which individuals use their membership in the organization to make a running identity both salient and consonant, while accounting for their other salient identities of race and gender. As it examines this problem only through the perspective of BGR! membership, this study examines specifically the part of the conceptual model that falls below the dotted line, from the individual perspective.

First, it is important to establish the ability of both the dissonant identity and the organizational identity to predict behavior, as identities not predictive of behavior are not thought to be particularly salient or relevant to self (Oaks, 1987):

H1: Organizational (BGR!) identity of the individual will positively predict subsequent behavior associated with the dissonant (running) identity.

H2: Dissonant (running) identity of the individual will positively predict subsequent behavior associated with the dissonant (running) identity.

In examining the interaction effect of organizational, dissonant, and other salient identities over time, this study proposes that the interaction amongst identities is more

important than each of the identities alone, as they interact over time, resulting in the following hypotheses:

H3: The interaction effect of organizational (BGR!) and dissonant (running) identities will positively predict subsequent behaviors associated with the (running) dissonant identity.

H4: The coefficient of the interaction term of organizational (BGR!) and dissonant (running) identities will be significantly higher than the coefficient of each of them independently.

Together, these hypotheses suggest the importance of the organizational identity in both the construction of the dissonant identity as well as the behavioral outcomes of that identity. In terms of the conceptual model, they test the relationship between the identities presented and the outcomes of identity.

Because the introduction of the new identity may change relationships over time, it is necessary to also test the interaction effect among identities longitudinally, in order to understand the extent to which existing identities can inform the salience of new identities. Therefore, in examining the interaction of an individual's organizational identity and the potentially dissonant identity over time, this study makes the following hypotheses:

H5: An individual's organizational (BGR!) identity at Time (t) will positively predict an individual's dissonant (running) identity at Time (t+1).

H6: The ability of an individual's organizational (BGR!) identity to predict the dissonant (running) identity will be significantly stronger for individuals who did not have the dissonant (running) identity prior to joining the organization.

Meanwhile, in order to understand the process through which this happens (by testing and expanding the conceptual model), Study 2 uses a constructivist perspective to capture how sensemaking is used by individuals to negotiate and integrate their new, dissonant identity through their organizational identities. Therefore, it asks the following research questions:

RQ1: What specific strategies are used by members of an organization to take on an identity that is dissonant with their other identities?

RQ2: How do these strategies vary for individuals over their time in the organization?

These research questions are meant to understand the strategies through which members of an organization come to identify not only with the organization, but simultaneously with a new identity proposed by the organization that is potentially dissonant with their other identities. Together, Study 1 and Study 2 will inform the inputs and outputs of the conceptual model, the extent to which the identity components interact over time, and the strategies that individuals use to reformulate their self-concept within that interaction.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Research Context

Black Girls Run!, a national organization for Black Women in the United States, was chosen to serve as an exemplar for this study because the nature of the organization allows for the possibility that for different members, different states of identification may exist, as well as different components of identity. This organization is a composite of not only women who are seeking to become healthier through a sport to which some haven't had exposure, but also women who were already runners looking to create another connection to the activity through a group that is congruent with two typically salient identities, race and gender.

BGR! is also an important case in that it is addressing a specific, societal problem: it seeks to lower rates of obesity among Black women by encouraging the activity of long distance running. Though not a necessary component to be an ideal case, it is utilizing an activity that is not associated with the normative identity of the Black women in the United States, which allows the study to specifically the ways in which identification with the organization in particular is facilitating an identity within the activity.

As women become persuaded to self-categorize themselves as part of the group due to the social identity influence of existing members, the identification process both with the group and with the activity co-occur. The difference in the two processes, however, becomes as members of BGR! are forced to negotiate their growing identification with running with their identity as Black women, for which distance

running is not a group norm. Social identity complexity suggests that as individuals inhabit multiple identities that may conflict with each other, individuals can use several strategies in negotiating this conflict. In compartmentalization, the two identities are kept completely separate, which may be a strategy that Black women not in the BGR! who run use. However, organizational tactics such as colors and slogans that make running as a member of the organization distinct from mainstream runners in some ways promote a merger of the two identities. By filtering a running identity through cues that are distinct to this group, and therefore also congruent with their race and gender identities, the organization facilitates the process of an identity creation within the activity. It exemplifies what Reicher (2004) called an "entrepreneur of identity," seeking to change social conditions through the strategic collective actions that facilitate identity creation.

BGR! was started as an online blog in 2009 by two Black women runners in the United States, as a way to communicate with, and gain the support of other Black women running across the United States (Cary, 2015). Within just five years, the organization had grown to over 60,000 members, with over 70 local running groups in 33 states. These groups, run by volunteer members known as "ambassadors", organize local runs anywhere from 2-3 times a month to 2-3 times a week. The national organization also has several events each year, including meet-ups and partnerships with larger races for discounted and augmented entries for its members.

BGR! has a central website, where members can get running news, advice, and even general health information, as well as continue engaging in an active blog about members' personal experience with running. It also has a central Facebook and Twitter

account, which is supplemented by Facebook pages of local running groups that serve as an organizing platform for local runs, meet-ups, and networking. The majority of the communication amongst BGR! happens here, where women are able to share their goals and gain support for running, overall health, and life satisfaction journeys.

BGR! has a logo adopted in 2011 made up of the colors black and pink, which have become their official organizational colors. They now sell running apparel to their members in a variety of styles that are typically accompanied by the logo, the colors, and their slogan, "preserve the sexy" (Carey, 2015). Founder Toni Carey admitted that the primary goal of the program was weight loss, but, as the slogan suggests, it is also about something more:

> …the stories that always touch me the most are the ones where someone kind of reclaims who they are on the inside and uses running to get through some difficult times. (Carey, 2015)

The dispersed nature of the group makes it difficult to gauge an accurate account of membership numbers. The organization itself, growing much faster than either of the founders could have expected, has historically used Facebook page "Likes" to gauge how many members the organization has. However, as of 2016, the page now has over 150,000 "Likes," and this number includes not only active and inactive members, but those who support others in the group, those interested in learning more about it, and those who simply find what the organization stands for unique, interesting, or socially powerful. As local groups do not keep a list of active membership, the number of engaged members can be most accurately defined by its email listserv, which in April of 2014, was a total of 40,371.

Research Design

This study uses a mixed-methods design, as neither quantitative nor qualitative data alone is sufficient for understanding the research question. In the past 20 years, mixed methods in general has become more prevalent across academic fields, proclaimed the "third methodological movement," (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003, p.ix) , after quantitative and qualitative methods, respectively. Mixed methods makes up for the weakness of quantitative data alone to understand the context in which people talk and the deficiency of qualitative data to be generalizable to a population (Creswell & Clark, 2007).

In terms of this study specifically, the examination of identities is complex, and that one method alone may not be suitable for understanding the concept (Ashmore et al., 2004), particularly when one is seeking to understand the phenomenon over time. For example, Ashmore and colleagues' framework for operationalizing collective identity, even in a cross-sectional design, suggests the use of both qualitative and quantitative data for understanding the multidimensional nature of the topic. This is because it includes not evaluative and affective components, that may be measured quantitatively, as well as narrative and memory components that require qualitative data.

This study uses an explanatory sequential design—the use of quantitative methods initially followed by qualitative methods that are informed in some way by the quantitative results. While this design is more often used when the focus is more quantitative in nature, it can also be an important sequence when quantitative information is needed to inform questions for the process model, or when specific participants need to

be chosen to represent to population (Creswell, 2013). In this case, a quantitative survey initially will help to understand the extent to which identification with the organization and identification with the collective each play a role in informing behaviors, as well as the saliencies of each of the components of their identity as runners (dissonant identity) and as members of BGR! (organizational identity). Essentially, this stage establishes and describes the existence of identification with this organization to the extent that it is useful in understanding behavior and other outcomes. This will inform the questions necessary for Study 2, which will assess the identity formation process retrospectively, using the understanding of the salient components of identity to assess which cues and strategies individuals use to make sense their of identity as organizational members.

Oftentimes qualitative data is conducted first to better understand what to ask a larger sample of the population (Van de Ven, 2007). In this case, however, the focus on identification formation requires that quantitative data is collected first to better understand the case itself. Once this picture has been created, individuals can be asked to recreate steps through which it is made.

The quantitative portion (Study 1) involves a longitudinal survey design of organizational members from April of 2014 to April of 2015. Members opted into a panel that was surveyed three times over the course of a year. Respondents are asked questions about the saliency of their various identities, including race and gender (other salient identities), as runners (dissonant identity), and as members of BGR! (organizational identity). This data was collected specifically for the purpose of examining how their identities interact over this time period as well as inform behavior, reflected by the

hypotheses proposed in Chapter 2. After testing hypotheses regarding how identities interact and their ability to predict behavior, the qualitative portion (Study 2) explores the mechanism through which this happens using retrospective interviews with a sampling of those same BGR! members who participated in the panel study.

Limitations and Delimitations

There are several potential biases in this research design that need to be addressed. First is the nature of the primary survey design. The use of surveys involves potential sources of error that threaten the accuracy of results, including coverage error, sampling error, non-response error, and measurement error (Dillman, Smyth, & Christian, 2014). Coverage error results from differences between the target population and the sampling frame. One approach to address this issue is to examine whether any significant differences on demographics are identified between the sample and the population (i.e. the sample panel and the overall population of the membership of BGR!). The second type of error in survey research relates to sampling error, which arises as a result of taking a sample from a sub-population rather than using the whole population. Sampling error can be reduced by drawing a large sample, and ensuring minimal differences in demographic characteristics between the sub-sample and the population (Dillman et al., 2014).

There is an additional limitation imposed on the study when the population characteristics are unknown, particularly when non-random sampling is used to select the sample. When convenience sampling is utilized and the characteristics of the population are unknown, the researcher is unable to draw inferences about an individual beyond the

sample themselves (Singleton Jr, Straits, & Straits, 1993). Despite this caveat, Singleton and Straits admit that social and behavioral studies often study unknown populations (this is the reason for studying them), and can offer insight with this limitation in mind.

Non-response error is particularly important for surveys conducted online as they typically have lower response rates than traditional survey methods such as telephone or paper (Mitra, Jain-Shukla, Robbins, Champion, & Durant, 2008). Appropriate incentives and reminder messages should be considered to increase the response rate (Dillman et al., 2014). Non-response error can be also addressed by comparing early to late respondents regarding their responses to questions, given that late respondents are likely to have similar characteristics with non-respondents (Jordan, Walker, Kent, & Inoue, 2011; Miller, Lalonde, McGrail, & Armstrong, 2001).

Within the realm of non-response, attrition and the bias created through study dropout over time must also be addressed for longitudinal design. Individuals who remain in the study may be fundamentally different from those who drop out, and this may not be captured in the results. Differential mortality, however, is difficult to control. Follow-up surveys for dropouts are one way to find any potential differences (Agnew & Pyke, 1987).

Qualitative data also has several limitations, including its generalizability and researcher bias. First, the single-case approach results in external validity issues, as the examination of a particular organization are not generalizable to other organizations. However, it might be in some way transferrable, acting as a base for research that examines other kinds of organizations (Welch, Piekkari, Plakoyiannaki, & Paavilainen-

Mäntymäki, 2011). Furthermore, this limitation can be minimized somewhat by paying close attention to the aspects of the process model that are more likely to be similar across organizations, such as the processes of activity identification that are in some way connected to membership in the organization, but not necessarily facilitated by some mechanism that is distinct to this particular group.

For example, as mentioned, this organization in particular is interested in promoting physical activity through running specifically. The mechanisms through which the Black women utilize the organization (in the sense that the organization in some ways "legitimizes" the activity for them), may create similar paths to identification as a group that teaches amputees to swim, but different paths than groups such as Team Philly that cater to a population whose salient identities are often already congruent with the activity of running. However, as a distinct case, and as identification development is still as of yet insufficiently researched, the results can still make a contribution to the literature.

Finally, researcher perspective must also be taken into account in qualitative work. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) suggest that there are always four actors in any narrative: the interviewed, the interviewer, the additional characters, and the reader. In that, one must acknowledge the power structure of the researcher, interpreting the responses of the "other." (Fine, 1994). Fine asserts that researchers decide which voices to privilege, and it is important to create "friendly critical informants who can help us think through whose voices and analyses to front, and whose to foreground" (p.152). In addition to the previously mentioned researcher/researched relationship that informs the research, the incongruence of my race with that of the participants, an identity that is

itself both salient generally for individuals but of central consequence in this particular organization, informs the research process at all stages.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 1

This chapter provides an outline of the methods, results, and brief discussion of Study 1. The purpose of Study 1 is to examine the ways in which members' organizational (BGR!) and dissonant (running) identities interact over time, and to test the effect that these two identities have on a change in their running behaviors.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval for this portion of the research was received from Temple University in April of 2014 (See approval letter in Appendix A). At this time, an online survey was sent to the 40,371 members of the listserv (T1). The invitation email was sent through the organization, which included an anonymous link to the survey. All members were sent an email reminder after seven days, and the survey was open for an additional week, 14 days in total. In addition to capturing baseline measures of the key constructs named later, this survey asked members to opt into a year-long study that aimed to look at their experiences in BGR! over time.

Allowing individuals to self-select in or out of the survey creates the threat of self-selection bias, as women who respond may be fundamentally different than those that choose not to in a way that invalidates the results. For example, women with less salient identities as members of the organization may be more likely not to respond to a survey sent from the organization. There are a few ways to minimize (although not

eliminate) this potential threat, which include follow-up surveys to non-responders (Agnew & Pyke, 1987), and comparing early to late responders (Jordan et al., 2011).

First, non-responders were invited to respond to a short survey of a few key variables to assess any potential difference (Agnew & Pyke, 1987). A non-responder survey was sent to the total of 38,299 members who did not take the initial April survey in December of 2014. They were asked demographic information, including age, education, and family structure. A total of 123 members responded during the survey's 72-hour window. These respondents were not significantly different from the panel of 2,072 in terms of age (t =1.19, p =.235) or family structure (χ^2=.895, p =.344). This group was significantly more educated than the group of 2,072 (F =4.656, p<.05). However, the effect size of this difference was too small to be considered of any real practical difference (η^2=.003). Nonetheless, the results of this study should be read with a potential response bias in mind.

A total of 1,200 members agreed to participate in the panel. It was not possible to compare the 1,200 members to the overall population, as demographic characteristics of any kind are unknown, beyond race and gender. However, responses of the 1,200 members who opted into the study were compared to the total of 2,050 members who responded to the survey overall. Further, in order to account for non-response bias amongst the 2,050 individuals who took the survey, the answers of early respondents (a total of 1,311 who took the survey in the first seven days) were compared to late respondents (a total of 739 who took the survey in the final seven days). Early responders can be compared to late responders, as late responders are more likely to mimic non-

responders (Jordan et al., 2011). There were no significant differences between early and late respondents in terms of demographics or identity measures.

The panel individuals of 1,200 were emailed the link to the online survey on two additional occasions directly from the Qualtrics survey platform: October, 2014 (T2), and April, 2015 (T3). In this case, a reminder was sent only to non-respondents after seven days, and closed after a total of 14 days. A total 376 individuals took T2. A total of 392 individuals took T3, with an overlap of 171 taking T1, T2, and T3. These individuals were compared in demographics to both the 1,200 panel members, as well as the 2,072 members who took the initial survey in April of 2014. The demographic information of the 171 members who took all three surveys, the 1,200-member panel, and the initial 2,072 individuals who took the survey in April, 2014 are presented in Table 4.1 on the following page.

As shown in the table, there are no demographic differences amongst the panel respondents, the overall panel, and the overall sample who responded to the initial survey in 2014. There are however, significant differences across the respondents in terms of their tenure. In terms of the panel, non-responders were not sent follow up surveys, but for each survey, early responders (first seven days) were compared to late responders (last seven days). There were no significant differences across demographics or key variables of interest. A table of comparison of early to late respondents at each time period can be found in Appendix B.

Table 4.1 *Demographic Information of Respondents*

	N=171	N=1,200	N=2,072	*F*	p-value
Basic Family Structure				.825	.385
Single without Children	30.5%	33.4%	31.8%		
Single with Children	18.4%	20.4%	22.4%		
Married or living with partner (without children)	10.1%	9.4%	9.1%		
Married or living with partner (with children)	31%	36.8%	36.7%		
Age				.265	.607
24-34	18.7%	17.9%	17.2%		
35-44	45%	45.8%	44.1%		
45-54	30.4%	28.7%	30.1%		
55+	5.9%	7.6%	8.7%		
Highest Education				.138	.883
High school/some college	10.0%	12.5%	11.3%		
2-year college degree	7.6%	8.7%	8.7%		
4-year college degree	25.1%	34.4%	32.8%		
Master's Degree	40.9%	35.1%	38.9%		
Doctoral/Professional Degree	7.6%	9.3%	8.3%		
Household Income				.001	.981
$40,000 or less	12.1%	13.2%	12.6%		
$40,001 - $80,000	35.0%	39.3%	39.2%		
$80,001 – $120,000	32.5%	27.5%	28.2%		
$120,001 – $160,000	12.1%	10.1%	10.4%		
$160,001 - $200,000	5.7%	5.4%	5.5%		
Over $200,000	2.5%	4.4%	4.1%		
Employment				.195	.761
Full time paid employment	85.4%	83.6%	83.2%		
Part time paid employment	3.5%	4.4%	3.9%		
Self-employed	2.9%	4.4%	4.4%		
Homemaker	0.6%	1.4%	2.2%		
Full time student	0.6%	1.7%	1.7%		
Unemployed/Retired	3.5%	4.3%	4.5%		
BGR! Tenure (in 2014)				5.455	.020
1-6 months	12.3%	6.4%	20.1%		
7-12 months	29.8%	46.1%	31.9%		
13-18 months	16.4%	12.3%	12.4%		
19-24 months	21.1%	18%	18.9%		
More than 2 years	20.5%	17.2%	16.7%		

Note: All numbers rounded to the nearest tenth. *F*-statistic and p-value represent results of ANOVA comparison of three groups.

Measures

This study used survey-based items to measure all constructs included in the analysis (see Appendix B for the descriptions of the items). As reviewed, measuring identity is difficult, and can encompass a very narrow conceptualization to very broad (Ashforth et al., 2008). In order to produce consistency, scales were chosen based on their ability to mirror Ashforth and colleagues' core of identity, which is comprised of categorization, importance, and an affective component. Instruments are also all existing scales that have been validated in other social identity contexts. Modifications have been made to existing scales to make items more suitable for the current context. To provide consistency in analysis, all items were measured on 7-pt Likert scales. All items ranged from (1) Strongly disagree to (7) Strongly agree.

The number of items from each of the scales used was reduced to limit the burden on survey participants that can result in lower response rates and rushed, invalid responses (Franke, Rapp, & Andzulis, 2013). Further, the threat of common method bias due to similar wording across constructs was considered. Although arguably distinct identities were measured, the wording of the items was similar, given that they were all drawn from social identity theory. The number of items used from each scale was chosen based on suggestions for shortened scales by Stanton and colleagues (2002) representation from identity sub-dimensions (judgemental qualities) and factor loading from previous literature (internal item qualities). Further analysis after data collection was used to reduce the items further using internal item qualities again, along with external item qualities, which is presented in the results section.

Running identity. This construct is measured using a single item from each of the three core dimensions of the Athletic Identity Scale (Cieslak, Fink, & Pastore, 2005). It has since been further validated in a golfing context by Jun and Kyle (2011b). The measure encompasses a total of five dimensions, three of which were chosen to represent the core of the identity measure: social identity, self-identity, and positive affectivity. Social identity is the extent to which an individual sees themselves as part of those who run. Self-identity refers to the degree with which the respondents see themselves as runners. Positive affectivity measure the positive emotions experienced while running and as a runner. The three dimensions are combined to form an overall score of identity salience with a particular athletic activity, in this case running.

BGR! identity. Two items from each of the three dimensions of Ellemers and colleagues' (1999) social identity scale were adapted for respondents' identity as members of BGR!. The three dimensions measure group self-esteem, self-categorization, and affective commitment to the group, three dimensions recognized to be central to capturing collective identity (Ashmore et al., 2004). This scale was chosen for its grounding in SIT, in that it captures both cognitive and affective components of identity.

Ethnic/race identity. The Revised Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) was used to measure respondents ethnic/race identity (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). In this case, items were chosen from the centrality scale and the regard scale (private regard subscale). The inventory has several other scales, including assimilation, humanist, minority, nationalist, and the public regard sub-scale. However, the centrality scale and private regard sub-scale are most closely founded in SIT, while

other parts of the scale use critical race theory to create its items. Furthermore, while the inventory can be used in its entirety, the authors suggest that the various dimensions are stable on their own, and therefore may be looked at through various lenses of Black identity (Sellers et al., 1997).

Gender identity. While named The Collective Self-Esteem Scale, Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) operationalization is a valid measure of social identity with particular groups. Two items from the identity and private regard dimensions were chosen, and adapted to measure respondents' sense of identity as women. The dimension "membership," which measures the extent to which someone believes to be a worthy member of the group, was removed due to the a priori nature of the group in question. Similar to ethnic/race identity, public regard has been removed, as this study primarily focuses on a member's own perceptions, rather than on what they perceive others to believe.

Running behaviors. To answer H1-H4, this study used measures of self-reported running behavior to assess the ability of BGR! and running identity to jointly inform running behaviors, which include miles per week, days per week, and running events over the previous time period. Miles per week was measured ordinally, with ranges from "Less than a mile per week," in ten-mile increments, through "More than 40 miles a week." This variable was converted using the median of each range so as to measure it numerically (e.g. "11-20 miles per week" was changed to 15). Respondents were asked to give a specific number of both days per week and running events per year so as to measure it through a continuous variable.

Covariates. Several variables were measured in order to control for other aspects and constraints that may confound the results. Tenure in the organization was entered as a covariate, acknowledging that changes over time might differ for individuals at different stages of their membership. For example, individuals for whom this one-year study might represent their first year in the program may have a different rate of change than those for who have already been in the organization for a longer period of time. Differences in rate of change are not the focus of this study, and were therefore controlled for. Tenure was measured by asking individuals the number of months and years they had been a part of BGR!. Responses were then converted to number of months in the organization. Other covariates were added to control for structural constraints highlighted in previous literature, including number of children, reported as a continuous variable; income, first reported as a range, converted to an ordinal variable in $10,000 increments; and education, an ordinal variable ranging from "some high school" to "graduate degree" (using the same four-point scale as the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, or BRFSS).

Analysis

The scales were evaluated with the consideration of the two essential characteristics of measurement, reliability and validity. Reliability is concerned with the extent to which a set of independent measures of the same construct show agreement (Churchill Jr, 1979). Construct reliability is assessed by composite reliability whose values of .70 or higher are regarded as satisfactory (Nunnally, Bernstein, & Berge, 1967). Validity refers to the extent to which a scale measures the construct that it is intended to

measure (Bagozzi, Yi, & Phillips, 1991). The fundamental type of validity is content validity, which can be established by demonstrating that the test items are a sample of a universe in which researchers are interested (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). In addition, construct validity needs to be established by convergent validity and discriminant validity. Convergent validity is the extent to which given indicators are the representation of the construct, whereas discriminant validity is the extent to which any pair of different constructs can be distinguishable (Bagozzi et al., 1991; Fornell & Larcker, 1981).

Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) with Maximum Likelihood Estimation was used to measure the construct validity of key latent variables, including organizational identity and running identity. Traditional measurement was also used for reliability (Cronbach's alpha) and discriminant and convergent validity: average variance explained (AVE) for discriminant validity (construct correlations are used to establish that a particular construct is more correlated with its own measures than any other construct, and should be greater than .50), and factor loadings for convergent validity (a narrower range of loadings within a single construct suggests that the items converge on a particular construct) (Chin & Todd, 1995).

Traditional statistical evaluation criteria for reflective constructs such as reliability and AVE are inappropriate for evaluating formative constructs. Formative constructs consist of multiple formative measures, and change in the formative measures cause changes in the underling latent formative construct (Jarvis, MacKenzie, & Podsakoff, 2003; MacCallum & Browne, 1993). The current study assessed the validity of its only formative construct, running behavior, by examining the significance of the

parameter estimates for each formative indicators (Hair, Ringle, & Sarstedt, 2011). Another key criterion of formative constructs is to examine the degree of multicollinearity among formative indicators. In PLS-SEM, the variance inflation factor (VIF) values above 5 are considered a concern of multicollinearity (Hair et al., 2011). The statistical significance of path coefficients was assessed by a nonparametric bootstrapping procedure (Hair et al., 2011). The effect size for each path coefficient was evaluated by means of Cohen's (1988) f^2, whose values of .02, .15, and .35 represent that a predictor latent variable has a small, medium, or large effect on the endogenous variable in the structural model.

The hypotheses presented in Study 1 seek to understand the interaction of identities overtime, as well as the fundamental question of impact on behavior. No single analysis is sufficient for capturing both the cumulative effect of identities over time on a dependent variable while simultaneously unpacking the relationship between the two over three time periods. Therefore, after construct validation, two separate analyses were used to test the hypotheses: a panel regression followed by a cross-lagged model.

This study used a panel regression to answer H1-4. A panel regression model is preferred to other traditional linear models in its ability to incorporate the data of multiple time series from multiple individuals into a single model, simultaneously modeling the course of time for an entire group while still taking into account the lack of independence amongst individuals in the group (Ward & Leigh, 1993). This study used a fixed effects pooled regression initially, as opposed to a random effects model. The latter, while a more efficient estimator, assumes a heterogeneity among individuals (Clark & Linzer,

2015). A fixed effects model allows for individual differences at the intercept, thereby taking into account idiosyncratic associations between a particular individual and the outcomes (Ward & Leigh, 1993). To this end, random effects models assume that individuals follow a normal distribution, and are drawn randomly from an overall population (Ward & Leigh, 1993), and in this study that assumption does not hold. A Hausman test was conducted to confirm the amount of variation explained by individual specific effects, statistically supporting the appropriateness of a fixed or random effects model.

The fixed effects pooled model is sufficient for establishing the saliency of an identity (or interaction thereof) in informing behavior; however, its limitation is the inability to unpack the relationship between independent variables over time. H5-7 attempt to examine how BGR! and running identities change as well as inform each other over time in the presence of race and gender identities. Therefore, a cross-lagged model was used to explore the relationships between these two variables.

First, a repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to confirm whether the two variables of interest, organizational and running identities, as well as members' race and gender identities, change over time. This test is an essential first step in understanding whether models of change can be used (Zheng, Pavlou, & Gu, 2014), and whether, in this case, identities are stable, acting as covariates to the entire model, or should be included as variables that change and interact over time. The overall fit of the measurement model was evaluated using the following fit indices: chi-square to degree of freedom ratio (χ^2/df), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), Comparative Fit Index

(CFI), and Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR). For reasonable fit, the χ^2/df of below 2–3 is recommended (Bollen, 1989). CFI values above .95 suggest that the model has an acceptable fit with the data (Kline, 2010). RMSEA values equal to or below .05 indicate good fit and values in the range of .05–.08 suggest acceptable fit (Browne & Cudeck, 1992).

Once change was established and model fit was accurate, Cross-Lagged Model analysis was used to test the remaining hypotheses, most appropriate for its ability to test all paths from one variable of interest to another, as well as the effects of the measurement of a variable on itself at a later time period (Burkholder & Harlow, 2003). Unlike latent growth modeling, in which it would be necessary to run two models to find the best fit in terms of whether organizational identity informs running identity at each time or whether its opposite hold, cross-lagged modeling acknowledges the potential reciprocal relationship amongst variables over time. In this case, it can test the extent to which BGR! members' organizational identity at a single point informs their running identity in subsequent time periods, how their running identity at a single point informs their organizational identity in subsequent time periods, and the role of other identities in this process, either stable or changing.

Results

Construct Validation

Final selection of items used for analysis was decided first using internal item qualities, including cross-item correlation, factor loading, and reliability. Second, correlation across constructs was considered to account for external item qualities. Based

on both internal and external item qualities, three items were chosen from each construct to create the most parsimonious, yet valid model possible. A table of total items, including deleted items and their properties both in relation to each other and other identity constructs, can be found in Appendix C.

Table 4.2 summarizes the mean scores, standard deviation, and factor loadings of each of the final items used to create the reflective constructs. Table 4.3 presents the AVE, composite reliability, and correlations among the constructs. Of note is the high correlation between gender identity and race identity. Although the two technically meet the criterion for discriminant validity in that their AVE is higher than their correlation, the high correlation (0.68, 0.70 and 0.68) suggests that the two are not different in the minds of the respondents. Given theory that has suggested that gender and race identity cannot be separated (Crenshaw, 1991), and the statistical findings support this, gender and race identity were combined, using two items from each of the scales, one item reflective of affect, one reflective of importance. Table 4.3 also presents the combined construct, which shows adequate reliability, composite reliability, convergent validity and discriminant validity. The square roots of all other correlations among constructs and AVE statistics demonstrate adequate discriminant and convergent validity.

Table 4.2. Descriptive Statistics and Factor Loadings for Reflective Construct Items

Construct	Time 1		Time 2		Time 3		Item Loading		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3
BGRID_1	4.66	1.48	4.24	1.47	4.39	1.45	.88	.87	.84
BGRID_2	5.98	0.94	5.78	1.03	5.88	0.85	.90	.91	.88
BGRID_3	5.68	0.99	5.41	1.07	5.64	0.97	.90	.85	.86
RUNID_1	5.47	1.60	5.73	1.44	5.64	1.61	.81	.86	.67
RUNID_2	5.85	1.19	5.94	0.99	5.88	1.19	.87	.86	.76
RUNID_3	5.87	1.24	5.87	1.14	5.77	1.11	.93	.92	.85
SEXID_1	6.60	0.82	6.54	0.81	6.62	0.66	.84	.81	.87
SEXID_2	6.45	0.98	6.38	0.89	6.35	0.94	.90	.83	.83
SEXID_3	6.56	0.85	6.62	0.63	6.59	0.67	.93	.86	.91
RACEID_1	6.12	1.35	6.18	1.04	6.18	1.04	.91	.77	.87
RACEID_2	5.98	1.15	5.64	1.37	5.68	1.28	.82	.73	.84
RACEID_3	6.56	0.89	5.99	1.06	6.00	1.10	.84	.81	.77
BWID_1	6.60	0.82	6.54	0.81	6.62	0.66	.80	.63	.72
BWID_2	6.45	0.98	6.38	0.89	6.35	0.94	.91	.84	.79
BWID_3	6.12	1.35	6.18	1.04	6.18	1.04	.74	.67	.75
BWID_4	6.56	0.89	5.99	1.06	6.00	1.10	.90	.84	.81

Note: BGRID = Identity with the organization (BGR!); RUNID = Running identity; SEXID = Gender identity; RACEID = Racial identity; BWID = Gender/race identity combined construct.

Table 4.3. Composite Reliability, AVE, and Correlations for Reflective Constructs

	Variable	*M*	*SD*	CR	AVE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	BGRID(T1)	5.44	1.02	.92	.80	*(.88)*														
2	BGRID(T2)	5.14	1.04	.91	.76	.62	*(.85)*													
3	BGRID(T3)	5.31	.95	.89	.74	.65	.68	*(.82)*												
4	RACEID(T1)	6.22	.97	.89	.73	.30	.16	.18	*(.82)*											
5	RACEID(T2)	5.94	.94	.85	.66	.18	.21	.23	.72	*(.74)*										
6	RACEID(T3)	6.14	.83	.87	.69	.20	.19	.27	.67	.88	*(.77)*									
7	RUNID(T1)	5.10	1.14	.90	.76	.43	.28	.30	.21	.10	.11	*(.84)*								
8	RUNID(T2)	5.40	.97	.91	.78	.21	.34	.28	.02	.03	.06	.72	*(.86)*							
9	RUNID(T3)	5.39	1.02	.90	.76	.30	.27	.38	.07	.05	.13	.74	.76	*(.84)*						
10	SEXID(T1)	6.54	.79	.92	.79	.28	.13	.14	.68	.36	.36	.26	.06	.15	*(.87)*					
11	SEXID(T2)	6.51	.65	.87	.70	.26	.26	.30	.46	.70	.48	.18	.10	.19	.52	*(.78)*				
12	SEXID(T3)	6.52	.66	.90	.76	.25	.22	.34	.43	.51	.68	.21	.10	.29	.54	.73	*(.84)*			
13	BWID(T1)	6.43	.85	.90	.70	.28	.13	.14	.91	.56	.51	.24	.03	.09	.89	.48	.46	*(.86)*		
14	BWID(T2)	6.42	.66	.83	.56	.25	.24	.30	.68	.89	.78	.15	.05	.14	.46	.84	.64	.58	*(.74)*	
15	BWID(T3)	6.43	.66	.85	.59	.24	.20	.32	.64	.79	.87	.18	.06	.21	.52	.68	.87	.57	.82	*(.77)*

Note: Numbers in parentheses represent Cronbach's α; CR = composite reliability.

Table 4.4 details the weights and respective *t*-values for indicators of running behavior, the formative indicator in the study. Both events per year and days per week were insignificant, while miles per week was significant at the p<.001 level (.58). This suggests the lack of a singular formative construct. The three indicators were therefore tested separately with each of the hypotheses.

Table 4.4 Indicator Weights for Running Behavior

Construct	Indicator	Weight	S.E.	*t*-value
RUN_BEHAV	Events	.20	.41	0.91
	Days per week	.21	.53	0.05
	Miles per week	.58***	.35	2.56

Note: $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

The structural composition of the reflective constructs was examined at each time period using a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) with maximum likelihood estimation. Table 4.5 shows the results at each time period, which reflects an adequate fit of the constructs for each time period.

Table 4.5 CFA Structural Analysis Results

Time	χ^2	χ^2/df	RMSEA	SRMR	CFI	AIC
T1	44.777	1.399	.048	.054	.986	90.778
T2	48.139	1.504	.054	.058	.981	94.139
T3	36.123	1.129	.028	.057	.995	82.123

Measurement Invariance. Measurement invariance ensures an equal definition of a latent construct over time. The current study examined whether the items in each of the identity dimensions demonstrated measurement invariance longitudinally. In line with the recommendations of Chan (1998), the test of equality of factor structure (configural invariance) and factor loading (metric invariance) were used. The test of configural

invariance provided acceptable model fit (χ^2 = 237.92, p <. 01; CFI = .95, RMSEA = .06, SRMR = .06) and the decrease in fit of the metric invariance model was insignificant (χ^2 = 10.48, p > .05; ΔCFI = .00). These results support the measurement invariance across time in this study.

Regression Results

H1-H4 were tested using a fixed effects pooled regression. A post-hoc Hausman test confirmed the fixed effects model's necessity over random effects (χ^2 = 47.58, p <.001). Hypothesis 1 was partially confirmed by the model. BGR! identity had a positive, significant relationship with running events (β =.113, t =1.99, p <.05) and miles run per week (β =.148, t =3.14, p <.01), but was not a significant predictor of days run per week (β =.102, t =1.72, p =.086). Hypothesis 2, meanwhile was also partially supported. Similar to BGR! identity, running identity was a positive significant predictor of both running events (β =.152, t =2.68, p <.01) and miles run per week (β =.120, t =2.51, p <.05), but not a significant predictor of days run per week (β =.088, t =1.47, p =.143). Running identity and BGR! identity together accounted for an adjusted r^2 of .122 (i.e. 12.2% of the variance) when predicting running events, and r^2 of .038 when predicting miles per week.

Hypotheses 3 was not supported. The interaction term between BGR! identity and running identity, created using mean-centered variables (Little, Bovaird, & Widaman, 2006), was not a significant predictor of running events (β =.015, t =.297, p =.766), miles per week (β = -.003, t = -.076, p =.940), or days per week (β = -.001, t = -.011, p =.991). As Hypothesis 3 was not supported, it was unnecessary to test Hypothesis 4, which relied on a significant result from H3. It was therefore unsupported.

Cross-Lagged Model Results

ANOVA Results. Results of the initial repeated measures ANOVA confirmed that both identity with BGR! (F =3.196, p <.05, η^2 =.037) and running identity (F =7.872, p <.001, η^2 =.045) changed significantly over time. As shown in Figure 4.1 below, post-hoc tests revealed a significant downward trend for BGR! identity from T1 to T2 (F =18.816, p <.001, η^2 =.10) and a significant upward trend from T2 to T3 (F =6.959, p <.001, η^2 =.039). Running identity saw a significantly upward trend from T1 to T2 (F =12.950, p <.001, η^2 =.071) while change from T2 to T3 was insignificant (F =0.032, p =.859).

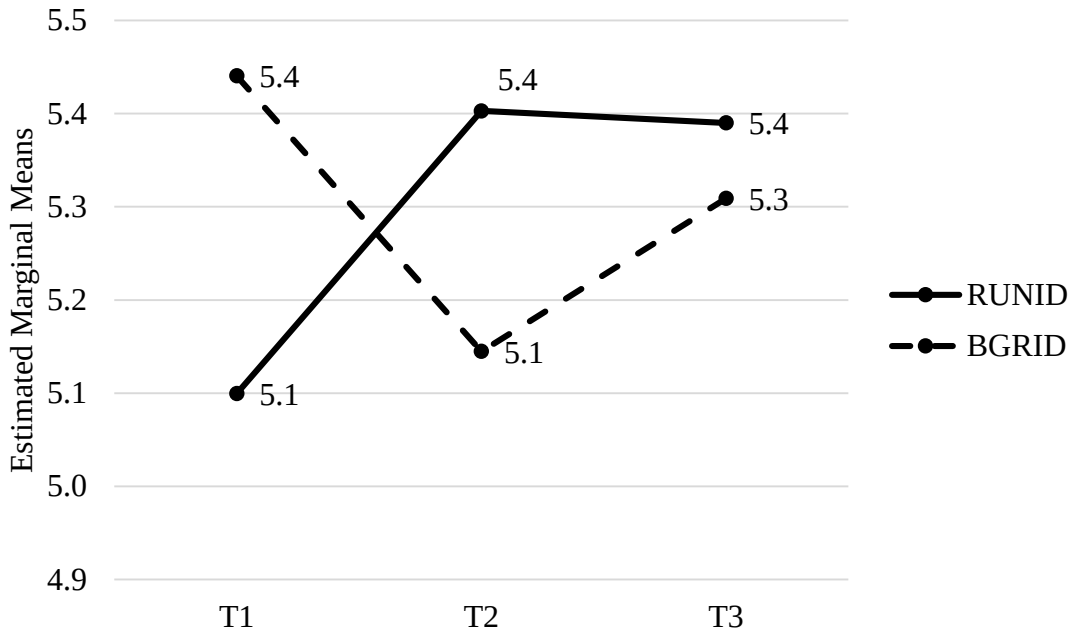


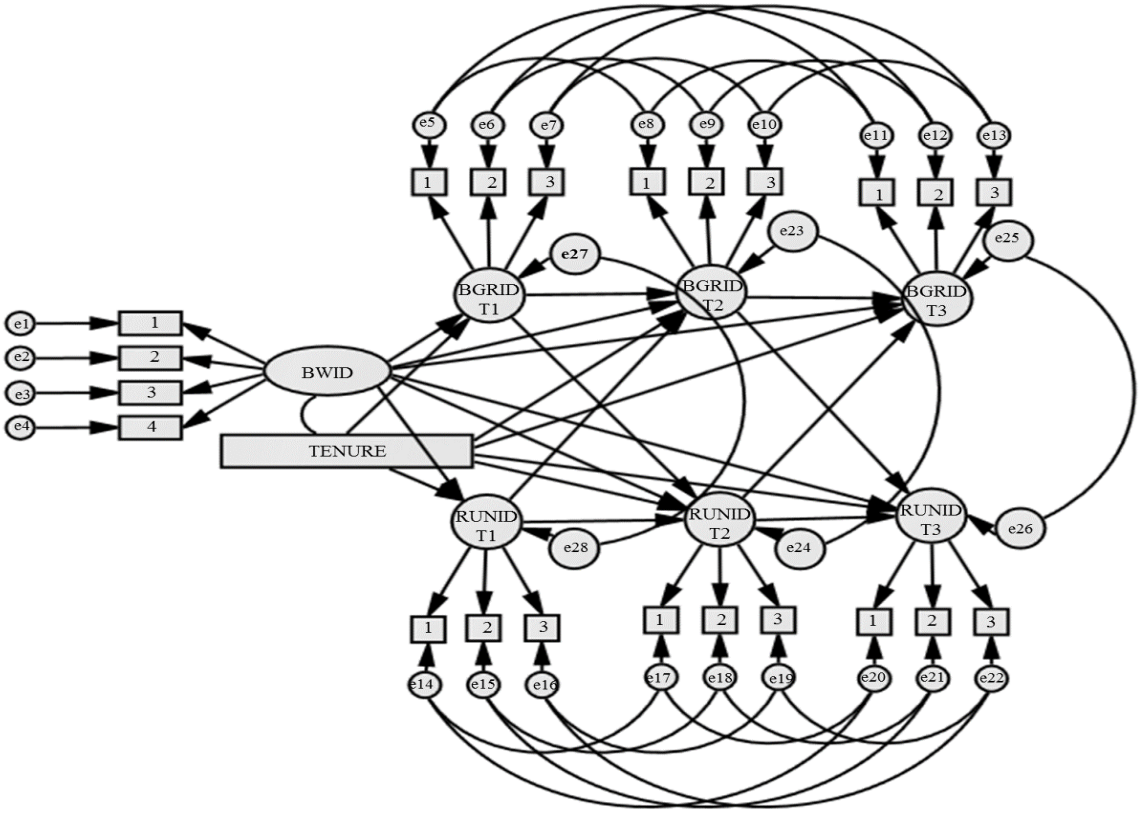
Figure 4.1 ANOVA results of BGR! and Running Identity

When added as covariates, tenure (F =4.599, p <.05, η^2 =.027) and identity as a Black woman (F =17.846, p <.001, η^2 =.096) had a significant between-subjects effect for BGR! identity. For running identity, identity as a Black woman was a significant

predictor of between-subjects effects (F =7.621, p <.01, η^2 = .043), but tenure was insignificant (F =0.017, p =.897). Tenure did have a significant interaction effect with the change over time for BGR! identity (F =2.732, p <.05, η^2 =.031) but not for running identity (F =0.161, p =.851). Identity as a Black woman had no significant interaction effects.

Meanwhile, gender and race identity saw no significant change (F =.071, p =.931). It is possible that this lack of significance is due to the short time period of the study, as the saliency of stable identities like race and gender may take a much longer time to change in salience, if at all (Ogbu, 2004; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). Therefore, this identity, i.e. their identity as black women, was not part of the cross-lagged model, but entered as a stable covariate.

Model Fit. The final tested model is presented in Figure 4.1 on the following page. As the model was longitudinal, residuals for like items in the model were allowed to co-vary freely (as shown in the model). This model showed adequate fit for the data given the benchmarks presented earlier in the chapter (χ^2 = 296.77, χ^2/df = 1.57; CFI = .96, RMSEA = .058, SRMR = .061).



4.2 Cross-Lagged Structural Model of BGR! and Running Identity

Structural Model. Results from the cross-lagged model partially supported H5. BGR! identity at T1 had a positive, significant relationship with members' running identity at T2 (β =.189, p <.05). However, BGR! identity at T2 had no relationship with running identity at T3 (β = -0.020, p =.745). H6 was also not supported, as there was no significant difference in this effect between those who were runners before joining the organization, and those who were not (t =1.48, p =.164). However, members' identity salience as Black women were positive predictors of both BGR! identity (β = .383, p <.001). and running identity (β = .309, p <.05) at T1. At T2, this relationship became insignificant for BGR! identity (β = -.065, p =.444), and negative for running identity (β = -.179, p <.05), suggesting a diminishing effect from T1 to T2. The direct negative

effect of their identity as Black women with running at T2 was attenuated by their T1 BGR! and running identities.

Table 4.6 Path Analysis of Cross-Lagged Model

Dimension			Estimate	S.E.	C.R.	P
BWID	→	BGRIDT1	0.383	0.095	4.054	***
BWID	→	RUNIDT1	0.309	0.097	3.193	0.001
TENURE	→	BGRIDT1	0.025	0.009	2.872	0.004
TENURE	→	RUNIDT1	0.009	0.009	1.017	0.309
BGRIDT1	→	BGRIDT2	0.711	0.106	6.735	***
BGRIDT1	→	RUNIDT2	0.189	0.078	1.895	0.042
RUNIDT1	→	BGRIDT2	-0.039	0.08	-0.489	0.625
RUNIDT1	→	RUNIDT2	0.854	0.083	10.321	***
TENURE	→	BGRIDT2	-0.003	0.008	-0.318	0.751
TENURE	→	RUNIDT2	0.008	0.006	1.292	0.196
BWID	→	BGRIDT2	-0.065	0.085	-0.766	0.444
BWID	→	RUNIDT2	-0.179	0.071	-2.52	0.012
BGRIDT2	→	BGRIDT3	0.702	0.081	8.726	***
RUNIDT2	→	RUNIDT3	0.859	0.073	11.846	***
RUNIDT2	→	BGRIDT3	0.075	0.069	1.08	0.28
BGRIDT2	→	RUNIDT3	-0.020	0.061	-0.325	0.745
TENURE	→	BGRIDT3	-0.007	0.007	-0.922	0.357
TENURE	→	RUNIDT3	-0.014	0.006	-2.306	0.021
BWID	→	BGRIDT3	0.061	0.074	0.835	0.404
BWID	→	RUNIDT3	0.080	0.061	1.303	0.193

Note: $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$; BGRID = Identity with the organization (BGR!); RUNID = Running identity; SEXID = Gender identity; RACEID = Racial identity; BWID = Gender/race identity combined construct.

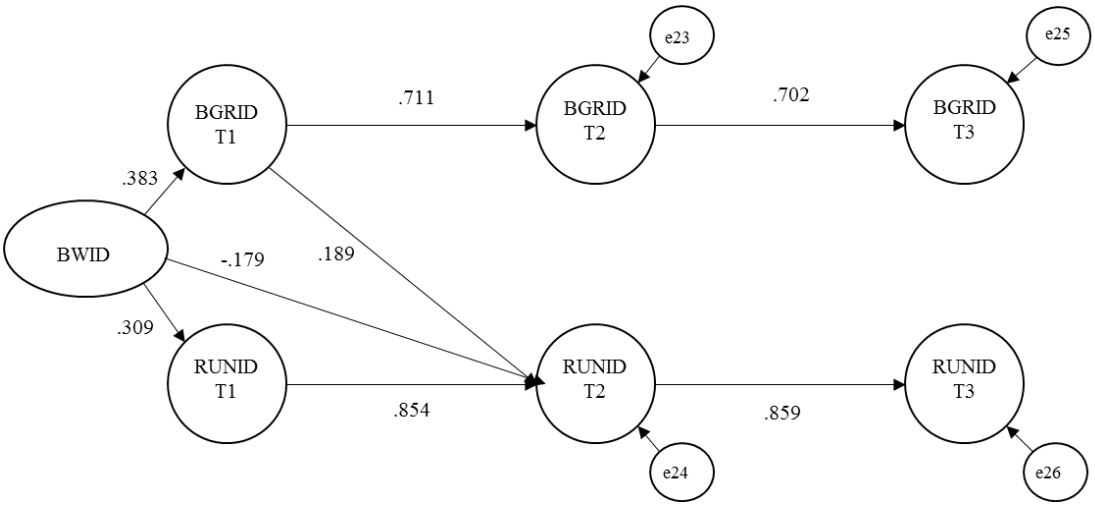


Figure 4.3 Significant Paths of Cross-Lagged Structural Model

Discussion

This study examined the ability of members' organizational and running identities to predict running behaviors over time, as well as the interaction of the two identities during the same time period. Hypothesis 1 was partially supported, as members' BGR! identity positively predicted both number of running events in a year and miles run per week. The core mission of BGR! is to help women become healthier through the activity of running (Carey, 2015). The findings support the success of that mission, as members' identity as part of the organization is salient to the context of their running experience, and therefore predicts some of the behaviors that BGR! promotes. Salient identities can drive behaviors of that identity (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and in this case, the behaviors are not only associated with running but with the organization itself.

Hypothesis 2 was also partially supported, as members' running identities positively predicted both number of running events in a year and miles run per week.

Previous literature has suggested that when identities around a particular physical activity are salient, they inform greater behavior with that activity (Strachan & Brawley, 2008; Strachan et al., 2009). The findings of this study support that, as more salient running identities over time predicted greater increases in number of events run per year and the number of miles that members run in a week.

Neither BGR! identity nor running identity predicted a change in the days run per week. Leisure constraint research has found that structural constraints such as time and access can limit behavior (Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991), and this has been found to be particularly true of marginalized groups such as Black women, who have been found to face these constraints to a greater degree (Henderson & Ainsworth, 2000; Wilcox, Richter, Henderson, Greaney, & Ainsworth, 2001). Therefore, it's possible that the lack of significance can be explained by constraints that may prohibit greater frequency of running behaviors.

Hypothesis 3 and 4 aimed to show that the interaction effect between members' BGR! identity and their running identity was also a significant predictor of behaviors, and that this effect was significantly greater than each of the identities individually. These hypotheses, however, were unsupported, as the interaction term was not a significant predictor. This suggests that the ability of each identity to positively predict behavior does not depend on the saliency of the other identity. In social identity complexity, individuals' identities can overlap in numerous ways, ranging from compartmentalization to complete merger (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Given the discriminant validity of the two identities, and despite the fact that BGR! as an organization facilitates and encourages

identification with running, the two identities appear to be independently important in promoting the activity.

The way in which the two identities change over time also spoke to different trajectories, as shown by the ANOVA results. While members' identity as runners saw a more conventional increase over time, their BGR! identity decreased significantly, then spiked back upward. While one would expect BGR! identity to increase as members' continue to be a part of the organization, this trend supports the idea that running identity may not be tied to BGR! identity the longer members have been a part of the group. Members continued to develop more salient running identities, but it is possible that a strong identity with the organization is not as important once it has facilitated a connection to the activity.

The second set of hypotheses were interested in understanding how the identities of members interact over time. Hypothesis 5 hoped to show that members' BGR! identity informed their running identity during a subsequent time period, in an effort to highlight the importance of one identity on the salience of another. The findings showed that this was partially supported. BGR! identity at T1 significantly positively predicted running identity at T2, but no other paths were significant. This might be explained by a possible brevity of the identification process. As shown by the descriptive statistics, the average tenure of members who took all three surveys was 17 months at T1. While it would seem that identity formation with a normatively dissonant activity would take time to develop (Aronson, 1992), some identification literature has suggested that identity formation can happen quickly (Pratt, 1998), particularly within organizations into which individuals self-select (Ashforth et al., 2008). Further, identity formation may also happen more

quickly in organizations whose enduring and distinctive features include identities that are already salient for a particular group (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Whetten, 2007; Whetten & Mackey, 2002), in this case, their race and gender identities.

Members' identity as Black women significantly predicted their running and BGR! identity at Time 1. A negative prediction from their identity as Black women and their running identity at T2 suggests that the relationship between this other salient identity, and their running identity, is diminished over time. The positive predictors also linking their identity as Black women to their BGR! identity at T1, and subsequently from BGR! identity to running identity at T2, also suggests that their organizational identity plays a role in this attenuation process. Their identity as Black women in some way becomes less important in the process as time goes on, further suggesting that their running identity becomes more independent over time, and more salient in its own right.

Hypothesis 6 was not supported, which suggested that the paths from BGR! identity to running identity would be significantly different between those that identified as runners before joining BGR! and those who did not. The lack of findings suggests that even though it is possible that motivations for joining may have been different between runners and non-runners, their experience as members of the group was not significantly different when viewed through the lens of identity saliency. Previous management literature has found that identities of organizations have the power to create a similarity of experience, in that they create cues and scripts for individuals to create a common experience and a common identity as an organizational member (Pratt & Corley, 2007; Weick, 1995). Therefore, despite different origins, the organization's identity may create

a uniformity of experience that allows BGR! members to similarly identify with both the organization and as runners.

Together, results of Study 1 show some support for the importance of members' BGR! identity in the formation of their identity as runners, as well as the ability of that identity to actually inform behavior. In the case of BGR! members, their identity both with the organization and the activity predicted greater numbers of running events over time as well as greater miles per week. Greater participation in running events is an important outcome, as it suggests these kinds of organizations as a means to more participation in mass participation sporting events. An increase in miles per week is an important finding for the organization's mission of making its members more active, as increased levels of physical activity is one important channel through which to fight the prevalence of obesity in the African American female community (Ogden et al., 2014).

While previous literature has adequately shown the role of organizational identities in informing organization-specific behavior (e.g. Blader & Tyler, 2009; Mael & Ashforth, 1995; Yurchisin & Damhorst, 2009), the independence of members' running identity from their organizational identity suggests that their running identity is salient in its own right. Further, the earlier influence that BGR! identity has on running identity at a later time suggests that members' organizational identity may have been important in the formation of the running identity. Therefore, there is evidence that organizational identities may play a role in the saliency of other identities, at least initially, even when those identities are considered normatively dissonant to other parts of the self-concept. There is also evidence that this relationship dissipates over time, as individuals need the

organization less to develop their identity with the activity as they become more engaged with it.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 2

The purpose of Study 2 is to answer the research questions proposed in Chapter 2, as it attempts to understand the process through which new, dissonant identities are formed through the identification process with an organization. While Study 1 explored what happens over time through survey design, Study 2 required a more qualitative methodology to understand how exactly individuals within an organization make sense of both a new organizational identity and a new dissonant identity, and the role played by the individual's other salient identities. Therefore, this study used retrospective interviews of BGR! members regarding the role that the organization played in their identification process as runners.

Participants and Interview Procedure

Temple IRB approval for additional primary data collection was obtained prior to commencement of Study 2 in February, 2016 (see Appendix D). Potential participants were drawn from the sample of 171 members who took all three surveys from Study 1. Email invitations were sent to 60 members at a time. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with members until the thematic saturation point had been reached. Interviews were conducted in person, via Skype, and over the phone, depending on interviewee availability. Although interviews in person are preferable and were prioritized where possible, telephone interviews are a suitable alternative method (Marcus & Crane, 1986). The use of telephone interviews allows participants who are too far geographically for in-person interviews. As BGR! is a national organization with 76

teams in 33 states, a wide geographical sample was necessary to help expose different perspectives from those on various teams across the country.

A total of 24 interviews were conducted between February 29th and March 22nd, 2016. Three were conducted in person, three via Skype, and the remaining 18 via phone. The interviewees represented a total of 17 teams across the country: Atlanta, Baltimore, Charlotte, Chicago, Dallas, Greensboro, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Nashville, New York City, Philadephia, Phoenix, Nashville, South Jersey, Tallahassee, and Tampa. As of the interview, women had been in the organization an average of 3.5 years. The median age was 42, ranging from 28 to 60. This age range is consistent with the overall census survey conducted in 2013 (as presented in Study 1). Interviewees picked their own pseudonyms presented in the findings.

Interviews were retrospective of each member's tenure in the organization, seeking to extrapolate the process through, and extent to which individuals have become identified with the activity through their membership in and identification with the organization. Retrospective accounts, although reliant on memory, allow researchers to see the big picture, how the process happened all at once (Van de Ven, 2007). They also offer the respondent the opportunity to retrospectively make sense of their experience. Therefore, while prospective accounts have been found to be somewhat more accurate in contexts where self-reported behaviors are central to the research question (Sartwell, 1974), studies of organizational change and process most often use retrospective studies, as it gives the advantage of afterthought in the meaning of experience (Van de Ven, 2007).

Member check is an important tool that helps to ensure an adequate level of communication and understanding between researcher and participant (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Therefore, after transcription, member check was conducted to ensure transcript reliability: each of the interviewees were sent copies of the interview transcriptions for review, and were asked to note any discrepancies between what was transcribed and what was meant to be said. Participants were offered the opportunity to change what was said based on retrospective reflection of their responses. No changes were made by participants that affected the interpretation of the research questions.

Analysis

After member check was completed, all recorded interviews were transcribed using an independent transcription service. NVIVO 10 was used to organize analysis of all interviews. To evaluate the identification process and identity cues within the organization, this study utilized the lens of sensemaking, a process theory grounded in identity construction (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005). Individuals' realities, including their sense of identification with an entity, are ongoing retrospective processes using cues to shape meaning and narrative (Weick, 1995). As an ongoing negotiation to create meaning within a specific environment, it is an appropriate lens through which to explore the process of identification with the activity through organizational membership and identification.

The interview data was inductively analyzed. This research followed grounded theory and constant comparative techniques (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). While this study does not purport to create new theory per se, grounded theory techniques are also used to expand existing theory that is currently deficit in understanding a phenomenon (Glaser &

Strauss, 2009). Constant comparison was also used to be able to modify the interview protocol as new themes and processes developed, and was therefore an important tool in the data collection process (Glaser & Strauss, 1965).

The initial coding involved the analysis of first order relevant incidents into events, using Van de Ven's (2007) distinction of incidents as single empirical observations and events as abstract concepts across incidents. As each incident was selected for analysis, it was compared to other incidents and coded with similar events into second order themes. The process was constructed through a developmental event sequence, specifically a conjunctive progression. This combines a multiple progression in which development can follow several paths (in this case, either divergent or convergent) and the events in one path are related to or influence events in another path (Van de Ven, 2007). Through axial coding, relationships between and among second order themes were established, and higher-order, aggregate constructs were identified. A framework was built to highlight the mechanisms behind the relationship among themes, as they pertain to various stages in the identification process. Once the processes and strategies were identified, they were used to modify the conceptual model built in Chapter 2 from the existing research. Figure 5.1 depicts the structure of first order events, second order themes, and aggregate theoretical dimensions.

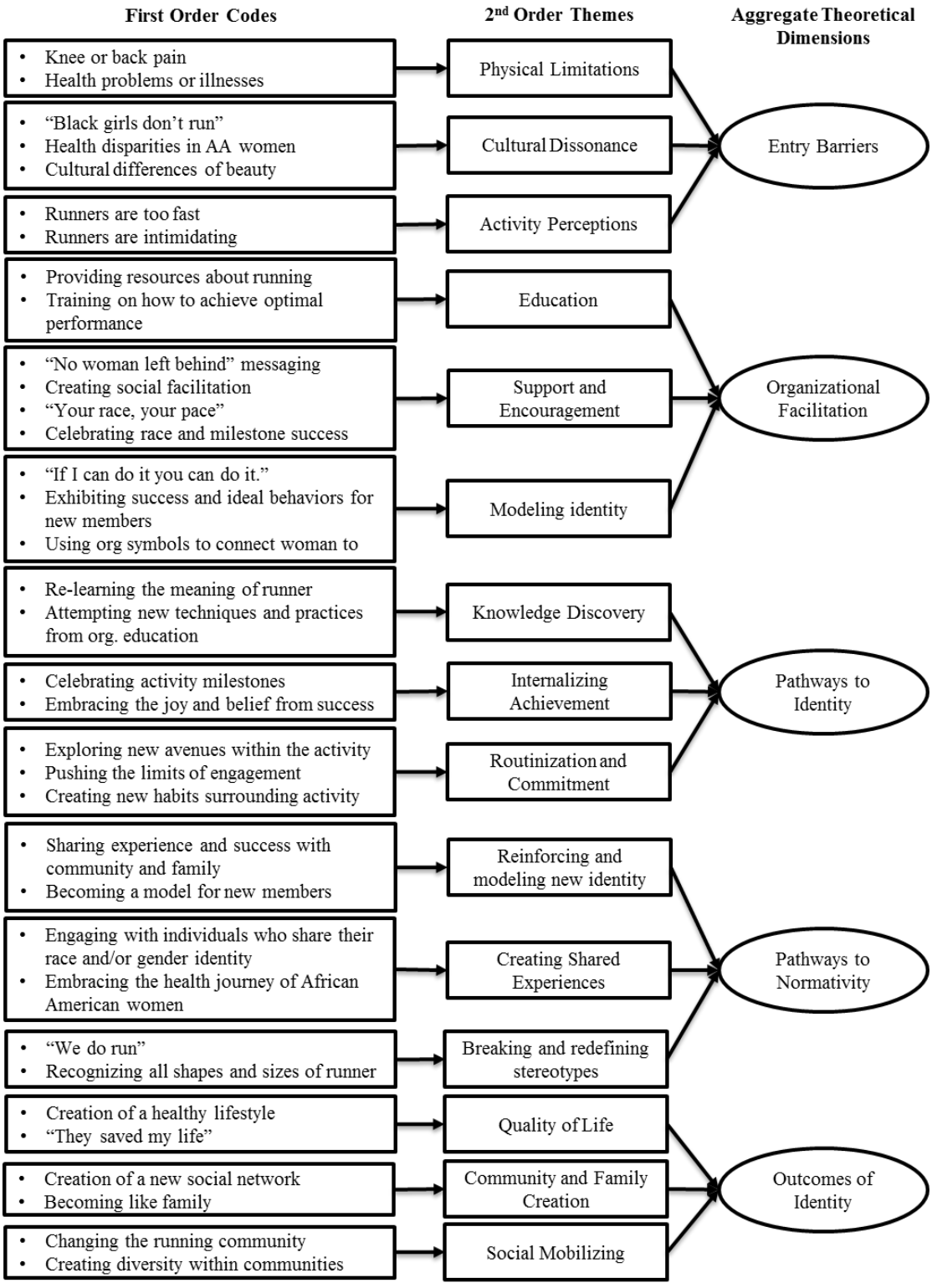


Figure 5.1. Data Structure

Findings

Overview

An anticipated finding for this group was the role that BGR! has played in all of their lives. None of the women interviewed considered themselves runners before joining BGR!, and all consider themselves either runners or walkers now. BGR! played an integral role in what they called their "health journey," what they had coined their path to a happier life, both physically and psychologically. All felt that they would not have been able to go on the health journey to become runners, consistent and dedicated, without the help of the organization, and more specifically, the other members of the organization. While some had become runners who could run on their own without BGR!, they all felt that both their local group and the national connection continued to be important facilitators in their own journey, despite that all the women surveyed had been in the organization for at least two years, many for three or more. The findings, therefore, are reflective of a group of women who feel very positively about the organization as a whole, even given critiques that they may have had about the structure or other members.

Their sense of identity as members of BGR! was strong, something that they felt developed very quickly after joining. As discussed in the themes that follow, informants felt strongly that their BGR! membership had become not only an essential part of their health journey, but who they were overall, as for many women, it extended to parts of their lives beyond just running. It was difficult even for a few to remember what their life was like before joining, and many refused to even speculate what it would be like without their BGR! "sisterhood."

Further, as this group of women had been less physically active before joining the group, all were faced with a personal critical event that acted as a catalyst for seeking out of some form of physical activity. Several were confronted with their own health crisis, like depression, high blood pressure, diabetes, or health crises in their family. Others were pushed by life events that required weight loss, such as the birth of a child. In this way, all of these women were, as one member, La Loria stated "ready to hear" the BGR! messaging. While many of them experienced barriers to running specifically (discussed in the following section), their personal facilitators were the initial motivators for seeking out physical activity or healthier living. It is important to understand these personal motivations that pushed them forward in their journey, in addition to the support provided by the organization. While members attributed their success to BGR!, they also acknowledged that these personal motivations played a role in overcoming their dissonance to the activity: their critical events helped them to recognize the necessity of physical activity, something which may have helped them to overcome many of the barriers to general physical activity for this population (Harley et al., 2009).

As the themes emerged throughout the interviews, it became clear that the members became runners through three organizational provisions: education to overcome the barriers to running, support and encouragement, and the modeling of a running identity by other members. Over time, as the women internalized their own achievements and found joy in their own health journey, they in turn became the educators, supporters, and the modelers. The process of identity formation, could then continue for new members, particularly as many of the interviewees went on to become run leads, who organize local neighborhood runs, or regional Ambassadors, who are responsible for

organizing and coordinating events for an entire Chapter. This cyclical process has not only positive individual outcomes, but collective outcomes as well. As members model a running identity for the other Black women in the group, they also challenge the stereotypes that create entry barriers for many from this population, easing the pathways for future members.

This section presents evidence of this process, focusing on the entry barriers, the interactive process between organization and individuals in facilitating a running identity, and the outcomes of that identity. The outcomes include a feedback loop that sustains and allows the process to continue within the organization. Table 5.1 provides sample quotations from informants supporting the second order themes identified in the analysis.

Table 5.1 Representative Supporting Interview Data for Each Second Order Theme

2nd Order Themes	Representative First Order Data
Physical Limitations	"Yeah I'm a nurse and I've met different runners. They talk about their knees. So, it's just one of those things that I feel like 'I don't want to mess my knees up.'" (Marvelous M) "I had a pretty significant surgery back in 1998 where they put rods all up and down my spine, and I have a lot of screens and wires, and I have been told by my physicians at that time that I would never run." (Shelly)
Cultural Dissonance	"…one of my friends had mentioned that she was in this group called Black Girls RUN and my initial response was, black women don't run and we don't get along like that." (PinkNBlack) "…the women that you see out there running, they typical white girls with the cute bodies, the zero waistline…"(Dog Lover)
Activity Perceptions	"…when I first started, my whole mindset of when you think of a runner, it's like, Okay, this is a person, like you say, has this body type, that when you go to a race, you're running the whole entire race, and so it really blew my mind." (Mickey Girl) "People are intimidated by BGR simply because people think we're fast runners, or – some of us are. I'm not one of them." (Bree)
Education	"We have done some different clinics: How to choose the right type of shoe; what kind of socks to wear. Throughout the year they do sponsor different things. They get together to increase your knowledge about these sports or what type of cold weather gear to wear. We've done a lot of different things like that to get you to increase your activity and not hinder." (Marvelous M) "They taught how to run intervals so that I don't tire myself out through the 13 miles – something that I never would have known." (Silver Streak)

2nd Order Themes	Representative First Order Data
Support and Encouragement	"'Come on. You can do this. You can do this. I know you can do this,' to a complete stranger. Her believing more about me than I believe in myself, that's, like, unconditional love." (Dee) "Definitely a supportive group of women. And it's kind of like family because it doesn't matter how long it's been since you've been around. I think it's very welcoming and very encouraging regardless." (T)
Modeling Identity	"We had a young lady; she was very heavy and it's like, you can do it. Now it don't matter if you walk one mile, or it takes you 20 minutes to walk a mile, whatever. You just get out there and you do it; it's better than doing nothing. And that's what I had to remember." (Ty) "You can kind of relate to the stories and the journeys that you see on [the group page], and relate them to your own struggles." (Phoebe)
Knowledge Discovery	"Well once I started running and discovered that I could run. And then I was getting faster and going longer, and it just became so much fun" (Dog Lover) "I didn't think it was something that I could do, so I didn't. I didn't try, but then, when I got involved with the Black Girls Run group, and I saw girls of all ages and sizes just out there doing it, and I was, oh, okay, it's definitely possible it's something that I can do. Let me get started." (Janay)
Internalizing Achievement	"…and after I finished and I got a medal and stuff, I was, wow, I feel I am a runner, and I got started." (Janelle) "…after I did my very first 5K – that first race I did – the Chase Corporate Challenge, when I finished it and I wasn't dead. I started calling myself a runner." (Silver Streak)
Routinization and Commitment	"So, I mean, lifestyle changes that's the main one. It's really just the time that you have to get up. All of a sudden you're allocating money to running pants, or running sneakers, and that's all you want." (Yasmine) "…but after a while you don't even really think about the races so much as the accomplishment because like I said now I'm on this trip where I just want to travel to run. I plan my vacations around runs, my kids think I'm crazy but…" (Top Cat)
Reinforcing and modeling new identity	"There were outside of just the running activities that we had if there were meets, 5K's, 10K's, marathons whatever in and around Tallahassee we encouraged each other to sign up to participate. And we would all wear something to identify us as part of the Black Girls Run Group." (Sasha) "So having these women there supporting these little girls as runners, and seeing that there's black female runners, there's support. And just supporting them, I think that's good." (Stephanie)
Creating Shared Experiences	"Every woman in Baltimore is connected to every woman everywhere in BGR. It doesn't matter where you are. If run a race – most of the time when we run our races, we wear our BGR t-shirt." (Dee) "I, personally – this is just my own opinion – I feel like I need black women in my life, because other women are fine – I have friends of all races, all cultures – but there's something very different about the connection that I have with another black woman." (Tami)
Breaking and redefining stereotypes	"You got the sense you're saying the race is overwhelmingly white when you're out running. Maybe you weren't seeing as many black women or black men out running, but the group is kinda saying to black people, yes, come on, we do run. Come out here with us…" (Janay) "I've been told that if I run, I'm a runner and I think that's an amazing thing to tell people and to empower them that if you run, you are a runner. It's not about your pace, it's about the movement." (PinkNBlack)

2nd Order Themes	Representative First Order Data
Quality of Life	"The quality of my mental health has just gotten so much better. And BGR! is the reason for that." (Sarah) "If you want to change your life, this is the place to do it and the people to do it with." (Lisa)
Community and Family Creation	"It's like a sisterhood…there's a comraderie that we have now. We do stuff together. We hang out together. It's more than just running." (Rene) "And it's kind of like family because it doesn't matter how long it's been since you've been around. I think it's very welcoming and very encouraging regardless." (T)
Social Mobilizing	So whenever I told people who were non-black about BGR, I'm call this but not in a - I'm usually with a mission. The mission is to get black women to be more active 'cause we have so many health issues and social determinants. It's kinda is a way for us to kinda create a sisterhood or a camaraderie or whatever." "I was going to say Black Girls Run yeah, we're trying to make an effort to narrow those health gaps and things like that. But I think you know that's just – we're such a small part of such a major problem. But you know if we can help one woman at a time that's great. But to me it's such a massive undertaking to really address, really all of it, that the health issues that tend to plague the African American community." (Sasha)

The Entry Barrier of Dissonance

Despite all informants feeling as though they were ready to take on a new activity to fulfill their health journey, many described a dissonance with the activity of running in particular, originating in several sources. Some were concerned about their own physical limitations, which include prior injury and chronic conditions. Related to those perceived personal physical barriers, were perceptions about the activity itself. Informants had stereotypes of what it meant to be a runner—six minute miles, running an entire race without stopping. Several mentioned the Galloway training method, about which BGR! educated them. This method involves pacing an entire race to run for one minute, walk for one minute. Before they started, many women felt like this would not have been considered "running." Further, some women have been in the organization for several years now, and still, when asked if they considered themselves a runner, they said yes, but qualified it by saying that they were not a runner in the "traditional" sense,

recognizing that many runners do run six minute miles, and do run for entire half or full marathons:

> …'cause you look at other people and you have that comparison like, I don't do what this person does, so I'm not this. I'm not a runner because this person is a runner and to be out there with them and to feel accepted and that you're not different, you're just doing what, yeah, your pace, your race. And to see that philosophy in action, I was like yeah, I'm a runner. I'm a runner. I don't run all the time, but I run. (PinkNBlack)

The perceptions of what a runner is and is not extends beyond merely their pace or distance. It is also a body type. Runners were described as "slender," "tiny," and "skinny." Those who had tried running before admitted that it was during a time when they felt like their body type more closely mirrored what they perceived as the prototypical runner (i.e. mostly when they were younger and healthier). For those who had never run before, they experienced a dissonance between what they felt runners looked like, and their own body type, which was predominantly bigger, although not always overweight or obese.

This body type, slender and muscular as described by many of the informants, often implies cultural markers, i.e. white/Caucasian (Molloy & Herzberger, 1998). The dominant cultural norms within the African American female community supports a larger body image than that of the Caucasian community in the United States (Celio, Zabinski, & Wilfley, 2002; Robinson, Webb, & Butler-Ajibade, 2012). This larger ideal type also creates dissonance in that African American women are less likely to want to lose weight, even when it is prescribed (Robinson et al., 2012). Several informants made this connection explicit, as they suggested that there exists a cultural dissonance in running. They acknowledged that running is still predominantly populated by white

runners, and this can act as a barrier in two ways. First, several women acknowledged that, given both the body type and the racial association, it was difficult for them to imagine themselves being a part of this community, being, as they were in so many spheres, an outsider: "…there are women who run on their own, and they don't see anyone who looks like them" (PinkNBlack). This outsider feeling was more salient for those women who were a small minority in largely white communities. They felt that regardless what they did, they were representing their race.

Some also felt pressure from their friends and family, even after they had been in the group for some time, for participating in an activity that would make them "skinny" and "white." This kind of cultural dissonance was presented externally, as members' current family and social network questioned the existence of a group of Black women who run ("Black women don't run!" as told by Tami's friends). Further, as the women' themselves had certain expectations about what a runner looked like, so too externally, did members' social networks suppose that they would also become "skinny," betraying a body type embraced more greatly in the African American community (Grabe & Hyde, 2006; Molloy & Herzberger, 1998):

> I think there's still a lot of people in our community, in the black community that I don't know if it's education thing, the importance of movement, the importance of exercise...you know so there's some people that just aren't buying into that being a part of a group is going to help me. (Sasha)

Further, in believing that the activity itself was a marker of white culture, friends and family perceived, to some degree, a cultural betrayal. Previous literature has suggested that these perceptions have, in some ways, created a space that has facilitated higher rates of obesity in the African American female population (Fitzgibbon, Blackman, &

Avellone, 2000), as they are less likely to participate in physical activity, in part, for this reason (Henderson & Ainsworth, 2000, 2003). Several members echoed this sentiment, as they suggested that the knowledge that African American men are believed to be more attracted to larger body types can be used as an excuse for being physically inactive and eating less healthy.

Organizational Facilitation of Identity

Overcoming dissonance with the perception of what a runner is, whether in terms of speed, body type, or race, was facilitated in several ways by the organization. This included education, support and encouragement of the new members, and most importantly, modeling the identity of a runner that was consonant with the members' own sense of self in terms of race, pace, and body type. Both the modeling of a running identity and encouragement happened almost instantaneously. Informants described going to their first meet-up with the local group, surprised by all the different shapes and sizes that were running, and the different paces that the women were taking when they run/walk. The scene of women who "looked like me" (Phoebe) in so many different ways gave new members the courage to try the activity for themselves:

> …the women that you see out there running, the typical white girls with the cute bodies, the size zero waistline and then I started seeing sisters out there running with different body types but can still run as strong, that was so encouraging. (Dog Lover)

Identity modeling provided women with a means to identify with the group through their race and gender identities. Further, the group members also modeled a body type that informants had previously thought dissonant to the definition of runner, but consonant

with their own sense of self and the normative cultural identity. This exposure offered them the opportunity to see women like them be successful in the activity.

Prototyping a new identity of Black women of all shapes and sizes was complemented by encouraging women to find their own level as a runner. The slogan "your own race, your own pace," was echoed by almost all of the informants across all teams, as they were not only encouraged to run, but they were encouraged to take their own journey in a way that they could handle. The support and encouragement was echoed through another BGR! policy that was also almost universally heard: "no woman left behind." Several informants recalled other members coming back to run or even walk with them, when those members were clearly faster runners (one was even a competitive runner). The consistency of the mission was important for members, as they felt that the organization lived up to its mantras of allowing women to have their own journey, and that they would be encouraged throughout it. The encouragement was felt not only during meet-ups, but during races, when cheer sections and fellow racers encouraged them on. This moment of encouragement and support was particularly important for informants, as it allowed them to reflect in that moment on their own achievements.

The organization also provided information and education that allowed new members to fully embody what it meant to be a runner: workshops on nutrition, pacing, heel strike, and shoe fit were all part of the process that made many informants feel like they had become truly runners: even though they didn't embody what they had originally thought to be a runner, they were educated on those aspects that were actually important for any runner. Dee even stated that she found herself impressed that she learned so much about the activity in such a short period of time, and had learned all the "lingo." This

education tied them to not only the organization, but gave them confidence in their own identity as a runner, despite previous feelings of dissonance.

Pathways to Identity

The organizational facilitation supported the health journey of members, which was not only a journey to better physical outcomes, but to becoming a runner. Through their experiences as members of the organization, informants related three individual-level pathways that shaped an identity as a runner: knowledge discovery, internalization of achievement, and routinization and commitment of the activity. First, the resources, testimonies, and other education provided by the organization allowed members to discover the ways to overcome barriers to becoming a Black female runner. The education delivered by the organization allowed members to discover how to run free from pain, how to optimize training in many different conditions, strategies for overcoming the financial obstacles of races, and ideas for minimizing damage to their hair. The knowledge about the activity created a space where they were not only more likely to identify more with the activity, but knowledge about how to gain more information and new knowledge allowed them to continue to grow in identity salience.

As both information and social resources provided by the organization encouraged new members, they were able to internalize their achievements. These achievements took many forms, including running a particular distance for the first time, finishing a race, or reaching a personal best. When asked the moment that they first considered themselves a runner, most informants remembered after a particular race, and six of them stated that it was even after finishing their very first race. Their sense of

accomplishment, supported by the other membership, created a sense of self that included "runner":

> Obviously at our graduation from Walk Before You RUN!, it was like you ran that 5K – you did that; you're now a runner. So my goal wasn't to stop there and never run again. So I was consistent with it after that. (Stephanie)

As added by Stephanie above, the internalization of achievement when they finished races gave members the confidence that allowed them to create routines, which led to a kind of commitment in the activity. This commitment was attitudinal, as they felt a transformation within themselves, but it was behavioral as well. Not only did they begin running in more events, but they found themselves spending more resources on the activity: buying more necessary gear, joining additional running groups, and even travelling to run in events. Several of the informants indicated that they now plan their vacations around races in which they want to participate.

Finally, while member recognized the continued importance of BGR! in their lives, they also acknowledged that their relationship with running stood on its own over time. After they began identifying themselves as runners, they were free to grow the salience of their identity through their own process of routinization and commitment. They planned their own runs both with other BGR! members and without, and planned vacations based on running events. They described a "transformation" that they underwent because of running, seeing the activity as a "release," "freeing," and as a habit. As they spoke of the activity, they recognized that they felt this way about the activity independently from the connection to the organization.

Pathways to Normativity

Informants could also speak to how they felt like their own personal journey of becoming a runner had not only created a pathway for themselves, but had lit up the pathway for the community in general. First, as women came to identify themselves as runners, then they became the modelers of identity that they felt they saw when they first joined the organization. They were now the examples of success stories they had previously looked to for inspiration and modeling. New members saw them as strong Black women running, who defied both cultural and body stereotypes of runners.

> I mean, I heard all this stuff about – I'm always sad to hear when people are like, "Oh, you don't run below a 10-minute mile, you don't look this way, you haven't been doing this forever, if you're just one of these people that sort of like floods all of our races and gets in the way of the real runners, you're not a real runner." But I don't care. Like I put these shoes on and I go and I do my miles regularly. I'm a runner. And yeah, I've never felt uncomfortable saying that in the last couple of years since I started this. And I believe it so, yeah, I'm a runner. (Phoebe)

In modeling the new identity, they also created shared experiences. As new members, they felt this in the form of encouragement and support. But this encouragement and support was also connecting new and old members, as they linked the new modeled identity with a potential new self for the incoming members. Informants spoke a lot about pictures, taken before and after every run—whether it was a race, or just a meet-up. These pictures were posted on social media. Not only did this serve as a constant reminder connecting the members to the activity, but to each other was well. Eight informants mentioned how much they enjoy going back through the pictures, seeing their former selves, and how far they have come. But it also connects them to all the other members as well. It reminds them of their shared moments and activities associated with running.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, members saw that their involvement was also breaking the stereotypes that had given them a sense of dissonance before they had joined. It was breaking the stereotype not only for them and those close to them, but for the African American community, and even the general, white-skewed running community. This group was modeling "Black girls (do) run," as Janay suggested. It was also an intergenerational message. As girls saw their mothers running, their grandmothers even, they internalized it as an activity that they themselves could own. A few members even mentioned that their daughters had joined Girls on the Run, a national running program for girls 8-13, and Students Run Philly Style, and after school running program for youth in the Philadelphia region. One member had this to say about the communal effect of a group of Black women runners:

> I definitely didn't have it in my growing up years, just a group. You may see this person or that person but a group? It says something; it definitely says something. People will remember that, like, "Oh, Black Girls Running right there; I've seen these." I think it does send a message. When people see I can do that same thing; I look like that person, I can do it. It is some type of connection. You can learn something from everybody, but at the same time I am an African-American and someone that looks like me can do the same thing…It is a good message. (Marvelous M)

Many members also suggested that this message was not just for other Black women. Informants recalled that simply wearing their BGR! gear, exhibiting their organizational identity, which usually stated plainly "Black Girls Run!," was met with questions from many different kinds of people. The name fostered conversations about the meaning behind the slogan and the mission of the group itself. Further, while they acknowledged that typical body type was tied to culture, they also felt like they were breaking stereotypes for all women, in that they were showing that runners did not have

to have small, lean figures to be successful or truly be a runner. In that way, many women felt like BGR! had become more than just its message about Black women, that it had become a powerful sisterhood for all women to renegotiate their sense of self.

Outcomes of Identity

Members identified several outcomes of their new identity as runners, including on an individual level, an interpersonal level, and even on a community level. Mainly, informants spoke of their quality of life, and the way in which their identity as runners, created through their membership in BGR!, facilitated a healthier, better version of themselves. Seven women even suggested that BGR! "saved my life." This sentiment seems to derive from the reasons that most of the informants joined in the first place: there had been some critical event pushing them to change their life. As Jacque stated, "running came into my life when it needed to."

The outcomes of being a part of this group and this new lifestyle extended, into a sense of friendship and family. Many informants felt that their BGR! identity afforded them the ability to make new friends. Some even felt like it had become an extended family. This sense of community was tied to their identity both as runners and members of BGR!, as members acknowledged that it was through the activity that the group came together, but it was through the group that they shared in this activity. In particular, members who lived in predominantly Caucasian communities felt that BGR! gave them a new sense of belonging, as they could relate to others like them in both culture and activity.

In their pathway to normativity, members also felt that this new collective identity was creating a sense of mobilization both in the African American community as well as

the running community. As their participation breaks down stereotypes of both physical and racial identity within the activity, they are creating a movement that encourages a global sense of physical activity and health through running. A few members suggested that this went beyond the activity as well—that it was more about every population finding a place for some form of physical activity in their lives. Many also noted that they felt that BGR! had been a heavy influence in the creation of running groups for other marginalized groups as well, such as Black Men Run and Latinas in Motion. Finally, a few members saw the importance of continuing to spread information about the group, and the vital message that it sends:

> …we were in Watts, which is predominately black and Hispanic, we were for a 5K and a number of women who came out of their houses to meet us. They were like, who are you? We're like, why don't you know? We had to check in with ourselves, and thought we run in more integrated area. We run in more diverse areas. We run in more maybe predominately white areas. We need to run more in our community and so that became like a lightbulb, we just thought everyone knew and at least for us just increasing that presence even in our own communities was huge, but definitely just we should be everywhere. (PinkNBlack)

The vast majority of informants (19 out of 24) used the word "movement" to describe what BGR! had been able to accomplish. It was clear that they saw how their membership had shaped not only their identity as runners, but how it is spreading to change what a runner is in their communities and among marginalized populations.

Discussion

The research questions presented in Chapter 2 were aimed at understanding two aspects to members' process of identity formation: what strategies members used to overcome their dissonance (RQ1) and how those strategies changed over time (RQ2). In terms of RQ1, the aggregate theoretical dimensions presented in the findings highlight

the strategies that individuals used to negotiate and integrate their new identity. In the negotiation process, members use cues provided through education, encouragement and support, and identity modeling to discover the space for the identity, and internalize it for themselves. Integration strategies include an independence in their own relationship with the activity, which starts after internalization of their own achievements, as the activity becomes more routine in their lives, and they exhibit additional behaviors to show their commitment to the activity. These behaviors also serve as integration strategies, as members become part of the mechanism themselves that drives others in the organization to become runners.

Overwhelmingly, informants' experiences in BGR! followed a progression of sensemaking, creating an identity as a runner. Figure 5.2 below reflects this process, answering RQ2, and revealing the sequence of events and strategies that create a runner over time. The dissonance many members felt at their entry to the organization forced them to reflect on the meaning of "runner" in the context of their own lives. Running had been associated with a particular pace, a particular body type, and for many, a particular racial identity. This feeling of dissonance can be equated to what Weick (1995) calls a disruption in meaning. The dissonance is an essential element, as it is normally associated with a threat to one's identity (Petriglieri, 2011). However, in this case, the congruence of gender and race identity allowed the new members to trust in the cues given, and the process of identity formation began, despite the dissonance. This tactic is in response to a dissonance with the activity itself as individuals seek out other identities with which they

can relate in order to combat this feeling (Ibarra, 1999).

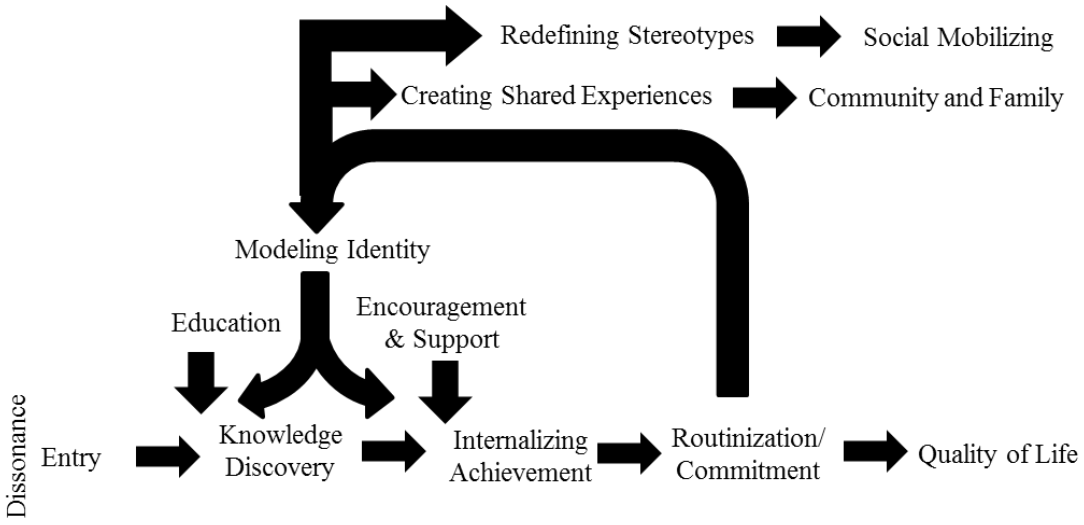


Figure 5.2 Relationship Among Thematic Elements

After this disruption, the new members set out to create new meanings and new behaviors that reflect a new sense of self, using their identity as members of the organization. This meaning happens through an interaction between the cues and meaning that is assigned, in the form of sensegiving, from other members within the organization (Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991), and new members' own internalization of that meaning.

As members begin attending events, the organization, via both official staff and other members, offer information and encouragement, while simultaneously, new BGR! members are internalizing information about running, as well as internalizing their own ability to participate in the activity. Throughout this entire process, the existing BGR! membership is modeling the identity of a Black female runner. While the other members are modeling the new identity, new members may engage in what Ibarra (1999) refers to as "splinting," a form of identity work that couples another, stronger identity with the

new identity until the new identity is strong enough to stand on its own. The difference, in this case, is that the new identity continued to be attached to their identity as members of BGR!, well after members became runners in their own right. Because their BGR! identity was a vehicle for their identity as runners, it also served as a complementary identity in their health journey.

The simultaneity of input by the organization, i.e. the members who represent the organization, and the input of the new membership, is not insignificant. Sensemaking is an ongoing process (Weick et al., 2005). The strategies required when confronted with a new identity is dependent upon the extent to which it was consonant with a pre-existing notion of both self, as well as the expected prototypical inhabitant of the identity (Pratt et al., 2006). Splinting, furthermore, represents the most extreme strategy, as it requires the use of other identities until the new identity is stable. The identification by BGR! membership reveals an interactive sensemaking process in action over time—both the sensemaking by members and the perceived sensegiving—something difficult to capture empirically.

The time that it takes members to become runners varied across individuals, but most could remember the single "episode of identification" (Ashforth et al., 2008) that provoked this epiphany. As they begin to acknowledge themselves as runners, the confidence in this episode gives them the power to create routines and commit to the activity beyond just BGR!, albeit often through continued involvement with BGR!. This time of routinization is important in that it creates retrospective stability for the identity. As suggested by Weick and colleagues (2005), episodes of identification are wedged between long periods of stability and/or gradual growth. This dramatic change after such

an episode also signifies a significant change in cognition (Festinger & Aronson, 1960), and offers an opportunity to solidify and amplify the identity.

As this happens, and members begin to feel the positive personal effects of their health journey and lifestyle, they become modelers of the identity, feeding into the continued process. This feedback loop is extremely important, for a few reasons. First, it facilitates the continued existence of the group. Once members have committed to the activity, and identify as runners, they become the sensegivers. They provide the cues that allow new members to overcome their own dissonance. They also become, then, the source of encouragement, support, and education for new membership.

Beyond the sustainability of the group itself, this modeling is also a feeder for the collective outcomes of this process. Individuals participating in an activity considered normatively dissonant create questions for those witnessing the dissonant identity in action. Informants spoke often about conversations they had, whether welcomed or unwelcomed, when they wore the markers of their BGR! identity. Outsiders needed education about the group, whether it was other Black women who had never heard of BGR!, or individuals outside of this particular population. In modeling the identity, individuals showed other Black women what a Black female runner could be, and educated outsiders to their existence, and necessity of such existence.

As modeling the identity as an individual itself helps breakdown stereotypes personally, it also facilitates sharing in the experiences of the journey with both other members and other potential members, therefore creating a collective that serves as a much more noticeable movement. If individual members represent Reicher's (2004) entrepreneurs of identity, then the collective created within the group represents an

entrepreneur of practiced normativity. Together, the group, wearing the slogan, exhibiting the behaviors of a runner, all while rejecting other prototypes of body type and race, communicate a message. The group, visible within both the African American female community and within the general population, serves to redefine the same stereotypes that created dissonance for individual members before joining.

In sum, Study 2 reveals a process of identity formation that is self-sustaining, but also creates an outward spiral effect. Individuals use their identity in the organization, appropriating cues from existing members, to build an identity as a runner. In doing so, they become symbols of the organization, as members who succeed them eventually mirror them after which to model their own identity. In manipulating their own personal identity, they are also creating a public identity that allows others both like and unlike them to question preconceived notions. Most importantly, this process may have the power to change collective attitudes, as it allows the group to continually grow larger through its outcomes of community, family, and mobilization.

CHAPTER 6

OVERALL DISCUSSION

The purpose of this research was to explore the processes and strategies through which members of a group or organization use their organizational identity to make salient a normatively dissonant identity. Specifically, it examined the members of Black Girls Run! (BGR!), studying the way in which their identity as members of BGR! interacted with their identity as runners, an activity in which they are underrepresented in the adult setting (Running USA, 2015). This was accomplished through two studies. Study 1 used a longitudinal survey design to uncover the way in which members' identity as part of BGR! interacted with their identity as runners, as well as informed their running behaviors over the course of a year. Study 2 used retrospective interviews with a sampling of the same group of members to understand the process through which their identity was formulated and changed.

This chapter presents a discussion of the findings of the research based on the literature review. The chapter consists of six sections. First findings from Study 1 and Study 2 are used to reflect on the conceptual model built in Chapter 2, assessing the validity of the model in this context. Second, theoretical contributions of the current research are presented. Then, practical implications of this research are described. Limitations and future directions are also presented. The chapter finishes with the conclusion to the research.

The Conceptual Model

This section sets the findings of Study 1 and Study 2 into the conceptual model built in Chapter 2 from the extant literature. It first reviews how findings support the

components of the model, followed by the model processes. The model has been recreated below in Figure 6.1 for reference.

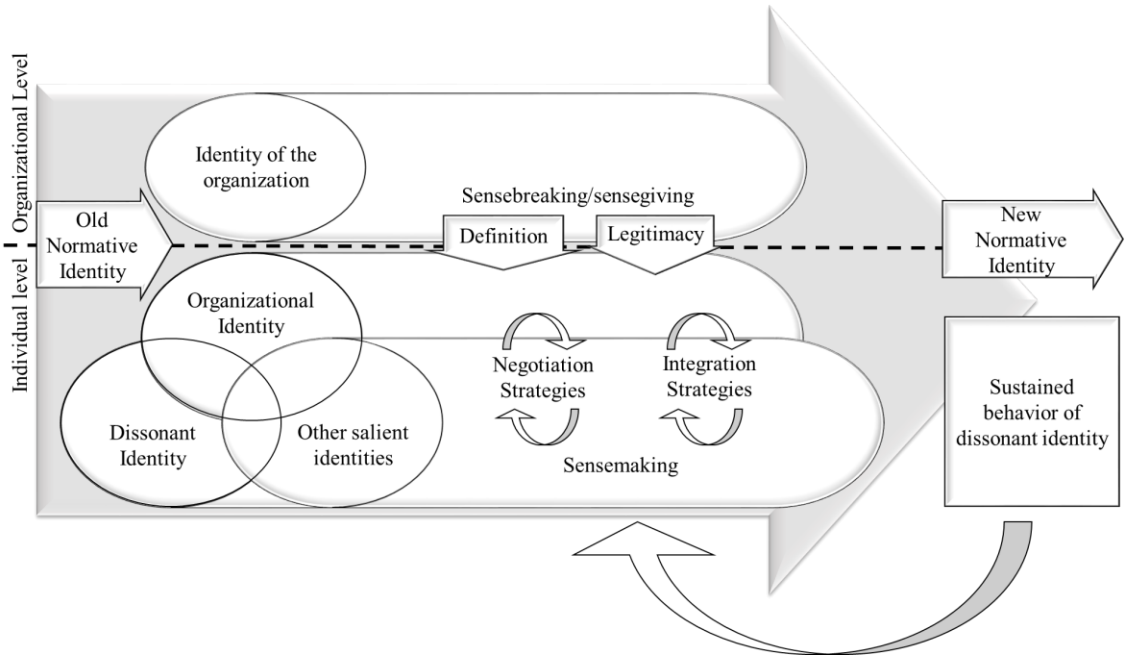


Figure 6.1 A Model of Overcoming Dissonance through Organizational Identities

Model Components

The findings of this study support the tenets of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and social identity complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) used to build the main components of the above model, both of which acknowledge the existence of multiple identities within individuals. The quantitative study revealed that members held identities with several different groups simultaneously, including the self-selected groups of the organization and with the activity of running, and the a priori groups of race and gender (representing organizational identity, dissonant identity, and other salient identities in the model). While in itself not a novel finding, it is important to note that the existence of a running identity in itself suggests the

membership do, to some extent, identify with an activity that many did not prior to joining the group, and further experienced dissonance with this activity, a finding revealed during Study 2.

ANOVA results from Study 1 also suggest that the saliency of a running identity continue to increase over time, even after being in the organization for some time. It is congruent with former literature that suggests that as individuals become more engaged with an activity over time, they come to identify with it more (Jun & Kyle, 2011; Strachan & Brawley, 2008; Strachan et al., 2009). However, as running is considered a normatively dissonant activity for this group, it contradicts literature that suggests that individuals try to reduce conflict and dissonance by engaging in groups and activities that are congruent with their other identities (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, Festinger, 1962; Pratt, 1998). It is possible that the congruence of the organization with their race and gender identities acted as a facilitator in overcoming members' inability to identify.

The cross-lagged model also demonstrated the ability of the saliency of stable a priori identities to affect the saliency of other identities, as the saliency of members' identity as Black women at T1 predicted the saliency of their running identity at T1, but this relationship weakened over time. This finding stands out because it suggests that a stronger sense of self as a Black woman informs an identification with the activity, one not typically participated in by this population (Running USA, 2014). This finding might be explained further by information gathered in Study 2. Members who lived in predominantly Caucasian areas overwhelmingly felt the group's importance to Black women in particular far more greatly than women who lived in more diverse communities. SIT has acknowledged that social identities can be particularly salient for

members of marginalized groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In this case, a greater sense of marginalization may contribute to both a more salient identity (Reicher, 2004), as well as a greater sense of the importance of the organization beyond just running.

While this study was interested in the interaction of identities over time in general, most importantly it was focused on the role that organizational identities of the individual play in the development of a dissonant identity, in this case a running identity. Brickson (2013) makes a case for understanding the relationship between organizational identities and other identities, but empirical work is lacking. There was limited support in the quantitative findings of Study 1 to show this relationship, as BGR! identity was only predictive of a running identity between T1 and T2. However, the qualitative study may provide explanation for this, as well as offer additional support for the relationship. Informants suggested that the episodes of identification with running happened relatively early in their tenure within the organization, the majority within the first year. Combined with the average tenure of 17 months at T1, this information suggests that many women may already have come to identify as runners by this point. While this finding is in many ways in conflict with previous identity development literature that suggests that identity is constantly in a state of flux (e.g. Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003), some literature has also suggested that episodes of identification are often followed by periods of stability (Ashforth et al., 2008; Weick, 1995).

Further, while informants admitted that their identity as runners was in some ways forever tied to their identity as BGR! members, it was also an independent identity in itself, one that they were proud to publicly signify. In this independent identity, BGR! was still important, but less necessary. This might explain why, after a period of time,

organizational identity was no longer a significant predictor of running identity. Social identity complexity theory suggests that individuals incorporate their identities into their overall self-concept in numerous ways, ranging from compartmentalization or complete merger of identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). While it is difficult to empirically test the extent to which identities overlap, findings from Study 1 also support an overlap initially, but a relationship that fades over time, as their identity as runners continued to grow while their identity as members of BGR! plateaued. Likewise, their identity as Black women played less of an important role in the process as time went on.

In terms of informing the outcomes of identity (presented in the model as sustained behaviors of dissonant identity), Study 1 revealed evidence that members' identity both within BGR! and as runners contributed to a change in their running behaviors over time, noting that the ability of social identities to inform behavior is an important marker in determining its saliency within an individual (Oaks, 1987). Specifically, the number of events in which they participated, as well as miles run per week both increased as their identities changed. Members' days run per week, however, did not change. Informants in Study 2 mentioned that their running schedule was often tied to when BGR! ran. For this reason, the number of days they run may be constrained not only by structural barriers, but by the number of runs that their neighborhood BGR! chapter organizes, which can vary across teams.

Informants in Study 2 also spoke about other behaviors of their new identity, including travelling for races and buying the proper gear for optimal performance. It is important to recognize that behaviors associated with an identity can encompass a wide range of behaviors used to both personally affirm the identity as well as publicly affirm it

(Ashmore et al., 2004; Jun & Kyle, 2011; Sellers et al., 1997), as demonstrated by the importance members placed on wearing gear not only because it was appropriate for the activity, but also clearly signaled their status as runners to others. Together, Study 1 and Study 2 show evidence that their identities as runners and as members of BGR! contributed to sustained behavior of the dissonant (running) identity, supporting the conceptual model.

While Study 1 was unable to capture the collective outcomes of BGR!, informants from Study 2 suggested that the organization's existence and mission had facilitated the beginnings of a change in what both the members and the general community normatively think of as a runner. They noticed, particularly in themselves, a change in the understanding of the expectations of the identity. They further noted that others in the community, particularly in predominantly African American communities, became interested in understanding what the group stood for, what it hoped to change, and how it was clearly sending the message that "Black Girls (do) Run!" This finding echoed those in previous research, in the potential creation of a space for the attitudes and behaviors of a normatively dissonant identity to exist for those outside of the organization (Pelak, 2002; Simon et al., 1998). Further research is needed, however, to examine the extent to which a new normative identity is formed through this organization.

Model Processes

The main processes of the model on the individual level, namely sensemaking via negotiation and integration strategies, were mainly captured through Study 2. As members became exposed to and first entered the organization, they experienced dissonance on several levels, through which they were forced to negotiate. Informants in

Study 2 reported feeling a lack of fit with running due to perceptions of both body type as well as racial identity. This lack of fit is in line with Festinger's (1962) definition of dissonance. It also supports previous literature on identity conflict and threat, as becoming a runner challenged members' sense of self (Kreiner & Sheep, 2009; Petriglieri, 2011). Specifically, the identity of runner was in many ways in conflict with what has been described as the ideal Black female external sense of self, or body image. Black women in the United States typically idealize larger body sizes, as it is perceived that Black men prefer larger body types (Celio et al., 2002; Demarest & Allen, 2000). This often leads Black women to participate in lower amounts of physical activity than their white and male counterparts, in an effort to preserve the ideal prototype of beauty in their culture (Henderson & Ainesworth, 2000; 2003; Molloy & Hertzberger, 1998). Running, in particular, would be perceived as a threat to their ethnic identity, as informants mentioned overwhelmingly their perception of runners as skinny and petite.

Festinger (1962) suggests three strategies through which dissonance can be alleviated: a change in behavior, change in one's cognition, and exposure to new information. All of the women in the study chose not to leave the organization, which would be the easiest path to dissonance reduction, similar to Petriglieri's (2011) strategy of identity exit. In contrast, they engaged in identity work through the process of sensemaking, which involved using their exposure to new information, through the organization, in order to change their own cognition.

Sensemaking is a sequence of identity construction that unfolds in an ongoing manner (Weick et al., 2005). The sensemaking process for new BGR! members was evident from Study 2. As new members were exposed to other Black female runners in

the organization, who already considered themselves runners, they began to negotiate through their sense of dissonance. While this study did not examine specifically the mechanisms through which the organization defines and legitimizes a running identity through sensebreaking and sensegiving, it was clear that new members felt that the education, encouragement, and identity modeling by both the organization and other members played a role in their change in cognition. The new information was breaking down previous conceptions and notions (Pratt, 2000), and forcing a reexamination of self (Laurence & Maitlis, 2014). It was also assigning new meaning to the identity of runner, one that was congruent with their gender/race conceptions, as well as related body image associations. The breaking down of old conceptions and building of new senses of self happens simultaneously (Pratt & Forman, 2000), something echoed by BGR! members in this study, as they replaced their old beliefs about runners with new ones provided by the organization.

Central to this process is the notion that sensemaking only happens in a collective context (Weick, 1995). Modeling by other BGR! members allowed new members to not only receive cues and information, but see what Daft and Weick (1984) call identity enactment as well. It is only through interaction with others that individuals make sense with the world (Gephart, 1993), and through their interactions with those who had embraced the new identity, BGR! members underwent learning that allowed them to change their own cognition about what it means to be arunner.

As they continued to resolve the dissonance, overcoming identity threat, members continued to engage in identity work as they integrated the new identity into their overall sense of self (represented by integration strategies in the model). Identities with

organizations continue to evolve throughout one's life in the organization (Alvesson et al., 2008). It makes sense then, that their identity with the activity would also continue to evolve through their membership in the organization. Previous literature has identified several strategies that can be used to integrate new identities into the overall concept (e.g. Ibarra, 1999; Kreiner et al., 2009; Pratt et al., 2006). BGR! runners most often used splinting, which involves using other salient identities as a splint until the new identity becomes stronger (Pratt et al., 2006). This strategy is the most complicated presented by Pratt and colleagues, as it is used most often when there is a sense of identity threat, and involves a change in meaning for one or more identity (Petriglieri, 2011). BGR! members used the commonality of race and gender identities within the organization to change the meaning of a runner's identity. Therefore, the same a priori identities that caused a source of dissonance initially were used by the organization to create a link to the activity for new members.

While behavior is often thought of as an outcome of the identification process (see Ashforth et al., 2008), findings of this study supported the notion that behavior itself is an important part of the continued development and sustainment of identity (Daft & Weick, 1984; Sveningsonn & Alvesson, 2003). BGR! member's episodes of identification often involved behaviors such as finishing a race or running at a new pace. As they continued to enact the identity, it became more salient for them, which in turn allowed them to engage in even more behaviors. True to the feedback loop within the model, identity enactment behaviors contributed to new methods of integration strategies for the members. As running became an activity consonant with their sense of self, they

were able to engage in the integration strategies of identity refining (Ibarra, 1999) and identity enrichment strategies (Pratt et al., 2006).

Current literature on identity formation views the change or integration of a new identity, along with the new behaviors, as the outcome of the process. What's left out, however, is the way in which the identity formation process not only feeds back into a continued sensemaking for the individual, but the way in which, from the organizational perspective, members then become sensebreakers and sensegivers themselves. Management literature acknowledges that lower order identities in organizations, i.e. identities in work groups and departments, are often stronger than overall organizational identities, and therefore have greater consequences (Ashforth & Johson, 2001). Findings of this study suggest that, particularly for member-based organizations, the identities of organizational members play an important role in the perpetuation of organizational values and what Whetten (2006) calls identity claims of the organization. As members became more embedded in BGR!, many found themselves in official leadership roles, including ambassadors (regional) and running leaders (local). Still others found themselves as role models for the new members who aspired to take the same journey to health and quality of life that they had. The organization sustains itself then through the continued identity enactment of its members.

Contributions of the Research

Management literature has been interested in the ways in which particular organizational identities are formed and strengthened (e.g. Ibarra, 1999, Pratt et al., 2006), and conceptual work highlights the importance of a priori identities such as race and gender in both the formation and outcome of work identities (Ashforth & Johnson,

2001; Brickson, 2013). However, the way in which organic, a priori identities and orchestrated, self-selected identities interact over time, and inform one another, has not been empirically examined. Founded in social identity theory as well as theories of identity formation, this research contributes to the sport management and management literature by investigating the interaction amongst identities as a previously dissonant identity is made more salient and consonant for the members of an organization. Findings from this study offer insight into the ability of organizational identities to not only inform existing identities, but also to remove the dissonance associated with certain identities.

For many sport management scholars in particular, the mechanisms through which sport organizations have the capacity to facilitate social change is an ongoing debate (Coakley, 2011). This study showed the role of one non-profit organization in facilitating opportunities to participate in sport and physical activity for a marginalized population through identity formation. Members in BGR! used their membership, along with the other consonant identities of race and gender associated with the organization, to reduce their dissonance in the activity. This scaffolding and subsequent modeling allowed them to negotiate through barriers, and integrate an identity as a runner into their overall self-concept.

Sport and physical activity, sites where a priori identities such as race and gender still play a visible role, prescribe certain activities to certain identities, simultaneously creating dissonance with other identities (Jun & Kyle, 2011a; 2012; Pelak, 2002). This study highlighted the role that organizations, as independent entities, can play in informing identity work for individuals that opens up opportunity for them. The organizational context allows individuals to use their other identities, as well as the

modeled identities of others within the organization, in order to build their own into their overall self-concept, despite initial feelings of dissonance. By making sense of the cues provided within an organized context, members engage in their own identity enactment practices, which in turn lead to critical moments of identification.

Beyond the role of sport organizations in creating social change, other sport management literature relies on the importance of identity and identification with professional sport teams to understand fan behavior (e.g. Heere & James, 2007; Trail, Anderson, & Fink, 2000; Wann & Branscombe, 1993). The process through which these identities form, however, has seen little attention (c.f. Lock, Taylor, Funk, & Darcy, 2012). This study highlighted the role of other organizational members in this process. While the identification and engagement process can happen via direct organizational interactions, BGR! members' ability to use the identities of other members in forming their own highlights the importance of interaction in the identification process (Gephart, 1993). The importance of interpersonal relationships in this process has been highlighted conceptually by the Multiple In-group Identity Framework, which suggests three levels of identification: superordinate, subgroup, and relational group (Lock & Funk, in press). The current research found that the bonds formed by organizational members on the interpersonal level contributed to both their organizational identity and their identities with the activity of running.

This study also contributes to identity theory within mainstream management. While the role of identity and the identification process within organizations has been well acknowledged over the past 25 years beginning with Ashforth and Mael's seminal work (1989), the importance of an individual's organizational identity outside of the

organization has had little attention (Brickson, 2013). While organizational outcomes are important, organizational behavior literature in particular can learn from the power that identities can have in the life of organizational members in better understanding the conditions under which identities produce a positive outcome for the organization as a whole.

This study further contributes to literature concerned with identity formation, specifically identity work and identity threat. Current literature highlights the strategies through which individuals make sense of their identity in organizations (e.g. Ibarra, 1999; Pratt, 2000; Pratt et al., 2006), but the outcomes stop at the organizational member. This study highlights the importance of the feedback loop in understanding how an organization's identity is sustained via its members. As identities become more salient, individuals become modelers of that identity, which enables the continued work and negotiation of new members. The sensemakers become sensegivers. While Weick (1995) suggests that sensemaking is an ongoing retrospective process, findings from the current research highlight the importance of the ongoing collective process through which cues and meaning are passed between individuals, thereby perpetuating the meaning.

Managerial Implications

While the study has implications for understanding mechanisms of change within sport organizations and the context of organizing, it also has implications for actual organizations. Non-profit programs aimed at social change through sport, potential funders, and sport policy makers have taken an interest in understanding how best to facilitate positive physical and psychological outcomes through the use of sport (Coakley, 2011). Findings from this study demonstrate the ability of sport organizations to promote

sustained positive changed through the identity formation process. As sport organizations often face the question of how to sustain real outcomes, the facilitation of an identity with an activity may be an important piece in long term psychological and behavioral change. Establishing a connection between an activity and one's self concept makes it easier for individuals to continue with an activity over the course of a lifetime, and therefore may be a key factor for program development that aims to promote physical activity and sport (Beaton et al., 2009).

Specifically, the findings support the role of identity modeling in facilitating outcomes for this kind of organization. In addition to the education and support necessary (Skinner, Zakus, & Cowell, 2008), programs need to provide models of those acting out the psychological and behavioral outcomes from whom members or participants can make sense of expected and ideal attitudes and behaviors. Models can act as scaffolds for individuals as they incorporate the new activity into their own self-concept. As individuals complete the process, they also become modelers themselves, providing a level of sustainability for positive outcomes through the identity formation process for the program.

Acknowledging the feedback loop for inhabitants of new identities also has implications for any organization interested in sustaining the positive outcomes associated with salient member identities. As proximal levels of identification have more meaning for organizational members (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001), individual identities within the organization play an important role in the identity formation process of new organizational members. It is essential to not only manage new members' sensemaking (Pratt & Foreman, 2000), but successfully manage the ability of existing members to

promote an optimal organizational identity through sensegiving. Members can act as organizational agents or inhibitors, depending on the congruence between their own identity as organizational members, and those idealized by the organization itself.

The use of identity models suggests the importance of the use of "intravention" as opposed to intervention (McWilliam & Oudshoorn, 2011). Many sport for social change programs are designed as interventions, which aim to change a particular behavior through its model. A model of this kind, though, often creates an outsider/insider relationship, as those providing the intervention are in some way different or more privileged than those receiving it (Coalter, 2009, 2010; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011). This is true of many international sport for social change programs in particular (Lindsey & Grattan, 2012). BGR! is an organization by Black women for Black women: they attempt to redefine identities within their own community. The inherent race/gender identity congruence provides a trust and legitimacy in the program for new members that might not be present with other running groups, particularly considering the normative racial stereotype associated with the activity of distance running in the United States. An increase in overall physical activity, number of miles run per week specifically, suggests these kind of organizations can have an impact for those looking to solve the growing levels of obesity and diminishing levels of physical activity across both marginalized populations and the general population.

Findings also have implications for mass participation sport event organizers. As the number of running events around the country continues to grow (Running USA, 2015), it is important for event organizers to tap into new markets via organizations like BGR! and other running groups focused on promoting distance running among

marginalized communities for whom the activity is non-normative (e.g. Black Men Run and Latinas in Motion, organizations supporting running as a form of physical activity for Black men and Latinas, respectively). As the number of new participants in the current running boom starts to level off (Running USA, 2015), partnering with such kind of organizations can lead to sustained growth, particularly given benefits that can be received from organized endorsements and marketing strategies.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the findings of the current research contribute to both sport management and mainstream management literature, it has several limitations that must be acknowledged and create opportunities for future research. First, it must be noted that this is a convenience sample. Members from the overall census survey in 2014 opted into a year-long study. Previous research has suggested that individuals who volunteer for survey panels may have different views than those who don't (Baltagi, 2008). While the panel was not significantly different from the overall sample within demographics, it does not rule out the possibility of a difference within their attitudes towards both the organization and the activity. Further, as the overall sample cannot be compared to the population, it is not possible to generalize the findings to the entire membership of BGR!, as population statistics are unknown.

The same can be said for the attrition rate of the panel. While those who dropped out of the survey were not significantly different from those who stayed, it is unknown whether there were other differences that caused them to become non-respondents (Sobol, 1959; Thornberry, Bjerregaard, & Miles, 1993). The process for them may have been different, which was not captured in the findings of the conceptual model. Further

studies on a broader, random sample within the population is necessary to make the findings more generalizable. Also, as attrition from the study and nonresponse may be the result of exiting the organization, future research should try to capture the barriers that led to this behavior, as identity exit may be an important part of the process of overcoming personal and socially informed dissonance (Festinger, 1962; Petriglieri, 2011).

The operationalization of identity in Study 1 also informed the findings. While the definition of social identity primarily stems from Tajfel's (1978) definition, it can be measured in a range of ways. Identity can be measured most simply at its core: categorization, affect, and importance (Ashforth et al., 2008), and it was in this way that it was measured for this study, in order to simplify and standardize identity salience across the different measured identities. However, identity can be measured more broadly as well. Ashmore and colleagues (2004) propose no less than eight separate dimensions of identity. Even behavior itself has been included in some scales (e.g. Heere & James, 2007; Wann & Branscombe, 1993). Further research should explore the role that other proposed dimensions of identity play both as part of identity salience, as well as independent dimensions that may affect outcomes in different ways.

The outcomes for Study 1, running behavior, were self-reported. This introduces the threat of social desirability bias, as members may over-estimate their running behavior (Agnew & Pyke, 1987). Further, behavioral outcomes were limited to the actual activity: how much they ran and when. Results from Study 2 suggest that other supplemental activities may also play as either inputs or outcomes of identity, including travelling for events, purchasing gear, and joining other running groups or forums. For

BGR! members in particular, their running gear was an important external signifier of their identity as runners. Self-expression is an important part of a broader definition of social identity, which includes values, beliefs and traits (Ashforth et al., 2008). Future research should examine these types of supplemental activities as part of behavioral involvement.

The findings of Study 1 were also limited, as the organizational identity only informed members' identity with running between T1 and T2. As mentioned in the discussion section, this may be related to the average tenure of the panel, which was 17 months at T1. Findings from Study 2 suggested that the identification process happens very quickly, and that members began thinking of their running identity as independent from their BGR! identity once it became a salient part of their self-concept. Future research should focus exclusively on new members of an organization, as this may give further insight into how their organizational identity and dissonant identity interacts in the early stages of the process.

While Study 2 did give some insight into this process, it did so retrospectively. Retrospective interviews have been found to be useful for reflection of informant on their experience (Van de Ven, 2007), but the use of prospective interviews would provide an account of meaning and sensemaking in real time. While all sensemaking is retrospective, prospective interviews are not informed by hindsight, and would add another dimension to the understanding of the identification process (McLeod, 2003). A future study that examined new members should include real-time qualitative interviews or ethnographies, which would create a deeper understanding of the role of dissonance and episodes of identification as they are experienced.

Informants in Study 2 believed that they saw several collective outcomes of this process as well, including changing stereotypes, and a movement promoting greater health for all populations. Such an outcome was not able to be measured quantitatively in Study 1. In order to capture this kind of an outcome on a larger scale, alternative methods are necessary. First, a long-term exploration of activity involvement trends among Black women in the United States since the inception of BGR! would help uncover the extent of the change that might be attributed to the organization. Second, studies should also examine the change in perception over a longer period of time by the general public, seeking to quantify the extent to which the definition of the prototypical runner has changed, and continues to change.

Finally, this study examined the identity formation process from the individual, member-based perspective. While members were able to reflect upon their relationship with the organization, having an organizational perspective would complete the conceptual model. Future research should aim to understand the implementation of the organizational mechanisms for BGR!. The process through which BGR! itself constructs its own identity, as well as gives sense to a particular identity for its members can further help organizations understand their role in the identity formation process (Whetten, 2007; Whetten & Mackey, 2002).

Conclusion

While the importance of one's identity in informing behavior is prevalent throughout several literatures in the social sciences, the extent to which individuals, organizations, and society have power to create and manipulate identity is far from fully understood. This dissertation contributed to the continuing conversation surrounding the

role of organizations in facilitating a new identity, in particular one that is considered normatively dissonant from an individual's other salient identities. Based on social identity theory and theories of identity formation, it created a conceptual model of the role that organizational membership can play in creating salient identities that lead to desired behavioral outcomes. Within the context of the empirical studies, BGR! members' identity within the organization also informed their identity with the normatively dissonant activity of running, but these identities were also independent, each contributing to their overall running behaviors over time. Members used their identity in BGR! to negotiate through their feelings of dissonance, splinting their new identity until it was strong enough to stand on its own. This demonstrates the ability of an organization to facilitate behaviors, an important outcome particularly for sport and physical activity organizations seeking to promote sustainable individual and community change.

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APPENDIX A

STUDY 1 IRB APPROVAL

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

Office for Human Subjects Protections
Institutional Review Board
Medical Intervention Committees A1 & A2
Social and Behavioral Committee B
Unanticipated Problems Committee

Student Faculty Conference Center
3340 N Broad Street - Suite 304
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19140
Phone: (215) 707-3390
Fax: (215) 707-9100
e-mail: irb@temple.edu

Certification of Approval for a Project Involving Human Subjects

Protocol Number:	21139
PI:	CLARK, BRIANNA
Review Type:	EXPEDITED
Approved On:	04-Feb-2014
Approved From:	11-Feb-2014
Approved To:	10-Feb-2015
Committee:	B BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
School/College:	TOURISM AND HOSPITALITY (2100)
Department:	TOURISM:SPORTS MANAGEMENT & LEISURE (21020)
Project Title:	Black Girls Run: An Examination of a Non-Profit's Influence on Back Women's Running Participation

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The IRB approved the protocol 21139.

If the study was approved under expedited or full board review, the approval period can be found above. Otherwise, the study was deemed exempt and does not have an IRB approval period.

Before an approval period ends, you must submit the Continuing Review form via the eRA module. Please note that though an item is submitted in eRA, it is not received in the IRB office until the principal investigator approves it. Consequently, please submit the Continuing Review form via the eRA module at least 60 days, and preferably 90 days, before the study's expiration date.
Note that all applicable Institutional approvals must also be secured before study implementation. These approvals include, but are not limited to, Medical Radiation Committee ("MRC"); Radiation Safety Committee ("RSC"); Institutional Biosafety Committee ("IBC"); and Temple University Survey Coordinating Committee ("TUSCC"). Please visit these Committees' websites for further information.

Finally, in conducting this research, you are obligated to submit modification requests for all changes to any study; reportable new information using the Reportable New Information form; and renewal and closure forms. For the complete list of investigator responsibilities, please see the Policies and Procedures, the Investigator Manual, and other requirements found on the Temple University IRB website: http://www.temple.edu/research/regaffairs/irb/index.html

Please contact the IRB at (215) 707-3390 if you have any questions

APPENDIX B

STUDY 1 EARLY TO LATE RESPONDER COMPARISON

	Early		Late		*t*	Sig
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
BGRID T1	5.51	0.96	5.37	1.08	0.87	0.39
BGRID T2	5.19	0.99	5.09	1.10	0.65	0.52
BGRID T3	5.32	0.90	5.30	1.01	0.14	0.89
RUNID T1	5.15	1.13	5.05	1.16	0.55	0.58
RUNID T2	5.47	0.98	5.34	0.96	0.87	0.38
RUNID T3	5.55	0.98	5.28	1.04	1.80	0.07

Note: All tests run using an independent samples *t*-test. All statistics rounded to the nearest hundredth.

APPENDIX C

STUDY 1 QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

BGR! Identity (Ellemers et al., 1999)

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements (response option: 1: strongly disagree; 7: strongly agree)

- I identify with other members of BGR! (BGR_1)
- BGR! is an important reflection of who I am (BGR_2)
- I like being a member of BGR! (BGR_3)
- I would rather below to another running group (BGR_4)
- I feel good about being a member of BGR! (BGR_5)
- I have a lot of respect for BGR! (BGR_6)

Running Identity (Cieslak, Fink, & Pastore, 2005)

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements (response option: 1: strongly disagree; 7: strongly agree)

- I consider myself a runner (RUN_1)
- Running is an important part of my life (RUN_2)
- When I am running, I am happy (RUN_3)
- I feel badly when I fail to meet my goals related to running (RUN_4)
- You can tell a lot about a person by seeing them run (RUN_5)

Ethnic Identity (Sellers et al., 1997)

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements (response option: 1: strongly disagree; 7: strongly agree)

- Being Black is an important reflection of who I am (RACE_1)
- In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image (RACE_2)
- I am happy that I am Black (RACE_3)
- I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths (RACE_4)

Gender Identity (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements (response option: 1: strongly disagree; 7: strongly agree)

- In general, I'm glad to be a woman (SEX_1)
- I feel good about being a woman (SEX_3)
- Being a woman is an important reflection of who I am (SEX_2)
- Overall, being a woman has very little to do with how I feel about myself (SEX_4)

APPENDIX D

SCALE ITEM DESCRIPTIVES (INCLUDING DELETED ITEMS)

Construct	Time 1		Time 2		Time 3		Item Loading			CD		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	T1	T2	T3	T1	T2	T3
BGRID_1	4.66	1.48	4.24	1.47	4.39	1.45	.88	.87	.84	.77	.71	.69
BGRID_2	5.98	0.94	5.78	1.03	5.88	0.85	.90	.91	.88	.77	.80	.70
BGRID_3	5.68	0.99	5.41	1.07	5.64	0.97	.90	.85	.86	.85	.80	.77
BGRID_4*	4.40	1.66	3.91	1.59	4.00	1.62	.76	.81	.77	.87	.83	.82
BGRID_5*	5.60	1.24	5.32	1.46	5.46	1.22	.84	.81	.76	.85	.82	.81
BGRID_6*	5.68	1.24	5.80	1.18	5.87	1.10	.65	.52	.55	.86	.84	.84
RUNID_1	5.47	1.60	5.73	1.44	5.64	1.61	.81	.86	.67	.78	.78	.83
RUNID_2	5.85	1.19	5.94	0.99	5.88	1.19	.87	.86	.76	.79	.78	.83
RUNID_3	5.87	1.24	5.87	1.14	5.77	1.11	.93	.92	.85	.76	.76	.81
RUNID_4*	4.29	1.53	4.64	1.35	4.63	1.43	.57	.51	.49	.82	.81	.85
RUNID_5*	5.03	1.57	5.31	1.44	5.21	1.52	.24	.32	.55	.83	.84	.86
SEXID_1	6.60	0.82	6.54	0.81	6.62	0.66	.84	.81	.87	.88	.49	.48
SEXID_2	6.45	0.98	6.38	0.89	6.35	0.94	.90	.83	.83	.79	.44	.40
SEXID_3	6.56	0.85	6.62	0.63	6.59	0.67	.93	.86	.91	.73	.30	.44
SEXID_4*	3.58	1.83	4.88	1.70	4.97	1.70	.45	.21	.22	.86	.79	.82
RACEID_1	6.12	1.35	6.18	1.04	6.18	1.04	.91	.77	.87	.75	.73	.71
RACEID_2	5.98	1.15	5.64	1.37	5.68	1.28	.82	.73	.84	.76	.62	.68
RACEID_3	6.56	0.89	5.99	1.06	6.00	1.10	.84	.81	.77	.78	.72	.76
RACEID_4*	5.68	1.25	5.98	1.06	6.00	1.04	.61	.47	.62	.81	.74	.78

Note: (*) Indicates deleted items. M = mean; SD = standard deviation; CD = Cronbach's alpha if item is deleted; BGRID = Identity with the organization (BGR!); RUNID = Running identity; SEXID = Gender identity; RACEID = Racial identity

APPENDIX E

STUDY 2 IRB APPROVAL

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY
Research Administration

Research Integrity & Compliance
Student Faculty Center
3340 N. Broad Street, Suite 304
Philadelphia PA 19140

Institutional Review Board
Phone: (215) 707-3390
Fax: (215) 707-9100
e-mail: irb@temple.edu

Certification of Approval for a Project Involving Human Subjects

Date: 19-Feb-2016

Protocol Number:	23533
PI:	JORDAN, JEREMY S.
Review Type:	EXEMPT
Approved On:	19-Feb-2016
Approved From:	
Approved To:	
Committee:	A1
School/College:	TOURISM AND HOSPITALITY (2100)
Department:	TOURISM:SPORTS MANAGEMENT & LEISURE (21020)
Sponsor:	NO EXTERNAL SPONSOR
Project Title:	Identity Formation in a National Running Organization for Black Women

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The IRB approved the protocol 23533.

If the study was approved under expedited or full board review, the approval period can be found above. Otherwise, the study was deemed exempt and does not have an IRB approval period.

If applicable to your study, you can access your IRB-approved, stamped consent document or consent script through eRA. **Open the Attachments tab and open the stamped documents by clicking the View icon next to each document**. The stamped documents are labeled as such.

Before an approval period ends, you must submit the Continuing Review form via the eRA module. Please note that though an item is submitted in eRA, it is not received in the IRB office until the principal investigator approves it. Consequently, please submit the Continuing Review form via the eRA module at least 60 days, and preferably 90 days, before the study's expiration date.

Note that all applicable Institutional approvals must also be secured before study implementation. These approvals include, but are not limited to, Medical Radiation Committee ("MRC"); Radiation Safety Committee ("RSC"); Institutional Biosafety Committee ("IBC"); and Temple University Survey Coordinating Committee ("TUSCC"). Please visit these Committees' websites for further information.

Finally, in conducting this research, you are obligated to submit modification requests for all changes to any study; reportable new information using the Reportable New Information form; and renewal and closure forms. For the complete list of investigator responsibilities, please see the Policies and Procedures, the Investigator Manual, and other requirements found on the Temple University IRB website: http://www.temple.edu/research/regaffairs/irb/index.html

Please contact the IRB at (215) 707-3390 if you have any questions

APPENDIX F

STUDY 2 INTERVIEW GUIDE

Prologue:

The purpose of this study is to better understand how BGR! has become integrated into your life, both psychologically and in behavior. Further, I want to understand the extent to which BGR! has played a role in helping you identify as a runner, and how that process has happened. I will be recording our conversation, and if there is anything you don't feel comfortable answering, you can skip the question. You can also ask that answers be removed from the record after the fact, if at any time you do not feel comfortable with them. You will also have the opportunity after the interview is transcribed to review the transcript, and make edits or clarifications as you see fit.

1. Tell me about how you got started as a member of BGR! (where you heard about it, how long you have been a member, etc.)

2. To what extent was running a part of your life prior to joining BGR!?

3. Tell me about your early experiences as a member of the organization. How have your experiences changed?

4. Tell me how your attitudes towards the organization has changed over time? To what extent has BGR! become an important part of who you are?
    -FU: In what ways did you see this happen? Why do you think this happened?

5. Do you consider yourself a runner now?
    -FU: How important would you say this identity as a runner is to you? How has this changed over time?
    -FU: What kind of things do you do that show reflect how important this identity as a runner is to you?

6. To what extent do you see yourself as a Black female runner specifically, versus a "runner"? Is there a difference between these two?

For those who consider themselves a runner

1. Let's talk about those experiences you mentioned in your time in BGR!. How have they helped you consider yourself a runner?

2. How would you say that help that BGR! has given you has changed over time?

3. What are some of the barriers that you have had to overcome to become a runner? Has that changed over time?

FU: Are these the same barriers you face to becoming a “black female runner?”

4. What are some of the things you do to overcome the barriers to becoming a runner?

5. How have these strategies changed over the course of your time as a runner?

6. How has BGR! helped you to overcome your barriers to becoming a runner? Has this help that it has given you changed over your time in the organization?

For those who don’t consider themselves runners

1. Why don’t you consider yourself a runner?

2. What role does running play in your life, since you don’t identify as a runner?

3. What other things has BGR! done for you that you find important?

4. What are some of the barriers that you have had to overcome to running? Why did these barriers exist for you?

For those who were runners before joining BGR!

1. What has BGR! done for you? How has what it does for you changed over your time in the organization?

2. Has BGR! done anything to change how important being a runner is to you?
FU: How has that changed over time?