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IN SEARCH OF THE SELF AT WORK:

YOUNG ADULTS' EXPERIENCES OF A DUAL IDENTITY ORGANIZATION*

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: Multiple forces that shape the identities of adolescents and young adults also influence their subsequent career choices. Early work experiences are key among these forces. Recognizing this, youth service programs have emerged worldwide with the hope of shaping participants' future trajectories through boosting future engagement in civically-oriented activities and work. Despite these goals, past research on these programs' impact has yielded mixed outcomes. Our goal is to understand why this might be the case.

Design/Methodology/Approach: We rely on interview, archival, and longitudinal survey data to examine young adults' experiences of a European youth service program.

Findings: A core feature of youth service programs, namely their dual identity of helping others (i.e., service beneficiaries) and helping oneself (i.e., participants), might partly explain the mixed outcomes. We find that participants focus on one of the organization's identities largely to the exclusion of the other, creating a dynamic in which their interactions with members who focus on the other identity create challenges and dominate their program experience, to the detriment of a focus on the organization and its goals. This suggests that a previously overlooked feature of youth service programs (their dual identity) might prove both a blessing for attracting many diverse members and a curse for achieving desired outcomes.

Originality/Value: More broadly, our results suggest that dual identity organizations might attract members focused on a select identity, but fail to imbue them with a blended identity; thus, limiting the extent to which such organizations can truly "re-direct" future career choices.

Introduction

In the past few decades, concerns about declining civic engagement have steadily risen around the globe. In the United States, for example, Robert Putnam's work has often been cited to suggest a decline in participation in community life (Putnam, 1995). Setting aside debates on the actual nature and size of this decline, adolescents and young adults have become prime targets for efforts geared at halting or reversing this perceived trend. Indeed, late adolescence and early adulthood are considered formative years that can shape life trajectories [e.g., Erikson (1968)]. The early organizational experiences individuals have are viewed as essential influences on the paths they will ultimately follow. Narratives around President Barack Obama's early job as a community organizer in Chicago or chef Julia Child's initial work years at the U.S. Office of Strategic Services are both examples of these beliefs. They offer coming of age stories aimed at providing clues to individuals' future careers: Obama's political aspirations and Child's outstanding inquisitiveness. These narratives also suggest that youth and early adulthood might constitute ideal moments for interventions that change the course of careers and lives.

With the hope of increasing civic engagement among adolescents and young adults, many community-based youth service programs have emerged worldwide to provide, guide, and ideally shape participants' early work identities and future career choices. A large number of youth are now enrolled in such programs in countries ranging from Nigeria (e.g., National Youth Service Corps started in 1973) to the United States (e.g., AmeriCorps started in 1993). For instance, in the United States, 775,000 young people have served with AmeriCorps alone since its inception (AmeriCorps, 2012). One espoused goal of many of these organizations is to set in motion a career trajectory that focuses young people on doing good and serving others (Larson, 2000). Specifically, youth service organizations are oriented toward the hope that members will

come to view civic engagement as a work choice that will shape their occupational identities and career trajectories. But does participation in these programs help make better and more engaged citizens? Studies of program outcomes suggest mixed results at best. In particular, recent findings from a comprehensive study of one such program concludes by contradicting "the presumption that youth service invariably encourages long-term civic engagement" (McAdam & Brandt, 2009, p. 967). As the study's authors note, two general features of service experiences—namely, a "decline in felt efficacy" and a "lack of collaborative activities"—may have negative effects on continued engagement in the cause of service to others. The authors call for more research on the *features* of the experiences of youth service programs to understand these effects (2009, p. 949).

Our study represents an attempt to answer this call. Specifically, we aim to create a better understanding of young people's experiences of a core feature of such youth service programs, namely, their dual identity. Youth service programs typically focus on community service (i.e., helping others) and the development of their members (i.e., helping oneself) (Perry & Katula, 2001). This is embodied in a contrast in goals, elements, and composition of the program that we argue constitutes a dual organizational identity. Our findings suggest that this core feature of youth service programs—namely, simultaneously engaging young people in efforts to help others *and* help oneself—might help explain the mixed outcomes of these programs. We find that from the program leaders' viewpoint, this dual focus was unproblematic and even seen as complementary. Yet from the perspective of youth participants, the contrasting focus constituted a dual identity that struggled to integrate its core elements. Instead, the participants we studied tended to focus on one program identity to the exclusion of the other, despite the hopes and efforts of senior staff, founders, and board members to fuse the program's multiple identity into a

unified one. More intriguingly, perhaps, over time, new members' identification with one but not both of the organization's identities created tensions between members. We argue that the dual identity of youth service programs might have profound implications for participants' future trajectories through its negative impact on participant engagement, efficacy, and identification. Ultimately, these effects serve to undermine some of the programs' central aims.

But our study is about more than simply the impact of youth service programs. It also looks, more broadly, at the links between early identity creation and future career choices. Our results suggest that bundling apparently contradictory identities into a seemingly unified identity might create more challenges for members than previously suggested in the career development literature. We show that members focus their identification on one of the dual identities, but not both. This focus challenges the way dual identity organizations or contexts are assumed to operate, and suggests that early identity formation of members may be influenced by the identities of the organizations of which they are a part. Ultimately, the identity dynamics that result are associated with decreased organizational identification and may serve to undermine the goals set forth in such contexts; specifically, to engage in civically-oriented studies and work. We suggest that attempts to "shape" early identities and, in turn, future career choices, might prove much more complex than previously assumed in past career development literature.

Early Identity Formation and Career Development

Late adolescence and early adulthood are critical periods for identity formation and for the shaping of future careers. Erikson (1968) and others (Mortimer et al., 2002) have suggested that determining one's future occupational identity represents a key arena in which identity is formed. During those early years, most individuals—whether still studying or already in the

workforce—experiment with constructing provisional selves and try to envision possible future identities (Becker, Geer, Hughes, & Anselm, 1961; Blustein, Devenis, & Kidney, 1989; Cohen-Scali, 2003; Diemer & Blustein, 2007; Ibarra, 1999; MacLeod, 2009; Markus & Nurius, 1986; Petriglieri & Petriglieri, 2010; Robb, Dunkley, Boynton, & Greenhalgh, 2007; Young, 2004). Research has considered the ways in which identity influences this process in diverse settings and geographies, ranging from British male youths envisioning their future lives working in factories (Willis, 1977) to Malawian schoolgirls imagining themselves as nurses or accountants (Frye, 2012). Much of this research highlights the impact of one's background, social context, and early work experiences – all forces that influence identity – on the directions that work trajectories take over time (e.g., Mortimer, Zimmer-Gembeck, & Holmes, 2002). While identity formation also occurs earlier in life and in more delineated realms, such as in families, playgrounds, or even on street-corners [see, for examples, Hewitt (1986), Schieffelin (1990), and Whyte (1943)], late adolescence and early adulthood work experiences tend to be remembered as "formative" identity years in the eyes of both beholders and observers.

But constructed identities are not merely static artifacts; they can be conceptualized both as motives for past action and cultural "tools" for future endeavors (Frye 2012; Swidler 2001; Vaisey, 2009). As such, early identity creation is not only a moment in time, but also can serve as a blueprint for future career choices. Indeed, career decision-making is the outcome of a sequential process of planning and exploration (e.g., Harren, 1979; Tiedeman & O'Hara, 1963) that relies on and involves identity. For example, past research has shown that variations in early identity construction are associated with the attainment of a crystallized vocational identity (Grotevant & Thorbecke, 1982), future career planning (Creed, Patton, & Prideaux, 2007), and the nature of the work goals pursued (Yeager, Bundick, & Johnson, 2012). Thus, despite

evidence of youth experiencing more "delay" in forming career choices than expected by traditional models of identity development (Mortimer et al., 2002), early identity construction still remains a predictor of future career outcomes.

Civic Engagement and Youth Service Programs

Civic engagement can be constructed as a career choice, in that it reflects a decision to orient one's educational and occupational choices toward paths that emphasize involvement in service to others. For instance, deciding to become a nurse, teacher, or social worker typically reflects a different orientation toward civic engagement than does a choice to pursue banking, marketing, or welding. Participation in youth service programs can be seen as a way to intervene at these crucial moments of identity formation and guide individuals to select more civically-engaged future career options. Youth service programs serve as identity incubators that aim to foster civic engagement and values (Simon & Wang, 2002) and often incorporate educational (e.g., AmeriCorps) or career development (e.g., European Voluntary Service) components to help develop their members' future career and life trajectories. Such programs exist in various countries and lend themselves well to identity construction (Gronlund, 2011). In Europe, for example, thirty European Union and non-European Union countries have developed voluntary youth organizations since the European Commission adopted a policy to promote voluntary youth service in 1998. Currently, from Mexico to Finland, thousands of youth worldwide are enrolled in youth service programs every year (Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010).

Yet studies evaluating program outcomes in term of participants' future civic engagement have often proved inconclusive. Some studies show strong effects of participation in youth voluntary programs on desired organizational outcomes. For example, participating in youth

service programs (in and out of school) seems to boost adult civic and political engagement (McFarland & Thomas, 2006). Similarly, participation in such programs is associated with increased incidence of principled moral reasoning, suggesting the potential for substantial impact (Haan, 1974). On the other hand, researchers have argued that participants who complete such programs lag behind non-participants in later service activities and generally trail both non-participants and drop-outs in civic and political participation (McAdam & Brandt, 2009, p. 945). Taken together, these studies suggest that potentially complex dynamics occuring during these programs impact outcomes, but our understanding of these dynamics is underdeveloped at this point. Our study attempts to build understanding by presenting data to illuminate a core but forgotten element of the experience of youth in these programs—that is, living and working for a significant length of time in a dual identity organization.

The Dual Identity Nature of Youth Service Programs

In youth service programs, participants not only spend a lot of time together, but they do so in organizational contexts that try to balance two seemingly contradictory identities: helping others and helping oneself. In essence, youth service programs typically pursue both community service *and* youth development goals (Perry & Katula, 2001). Because these organizations act as sense-giving vessels that help to enable adolescents and young adults to become who they will be, it is crucial to examine the organizational identities which define them. The existence of socialization dynamics in organizations is in itself no surprise; every organization develops a distinct identity and perspective among its members (Morrill, 2008; Trice & Beyer, 1993; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Yet certain organizations, namely those characterized by Van Maanen (1983) as harboring "cultures of orientation," go beyond that and *purposely* aim to produce a

particular perspective and identity among their members. This is why scholars have studied such influential organizations as the Paris Opera and the World Bank: both of which employ late adolescents and young adults in the early stages of their careers (Johnson, 2008; Sarfaty, 2012). Most schools and universities are prime examples of such organizations (Young, 1971). Many for-profit companies aspire to attain similar outcomes (Biggart, 1989; Pratt, 2000). Youth service programs also aim to develop such cultures of orientation, but they do so with a key difference: they are often simultaneously promoting two identities. Thus, an examination of members' experiences of youth service programs also amounts to an examination of experiences of dual, often contradictory, organizational identities.

Past scholarship on organizational identity has already alerted us to the peculiarities of organizations aiming to embody more than one identity. Organizational identities or members' shared beliefs about the central, enduring, and distinct characteristics of the organization (Albert & Whetten, 1985) have long interested organizational scholars, particularly when these identities are complex. Multiple organizational identities exist when two or more different identity dimensions coexist in the same organization (Albert & Whetten, 1985). These different identities may conflict, creating a need for some kind of resolution on the part of the organization and its members. Universities, which merge education and business (Albert & Whetten, 1985), health-care systems, which combine business and charity service (Bunderson, Lofstrom, & Van de Ven, 1997), and rural cooperatives, which meld family and business (Foreman & Whetten, 2002), are examples of organizations with competing identities that embody different value systems and goals. Conflicts might arise in these settings surrounding, for instance, decisions about allocation of resources (such as educating students vs. maximizing revenues) or goal-setting (such as designing an engaging course vs. minimizing faculty teaching time).

Recent research has focused on the challenges posed by organizational identities that are multiple or hybrid in form (Golden-Biddle & Rao, 1997; Pratt & Foreman, 2000). Identity scholars have concentrated on the interplay between complex identities and the ways they are managed or reconciled by organization leaders (Pratt & Foreman, 2000) or board members (Golden-Biddle & Rao, 1997), thus articulating a perspective on multiple identity organizations as they are experienced from above. Such a focus is valuable, but it leaves largely unexplored the effects of multiple identities on members with less access to the genesis, rationale, and multiple facets of the organization's identity, notably those who do not experience the multiple identities in the course of their daily work. Particularly for new lower-level members, understanding an organization's multiple identities can be difficult, potentially affecting the nature of their identification with the organization and their future trajectory once they exit the organization. For young people in particular, these early organizational experiences are potentially powerful for shaping their future trajectory and orientation toward the world. Thus, understanding the impact of dual identities on identification may shed light on key organizational socialization dynamics, including those experienced by members of youth service programs.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In order to study the socialization dynamics that unfold in dual identity organizations, we examined, over a two-and-a-half year period, the experiences of 18-25 year old, lower-level members who had recently joined a European youth service program. Specifically, we studied their ability to comprehend the dual identity of a youth service program named Helping Hands (a pseudonym), a non-profit that strives to maintain two different identities: one in keeping with its objective of community service (what we label "serving others") and the other focused on its

members' professional development ("finding oneself"). Helping Hands is an ideal setting for studying these dynamics because the majority of its members (78 percent) and all of its lower-level members are newcomers. We set out to explore the nature of Helping Hands' identity and to understand members' comprehension of this identity over time as well as the impact of their perceptions on individual and organizational outcomes. We used multiple methods to study members' attitudes and behaviors that would reflect identification and internalization of the principles of the organization, as well as members' reported perceptions of the organization's identity.

The Research Site

Helping Hands was established in Europe in the early 1990s by three women in their early twenties as a non-profit non-governmental organization. Its goal was to promote a "time for solidarity," as one founder put it, enabling young adults between the ages of 18 and 25 living in Europe, regardless of nationality or immigration status, to engage in full-time volunteering for nine months. Unlike volunteering organizations that require only limited commitments, Helping Hands assumed that "solidarity" was a legitimate full-time occupation, not merely a hobby. From Helping Hands' perspective, practicing solidarity meant bringing people together to work for the community while helping them to prepare for their future careers. This dual reason for existence meant that Helping Hands would judge itself by two criteria: the service it offered to local communities ("serving others") and its ability to guide members toward meaningful careers ("finding oneself"). Thus, from its inception, Helping Hands had the seeds of a dual identity organization.

Helping Hands modeled itself on a popular and successful American non-profit with which one of the founders was familiar. Its first cohort consisted of 24 individuals organized as three groups of eight members each. Helping Hands decided not to run its own social-service programs but to instead assist established non-profits on an ad-hoc basis; this decision allowed members to gain exposure to a range of issues like poverty, unemployment, and environmental pollution. Meanwhile, Helping Hands stressed teamwork as a means to integrate the groups. This model has remained in effect, with the sole addition of a one-month internship, usually at a non-profit organization, at the end of the volunteering period. On average, members work on four or five projects during their tenure. Projects range from distribution of meals in homeless shelters to river clean-up, construction, voter-registration drives, hospital visits, and drug-abuse prevention work. A salaried group leader supervises each group.

Research Strategy and Data Sources

To study the identity of Helping Hands, its effects on incoming lower-level members over time, and members' experience of the organization's identity, we collected several kinds of data including interviews, surveys, and archives. We designed our data collection efforts using multiple methods to fully capture members' experiences and the effects of the organization on them. This strategy helped us build stronger assertions about interpretation by triangulating findings (Eisenhardt, 1989; Jick, 1979; Yin, 1984).

First, we interviewed founders, site directors, staff members, and volunteers to pinpoint the identity of the organization and their experience of this identity. These data informed our focus on identification dynamics over time. After collecting longitudinal survey data, we conducted follow-up interviews to shed additional light on relationships we were finding in the

data. The follow-up interview data from volunteers highlighted the mechanism through which identification may have been influenced over time, thus revealing more of the dynamics behind the longitudinal survey data. Second, to assess the impact of the experience of membership on incoming lower-level members at Helping Hands, we designed our data-collection strategy to track changes in their beliefs about and identification with the organization through surveys conducted at three critical points in time: at the start and end of their tenure at Helping Hands and again 18 months after the end of their service. We also collected data on members' future career plans to assess the impact of organizational identification on career choice following the volunteer period, as well as open-ended descriptions of the organization. Finally, to assess the identity of Helping Hands in the eyes of its own board of directors and the organizations it served, we collected printed archival data, including board meeting minutes and secondary data provided by the constituent organizations served by the members of Helping Hands.

Interviews. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with Helping Hands' founders, staff, and members by the authors as well as by two students who were, independently from the authors, involved in a study of Helping Hands as part of their academic requirements in a graduate course. The interviewees were selected to represent different levels of the organization. Given the founders' important contribution to the formation of Helping Hands' identity, we interviewed all three. Among staff members and volunteers, the sampling strategy was random; we selected staff members and volunteers at random in an effort to gain access to a representative cross-section. The sampling technique within these groups, though not theoretical in nature (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), met our goal of including staff members and volunteers representative of the organization's population. In all, 22 individuals were interviewed - some repeatedly, between

1998 and 2001. The interview sample consisted of all 3 founders, 8 randomly selected staff members, and 11 randomly selected volunteers. Each interview lasted approximately 90 minutes and concentrated on respondents' reasons for joining Helping Hands and the organization's impact on them. All interviews were taped, transcribed, and translated into English.

Surveys. We conducted a three-wave longitudinal survey with an entire incoming cohort of volunteers. We sent an initial survey (Time 1), consisting of open-ended items and scale measures, to the entering 2001–2002 cohort. All measures were translated from English to the program's working language by the study's first author and back-translated by a third party to check for accuracy (see Appendix 1 for survey measures). Participation was voluntary, and postage-paid return envelopes were provided. The Time 1 response rate was 60 percent; 42 of 71 volunteers responded. Open-ended responses were translated into English to facilitate data analysis. At Time 1, using a combination of open- and closed-ended questions, we asked respondents their reasons for joining Helping Hands, to describe Helping Hands' identity, their expectations of the experience, their values, and future career plans.

A follow-up survey (Time 2) was sent to the same respondents at the end of their nine-month volunteer period. The Time 2 response rate was 81 percent; 34 of the original 42 participants responded. We again assessed career plans and identification with Helping Hands, and also inquired about lessons learned from and respondents' satisfaction with the experience.

A third survey (Time 3) was sent to the 42 initial respondents 18 months after the end of their volunteer period. Of the original 42 respondents, 25 (60 percent) returned surveys. At Time 3 we assessed career choices and again asked about identification with Helping Hands, lessons

learned, and satisfaction with the experience. Data were gathered from three additional respondents via telephone interviews. No incentives were given for participation.[1]

Finally, to supplement our original cohort data, we surveyed the incoming winter 2005 cohort about their understanding of Helping Hands' identity. By 2005, Helping Hands was enrolling new volunteers twice a year, in the fall and winter. We surveyed the smaller winter cohort. Of the 21 members of the cohort, 17 (81 percent) responded. Below, we detail our survey measures.

Organizational identification. We translated the six-item organizational identification scale from Mael and Ashforth (1992) into the working language of the organization (e.g., "When I talk about Helping Hands, I usually say 'we' rather than 'they'."). Respondents indicated on a five-point Likert-type scale the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each statement. Coefficient alphas for this scale are typically greater than .80 (Mael & Ashforth, 1995), and were acceptable for our sample at .72 at Time 1, .67 at Time 2, and .76 at Time 3.

Civic values. We adapted a measure of the strength of civic values from scales used to evaluate the impact of the U.S. version of Helping Hands on its volunteers, adding items specific to the values that Helping Hands emphasizes based on our interviews with staff members and founders. Six items captured respondents' belief in or orientation toward civic action (e.g., "I believe I can change something in this world."). Again, we used a five-point Likert-type scale. The coefficient alpha for the scale was .72.[2]

Civic engagement. To assess behavioral evidence of actions reflecting their civic beliefs, we also measured respondents' reported engagement in civic activities. Respondents indicated whether they had registered to vote, ever voted, ever sent a letter about an issue to a newspaper or an elected official, or regularly read the newspaper. We also asked them to list their civic activities

at Time 1 and Time 3, and counted the number in which they engaged. Finally, at Time 3, we assessed whether respondents were working or studying to work in civic-minded occupations (e.g., social work, medicine, or youth education versus hospitality, accounting, or administrative work).[3] Inter-rater reliability on the occupational coding between the two authors was .96, and the single ambiguous case was resolved after discussion.

Experience of Helping Hands. Using an open-ended item, we asked respondents their assessment at Time 2 of their overall experience at Helping Hands**.**

Demographics. We asked respondents their sex and age at Time 1**.**

Printed archival data. To better understand Helping Hands' identity, we used 1995–2004 board minutes as a first source of archival data. We also analyzed secondary survey data gathered by Helping Hands from the constituent organizations it served. Helping Hands administered this survey to key contacts at non-profit organizations that hosted volunteer groups during the 2001–2002 volunteering period to assess their views of and satisfaction with Helping Hands. The response rate was 90 percent; 54 of 60 partner organizations responded. Both authors coded each organization's response to an open-ended item asking what kind of organization Helping Hands is; our coding classified the responding organizations' characterizations of Helping Hands as a community-service organization, a youth development organization, or both. Inter-rater reliability on the classification of Helping Hands by the constituent organizations between the two authors was 1.0; there were no ambiguous cases.

Data Analysis

In order to study members' experiences and understanding of the dual identity of Helping Hands, we moved back and forth between the personalized accounts contained in the interview transcripts with volunteers, founders, and staff members and the volunteer surveys (in this case, the open-ended responses). We frequently conducted follow-up interviews with staff members and founders. This iterative approach allowed us to develop and revisit emerging theoretical arguments (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Variations in volunteers' understanding of Helping Hands' identity over the course of their work emerged, for instance, during the initial interviews (1998 and 2001), and informed our design of the survey phase of the study.

We coded open-ended survey responses to assess how respondents came to join Helping Hands and how they characterized its identity. The open-ended responses were categorized both by the questions they answered and by the themes they raised. In an iterative fashion (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), responses in each category were independently re-sorted into broad themes by the authors. We then shared and compared the emergent themes we had identified and revisited quotes to check for accuracy; once we reached consensus, we shared the themes with staff members to solicit their feedback. At each stage of our research, we discussed our developing interpretations of volunteers' views of the organization's identity, and the focal points of their experience, with key informants.

FINDINGS

We present our findings in four parts. First, we provide evidence of a dual identity organization, showing how two identities coexist at Helping Hands: a "serving others" identity and a "finding oneself" identity. Second, we show how this multiple identity affects members' entry into the organization: we identify one group of members who are more aligned with the

"serving others" identity and enter for different reasons than those more aligned with the "finding oneself" identity. Third, we highlight how the ensuing interpersonal tensions become a focus of members' organizational experience. Finally, we document Helping Hands' mixed organizational outcomes on key espoused organizational measures and describe the link we see between members' experiences of the organization's identity, its mixed outcomes, and members' possible future career choices.

Helping Others and Helping Oneself: A Dual Identity Organization

Interviews with founders and staff members, board meeting minutes, and survey data from partner non-profits all characterized Helping Hands as an organization that is at once both a service organization and a professional development organization. This identity was conveyed both internally and externally, and was captured in the program's own description of itself: Helping Hands "offers volunteers an exciting, organized nine- or six-month program balancing service and personal development" (Helping Hands website). Or as a major European newspaper put it, "Helping Hands promotes the engagement of young people from every social, educational, and national background in service to the community. Some of them, already at risk with regards to schooling, have been temps and hit hard times. Others, after their baccalaureate or college, are allowing themselves to pause in order to clarify their educational or professional goals." (February 2003). The harmonious combination of service to others and personal development is presented as an integral aspect of Helping Hands' identity.

The organization combines its two identities into a unified face; thus, the tension that arises from trying to be both an externally-focused community-service organization and an internally-focused youth development organization tends not to be apparent in public

presentations. Tensions emerge inside the organization, however, as reflected in the words of its founders and staff members:

> Helping Hands is a volunteer service for young people geared towards solidarity and socio-cultural integration. . . . Overall all Helping Hands staff members and sites agree on the integrative component of the program. . . . Apart from that, everybody doesn't agree if we are in this for the young people or for the non-profits [we help]. Some people say we help young people find themselves… We often talk about what the volunteers take out of this, but the main narrative is that we do both. Thus, we juggle all the time with the two components. (Staff member)

> Young Helping Hands volunteers participate in all sorts of projects. . . . working with immigrants or planning events in old-age homes. Elsewhere, they will engage in after-school tutoring or work at soup kitchens. This is, insists one of the co-founders of Helping Hands, not a welfare-to-work path, even though some might get a useful professional experience out of it, nor a job program, even though some jobs do come about. The idea is to give a year of one's life to the community. (A major European newspaper, January 1999, citing one of the founders)

Founders and staff members were acutely aware of the conflicts presented by its dual identity. One founder articulated this dilemma poignantly: "What we lack at Helping Hands is like the glue that would hold us together…It's hard to tell others what we do at Helping Hands. It's often posed as a communication problem, but for me it's a question of identity." Despite these tensions, a consensus emerged that both identities should be maintained.

When Helping Hands' dual identity was challenged at the board level, board members voiced unwillingness to favor one identity over another. Board members' negative reaction to an incident in which members were portrayed solely as youths in need of assistance and development—acknowledging only the "finding oneself" identity—embodied their preoccupation with balance. The incident involved the leader of a partner non-profit who commented that Helping Hands volunteers were probably mandated by law to enter a "social-

rehabilitation program." This depiction, the board minutes noted, was "rightfully" very poorly received by the members. The board members added:

> It is fundamental to constantly remind [people] of the aim of Helping Hands… To that end, the identity of the group of volunteers and its objectives need to be reiterated to partner organizations, to partner corporations, and to the public. Volunteers themselves need to be aware of the ambiguity of their image in order to be better equipped to fight it. (Board minutes, December 9, 1994).

The board members strongly disapproved of this reductive view of Helping Hands as helping only its members. In two other instances, board members felt compelled to reiterate that Helping Hands was not merely a "back-to-work" program intended for the exclusive benefit of its members: when regional sites were being opened (board minutes, November 5, 2001), and when the government approached Helping Hands to operate an experimental program to "integrate youth [into society]" (board minutes, September 27, 2004). In the latter case, board members demanded that the objective of "civic engagement" and service to others be maintained on a par with the social-integration goal of the experimental program. Board members strongly questioned Helping Hands' ability to operate a "back-to-work program" for the government while maintaining its identity as a civic volunteering organization that helped others.

The board members similarly resisted depictions of Helping Hands as simply "serving others." When discussions of Helping Hands' impact arose, for instance, the board members agreed that "practical skills to find jobs, maturity, and civic consciousness" were all part of what Helping Hands was trying to achieve (board minutes, October 26, 1996). In short, the board members saw themselves as guardians of Helping Hands' dual identity and resisted changing that identity.

The non-profit partner organizations that interacted daily with groups of Helping Hands members were also aware of its dual identity. In a survey of those organizations, respondents were asked to characterize Helping Hands. Of those that provided a qualitative description (36 percent of the sample), over half described both the "serving others" and "finding oneself" identities of Helping Hands. One responding non-profit described Helping Hands as an organization "working for young people, staffed by young people, and enrolling young people in service to the community." In sum, the founders, staff, board members, and partner organizations all recognized Helping Hands' dual identity.

Members' Focused Entry Path into the Organization

In keeping with Helping Hands' dual identity, its founders and staff expected to recruit two types of members. One type was those who wished to enter social work or a related profession. "Future social workers are not our primary recruiting target," noted a staff member, "but we usually get some every year. We look at their motivations, what they want to get out of this experience, to see if they will fit in." This type of member was also easiest to recruit. Primarily eager to serve others, they easily identified with that identity of the organization. Serving others did not preclude serving oneself; many future social workers also wanted to advance their own careers by serving others. Though these members would benefit from their experience at Helping Hands, the staff believed that most of these members were not looking at volunteering as a way to find, transform or develop themselves.

At the same time, the founders also hoped to attract members drawn by the "finding oneself" identity of the organization. One founder emphasized Helping Hands' personal-development identity and the individual transformation it could bring about: "We want to make

young people more tolerant, more open to diversity, and more active citizens," she asserted. Thus, attracting individuals who would not ordinarily have thought of joining was a highly valued outcome. By drawing members looking for a new direction, Helping Hands would be able to put into action the "finding oneself" component of its identity.

Newcomers seemed to be aware of one of Helping Hands' identities but not both. The first survey, given upon entry, asked members to rate the applicability to themselves of a list of possible reasons for joining Helping Hands. Two of the reasons for joining reflect the motivations of the drifters (to "challenge myself and develop") and the future professionals (to "increase my professional or educational opportunities"). In both cases, there were significant differences between the mean response of each group, with the drifters focusing on challenging themselves, and the future professionals focusing on increasing their future opportunities. See Table 1 for all descriptive statistics and correlations between study variables.

Insert Table 1 about here

Interviews with staff members and volunteers and survey results both revealed two distinct pathways into the organization. Some respondents simply drifted into Helping Hands; others joined to advance their professional goals. We coded respondents' career paths at entry (Time 1) based on their open-ended responses to survey questions about why they joined, what they wanted to do with their lives after their volunteer experience, and what they would have done instead if they had not joined Helping Hands. Two groups emerged from these responses, that we have labeled "future professionals" and "drifters." The future professionals explicitly wanted to pursue social or humanitarian work and saw Helping Hands as an instrumental experience on the path to that goal. This group was highly focused on a future career; 87 percent

of future professionals planned to become social workers, youth educators, nurses, clinical psychologists for immigrants and homeless people, or professional caregivers to handicapped children.[4] By contrast, 76 percent of the drifters did not know or specify what they wanted to do in the future. The occupations they named (when specifying what they might want to do) included acting, construction work, journalism, and engineering. The drifters' lack of a clear plan for the future was confirmed by typical responses about what they might have done had they not joined Helping Hands: "I don't know," "I have no idea," "temp work," "trips and temp work," "I think I would be in front of the TV," and "I prefer not to think about it." Most drifters were unsure of what the future would have held for them (e.g., "I would have worked in a post office, in the subway, a sandwich shop or a photography lab."). Inter-rater reliability between the authors for coding respondents into the drifter or future-professional categories was 93 percent; remaining disagreements were resolved through discussion.

Members thus joined Helping Hands harboring two different understandings of the organization, each associated with their reason for joining. Future professionals (N = 15) and drifters (N = 27) entered for different reasons and with different expectations. Drifters joined to "challenge themselves and develop" ($M = 4.26$, $SD = .90$); future professionals did not focus on this reason for joining ($M = 2.73$, $SD = 1.62$, $t = -3.93$, $df = 40$, $p < .001$). Respondents' descriptions of the organization upon entry also revealed the divergent foci of the two groups. Drifters typically described the transformational experience they hoped for:

> It's cool, the ambience is great, and we all get along. And the sites and projects are all so different. . . . We help social agencies or other non-profits . . . and then this will help us to learn more about us, others, and society.

> We work with other non-profits that have neither the time nor the means to complete their projects… It is not about completing the projects but rather about sharing in the experience of conducting them.

Though future professionals and drifters alike expected to serve others and do community work, direct career or educational benefits preoccupied the future professionals. What ultimately drove them, however, was the prospect of working in a context of professional "civic engagement" in which Helping Hands represented a kind of apprenticeship. Future professionals were significantly more inclined to join in order to "increase their professional or educational opportunities" ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 1.03$) than drifters ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.18$, $t = 3.99$, $p < .001$). The descriptions of the organization offered by future professionals upon entry illustrate the contrast:

> Helping Hands takes young people of all backgrounds and origins. It aims for diversity. It allows us to work in groups on different projects in order to help needy people. . . . Moreover, we are building a project about our future; we do "tests" in order to see our motivations, our qualities, and our skills in terms of the profession we have chosen.

> I am a volunteer in a non-profit which helps other non-profits to do social projects . . . . In addition, we have a "professional citizen project" (learning Word, Internet, CV, cover letter, interviews) and . . . an internship in the field of our choice.

Over two-thirds of new members described only one identity of Helping Hands upon entry. To further ascertain whether this was simply a cohort phenomenon, we surveyed the incoming winter 2005 cohort as well. The majority (77 percent) described Helping Hands as having a single focus, either "serving others" or "finding oneself," further evidence that new members tended to be largely unaware of or inattentive to Helping Hands' multiple identity.

To summarize, two distinct types of members joined Helping Hands. Each gravitated to only one of its identities. Future professionals wanted to serve others, and perceived the organization as an avenue to this professional goal. Drifters cared more about finding themselves, and looked forward to their experience at Helping Hands; what happened after their tenure in the organization was less important to them.

Emphasis on Interactions between Future Professionals and Drifters

Future professionals and drifters performed community projects in interdependent groups of approximately eight members. Initially, members' awareness of Helping Hands' dual identity appeared to grow primarily out of their interactions with others who had joined as a result of affinity for the other organizational identity. Given that members spent nearly all of their time working interdependently in groups, and that Helping Hands deliberately diversified the composition of the groups, this is not surprising. Survey and interview results bear out this observation. After joining, members' open-ended responses to a question about why they had joined tended to dwell on the experience of mixing with others who were different from them and who had joined for different reasons. This shift in focus toward interactions with group members, and away from serving others or finding themselves, was reflected in a change in their reported reasons for joining Helping Hands. At Time 1 and Time 2, we asked members which of a list of possible reasons for joining best described their own motivations. The reasons respondents gave at Time 2 differed significantly from those they had given at Time 1. That they "spent time with people from a different background" (Time 1: $M = 3.82$, $SD = 1.11$, Time 2: $M = 4.62$, $SD = .69$, $t = -4.13$, $df = 33$, $p < .0001$) became significantly more salient at Time 2 as an explanation for why respondents had joined Helping Hands.

Both the interviews and the open-ended survey responses suggest that these "different" others were their teammates, not the individuals they served, and the accompanying tension of their interactions were members' main focus at Time 2. A count of themes that emerged from the interview coding indicated that lessons in teamwork was the most frequently mentioned theme in the interview data (36 narratives in 22 interviews), followed by Helping Hands' impact on the world (18), and members' increased empathy toward others (13). Members also commented in open-ended survey questions about their recognition of the diverse mix of members they encountered and their ensuing difficulties in interacting with members who were different from themselves. Members' statements capture these moments:

> A quite difficult moment was the realization that all the members of my team did not have the same motivations as I did. . . . One needs to understand the orientations of each other in order to act in a shared manner.
>
> The hardest moment was the first week of our integration with all the other volunteers. It was not easy taming each other knowing that we were all so different.
>
> When joining Helping Hands I was expecting to find people like myself, with the same goal, when in fact we all were very different, with each one of us [carrying] desires of our own.

In response to an open-ended survey question asking members to recount the best and worst moments during their volunteer period, the majority (65 percent) mentioned learning to get along with team members and to handle the diversity of the team. Relatively few responses (10 percent) concerned helping the people they served, and none mentioned finding oneself through professional development opportunities offered by Helping Hands.

Though most interviewees were reluctant to comment on fellow members, one respondent articulated these tensions frankly. A future professional who had joined Helping Hands to advance his career remarked: "Unlike some others here, I know what I came for." Asked to elaborate, he added: "They don't have a plan." He went on to describe the drifters, trying to "find themselves" instead of thinking about a career in the social sector. Thus, multiple sources of data supported the observation that members were preoccupied by and paid significant attention to the difficulty of working with people different from themselves within their teams.

Taken together, these findings underscore the somewhat unexpected nature of the experience that incoming members had at Helping Hands. Their reports indicated that what they had found at Helping Hands was quite different from their initial expectations ("serving others" and "finding oneself"). Instead, their attention seems to have been captured by working with other members whose focus was rather different from their own.

Mixed Organizational Outcomes

The founders and staff of Helping Hands aimed to develop young people who would embrace the values of civic participation and continue to participate in civic activities and serve others after having found themselves. This goal was a defining feature of Helping Hands' identity. Such behavioral and attitudinal outcomes depend, in part, on the relationship forged between members and the organization. To assess Helping Hands' success at fulfilling this aim, we measured the strength of members' civic values, identification with the organization, and level of civic participation prior to entry and after exit. Like in past research on youth service programs, we found evidence of mixed success with respect to each of these outcomes.[5]

Membership in Helping Hands did not promote changes in the strength of respondents' civic values (see Table 2) which remained consistently near the midpoint of the scale, indicating that the volunteer experience at Helping Hands had little or no influence on their values. Neither respondents' level of identification with Helping Hands nor their status as a future professional or drifter predicted the strength of their civic values upon exit (see Table 3). Even those who felt most ardently connected to the organization reported no increase in civic values over time. Further, tests of the interaction of identification with Helping Hands and status as a future professional or drifter showed no significant moderation of these effects; both groups were similarly affected by their experiences in the organization.

We also found that members' identification with Helping Hands decreased significantly over time (Time 1: $M = 3.30$, $SD = 74$; Time 2: $M = 3.23$, $SD = .65$; Time 3: $M = 2.85$, $SD = .83$; Time 1 to Time 3, $t = 2.38$, $df = 24$, $p<.05$). At entry, future professionals reported higher levels of identification with Helping Hands ($M = 3.64$, $SD = .73$) than did drifters ($M = 3.11$, $SD = .69$, $t = 2.34$, $df = 40$, $p<.04$; see Table 2 for a comparison of the two groups on key survey variables), but this difference disappeared at Time 2 ($t = -1.34$, ns) and Time 3 ($t = -1.73$, ns).

Insert Table 2 about here

Given the benefits that accrue to organizations when members identify strongly with them, we tested the impact of identification with Helping Hands on a number of behavioral outcomes. We asked respondents to list the civic activities they were involved in at Time 1 and Time 3. We also measured respondents' reported civic engagement by asking whether they had registered to vote, ever voted, ever sent a letter about an issue to a newspaper or elected official, or regularly read a newspaper. At Time 3, to assess actual civic work, we coded whether

respondents were working or studying to work in civic-minded occupations like social work, medicine, or youth education.

The level of identification with Helping Hands predicted the number of civic activities respondents engaged in at Time 3 (see Table 3). But neither drifter/future-professional status nor identification predicted whether respondents engaged in any of the specific civic behaviors we assessed (e.g., voting, reading newspapers) or the kind of work they were doing or studying to do at Time 3 (see Table 4). Further, tests of the interaction of identification with Helping Hands and status as a future professional or drifter showed no significant moderation of these effects; again, both groups were similarly affected by their experiences in the organization.

Insert Table 3 about here

Insert Table 4 about here

Thus, Helping Hands had mixed success with its objectives for its membership. Those who were more strongly identified with the organization were more civically engaged at Time 3 (as evidenced by the number of their civic activities), but membership in Helping Hands did not influence their civic values, behaviors, or later work trajectories. Identification with the organization also decreased over time, suggesting a growing distance between members and the organization. While it is difficult to assess the nature of the link between the tensions we observed among members and the mixed outcomes we found, our data shed light on the challenges facing lower-level members in dual identity organizations. The discussion that follows suggests that these mixed outcomes may be linked to members' preoccupation with their own differences and tensions with fellow members who had joined Helping Hands for different

reasons. This focus may have dissipated their attentiveness to the objective of either of Helping Hands' identities, and partly explain the mixed outcomes of youth service programs, most notably in terms of future career choices.

DISCUSSION

Helping Hands is a dual identity organization that is at once a community service program and a professional development program. Helping Hands' struggle to manage its dual identity is clear in the words of its founders, staff members, and partner organizations and in the experiences of its young members. Our survey and interview data reveal that Helping Hands members entered the organization via dual paths: those who took the future-professional path saw their tenure at Helping Hands as a period of professional training and identified strongly with the organization on entry, while those from the drifter path were looking for a new direction and were more focused on the experience itself than on its long-term implications. These paths of entry reflected Helping Hands' dual identity; when asked to describe the organization, members hewed closely to the identity that reflected their reason for joining. The future professionals initially invoked service to others, while those on the drifter path stressed finding themselves. Over time, however, both groups came to specify interaction with members different from themselves as the focal point of the experience and as their reason for joining in the first place.

We suggest that, upon beginning to work interdependently with others, members confronted the organization's contrasting identities through their interactions with counterparts who had joined for different reasons. Ultimately, rather than identifying more strongly with the organization after working to serve those less fortunate (Bartel, 2001), members identified with Helping Hands less strongly over time and remained unchanged in their civic values. More

importantly, identification with Helping Hands predicted the number of civic activities respondents engaged in after their tenure there ended, but it did *not* predict entry into a civic-minded occupation or course of study. These results, we argue, stem in part from members' initial gravitation toward a single component of the organization's identity and their subsequent inability to fully recognize and reconcile its dual identity.

Performing community service and helping others while being groomed for the future via lectures, internships, and résumé workshops may be a confusing dual focus for members, particularly when the vast majority joined to affiliate with only one of Helping Hands' two identities. Tensions between members (Golden-Biddle & Rao, 1997; Glynn, 2000; Zilber, 2002) and within individual members (Foreman & Whetten, 2002) have been previously noted in multiple identity organizations, and have been shown to affect identification with the organization. Our study suggests that these tensions also affect members' experience of the organization, and possibly its outcomes, particularly those that the organization cares most about.

Implications for Research on Career Development

While youth and early adulthood are often seen as ideal moments in time when identities are created that can influence future career choices (Becker et al., 1961; Cohen-Scali, 2003; David et al., 1989; Diemer & Blustein, 2007; Erikson, 1968; Ibarra, 1999; MacLeod, 2009; Markus & Nurius, 1986; Petriglieri & Petriglieri, 2010; Robb et al., 2007; Young, 2004), the complex interplay of emerging individual identities and organizational identities has been largely neglected in the career development literature. Organizational identities are powerful constructs, helping to channel members' connection to and identification with the organization as a whole. While these identities may vary in style and orientation (Brickson, 2005), the strength and nature

of the ties they engender between members and the organization are important. Members' identification with organizations has been shown to condition critical outcomes: employees' well-being (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), extra-role behaviors and intentions to stay (O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986), decisions about how to act on behalf of the organization (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), turnover patterns (Mael & Ashforth, 1995; Tyler, 1999), and cooperation with other members (Dukerich, Golden, & Shortell, 2002) have all been linked to organizational identification. Despite these important ties, the career development literature has mostly steered clear of considering the implications of these complex identity dynamics, possibly because the impact of organizational identity on career development trajectories has gone unrecognized.

Helping Hands is an interesting context in which to study a process not yet widely understood in the career development literature, namely what happens when adolescents and young adults are exposed simultaneously to dual identities in their work organizations. When these newcomers decide to join a dual identity organization, our results suggest, they may understand its identity differently from how the organization's leadership would expect. The organizational socialization literature has established that newcomers' ideas about the organizations they join are often revised after entry (Louis, 1980). However, our results indicate that, rather than a recalibration of beliefs and expectations to create alignment with those of the organization (Chatman, 1991; Morrison, 2002; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979) or a reconciliation between the organization's image (external representation) and its actual identity (internal representation) (Dutton & Dukerich, 1991), members may instead embrace a single identity to the exclusion of other competing identities. Thus, our findings paint a complex picture of the potential impact of a dual identity organization on its lower-level members. Ultimately,

functional multiple identities might be more of a managerial hope than an integrated reality for lower-level newcomers.

Our results suggest that all organizational members might not be equally aware of and responsive to the different organizational identities in play. By focusing on lower-level members, we suggest that these members may focus solely on the identity that originally attracted them, thus challenging the organization to acquaint them with its other identity or identities and highlighting the ability of members to enact their own meanings of their experiences within the same organization (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001; Wrzesniewski, Dutton, & Debebe 2003). In other words, lower-level newcomers might exhibit more agency than has previously been assumed: by gravitating toward a single identity, they enact it as the organization's sole identity—or at least as the identity of the organization as they experience it. In that respect, our findings raise questions about the validity of the dual identity construct for lower-level organization members.[6]

Youth service programs represent only one manifestation of dual identity. A strikingly different manifestation of dual identity in which identities could conflict is that of youth growing up in bicultural households. To date, much research on bicultural households assumes participants carry a "blended" dual identity. For example, research on Asian-American and Chinese-American youth assumes that these youth identify with both the Asian and the American identity (Ma & Yeh, 2009; Tang, Fouad, & Smith, 1999). In practice, such individuals might align much more strongly with one identity, neglecting in the process the second one. To the extent that such dynamics could lead to conflict between generations of family members, prior research has documented the contribution of such conflict on career indecision (Ma & Yeh, 2009).

Implications for Research on Youth Service Programs

Youth service programs typically intend to help their members develop and strengthen identities that will encourage them to engage in future civic work. Yet to do so, most youth service programs share a core and similar feature, namely the goal of helping others *and* helping members. That feature, in turn, is embodied in the organization's identity. Given the large number of adolescents and young adults participating in youth service programs, understanding the nature and impact of the organizational identity of such programs has gained significant urgency. Our study does not aim to assess the overall impact of such programs. Without doubt, many participants develop richer understandings of the communities they live in after working in these programs. That said, our study draws attention to the unintended consequences faced by programs that simultaneously focus their members on helping others *and* helping themselves.

Our findings contribute to a better understanding of prior research that shows mixed effects of youth service programs on their members by suggesting that it is the tensions engendered in members affiliated with dual identity organizations that affect the very attitudes and behaviors that youth service programs are trying to promote. In the case of Helping Hands, a dual identity seems to lend a flexibility that attracts a wide range of new members; individuals with very different orientations toward Helping Hands and its objectives decide to join. Over time, however, the relationship that members have with the organization becomes more complex and appears to weaken. This weakening has implications for the outcomes that Helping Hands strives to promote. Thus, this study raises questions about the ability of dual identity organizations to engage their members over time. Dual identities might be a mixed blessing,

facilitating growth by attracting a broader set of members but diluting the organization's overall impact on them.

In that respect, John F. Kennedy's call in his 1961 presidential inaugural address, "ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country," could prove not only inspiring, but also serve as good advice for program administrators. Pursing a single goal—e.g., "doing something for your country" or "helping others"—might prove easier to implement than pursuing multiple goals. The U.S. Armed Forces, in this respect, offers an interesting example. While the forces' recruitment pitch has come to emphasize recruits' personal benefits (such as future educational opportunities or monetary incentives), the pitch has also historically focused on the overarching goal, namely, serving and defending the country (Eighmey, 2006; Segal & Segal, 1983). Likewise, very few youth service programs today operate with a single identity focus (i.e., helping others). Future research should examine these programs and compare their members' identity dynamics and career outcomes under single and dual identity structures.

Limitations

Our study obviously suffers from some limitations. First, it is possible that factors other than members' interactions help explain the mixed organizational outcomes we found. For instance, the fact that many drifters join Helping Hands renders accomplishing its organizational goals both relevant and challenging. Drifters are typically a difficult population to handle; eliciting any notably positive outcomes from them might be difficult. Under these circumstances, the mixed outcomes we found might actually be encouraging.

Second, poor management could be a possible cause for the mixed outcomes we found. Helping Hands' management appears, however, to be quite typical of other youth service

programs and is viewed in the communities in which it operates as highly respected. From all the data we reviewed, there seems to be little evidence of poor management practices. In addition, many emerging youth service programs abroad sent their members to observe and learn from Helping Hands; suggesting some external legitimacy for their management practices and model.

Third, we chose an organization that imposed a deliberate time limit on members' tenure; members knew they would leave after approximately one year. They might thus have been unwilling to invest as much effort in reconciling the multiple identities they encountered as would members of organizations where longer tenure is the norm. Compartmentalization or deletion of organizational identities probably requires less effort from members than aggregation or integration (Pratt & Foreman 2000). Settings like Helping Hands are not unique; other youth service programs, organizations with high turnover (like fast-food outlets and consulting firms), educational institutions, and conscripted armies also enroll members for limited periods of time. Nonetheless, there is clearly a need to study these questions in settings where members expect to stay longer.

Finally, because our focus was on the experiences of lower-level members, we deliberately chose a setting that comprised predominantly lower-level members. Organizations with a different ratio of managers and lower-level members might devote more time and resources to making their multiple identities more salient to new members. Future research should examine whether a more balanced ratio of higher- and lower-level members helps prevent the process and outcomes we have described here.

CONCLUSION

The early career development literature often carries the hope of a better future: more constructive early work experiences help to build and reinforce identities that could lead to better social outcomes (here, more engaged citizens, more civic-minded adults, and even "better" people). Our findings force us to revisit these hopes. Perhaps the difficulties of interacting with "different" others are at the core of important challenges to be mastered in youth and early adult development. If so, youth service programs might be exactly what society wants for its youth: namely, to learn to interact with different kinds of people. However, these interactions also might carry costs and dampen participants' future desire to engage in civic activities in which they serve others through their work and lives. Overall, these costs might be ones that we are willing to incur. But these costs are unlikely to go away. A core feature of youth service programs, namely their dual identity, is central to creating this tension.

Only by understanding the challenges raised by dual identity organizations for their lower-level members can we make better sense of their mixed outcomes. Dual identity organizations create unique challenges inherent in their features; they must simultaneously pursue all facets of their identities. But this also rests on the assumption that members are aware of and responsive to the different organizational identities in play. We challenge this assumption by providing evidence that new members might enter intending to affiliate with the single identity they have taken notice of and are attracted to. Over time, this focused identification might prove challenging when they encounter others who ascribe a different identity to the organization. The result is an organization that struggles to achieve its goals vis-à-vis its members – and members who exit with mixed feelings about and commitment to the organization's overall goals. This, in turn, might profoundly impact members' future career choices. Because identity and career choice are so intertwined, it matters how youth think about

who they collectively are, yet it also matters whether that identity is truly shared or parceled out among sub-groups of the collective. Blending too many distinct goals into a "unified" identity might carry a risk of dampening members' relation to that identity and, in turn, fail to positively influence their future behavior and career choices.

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BIOGRAPHIES

Michel Anteby is associate professor and Marvin Bower Fellow in the organizational behavior unit at Harvard Business School. He received a joint Ph.D. in management from New York University (USA) and in sociology from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (France). His research examines primarily occupational and organizational cultures. More specifically, he looks at how meaning is built at work and how moral orders are sustained.

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Table 1: Means, Standard Deviations, Reliabilities and Intercorrelations of Study Variables

	M	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Age	21.05	2.00	-													
2. Sex	.38	.49	.33*	-												
3. Membership Status	.64	.49	-.31*	.18	-											
4. Time 1 Identification	3.31	.74	.26	.02	-.35*	(.72)										
5. Time 2 Identification	3.23	.65	.39*	-.03	-.23	.62*	(.67)									
6. Time 3 Identification	2.85	.83	.13	-.01	-.29	.38*	.28	(.76)								
7. Time 1 Values	3.64	.58	.28	.12	.11	.32*	.24	-.01	(.72)							
8. Time 2 Values	3.64	.53	-.13	-.22	.11	.07	.10	.04	.57**	(.68)						
9. Time 3 Values	3.53	.59	.01	.20	.39*	-.03	-.11	.20	.64**	.52**	(.65)					
10. Assessment of Helping Hands	4.00	.69	.40*	-.10	-.18	.12	.11	.39	.01	.14	.13	-				
11. Number of Civic Engagements at Time 1	.18	.45	-.07	-.20	.20	-.00	-.04	.33	.13	.24	.54**	.07				
12. Number of Civic Engagements at Time 3	1.32	1.80	-.14	-.11	-.05	.29	.39	.15	.01	.15	-.09	.31	.01	-		
13. Civic Job or Studies at Time 3	.48	.51	-.17	-.06	-.18	.03	.01	-.03	-.35	-.33	-.37	.26	-.08	.40*	-	
14. Registered to Vote at Time 3	.80	.41	-.10	.31	.25	-.06	.24	.05	.10	-.06	-.06	-.18	.03	.21	-.08	-

Note: Variable 3 ("Membership Status") was coded as a dichotomous variable (1 for drifters, 0 for future professionals). Scale reliabilities appear in parentheses along the diagonal.

*p<.05, **p<.01

Table 2: Comparison on Key Items of Respondent Groups at Time 1, Time 2, and Time 3

	Future Prof. Mean (SD)	Drifters Mean (SD)	*t*-Test	*p* level
Reasons for joining at Time 1				
To challenge myself and develop	2.73 (1.62)	4.26 (.90)	-3.93***	.00
To learn or develop skills I can use in the future	4.53 (.640)	4.07 (1.04)	1.56	.13
To do volunteer service	3.53 (1.25)	4.11 (1.19)	-1.49	.15
To increase my professional or educational opportunities	4.27 (1.03)	2.81 (1.18)	3.99***	.00
Not to remain inactive	2.47 (1.59)	3.00 (1.36)	-1.15	.26
To help in defining my career or educational plans	4.00 (1.07)	3.30 (1.41)	1.68	.10
To step back from my career or educational plans for 9 months	2.07 (1.33)	2.04 (1.18)	.08	.94
To learn more about civic matters	3.27 (1.16)	3.30 (.99)	-.09	.93
To make a change in my own life	3.60 (1.18)	3.52 (1.19)	.21	.83
To work with people from backgrounds different than mine	3.93 (1.16)	3.93 (1.04)	.02	.98
Because someone strongly recommended it (a teacher, parent…)	1.93 (1.28)	1.59 (1.01)	.95	.35
To help others and make a difference in the lives of others	4.13 (.74)	4.15 (.82)	-.06	.95
To prove to myself and others that this has meaning to me	2.93 (1.54)	3.52 (1.34)	-1.27	.21
Age at Time 1	21.87 (1.9)	20.59 (1.95)	2.05*	.04
Identification at Time 1	3.64 (.73)	3.11 (.69)	2.33*	.02
Values at Time 1	3.56 (.58)	3.69 (.58)	-.71	.48
Identification at Time 2	3.43 (.64)	3.12 (.65)	1.34	.19
Values at Time 2	3.59 (.52)	3.67 (.54)	-.60	.55
Identification at Time 3	3.17 (.72)	2.67 (.85)	1.48	.15
Values at Time 3	3.22 (.58)	3.70 (.53)	-2.07*	.05

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Note: All items and scales range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
The number of respondents in Group 1 (future professionals) was 15 at Time 1, 12 at Time 2, and 9 at Time 3.
The number of respondents in Group 2 (drifters) was 27 at Time 1, 22 at Time 2, and 16 at Time 3.

Table 3: Multiple Regression Results for Effects of Membership and Identification on Organizational and Civic Outcomes

Dependent Variable	Independent Variables	F	Adjusted R2	Standardized β
Organizational identification at Time 1	Age	2.15	.08	.16
	Sex			.02
	Drifter status			-.30†
Organizational identification at Time 2	Age	6.51**	.40	.34*
	Sex			-.16
	Drifter status			.10
	Org. identification (Time 1)			.57***
Organizational identification atTime 3	Age	0.77	-.04	-.08
	Sex			.07
	Drifter status			-.28
	Org. identification (Time 2)			.25
Civic values at Time 2	Age	0.70	-.04	-.02
	Sex			-.25
	Drifter status			.19
	Org. identification (Time 1)			.15
Number of civic activities at Time 3	Age	4.15**	.39	-.40*
	Sex			.06
	Drifter status			-.02
	Org. identification (Time 1)			.34*
	Number of civic activities (Time 1)			.65***

† p<.10, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 4: Logistic Regression Results for Effects of Membership and Identification on Civic Outcomes

Dependent Variable	Independent Variables	β	Model χ^2	Cox & Snell R^2
Registered to vote at Time 3	Age	-.66	14.81*	.49
	Sex	19.27		
	Drifter status	23.03		
	Org. identification at Time1	3.44		
	Registered to Vote at Time 1	23.51		
Civic job or studies at Time 3	Age	-.34	8.54	.28
	Sex	1.79		
	Drifter status	-1.91		
	Org. identification at Time 1	.30		
	Assessment of Helping Hands	2.02		

Table entries are unstandardized regression coefficients.

*p<.05

Appendix. Survey Measures

Reasons for Joining / Lessons Learned

To challenge myself and develop.
To learn / develop skills I can use in the future.
To do volunteer service.
To increase my professional or educational opportunities.
Not to remain inactive.
To help in defining my career or educational plans.
To step back from my career or educational plans for 9 months.
To learn more about civic matters.
To make a change in my own life.
To work with people from backgrounds different than mine.
Because someone strongly recommended it (a teacher, parent…).
To help others and make a difference in the lives of others.
To prove to myself and others that this has meaning to me.

Note. The list of 13 potential reasons for joining was based on a similar list used by the U.S. organization that inspired the founding of Helping Hands and modified after iterations and discussions with Helping Hands staff. Respondents rated reasons for joining Helping Hands on a 5-point Likert scale. The same questions were repeated in the follow-up survey at T3. At T2, upon exit from the organization, respondents were asked what they had taken away from the experience; these items mirrored the list of possible reasons for joining, with the exception of "I joined because someone strongly recommended it" and "I joined to step back from my career or educational plans for 9 months."

Organizational Identification

When someone criticizes Helping Hands, it feels like a personal insult.
I am very interested in what others think about Helping Hands.
When I talk about Helping Hands, I usually say *we* instead of *they*.
Helping Hands' successes are my successes.
When someone praises Helping Hands, it feels like a personal compliment.
If a story in the media criticized Helping Hands, I would feel embarrassed.

Civic Values

If I lead the way, other people in the community will get involved in social issues.
I think I can change something in this world.
If I work at it, with others, I can help solve society's problems.
Writing a letter to a newspaper or elected official about a problem in the community can make a difference.
Demonstrating in the streets is a way to change our society.
Small everyday gestures (such as helping a person in need to cross a street) are the most important.

Note. Civic-values items were adapted from the evaluation materials of the U.S. version of Helping Hands.

Civic Engagement

Are you registered to vote (in this country or abroad)?
Have you already voted in an election (regional, national, European)?
Have you already sent a letter to an elected official or newspaper to raise an issue?
Do you regularly read a newspaper?
Do you have any other civic engagements?

Note. Respondents indicated on a 5-point Likert-type scale the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each statement. A principal components analysis using varimax rotation showed two factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00 that explained 60 percent of the variance. Two reverse-scored items failed to load on either factor; we dropped these items.

Endnotes

[1] Members' survey-response rates were comparable to those in similar studies of volunteers (Simon & Wang 2002, p. 536), but leave open the possibility of sample bias and non-response bias. We performed several comparisons to test for these biases. Using demographic data collected by Helping Hands, we tested for differences between T1 respondents and the organization's overall volunteer population. In accordance with governmental-funding reporting formats, Helping Hands only categorizes volunteers' ages as 21 years or less (59 percent of the cohort) and over 21 years (41 percent). We formatted our data in the same manner. Age ($X^2 = .09$; $p = .75$) and sex ($X^2 = .01$; $p = .94$) did not differ significantly between the two groups. We also ran similar analyses comparing groups of respondents at T2 and T3 with the overall volunteer population. At T2, sex ($X^2 = 4.29$; $p = .03$) differed significantly from the overall volunteer population, with 65 percent female respondents versus 57 percent in the overall volunteer population. Age at T2 ($X^2 = .12$; $p = .73$), sex at T3 ($X^2 = 2.29$; $p = .13$), and age at T3 ($X^2 = .26$; $p = .61$) were not significantly different from those of the overall volunteer population. Comparisons of the age, sex, "future professional" vs. "drifter" status, and level ofT1 identification with Helping Hands between respondents at T1 and those that failed to respond at T3 revealed no significant differences in a series of t-test comparisons.

[2] We suspect that the written-language skills of some respondents made it difficult for them to interpret the reverse-worded items.

[3] We acknowledge that many professions contribute to society. With respect to Helping Hands' aims for the career development of its volunteers, however, some professions were more highly valued than others.

[4] Two individuals whom we coded as future professionals at T1 were less specific about the work they wanted to do, mentioning "conducting construction projects in developing countries" and "social work."

[5] Our research design was not as comprehensive as subsequent studies of youth program outcomes, but points to a similar trend identified in many published works, namely mixed outcomes for future civic engagement. For examples of more comprehensive designs, see McAdam and Brandt (2009) and Dobbie and Fryer (2011).

[6] Research on the management of multiple identity organizations has mostly dwelt on the pressures that these identities impose on organizational leadership. And because the policies, practices and cues that signify for members what kind of organization "we" are typically flow from managers and leaders, researchers tend to direct their attention to this level of the organization to understand identity. For instance, over three-quarters of the interview sample that Corley and Gioia (2004) used to study organizational identity change consisted of managers and their superiors. Overall, the literature has concentrated on the viewpoints and tactics of leaders, managers (Pratt & Foreman, 2000) and board members (Golden-Biddle & Rao, 1997) when managing multiple identity organizations. Management's hope for higher levels of identification implicitly assumes that identification will ultimately benefit the organization and its members. Less attention has been paid to the possibility that management's experiences of the organization's identity-and their resulting levels of identification- might differ from those of lower-level members.