Past, Present and Future Research on Multiple Identities: Toward an Intrapersonal Network Approach

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Past, Present and Future Research on Multiple Identities: Toward an Intrapersonal Network Approach

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Abstract

Psychologists, sociologists, and philosophers have long recognized that people have multiple identities—based on attributes such as organizational membership, profession, gender, ethnicity, religion, nationality, and family role(s)—and that these multiple identities shape people's actions in organizations. The current organizational literature on multiple identities, however, is sparse and scattered and has yet to fully capture this foundational idea. I review and organize the literature on multiple identities into five different theoretical perspectives: social psychological; microsociological; psychodynamic and developmental; critical; and intersectional. I then propose a way to take research on multiple identities forward using an *intrapersonal identity network* approach. Moving to an identity network approach offers two advantages: first, it enables scholars to consider more than two identities simultaneously, and second, it helps scholars examine relationships among

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identities in greater detail. This is important because preliminary evidence suggests that multiple identities shape important outcomes in organizations, such as individual stress and well-being, intergroup conflict, performance, and change. By providing a way to investigate patterns of relationships among multiple identities, the identity network approach can help scholars deepen their understanding of the consequences of multiple identities in organizations and spark novel research questions in the organizational literature.

Introduction

> I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas. I was raised with the help of a white grandfather ... and a white grandmother .... I've gone to some of the best schools in America and lived in one of the world's poorest nations. I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slave-owners—an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters .... [This] story ... has seared into my genetic makeup the idea that this nation is more than the sum of its parts—that out of many, we are truly one. (Barack Obama, President, United States of America)

> My parents, my husband and my children have a lot to do with who I am .... Employees need to be able to bring their whole selves to work .... Even the CEO has to bring her whole self to work. (Indra Nooyi, Chairman & CEO, PepsiCo)

The definition of who one is can be complex and multifaceted. A person can have many identities, or self-definitions, based on attributes such as organizational membership, profession, gender, ethnicity, religion, nation, and family roles. But how do our multiple identities shape our actions in organizations? The above quotes suggest that for leaders such as Obama and Nooyi, their multiple identities are crucial to what they do. For Obama, recognizing and reconciling his own multiple identities is a core part of how he connects with and leads a pluralistic community. For Nooyi, bringing her whole self to work is one of the key ways in which she makes a positive impact on her organization—an impact she wishes every employee to make. Multiple identities are critical to people's lives, to those they work with, and to their organizations.

However, research that specifically examines how people's multiple identities shape important processes and outcomes in organizations is still in its infancy. For example, identity scholars have often noted that little research is guided by "a 'multiple identities' conception of the self" (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 291). More recently, scholars have lamented that "although many researchers offer prefaces to the contrary ... [they] focus on a limited domain of the self" (McConnell, 2011, p. 4).

The scarcity of multiple identity research is surprising for at least three reasons. First, conceptualizing identities as multiple is not a novel or recent idea: psychologists, sociologists, and philosophers have long discussed the existence of multiple identities (Deaux, 1996; Gergen, 1991; Hermans & Kempen, 1993; James, 1890; Rosenberg, 1997; Simmel, 1950; Thoits, 1983). Second, dramatic trends in organizations and society, such as increasing globalization, diversity, job insecurity, and communication technology, are making multiple identities increasingly salient for people. For instance, in global organizations, people struggle with belonging to their local unit, their country, and a global organization at the same time (Arnett, 2002; Erez & Gati, 2004; Poster, 2007), and for many virtual workers, communication technology is altering how they can simultaneously enact various identities (Bartel, Wrzesniewski, & Wiesenfeld, 2012; Ollier-Malaterre, Rothbard, & Berg, 2013; Thatcher & Zhu, 2006). Third, current organizational research has shown how a single identity shapes numerous individual and organizational processes and outcomes, such as well-being, motivation, engagement (Bartel et al., 2012; Blader & Tyler, 2009; Kahn, 1990), satisfaction, commitment (Meyer, Becker, & van Dick, 2006), performance (Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Mael & Ashforth, 1992; Riketta, 2005), socialization (Becker & Carper, 1956; Pratt, 2000; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979), conflict (Rink & Jehn, 2010), cooperation (Bartel, 2001; Dukerich, Golden, & Shortell, 2002; Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994), control (Anteby, 2008; Cheney & Tompkins, 1987; Covaleski, Dirsmith, Heian, & Samuel, 1998), inclusion (Ashcraft, Muhr, Rennstam, & Sullivan, 2012; Clair, Beatty, & Maclean, 2005; Creed & Scully, 2000), turnover (Abrams, Ando, & Hinkle, 1998; Madera, King, & Hebl, 2012), careers (Ibarra, 1999) and creativity (Swann, Kwan, Polzer, & Milton, 2003), to name just a few. Given the potential prevalence of multiple identities in organizations, and the importance of identity as a core construct in organizational research, a more complex and comprehensive understanding of multiple identities is imperative for organizational scholars.

A key barrier to making progress on understanding multiple identities is that research on multiple identities is scattered across different theoretical paradigms and is conducted on different types of identities. In a nascent area of research, too little coordination across silos could mean that scholars do not get exposure to the theoretical variation they need to make creative progress. However, too much coordination and convergence at this early stage could mean that scholars narrow in too quickly on a limited understanding of the issues (Hirsch & Levin, 1999). Thus, moving multiple identity research forward requires balancing some amount of coordination with an emphasis on preserving important differences.

In this paper, I attempt to strike a balance in two ways. To bring greater coherence to the body of knowledge on multiple identities, I first lay out a broad map of the current research on identity. The goal of this section is to

widen our scope and to understand the breadth of conceptual resources that can enrich future work on multiple identities. To progress, we also need a broad, flexible organizing framework that can accommodate different types of identities and theoretical perspectives without suppressing critical differences. We need a framework that is more general than a theory but more concrete than a metaphor. The second part of this paper provides such a framework, taking a systems approach and conceptualizing multiple identities as *intrapersonal identity networks*. Drawing on ideas of associative networks in psychology, as well as networks of relations in sociology and social theory, the paper makes the case that a network conceptualization of multiple identities combines attention to specific identity content with a focus on the relationships between different identities. Such integration provides us with ways of understanding how identities operate as entire systems in which parts (identities) are connected (via relationships) to form a whole (a network of identities).

Using the intrapersonal network approach, scholars from a variety of theoretical perspectives may be able to make progress on important experiences and outcomes related to multiple identities in organizations. For instance, scholars can use the intrapersonal identity network approach to expand beyond a single identity to formulate detailed theoretical propositions related to different constellations of identities in their particular contexts. Scholars can also use the intrapersonal identity network approach to understand how organizational trends, ranging from job insecurity to globalization and technology, may shape the professional identities of employees through their other identities (such as national, personal, and family identities) and vice versa. Scholars can also explore consequences of multiple identities using the network approach. The limited research that has examined more than one identity suggests that multiple identities shape important outcomes in organizations, such as individual stress and well-being (Brook, Garcia, & Fleming, 2008; Lammers, Atouba, & Carlson, 2013; Shih & Sanchez, 2005; Thoits, 1983), intergroup tolerance (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), performance (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008), and change (e.g. Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2010; Meyerson & Scully, 1995). By providing a way to investigate patterns of relationships among multiple identities, the identity network approach can help scholars continue to deepen our understanding of the consequences of multiple identities in organizations.

1. The Conceptual Landscape: Where Have We Been?

To provide a broad picture of the conceptual and empirical landscape of multiple identities, I reviewed 186 articles on multiple identities in major psychology, sociology, and organizational journals, as well as books and reviews of identity research, over a 30-year period from 1983 to 2013 (see Appendix 1 for a summary). The search for work on multiple identities was elusive. I purposefully cast a broad net to be as inclusive as possible, including in the review

any study that conceptualized or empirically considered more than one identity. I then classified these articles into five major theoretical perspectives on multiple identities: psychological (drawing from social identity theory and other approaches), microsociological (drawing from identity theory and identity construction approaches), developmental and psychodynamic perspectives, critical perspectives, and intersectionality perspectives. Within each perspective, I analyzed how multiple identities were conceived and measured, and then considered critical complementarities and gaps across perspectives.

Two caveats are in order. First, this is not an exhaustive or definitive list of categories. Many studies, especially in organizational behavior, draw upon several of these perspectives. Perspectives themselves often overlap (e.g. critical and intersectionality perspectives). My goal is to provide a broad classification scheme for making sense of the literature that sheds light on multiple identities; as such, some degree of simplification was necessary. Second, the description of each category is brief. Some of these perspectives have been reviewed and compared elsewhere as they pertain to the self and/or a single identity (Alvesson, Ashcraft, & Thomas, 2008; Brown, 2006; Burke & Stets, 2009; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002; Frable, 1997; Hermans, 1996; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995; Howard, 2000; Kenny, Whittle, & Willmott, 2011; Westen, 1991). My goal is to shed light on how each perspective relates to the foundational idea of multiple identities, not to parse the specifics of every perspective. Therefore, I only describe specific studies as illustrative examples. Before delving into these perspectives, to guide the discussion I provide a loose definition of identity that draws on these different streams and elaborate on some core aspects of conceptualizing identity.

1.1. Defining Identity

Defining identity is difficult partly because disciplinary and meta-theoretical approaches to identity differ in many important respects (Alvesson et al., 2008). Erikson (1968) observed that "the more one writes about this subject [i.e., identity], the more the word becomes a term for something that is as unfathomable as it is all-pervasive" (p. 9). In this paper, I use a loose definition of identity as the subjective knowledge, meanings, and experiences that are self-defining (Alvesson et al., 2008; Gecas, 1982; Leary & Tangney, 2003; Stets & Burke, 2003).

Some perspectives emphasize subjective knowledge. For instance, social identity theory, with its social psychological roots, suggests that social identity is "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his [sic] knowledge of his [sic] membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63). Other perspectives emphasize the importance of meanings. For instance, identity theory scholars from a microsociological perspective define identity as

"parts of a self composed of the meanings that persons attach to the multiple roles they typically play in highly differentiated contemporary societies" (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 284, see also Ibarra, 1999; Schein, 1978). Still other perspectives emphasize experience. For instance, identity scholars from a critical perspective note that identity "refers to subjective meanings and experience, to our ongoing efforts to address the twin questions, 'Who am I?' and—by implication—'how should I act?'" (Alvesson et al., 2008, p. 6).

A particular definitional issue that arises when analyzing the literature is that the terms "self" (or "self-concept") and "identity" are used in at least three distinct ways. Scholars have sometimes used the terms self and identity interchangeably. They have also used the term self as a broad construct to denote the entire set of identities a person may have and the term identities to denote more specific targets, such as role or social group-based identities. Implied in this formulation is a hierarchical relationship between the self and various sub-components of the self, the identities. Scholars have also sometimes proposed the opposite, that a person has one core identity but it is composed of various selves (for examples of the various formulations above see, e.g. Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Erikson, 1968; Leary and Tangney, 2003; Pratt & Kraatz, 2009). In this paper, I use the term self to mean the broad construct and the term identities to refer to the more specific targets. When the scholars whose work I review use the terms differently, however, I use the terms chosen by those authors (e.g. the use of selves in self-discrepancy theory to describe identities).

Another definitional issue is the extent to which scholars use the term identity to refer to subjective knowledge, meaning, and experience versus more externally imposed categories or roles. Identities are often thought to derive from and reflect social structures—for example, formal roles, social positions, and social categories (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Stryker & Burke, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1987). Yet identities are not the same as social roles or social categories. For many scholars some element of self-definition or subjective acceptance is deemed critical (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Being categorized as Chinese does not necessarily mean that one defines oneself as Chinese, although how one is categorized can influence self-definitions and vice versa. Identities are therefore neither fully internally decided nor completely externally imposed. Consistent with this approach, in this paper, I refer to identities as including a subjective element—how we see ourselves.

This is not to say that social influence does not matter. For many scholars the intersection of self-definition and social influence is critical to identity formation: people come to define who they are through social relations (Erikson, 1968; Leary & Tangney, 2003; Mead, 1934). Furthermore, the social forces that shape the self can vary in their characteristics. Some scholars argue that identities are negotiated and formed through situated social interaction (Goffman, 1959; Swann, 1987). Others suggest that social influence in forming identities

need not be immediate; this influence can be the result of past social interaction that has become internalized and implicit (Erikson, 1980; Mead, 1934) or even the result of imagined communities (Anderson, 2006). Thus, social relations form an important part of understanding identity.

Scholars also note that identities have cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. Identities are often associated with cognitive routines, scripts, or schemas (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Markus, 1977). Identities also carry deep affective components, such as self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, Golledge, & Scabini, 2006), pride, and shame (Britt & Heise, 2000; Goffman, 1963; Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996). Behavioral components include embodied aspects and practices, such as one's physical presence (Trethewey, 1999), the language one speaks, the food one eats, or the lines one draws between right and wrong (Anteby, 2010; Ashmore et al., 2004; Mead, 1934; Phinney, 1990). Identities provide lenses through which we make sense of the world and enable us to connect meaning and action (Alvesson et al., 2008; Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008; Dutton & Dukerich, 1991; McAdams, 2001; Pratt, 2000; Weick, 1993, 1995).

Below, I describe how five key perspectives—social psychological, sociological, developmental/psychodynamic, critical, and intersectional—tackle questions of multiple identities. As the perspectives are not limited to studies of work and organizations, and organizational scholarship does not use all these perspectives equally, I first describe the core ideas reflected in disciplinary studies and then provide illustrative examples from organizational studies where available. Table 1 and Figure 1 provide a summary of the various theoretical perspectives and associated images of multiple identities reviewed below.

1.2. Social Psychological Perspectives

Social psychologists interested in multiple identities often refer to James's (1890) well-known exploration of the self in *Principles of Psychology* in which he argued that "properly speaking, a man [*sic*] has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him [*sic*] and carry an image of him [*sic*] in their mind" (p. 294). Social psychological approaches in my review consisted largely of research drawing on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1987) (for detailed reviews of social identity theory as it relates to a single identity, see Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hogg & Terry, 2000), research building on ideas of a dynamic and malleable self-concept (Markus & Wurf, 1987), and research on self-verification (Swann, 1983). I describe how these various approaches specifically relate to multiple identities below.

1.2.1. Social identity theory. Imagine multiple identities within an individual arranged in a loosely graded structure. A single identity rises to the top of the hierarchy based on how closely it fits with the context and then guides

Table 1 The Conceptual Landscape: Theoretical Perspectives on Multiple Identities

	Social psychological	Microsociological	Psychodynamic/ developmental	Critical	Intersectionality
Conceptualization of multiple identities	*Social identity theory*: Identities are connected to social groups—organized in a loosely fluctuating hierarchy; Activation—context triggers, often only one identity at a time; *Working self-concept*: Identities as distinct buckets of knowledge that are differentiated and integrated; Activation triggers some aspects of the self and not others	*Identity theory*: Identities are connected to roles and relationships—organized in a salience hierarchy; Identities can conflict or enhance one another; Many identities must combine into one behavioral output stream; *Identity Construction*: Aligning identity with others' views; Constructing identities as true or false, compatible or conflicting	*Developmental*: Identities as unfolding over time—past and future; Movement closer to or further from important others and relationships in facilitating identity development; *Psychodynamic*: Multiple identity tensions often manifest at other levels (interpersonal, intergroup) in a system; Aspects of the self can be implicitly divided, rejected, projected, and suppressed; seen as desired or hated	Self as fragmented; no single identity. Identities appear stable, singular, and shared due to the operation of power; Identities are constructed as real versus fake; Many I positions	A + B versus C−C is a distinct experience rather than the sum of its parts; Multiple group memberships, often subordinated or marginalized; Some identities are chronically salient, but also invisible
Content of identities studied	Social groups, can be deeply situated or minimal	Social roles, deeply situated, not minimal	Deeply situated in life context or group context, not minimal	Deeply situated in power relations, not minimal	Deeply situated in marginalized groups, not minimal

Structure(s) of identities	Hierarchical/graded structure, and independent	Hierarchical and independent	Evolutionary, implicit, and displaced	Jumbled/chaotic, fragmented, and beneath the surface	Fault lines/cracks, fissures, and invisibility
Relationships between identities	Integration and differentiation, Conflict, Overlap in meaning	Conflict, Overlap in meaning, and enhancement	Loss, discovery, and experimentation integration, suppression, projection/displacement	Power, contestation, crafting, and suppression	Power, contestation, and integration
Illustrative processes and outcomes	Well-being, performance, creativity, intergroup relations	Well-being, performance, meaning/coherence, social arrangements	Personal growth, meaning, coherence, and intergroup relations	Agency, organizational or institutional change	Agency, organizational or institutional change, intergroup equity, and relations
Stability	Shifting, immediate context	More stable, but shifts in context	Dynamic over time	Shifting, but constrained based on power structure	Shifting, but constrained based on power structure
Source of change	Contextual trigger	Action, Institutional contradictions, Sensemaking	Time, experience, and developmental relationships	Interstices of discourses	Interstices of groups

Table 1   The Conceptual Landscape: Theoretical Perspectives on Multiple Identities (Continued)

|	Social psychological	Microsociological	Psychodynamic/ developmental	Critical	Intersectionality
Key images and metaphors	Loosely fluctuating hierarchy, Integrated and differentiated self, Flexible activation of multiple aspects	Hierarchy of commitments in relationships, Resources, roles, meaning, relationships, interaction, and scripts	Evolution, containment, and growth	Power suppresses multiplicity— appearance of unity is an accomplishment Incoherent, De-centered, Collage	Crossroads, breaking down dichotomies, and identity as transcending levels, Holograms
Examples of questions addressed	What are the triggers that make one identity salient? How do identities rise to the top of the hierarchy and propel action?	How does multiplicity disrupt or enhance identity construction? Why is the person striving to construct their identities in this way? What enables or constrains a particular construction?	What prepared, led to, or will arise out of the current identity? Who or what receives, holds or contains the past or future self? How does the unfolding occur? What voices or selves are present? Hidden? Where are the various aspects of the self lodged in a system? How can they be integrated?	What forces are shaping the narratives that are created, embraced, and available?	How are assumed differences between identity categories reinforced or disrupted?
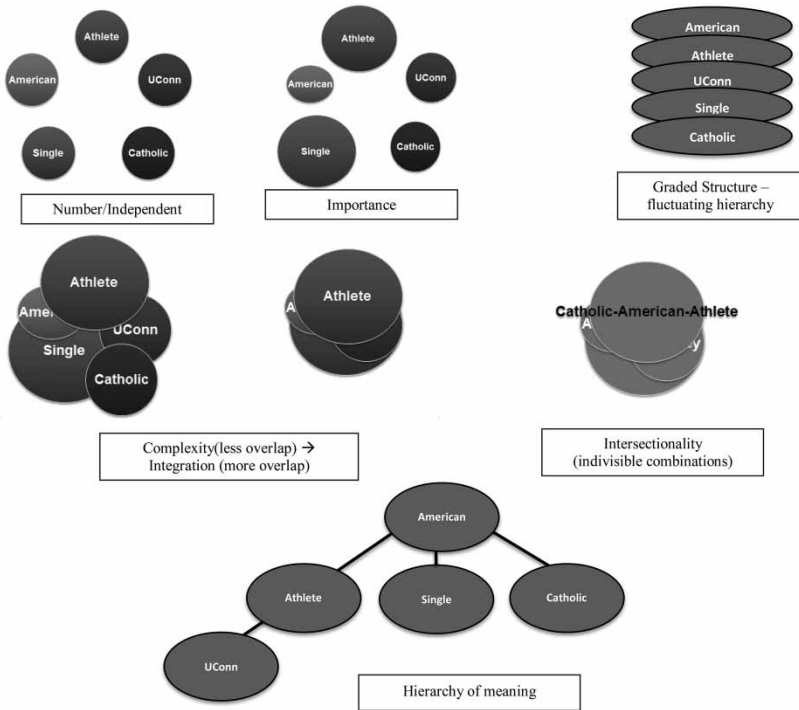
Figure 1   Illustrative Images of Multiple Identities.

behavior while suppressing other identities in the process. This image of multiple identities is present in social identity theory. The foundational idea is that people define themselves based on their social group, and that once a group identity is made salient in a given situation (for instance, through comparisons with other groups), other identities recede while that single group identity guides behavior (such as engaging in in-group favoritism and out-group derogation) (Tajfel & Turner, 1987). However, current research is moving away from the idea of a single salient identity and I cover some of these more recent trends further below.

     1.2.1.1.   Single identity salience and identity switching.   The salience or activation of a single social identity and the corresponding suppression of other identities has been studied in two ways. First, scholars have suggested that individuals move along a spectrum from identifying themselves as unique individuals (personal identity) to viewing themselves in roles and relationships (role identity) to seeing aspects of themselves derived from membership in a social group (social/collective identity) (Brewer & Gardner, 1996). Furthermore, a specific level of self-categorization will preclude self-categorization at other levels; for instance, if people think of themselves as unique individuals

and focus on personal attributes, they are less likely to think of themselves as members of social groups sharing attributes with other individuals. One's personal and social identities are functionally antagonistic, i.e. they are unlikely to be simultaneously salient (Hornsey, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1987; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Second, moving beyond the emphasis on a single social versus a personal identity, some scholars have focused on two social identities that switch and alternate in contextual salience. For instance, some studies of immigrants, minorities, and biracial individuals examine how people identify with multiple social groups. These studies highlight how, as the situational salience of one's identities shifts, cognition, affect, and behavior also shift (Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2006; Briley, Morris & Simonson, 2005; Phinney, 1990; Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady, 1999; Shih & Sanchez, 2005).

One view of social identity theory is that this core idea of a single, salient identity guiding action has dampened and constrained scholarly attention to multiple identities. A contrasting view is that social identity theory acknowledges that people's social identities are derived from multiple social groups and provides one way of understanding how people handle this complexity (see Scott, Corman, & Cheney, 1998, citing Ashforth & Mael, 1989, and Dutton et al., 1994, p. 311).

1.2.1.2.   Dual identities.   Social identity scholars have also moved beyond a single, salient identity and introduced the idea that two identities can be salient simultaneously. For example, some studies examine people holding two identities, in which one identity is a shared, superordinate identity (e.g. American) and the other is a subgroup identity (e.g. black and white). These studies show that a superordinate identity (i.e. shared group membership) can ease intergroup conflict based on subgroup identities (Doosje, Spears, & Ellemers, 2002; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Scholars drawing on social identity theory have also explicitly considered how a pair of identities may interact or be related to one another. For example, scholars have examined how two distinct identities such as Asian and American may be combined or integrated with one another (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Studies also illustrate how simultaneously activating two identities may lead to a behavior that compromises between the two (Blader, 2007). These approaches all provide insight into the fact that two identities may simultaneously guide behavior and imply that two identities may interact or modify one another.

1.2.1.3.   Social identity complexity.   Roccas and Brewer (2002) introduced the construct of social identity complexity, defining it as the extent to which identities overlap in terms of multiple group representations (i.e. perceived similarity of group prototypes and perceived overlap in group

membership). Individuals who see themselves as part of multiple social groups, such as Asian and American for instance, can have varying representations of how the two groups overlap. A simple representation of their multiple identities may occur if they see their in-group as composed only of Asians who are also Americans (intersection). A more complex representation of their multiple identities may occur if they see the entire set of Asians and the entire set of Americans as in-groups (merger).

1.2.2. The working self-concept. Research building on ideas of the working self-concept begins with an image of the self as a largely cognitive construct that is dynamic, flexible, and malleable. Based on context, different aspects of the self-concept are called up or activated in working memory. The working self-concept is thus a temporary and constantly shifting subset of the entire set of definitions we have about who we are. One important feature of this view is that it is the structure and content of the working self-concept that guides thoughts, behaviors, and actions. For instance, many "types" of selves exist (Markus, 1977), such as independent, interdependent, or relational selves. These types emphasize self-definitions in which the self is distinct from others (independent), closely tied to a web of others (interdependent), or tied to a specific other (relational), respectively (Cross & Madson, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Typically, these selves are activated one at a time, and once activated these self-construals guide different emotions and action (Gardner, Gabriel, & Lee, 1999).

However, some research that builds on the idea of the working self-concept implicitly highlights the activation of many selves, by suggesting that choosing, comparing, or adjudicating between different selves guides emotion, motivation, and behavior. For instance, Markus and Nurius's (1986) research on possible selves introduces the idea that people have distinct possible selves: feared selves (who I do not wish to be) and aspired selves (who I wish to be in the future). People's constant comparison between their present selves and these possible selves serves as a motivational force that propels behavior (Markus & Nurius, 1986). In a similar fashion, self-discrepancy theory explicitly examines how people compare their "ought" selves (who they ought to be) with their actual selves (who they currently are) based on various self-guides or standards. When actual selves fail to meet the ideal self, the discrepancy creates strong motivation and emotion to meet the standard (Higgins, 1987).

1.2.3. Self-complexity. Research on cognitive representations of the self also highlights how multiple aspects of the self are structured. A key feature here is the extent to which different aspects of the self overlap with (or are distinct from) one another. Self-complexity research suggests that complex self-representations have a greater number of distinct, compared to overlapping,

self-aspects (Linville, 1987; Showers, Abramson, & Hogan, 1998). A similar view of overlapping versus distinct attributes is also present in the idea of elevation, the extent to which a given self-aspect shares attributes with other self-aspects (Rosenberg, 1997). This structure is often represented as a branching tree, in which important self-aspects are those elevated to the top of the tree that have the greatest number of attributes associated with them and are likely to get chronically activated across many contexts. McConnell's (2011) multiple self-aspects framework also organizes self-aspects, which often derive from personal experiences, social roles, relationships, and collective identities, based on overlapping versus distinct attributes.

1.2.4. Self-verification theory. Self-verification theory suggests that people are goal-directed, motivated, and active in constructing a specific view of themselves (Schlenker, 1982; Swann, 1983). In contrast to self-discrepancy theory, however, in which the drive toward action arises from internal discrepancies between multiple selves, self-verification theory posits that discrepancies between how one versus how others sees oneself motivate action. Thus, people actively construct their social reality, seeking interactions with others so as to validate or verify who they are (Swann, Polzer, Seyle, & Ko, 2004). So how does one verify who one is in the context of multiple identities? Studies illustrate that people manage the tension between multiple identities and self-verification by being different things to different people; seeking verification for particular selves only within relevant relationships (Swann, Bosson, & Pelham, 2002).

1.2.5. Organizational research using social psychological approaches. In organizational research scholars have drawn on social identity theory to examine multiple work identities, ranging from coworkers, workgroups, and teams to divisions, organizations, and professions. Many of these studies suggest that these identities operate independently of one another (Anteby & Wrzesniewski, 2014; Chattopadhyay & George, 2005; Cooper & Thatcher, 2010; Johnson, Morgeson, Ilgen, Meyer, & Lloyd, 2006; Richter, West, Van Dick, & Dawson, 2006; Van Dick, Wagner, & Lemmer, 2004). For instance, one's profession, organization, and workgroup identity may each independently affect one's job satisfaction (see, e.g. Johnson et al., 2006).

Some organizational research examines the ways in which multiple identities can be simultaneously salient rather than only salient one at a time. This research suggests different ways in which multiple identities can combine—some identities can be relatively more salient than others, some identities can be embedded within a larger collective identity, there can be overlapping meanings between identities, or identities can fully blend into a whole new identity (Ashforth, 2007; Ashforth & Johnson, 2001). A study of newcomers finds that relational identities, defining oneself in terms of a given relationship,

and organizational identities converge, such that initial identification built on a supervisory relationship eventually generalizes into organizational identification (Sluss, Ployhart, Cobb, & Ashforth, 2012). In contrast, there is also research on the ways in which identities can conflict: a study of employees in a hospital rehabilitation unit illustrated that multiple social identities based on identities as a nursing professional versus a rehabilitation nurse were contested and conflicted (Pratt & Rafaeli, 1997). Some organizational research has also begun to examine the idea of social identity complexity in a work context, empirically studying work identity complexity (the extent to which multiple work identities are seen as distinct or overlapping) (Caza & Wilson, 2009; Vora & Kostova, 2007) and different combinations or profiles of identities (Lipponen, Helkama, Olkkonen, & Juslin, 2005).

1.3. *Microsociological Perspectives*

Negotiation of one's identities with other people and negotiation among one's own identities are key focal points of microsociological perspectives on identity. On one hand, Cooley's (1902) "looking glass self," Mead's (1934) "generalized other", and Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical self highlight the central role of other people or audiences in shaping our self-views. On the other, Mead's (1934) idea of the "parliament of selves" captures how our many identities negotiate with one another. Microsociological approaches in my review largely consisted of research drawing upon identity theory (see Stryker & Burke, 2000, for a review). In addition, my review encompassed research building upon a view of identity as constructed and negotiated with other people and groups in particular contexts rather than as a set category or property of an individual (e.g. see Cerulo, 1997, for a review of identity construction).

1.3.1. *Identity theory.*

Identity theory informs much of the microsociological research on identity (Stryker, 2008; Stryker & Burke, 2000). In identity theory, identities are tied to a person's roles in the social structure. Identity arises when people internalize the meanings associated with their social roles and personalize them, imbuing them with unique meaning. For instance, although the meanings associated with the role of a kindergarten teacher may be widely socially understood, each kindergarten teacher will personalize these meanings/associations and therefore have a slightly different conceptualization of his or her identity.

Like social identity theory, identity theory also acknowledges that people have multiple identities and for the most part contends that a single identity influences behavior at a given time (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Identities in identity theory are organized in a salience hierarchy. In contrast to social identity theory, which argues that contextual fit drives single identity salience, identity theory holds that salience is based on how important and central an identity is

to the individual (McCall & Simmons, 1978). Some scholars suggest that the salience of an identity is determined by the quantitative and qualitative "commitment" one has to that identity, measured by the number and strength of identity-based ties to others in one's social networks (Burke & Stets, 2009).

Thoits (1983, 1986) explicitly expanded on identity theory by conceptualizing and operationalizing how multiple identities could influence individual stress and well-being. In one study, she asked people to name their various identities (parent, spouse, friend, church member) at two points in time. She then examined the number of identities, the change in identities from time 1 to time 2, and the person's level of psychological distress (Thoits, 1983). She found that the greater the number of identities people named the lower their experience of psychological distress. Her research thus illustrated that the accumulation of multiple identities could provide psychological resources for individuals. Her findings also pointed to the idea that losing overlapping identities (identities that shared meanings and resources) would negatively impact psychological functioning.

Burke and Stets (2009) also expand on the identity theory approach to include multiple identities. Their identity control model begins with the idea that each identity is associated with a set of meanings in a given situation and set of meanings that are more abstract standards. People verify their identity by aligning perceived situational meanings with the standards. When multiple identities are salient in a given situation, verifying all identities is a challenge because there is only one behavioral output stream (the person) for verification. The person has to adjust his or her behavior and the perceived meanings in the situation to verify all the identities simultaneously. The verification of all salient identities is not considered to be problematic when the meanings in identity standards are independent or aligned, but when there are conflicting standards, the person has to adjudicate between them, either by changing the identity standards or reprioritizing them (Burke & Stets, 2009). One study examined how status characteristics (race/ethnicity, gender, education, and age) would affect the perceived verification of three identities (worker, friend, and academic) and subsequently how verification of these identities would affect self-esteem. This study found that higher education levels were positively related to the verification of both worker and academic identities, as both these identities shared meanings related to being task-oriented. The study also found that the verification of these identities positively affected self-esteem. In this study, multiple identities were conceptualized as independent of one another, that is the worker, friend and academic identities did not interact, and the verification of multiple identities had a cumulative effect on self-esteem (Stets & Harrod, 2004).

1.3.2. *Identity construction and enactment.* Although not a single, coherent theory, the idea that identities are constructed and enacted

(e.g. Cooley,1902; Goffman,1959, 1963; Mead, 1934) is a conceptual resource for multiple identity scholars. Scholars in this vein have persuasively shown how identities are an accomplishment of interaction, performed and "done" for others (Cerulo, 1997; Snow & Anderson, 1987; West & Zimmerman, 1987). For instance, Goffman (1959) proposed that we are constantly performing our "selves" for others. His work highlights how people may resist externally imposed definitions of who they are (e.g. by concealing personal aspects of themselves), but also how they may eventually construct an identity from an image or part they are merely playing. For multiple identity scholars the core conceptual notion is that there is not a single, true, or "authentic" self. Rather, dichotomies such as a public self and private self, or a "real self" and a "fake self" are inherently a multiple identity problem. Furthermore, because people are embedded in multiple structures or institutions, they face competing prescriptions and demands about who they are supposed to be (Giddens, 1991; Seo & Creed, 2002), which creates the need to manage such tensions (Creed et al., 2010). Finally, identity enactment builds on the idea that identities are both constantly constructed and informed or shaped by structures, but the focus is on practices. Practices, behaviors, and routines are identity in action (Glynn, 2000). Through making sense of action, people learn and articulate who they are (Weick, 1995).

1.3.3.   *Organizational research using microsociological perspectives.*   Identity construction has become an important area of focus in organizational studies, sometimes blended with other perspectives (Anteby, 2008; Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Beyer & Hannah, 2002; DeRue, Ashford, & Cotton, 2009; Elsbach, 2003; Gutierrez, Howard-Grenville, & Scully, 2010; Lok, 2010; Pratt, Rockmann, & Kaufmann, 2006). Emerging organizational research examines the discrete construction of more than one identity, such as workgroup, organization, and profession (Vough, 2012). Other work examines the construction of a single relationship between two identities. For instance, one study illustrates how priests actively balance their personal and occupational identities (Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006). Another study illustrates how gay Protestant ministers reconstruct conflict between two identities, one based on religion and another on sexual orientation, into reconciliation and reflexivity, so that they can act as institutional change agents (Creed et al., 2010). Both studies illustrate how a multiple identity lens makes the identity construction process more complex, adding the constructs of confusion and contestation as well as reconciliation and renewal.

An identity enactment approach to understanding multiple identities in organizational research can be seen in Thatcher and Zhu's (2006) conceptual analysis of telecommuting. They suggest that changes in social structures due to technological advancement, such as changes to the time and place of work, disrupt the enactment of work and non-work identities. Studies in

organizational communication have also proposed a structuration model of multiple identities, in which organizational structures, such as workgroup or role, shape a person's identities, but the person also actively identifies with these various targets (Scott et al., 1998). These studies examine the influence of competition, compatibility, and other relationships among multiple identities—in particular, personal, workgroup, organizational, and professional identities—to illustrate how organizational structures, such as geographic distribution and virtual communication, shape activities and hence identities (Scott, 1997, 1999).

1.4. Developmental and Systems Psychodynamic Perspectives

Though the developmental and psychodynamic perspectives reviewed below differ from one another in important ways, they both share a conceptualization of self and identity as an unfolding *developmental* process that takes place in in the context of communities or significant others. Important processes relevant to understanding multiple identities from this perspective are the search for unity or integration of identities over time and the conscious versus implicit nature of one's identities.

1.4.1. Developmental perspectives. Developmental scholars describe a continuous developmental process of the self evolving (Erikson, 1980; Phinney, 1993; see Kegan, 1982, for a review). In this process, the self is initially inextricable from its context (i.e. often entwined with important relationships with significant others). Over time and given an environment appropriate for psychological growth and development, a person will begin to differentiate his or her "self" from his or her context at each stage of growth. Appropriate developmental contexts (within which a person is embedded) are those that provide confirmation (providing attention, recognition, and confirmation of the person's experience), contradiction (providing support for the person's autonomy or differentiation), and continuity (remaining in place for the re-integration or recovery of a new relationship) (Kegan, 1982).

Organizational scholars have suggested that organizations and interpersonal relationships at work have the potential to be developmental contexts for adults (Higgins & Kram, 2001; Higgins & Thomas, 2001; Kegan, 1982). Organizational scholarship based on this adult developmental approach has focused on the acquisition of a single new identity, such as a leader identity (Hill, 1992; Ibarra, Snook, & Guillen Ramo, 2010; Lord & Hall, 2005), at times supported by leader development programs or courses that serve as identity workspaces (Petriglieri, Wood, & Petriglieri, 2011). This research has implications for multiple identities, however. For example, does acquiring a new identity, such as leader, require shedding or altering the meanings of other existing identities one might have?

1.4.2. Life course and narrative identity. A related area of research associated with a developmental perspective is narrative identity. Narrative identity scholars argue that who we are is defined through narrating stories about ourselves to others (Bruner, 1990; McAdams, Josselson, & Lieblich, 2006). People construct narrative identities or life stories to maintain or achieve unity, meaning, and purpose in their lives (McAdams, 2001). These life stories evolve and grow over peoples' lifetimes. As stories contain many different characters, sub-themes, and scripts, narrative identity approaches are quite relevant to multiple identities. To the extent that narrative identity approaches surface conflict, differentiation, and integration of different voices or parts in the stories, the connection to multiple identities becomes more explicit. For instance, an analysis of Obama's speeches and writings illustrates both the unity and multiplicity of his identity. This develops over time: from a largely separate articulation of his different identities in *Dreams of My Father* to a more integrated picture of his many identities in his 2008 speech on race (an excerpt of which appears in the opening quote to this paper) in which he seems to internally transcend group divisions (Josselson, 2012). Josselson (2012) argues that Obama's narrative identity exhibits "the capacity to move among many identities and yet keep them suspended together in a container he feels to be himself" (p. 55). Narrative identity has been used in research stemming from psychological, microsociological, and critical perspectives (Bruner, 1990; Gregg, 1991; Jones & McEwen, 2000) and has been gaining ground in organizational studies (Ashforth, Harrison, & Sluss, 2014; Creed, DeJordy, & Lok, 2014; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010; Koerner, 2013).

1.4.3. Psychodynamic perspectives. When considering the organization as a source of identity, foundational scholars in organizational studies drew from Freud's notion of identification (Katz & Kahn, 1978; Simon, 1976). However, the psychoanalytic roots of the study of the self were largely overlooked by social psychologists for many years. Notable exceptions were psychoanalytic scholars who formulated and drew upon ego identity (Erikson, 1980; Marcia, 1966; Schwartz, 2005) and object relations theory (Klein, 1952/1975; Leary & Tangney, 2003; Morf & Rhodewalt, 1993; Westen, 1998). In recent years attention to these theories has been growing as scholars of the self and identity have examined how identities develop in response to formative experiences in a given environment. They have also attempted to combine and contrast a psychodynamic lens with other lenses, such as social cognition, sensemaking, and identity construction (Petriglieri & Petriglieri, 2010; Stein, 2004; Westen, 1991, 1992).

Similar to social psychological and sociological perspectives, the psychodynamic lens suggests that different aspects of the self can be in conflict. It adds the unique insight that when the self is divided, often a "good" and a "bad" element emerge, and that "bad" elements of the self are difficult to experience

consciously. These negative self-aspects are then suppressed and can be projected onto others. For instance, a study of leadership in the Gucci family business examines how some leaders took unwanted aspects of themselves and split and projected them onto others, allowing themselves to remain leader-like to themselves and others (Petriglieri & Stein, 2012). Studies have highlighted how narcissistic individuals have highly inflated, yet unstable self-views, including shamed and humiliated selves. These implicit self-views become explicit with even mild criticism and lead to extreme reactions (Chatterjee & Hambrick, 2007; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Westen & Heim, 2003).

This perspective raises a fundamental question that does not necessarily appear in the other perspectives—to what extent are our multiple identities implicit, i.e. below our conscious awareness? Many forms of knowledge and affect exist below conscious awareness but influence our behavior in organizations (Barsade, Ramarajan, & Westen, 2009). As a form of knowledge and affect, identities can also be implicit. For example, research on implicit attitudes suggests that many aspects of how we see and feel about ourselves, particularly in relation to stereotypes of social groups, are implicit (Banaji, Hardin, & Rothman, 1993; Greenwald et al., 2002; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). Research also shows that the activation of relational selves, the self in relation to significant others, can have critical effects on our behavior below our conscious awareness (Andersen & Chen, 2002).

To the extent that individuals are conscious of some identities and not conscious of others, they may not experience themselves as having multiple identities. This could be problematic in two ways: it could signal dysfunctionality or the inability to alter or revise their identities. Josselson and Harway (2012) argue that from a clinical viewpoint, integration, complexity, richness, and contradiction indicate healthy psychological functioning. Complete unconsciousness of being multiple, different selves could be akin to multiple personality disorder (Josselson & Harway, 2012, p. 12). Even if lack of conscious awareness of one's multiple identities is not a clinical issue, people may not be able to consciously manipulate or construct them in social interaction (Costello, 2005). However, there is little organizational research on the nature and effects of implicit multiple identities outside of what is alluded to in psychodynamic studies.

Across developmental and psychodynamic approaches, both multiplicity and the unity of the self are desired. Key concepts include time and social/relational contexts, which enable or constrain people toward unity or multiplicity. In developmental theories, multiplicity and unity are achieved over time through growth in an appropriate holding environment. In psychodynamic theories, consciously accepting one's multiplicity is a challenge and the unity of the self is achieved through displacing unwanted or undesired aspects of the self onto others. Conscious awareness and integration of multiplicity is seen as a sign of growth.

1.5. Critical Perspectives

Identity scholars with a critical/emancipatory lens in organizational research build on the Foucauldian idea that our sense of who we are is shaped through relationships of power. Multiple identities have been more central in this approach than in some of the perspectives discussed above (Alvesson et al., 2008; Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Kenny et al., 2011). An important assumption of these perspectives is that there is no unified self. The core image is one of fragmentation. Critical scholars examining identity argue that organizations attempt to control and maintain employees' work identities, which can cause identities to appear singular, static, and dominant (Covaleski et al., 1998). This perspective "assumes the presence of multiple, shifting, competing identities, even as they may appear orderly and integrated in particular contexts" (Alvesson et al., 2008, p. 6). Engaging with the tensions and dilemmas of multiple identities is inherently part of the critical approach. Because a person is at the nexus of multiple discourses, a person is neither completely determined by a given discourse, nor completely free to choose any discourse he or she desires.

Related views that focus on the shifting, fragmented nature of the self include Hermans and Kempen's (1993) dialogical self theory. This theory conceptualizes individuality as a constant conversation among multiple voices or identities. One takes up various "I" positions in an internal dialogue (imagine a conversation between the positions of manager, father, and citizen) (Hermans & Kempen, 1993). In this view, no single, true self exists; rather, "each reality of the self gives way to another—the center fails to hold" (Gergen, 1991, p. 7).

1.5.1. Organizational research using critical perspectives. Some studies employing a critical perspective deconstruct a single focal identity in an organizational context, such as professional identity but implicitly allude to another identity (such as professional and gender identities) (Alvesson, 2001; Ashcraft, 2005; Jorgenson, 2002). However, emerging research by critical scholars has suggested focusing more explicitly on more than one identity. For instance, one scholar employing a critical lens argues that identity scholars should

> stop talking about people having "managerial identities", "professional identities", "work identities" and the rest and always look, first, at whole individual identities and, only subsequently, at the part that organizational, managerial or occupational experiences play in the forming and maintaining of those identities. (Watson, 2009, p. 450)

In one study extending Scott et al.'s (1998) structuration model of multiple identities described above, scholars examine how people identify with structures that are targets for multiple identities (workgroup, division, organization, and profession). They find that those in central positions in a network were

more likely to have a pattern of uniform identification with each of the four targets than those in less central positions who had more variability in their multiple identity profiles. The study also illustrated that once there was conflict over the divisional identity the pattern of identification shifted such that people consolidated their identities from being spread across many targets toward identifying with just their workgroup (Kuhn & Nelson, 2002). Thus, multiple identity studies utilizing a critical perspective provide explicit insight into how multiple identities may contradict one another or serve as a stabilizing force based on relations and distribution of power in a system (Ashcraft, 2007; Karreman & Alvesson, 2004; Kuhn & Nelson, 2002).

1.6. Intersectionality Perspectives

Intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2006) explicitly embraces the notion of relationships among multiple identities. Indeed, scholars define intersectionality as the mutually constitutive relations among multiple social identities (for reviews of intersectional approaches, see Bowleg, 2008; Davis, 2008; Holvino, 2010; Shields, 2008; Verloo, 2006). Intersectionality theory is a branch of feminist scholarship that challenges the exclusive focus on gender in feminist research. It questions the separation of categories such as gender, race, class, and nationality (McCall, 2005). A distinguishing feature of intersectional analyses is the theorization of relationships among such groups (Acker, 2006; Bowleg, 2008; Holvino, 2010). A second distinguishing feature is that these analyses pay attention to the historical and structural inequalities among social groups (Essers, 2009; Hancock, 2007; Holvino, 2010; Ruiz Castro & Holvino, 2014; Shields, 2008). As with critical perspectives, power figures centrally in this perspective; describing a person's identity contradictions requires examining the full set and patterns of power and privilege of the groups which form the bases for the identities (Ferree, 2009).

Despite its intuitive grasp of multiple identities, intersectionality research does not automatically include the subjective dimension of identity. For instance, Crenshaw's (1989) initial intersectional critique arose from the observation that black women could only be categorized either as black or female when bringing discrimination suits, but missed including black women's self-definitions. Despite this emphasis on perceptions of and treatment by others, some scholars do highlight the importance of understanding multiple identities within an intersectional approach. For example, Lorber (2011) notes, "Because social location derives from many identities, you cannot predict standpoint based on a particular gender, social class, family status, racial or ethnic group or sexual orientation, or a particular mix of these statuses, you need to ask" (p. 41). In her view, asking people about who they are may reveal insight into how identity is constructed based on social advantage and disadvantage. One illustration of the disconnect between merely attending to

people's social groups versus asking how they may define themselves comes from research on members of dominant groups. This research suggests that dominant categories are rarely claimed as personally meaningful identities, while subordinate categories are more likely to be self-defining (Hurtado & Sinha, 2008; Lorde, 1995; Pratto & Stewart, 2012). Thus, asking in this view may not yield a subjectively claimed identity, but may still reveal insight into how power and privilege are manifest in our self-conceptions.

1.6.1. *Organizational research using intersectionality perspectives.* Within organizational studies there is also a focus on how members at the intersection of multiple social groups are perceived or treated (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Galinsky, Hall, & Cuddy, 2013; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008). However, some intersectional research directly examines the subjective aspect, investigating how more than one identity is constructed and experienced (Adib & Guerrier, 2003; Bell & Nkomo, 2003; Essers & Benschop, 2007; Settles, 2006). For instance, in an examination of black and white women's struggle over professional identity, Bell and Nkomo (2003) highlight how gender, race, and class both conflict and combine in professional identity construction. They illustrate that professional identity takes on different meanings in the context of race. For instance, among black women in their sample, professional identity included meanings that were not part of the meaning of professional identity for white women, such as the notion of giving back to one's racial community. Although much intersectionality scholarship is still generally focused on two identities at a time, such as gender and race, one exception is work that integrates global processes of gender, race, class, and nationality (Holvino, 2010; Lorber, 2011; Mohanty, Russo, & Torres, 1991). For example, in a recent advance, one study explores the process of identity construction at the nexus of gender, ethnicity, nationality, and entrepreneurship through the narrative life stories of four immigrant women entrepreneurs (Essers, Benschop, & Doorewaard, 2010). The women draw on and produce agentic narratives of female ethnicity, critical for the task of entrepreneurship.

The five perspectives outlined in this review (social psychological, microsociological, psychodynamic and developmental, critical, and intersectional) go far in illuminating the promise of multiple identities research. The breadth of conceptualizations, ranging from the graded, fluctuating hierarchies of social identity theory to the indivisible identities of intersectionality, offers scholars many unique ways to explore the complex reality of multiple identities.

2. Complementarities and Gaps across Perspectives

While there are many obvious and important differences between these perspectives that should be maintained in future work, two important issues for

consideration appear across perspectives: the structure of multiple identities and the relationships among identities. There is also a key opportunity for future research, combining attention to structures and relationships among more than two identities at a time, which I build upon to formulate the intra-personal identity network approach.

2.1. Structure of Multiple Identities

Research across several perspectives has focused on three structural elements of identities: hierarchy, independent identities, and the number of identities.

2.1.1. Hierarchy. Situational relevance and personal importance are key factors that influence where an identity is in the hierarchy of multiple identities (Ashforth, 2001). Identities that are situationally relevant are likely to be activated, as illustrated by studies of biculturals switching their identities based on social context (e.g. Briley et al., 2005). Identities that are more personally important will be more consistently activated across situations than identities of lesser personal importance. For example, among those whose ethnic identity is central to their self-concept, that identity may remain salient regardless of whether it is relevant to the context or not. Another way to understand hierarchy is by looking at the relative difference in importance among identities. In contrasting two identities, Mussweiler, Gabriel, and Bodenhausen (2000) consider relative identification, the degree to which an individual identifies more with one role than another. Along these lines, Stryker and Serpe (1982) asked participants to rank their religious identity in relation to other roles such as parent, spouse, and worker. Vora and Kostova (2007) also examine relative identification between dual organizational identities. In the study of four identities (workgroup, division, organization, and profession) reviewed earlier by Kuhn and Nelson (2002), the pattern of relative identifications was measured by the standard deviation of the four identity scores, where a low standard deviation suggested more uniform levels of identification and a high standard deviation suggested some identities that were quite strong and others that were weaker.

2.1.2. Independence. Another way of characterizing identities is by accounting for the influence or effect of each identity on outcomes of interest separately. For instance, Johnson et al. (2006) account for how a person's work-group, organizational, and professional identities each affects job satisfaction. Chattopadhyay and George (2005) illustrate how contract workers independently identify with their home and host organizations. Stets and Harrod (2004) show how the verification of academic and worker identities independently influenced self-esteem. Vough (2012) describes how professionals construct their workgroup, organizational, and professional identities based on

discrete properties. And Lammers et al. (2013) show that group, organizational, and professional identities have independent and distinct relationships with different aspects of burnout.

2.1.3. Numbers. An underlying assumption that many perspectives hold in common is that identities can be counted. Roccas and Brewer (2002) note that people typically hold four to seven identities. Concepts such as role occupancy and identity accumulation are calculated based on the sum of all role positions an individual occupies and identifies with (Thoits, 1983). Some studies consider the number of identities to be one aspect of self-structure (Brook et al., 2008; Linville, 1987; Settles, Sellers, & Damas, 2002). Pratt and Foreman (2000) call this dimension "identity plurality".

2.2. *Relationships between Identities*

Research across these perspectives also suggests the need to pay attention to the relationships between identities. Indeed, returning to James's (1890) quote that "properly speaking, a man [*sic*] has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him [*sic*] and carry an image of him [*sic*] in their mind" the following sentence suggests that the experience of these many social selves "may be a *discordant* splitting . . . or it may be a perfectly *harmonious* division" (emphasis added) (p. 294). Although many types of relationships among multiple identities may exist, three kinds of relationships in particular appear repeatedly across perspectives: (1) conflict or tension, (2) enhancement, synergy, or complementarity, and (3) overlap or integration.

2.2.1. Conflict. The psychological experience of one's identities being simultaneously salient has often been described as causing internal conflict and tension. More recently, terms such as "clashing identities" and "identity interference" (Settles, 2004; Van Sell, Brief, & Schuler, 1981) convey the notion that a person's multiple identities can conflict with one another. In research on biculturals and immigrants, as highlighted in the section on social psychological approaches, people have been shown to experience opposition and conflict between their ethnic (e.g. Asian) and national (e.g. American) identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; La Framboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Similarly, research has shown that people experience conflict between multiple work identities or between work and non-work identities to the extent they feel they cannot satisfy their own and others' expectations or requirements (Creed et al., 2010; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Kreiner et al., 2006; Settles, 2004). Settles (2004) gives the example of a female physics student experiencing identity conflict because she feels that "her woman identity cannot be expressed when she is enacting her scientist identity" (p. 487). Thus, identity conflict arises when individuals feel they must

give precedence to one set of meanings, values, and behaviors over another in order to satisfy particular identity-based expectations, and therefore cannot express or validate the other identities she may hold (Ashforth et al., 2008; Burke & Stets, 2009; Hewlin, 2009; Horton, Bayerl, & Jacobs, 2014; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

2.2.2. *Enhancement.* A less explored but equally important aspect of multiple identities is identity enhancement. In role theory, terms such as role facilitation, enhancement, and enrichment suggest that people experience benefits from multiple role identities, using the skills, knowledge, positive emotions, and resources that arise when one role intersects with another (Creary & Pratt, 2014; Dutton, Roberts, & Bednar, 2010; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Rothbard, 2001; Rothbard & Ramarajan, 2009). Pratt and Foreman (2000) call this dimension "identity synergy." Caza and Wilson (2009) describe how multiple work identities allow one to fulfill numerous work demands; for instance, in the words of one construction engineer, "I have a lot more room to maneuver when I can be both an engineer and a designer at the same time" (p. 116). While one could view identity conflict and enhancement as opposite ends of a single continuum—that is, the more individuals experience identity enhancement, the less they experience identity conflict (Brook et al., 2008; Van Sell et al., 1981)—there is increasing evidence from work–family research that they need not be inversely correlated; rather, identity enhancement and conflict are orthogonal (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Rothbard, 2001).

2.2.3. *Overlap/integration.* As suggested in the review, several different perspectives, including social psychological and microsociological, focus on the overlap in meaning between different identities. Self-complexity (Linville, 1987), compartmentalization (Showers et al., 1998), elevation (Rosenberg, 1997), multiple self-aspects (McConnell, 2011), and social identity complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) are constructs that all draw on ideas of similarity or overlap in meaning and content across identities. Studies of multiple cultural identities also conceptualize and measure identity integration as the overlap in meaning (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Cheng et al., 2008; Fitzsimmons, 2013). The identity verification process described by Burke and Stets (2009) suggests that identities that are related by a common system of meanings are more likely to be verified.

The relationship of distinctiveness or segmentation between identities is sometimes conceptualized as the opposite of integration (how distinct and differentiated various aspects of the self are from one another), and sometimes as an independent dimension (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000; Phinney, 1993). In the work–life and diversity literatures, for instance, integration is the blurring of spatial, temporal, and cognitive boundaries that divide areas of a person's life, while segmentation is the enforcement of these physical and

mental fences to keep different areas of a person's life, such as work and home, separate (Ashforth, 2001; Ashfroth, Kreiner & Fugate, 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996; Phillips, Rothbard, & Dumas, 2009; Zerubavel, 1993). However, in some social psychological approaches and in developmental approaches discussed above, integration and differentiation are separate processes and balance or growth is achieved by ensuring both (Brewer, 1991; Kegan, 1982; Kreiner et al., 2006).

In sum, close attention to relationships between identities is crucial. Table 2 provides the terms, definition, and sample items for several of the constructs that examine relationships of conflict, enhancement, and integration quantitatively.[1]

2.3. *Combining Structure and Relationships among Many Identities*

A key limitation of many of these studies is that they have focused on a single relationship between given pairs of identities. This limitation is evident in both the role and social identity perspectives, where research has focused on pairs such as work–family, dual cultural identities, or the intersection of profession with either race or gender. The focus on two identities has also been a key difficulty for intersectionality scholars, who have largely studied interactions between subgroups, such as examining how gender identity differs between black and white women or how sexuality differs between gay and straight Latinos (Bell & Nkomo, 2003; Stirratt, Meyer, Ouellette, & Gara, 2008). Scholars of multiple identities across perspectives have had conceptual and empirical difficulty moving beyond two identities characterized by a single relationship (McCall, 2005; Warner, 2008). This limitation calls for a more comprehensive approach to understanding multiple intrapersonal identities.

One way some scholars have sought to overcome this limitation is to aggregate multiple identities by examining the average of some characteristics of the identities or of the relationships between pairs of identities. For instance, scholars have asked participants to rate the importance of each identity they hold and then examine the average importance of all of their identities (Brook et al., 2008). They have also measured the average conflict, enhancement, and integration among multiple identities (Brook et al., 2008; Downie et al., 2004). Rather than focus on a single pair of identities, these average measures allow us to broadly characterize the self-structure without staying narrowly defined by the content of the identities per se. Thus, one may think of these measures as illustrating some general aspects of the self-concept or personality (Brook et al., 2008; Markus, 1977). One assumption of the average is that many identities act similarly (or perhaps nullify one another). However, the average does not necessarily help us understand the structure or patterns among identities, which the research reviewed above also suggested was important.

Table 2 Examples of Existing Measures of Identity Conflict, Enhancement, and Integration.

Concept	Construct term	Source	Definition	Sample items	Number and type of identities
Conflict	Bicultural identity conflict	Benet-Martínez and Haritatos 2005) (4 items)	Perceptions of conflict (versus harmony) between one's two cultural identities	I am conflicted between the American and Chinese ways of doing things	Dual—Asian and American
	Identity interference	Settles (2004) (17 items)	Pressures of one identity interfere with the performance of another identity	I feel that other scientists do not take me seriously because I am a woman	Dual—woman and scientist
				I feel that because I am a woman, it is easier for me to fit the definition of a scientist	
Conflict versus enhancement	Identity harmony	Brook et al. (2008) (3 items)	Depleting resources or expecting incompatible behaviors versus providing resources or expecting similar behaviors	Membership in one group or role has a very harmful or conflictual effect on the other versus having a very facilitative or helpful effect on the other	Up to 12—any type
Conflict between identities only	Family interference with work	Graves Ohlott, and Ruderman (2007) (9 items)	Experiences in one domain reduce the resources available in the other domain and create interference	I was preoccupied with personal responsibilities while I was at work	Dual—Work and family

	Role conflict	Tiedje et al. (1990) (9 items)	Perception that multiple roles conflict due to infinite role demands on finite resources	My family causes me to have distractions and interruptions at work	Multiple (3)—work, wife, and mother
	Role interference	Settles et al. (2002) (7 items)	Difficulty fulfilling the expectations of multiple roles	Some student-athletes feel that the responsibilities associated with their sport make it difficult to keep up with their coursework	Dual—student and athlete
Enhancement between identities only	Role enhancement	Tiedje et al. (1990) (9 items)	Perceptions that multiple roles provide skills for another role, social support, and sources of self-worth	Having a career makes me feel good about myself which is good for my children	Multiple (3)—work, wife, and mother
	Family enhancement of work	Graves et al. (2007) (7 items)	Experiences in one role generate resources that can be transferred to the other role	I was in a better mood at work because of my family or personal life	Dual—work and family
Integration versus separation of identities	Bicultural identity distance	Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) (4 items)	Perceptions of distance (versus overlap) between one's two cultural identities	I keep Chinese and American cultures separate I feel part of a combined culture	Dual—Asian and American
	Role separation	Settles et al. (2002) (4 items)	Individual's perception of the distinctiveness between two roles	Some student-athletes feel that the roles of a student and the roles of an athlete are similar and compatible Some student-athletes see themselves as a student when in a classroom setting and see themselves as an athlete during competition	Dual—Student and athlete

Table 2 Examples of Existing Measures of Identity Conflict, Enhancement, and Integration (Continued)

Concept	Construct term	Source	Definition	Sample items	Number and type of identities
	Identity integration	Cheng et al. (2008) (4 items)	The degree to which two cultural identities are perceived as compatible with or in opposition to each other	I keep everything about being a woman and being an engineer separate I am a female engineer	Dual—female and scientist (study 2)
	Multicultural identity integration	Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi, and Cree (2004) (15 items)	The perception of compatibility between individuals' cultures and how they manage conflicts between cultural demands	How I present myself does not change based on the cultural context of a particular situation. Within myself, I feel that my heritage, English, and French Canadian cultures conflict	Multiple (3)—heritage, English, and French Canadian
	Social identity complexity	Brewer and Pierce (2005) and Roccas and Brewer (2002)	The degree of overlap perceived to exist between groups of which a person is simultaneously a member	Of people who are X, how many are also Y?	Multiple (4)—ethnic, national, religion, and university

In sum, current approaches capture identities acting one at a time, many identities acting independently, an identity pair (a single relationship between two identities), or the central tendency of many identities. I suggest that it is important to find an framework that can retain these different approaches but still move beyond them to understand multiple, fluid relationships among many identities. A network analytic approach provides one means of helping us understand the structure of many relationships among many parts that form a greater whole or system. Such a framework would allow us to examine shifting patterns, constellations, and configurations of identities that guide behavior.

3. An Intrapersonal Identity Network Approach

I propose that we conceptualize multiple identities as an intrapersonal identity network, in which the nodes of the network are identities (which can vary in aspects such as number and importance) and in which the ties of the network are relationships, such as those of conflict, enhancement, and integration. Scholars can then examine the various structures or patterns of relationships among multiple identities.

Before elaborating on the intrapersonal identity network approach in greater detail, I first consider whether a network approach is compatible with the different theoretical perspectives on multiple identities. This is important because the goal of the intrapersonal identity network approach is to provide a broad and flexible framework that can accommodate different types of identities and theoretical perspectives without suppressing critical differences.

3.1. Compatibility of a Network Approach with Different Theoretical Perspectives

Although they have not been explicitly used to conceptualize multiple identities, network ideas are present across the aforementioned theoretical perspectives. In social psychology, there is a robust psychological tradition of using associative network models to consider how knowledge categories are represented and stored in a person's memory and how these various knowledge categories are related to one another in terms of spreading activation (Kihlstrom & Klein, 1994; McConnell, 2011). In this view, identities can be understood as knowledge categories that can be activated (and multiple identities can be co-activated) in an associative network (Greenwald et al., 2002; Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984). In sociology, network theories and approaches are often used for understanding how structure shapes actor behavior in a social system (Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Sociological network approaches suggest that patterns of relationships among actors shape behavior. In the case of an identity network, it is not relationships between individuals or

groups that are being investigated, but instead *intrapersonal* ties among an individual's multiple identities, such as the extent to which identities are related to one another in terms of conflict or integration. Thus, social psychological and microsociological perspectives are likely to have some compatibility with an intrapersonal network approach.

Ideas about relationships and networks are also present among the other perspectives (psychodynamic and developmental perspectives, critical perspectives, and intersectionality perspectives). Psychodynamic scholars have investigated connectionist models of the self. Like associative networks in psychology, connectionist views assume that when one aspect of the self is activated, other related concepts will be activated as well (Westen & Gabbard, 2002). Josselson (2012) argues that psychologists need to

> conceptualize identity as dynamic, a structure or structures that hold in tension multiple versions of the internal and the discursive. This creative dynamic tension can itself be a kid of synthesis or integration, much as an atom contains many disparate parts held together by electromagnetic force fields. (p. 54)

Narrative identity scholar, Somers (1994) argues that

> one way to avoid the hazards of rigidifying aspects of identity into a misleading categorical entity is to incorporate into the core conception of identity the categorically destabilizing dimensions of time, space, and relationality. We can do this by bringing to the study of identity formation the epistemological and ontological challenges of relational and network analysis. (p. 606)

She continues,

> a relational setting is a pattern of relationships among institutions, public narratives and social practices. As such it is a relational matrix, a social network. Identity formation takes shape within these relational settings of contested but patterned relations among narratives, people, and institutions. (Somers, 1994, p. 626)

Critical scholars and intersectionality scholars have also foregrounded relationality among identities. Lorber (2011) argues that for intersectionality research to truly embrace multidimensionality, scholars need to move beyond conventional dichotomies (such as insider/outsider, black/white, male/female) and suggests that networks are an important way to understand emergent patterns of behavior (p. 45). Ferree (2009) notes that in a system of interactive intersectionality,

> overlapping social identities are best understood, not as a collection of 'points of intersection', but as a 'figuration' (as Elias would have it) or 'field' (as Bourdieu would) of shifting, deeply-dimensioned, and

'mutually constituted relationships'. In such a complex system, gender is not a dimension limited to the organization of reproduction or family, class is not a dimension equated with the economy, and race is not a category reduced to the primacy of ethnicities, nations and borders, but all of the processes that systematically organize families, economies, and nations are co-constructed along with the meanings of gender, race, and class that are presented in and reinforced by these institutions separately and together. (p. 85)

Clearly, there are important differences in the way the five different perspectives conceptualize and use networks. However, many of these perspectives may be open to a broad network conceptualization of multiple identities. Such an approach can help integrate the silos, while maintaining the unique aspects of each perspective.

3.2. An Intrapersonal Identity Network

Having discussed the compatibility of a network approach with the five perspectives on multiple identities, I now explain in greater detail the intrapersonal identity network approach. I first examine the nodes of the network (the identities) and then the ties of the network (the relationships). In the above review, I have outlined three types of ties—conflict, enhancement, and integration. I will propose two additional types of ties—power and time—and then discuss various structures or patterns of relationships among multiple identities.

3.2.1. The nodes: numbers, names, and meanings. In an intrapersonal identity network, identities represent the nodes of the network. The number of nodes in the network corresponds to the number of identities that are important to the individual (a person's *full identity network*) or the number of relevant identities relevant to the scholar's research question (a person's *partial identity network*). The nodes may be named or labeled by the type or category of identity (e.g. race, ethnicity, or gender) or identities that people name for themselves (e.g. Catholic, American, etc.). Conceptualizing identities in this way may be sufficient for scholars taking a categorical approach.

For scholars interested in more interpretive approaches, however, the meaning of the identities is also important. Imagine two people who both have three identities in their partial identity network: "young", "American", and "painter". The meanings associated with these labels could be the same (i.e. young could mean under 40, American could mean born in the U.S.A., and painter could mean someone who paints). Yet the meanings could also be different (e.g. young could refer to biological age or it could mean a feeling of youthfulness; American could mean born in the U.S.A. or could simply mean American citizenship; and painter could mean painting for a living or it could refer to an enjoyable hobby). This distinction between the

label and the meaning is one that may not be familiar to scholars accustomed to studying interpersonal or social networks, where the label is often sufficient to understand the node, but is likely to be important for identity scholars depending on the theoretical perspective they employ.

3.2.2. *The ties: relationships among identities.* While nodes are the identities, the ties are relationships, variously defined, between identities. As previously discussed in the section on complementarities among perspectives, the relationships most frequently typified in the literature are conflict, enhancement, and integration. However, "ties" are broad enough to include other kinds of relationships. In addition to these three most common ties in the literature, I propose two additional types of ties—power relations and temporal ties—to attend to ideas that arose in the reviews of the developmental/psychodynamic, critical, and intersectional perspectives. I also consider multiple types of ties (multiplex ties) between the same identities.

3.2.2.1. *Power relations.* Critical and intersectionality scholars suggest that identities often carry meanings that are embedded in power relations in society that give them high status and power (Ashcraft, 2007; Rosette & Tost, 2013; Yuval-Davis, 2006). This suggests that identities can be related to one another in terms of power and status, not just at a societal level, but also intra-psychically. For example, if one returns to Obama's quote at the beginning of this paper, "highly educated" and "white" are both groups that confer privilege in the U.S.A., while claims of being "black" and the "son of an immigrant" may not be experienced as high status in the American leadership context (Rosette et al., 2008). As such, we can understand Obama's high-status whiteness in concert with his education or potentially in contrast to his background as a black American. One could apply this idea by assessing the power and status of identities relative to one another. For example, in the U.S.A., an American biracial female marketing manager who identifies herself as black, white, and female may have the greatest power asymmetry between her black and white racial identities, less asymmetry between her black and female identities, and the least asymmetry between her identities as a manager and a white person.

3.2.2.2. *Temporal ties.* Developmental perspectives and some of the social psychological perspectives, such as research on possible selves, suggest that multiple identities can also be related temporally. Some current illustrations in organizational studies of identities being constructed or related across time include exploration of alternative selves (Obodaru, 2012), the construction of identities over the life course (Moen, 2003; Wittman, 2014), and recent work on socialization (Ashforth et al., 2014; Sluss et al., 2012). Studies of virtual work and temporal (a)synchrony also suggest a more explicit temporal perspective on how identities are formed and verified

(Thatcher & Zhu, 2006). One could apply the idea of temporal ties in an identity network by mapping how "close" different identities are in terms of psychological time. For example, imagine a person making a career change, and their past, present, future, and alternative selves are all simultaneously activated. The past self is a teacher, the present self is an academic, the future self is a policy-maker, and the alternative self is an entrepreneur. One could study the strength of the temporal relationships between these selves to examine how they jointly influence one's career choices and trajectory. For instance, in the above example, a temporally near future self as a policy-maker may be quite different than a temporally near past self as a teacher in terms of motivating action in the present; in the first case, perhaps the temporal closeness of academic and policy-maker highlights a focus on public speaking and writing, while the temporal closeness of academic and teacher highlights a focus on close relationships with doctoral students.

      3.2.2.3.   Multiplex ties.   Multiplex ties are not a separate type of tie, but rather a way of characterizing many different types of ties between the same two nodes. That is, two identities have more than one basis for a relationship. For instance, two identities may only be in conflict with one another or only in synergy with one another, but when they are both in conflict and in synergy with one another, this would be one form of multiplexity. Research on relationships among identities has largely focused on conflict and has only recently begun to explore research on positive relationships among identities, such as enhancement and integration (Dutton et al., 2010; Rothbard & Ramarajan, 2009). One way to continue this focus is to consider the possibility that pairs of identities are connected both positively and negatively. This may seem counterintuitive. Recent work on dual identities, however, suggests that conflict and integration and conflict and enhancement are not opposites (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Rothbard, 2001).

3.2.3. The identity network as a whole

      3.2.3.1.   Density.   As noted, current multiple identity research often focuses on the average strength of identity relationships (i.e. average conflict, enhancement, or integration). Theoretically, the average captures the degree to which all identities across the entire identity network are related, similar to the idea of density in social network analysis (Scott, 2000; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). In the case of an individual's intrapersonal identity network, the average strength of the conflicting or enhancing relationships among all of the identities captures the degree to which, overall, the person is experiencing highly opposing or synergistically related identities. If identities are organized in a highly dense network, on the one hand, then information, values, and memories associated with each identity are frequently drawn upon when other identities are activated. On the other hand, a sparse identity

network suggests that information, values, or memories associated with each identity are not frequently accessed when other identities are activated.

For example, imagine a woman on a cross-functional consulting team negotiating four work-related identities. The partial identity network that is activated consists of her leader, engineer, consultant, and team member identities. If she frequently experienced conflict across all four of these identities, her partial identity network would be dense in terms of conflicting relationships. In contrast, if only her engineer and consultant identities conflicted, and the others were unrelated or enhancing, the extent of conflict in her identity network would be lower. In the case of a high-density intrapersonal network, if her consultant identity is activated in a given context, then all of her identities are more likely to be activated and experienced as conflicting. This may result in less engagement with her work than when only her engineering identity is negatively related to her consultant identity, because all her other identities as leader, engineer, and team member would be interfering with her consulting identity and with one another, and creating stress and withdrawal. The reverse would be true for highly dense enhancing relationships. Figure 2 provides a pictorial representation of dense versus sparse relationships in an identity network.

Thus, the identity network conceptualization can include existing constructs, such as the average conflict and enhancement among identities. In addition, the identity network conceptualization can be extended in concrete ways to understand the patterns or configurations of relationships at the network level as a whole, the individual identity level, and for a subset of identities in the network. Illustrative examples are given below.

3.2.4. Patterns at the intrapersonal network level

3.2.4.1. *Centralization.* Network centralization (Freeman, 1979) captures the extent to which a single node in a network is related to all other nodes, but all other nodes are not necessarily related to one another. Such a construct may be relevant to understanding when and how a focal identity is (or becomes) dominant in a given type of identity network. In a highly centralized identity network of conflicting ties, one identity may be embedded in conflict with others, but the other identities would not necessarily be in conflict with one another. Similarly, a highly centralized identity network of integration suggests that one identity has meanings that are highly related to all of the other identities one might hold, but the other identities would not necessarily overlap with one another.

Imagine a highly centralized identity network in which a person's identity as a professional musician is closely integrated with his identities as a father, garage band member, record collector, and music teacher. A threat to this musician identity, due to an injury for instance, might destabilize the entire system of identities, such that all the other identities become unmoored. The
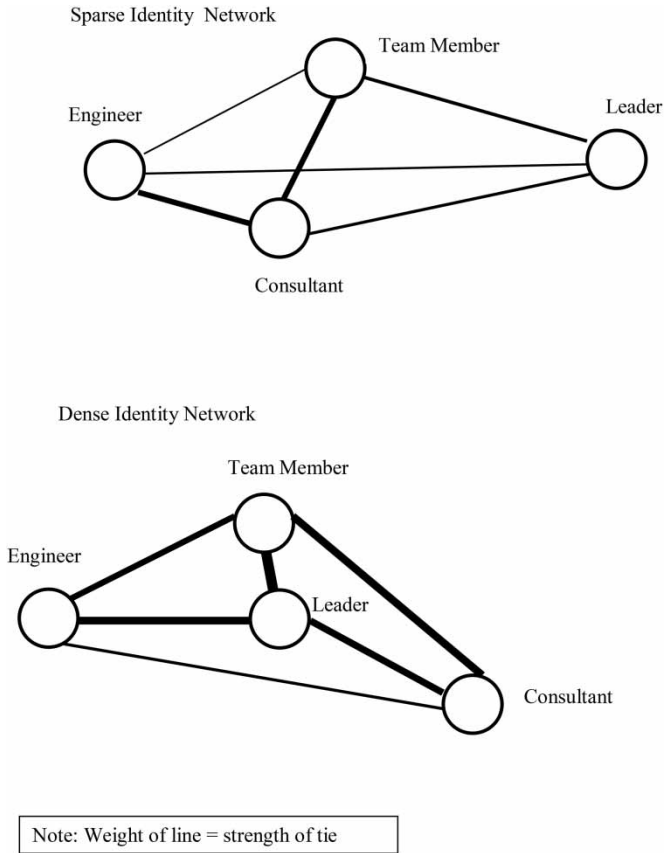
Figure 2   Relationships among Multiple Identities.

person may begin to question whether he can still be a good music teacher and whether he can be a member of his band, and collecting records may become too painful. Current research on identity threat could be a basis for such investigation (Petriglieri, 2011). For example, research shows that dancers and musicians who have lost their professional identity because of injury go through a period of trauma and loss, but then slowly must create new identities (Maitlis, 2009). An intrapersonal identity network approach can help us understand how a person might reknit their other identities to accommodate professional identity loss. Are the identities that were most different in meaning the ones that survive the trauma? Do they become more central in the process of recovery? Are the professionals with less centralized identity networks more resilient (e.g. Thoits, 1983)?

If a person has a highly centralized identity network around her professional identity, job changes, such as loss or promotions (Hill, 1992; Ibarra,

1999), or strong socialization (Michel, 2011) could be similar catalysts for multiple identity reconfiguration. Organizations in which work is highly demanding and does not allow for time, energy, or resources to be devoted to maintaining other parts of life may result in ties between professional and other identities in the present that become weaker but ties between current professional identity and future identities or imagined identities that become stronger (Michel, 2011; Tracy & Trethewey, 2005). Pratt (2000) hints at changes in multiple identity configurations in his study of Amway distributors. He notes that

> dreams of distributors evolve from lifestyle dreams to ones that are more abstract and far-reaching and may include elements of one's family and spiritual lives . . . . [A]s more facets of one's identity (e.g., business, family, and religion) become bound up in an organization, one's identification becomes deeper. (p. 485)

The image here is of an identity network with highly compatible and reinforcing ties between one's organizational identity and other identities, alongside organizational practices geared toward making the intrapersonal identity network more and more centralized.

       3.2.4.2.   *Hierarchy, independence, and clustering.*   Building on the review, an important whole network pattern to consider is a *hierarchical* one. The above examples suggested conceptualizing ties based on conflict and enhancement, but as noted, identities can be related to one another based on a variety of dimensions or ties (e.g. power, conflict, importance). Depending on the relationships of interest, the pattern, shape, or configuration of the network may be completely different. For example, imagine a white, female nurse whose identity network is based on the amount of relative social power represented by each identity, and it is a hierarchical pattern. In this case, white would be at the top of the hierarchy and female and nurse would be below. This network configuration may be completely different from a network in which the ties represent the level of subjective importance of these identities to the person. This second hierarchical configuration might place nurse at the top and then female and white below.

Two other patterns that could be important are *independent* identity networks, where identities are weakly related or not related at all, and *clustered* identity networks in which a subset of one's identities are more or less related compared to others. Independent identity structures may be akin to the contextual priming and rapid fluctuation of identities that traditional views of social identity theory might predict, while clustered identity networks could be akin to more recent interpretations of some identities being more co-activated together than others.

Imagine a man who identifies himself as Asian, American, a father, and an athlete, and we are interested in understanding conflicting and enhancing ties. Imagine this person has an independent identity network in which all identities are weakly connected in terms of conflict or enhancement. In this case, we might predict that he could switch easily from his Asian identity when he is with his parents, to his American identity at work, to his father identity at home, and his athlete identity when running. The same person with a more positively clustered identity network could experience his Asian and father identities as enhancing when at home and his American and athlete identities as enhancing when running. The same person with a more negatively clustered identity network could experience his father and athlete identities as conflicting. In this case, running fosters conflicted feelings about not being with his kids. If his Asian and American identities conflict, he may feel conflicted about being both Asian and American when he is with his parents.

The *clustered* pattern, in which conflicting and enhancing ties are unevenly distributed within a person's identity network, could provide insight into when a given identity may be suppressed or activated. Take the earlier example of the female leader on a cross-functional consulting team. Her engineering and consultant identities were in conflict but her consultant and team member identities were enhancing. Imagine that her colleagues discount her engineering side as too technical. As the team leader, however, her client presentations are always done with the whole team present. During her client presentations she is likely to experience her leader, consulting, and team member identities as enhancing, but her engineer identity—given the judging eyes of her team—may conflict with both her consultant and team member identities. In this situation, she may completely suppress her engineering identity, and if she were to be asked about a technical question from her clients, she might be less likely to respond or engage with it well. If she were to meet her clients without her team present, however, this suppression may be less likely to occur. This dynamic could have implications for how she engages with her work in a less technical manner or how her clients connect with her (perhaps they do not see her as a technical person).

3.2.5. *Patterns at the individual identity level.* Using an intrapersonal identity network approach, scholars can also investigate the characteristics of a focal identity in terms of its relationships with many other identities, which would give us insight into how constrained a focal identity is by other identities. To assess how deeply entwined a focal identity is with other identities, we could look to the number and strength of ties a focal identity has, in network terms, the degree centrality (Freeman, 1979). Imagine a female banker who defines herself as a woman, a banker, a mother, and an athlete and works in a highly male-dominated firm. Let us say the focal identity we are interested in is her gender identity and we wanted to understand relative

constraints to her enactment of her gender identity. Research shows that women in male-dominated firms are likely to experience gender identity threat and hence react either by confirming the feminine stereotype or by rejecting it completely and embracing the masculine stereotype (Ely, 1995). If the banker's female gender identity was central in terms of enhancing ties, that is, gender identity was closely and positively related to her identity as an athlete and as a mother, these might anchor her gender identity, buffering her against threat (or make distancing herself from these other important identities seem more psychologically costly) (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002). In this case she might react in a less stereotypically masculine manner (and perhaps even in a more fluid and integrated manner) than if her female gender identity were less central and only positively related to her identity as a mother. If her female gender identity were not related to her other identities at all, it may be more easily suppressed (leading to more stereotypically masculine enactment) or activated as a single, salient identity (leading to more stereotypically feminine enactment).

3.2.6. *Patterns at the triadic level.* Triads are an important element of network analysis (Simmel, 1950) and may provide an important bridge between studies of a single relationship between a pair of identities (such as work–family or bicultural identity research) and studies of a larger number of relationships. Returning to the example above, imagine the triad of woman, athlete, and banker. The broader set of ties in which the banker's female gender identity is embedded may provide a buffer against the gender identity threat, leading to more fluid enactments of her gender identity. Moving beyond just how the focal identity of gender is connected to both athlete and banker, we could also examine how athlete and banker are also connected to one another. To the extent that her athlete and banker identities were also positively related (she participates with colleagues in her bank's annual race), then this triad would be highly positively connected and she may have more even more abundant identity resources to draw on than merely those connected directly to her gender identity alone. For instance, if a common negative stereotype of female bankers in the firm is that they are not competitive, she may be able to buffer against such a threat by drawing on the meanings of competitiveness shared across all three of her identities. Moreover, her competitive aspects could be verified, witnessed, and supported by her colleagues in her running group.

3.2.7. *Considering identity content and context.* An intrapersonal identity network approach must be considered in relation to two other aspects of identity commonly studied: *identity content* and *context*. First, relationships between identities, such as conflict and enhancement, may be more or less accentuated based on the content of the identities. For example, to the

extent that social understandings of what it means to be a woman and to be a scientist are in conflict, some scholars may suggest that all female scientists are likely to experience conflict between their identities as women and scientists. However, simply because the majority of social experience may dictate one particular relationship between two specific identities, this may not necessarily hold true for all individuals. Imagine a child being raised with a mother who is a scientist. Although social expectations regarding female gender identity and scientists may be in conflict (Barres, 2006; Settles, 2004) for this particular child, the female and scientist identities may be highly enhancing. In part, this may be because the person's identities as a daughter to her mother (not just female) and scientist are highly enhancing.

Second, identity content and context and identity relationships may be considered separately or together. The relevance of examining them separately versus together may vary depending on the kinds of outcomes scholars are interested in investigating. On one hand, some studies have looked at relationships such as conflict and synergy without specifying the content of identities. These have largely examined the effects of multiple identities on individual-level psychological outcomes such as health and well-being (e.g. Thoits, 1983). Examples include studies that examine the average of conflict versus enhancement across many different types of identities (Brook et al., 2008) and self-complexity (Linville, 1987). Here, holding content constant, the structure of the relationships between identities shapes outcomes.

On the other hand, identity content may be more applicable for studies where situational relevance may matter more. One example is a study that finds that Asian-Americans with high integration among their identities are more creative, but only on tasks that require combining their specific cultural knowledge (Cheng et al., 2008). This study also shows that the effect of identity integration is the same for categories along a similar dimension, such as two cultural identities, Asian and American, as it is for categories based on different social roles, such as female and scientist (Cheng et al., 2008). Here the content of the identities interacts with the context and the relationships to drive outcomes. Therefore, assuming that content and context are always relevant or irrelevant is not useful; rather, we should strive to understand when and why we are separating the content and context of identities from relationships. The above studies suggest that one preliminary distinction is the nature of the outcome—general tendencies or outcomes such as well-being may be outcomes for which identity relationships matter more than content. In contrast, perhaps more specific task outcomes, such as performance, may be outcomes for which identity content and relationships both matter.

Finally, an identity network approach can also help clarify how identity structure, content, and context interact. Typically, identities that are not explicitly salient or situationally relevant are assumed to not have an impact on people or outcomes. Yet some of the research reviewed above suggests that

other identities can have an impact in many implicit and covert ways. For instance, in a highly dense identity network, criticism or devaluation of one's professional identity can activate negative self-views that spread to other identities that may not be task relevant. This could result in a more global, catastrophic self-assessment that impedes learning, performance, and success in many domains. Or imagine an identity that is not necessarily contextually activated (e.g. professional identity while at home). If people in other domains acknowledge identities that are important, this may help with verification of the threatened identity (e.g. my spouse helps verify my work identity) (Steele et al., 2002; Thatcher & Zhu, 2006). Thus, a narrow focus on situational or contextual salience can actually be limiting to understanding multiple identities. An identity network approach would illustrate that because identities are connected, they can be activated and shaped outside of the immediate context (see also Ramarajan & Reid, 2013).

4. Methodological Pluralism in Operationalizing the Intrapersonal Identity Network

Though an identity network approach may help provide a broad and flexible framework for future research, to be most useful the conceptual approach needs to be made concrete. In this section, I examine existing quantitative and qualitative methods used in the study of multiple identities, highlighting opportunities for an intrapersonal network approach.

Existing quantitative research on multiple identities typically engages in two strategies. One dominant approach uses surveys to ask participants about the number, strength, importance, and relationships between specific identity pairs or many identities and then averages them (e.g. Brook et al., 2008). Another approach experimentally primes specific pairs of identities and measures individual differences in how the two identities are related (e.g. conflict or integration) (Cheng et al., 2008). Little research thus far has investigated structures and patterns of identities through surveys or directly primed relationships among multiple identities in experiments, which scholars using a quantitative identity network approach could consider.

Existing qualitative and interpretive approaches to identity typically involve researchers analyzing texts, and observing, interviewing, and engaging in dialogue with participants, in either direct or indirect ways, about the key groups and roles in their lives (Adams, 2010; Boje, 2001; Bromberg, 1996; Hermans, 1996, 1996; Humphreys & Brown, 2002; Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010; Luhman & Boje, 2001; McAdams, 2001; Smith & Berg, 1987). However, as with quantitative research, little research has thus far specifically examined several different relationships among more than two identities, though some exceptions exist (e.g. Essers & Benschop, 2007).

Existing methodological approaches are only partially aligned with the theoretical perspectives. For instance, Kreiner et al. (2006) use a qualitative approach to understand how people achieve optimal distinctiveness between two identities, a construct found in social psychological approaches. Kegan's (1982) research, which takes a developmental perspective, employs an interview-based questionnaire to ascertain a person's developmental stage. These examples illustrate that identity (and by extension, multiple identities) can be studied using qualitative or quantitative methods across perspectives.

Furthermore, neither qualitative nor quantitative methods seem inherently more suited to operationalizing an intrapersonal identity network. A network approach may seem quite intuitive to quantitative scholars who can measure identities, relationships, and structures using techniques similar to quantitative network scholars. A quantitative network approach may seem less intuitive to qualitative, inductive scholars. For example, one of the biggest concerns from an intersectionality perspective is that simply asking people for their identity labels forces people to separate identities and reduces the holistic understanding of how people see themselves (Bowleg, 2008). Nevertheless, asking for labels may reveal the extent to which people themselves experience their multiple group memberships as independent or holistic. Imagine asking people in a questionnaire to describe who they are. Some respond with a list (e.g. Lebanese, American, Christian) and others respond with a single term (e.g. Lebanese-American-Christian). How they respond becomes a multiple identity variable of interest—some people see their multiple identities in more intersectional ways than others. Intersectionality scholar Lorber (2011) argues that network approaches and ways of seeing patterns in data can be a promising way to upset existing categories. She argues that by asking people about relationships among identities, new combinations of categories will be allowed to emerge. Thus, there seems to be some room and use for combining a holistic and more inductive lens with quantitative measures such as network analysis, cluster analysis, or multidimensional scaling (see also Punj & Stewart, 1983). Appendix 2 discusses a methodological approach to be drawn from quantitative network analysis but adapted for an intrapersonal identity network that can be operationalized through a survey.

Qualitative methods are also suited to operationalizing the intrapersonal identity network. For instance, identity scholars have argued that narrative approaches can be network approaches if one seriously attends to how narratives "are constellations of *relationships* (connected parts) embedded in *time and space*" (Somers, 1994, p. 616; emphasis in original). At the extremes, these scholars argue that "the chief characteristic of narrative is that it renders understanding only by connecting (however unstably) parts to a constructed configuration or a social network of relationships (however incoherent or unrealizable) composed of symbolic, institutional, and material practices" (Somers, 1994, p. 616). For some scholars or in some circumstances, it

maybe important to understand how the content of an identity itself will mean something different *in relation* to the other nodes to which it is connected. In such situations, a holistic approach to interpreting whole configurations of identities can help avoid reifying the category of the nodes. Some organizational research on multiple identities has used a qualitative approach to understand one relationship between a pair of identities (Creed et al., 2010; Kreiner et al., 2006) and these could be expanded to become an intrapersonal identity network study by including more identities (Essers & Benschop, 2007; Essers et al., 2010). Appendix 3 provides some recent illustrative examples largely limited to two or three identities for studying relationships among multiple identities qualitatively.

Ultimately, both qualitative and quantitative approaches to operationalizing an identity network seem appropriate. Scholars should assess their research questions, the assumptions guiding their theoretical perspectives, their participant's expectations and preferences, and their own personal preferences when choosing how to operationalize an identity network approach.

Measuring identity is no small feat, and throughout the social sciences there have been important debates and clarifications about how to measure identities (Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston, & McDermott, 2009). This methodological challenge is even greater with measuring and studying multiple identities. The scarcity of empirical work attests to the challenge. In order to push multiple identity research forward, scholars may need to be creative and open to taking different methodological approaches or mixing them so that they complement one another (Hirsch & Levin, 1999; Jick, 1979). An intrapersonal identity network approach provides one important framework for doing so.

5. Directions for Future Research: Where Should We Go?

Building on the review of the current landscape of multiple identities and the articulation of an intrapersonal identity network approach, I suggest three broad directions for future research on multiple identities: expanding on the core construct of identity to include many identities and patterns of relationships, investigating consequences of multiple intrapersonal identities in organizations, and examining the conditions in organizations that shape multiple identities.

5.1. Expanding the Core Construct: From Identity to Identities

A straightforward recommendation for future research is for identity scholars to examine more than one identity or identity pair. An identity network approach can help systematize and guide the search for patterns of relationships among many identities. Scholars interested in an identity or identity

pair based on its content (e.g. surgeons (Kellogg, 2011; Pratt et al., 2006), architects (Vough, 2012), gender identity (Ely, 1995; Kondo, 1990), and work and family identities (Bielby & Bielby, 1989; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985)) are often in conversations with non-identity scholars more broadly interested in professions, gender, and work–family. By expanding the number of identities and relationships, these conversations will naturally lead to more cross-fertilization. For example, gender scholars may include an examination of nationality and ethnicity, social enterprise scholars may pay attention to gender, and professional identity scholars may expand the focus to include race and class.

A second avenue of research for identity scholars is to expand the focus from relationships of conflict to include other relationships such as enhancement and integration, and some of the other ties suggested here, such as power and time. Doing so will allow identity scholars to understand the full scope of employees' multiple identities, which is critical as it may well influence or even change the picture of identity that we have received from prior literature. This leads to the next recommendation that a more complex picture of multiple identities will help us understand and update important identity-related phenomena in organizations, from individual well-being to organizational change.

5.2. Consequences: Revisiting Important Outcomes

Although empirical research on multiple identities in organizational studies is still sparse, I suggest that future work on multiple identities can fruitfully build on existing work by focusing on four main outcomes in organizations: (1) individual-level stress and well-being; (2) interpersonal and intergroup conflict and harmony; (3) work-related engagement and performance; and (4) collective change.

5.2.1. Stress and Well-Being. At the individual level, research suggests that multiple identities have important effects on stress, well-being, and resilience. Research on identity conflict and integration has shown that integration of multiple identities is positively related to well-being while conflict among them is related to stress (Brook et al., 2008; Downie et al., 2004). On one hand, Thoits (1983) and Linville (1987) show that multiple identities are related to well-being and the ability to cope with stress. On the other hand, multiple identities are also known to lead to conflict, stress, and negative emotion (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Future work could continue to understand these effects by examining how multiple identities may initially be challenging but ultimately become integrated and lead to well-being and resilience over time. For instance, do individuals first learn how to integrate two identities and then build a capability for integrating many identities over their lifetime? Does this mean that prior conflicting

relationships slowly become transformed into enhancing relationships across one's entire identity network? From a developmental perspective, do certain social contexts foster this transition from conflict into integration? For instance, would contexts that foster respect help people construct enhancement across many different identities (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002; Ramarajan, Barsade, & Burack, 2008)? Studies could also examine other trajectories, for instance, when initially enhancing identities may become more and more conflicting over time and the extent to which conflict spreads in an identity network.

5.2.2. *Interpersonal and intergroup conflict and harmony.* Multiple intrapersonal identities also seem to influence interpersonal and intergroup relationships, although this research also suggests the potential for both positive and negative consequences. Some research shows that multiple identities are positively related to intergroup cooperation (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Richter et al., 2006). In contrast, research also suggests that multiple identities within people can cause social division (Fiol, Pratt, & O'Connor, 2009; Gaertner, Bachman, Dovidio, & Banker, 2001). Future work could build on these contradictory results to understand when and how intrapersonal relationships among multiple identities may help or hinder interpersonal and intergroup relationships. Some of the most difficult conflicts in the world are often in situations where it seems impossible to forge a common superordinate in-group identity. Nobel Laureate, Amartya Sen notes, "the main hope of harmony in our troubled world lies in the plurality of our identities" (2006, p. 16). For instance, Kelman's (2006, 2004) research on the role of identity in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians suggests that a core element of identity for one party is the negation of the other party, and that this cannot be easily discarded (2004, p. 121). In such conditions, is a common identity necessary for intergroup harmony and equality? Would enhancement among multiple identities even in the absence of a shared identity help build relationships across lines of difference? To the extent one can integrate identities within oneself, can one also integrate identities between members of different groups (Fiol et al., 2009)? Returning to the Obama quote at the start of the paper, as a leader of a pluralistic community, when and how do multiple intrapersonal identities help or hurt in bridging group boundaries or faultlines within groups (Bezrukova, Jehn, & Zanutto, 2009; Hogg, van Knippenberg, & Rast, 2012; Pittinsky, 2009)? In a recent study of a hybrid organization with two group-level identities, leaders experienced the multiple identities of the organization as cohesive intrapersonally, but members aligned themselves behind either one or the other identity, and experienced intergroup conflict when dealing with the other subgroup (Anteby & Wrzniewski, 2014).

5.2.3. Engagement and performance. Multiple identities seem to provide both psychological resources and constraints on work-related engagement, productivity, and performance. Classical views of organizational identification proposed the idea that other identities were a constraint on organizational identification, and hence engagement and performance (Barnard, 1968; Katz & Kahn, 1978; Simon, 1976). However, currently scholars are focusing on the ways in which multiple identities provide social, cognitive, and emotional resources that help engagement and performance, broadly defined, from integrative complexity to creative performance (Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2002; Caza & Wilson, 2009; Cheng et al., 2008; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Kahn, 1990; Rothbard, 2001; Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009). Future work can expand on these findings by asking how patterns of relationships among identities amplify or constrain productivity and performance? Does a high degree of conflict between a focal identity and other identities in the identity network improve the impact of a particular focal identity on performance (due to functional antagonism) or reduce it (due to interference)? When organizations try to harness multiple identities by having people work on cross-functional teams (Northcraft, Polzer, Neale, & Kramer, 1995) or through programs such as corporate volunteering (Bartel, 2001; Grant, Dutton, & Rosso, 2008), and when and how does the relationship of the focal identity with other identities one holds modify these effects?

5.2.4. Organizational and Institutional change. Multiple identities also seem to influence change at the collective level. Scholars of organizational change and social movements illustrate that one's own identities can act as a resource by providing a novel perspective, a different set of experiences and relationships upon which to draw, as well as the commitment, belief, and security to ensure persistence in creating change (Creed et al., 2010; Meyerson & Scully, 1995; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 2006). These formulations present change agents as dual identity holders, simultaneous insiders (committed to the organization), and outsiders (committed to their cause).

Future work could build on the idea of people as insider–outsiders to include more identities. For instance, does one's self-definition as an outsider along multiple dimensions create a curvilinear effect such that a limited number of "outsider" identities and extreme "outsider-ness" lead to change but the more one is an insider on an equal number of dimensions the greater the pressure to conform? Future work could also examine the possibility that multiple identities may be more likely to be claimed among people who hold multiple low-status group memberships, but that, politically, change may be more possible by those who belong to high-status groups and potentially the power and influence to create change. How and when would the ability to identify simultaneously with high- and low-status group

memberships help foster change? Future work could also examine these questions across levels: how is institutional and organizational change and complexity related to individuals' identity complexity and vice versa (Battilana & Dorado, 2010; Besharov, 2013; Glynn, 2000; Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih, Micelotta, & Lounsbury, 2011)? How do particular configurations of multiple identities affect people's capacity to imagine the states of others and propose novel solutions to institutional constraints?

5.3. Antecedents: New Contexts that Shape Multiple Identities

Finally, future research should examine the work and broader life contexts that make multiple identities salient—in particular, globalization, job insecurity, communication technology, and diversity. Careers are now constructed over multiple organizations, and identity and agency are pivotal constructs to understanding career dynamics (Baker & Aldrich, 1996; Ibarra, 1999). Job insecurity has also meant that there are real challenges to organizational identification (Tosti-Kharas, 2012) and people may shift to other bases of identification, such as occupation or career (Ashforth et al., 2008). Current research also suggests that non-work identities, such as family (Lane, 2009; Trefalt, 2013), gender (Barbulescu & Bidwell, 2013; Stone, 2007), race (Thomas & Alderfer, 1989), and life transitions (Ladge, Clair, & Greenberg, 2012), play a crucial role in constructing careers. How do work ideologies, careers, and callings (Berg, Grant, & Johnson, 2010; Bunderson & Thompson, 2009; Dobrow & Tosti-Kharas, 2011; Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, & Schwartz, 1997) positively or negatively implicate other identities to which people aspire (Gerson, 1985; Kuhn, 2006)?

Organizations engaged in dramatic change, from mergers and acquisitions to global integration, often expect people to simultaneously hold multiple identities and act on behalf of multiple groups within the organization simultaneously. As work environments become increasingly global and diverse, the cultural and social challenges of unifying differences while respecting people's uniqueness will only become greater (Molinsky, 2007; Neeley, 2013). Recent work suggests that organizations have moved from supposedly dissociating work identities from personal identities to using personal identities to the organization's advantage (Anteby, 2008, 2013; Cable, Gino, & Staats, 2013; Fleming, 2009; Perlow, 2012; Ramarajan & Reid, 2013). How are organizations managing the distancing and appropriation of multiple aspects of the self? And how are people managing their multiple identities? Does it still behoove the organization man (or woman) to resist the pressures of the organization (Whyte, 1956)?

Finally, the role of technology, media, and communication in work and careers is exploding, fundamentally altering our sense of time, space, and geography. How do these changes enable or disrupt multiple identities (Bartel et al., 2012; Ollier-Malaterre et al., 2013; Thatcher & Zhu, 2006)? Does virtual

work make it more or less likely that we will enact multiple identities? Do technology-based work and social communities that foster games, fantasy, and play through online identities enable people to express who they are with more richness? Do online selves support the shift toward career mobility and independence? What are the configurations of identities when some identities are virtual and others are real? How integrated are these with real-world professional and personal identities a person may possess?

6. Conclusion

While acknowledging that multiple identities exist, scholars rarely investigate more than one identity, or identity pair, at a time. Furthermore, scholarship on multiple identities is scattered across theoretical perspectives. Through an extensive multidisciplinary review, this paper takes steps toward integrating theoretical perspectives. It argues that social psychological, microsociological, psychodynamic and developmental, critical, and intersectional perspectives all point to the importance of structure and relationships in understanding multiple identities.

Going beyond the current literature, the paper proposes a novel approach to the study of multiple identities, which considers *intrapersonal identity networks* rather than the interactions between pairs of identities. The identity network approach accommodates existing approaches to one or two identities at a time, and increases the number of identities and relationships among them that we can consider simultaneously. This more complex view of identities can help spark novel research questions and be used to examine problems faced by people in organizations, such as the experience of multiple identities, as well as the outcomes of that experience, ranging from individual well-being to societal transformation. By breaking down scholarly silos, and then proposing a new conceptualization of multiple identities, the intrapersonal identity network, this paper aims to help generate scholarship that matches the complexity of who we are.

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Note

1. Column 1 in Table 2 indicates which constructs are conceptually similar to identity conflict and enhancement and which constructs are conceptually based on integration or distinctiveness, regardless of the name. The sample items in Column 5 indicate the constructs that are captured. If two constructs are measured as opposites this is noted in Column 1.

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Appendix 1. Literature Review Summary

Journals: *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *Psychological Science*, *Academy of Management Journal*, *Academy of Management Review*, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *Organization Science*, *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, *Management Communication Quarterly*, *Gender, Work & Organization*, *Human Relations*, *Organization Studies*.

Dates: 1983–2013.

Search Criteria: I combined searching for broad theories as well specific types of identities or relationships (Ashmore et al., 2004). Sample search terms included the following: terms regarding broad theoretical areas (e.g. intersectionality, simultaneity, and working self-concept); terms regarding how identities are related and/or structured (e.g. superordinate and subgroup identities, identity conflict, identity tensions, interference, discrepancy, identity enhancement, role facilitation, role enrichment, identity harmony, identity complexity, and self-complexity); terms regarding number of identities (e.g. dual identities, multiple identities, and identifications); and terms regarding specific types of identities (e.g. cultural identities, professional and personal identities, work–family identities, non-work identities, invisible identities, and gender and race and work identities). I also included books and review articles as well as other articles referenced in the initial search that seemed relevant. I excluded articles that were not clearly about identity at the individual level and was left with 186 articles in the final set.

Process: I examined these articles for how they conceptualized and/or measured multiple identities. Some aspects such as number (e.g. one, two, or more than two), relationships (e.g. conflict and enhancement), and structure (e.g. complexity and hierarchy) appeared repeatedly. In some cases aspects of multiple identities that I review here were explicitly conceptualized and measured. In other cases, I build on what the articles implied regarding multiple identities but may not have been explicitly developed.

Appendix 2. Quantitatively Operationalizing the Intrapersonal Identity Network

The illustration below is intended to briefly suggest how one might adapt network methods to quantitatively investigate patterns of relationships among individuals' multiple identities.

Stage 1. The nodes: identities. Three main methodological questions arise regarding the nodes, or identities, themselves. First, how will identities be generated for the purposes of research? There are typically two options: they can be generated at the direction of the researcher or by the participants themselves. The trade-off is that the former offers greater comparability across individuals, while the latter offers identities that are more salient and relevant to participants, but may be less comparable. A second trade-off is that individuals may be more apt to report or recollect identities that are inherently positive or compatible via a self-generated method. If a self-generated method is chosen, participants may be given an elicitation question, such as the Kuhn and McPartland (1954) "I am" scale (see Bartel, 2001, for a field study example). If the researcher-directed method is chosen, one can use larger social groups—for example, nationality, race, gender, etc.—and have participants fill in the specific values—for example, American, Singaporean, Black, White, etc. In either case, these approaches capture self-definition and self-categorization aspects of identity (Ashmore et al., 2004). One can also investigate other aspects of the nodes, such as the importance of each identity to their overall self-concept (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), how much they identify with a specific domain (Bergami & Bagozzi, 2000; Mael & Ashforth, 1992), or the meanings that belong to the specific categories. For example, a researcher might ask participants to list several sentences, characteristics, or adjectives about what it means to them to be an IBM employee, a volunteer, and an engineer.

A third concern is the number of identities being studied. In some contexts, it is clear how many identities are salient for participants. In other settings, a predetermined number of identities may be requested. For instance, Roccas and Brewer (2002) suggest that four to seven may be an optimal number of identities. An open-ended question asking individuals to list as many identities as they wish may also be used (Brook et al., 2008). One trade-off for researchers to consider is that the full identity network may not be captured when a specific number is suggested; however, this approach may offer a sufficient number of identities that are important in guiding a person's behavior. An important consideration in determining the number of identities is the time and cognitive load of participants—as noted below, one of the critical elements of a quantitative network approach is an examination of the relationships among all nodes. In many social network approaches, ties are often not directed and questions regarding ties may be limited to a single item in order to minimize the load on participants. In contrast, when studying one relationship, for instance, work–family conflict, researchers often use a multi-item scale. The number of identities one requests dramatically increases the number of ties that the participant must respond to. For instance, with 3 identities and non-directed ties, one only has 3 relationships; with 4 identities, one has 6 relationships; with 5 identities, it is 10. This figure is doubled for directed ties or multiplex ties.

Stage 2. The ties: relationships among identities. In the second stage, we wish to capture the ties or relationships among the identities that are of interest. An illustration is provided here for the two constructs of conflict and enhancement discussed above. Sample items and references for conflicting and enhancing relationships are listed in Table 2 and could be measured on a scale ranging from 1 (very rarely) to 5 (very frequently). Participants could then be asked to respond to conflict and enhancement items for one pair of identities at a time. For example, if a participant listed *Chinese* and *American* as her ethnic and national identities, the survey items would read,

> Of the times when you think of yourself as *Chinese* AND *American*, how often do you think: "I am a better *Chinese person* because of my *American* identity" (a sample enhancement item) or "I feel a *Chinese person*'s way of doing things and a *American*'s way of doing things are opposed (a sample conflict item)."

Each pair of identities would be presented (preferably in randomized or counterbalanced order) and the items for each relationship of interest would be completed for each pair, and then collapsed into a score for each tie.

Stage 3. Examining network and node-level constructs. Depending on the relevant theoretical questions, some of the network and node-level constructs described above can be examined. Below I provide some examples to illustrate some intuitive ways of beginning to operationalize these constructs as relevant for intrapersonal identity networks.

Density. Imagine an identity conflict network in which we assume that the relationships are not directed (identity A → identity B is the same as identity B → identity A) and the relationships are simply 0 (not present) or 1 (present). The density of conflicting relationships would be the proportion of all possible dyadic relationships (if n = number of identities, then n $(n-1)/2$ is the number of all possible ties (this assumes that ties are bidirectional. This is consistent with much social network research and studies of concept association (Greenwald et al., 2002). However, researchers can also consider asymmetric ties. For instance, the Roccas and Brewer (2002) measure of social identity complexity does ask for both directions, X to Y and Y to X. There is also evidence from the work–family research that work-to-family conflict may be different from family-to-work conflict; Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1997)). Density varies from 0 to 1. An identity network in which each identity is connected to every other identity has a density of 1. If the relationships are valued (as described above ranging from 1 to 5), then the density of conflicting ties is the sum of the values of all ties divided by the number of ties (i.e. the average).

Degree centrality. Second, to examine which identity is the most central, important, or most involved with other identities in the network, the most simple and intuitive measure is degree centrality (see Wasserman & Faust, 1994). (Recall that the identity network is likely to be small (e.g. if 4–7 is

optimal as Roccas and Brewer (2002) suggest). Thus, more complex centrality measures, such as betweenness centrality or closeness centrality, may not be particularly useful for the identity network, although future research can investigate this.) Imagine the simplest case of an identity conflict network in which the ties are not directed and not valued. In this network, the degree centrality of an identity is the sum of all the conflicting relationships of that identity. In this case, the identity with the greatest number of conflicting ties is the most central. To standardize, divide the sum of conflicting relationships for a given identity by the maximum possible number of ties (if $n =$ number of identities, then divide by $(n-1)$). If degree centrality $= 0$, then the identity is an isolate. This measure of centrality ignores any indirect ties.

Centralization. One can also examine the network-level degree centralization. A simple version is to examine the variance of the individual-level degree centrality scores (see Wasserman & Faust, 1994 pp. 180–181). High variance in degree centrality scores suggests greater centralization, while a low variance suggests that all identities have a similar level of degree centrality. One can also calculate this by first subtracting the degree centrality score for each identity from the maximum observed degree centrality score, then summing those differences, and then dividing by $n^2 - 3n + 2$ (where $n =$ number of identities).

Further details on social network methods and formulas are available in Scott (2000) and Wasserman and Faust (1994).

Appendix 3   Examples of Recent Qualitative Studies Operationalizing Relationships among Identities.

Paper	Participants	Sample questions	Identities	Relationships	Analysis
Essers et al. (2010) and Essers and Benschop (2007)	Immigrant women entrepreneurs	• Elaborate on important life chapters, life events, people • Gender and ethnic socialization, advantages and disadvantages of being a female immigrant entrepreneur, and ranking of salience of different identifications	Female Ethnic Entrepreneur	Combining— female/ethnicity, Choosing one, Alternating situationally, Resisting some meanings	Common themes Holistic analysis of narratives
Creed et al. (2010)	Gay Protestant ministers	• Think of careers as unfolding in chapters • Provide two episodes in each chapter when their sexual identity became salient in the pursuit of their callings • Individual, situational, and institutional factors affecting careers	Gay Minister	Internalization, Reconciliation, Role claiming and role use	Common themes Holistic analysis of narratives
Kreiner et al. (2006)	Episcopalian priests	• How much does your vocation define you as a person? That is, is the priesthood something you do or is it something you are? • Are there times when being a priest feels more like who you really are than merely what you do? What specific times does that occur? • To what degree do you feel you can "be yourself" within your vocation? Are there times you can't be the "real you?"	Personal, Occupational	Tensions, Differentiating, Integrating, Blending	First- and second-order thematic coding