

CELEBRITY AND INFAMY? THE CONSEQUENCES OF MEDIA NARRATIVES ABOUT ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY

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Research on organizational celebrity is in its nascence, and our understanding of the process through which organizations gain, maintain, and lose this asset remains incomplete. We extend this research by examining which information is the primary catalyst of the celebrity process, how and why this process unfolds, and what the potential consequences are for an organization. In doing so we make three primary contributions. First, we propose that the availability of information about the salient and socially significant elements of an organization's identity makes the media more likely to cast the organization as a main character in their dramatic narratives. Second, we theorize that the salience of these elements attracts constituents' attention and the social significance evokes their emotional responses. However, because some constituents may view the elements of an organization's identity as congruent and others as incongruent with their personal identities, an organization may simultaneously gain celebrity among some constituents and infamy among others. Third, we theorize that because of the different emotional responses that are generated from constituents' perceptions of identity (in)congruence, celebrity is more difficult to maintain and easier to lose than infamy.

Organizational celebrity is an important social approval asset that is conferred on an organization by constituents' high levels of attention and positive emotional responses (Pfarrer, Pollock, & Rindova, 2010; Pollock, Mishina, & Seo, 2016; Rindova, Pollock, & Hayward, 2006). Constituents are those individuals who have the potential to interact with an organization, including those who are more engaged as well as more diffuse observers (Bundy & Pfarrer, 2015; Fombrun, 1996; Lange, Lee, & Dai, 2011; Pollock et al., 2016). As such, constituents "transcend stakeholder group boundaries" (Rindova & Martins, 2012: 22), and their distinct perceptions become the foundation of organizational celebrity.

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The media—including radio, television, print, and online sources (cf. Zavyalova, Pfarrer, Reger, & Shapiro, 2012)—play a key role in generating celebrity among constituents. By using information about an organization's attributes and actions provided by industry experts, the organization itself, and other sources (Davies, 2011; Fiss & Hirsch, 2005; Gao, Yu, & Canella, in press; Rindova et al., 2006), journalists cast an organization as a main character in their dramatic narratives (Rindova et al., 2006). The content of these narratives draws constituents' attention and meets their needs for excitement, affiliation, and attachment (Pfarrer et al., 2010; Rindova et al., 2006). Prior research has proposed that in this way organizational celebrity develops, waxes, and wanes based on constituents' attention and emotional responses to media narratives about an organization.

Research on organizational celebrity, however, is in its nascence, and our current understanding of the process through which organizations gain, maintain, and lose this asset remains limited in three primary ways. First, although prior research

has investigated how an organization invites media attention and influences media coverage (Kjærgaard, Morsing, & Ravasi, 2011; Rindova et al., 2006; Zavyalova et al., 2012), it has not fully explored which types of information about an organization the media find most useful to cast it as a main character in their narratives. Second, prior research has not examined the sociocognitive underpinnings and differences in constituents' emotional responses to the same media narratives, as well as the organizational consequences resulting from these differences. Third, past research on organizational celebrity has not explored how the emotional foundations of this asset can affect its durability. Our goal in this article is therefore to contribute to research on organizational celebrity by addressing each of these limitations.

Drawing on social psychology and mass communications research, we explicate a three-step process through which organizational celebrity is gained, maintained, and lost. In step one, we theorize that while organizations can shape constituents' perceptions by issuing information about their activities (Fiss & Zajac, 2006; Rhee & Fiss, 2014; Zavyalova et al., 2012), not all constituents may attend to this complex information. Instead, we argue that the media serve as a key facilitator (Bitektine & Haack, 2015; Pollock & Rindova, 2003) that reshapes information about organizations by simplifying and dramatizing it. Specifically, we propose that in order to anthropomorphize organizations, the media use information from the organization and other sources about organizational identity—those elements that constitute the essence of the organization and help distinguish it from other organizations (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Gioia, 1998). Not all elements of organizational identity, however, are useful for this process. Rather, information about the elements that are salient and socially significant is key in helping the media cast an organization as a main character.

In step two, we propose that the salience of organizational identity elements portrayed in the media attracts constituents' attention, and the social significance evokes their emotional responses. These responses, however, are likely to vary across different constituents (Barnett, 2014; Cornelissen, Durand, Fiss, Lammers, & Vaara, 2015; Rhee & Fiss, 2014; Zavyalova, Pfarrer, Reger, & Hubbard, 2016). We theorize that some constituents may interpret the same organizational

identity elements as congruent and others as incongruent with their values and beliefs—that is, with their personal identities. The resulting perceived connection or disconnection between constituents' identities and that of the organization may simultaneously evoke positive emotions among some constituents and negative emotions among others in response to the same media narratives (Leary, 2007). In turn, the increased attention yet differing emotional responses may lead to a first consequence for an organization: some constituents may view it as a celebrity, whereas others may simultaneously view it as infamous. We develop the construct of organizational *infamy* and define it as a form of social disapproval that cooccurs with organizational celebrity and is associated with constituents' high levels of attention and negative emotional responses toward an organization.

In step three, we theorize about the ongoing nature of the celebrity process and explain how the media continue to use information from the organization and other sources to generate dramatic narratives about the salient and socially significant elements of an organization's identity. However, some constituents may view these new elements as consistent and others as inconsistent with their established perceptions of identity congruence or incongruence. In turn, their subsequent emotional responses to the new information will depend on whether they initially viewed the organization as a celebrity or as infamous. We therefore propose that the different emotional foundations of celebrity and infamy stemming from constituents' perceived identity (in)congruence lead to two additional consequences for an organization: the difficulty of maintaining celebrity and the ease of losing it relative to infamy.

To anchor our theoretical framework, we begin by comparing organizational celebrity to two related social approval assets: organizational reputation and media reputation.

ORGANIZATIONAL REPUTATION, MEDIA REPUTATION, AND CELEBRITY

Organizational celebrity is theoretically proximate to two other social approval assets, organizational reputation and media reputation. However, celebrity differs from these in terms of how it is gained, what its primary sociocognitive basis is, what mechanisms drive its beneficial

outcomes, and how it has been assessed. Extending current celebrity research (e.g., Pfarrer et al., 2010; Rindova et al., 2006), we further delineate organizational celebrity from these two related constructs, present this comparison in Table 1, and discuss it in detail below.¹

Organizational Reputation

Organizational reputation is a social approval asset that reflects constituents' more analytic and deliberate judgments about an organization's ability to consistently deliver value over time (Fombrun & Shanley, 1990; Hall, 1992; Lange et al., 2011; Rindova, Williamson, Petkova, & Sever, 2005; Schnietz & Epstein, 2005). Although reputational assessments may incorporate emotional responses among constituents, prior studies theorize that the analytical mode tends to dominate these judgments (Bundy & Pfarrer, 2015; Pfarrer et al., 2010). The availability of information about an organization's track record of valued achievements through word of mouth, direct experience, or third-party evaluations lowers uncertainty about the organization and signals that it can consistently deliver value in the future (Pfarrer et al., 2010; Rindova & Martins, 2012). This research posits that based on constituents' relative certainty about the organization's future actions, an organization with a good reputation can gain better exchange partners and have easier access to capital (Stuart, Hoang, & Hybels, 1999), achieve better financial performance (Fombrun & Shanley, 1990), and ultimately increase its chances of survival (Rao, 1994).

Researchers have assessed reputation as an organization's standing relative to its peers along dimensions valued by constituents, including financial performance, social responsibility, and product safety (Godfrey, Merrill, & Hansen, 2009; Love & Kraatz, 2009; Rhee & Haunschild, 2006). Organizational rankings, such as *Fortune's* America's Most Admired Companies, the KLD 400 Social Index, J.D. Power and Associates' ratings, and *U.S. News & World Report's* business school rankings, are commonly used assessments of reputation (Fombrun & Shanley, 1990; Martins, 2005; Pfarrer et al., 2010; Rindova et al., 2005).

Media Reputation

Similar to organizational reputation, media reputation reflects more deliberate and analytical judgments about an organization's ability to meet constituents' expectations as presented in the media (Deephouse, 2000). Media reputation is built through a stream of stories about an organization that appear on air, in print, and online. Media stories become a source for constituents' evaluations of the organization's activities and a "forum where firms and stakeholders debate what constitutes a good firm" (Deephouse, 2000: 1097; see also Westphal & Deephouse, 2011). Like the signals that help build organizational reputation, a favorable media reputation reduces uncertainty about the organization's ability to deliver value as discussed in the media (Deephouse, 2000). As a result, media reputation can be construed as a specific form of organizational reputation, with positive outcomes similar to those of a favorable organizational reputation. A good media reputation reduces operational costs, allows an organization to increase prices, and ultimately can lead to higher profitability (Deephouse, 2000; Petkova, 2014).

Researchers have assessed media reputation as the "favorableness" of media coverage about an organization (e.g., Deephouse, 2000; Wry, Deephouse, & McNamara, 2006). The Janis-Fadner coefficient of imbalance (Janis & Fadner, 1943) and other relative comparisons of the positive and negative tenor of media coverage about an organization are typical assessments of media reputation in organizational research (e.g., Bednar, 2012; Deephouse, 2000; Zavyalova et al., 2012).

Organizational Celebrity

Similar to reputation and media reputation, organizational celebrity is based on constituents' attention and positive responses to an organization that result in their increased willingness to transact with it (Deephouse, 2000; Fombrun & Shanley, 1990; Rindova et al., 2005). Unlike reputation and media reputation, however, the primary sociocognitive basis of celebrity is manifested in constituents' more positive emotional responses toward the organization. The antecedents of organizational celebrity highlighted in prior research are also divergent from those that help build organizational reputation

¹ For comparison of organizational celebrity to status and legitimacy, see Rindova et al. (2006).

TABLE 1
Comparison of Organizational Reputation, Media Reputation, and Celebrity

Comparison Criteria	Reputation	Media Reputation	Celebrity
Definition	Constituents' collective judgments about an organization's ability to consistently deliver value over time	A form of organizational reputation that reflects the overall evaluation of an organization's ability as presented in the media	An organization that generates high levels of attention and positive emotional responses from constituents
How the asset is built	Information about an organization gathered through word of mouth, direct experience, or third parties is used as a signal of the organization's ability to deliver value	Media coverage about an organization creates a public forum for discussing characteristics of the organization	The media cast an organization as a main character by dramatizing the information about its under- and overconforming actions, which attracts constituents' attention and evokes their positive emotional responses
Primary sociocognitive basis of the asset	Analytical and deliberate judgments about an organization	Analytical and deliberate judgments about an organization	Positive emotional responses toward an organization
Mechanisms that drive positive outcomes	Reduced uncertainty about an organization's characteristics	Reduced uncertainty about an organization's characteristics	Attractiveness of an organization and its identity for constituents
How the asset has been assessed	Third-party rankings	Tenor of media coverage	High volume of positive media coverage

and media reputation. Reputation and media reputation are built through the dissemination of information about the organization's ability to deliver value along dimensions important to constituents. In contrast, scholars have theorized that celebrity is gained through high levels of attention and positive emotional responses to an organization's nonconforming actions, or actions that underconform or overconform to accepted industry norms (Rindova et al., 2006).

Past research on organizational celebrity has proposed that the media—including radio, television, print, and online sources—play a key role in creating organizational celebrity (Pfarrer et al., 2010; Rindova et al., 2006). Information provided by organizations that seek to shape public perceptions, as well as information gathered by journalists, becomes an input into the media's narratives. Yet the media do not simply disseminate information about organizations' nonconforming behaviors; rather, they proactively create celebrities by casting organizations as main characters in their dramatic narratives (Pfarrer et al., 2010; Rindova et al., 2006). To attract constituents' attention to their stories, journalists select organizations whose nonconforming actions reflect "important changes in industries and society in general" (Rindova et al., 2006: 52).

As Rindova and her colleagues explain, "The reason . . . that nonconforming behaviors are more likely to attract media attention [is] because they fit the definition of news as obtrusive events" (2006: 60). To the extent that these narratives attract high levels of constituents' attention and evoke positive emotional responses, the likelihood these constituents will view an organization as a celebrity increases.

For example, Southwest Airlines eliminated seat assignments and food service (Bascle, 2016; Rindova et al., 2006), thus underconforming to prevailing industry norms. However, the airline was also the leader in delivering superior customer service, thus overconforming to industry norms (Bascle, 2016). Both underconforming and overconforming actions were met with high levels of attention and positive evaluations from constituents, who enjoyed greater service at lower costs. As a result, Southwest gained celebrity among these constituents (Rindova et al., 2006).

Past research has similarly illustrated the media's crediting Apple with "overturning the mainframe computing paradigm" (Rindova et al., 2006: 58), Starbucks with "elevating the coffee experience" (Reese, 1996: 190, as quoted in Rindova et al., 2006: 58), and Yahoo! for launching one of

"the first . . . search engine companies" (Rindova et al., 2006: 58) as examples of how an organization's nonconforming actions generate celebrity. Such stories created dramatized representations of organizations as main characters, attracted attention, and emotionally engaged constituents. As each of these examples shows, organizational celebrity can function as an intangible, social approval asset that accrues benefits for an organization and influences constituents' willingness to exchange resources with it (Kjærgaard et al., 2011; Pfarrer et al., 2010; Rindova et al., 2006).

Following these theoretical arguments, researchers have assessed organizational celebrity as a combination of a high level of media coverage that is also positive in tenor (Pfarrer et al., 2010). Comparing this assessment to assessments of organizational reputation, empirical research has shown that the two constructs are distinct and that organizations rarely possess high levels of both assets at the same time (Pfarrer et al., 2010). These findings align with theoretical arguments that reputation and celebrity require different organizational resources to build and maintain (Rindova et al., 2006).

In summary, organizational celebrity is primarily based on constituents' positive emotional responses toward the organization, whereas organizational reputation and media reputation are primarily based on analytical judgments about the organization's ability to deliver value. In this way reputation and media reputation reflect constituents' assessments of which organizations they like (Deephouse, 2000; Fombrun, 1996), but organizational celebrity reflects constituents' assessments of which organizations they get excited about and love.

However, past research on organizational celebrity has been less specific regarding *which* types of information about an organization will attract attention, evoke emotional responses, and therefore become the primary catalyst of the dramatization process. It has also largely focused on the consequences of *positive* social evaluations but has not explored how sociocognitive differences among constituents may result in differing interpretations of and emotional responses to the same information about the organization in the media. As a result, the process through which organizational celebrity is gained, maintained, and lost remains underexplored. In the remainder of this article we address these issues by explicating a three-step process of gaining, maintaining,

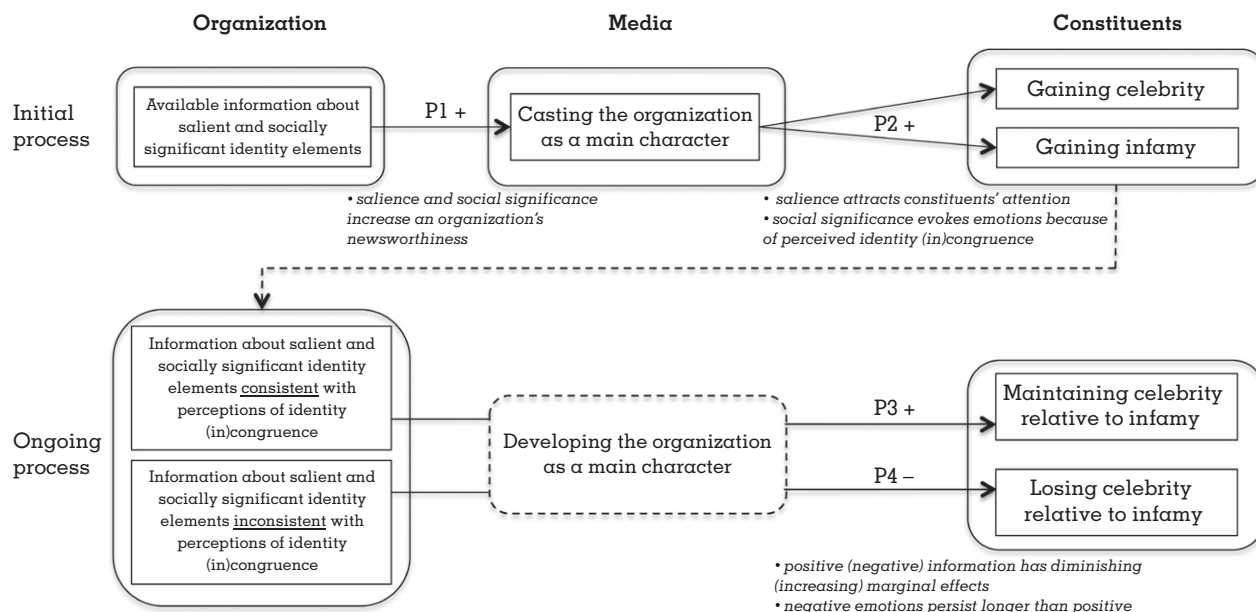
and losing organizational celebrity, as depicted in Figure 1.

In step one, we propose that to attract constituents' attention, the media cast an organization as a main character in their dramatic narratives by using information about the salient and socially significant elements of organizational identity. In step two, we theorize that the salience of these elements attracts constituents' attention, and their social significance evokes constituents' emotional responses. However, the valence of these emotions varies, because some constituents may view the elements of an organization's identity as congruent while others view it as incongruent with their personal identities. As a result, media narratives about the salient and socially significant elements of organizational identity may lead to an initial consequence for an organization: simultaneously gaining celebrity among some constituents and infamy among others. In step three, we theorize that in order to maintain constituents' attention, the media will continue to use information from the organization and other sources to produce ongoing narratives about the salient and socially significant elements of the organization's identity. However, because of the different emotional responses of celebrity and infamy that constituents' perceived identity (in)congruence generates, we theorize that two additional consequences for an organization may occur: the difficulty of maintaining celebrity and the ease of losing it relative to infamy.

CASTING AN ORGANIZATION AS A MAIN CHARACTER

Organizational celebrity, like other social approval assets, is conferred on an organization by its constituents (Bitektine & Haack, 2015; Rindova, Reger, & Dalpiaz, 2012). As prior research has theorized and shown, an organization may take an active role in shaping constituents' perceptions by strategically selecting which information to make public and how to frame its actions (e.g., Fiss & Zajac, 2006; Rhee & Fiss, 2014; Zavyalova et al., 2012). However, because constituents are exposed to information about a variety of organizations, some may experience cognitive constraints and search costs when selecting which organizations to attend to (Bitektine, 2011). Further, some constituents may have difficulty interpreting information that comes directly from

FIGURE 1
The Process of Gaining, Maintaining, and Losing Celebrity and Infamy



an organization because it may be presented in a complex manner (Bitektine, 2011). Given the variety and complexity of information that organizational constituents may face, the media play a key role in focusing constituents' attention on specific organizations (Puglisi & Snyder, 2011), in affecting their emotional responses toward these organizations (Rindova et al., 2006), and, ultimately, in generating organizational celebrity.

The Role of the Media

As organizational and mass communications researchers have argued and shown empirically, constituents often form their judgments about organizations based on information presented in the media (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Lippmann, 1922; Morgan & Shanahan, 2010; Shrum, 1995). Because constituents typically have "little first-hand and extensive experience" with organizations, the media serve as a key intermediary that provides information about organizations and creates a vicarious environment for constituents (Alvesson, 1990: 380; see also Bandura, 2001, and McCombs & Reynolds, 2009). Media narratives garner constituents' attention and shape their perceptions about specific organizational attributes and actions (Deephouse, 2000; Hayward, Rindova, & Pollock, 2004; Kennedy, 2008; Rindova et al., 2005; Westphal & Deephouse, 2011). Overall,

without media coverage, organizations likely would be "out of reach, out of sight, [and] out of mind" for most constituents (Puglisi & Snyder, 2011: 931).

To attract constituents' attention to their narratives, the media distill, simplify, and dramatize complex information about organizations (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1997). The media also use literary techniques to develop stories about organizations (Rindova et al., 2006). Similar to writers creating a story around a protagonist (Forster, 1927), journalists write their dramatic narratives by casting an organization as a main character. To this end, journalists anthropomorphize an organization by describing its "feelings, intentionality, and agency" (Sinekopova, 2006: 507), its "traits, habits, and attitudes" (Davies, Chun, da Silva, & Roper, 2001: 117), and its "traditions, culture, norms, and policies" (Fuller et al., 2006: 840). They suggest that an organization possesses human-like characteristics (such as being ethical, modern, cool, or romantic), has opinions, and takes actions that affect others. Journalists may even personify organizations by portraying them as driving forces behind changes in the industry and by describing them as heroes or villains (Rindova et al., 2006). In doing so the media facilitate constituents' perceptions of the organization and ease the cognitive constraints and search costs that some constituents may

incur. In summary, journalists' attempts to personify an organization by distilling, simplifying, and dramatizing information about its attributes and actions reflect the central role that the media play in the celebrity process. To accomplish this, the media rely on various information sources, including the organization itself.

The Role of the Organization

Whereas the media play a key role in generating organizational celebrity, organizations may frame and manage the messages that constituents are exposed to and that influence how the media write about them (Fiss & Zajac, 2006; Gao et al., in press; Zavyalova et al., 2012). To gain awareness, acceptance, and support among constituents, some organizational leaders may try to shape constituents' perceptions and influence media coverage via information subsidies, such as press releases, public interviews, or press conferences (Alvesson, 1990; Fiss & Hirsch, 2005; Gant & Dimmick, 2000; Philippe & Durand, 2011; Rindova et al., 2006; Westphal & Deephouse, 2011; Zavyalova et al., 2012).² In addition, some organizational leaders may engage in ingratiation behaviors toward journalists to actively influence which information eventually becomes part of the media's narratives (Westphal & Deephouse, 2011). By rendering personal favors, publicly agreeing with journalists' viewpoints, and "putting in a good word" for journalists, organizations hope for favorable media coverage of their actions (Westphal & Deephouse, 2011: 4).

Although the media use various sources of information, including interviews with industry experts (Davies, 2011), accounts from organizational constituents (Davies, 2011), and their own investigative efforts, an organization's information subsidies can reduce journalists' search time and costs and provide readily available information about the organization's activities (Carroll, 2010; Kennedy, 2008; Petkova, Rindova, & Gupta, 2013). Thus, organizational

information can serve as one of the primary inputs into the media's narratives about them.

Regardless of where the information about an organization originates, however, once it is available, journalists evaluate the information and decide whether and how to use it in their reports (Rindova et al., 2006). After selecting the information they deem newsworthy, journalists distill, simplify, and dramatize it in their narratives to attract constituents' attention. The media therefore play a fundamental role in the celebrity process. To further explicate this process, in the next section we theorize that journalists cast an organization as a main character in their stories by using specific types of information—information about the salient and socially significant elements of organizational identity.

The Salient and Socially Significant Elements of Organizational Identity

Organizational identity is reflected in those elements that constitute the essence of an organization and help distinguish it from other organizations (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Gioia, 1998; Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000). Having a clear understanding of its identity or being able to answer the question "Who are we?" also helps an organization situate itself in the broader social context (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; Gioia, 1998; King & Whetten, 2008). When an organization reveals elements of its identity, these elements become available to the media, who then may use this information in their narratives. Much like a main character in a novel, who possesses distinctive characteristics and stands out from other characters (Smiley, 1971), an organization that the media anthropomorphize is described in terms of the qualities that distinguish it from other organizations.

Even if information about organizational identity is available to them, the media do not cover all organizations with equal intensity; they deem some more newsworthy than others. The consensus in mass communication research over the last several decades is that when journalists select an entity to cover, they are guided by two primary criteria: salience and social significance (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Katz, 1987; McCarthy, McPhail, & Smith, 1996; Peterson, 1979). Building on these studies, we propose that not all information about organizational identity is likely to be used in the media's narratives. Rather,

² Some organizations are more likely to share information about their activities than are others. Whereas the absence of publicly available information about an organization may still attract media attention, we build on prior work that has theorized and found that the media are more likely to write about organizations that make information about their attributes and actions readily available (Gao et al., in press; Rindova et al., 2006).

information about the salient and socially significant identity elements is key to helping journalists anthropomorphize an organization and cast it as a main character.

First, the *salient* elements of an organization's identity are those elements that help it stand out to audiences relative to other organizations (Fiske & Taylor, 2008). Saliency increases if the elements of the organization's identity are novel and atypical for their context. That is, elements of the organization's identity may be salient because other similar organizations do not possess them. Saliency of organizational identity elements also increases if audiences, such as journalists, perceive them as rare and extraordinary (McCarthy et al., 1996). Such elements help generate interest and potential conflict in media narratives (Katz, 1987; Peterson, 1979; Rindova et al., 2006). By using information about the salient elements of the organization's identity, journalists can emphasize the qualities that distinguish it from other organizations.

Second, the *socially significant* elements of an organization's identity are those elements that reflect the organization's stance on socially important issues. Just as developing a main character in a novel requires situating the character's values within a broader set of social values, casting an organization as a main character in the media's narratives requires describing how the "essential characteristics" of the organization (Albert & Whetten, 1985: 267) relate to the broader social context in which the organization is embedded (Lee, 2008). Thus, information about identity elements that reflect an organization's stance on issues significant to its broader social context is more likely to be deemed dramatic and to attract media attention (Katz, 1987; McCarthy et al., 1996). In Russia, for instance, organizations whose identity elements reflect or challenge socially significant issues such as homosexuality, corruption, or political freedom may appear more newsworthy (Chance, 2014; Rapoza, 2013). In comparison, information about U.S. organizations whose identities reflect socially significant elements such as the entrepreneurial spirit, race relations, workplace gender issues, or gun control (Hartman, 2015) may render them more newsworthy main characters.³

³ Our examples highlight that elements of organizational identity may vary in their degree of saliency and social significance across different societies and cultures. We further explore how these complexities may enrich theory about organizational celebrity in the discussion section.

For example, the media have run hundreds of stories on the salient and socially significant identity elements of online retailer Etsy, emphasizing the diversity in its "purely stunning corporate culture": "[Etsy's] initiatives include aggressively hiring female junior engineers, maintaining a gender-balanced senior team, keeping track of their diversity metrics . . . and decreasing the management hierarchy to make sure all employees have a voice" (Daisyme, 2015). Similarly, journalists used information about the salient and socially significant identity elements of quick-service restaurant Chipotle Mexican Grill, which recently asked its customers not to bring guns into their restaurants (Jonsson, 2014). The media cast Chipotle as a main character in their narratives:

Chipotle's statement that firearms are not welcome in their restaurants is bold and meaningful—it shows that you can support the Second Amendment while also taking reasonable measures to ensure that Americans are safe and secure in the places we take our children (as quoted in Jonsson, 2014).

In both cases the presence of organizational identity elements that were salient and socially significant increased the likelihood that the media would cast Etsy and Chipotle as main characters.

Further, whereas the elements of an organization's identity that are both salient and socially significant increase its newsworthiness to the media, the presence of either characteristic by itself may not be sufficient to attract the media's attention. For example, if an organization's identity elements are viewed as salient but not socially significant (e.g., being first in its industry to implement a more efficient manufacturing process), the media are not as likely to use this information to cast the organization as a main character. Similarly, although gun control is a socially significant issue in the United States and other countries, if the media had recently covered other organizations making similar statements, this element of Chipotle's identity would have been less salient and, thus, less likely to have contributed to its becoming a main character in the media's narratives.

Returning to Figure 1, the process of gaining, maintaining, and losing celebrity begins when media use information from the organization and other sources about the salient and socially significant elements of an organization's identity.

This provides journalists with key ingredients they can use to distill, simplify, and dramatize information about an organization to constituents and ultimately to cast it as a main character in their dramatic narratives.

Proposition 1: The more available information is about the salient and socially significant elements of an organization's identity, the more likely the media will cast the organization as a main character in their dramatic narratives.

Whereas some organizations may proactively manage which types of information reach the media, and journalists may use this information to craft their stories, not all constituents will interpret media narratives about an organization in the same way (Cornelissen et al., 2015). In the next section we explore how being cast as a main character may lead to a first consequence for an organization: simultaneously gaining celebrity among some constituents and infamy among others.

CONSEQUENCE 1: GAINING CELEBRITY AND INFAMY

The media's dramatic narratives that cast an organization as a main character will attract some constituents' attention and help them learn about the organization's salient and socially significant identity elements. However, these stories may not necessarily evoke positive emotional responses and generate organizational celebrity among all constituents, a point largely unexplored in the extant literature. That is, while some constituents may attend to stories about an organization's attributes and actions, they may neither automatically accept the disseminated information nor develop similar emotional responses to the organization. Rather, constituents actively process and interpret the information, and these interpretations are based on their already established values and beliefs—that is, on their identities (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992; Gioia et al., 2000; Rindova et al., 2012).

Media narratives about an organization's identity help constituents assess how the organization's values relate to their own. As a result of these assessments, organizations that the media have anthropomorphized and portrayed as main

characters can serve as identity referents for some constituents (Albert, 1998; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; King & Whetten, 2008). In this way the salient and socially significant elements of an organization's identity help address constituents' need to relate their identities to a broader social group, including an organization (King & Whetten, 2008; Rowley & Moldoveanu, 2003).

Some constituents may perceive organizational identity elements as similar to theirs, but others may view them as different. Just as some readers interpret characters' actions, motives, and beliefs in terms of how they relate to their personal identities (Zillmann, 1995), the media's narratives help constituents assess how congruent or incongruent the salient and socially significant elements of an organization's identity are with their identities (Aaker, 1997). Because of the perceived identity congruence and incongruence, some constituents may experience positive and others negative emotional responses toward the same media narratives and, thus, toward the same organization.

Further, constituents' emotional responses toward an organization that has been cast as a main character with salient and socially significant identity elements will be more intense than they will be toward other "secondary character" organizations whose identity elements lack salience and social significance. As research in psychology has shown, stimuli that stand out relative to their context generate more intense affective responses. For instance, McGuire and colleagues showed that when an individual's appearance stands out, the emotions directed toward that person are more intense (McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978; McGuire & Padawer-Singer, 1976). At the organizational level, Brooks and colleagues found that well-known organizations generate more intense positive and negative affective responses among constituents relative to their peers (Brooks, Highhouse, Russell, & Mohr, 2003). Put differently, standing out can "cut both ways" (Fiske & Taylor, 2008: 55): Being a main character with salient and socially significant identity elements attracts more attention and can evoke more intense emotional responses, making it difficult for constituents to remain indifferent toward such organizations.

Thus, when the media cast an organization as a main character with salient and socially significant identity elements, constituents will pay more attention to the organization. However,

because of perceived identity congruence or incongruence, their emotional responses, although more intense, will differ in valence. As a result, the media's casting of an organization as a main character may generate celebrity among some constituents and infamy among others.⁴

We define organizational infamy as a form of social disapproval that is associated with constituents' high levels of attention and negative emotional responses toward an organization. Infamy arises from constituents' perceived incongruence between the organization's identity and their personal identities. Identity incongruence forms when constituents disassociate from the organization's values and view their personal identities as divergent from that of the organization. Whereas celebrity serves as an intangible asset that leads to constituents' increased desire to transact with an organization, infamy serves as an intangible liability that leads to constituents' active criticism and expressions of opposition against the organization.

Infamy is also different from a bad reputation or a negative media reputation. The primary socio-cognitive basis of organizational infamy is negative emotional responses rather than deliberate judgments about the organization's inability to create value over time (negative reputation). Moreover, infamy may, but must not necessarily, arise from what some constituents perceive as negative media reputation. Even if the media cast the organization as a main character by negatively portraying its identity, some constituents may still interpret this information as congruent with their identities, feel positive emotional responses toward the organization, and view it as a celebrity. Alternatively, if journalists cast the organization as a main character by positively portraying the salient and socially significant elements of its identity, some constituents may still interpret this information as incongruent with their identities, feel negative emotions toward the organization, and view it as infamous. Overall, the same information can attract constituents' attention but can lead to divergent perceptions of identity (in)congruence and, thus, differing and

extreme emotional responses among constituents toward the same organization.

For example, some media outlets reported on Chick-fil-A's salient and socially significant identity elements—that is, its opposition to same-sex marriage and support of the “biblical definition of the family unit” (*Albany Herald* Editorial Board, 2014). Supporters of same-sex marriage viewed these reports as incongruent with their identities, which evoked negative emotional responses, a “firestorm of protests” (*Albany Herald* Editorial Board, 2014), and subsequent boycotts of Chick-fil-A (*NBC News*, 2012). The result of these protests and boycotts was that proponents of traditional marriage came to the “chain's defense en masse, with many staging ‘eat at Chick-fil-A’ days as a visual demonstration for their support” (*Albany Herald* Editorial Board, 2014). Thus, the same media narratives that cast Chick-fil-A as a main character with salient and socially significant identity elements increased constituents' attention toward the company but evoked varying emotional responses owing to perceived congruence or incongruence between the organization's identity and constituents' personal identities. These media narratives therefore increased the likelihood that the company would simultaneously gain celebrity among some constituents and infamy among others.

In another example, the media's narratives about Starbucks' campaign “to get customers talking about race [by] putting the slogan ‘Race Together’ on coffee cups” attracted public attention because of its salience, and it evoked strong and varying emotional reactions from Starbucks' constituents in social media because of its social significance (Sanders, 2015). Some constituents reacted extremely negatively: “Race tension is too important to tritely hashtag on overpriced coffee cups. People die in this country because of prejudice” (@Rogerthat, as quoted in Kleinberg, 2015); “Being a barista is hard enough. Having to talk #RaceTogether with a woman in Lululemon pants while pouring pumpkin spice is just cruel” (@IjeomaOluo, as quoted in Kleinberg, 2015). Others, however, had positive emotional reactions and thanked the company for “at least trying to do something positive” (@daknicks73, as quoted in Kleinberg, 2015) and “for trying to get the people of this world to get along” (@MajorPolarBear, as quoted in Kleinberg, 2015). Thus, the same media narratives about Starbucks' campaign that evoked negative emotions among some

⁴ Some constituents may not attend to the media's narratives about an organization, while others may not perceive value (in)congruence and experience intense emotional responses toward the organization. We explore reactions of these constituents in the discussion section.

constituents also evoked positive emotions among others. In this way, being cast as a main character through the media's use of available information about the salient and socially significant elements of organizational identity can lead to a first consequence for an organization: the likelihood that some constituents will view it as a celebrity and others will simultaneously view it as infamous.

Proposition 2: The more the media cast an organization as a main character with salient and socially significant identity elements, the greater constituents' perceived identity (in)congruence with the organization and, thus, the greater the likelihood that the organization will simultaneously gain celebrity among some constituents and infamy among others.

Building on this logic, in the next section we propose that to keep constituents' interest in the organization as a main character, the media will continue to use information provided by both the organization and other sources and construct ongoing narratives about the organization. However, as constituents are exposed to subsequent media narratives about organizational identity, some newly revealed identity elements may be perceived as consistent with constituents' already established perceptions of identity congruence, whereas others may be interpreted as inconsistent. Over time, these interpretations may lead to two additional consequences for the organization: the difficulty of maintaining celebrity and the ease of losing it relative to infamy.

CONSEQUENCE 2: THE DIFFICULTY OF MAINTAINING CELEBRITY RELATIVE TO INFAMY

Because ongoing stories attract more attention than a one-time story (cf. Breen, 1997), the media will continue to write about organizations they previously cast as main characters. Main or round characters have complex personalities that develop throughout a story, as opposed to flat characters, which have a few fixed traits that remain mostly stable (Bentley, 1964). As Forster noted, "The test of a round character is whether it is capable of surprising in a convincing way" (1927: 118). To keep a reader's interest, the main character must take more novel and surprising actions

as the story progresses. Thus, organizations may continue to provide information to the media in order to influence how they write about them (Westphal & Deephouse, 2011). The media, in turn, will continue to develop the organization as a main character by selecting information provided by the organization and other sources about the salient and socially significant elements of organizational identity.

Constituents' attention and emotional responses to the ongoing media narratives, however, will vary based on their established perceptions of identity congruence or incongruence and whether they view the organization as a celebrity or as infamous. As social psychology and mass communication research has shown, constituents' interpretations of new information about a target are affected not only by the properties of the target itself but also by the differences in their prior beliefs about it (Allport & Postman, 1946; Barnett, 2014; Fiske & Taylor, 2008; Vallone, Ross, & Lepper, 1985). As a result, the same object or event can elicit multiple and varying perceptions among different individuals, depending on the individuals' already established assumptions and understandings. For instance, U.S. college students' prior attitudes toward their alma mater resulted in differing interpretations about the number of penalties committed by their football team relative to its opponent (Hastorf & Cantril, 1954). Similarly, viewers' prior varying attitudes about a policy issue differently affected their subsequent perceptions of the issue following a presidential debate (Holbrook, Berent, Krosnick, Visser, & Boninger, 2005).

Based on these theoretical arguments, we propose that constituents' interpretations of and emotional responses to new information about an organization's salient and socially significant identity elements will depend on the constituents' prior perceptions of identity congruence with the organization. That is, constituents' initially established perceptions of the organization as a celebrity or as infamous may anchor their subsequent interpretations of new information. As a result, the ease of maintaining celebrity relative to infamy will differ.

If those constituents who view an organization as a celebrity interpret new information about the elements of its identity as consistent with their prior perceptions, this may reaffirm the congruence between those constituents' personal identities and that of the organization. For example,

the media have long used Starbucks as a main character in their narratives, highlighting the salient and socially significant elements of its identity. Consequently, some constituents started paying more attention to media narratives about Starbucks and began to perceive its identity, values, and stance on socially significant issues as congruent with theirs, thus viewing the company as a celebrity.

Over time, however, it may become increasingly more difficult to maintain constituents' attention and to continue evoking positive emotions of the same intensity (e.g., Graffin, Bundy, Porac, Wade, & Quinn, 2013; Mishina, Dykes, Block, & Pollock, 2010; Rhee & Haunschild, 2006; Wade, Porac, Pollock, & Graffin, 2006). Constant exposure to media narratives about an organization's identity may desensitize some constituents to new information that is consistent with their already established beliefs, and it may elevate their expectations about and demands toward the organization (Haack, Pfarrer, & Scherer, 2014; Pfarrer et al., 2010). This is exemplified by some constituents' reactions to the developing media coverage of Starbucks: despite ongoing media narratives about the company's "good intentions," including its stance on veterans' issues, same-sex marriage, and gun control, some constituents' reactions to these stories suggest that by revealing these elements of its identity, Starbucks "creates expectations that companies can't always meet" (Koehn, as quoted in González, 2015). As a result, maintaining the perceptions of identity congruence and continuing to evoke positive emotional responses toward the organization (i.e., to preserve its celebrity) require more information about the salient and socially significant elements consistent with constituents' established perceptions of identity congruence (Barnett & Hansen, 1996; Derfus, Maggitti, Grimm, & Smith, 2008; Mishina et al., 2010). This pressure to keep audiences' interest is similar to the hedonic treadmill (Brickman & Campbell, 1971) or the Red Queen effect, which suggests that novel actions lead to an "escalating system of reciprocal causality" (Barnett & McKendrick, 2004: 540). These heightened expectations, in turn, contribute to the difficulty of maintaining celebrity.

In contrast, we propose that maintaining infamy requires less information about the salient and socially significant elements of organizational identity that is consistent with constituents'

established perceptions of identity incongruence. Whereas positive information often has diminishing marginal effects, negative information typically has increasing marginal effects (Haack et al., 2014; Rozin & Royzman, 2001). That is, additional positive information about an already positively evaluated object will likely evoke weaker positive affect, whereas additional negative information about an already negatively evaluated object will likely evoke increasingly more negative affect. Therefore, the same amount of new information about the elements of an organization's identity will be associated with constituents' different affective responses and asymmetric reactions toward the organization. For those constituents who view an organization as a celebrity, preserving the perceived congruence between their personal identities and that of the organization requires more information than maintaining the perceived incongruence between the organization and the identities of those constituents who view it as infamous. As a result, less information about salient and socially significant identity elements consistent with constituents' established perceptions of identity (in)congruence is needed to maintain an organization's infamy than to maintain its celebrity.

These theoretical arguments are reflected in how Starbucks maintains its infamy among some constituents: for those who already view Starbucks negatively, maintaining infamy requires less information because "very small things can trigger great rage" (Koehn, as quoted in González, 2015). For instance, media narratives about Starbucks' recent increase in employee salaries, although consistent with the established perceptions about Starbucks' identity, were interpreted by some constituents as incongruent with their beliefs about what constitutes fair compensation. As a result, the reports were met with heightened criticism from some constituents about Starbucks' ongoing failure to compensate "the stressful life of a Starbucks barista harried by unpredictable work schedules" (González, 2015).

To summarize our theoretical arguments, less identity-consistent information is required to maintain an organization's infamy in the eyes of those constituents who already view it as infamous. Thus, we propose that because of the differences in the emotional foundations of celebrity and infamy that are generated from identity (in)congruence, it is more difficult for an organization to maintain its celebrity than its infamy.

Proposition 3: It requires more information about the salient and socially significant elements of an organization's identity that is consistent with constituents' established perceptions of identity (in)congruence to maintain an organization's celebrity than to maintain its infamy.

CONSEQUENCE 3: THE EASE OF LOSING CELEBRITY RELATIVE TO INFAMY

In the previous section we focused on how information about the salient and socially significant elements of an organization's identity that is *consistent* with constituents' perceptions of identity (in)congruence helps maintain celebrity relative to infamy. Here we theorize that constituents may interpret some of the ongoing media narratives about an organization's identity as *inconsistent* with their already established perceptions of the organization. However, because some constituents already view the organization as a celebrity and others view it as infamous, their emotional responses to new information that challenges their established perceptions of identity (in)congruence will vary, and so will the ease of losing celebrity relative to infamy.

For constituents who already view an organization as a celebrity, new information about salient and socially significant identity elements that is inconsistent with their view of the organization is likely to contradict their established perceptions about how the organization's identity relates to theirs (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994). This inconsistent information may create a perception of incongruence between the organization and these constituents, and it may cause them to reexamine their established attitudes toward the organization (Ashforth, 1998). When exposed to such information, constituents who previously viewed an organization as a celebrity may perceive that the organization's identity is no longer congruent with theirs and begin to lose the link with the organization and experience less positive emotions toward it (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2003; Einwiller, Fedorikhin, Johnson, & Kamins, 2006). This may lead to the loss of organizational celebrity among these constituents.

Conversely, it is cognitively easier for constituents who already view an organization as infamous to ignore or reinterpret information about

the organization's salient and socially significant elements that may be inconsistent with their established perceptions of identity incongruence. This reluctance to incorporate such new information may happen for three reasons. First, feeling incongruence between one's own identity and that of an organization requires more emotional and cognitive effort than feeling congruence (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981). That is, defining one's personal identity as the absence of something requires "distancing oneself from the collective" and is therefore associated with higher cognitive and emotional sunk costs (Dukerich, Kramer, & Parks, 1998: 250).

Second, it is more difficult for individuals to change an initial negative impression to a positive one than vice versa. Negative first impressions tend to persist much longer than positive ones (Richey, McClelland, & Shimkunas, 1967). Thus, the cognitive and emotional sunk costs of the perceived identity incongruence can potentially result in a state of entrapment (Dukerich et al., 1998). Constituents who already view an organization as infamous may be overcome by their negative emotions toward the organization and exhibit a negative "knee-jerk reaction" to any new information about it (Dukerich et al., 1998: 250).

Third, because negative information is more salient than positive (Rozin & Royzman, 2001), viewing an organization as infamous, like other intense negative emotions, can dominate information processing (Skowronski & Carlston, 1987). As a result, when exposed to new inconsistent information about an organization that they already view as infamous, constituents may interpret it in ways that would support their initial perceptions of value incongruence, and their negative impressions may persist.

For example, some constituents perceived media narratives about Harley-Davidson's unveiling of a new electric motorcycle as inconsistent with the company's identity:

Harley-Davidson is poised to shock the motorcycle world with the rollout of an electric motorcycle—a prototype of a superbike called LiveWire. The debut marks a dramatic departure for the 110-year-old motorcycle company, which is hailed or hated for its powerful engines, loud exhaust pipes and brash rebel attitude (Fleming, 2014).

However, constituents' emotional responses to media narratives about salient and socially significant elements that were inconsistent with Harley-Davidson's identity varied. Those who

viewed Harley-Davidson as a celebrity and perceived congruence between the company's rugged and free-spirited identity and their personal identities made negative comments about the company. They emphasized that LiveWire "wasn't quite for them" and that the "challenge isn't just technical: it's emotional" (Kasternakes, 2014). In contrast, those who viewed Harley-Davidson as infamous and perceived incongruence between the company's noisy and unimaginative products and their personal identities were not as quick to change their negative emotions toward the company. For example, one company critic posted, "Harley is not interested in innovation and development. They probably got some kind of grant to play with this electric. Harley has a huge fan base of suckers who will buy anything and everything that has a Harley emblem on it" (@John Hand, as commented on Conner, 2014). Thus, we propose that because of the greater persistence of negative emotions relative to positive ones, it is easier for an organization to lose its celebrity than its infamy.

Proposition 4: It requires less information about the salient and socially significant elements of an organization's identity that is inconsistent with constituents' established perceptions of identity (in)congruence to lose an organization's celebrity than to lose its infamy.

To summarize our theoretical arguments of how celebrity is gained, maintained, and lost, Figure 1 illustrates that the availability of information about the salient and socially significant elements of an organization's identity increases the likelihood that the media will cast the organization as a main character in their dramatic narratives. This process, however, may result in three consequences. First, it may increase the likelihood that the organization will simultaneously gain celebrity among some constituents and infamy among others owing to their differing perceptions of identity congruence or incongruence. Second, even if some constituents view an organization as a celebrity, it is more difficult to maintain organizational celebrity than infamy in light of new consistent information. Third, in light of new inconsistent information, organizational celebrity is more fleeting than infamy. Thus, a longer-term consequence of being cast as a main character in the media's narratives is that once an organization gains celebrity, it may be difficult to maintain, but once an organization is perceived as infamous, it may be difficult to reverse.

DISCUSSION

Theoretical Contributions

Our theoretical framework makes four primary contributions to emerging research on organizational celebrity. First, in Table 1 we extended recent work by further delineating organizational celebrity from related social approval assets in terms of its primary sociocognitive basis, how it is built, the mechanisms that drive its positive outcomes, and how it has been assessed. We also developed the construct of organizational infamy as an intangible liability that may result from the same media narratives about an organization's identity that help build organizational celebrity. This extends past organizational research that has focused almost exclusively on social perceptions as intangible assets and paid limited attention to how infamy can cooccur with celebrity.

Our second contribution to celebrity research is in theorizing that the process by which an organization gains celebrity begins with the media's use of information about the salient and socially significant elements of the organization's identity. Whereas past research has proposed that non-conforming organizational actions help develop celebrity, we proposed that more specific actions—those that contain information about organizational identity—are most useful for the media to generate organizational celebrity. Moreover, we argued that not every organization's identity is newsworthy; those organizations possessing salient and socially significant identity elements have a higher likelihood of becoming main characters in the media's dramatic narratives and gaining celebrity. Thus, our article also complements organizational research that has focused on an organization's active role in shaping constituents' perceptions (e.g., Fiss & Zajac, 2006; Rhee & Fiss, 2014) by explicating how the organization's intended messages may be reshaped by the media.

Our third theoretical contribution highlights the importance of constituents' heterogeneous emotional responses to the same media narratives about an organization's salient and socially significant identity elements. Our focus on this mechanism reveals that the process of gaining, maintaining, and losing celebrity might unfold differently than previously theorized. Drawing from research in social psychology, we argued that different constituents would interpret the same media narratives through the lens of their personal identities. As a result, some constituents may perceive

identity congruence while others may perceive identity incongruence with the same organization. By highlighting the importance of constituents' different interpretations of the same narratives (cf. Cornelissen et al., 2015; Rhee & Fiss, 2014), we theorized that some organizations may be simultaneously revered (celebrity) and hated (infamy) by different constituents. This suggests that being cast as a main character may result in more intense emotional responses toward an organization among its constituents than would be the case had the organization avoided the media spotlight.

Our fourth theoretical contribution to organizational celebrity research is in exploring its fleeting nature. Drawing from research in social psychology, we emphasized the important differences among positive and negative affective responses associated with organizational celebrity and infamy. We examined how they shape constituents' subsequent interpretations of new information that is consistent or inconsistent with their established perceptions of identity (in)congruence. This led to a second and third consequence for an organization: the difficulty of maintaining celebrity and the ease of losing it relative to infamy. Thus, being cast by the media as a main character may result in an organization's gaining celebrity among some constituents, but, over time, it may be costly for the organization to maintain this asset. Constituents may expect more and more from an organization they view as a celebrity to generate the same level of positive emotional responses. Further, constituents' perceptions about an organization as a celebrity may become less emotionally intense over time. As a result, more constituents may "like" the organization and fewer constituents may "love" it, leading to an increase in the organization's reputation but a decrease in its celebrity. Another potential outcome is that as celebrity wanes, constituents' perceptions may develop into indifference (Bundy & Pfarrer, 2015). In contrast, organizational infamy, given its foundation in negative emotions, may persist for a longer period than celebrity.

Practical Implications

Our theoretical framework has several implications for practitioners. First, if seeking celebrity is a strategic goal, managers can influence the media by revealing salient and socially significant information about the organization's identity. The strategy to become a main character in

the media's dramatic narratives might be less costly than taking a series of nonconforming actions that challenge industry norms. For example, instead of designing a distinctive new product or service, an organization may gain celebrity by taking a public stance on socially significant issues such as gun control or race relations.

Second, based on the last two consequences of the celebrity process, once an organization becomes infamous among some constituents, it is unlikely those constituents will support the organization in the future. This suggests that monitoring their organization's media coverage may not be sufficient for managers to understand the prevalence of celebrity and infamy and their respective consequences. Rather, monitoring constituents' heterogeneous interpretations and emotional responses toward media narratives about the organization may be of greater importance. For example, it may be more beneficial for managers to monitor constituents' online comments rather than the media coverage itself. In turn, this awareness may help executives manage constituents' perceptions about the organization's identity through messages that resonate with constituents' personal identities.

Finally, our theoretical framework suggests that maintaining organizational celebrity becomes increasingly difficult. As we mentioned above, we suspect that the consequences of being cast as a main character in the media may be different for different organizations and that varying levels of resources may allow an organization to devote more or less time to this pursuit. Yet an organization may become "hypervigilant" or preoccupied with currying favor with the media (Adler & Adler, 1989; Alvesson, 1990; Sutton & Galunic, 1996: 212), and this preoccupation can lead to a diversion of resources from other key strategic areas, with no guarantee of gaining, maintaining, or not losing celebrity.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

Our article suggests that in future research scholars should consider that organizational celebrity is likely to cooccur with its negative counterpart—infamy. Our theoretical juxtaposition of the two constructs contributes to theory on organizational celebrity, but it also has implications for their empirical development. To date, little research has attempted to measure organizational celebrity empirically (Pfarrer et al., 2010), and better measures of organizational celebrity are needed to reflect the attention- and emotion-based

nature of this construct. When developing more nuanced measures of organizational celebrity, researchers should not treat this construct as homogeneous among all constituents but should instead be explicit about the extent of celebrity and infamy among different constituents (Pollock et al., 2016). Of course, it is possible that some constituents will not develop intense emotional responses to an organization that is covered by the media and will not view it as a celebrity or as infamous. Thus, similar to recent conceptualizations of organizational reputation (cf. Bundy & Pfarrer, 2015; Lange et al., 2011; Zavyalova et al., 2016), empirical measures of organizational celebrity and infamy may continue to evolve to represent celebrity and infamy among different constituents.

Measuring constituents' rather than the media's attention and affective responses toward an organization may prove to be a promising assessment of organizational celebrity and infamy. Researchers have proposed that analyzing "the content of relevant internet chat groups" may be a novel approach to assessing organizational celebrity (Rindova et al., 2006: 67). One way this may be accomplished is through content analysis of social media sites. While these sources may shed light on constituents' public perceptions, leaving their private opinions uninvestigated (cf. Zhu & Westphal, 2011), they nonetheless provide valuable information about individuals' views that may be consequential for an organization.

Additionally, while in this article we explored the microfoundations of the celebrity process, we have made some simplifying assumptions about the differences in constituents' interpretations of the media reports on an organization's salient and socially significant identity elements. Future research can build on our framework by stratifying constituents along several important dimensions. For instance, constituents' interpretations of information may be affected by their belonging to a certain constituency (e.g., investors, customers, suppliers, or the general public; Rhee & Fiss, 2014). Constituents' centrality may also affect how consequential their perceptions are for the organization (Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997; Pfarrer, DeCelles, Smith, & Taylor, 2008). It is possible that generating infamy among less central constituents while gaining celebrity among more central constituents may have an overall positive outcome for an organization. Alternatively, as some organizations have learned in the social media era, even fringe constituents may have an effect on an organization's behavior

and outcomes. Additionally, the amount of power and resources constituents hold relative to the organization may affect how consequential their perceptions are for the organization (Pollock et al., 2016). It is likely that the net benefit to the organization that stems from being viewed simultaneously as a celebrity and as infamous may depend on the relative power that different constituents have. Future work could examine the differences in constituents' perceptions based on their centrality and power and how they may affect the material consequences of an organization's being cast as a main character in the media.

For the sake of parsimony, we did not consider how social norms that shape constituents' perceptions of an organization could vary across contexts or change over longer periods. In other words, the salience and social significance of organizational identity elements may not remain stable. Of course, as social norms change, constituents' identities may develop to encompass these changes. Thus, their interpretations of information about an organization's identity may change as well. For instance, organizations operating in certain industries (e.g., firearms and tobacco) may, over time, receive broad social disapproval (Vergne, 2012) and evoke negative emotional responses among individual constituents. Social norms may also vary across the geographic regions where the organizations operate; therefore, organizations that conduct business in different countries should be aware of potential differences in what is considered socially significant and salient.

As we theorized, the process of gaining organizational celebrity begins with the media's use of information about the salient and socially significant elements of an organization's identity. Similarly, information about organizational executives may be particularly useful in creating main characters in the media's narratives (Hayward et al., 2004). For example, executives' use of social media may influence the effects of traditional media stories—either by amplifying the stories or by negating their effects (cf. Westphal & Clement, 2008). The attention and emotional responses to an organization's CEO may spill over to the entire organization. As a result, some constituents may view an organization as a celebrity insofar as its CEO has achieved this stature (cf. Graffin, Pfarrer, & Hill, 2012). In contrast, there may be examples where an organization has gained celebrity but its CEO has not. While our framework focused on organizational celebrity, there may be a connection between how

CEO celebrity and organizational celebrity are gained, maintained, and lost. We therefore encourage future studies to examine the interplay between individual- and organizational-level celebrity.

Conclusion

We have proposed that the process of gaining, maintaining, and losing organizational celebrity is more complex than previously theorized. An organization that gains celebrity among some constituents may simultaneously generate infamy among others. In addition, celebrity may be more difficult to maintain and easier to lose than infamy. As the media continue to cast an organization as a main character, our theory suggests that more constituents may fall out of love with the organization, yet an increasing number of constituents may hate it.

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