

# Beyond the three-component model of organizational commitment

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Organizational Commitment

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**Beyond the Three-Component Model of Organizational Commitment**

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## Beyond the Three-Component Model of Organizational Commitment

### Abstract

Adding to empirically based critique in the last 15 years, this paper offers a critical conceptual analysis of the three-component model of organizational commitment in order to arrive at a unequivocal grounding of the concept in standard attitudinal theory. Using the attitude-behavior model by Eagly & Chaiken (1993), we demonstrate that the three-component model combines fundamentally different attitudinal phenomena. Instead, we argue that general organizational commitment can best be conceived of as affective commitment only, being a genuine attitude towards an object: the organization. Normative and continuance commitment, in contrast, appear to be attitudes regarding specific forms of *behavior* (i.e., staying or leaving) that may or may not follow from the affective bond with the organization. The conclusion of our analysis is that the three-component model fails to qualify as a *general* model of organizational commitment, but instead represents a *specific* model to predict turnover behavior. Therefore, we suggest limiting the use of the TCM to predicting turnover and to abandon it as a general model of employee commitment. We propose to return to the conceptualization of organizational commitment as an attitude towards the organization and to use Eagly & Chaiken's model to generate specific models for predicting a broad range of organizational behaviors. Finally, we discuss the definition and measurement of organizational commitment, arguing that covering affective, cognitive *and* behavioral facets of this attitude helps to differentiate the construct from other constructs and to enhance the construct validity of measurement instruments.

*Keywords:* organizational commitment, attitudinal theory, theory of reasoned action, conceptual analysis

### **Beyond the Three-Component Model of Organizational Commitment**

It has been over 15 years since Allen and Meyer (1990) proposed a three-component model of organizational commitment (henceforth called ‘TCM’), based on the idea that organizational commitment comes in three distinct forms: affective attachment to the organization, perceived costs of leaving it, and a felt obligation to stay. These three forms, labeled affective, continuance, and normative commitment respectively, are referred to as “components” of organizational commitment. The *affective* component is defined as employees’ emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the organization. The *continuance* component is defined as the perception of costs associated with leaving the organization. Finally, the *normative* component refers to employees’ feelings of obligation to remain with the organization. As such, the TCM ties together three separate streams of earlier commitment research (Becker, 1960; Buchanan, 1974; Kanter, 1968; Mathieu & Zajac, 1990; Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 1982; Salancik, 1977; Wiener, 1982; Wiener & Vardi, 1980). Common to these three streams was the notion of a “*psychological state that links an individual to an organization (i.e., makes turnover less likely)*” (Allen & Meyer, 1990, p. 14).

To date, the three-component conceptualization of organizational commitment can be regarded as the dominant model in organizational commitment research (e.g. Bentein, Vandenberg, Vandenberghe, & Stinglhamber, 2005; e.g. Cohen, 2003; Greenberg & Baron, 2003). Nevertheless, an accumulation of studies have shown that the model is not fully consistent with empirical findings (Allen & Meyer, 1996; Ko, Price, & Mueller, 1997; McGee & Ford, 1987; Meyer, Stanley, Herscovitch, & Topolnytsky, 2002). To overcome these problems, a revision of scales has been proposed (Meyer, Allen, & Smith, 1993; Powell & Meyer, 2004). However, some scholars have argued that the empirical inconsistencies do not derive from faulty

operationalizations but rather from deeper rooted problems regarding the underlying concepts (e.g., Ko et al., 1997; Vandenberg & Self, 1993). This paper identifies and discusses these problems through a systematic conceptual analysis of the TCM model.

We will start off with shortly reviewing the theoretical assumptions underlying the TCM and the main points of criticism that have emerged from empirical research over the last 15 years. Then we will use the attitude-behavior model by Eagly and Chaiken (1993) to offer a conceptual critique of the TCM, which leads to the conclusion that the model is inconsistent and that affective, normative and continuance commitment cannot be considered as components of the same attitudinal phenomenon. We extend our criticism to the rebuttals by Meyer & Herscovitch (2001) and their proposal to interpret TCM in motivational rather than attitudinal terms and conclude that this reinterpretation fails to resolve the basic inconsistency. Our conclusion is that the TCM is, in fact, a model for predicting turnover. From this perspective we will reinterpret some typical findings from commitment studies. In the second part of the paper, we propose to return to the conceptualization of organizational commitment as a singular construct, i.e. an attitude to the organization, and to use the Eagly and Chaiken model as a basis for generating specific models that can predict various organizational behaviors *beyond* turnover. We conclude with discussing the merits of a purely attitudinal definition of organizational commitment – covering affective, cognitive *and* behavioral facets – in differentiating it from similar constructs and for enhancing the construct validity of measurement instruments.

### Critical Analysis of the Three-Component Model

The TCM proposes that affective, continuance and normative commitment – although different in nature - describe a *link* between the employee and the organization that decreases the likelihood of turnover. In the words of Allen and Meyer (1990, p. 3):

*“Employees with strong affective commitment remain because they want to, those with strong continuance commitment because they need to, and those with strong normative commitment because they feel they ought to do so”.*

Three aspects are noteworthy when considering the presumed common conceptual ground of the three components. *First*, all three components are supposed to reflect a “psychological state” (i.e., want, need, ought) of an employee vis-à-vis the organization, which has made Allen and Meyer (1990) speak of *attitudinal* forms of commitment. *Second*, the three states are supposed to relate to the *organization*, reflecting the idea that organizational commitment is an attitude that has the organization as its object. *Third*, the three states can be present simultaneously. Hence the conceptualization in terms of ‘components’ (Allen & Meyer, 1990) and the suggestion that the resulting 'total' organizational commitment should be seen as the “net sum” of these three psychological states.

There is a more recent formulation of the TCM that retains the main ideas but proposes a motivational – rather than attitudinal - interpretation (Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001). Since the dimensions and definitions of this ‘revised model’ are exactly the same, it is equally sensitive to our critique. Yet, we think it is useful to address the proposed reformulation as well. For the sake of clarity, we will first scrutinize the original TCM and then extend our analysis to the motivational version.

*Inconsistencies in Empirical Research*

Empirical criticism of the TCM has mainly revolved around two issues of construct validity topics, i.e., the position of continuance commitment as a dimension of the overall commitment construct and the relation between normative and affective commitment (e.g., Allen & Meyer, 1996; Cohen, 2003; Meyer et al., 2002). First, *continuance commitment* generally correlates slightly negative or not at all with affective commitment and with important work-related outcome variables such as organizational citizenship behaviors, performance, turnover intention, and employee well-being (e.g., Cohen, 2003; Dunham, Grube, & Castaneda, 1994; Hackett, Bycio, & Hausdorf, 1994; Ko et al., 1997; Meyer et al., 2002). This casts doubt upon the convergent validity of continuance commitment. McGee and Ford (1987) have specifically addressed the lack of convergent validity of the continuance commitment scale and proposed two sub-dimensions, i.e., “Lack of Alternatives” and “High Sacrifices”. In response to this latter criticism, Meyer and colleagues (Meyer et al., 2002; Powell & Meyer, 2004) have recently proposed to change the content of the continuance commitment scale by retaining only ‘High sacrifices’ items, which refer to unrecoverable investments in the organization by the individual.

Secondly, *normative commitment* has consistently been found to correlate very strongly with affective commitment (Allen & Meyer, 1996; Hackett et al., 1994; Meyer et al., 2002; Somers, 1995). Different studies (Ko et al., 1997; Lee & Chulguen, 2005) suggest that it is hard to separate normative commitment from affective commitment empirically. This apparent lack of discriminant validity led Ko et al. (1997) to regard the normative dimension as redundant, a statement which is supported by findings showing that some antecedents of normative

commitment (e.g., self-presentation concerns and expectations of others) correlate similarly with affective commitment (Organ & Ryan, 1995; Powell & Meyer, 2004).

Empirical dimensionality problems of the TCM have prompted Meyer and colleagues to revise and improve *the instruments* used for measuring continuance and normative commitment (e.g., Lee, Allen, Meyer, & Rhee, 2001; Meyer et al., 1993; e.g., Powell & Meyer, 2004). However, it seems that the underlying problem with these components is *conceptual* rather than empirical in nature (cf., Bergman, 2006; cf., Ko et al., 1997; Vandenberg & Self, 1993). Unstable factor structures underlying the TCM over time have raised considerable concern about the ideas behind the model. Vandenberg and Self (1993), who detected these “gamma changes”, maintained that these were “*less of a case of true gamma change, and more a case of severe model misspecification*” (p. 566).

Ko et al. (1997) have therefore proposed a return to the view that organizational commitment is only affective attachment as proposed by Mowday et al. (1982), as long as the ambiguity surrounding the TCM remains unresolved. Their preference for the affective component is not surprising since – in contrast with the other components – it represents the most reliable and strongly validated dimension of organizational commitment (Cohen, 2003; Meyer et al., 2002). and it has the greatest content and face validity (cf., Brown, 1996; Dunham et al., 1994). Moreover, of all three dimensions, affective commitment was found to correlate strongest and with the widest range of behavioral criterion variables (e.g., attendance, performance and organizational citizenship behaviors) (Meyer, Becker, & Vandenberghe, 2004; Meyer et al., 2002). Given the finding that continuance and normative commitment have added little explained variance over affective commitment in explaining behavioral outcome variables, Somers (1995) questioned whether the three-dimensional view has contributed significantly to

the concept of organizational commitment. For all these reasons, affective commitment is preferred as the core concept of organizational commitment by many authors (e.g., Brickman, 1987; e.g., Brown, 1996; Buchanan, 1974; Mowday et al., 1982) and it is used as the sole indicator of commitment to the organization in many recent studies (Armstrong-Stassen, 2006; Kuvaas, 2006; Payne & Webber, 2006; Sturges, Conway, Guest, & Liefoghe, 2005).

To date, most of the criticism on the TCM is empirical in nature. Although some authors have hinted at possible conceptual problems underlying these difficulties, these have not yet been systematically charted.

#### *Organizational Commitment as an Attitudinal Phenomenon*

There is a widespread agreement in the literature that organizational commitment is an attitude (e.g. Allen & Meyer, 1990; Angle & Perry, 1981; Buchanan, 1974; Jaros, Jermier, Koehler, & Singigh, 1993; Mowday et al., 1982; e.g. O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986). Some scholars refer to commitment as a *'psychological state'* (Allen & Meyer, 1990), others simply to a *'bond'* or *'linking'* (Mowday et al., 1982; Mathieu & Zajac, 1990) of the individual to the organization, a *partisan, affective attachment* to the goals and values of the organization (Buchanan, 1974), an *'orientation'* (Sheldon, 1971), a *'readiness to act'* (Leik, Owens, & Tallman, 1999) or an *'unconflicted state of internal readiness'* (Brickman, Janoff-Bullman, & Rabinowitz, 1987). All these descriptions display a structural similarity to what is commonly understood as an *attitude*: a person's internal state preceding and guiding action, comprising feelings, beliefs and behavioral inclinations (Ajzen, 2001; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

Since organizational commitment is so widely seen as an attitude, we consider it appropriate to scrutinize the TCM using a dominant and well-validated paradigm of attitudes: the

theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; 1975). More specifically, we will refer to Eagly and Chaiken (1993) who have elaborated this theory in a model that clarifies how attitudes toward targets relate to attitudes toward behaviors. The model is depicted in Figure 1. The examples are chosen to show how the model would apply to the TCM, i.e., they pertain to commitment towards the organization (target) and towards leaving the organization (behavior).

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Central to the model is the *attitude* toward a specific behavior. This attitude directly leads to an *intention* (i.e., the conscious plan to carry out the behavior) and subsequently to the *actual behavior*. In the model, attitudes toward behaviors originate from the activation of habits, attitudes toward targets, and three classes of anticipated outcomes of behaviors: utilitarian, normative and self-identity. *Habits* need to be understood as sequences or repetitions of behaviors that have become relatively automatic (e.g., Triandis, 1977; Wood, Quinn, & Kashy, 2002). Habits like "going to work every day" are likely to lead to a positive evaluation of staying with the organization, since it is seen as a normal - hence positive - thing to do (e.g., "I am going to work every day, so I might as well continue doing that"). *Attitudes toward targets* consist of the evaluation of the persons or institutions, i.e., the targets toward which the behaviors are directed. Next are the evaluations of various *outcomes* of the behaviors. For example, the individual can perceive potential drawbacks associated with leaving the organization, such as losing pension plan guarantees (i.e., *utilitarian outcomes*), or feelings of guilt or shame toward colleagues or the institution itself (i.e., *normative outcomes*), or incongruence with the self-concept like that of being a "good soldier" (i.e., *self-identity outcomes*).

The TCM fits very well within the Eagly & Chaiken (“E&C”) model. First, because affective commitment in the TCM is defined as “an employees’ emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the organization” (Allen & Meyer, 1990, p. 14), it clearly represents an attitude toward a target in terms of the E&C model. Note that affective commitment thus reflects an emotional attachment to *the organization* as a target and *not* to the behavioral act of leaving or remaining with the organization. Second, *continuance commitment* is defined as the perception of costs associated with leaving the organization. (Meyer & Allen, 1991, p. 67). This corresponds to “utilitarian outcomes”, consisting of “rewards and punishments that are perceived to follow from engaging in the behavior” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 209). Continuance commitment simply reflects the consideration of instrumental outcomes of a course of action: stay or go. It is – in other words – an attitude towards behavior, *not* towards the organization/target. Finally, *normative commitment* – employees’ feelings of obligation to remain with the organization (Meyer & Allen, 1991, p. 67) – fits both the “normative outcomes” and “self-identity outcomes” in the E&C model, depending on whether the felt obligations are derived from anticipated (dis)approval of significant others or from (in)consistency with conceptions of self. Normative outcomes pertain to “approval or disapproval that significant others are expected to express after performing the behavior as well as the self-administered rewards (pride) and punishments (guilt) that follow from internalized moral rules” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 210). Self-identity outcomes are “affirmations or repudiations of the self-concept that are anticipated to follow from engaging in the behavior” (Ibid., p. 210). For example, a person that considers himself as a “good soldier” (e.g. Organ, 1988) has a generalized sense of duty to serve the purposes of his organization. For this worker, leaving the organization will be associated with repudiating his self-concept. A generalized sense of duty (derived from

self-identity) is an internalized moral obligation (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Meyer & Allen, 1997; Shamir, 1991; Wiener, 1982) and, hence, part of normative commitment. Taken together, it appears that normative commitment could be interpreted as the combination of considering “normative outcomes” and “self-identity outcomes” of behavior in terms of the Eagly & Chaiken model. This distinction within normative organizational commitment between self and others is new and intriguing and warrants further investigation.

In sum, it appears that the three-component model of organizational commitment can be seen as a specific *application* of Eagly and Chaiken’s model of the attitude-behavior relation in a workplace context. However, placed within this more general model, it also becomes clear that affective commitment equals an attitude toward a *target*, while continuance and normative commitment represent qualitatively different concepts: they refer to anticipated outcomes of a *behavior*, namely the act of leaving. From this we conclude that organizational commitment as conceived in the TCM is not a unitary concept and that grouping target- and behavior-attitudes under one general label is confusing and logically incorrect.

The attitude-behavior model by Eagly and Chaiken can give alternative explanations for something that is seen as contradictory in a ‘multidimensional’ conception of the TCM: i.e. the finding that affective commitment – when compared to normative and continuance commitment – shows *stronger* associations with relevant behaviors and is associated with a wider *range* of behaviors (Allen & Meyer, 1990; Meyer & Allen, 1997; Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001; Meyer et al., 2002). These contradictions may be ascribed to the conceptual inconsistency in the TCM of conflating an attitude toward a target with an attitude toward a behavior. For instance, suppose – using the TCM – we explain individuals’ concerns for quality in the organization by their normative commitment. We then actually explain concern for quality by a felt obligation *to stay*

with the organization! That is: behavior A (i.e., maintaining concern for quality) is predicted by the normative pressure to perform behavior B (i.e., staying). Not surprisingly, low correlations are found (Randall, Fedor and Longenecker, 1990). Similarly, studies consistently have found insignificant relationships between continuance commitment and organizational citizenship behaviors (Meyer et al., 2002) because the former is defined and operationalized as a perceived cost *to leave* the organization. So again, behavior A (acting as a citizen) is explained by the disutility of behavior B (leaving). Much higher associations are to be expected when actual quality concerns are predicted by normative attitudes toward (related) *quality-enhancing behavior*, or when citizenship behavior is explained by the (related) utility of *behaving as a citizen*. Moreover, since an attitude toward a target (i.e., the organization) is obviously applicable to a *wider* range of behaviors than an attitude toward a specific behavior (i.e., staying), it does not come as a surprise that affective commitment is associated with a wider range of outcome variables as compared to normative and continuance commitment, as was noted above. We must conclude, therefore, that the TCM is inconsistent in focus. Affective organizational commitment is an attitude toward the organization, whereas continuance and normative organizational commitment are attitudes toward leaving the organization derived from imagined consequences.

#### *Rebuttals and reformulations*

The critique that the TCM is conceptually inconsistent has been raised before (e.g., Brown, 1996). Unfortunately, however, this has not discouraged the use of the model nor lead to a fundamental revision. Instead, over the years, proponents of the TCM have given a number of rebuttals and proposed some reformulations in defense of the model. Below we outline and discuss four major issues raised in this context.

*1. "The commitment – behavior relationship is easy to infer."*

Meyer and Herscovitch (2001) have defended the TCM by claiming that differences in focus within the model are merely a difference in emphasis and that the relevance of the different foci can be easily inferred.

*"Careful consideration of existing uses of the term commitment suggests that differences in focus are largely a function of emphasis. When commitment is considered to be directed at an entity, the behavioral consequences are often implied, if not stated explicitly. Similarly, when commitment is considered to be to a course of action, the entity to which that behavior is relevant can often be inferred even when not stated explicitly"* (p. 309).

This argument is not totally convincing. Apart from the fact that the double use of the word 'often' poses a barrier to logical refutation, various objections can be raised. *First*, behaviors are *not* necessarily implied in commitments, nor do behaviors necessarily allow the inference of targets. Committed employees can leave for various reasons (such as better career opportunities elsewhere, or family circumstances), whereas non-committed employees can stay for reasons of being locked in financially or because of lack of opportunities on the labor market (Lee & Mitchell, 1994). It is even possible that individuals are committed after they have left the organization, as seems to happen after retirement (Cude & Jablin, 1992).

*Second*, it is questionable whether a consistent relationship between organizational commitment and commitment towards behaviors can exist at all. People who are highly committed towards their organizations are unlikely to show the *same* behaviors over time. Instead, the behavior to *express* commitment changes as careers unfold (e.g., Katz, 1997). For instance, Buchanan (1974) has argued that early in the career behaviors are important that "*secure one's position*" (e.g., trying to please a supervisor). During the second through the fourth

year the emphasis is rather on achievement, on “making a mark” (Hall & Nougaim, 1968). This wish to “*making a difference*” may drive the committed employee to take a lot of responsibility and to work overtime for the benefit of the organization. At the final stage, that of *consolidation*, committed employees engage in behaviors such as introducing recruits in the organization or mentoring, and may even prepare for leaving the organization to enjoy a pension plan. Moreover, apart from the different expressions given to it, the level and meaning of organizational commitment *itself* is likely to change over time. It will vary in response to changes in the employment relationship through promotions, transfers and new career stages (Bentein et al., 2005; Cohen & Freund, 2005; Fuller et al., 2003). Such changes in commitment may be accompanied by a wide range of behaviors and produce relationships between commitment and behaviors that are far more complex than the simple pattern suggested by Meyer & Herscovitch (2001). To date there is not sufficient empirical evidence to draw firm conclusions about the consistency over time between commitment to the organization as a target and commitment to specific behaviors. But the available evidence seems to disconfirm the idea of a stable link. Several studies (e.g., Cohen, 1991; Mowday et al., 1982; Reichers, 1986) have shown that the relationship between commitment and specific behavioral outcomes depends on the career stage. This is congruent to findings on the links between job attitudes and work behaviors (Slocum & Cron, 1985; Stumpf & Rabinowitz, 1981; Super, 1957).

A *third* and final objection is that commitment to a target and commitment to a behavior differ in *nature*. Commitment to a target, i.e., the organization, is an attitude that predisposes the individual to a variety of behaviors under a wide range of conditions. Commitment to behaviors is – by definition – a much more restricted concept that only makes sense in settings and in moments for which these behaviors are relevant. Thus, for instance, neither continuance

commitment nor normative commitment makes sense immediately after entry into a new organization or just before retirement. When it comes to situations in which employees are expected to perform their work tasks, to adjust to organizational change, to help overcoming difficulties by means of citizenship behaviors, commitment to the organization is relevant while commitment towards the behavior of leaving is not.

To conclude, if we acknowledge that behaviors change over time in nature and in relevance to commitment, then inferring someone's commitment from specific behaviors inevitably leads to spurious results. In fact, this might very well explain why Vandenberg and Self (1993) encountered so-called gamma differences (i.e., changes in the underlying construct, see Terborg, Howard, & Maxwell, 1980) when using the TCM in assessing newcomer's changing commitments to their organizations over time. In line with our arguments above, the use of behaviors as indicators of evaluations of targets (especially over larger time spans) may have led to the observed gamma differences. Knowing that the TCM incorporates evaluations of behaviors as well as targets, we can conclude that the model includes different concepts that can not be represented by a single construct in a theoretically meaningful way.<sup>1</sup> As the behavioral expression of attitudes toward targets changes over time, an attitude toward a target and an attitude toward specific behavior cannot meaningfully reflect a single underlying construct.

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<sup>1</sup> It might be argued that organizational commitment in the TCM could be seen as a *formative* rather than a *reflective* construct (Bergman, 2006; Bollen & Lennox, 1991; Edwards & Bagozzi, 2000) if translated in terms of a structural equations measurement model. To our knowledge Meyer et al. have never proposed such a measurement model. While it might defend the TCM against criticism of low intercorrelations between the three components, a formative conceptualisation would introduce more problems than it solves, such as the *conceptual indeterminacy* of the commitment construct, *measurement inequivalence* across studies (both due to dropping, altering or adding indicators used to measure it), *questionable construct validity* when using dependent variables other than turnover (cf., Bollen & Lennox, 1991), and *poor prediction* of organizational behaviors other than turnover (which are not specified as indicators in the formative construct). But most importantly, specifying the TCM as "formative" does not provide a solution to the conceptual inconsistency that underlies the TCM itself.

2. *"Attitudes and behaviors influence each other reciprocally over time."*

Another justification that Meyer and Herscovitch (2001, p. 309) have provided for combining attitudes toward a target and attitudes toward a behavior in a single construct, is that *"the attitude versus behavior distinction relates more to the processes involved in the development of commitment than to the focus of commitment"*. Attitudinal (affective) commitment and behavioral approaches to commitment might become integrated in an *ongoing reciprocal influence process*. To illustrate their point, Meyer and Allen (1991, p. 78) provide the following example:

*"(...) employees who perform at a high level of proficiency may become (behaviorally) committed to that level of performance and, consequently, develop a more positive attitude (affective commitment) toward the organization. Such an attitude, once developed, may insure the continuation of a high level of performance in the future."*

(Meyer and Allen, 1991, p. 78).

There are a number of problems with this statement. *First*, at a logical level it is not refutable, since it asserts that something that "may" (or may not) happen can be associated with something else that "may" (or may not) happen. *Second*, at a psychological level it hints at a type of reciprocal learning of which no empirical evidence exists. Whether future research will provide such evidence on the link between performance and organizational commitment remains to be seen. If the successful performance is attributed to unique conditions created by the organizations, this effect may indeed happen. But if it is attributed to conditions inherent in the job or to unique qualities of the person him/herself, it is not likely that greater organizational commitment will arise. One would rather expect greater job involvement or greater self-efficacy.

*Third*, even if a link between performance and organizational commitment would exist, it would be of limited relevance to the TCM, since the behavior in this model is not performance but *leaving*. An important difference is that performance happens on a daily basis, while leaving happens relatively rarely in a person's career. It is highly questionable whether learning effects associated with daily performance would generalize to forming an attitude toward the (rarely occurring) act of discontinuing employment. Meyer and Allen (1991) use the above example to defend the presence of behavioral and attitudinal commitment in the TCM:

*“This is recognized in the present model by including behavioral commitment as an antecedent of affective commitment and as part of a feedback chain in which positive work behaviors (for which the employee accepts responsibility) increase behavioral commitment and consequently, affective commitment”* (p. 78).

We think that, apart from being based on a questionable premise, there is a major logical problem with this argument. If it is recognized that affective commitment and behavioral approaches to commitment are bound by an *“ongoing reciprocal influence process”* or that one works as an *“antecedent”* of the other, (Meyer & Allen, 1991, p. 78), it is logically impossible to regard them as a single construct. *Unless* the components are conceptualized as separate constructs, causal modeling within a single (multidimensional) construct is impossible (cf., Edwards, 2001). If the TCM components indeed influence each other reciprocally over time, they cannot be components within a single construct.

3. From “binding to an object” to “binding to a course of action”.

In the same 2001 article, Meyer and Herscovitch have proposed to rephrase the general idea behind the TCM by characterizing overall commitment as a “commitment profile”, signifying the pattern of relations among three “mind-sets” of commitment to the organization, designated as desire, cost, and obligation. They now refer to overall commitment as “*a force that binds an individual to a course of action, of relevance to one or more targets*” (Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001, p. 301). However, the three components are the same as before and no formal definitions are given to replace the older ones. Instead of considering the attitude towards the organization as the common ground for the three components, Meyer and Herscovitch now refer to “a course of action” as their common ground, mentioning that the course of action (e.g., staying) is relevant to the organization. Furthermore, they describe these three forms as manifestations of a “binding force” rather than as distinct attitudinal forms. This alludes to a *motivational* interpretation of the commitment phenomenon as elaborated by Meyer and colleagues in a more recent publication (2004). Whether the “motivational” TCM must be seen as a revision of the older “attitudinal” TCM is not fully clear. Since the attitudinal model has not been revoked, we are inclined to conclude that Meyer and colleagues (Meyer et al., 2004; Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001) have merely offered an alternative *interpretation* of the same theoretical model, and therefore maintain our criticism. Thus, affective commitment is still defined as focused on an *entity (or target)* and continuance and normative commitment are explicitly tied to acts toward remaining employed (a *behavior*).

Still, scrutiny of the “motivational” TCM offers ground for additional criticism. First of all, it seems to us that the proposed definition of overall commitment as “*a force that binds an individual to a course of action of relevance to one or more targets*” (Meyer & Herscovitch,

2001, p. 301) suffers from severe *underspecification*, as it is in no way linked to the commitment phenomenon. The notion of “force” might refer to almost any motivating factor (e.g., goals, values, interests, needs) known in the field of organizational behavior (Latham & Pinder, 2005; Pinder, 1998) and a “course of action” might refer to almost any behavior (e.g. selling products, presenteeism, creative action, sexual harassment, joking, verbal abuse, and so forth). As this reformulation is so broad as to lose any power of making *specific* predictions, it is unclear what theoretical or practical improvement it would bring.

The “motivational” TCM also fails to resolve the fundamental inconsistency we have pointed out above. Within a motivational perspective, the emotional attachment to the organization (affective commitment) brings about a general *readiness to act* (cf., Brickman, 1987; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993), that is, a general tendency to perform *a range of* behaviors in favor of the organization. It applies to virtually *any* category of behavior – whether broad or specific, immediate or long term, discrete or continuous (Shamir, 1991). *Which* behavior is viewed as appropriate to serve the organization depends on the specific situation and moment in the career (cf., Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999). In contrast, the motivation to engage in a particular kind of behavior, i.e., to leave or stay, is of a different kind. Unlike the general “readiness to act” (Brown, 1996) it has a narrow focus and arises out of a number of personal and situational factors that are specifically tied to the behavior. The motivation to remain employed by a given employer, whether arising from an affective attachment, a felt obligation, a perceived cost of leaving or any combination of them, does not generalize to the motivation toward other behaviors, while the motivational state described as a general “readiness to act” in favor of the organization does. This difference is in agreement with the results of motivational research which have shown that the level of behavioral specificity leads to different motivational

states (Gollwitzer & Brandstätter, 1997; Gollwitzer, Heckhausen, & Steller, 1990; Perugini & Bagozzi, 2004). In addition, as we have elaborated on before, there is a difference with regard to the *time* variable. At different moments in time different behaviors may be most appropriate to express a commitment, while the more general action readiness remains relatively stable. This difference supports our earlier conclusion: if the motivation to perform a specific behavior changes over time in a way different from the action readiness inherent to an affective attachment, pulling these motivations together in a single construct is to obscure a relevant distinction.

### *Conclusion*

Although we are not the first to criticize the TCM, our conceptual analysis has demonstrated that the TCM suffers from a basic shortcoming that cannot be repaired by modifications of measurement or by reinterpreting the “common ground” in motivational terms. We therefore propose to respectfully abandon the TCM and to return to the definition of organizational commitment as affective attachment to an organization (Brickman, 1987; Brown, 1996; Ko et al., 1997; Mowday, Steers, & Porter, 1979). As the attitude-behavior model of Eagly & Chaiken (1993) implies, continuance and normative commitment should not be seen as commitments but rather as antecedents of attitudes towards a specific behavior, more precisely as different classes of imagined consequences of (dis)continuing employment. This classification still acknowledges the apparent importance of normative and continuance considerations for staying on the job, which is paramount in a vast number of studies on the matter (e.g., Meyer et al., 2002). But when it comes to the prediction of *other* work-related outcomes, such as helping others or making overtime (Meyer et al., 2004; Meyer et al., 2002) it may be useful to include

anticipations of the outcomes of *those* behaviors which would in turn help create a different set of behavior-specific attitudes. Unmistakably, the TCM has served to enrich our knowledge on different motivational grounds of staying with and leaving an organization. But for a better understanding of organizational commitment and its broader implications for organizations we now need to move towards an unambiguous and parsimonious conceptualization.

### **A Road Ahead for Organizational Commitment Research**

We see two steps to move ahead in organizational commitment research. First is the proper placement of the organizational commitment in a wider conceptual framework which will allow modeling the relationship between organizational commitment and various organizational behaviors. Here, we will propose to use the reasoned action model by Eagly & Chaiken (1993). Second, is a re-grounding and measurement of organizational commitment itself as a truly attitudinal construct. Below we will develop and illustrate both steps.

#### *Generating Models of Organizational Commitment – Organizational Behaviors*

The value of the E&C model is not limited to showing the shortcomings of the TCM. In our view it offers an alternative to the TCM that can explain the links between organizational commitment and several types of organizational behavior other than leaving and staying. While the E&C model is a generic model that applies to any context in which it is appropriate to study the links between people's attitudes and behaviors, our proposal is apply it to organizational contexts and use it for explaining behaviors shown by employees. In this case the "attitude to target" can be equated to organizational commitment and the "behavior" can be any type of organizationally relevant activity. The habits and imagined outcomes of behavior from the E&C model are

specific for the organizational behaviors to be explained. There is ample empirical evidence showing that organizational commitment is an antecedent to a wide range of organizational behaviors, most prominently organizational citizenship behaviors, work performance, and various types of withdrawal behaviors like absenteeism, tardiness, job search, intention to leave, and actual turnover (e.g., Meyer et al., 2002; Allen & Meyer, 1996; Mathieu & Zajac, 1990). This means that there is a rich empirical basis for developing commitment-behavior models.

Our expectation is that further research will considerably extend the range of behaviors to be explained from organizational commitment. Future research may profit from a typology of organizational behaviors that has emerged from research by Hirschman (1970), Farrell (1983), Rusbult & Zembroth (1983) and Hagedoorn, Van Yperen, Van de Vliert & Buunk (1999). This two-dimensional typology groups behaviors along a constructive-destructive and an active-passive axis. Although the original research focused on employees' responses to adverse organizational circumstances, the typology seems suitable for classifying any type of organizational behavior. Examples of *constructive* behaviors are championing (e.g., fund-raising, personal recruitment, enhancing sales, boasting), ambassadorship (e.g., mentoring, role modeling, figure heading), customer orientedness (Morgan & Hunt, 1994), showing quality concern (Randall et al., 1990), personal deprivation (i.e., sacrificing private time, sleep or alternative employment opportunities), subservience (Adler & Adler, 1988), organizational face-saving (i.e., protecting the organization's image, Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994), intrapreneurship, constructive voice (Mowday et al., 1982), prosocial behavior (O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986) and proactivity during socialization (Wanberg & Kammeyer-Mueller, 2000). While these behaviors all qualify as active, there are also behaviors of a passive nature, such as

patience (Farrell, 1983; Hagedoorn et al., 1999), abiding with organizational norms (Kunda, 1992), engaging in praiseful gossip (Noon & Delbridge, 1993; Gluckman, 1963), and so forth.

On the *destructive* side are withdrawal behaviors such as absenteeism and tardiness (Meyer et al., 2002), and a number of deviant behaviors, some of which can be quite harmful to the organization and to its employees (Robinson & Bennett, 1995; Skarlicki & Folger, 1997). Among these are corporate illegal behaviors (i.e., property or production deviance; e.g., theft), workplace aggression (e.g., bullying, verbal abuse, sexual harassment, violence), retaliatory behaviors (e.g., active resistance, sabotage), leaking to the press (e.g., whistle blowing), working to rule, withholding vital information (Randall et al., 1990), and political deviance (e.g., extreme interdepartmental antagonizing, blaming, favoritism; Robinson & Bennett, 1995). While most of these behaviors can be considered as active, some of them – e.g. working to rule and withholding vital information – can be seen as passive. Other examples of passive behavior would be neglect (Farrell, 1983; Hagedoorn et al., 1999), cynical talk (Ford, Ford & McNamara, 2002) and shirking (Robinson & Bennett, 1995).

Our position is that for each of these types of organizational behavior a specific commitment-behavior model can be developed on the basis of the E&C model. To illustrate the approach we choose a behavior in the active-negative quadrant, namely *employee theft*. This particular behavior seems to be the fastest growing type of workplace deviance in the U.S. Depending on the definition of non-trivial employee theft, incidence rates among employees have been estimated to lie between 50 % to 75%; estimated financial losses range from of 40 to 120 billion dollars annually (Case, 2000; Coffin, 2003; Wimbush & Dalton, 1997). In the organizational behavior literature, employee theft is predominantly seen as a retaliatory reaction to a perceived inequity or injustice (e.g., Greenberg, 1990; e.g., Skarlicki & Folger, 1997).

Figure 2 shows how the E&C model could be used to generate a commitment-behavior model that predicts the occurrence of theft.

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Employees who feel disappointed by their employers or experience inequity in their relationship are likely to lower their commitment to the organization (Brown, 1996). They psychologically “distance” themselves from their employer to avoid harmful consequences to the self. As a consequence, they will feel less attached (affect), they will think less favorable about the organization (cognition) and they decrease the readiness to serve the organization’s interests (Action). This decline in *organizational commitment* may lift constraints on behaviors that might harm the organization and create room for retaliatory action, including stealing.

Whether employees actually engage in stealing will be affected by *habit* as well. Employees with a transgressive history (e.g., since childhood, or during their stay with the organization) are likely to evaluate stealing as “not such a big a deal” and engage in stealing on a regular basis. Among habitual thieves one may find *directly* formed attitudes toward stealing that are consistent with their habit (Salancik, 1977; Wood et al., 2002). At the opposite end there will be employees who have never stolen anything from their employer and who have neither the habit nor the attitude of stealing.

*Utilitarian outcomes* (i.e., potential rewards and punishments associated with the behavior) are generally assessed using an expectancy–value paradigm (e.g., Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Scholl, 1981). In the case of stealing, individuals will weigh its potential benefits against its potential costs. More specifically, they will weigh the *likelihood* that the attempt to stealing

will be successful and the *value* of owning the object without payment against the likelihood of getting caught and the value of its negative potential consequences. *Normative outcomes* of stealing can be experienced as a balance of the value of approval and the value of disapproval anticipated from significant others (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). The employee might know many colleagues who consider stealing as “normal” and anticipate their consent with the idea doing the appropriate thing to “get even” with the employer. However, the employee might also anticipate feelings of guilt or shame toward the organization as a whole or toward significant others who clearly oppose the act of stealing. Again, the expectancy-value paradigm could be applied (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), since the (dis)approval of others may vary in likelihood and importance. Finally, *self-identity outcomes* enter into the equation. Individuals who have an “idealist” self-concept will be more inclined to hold negative attitudes toward the act of stealing than people with a “realist” self-concept (Henle, Giacalone, & Jurkiewicz, 2005). All these influences might combine to form an *attitude toward stealing*. This attitude is expected to lead up to a conscious plan to steal something at a given time, i.e. the *intention to steal*, which is expected to result in the actual *act of theft*.

According to the resulting model organizational commitment would be a major factor explaining employee theft. A lack of commitment might favor the development of a pro-stealing attitude. A pro-stealing attitude and a habit of stealing, in combination with lacking commitment, will lead to a high probability of actual theft. High organizational commitment, on the other hand, will serve as a counterweight to bad habits and opportunism, and be associated with a low probability of theft.

*Propositions Regarding E&C Type Models*

Generating commitment-behavior models on the basis of the E&C model has a number of specific implications. *First*, organizational commitment is invariably be part of any model. This means that commitment is given a central position in explanations of employee behaviors towards their organization, regardless whether the behavior is in the constructive or destructive, active or passive category. Even though other factors will affect the occurrence of particular behaviors, commitment is hypothesized to play a role in their emergence. This in accordance with the outcomes of many research studies that were reviewed before (e.g., Meyer et al., 2002; Allen & Meyer, 1996; Mathieu & Zajac, 1990). *Second*, adding habits and anticipated outcomes of actions will improve the explanation of the behavior. Although the relative contribution of various factors may vary, depending on the type of behavior involved as well as the organizational context and/or employee population, together they will improve the explanation of the behavior over that given by organizational commitment alone. *Third*, the E&C model shows (see figure 1) that while the effect of organizational commitment on behavior is indirect (i.e. mediated) relevant behavioral routines (e.g., certain habits) may impact a particular behavior *directly*, without forming an attitude towards that behavior or forming an intention toward performing it (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Wood et al., 2002). This means that, in the presence of strong habits, the explanatory value of organizational commitment for specific behaviors may be reduced. In general, habits will contribute to the explanation of particular behaviors both directly and indirectly, i.e. mediated by an attitude towards the behavior and a corresponding intention.

*Fourth*, the most important contribution of using E&C type models is the distinction between attitudes toward *targets* and attitudes toward *behaviors*. Eagly and Chaiken (1993) argued that they are, in fact, separate constructs that are linked in a causal chain. This concurs

with the assumption underlying the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) that a *thought* of some sort must be formed to activate behavior: at a minimum an intention must be formed to direct behavior. Empirically, this means that the relationship between attitudes toward targets and actual behaviors should be *fully mediated* by the attitudes toward the behavior and intentions. From these considerations we derive the following propositions:

*Proposition 1:* Organizational commitment will significantly predict behavior in *any* category of the constructive-destructive and active-passive typology of organizational behaviors.

*Proposition 2:* If a particular behavior is predicted from organizational commitment, the degree of model fit will significantly improve when habits and anticipated outcomes of the behavior (i.e., utilitarian, normative, and self-identity) are taken into account.

*Proposition 3:* Habits will contribute to the prediction of a particular behavior both directly and indirectly, that is through an attitude and an intention towards the behavior; the habit-behavior relationship is therefore *partially mediated*.

*Proposition 4:* After controlling for habits and anticipated outcomes of behaviors, the relationship between organizational commitment and specific behavior is *fully mediated* by the attitude toward the behavior and the intention to perform the behavior.

These propositions can best be tested by means of structural equations modeling. This type of analysis will allow to assess the strength of commitment-behavior links as mentioned in proposition 1, the improvement of model fit when adding variables as mentioned in proposition 2, and the presence of specific mediation effects as mentioned in propositions 3 and 4. In general, it is to be expected that a gradual build-up of phenomena (e.g., adding habits, and different classes anticipated outcomes of behavior, and mediators consecutively) will result in increasing fit of the model, while a gradual reduction will result in decreasing fit.

#### *Limitations of E&C type models*

In spite of their advantages, commitment-attitude models based on the E&C model also have their limitations. First of all, their applicability is restricted to behaviors that are performed consciously, that is, with a certain amount of cognitive deliberation (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999). For instance, it is not suitable to explain spontaneous, emotional and/or reflexive behavior. Second, some factors which may moderate or complement the role of organizational commitment may be added. For example, “perceived behavioral control” can be derived from the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991), and added if needed. Third, the E&C model does not necessarily give the best prediction of specific behaviors. For instance, better predictions of turnover could be achieved with the job embeddedness model developed by Mitchell and colleagues (2001), which has been shown to produce high effect sizes. However, the major advantage of generating models in the way advocated here, in contrast to developing specific models for predicting each an every type of organizational behavior, is that it results in a structurally homologous and therefore parsimonious set of models that can account for diverse effects of organizational commitment on employee behaviors. An even greater advantage of

using the E&C model is that it enhances the compatibility of organizational behavior research with more general theory on human behavior.

*Toward a Strictly Attitudinal Definition of Organizational Commitment*

Above we have concluded that organizational commitment should be conceived as an attitude toward a target (i.e., the organization) and we have argued that this attitude offers a fruitful basis for predicting a variety of organizational behaviors. Although organizational commitment conceived in this way bears resemblance to the "affective" commitment construct from the TCM, we emphasize the importance of using a definition that does *not* restrict itself to the affective aspect, but includes cognitive and behavioral aspects as well. Below we will argue that this helps to differentiate the organizational commitment from other constructs in the organizational behavior domain, and will lead to greater construct validity of measurement instruments.

Standard attitudinal theory regards attitudes to be reflected in affect, cognition and an action tendency (e.g. Ajzen, 2001; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Hollander, 1971). Any definition of commitment honoring its attitudinal character should therefore reflect this classic triplet. However, if we look at current definitions and conceptualizations of organizational commitment in the literature, we find a range of definitions that capture the affective and cognitive aspects of attitudes but do not include the action tendency. Apart from a failure to really capture the concept in its entirety, this also leads to severe problems of discriminant validity with competing concepts. For example, Van Knippenberg & Sleebos (2006) conceptualize commitment as an exchange-based attachment – which covers cognition and affect, not action – and is difficult to distinguish from the psychological contract (Rousseau, 1995). Likewise, when commitment is seen as predominantly value-based (e.g., Meyer, Becker,

& Van Dick, 2006) it comes very close to constructs like value congruence (O'Reilly, Chatman, & Caldwell, 1991). These loose ways of defining commitment raise questions about the added value of the commitment construct and the need for using it at all. Our view is that a strictly attitudinal definition of organizational commitment does not only differentiate the construct from these alternatives but also produces an added value when it comes to predicting actual behaviors. Note that this view corresponds with the early idea expressed by Mowday et al. (1982) that organizational commitment goes *beyond* feelings and beliefs that could be experienced passively, and incorporates a willingness to give something of oneself to contribute to the organization's success<sup>2</sup>.

It is important to emphasize that the tendency to perform actions in the interest of the organization (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993) should be interpreted as a *general* tendency (i.e., with no reference to a *specific* behavior), or a *general* readiness to act (Brickman, 1987; Leik et al., 1999). Many classic qualitative studies (e.g., Brickman, 1987; Brown, 1996; Adler & Adler, 1988; Wyatt, 1999) on the nature of commitment display considerable consensus on what exactly constitutes this action readiness. They have argued that commitment is present when a person persists in a behavior even under circumstances that would otherwise have caused him or her to change that behavior. To put it even stronger, commitment implies an urge to perform behaviors that – by definition – exceed instrumental motivations of the individual (Buchanan, 1974; Scholl, 1981). Taken to the extreme, it can inspire individuals to go at great lengths and even sacrifice their own personal well-being for a 'greater good' that they identify with – like in combat units, religious communities, or athletic teams (Adler & Adler, 1988; Salancik, 1977; Shamir, 1991). A commitment starts when some form of vow is made. More precisely, it is the state which one

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<sup>2</sup> The action component also distinguishes the commitment construct from job satisfaction which implies a more passive - or maybe even complacent - psychological state.

arrives at after having made a *pledge* (Salancik, 1977; Brickman 1987; Brown, 1996; Adler & Adler, 1988). The stronger the pledge (i.e., the more public, irrevocable, volitional, and explicit) the stronger the commitment attitude (Salancik, 1977). Thus, commitment does not come cheap: it is a *binding* vow, a “*generalized behavioral pledge*” to act in the interest of the organization. We therefore propose the following strictly attitudinal *definition* of organizational commitment.

*Organizational commitment is an attitude of an employee vis-à-vis the organization reflected in a combination of affect (emotional attachment, identification), cognition (identification and internalization of its goals, norms and values), and action readiness (a generalized behavioral pledge to serve and enhance the organization’s interests).*

#### *The Measurement of Organizational Commitment*

Adopting a strictly attitudinal definition has implications for the measurement of organizational commitment. Allen & Meyer’s (1990) questionnaire focuses predominantly on emotional attachment (affect) to and identification with the organization (affect and cognition). Its items respectively tap into the notions of being happy to spend the rest of career with the organization, enjoyment of discussing the organization with people outside it, the degree to which organization’s problems are perceived as one’s own, the ease of becoming attached to another organization, feeling part of the family, emotional attachment, personal meaning, and belongingness (Meyer & Allen, 1990). The notion of *action* is conspicuously absent. While this can be explained from the fact that they intended to measure “affective” commitment, it is a limitation that should be overcome if one wants to measure organizational commitment as an

attitude. Other instruments (e.g., the identification/internalization typology<sup>3</sup> by O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986) show similar limitations. The only exception is the Organizational Commitment Questionnaire by Mowday et al. (1982). However, this instrument explicitly contains a strong desire to *remain employed* (which is a *specific* behavior rather than a *generalized* behavioral pledge) and, thus, received the critique of producing inflated relationships with turnover (Reichers, 1985; O'Reilly & Chatman, 1986; Bozeman & Perrewe, 2001). In line with our attitudinal definition, we therefore suggest that existing instruments be expanded or refined so as to include *all three* attitude aspects. Such an expansion is necessary in order to improve the construct validity of these instruments in comparison to instruments measuring other constructs.

*Proposition 5:* The discriminant validity of organizational commitment vis-à-vis related constructs will improve when they are operationalized as a combination of affect (i.e., belongingness/identification), cognition (i.e., identification and internalization), and action readiness (i.e., a generalized behavioral pledge).

This proposition can be investigated empirically by means of standard methods for assessing construct validity, including factor-analysis, structural equations modeling, and multitrait-multimethod analysis (Netemeyer, Johnston & Burton, 1990; Spreitzer, 1995; Netemeyer, Bearden & Sharma, 2003; Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994).

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<sup>3</sup> O'Reilly and Chatman's (1986) commitment typology consists of compliance, identification, and internalization. Following the definition (i.e., "*instrumental involvement for specific, external rewards*", p. 493), the compliance component can be characterized as an evaluation of the utilitarian outcomes of behavior, and *not* as a component of an attitude toward a target.

### Conclusion

In this article we have shown that the TCM does not qualify as a general model of organizational commitment, as it suffers from a conceptual inconsistency and hence a lack of unequivocal empirical support. When looked upon from the attitude-behavior model of Eagly and Chaiken (1993) it appears to combine an attitude towards a target (the organization) with attitudes towards a behavior (leaving or staying). While the TCM might be retained to predict employee turnover, its use as a general model of organizational commitment should be discouraged. In line with the predominant practice in research on organizational behavior we propose to return to the original understanding of organizational commitment as an attitude towards the organization, and to measure it accordingly. Future research may improve discriminant validity of existing measures by giving due attention to the cognitive, emotional *and* behavioral components of the commitment attitude. We have proposed the Eagly & Chaiken model as a viable alternative to the TCM and as a generic framework from which a variety of specific commitment-behavior models can be derived, all sharing organizational commitment as a common core. Unlike the TCM, the predicted behaviors are not limited to staying with the organization or leaving it, but represent a broad spectrum of organizational behaviors like corporate illegal behaviors, shirking, organizational championing, satisfying customers, unethical behaviors, and so forth. By studying the interplay between organizational commitment, behavioral routines, and imagined consequences of behaviors more insight into the real nature of the relationship between organizational commitment and its behavioral consequences may be obtained.

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## Figure Captions

Figure 1. *Linking Eagly & Chaiken's composite attitude-behavior model to the TCM*

Figure 2. *Applying the E&C model to corporate theft*

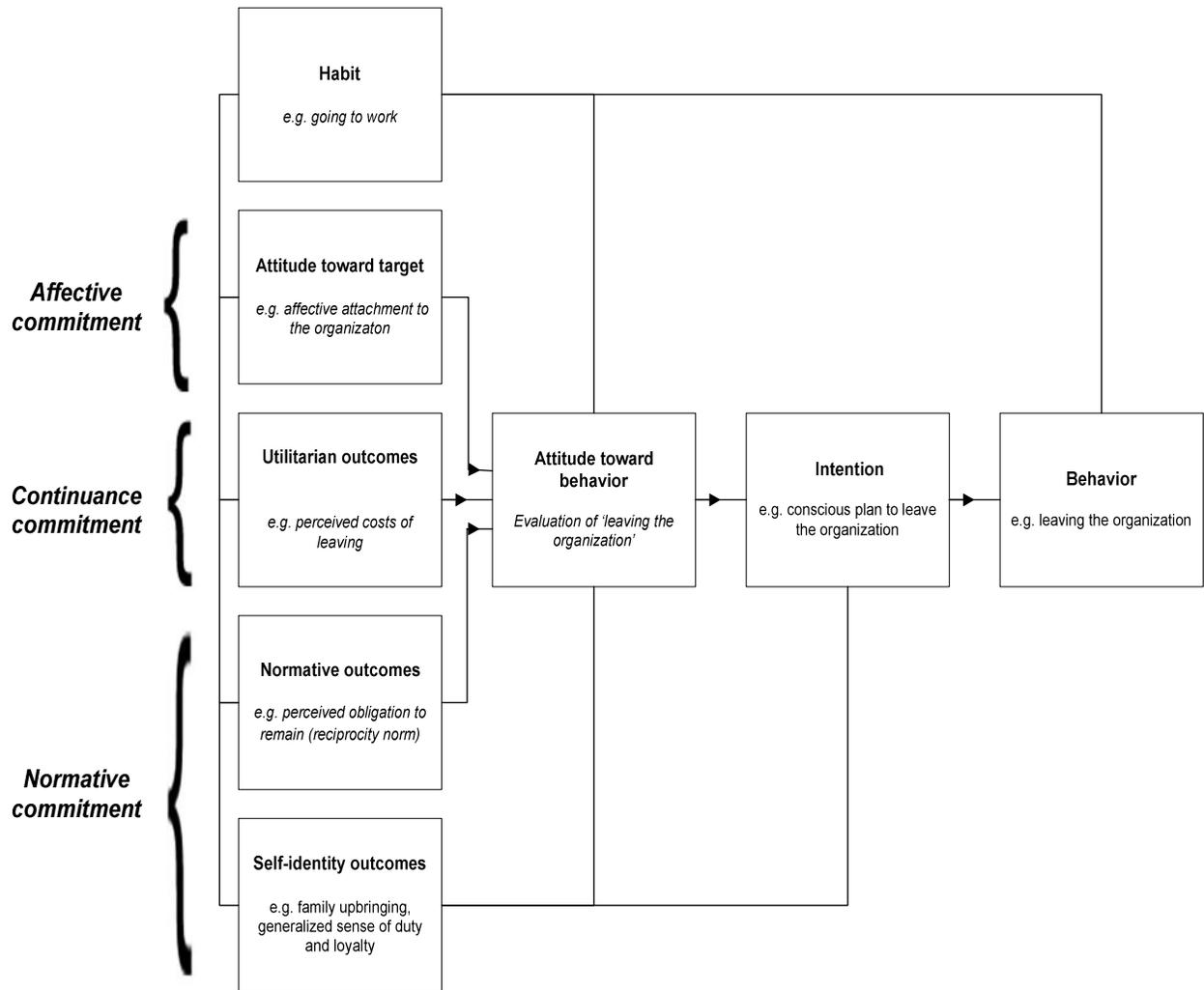


Figure 1

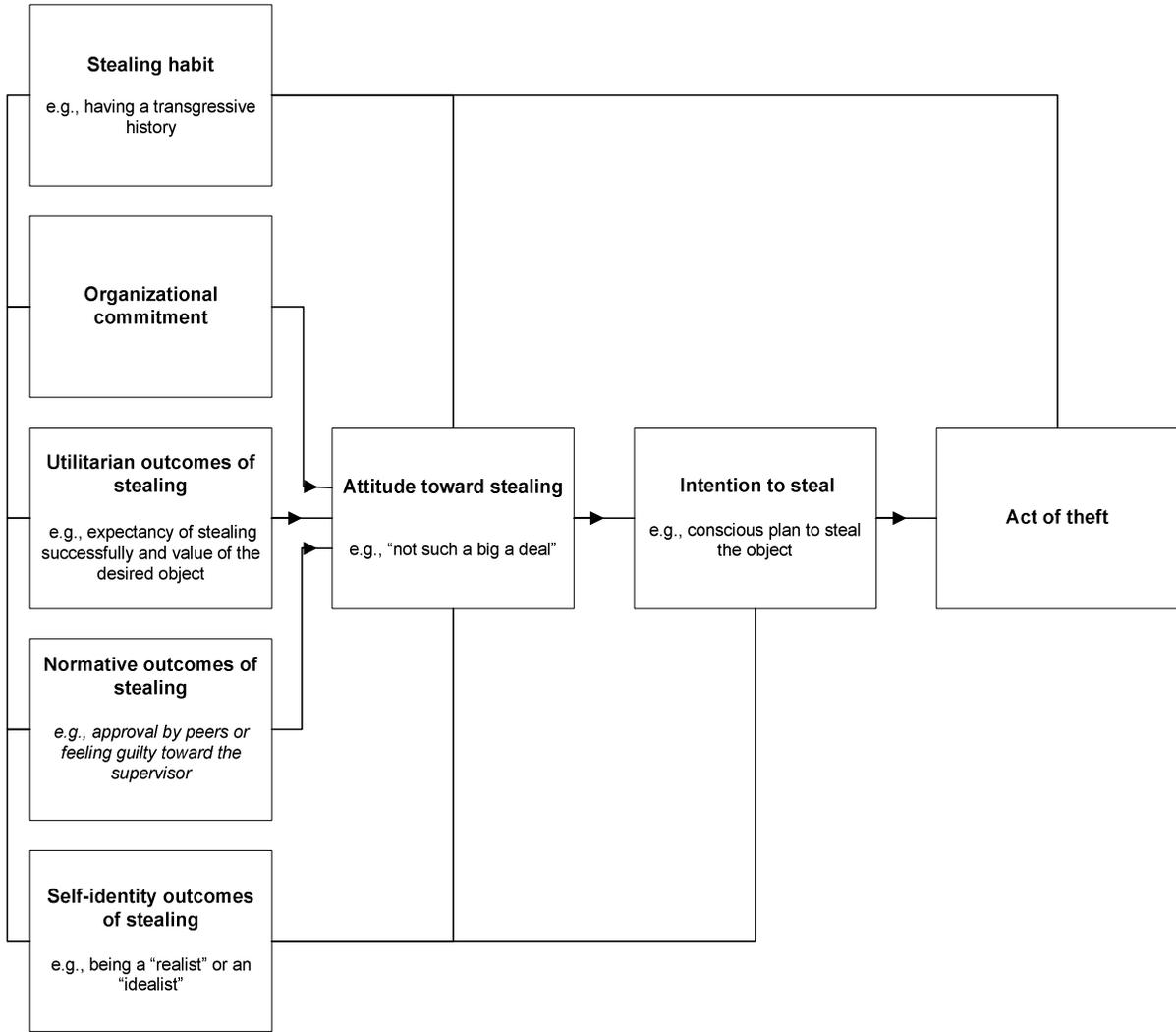


Figure 2