

**I contain multitudes:
Conceptualizing identity network dimensions and their implications
for self-perceptions**

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ABSTRACT

The fact that individuals hold multiple identities is increasingly being incorporated into theorizing about behavior at work. Identity shapes work behavior, so, in order to understand individuals at work, we need to understand the relationship between work identities and the other identities individuals hold. However, research in this domain has primarily focused on dyadic relationships between identities, rather than the relationship between one's entire set of identities. In this manuscript, we draw on the idea of an intrapersonal identity network to investigate the implications of an individual's full set of identities. In particular, we suggest that we can meaningfully understand and differentiate between individuals' identity networks in terms of their concordance, adaptability, and valence. With this foundation in place, we discuss the implications of these dimensions for the individual's more general self-perceptions (self concept clarity, authenticity, and global self-esteem). We then propose that changes to one identity, via identity work, has network level implications and posit several moderators to this relationship. Our work has implications for understanding how multiple identities interact and influence important outcomes for individuals and organizations.

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Individuals are complex. We are not one thing, but rather, hold multiple identities (e.g., Hillman, Nicholson & Shropshire, 2008; Creary, Caza & Roberts, 2015). As identities are an important driver to understanding behavior at work (Aquino & Douglas, 2003; Blader & Tyler, 2009), it is critical to understand how various identities interact to shape individual behaviors. Research on multiple identities indicates that individuals typically have around four to seven identities (Brook, Garcia & Fleming, 2008; Ramarajan, 2014; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). However, the bulk of research on multiple identities focuses on dyadic relationships between identities- in terms of ties (Ramarajan, 2014), boundaries (Ashforth, Kreiner & Fugate, 2000; Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006a), or intersections (Atewologun, Sealy, Vinnicombe, 2016; Carrim & Nkomo, 2016). While certainly valuable, these dyadic approaches do not fully capture how all the identities that individuals hold impact self-understanding and behavior. As a result, we do not have theory that allows us to differentiate and investigate identity sets as a whole. Drawing on a common metaphor, present research focuses on the trees, rather than the forest. There is value in taking a more gestalt approach to identity because individuals experience themselves as holding all of their identities simultaneously, rather than one or two at a time.

In addition to being complex, identities are also dynamic (Brown, 2017). Identities are constantly in flux, necessitating that individuals engage in identity work: “the cognitive, discursive, physical, and behavioral activities that individuals undertake with the goal of forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening, revising, or rejecting collective, role, and personal self-meanings” (Caza, Vough, & Puranik, 2018: 895; see also Snow & Anderson, 1987; Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003; Brown, 2015). Research to date has focused on how identity work impacts a focal identity and, at times, a second identity. Thus, scholars have typically overlooked the implications identity work has for an individual’s full

identity set and overall self-concept. In order to address both the complexity and dynamism of identity, the objective of this manuscript is to create a framework that serves as a theoretical foundation for studying individuals' entire identity sets.

To accomplish this objective, we build from the foundation of Ramarajan's (2014) metaphor of an intrapersonal identity network. In this metaphor, individuals each have a network of identities which are interrelated through various forms of ties. This framework serves as the starting point for us to describe ways in which identity networks can vary. We contend that an individual's identity network, can be described in terms of three dimensions: 1) concordance- based on the *meanings* of identities in the network, 2) adaptability- based on the ability to *enact* identities in the network, and 3) valence- the overall evaluation of the *value* of identities in the network. These dimensions are a function of the ties between identities and the salience hierarchy of identities in the network- which we refer to collectively as relational states. We also explore how these three dimensions of an identity network link to three self-perceptions: self-concept clarity, authenticity, and global self-esteem respectively. Finally, we address how identity work can shift these dimensions, and propose moderators of this process.

Our framework expands previous work in several ways. First, at present, we have limited tools to distinguish between identity networks, beyond the notion of density (Ramarajan, 2014) - the number of ties of a particular type between identities. Our framework provides a more expansive way to describe differences between identity networks, going beyond prior research that tends to focus on dyadic identity relationships (e.g. Settles, 2004; Brook et al., 2008) and, instead, building upon the work of scholars who take a multiple identities approach to the relationships among identities (e.g., see Ramarajan, Berger, & Greenspan, 2017). With the conceptual tools built here, we can compare identity networks in ways previously not possible.

Further, we explore the linkage between one's identity network and one's gestalt perceptions of self. By exploring the totality of ties between identities and the hierarchy of those identities, we can describe the dimensions of an identity network. In turn, we suggest, that these network dimensions will influence overall self-perceptions. Linking identity network dimensions to self-perceptions is important because it combines the vast body of identity research with the research on self-perceptions. While both literatures are based on perceptions of who we are, they are typically studied separately, perhaps because the identity literature tends to focus on a subset of identities and the self-perception literature is focused on more global assessments of self. We provide the infrastructure to explain how identities combine to shape global self-perceptions.

In addition, we advance theory on *how* identity work impacts outcomes. Prior work tends to associate identity work on an identity directly with individual outcomes (e.g., Bowles, 2012; Cable, Gino and Staats, 2013; Mallett & Wapshott, 2012). We suggest that prior research skips describing how identity work leads to shifts in relational states among identities and, consequently, changes the overall composition of the identity network, which in turn shapes outcomes. As such, we both assert the importance of including the identity network in our theorizing and demonstrate how changes to one identity reverberate throughout the network, ultimately altering self-perceptions. Altogether, we argue that the identity network plays a central role in determining how identity work impacts the self and self-related outcomes.

INTRAPERSONAL IDENTITY NETWORK DIMENSIONS

Identities are answers to the question "Who am I?" (Ashforth, Harrison & Corley, 2008) and can be based on membership in collectives (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 1985), roles (Stryker, 1968; Stryker & Serpe, 1982), relationships (Sluss & Ashforth, 2007) and personal characteristics (Postmes & Jetten, 2006). Petriglieri (2011) suggests that identities can

be described in terms of their meanings, enactments, and value. First, identities have specific meanings attached to them by the identity-holder and ascribed to them by others (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). For example, the meanings associated with the identity of “father” vary across individuals, from “provider” to “role model” to “nurturer” (Humberd, Ladge & Harrington, 2015). Second, identities can also be understood in terms of enactments, or behavioral patterns in social settings (Fine, 1996; Leifer, 1988). When an identity is salient in a context, individuals will act in ways consistent with their conceptualization of that identity. For instance, a lawyer is likely to associate different behaviors with her attorney, church elder, and Red Sox fan identities. While meanings and enactments are theorized separately, we acknowledge that they are likely to be interrelated. For example, leaders that take on the meaning of “caring” versus “dominating” are likely to enact their leader identity in differing ways. Finally, identities vary in the degree to which they sustain an individual’s self-worth (Gecas, 1982) and are considered valuable within a particular context (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010; Roberts, 2005). High status identities, for example, are often considered to be valuable and strived for (Tajfel & Turner, 1985; Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005). Identities may also, at times, hold low social value- such as being female in male-dominated organizations (Von Hippel, Walsh, & Zouroudis, 2011) or working in stigmatized occupations (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999).

Further, individuals hold multiple identities (Pratt & Kraatz, 2009; Creary et al., 2015). Who we are cannot be fully described by one category or label. Accordingly, scholars are increasingly moving from a focus on one identity to investigating the impact of identities on one another. For example, the research on social identity complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Schmid, Hewstone, Tausch, Cairns, & Hughes, 2009), intersectionality (Atewologun, et al., 2016; Carrim & Nkomo, 2016) and identity conflict (Ahlqvist, London, Rosenthal., 2013; Hirsh

& Kang, 2016; Horton, Bayerl, & Jacobs, 2014) each address the relationships among multiple identities. Thus, there is a move in the literature to understand multiple identities at once. In fact, Ramarajan (2014) posits that there is benefit in conceptualizing an individual's self-concept more comprehensively in terms of an "intrapersonal identity network."

The Intrapersonal Identity Network

An intrapersonal identity network consists of an individuals' entire set of identities, which Ramarajan (2014) refers to as "nodes." The multiple nodes in an identity network are linked by ties, which indicate whether the relationship between identities is rooted in conflict, synergy, or neither. Conflicting ties occur when individuals have identities that have differing meanings or contrasting behavioral expectations (Ashforth et al., 2008; Hirsh & Kang, 2016; Horton et al., 2014). For example, a painter who is also an art instructor may find it difficult to see herself as an artist when she has little time to paint because she is making her living, and spending most of her time, instructing others. While conflict makes it difficult for two or more identities to co-exist, synergy among identities means that an individual's multiple identities enhance or enrich each other (Rothbard & Ramarajan, 2009; Wayne, Randel, & Stevens, 2006; Powell & Greenhaus, 2010; Ramarajan, Rothbard, & Wilk, 2017). For example, a choreographer who takes on projects in non-creative industries may view her identities as synergistic because the skills, experiences, and contacts are mutually beneficial across identities (Hennekam, 2017). Ties can also be compatible, wherein the relationship between two identities does not involve synergy or conflict, but rather the two identities peacefully co-exist (Bataille & Vough, 2022). In the remainder of the manuscript, we focus on conflicting and synergistic ties rather than compatible ties because they represent instances in which identities impact each other.

While not covered in the original conceptualization of the intrapersonal identity network, the relationship between identities can also be described in terms of relative salience. Identity salience is the degree to which an identity is likely to come to mind and be drawn upon across situations (Stryker, 1980; Stryker & Serpe, 1994). High salience identities play an important role in individuals' thought processes across situations whereas low salience identities are only activated in highly specific contexts. Identities in the identity network can be conceptualized in terms of a salience hierarchy wherein some identities are chronically activated, and thus have high salience, while other identities are rarely activated, and thus have low salience. Thus, relative salience refers to where an identity falls in this hierarchy. In the remainder of this manuscript, we refer to ties and relative salience collectively as "relational states."

Network Dimensions

Ramarajan's (2014) notion of the identity network provides the vocabulary for features of the network (i.e., nodes and ties), but it does not describe how to conceptualize differences between networks. In this section, we consider the entirety of the network, including all of the relational states between identities, in order to propose ways to describe identity networks that go beyond dyadic relationships. Specifically, we apply the distinction between meanings, enactments, and value to the network level in order to deduce three network level dimensions: concordance, adaptability, and valence (see middle section of Figure 1).

INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Network concordance. Concordance can be understood as "congruity of parts with one another and with the whole," including a sense of harmony across properties (Vocabulary.com). Drawing from this definition, we define network concordance as the degree to which meanings

across identities contrast or align. Network concordance occurs when there is holistic integration (Kreiner & Sheep, 2009), rather than fragmentation, of meanings in the network. While research on narrative identity often refers to self-coherence - whether an individual can tell a clear story of who they are over time (e.g., Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010; McAdams, 2006) - employees also seek a lack of contradiction in who they are at a given time (Down & Reveley, 2009).

We assert that concordance will be a function of both the number of meanings in the identity network as well as the relationships among those meanings. When there are many meanings in the network, it may be difficult to attain harmony between them, resulting in fragmentation. For example, Ryan and colleagues (2005: 444) find that “simply adding more parts” to who one is does not enhance self-functioning. The number of meanings in the network will be, in part, a function of the number of synergistic ties in the network. Research on synergistic ties implies that holding synergistic ties can entail reductions in the number of meanings in the identity network. For example, individuals may create meta-identities where one overarching identity is created to encapsulate multiple identities that share a common theme, such as “mumpreneur” (Lewis, Rumens, & Simpson, 2021), “writer” (Caza, Moss & Vough, 2018) or “academic-practitioner” (Lam, 2020). Creating a meta-identity reduces the overall meanings in the identity network because the identities associated with the meta-identity now all take on the same meaning. Meanings can also be reduced via synergistic ties when individuals build “linkages and connections among the various facets of the self” (Dutton et al., 2010: 274). For example, an individual may see himself as a leader, a father, and a volunteer, and may associate all of these identities with the meanings of kind, caring, and supportive. Therefore, having a high proportion of synergistic ties will involve having a low number of meanings in the identity network which results in a high level of network concordance.

Concordance is also a function of the proportion of conflicting ties in the network. Conflicting ties are characterized by identities that contain meanings that are at odds with one another. For example, female scientists may find that the meanings associated with being a woman are not aligned with the meanings associated with being a scientist (Jensen & Deemer, 2019; Ramsey, 2021). Such conflict is psychologically depleting and takes effort to address, potentially drawing resources from other activities (Ramarajan, Berger & Greenspan, 2017; Ramarajan, Rothbard, & Wilk, 2017). In cases where there are multiple conflicting ties, the overall network will consist of a wide array of meanings that are not commensurate and, as a result, will have low levels of concordance.

Proposition 1a: The proportion of synergistic ties to other ties in the network will be positively related to network concordance.

Proposition 1b: The proportion of conflicting ties to other ties in the network will be negatively related to network concordance.

Network Adaptability. Networks can also differ in their adaptability. In their day-to-day lives, individuals are exposed to a variety of environments where they are expected to enact different identities. Network adaptability is the degree to which the set of identities in the network enables an individual to fully enact appropriate identities in each of these environments. As such, network adaptability derives from the *enactments* of the various identities in the network as well as the degree to which the presence of other identities in the network allows for or prevents those enactments. Scholars have previously addressed identity adaptation at the level of individual identities: Dutton and colleagues' (2010: 269) describe adaptive identity development as whether a particular identity "can change in identity content toward a better fit with internal or external standards," Kreiner and Sheep (2009) define identity resilience as "the ability to adapt, cope, and grow in beneficial ways through adverse circumstances," and Pittinsky

and colleagues (1999) assess the degree to which a particular identity is adaptive in that it is associated with stereotypes predicting high levels of performance. In contrast to these approaches, network adaptability refers to the degree to which the ties between identities promote seamless transitions between identities and full enactments of identities across contexts.

Based on this foundation, network adaptability is a function of three factors. First, individuals need to have enough identities to meet the environments that they face. The raw number of identities impacts adaptability because it determines the set of identities one can choose from in a given situation (Pittinsky, Shih, & Ambady, 1999). According to Kang and Bodenhausen (2015: 561): “Having a larger number of identities increases the chances that one of those identities will be valued in a given social context.” Research on work complexity similarly suggests that having multiple work identities provides more resources “to both address the complexity that their work environment demands and extend themselves into diverse environments” (Caza & Wilson, 2009: see also Thoits, 1983). Second, the individual must be able to transition between identities when necessary (e.g., identity switching, Pittinsky et al., 1999). In order to use different identities in different contexts, one must be able to disengage from enacting a particular identity and begin enacting another more relevant identity. When switching identities is difficult, perhaps due to the inability to exit an identity (Ashforth, 2001), individuals will not be responsive to their environments and their networks will not be optimally adaptable. Finally, individuals must be able to engage the identities relevant to a context in a way consistent with their identity standards - the individually and culturally prescribed definition of what an identity enactment should look like in that situation (Burke, 1991). Individuals may be able to quickly switch between identities, but not be able to fully enact the identity due to interference from another identity. For example, a consultant may be able to transition to her

hockey mom identity when she attends her daughter's tournaments. However, she may not be able to live up to her hockey mom identity standard if she is constantly taking calls from her clients during games. Again, if an individual is unable to enact an identity in a way that meets their identity standard, the identity network is not fully adaptable.

Similar to concordance, network adaptability will be a function of the proportion of synergistic and conflicting ties in the network. Synergistic ties will be positively related to network adaptability whereas conflicting ties will be negatively related to network adaptability. Specifically, synergistic ties aid the mutual enactment of identities, meaning that individuals are more likely to be able to meet their identity standards. Here, resources, skills, or knowledge gained from one identity improve the performance of another identity. For example, Hunter and colleagues (2010) found that team resources generated in work or family can benefit individuals in the other domain as well. Or, synergies can occur when the co-activation of two identities aids in performance of an activity, beyond what only one identity would (e.g., Chen, Jiao, & Yang, 2021). For example, Ramarajan and colleagues (2017) found that collective identities (Jewish) and personal identities (altruist) could work together to promote prosocial behavior.

In contrast, conflicting identity enactments in the network contribute to lower levels of network adaptability. Here, identity conflicts occur when the enactment of one identity prohibits the enactment of another identity. Such conflict can occur in multiple ways. There can be cross-domain conflicts in which an identity in one domain (e.g., work) limits the enactments of identity in another domain (e.g., family). For example, if individuals have what Kreiner and colleagues (2006b) term "greedy" occupations - those occupation that require a great deal of attention and commitment – the identity associated with the occupation may infringe on the ability to fully enact another identity. In such cases, it may be difficult to "switch off" the greedy identity and

enact another identity in a way that meets one's identity standard. Further, even if one does not have a greedy identity, transitioning between identities with differing behavioral expectations may involve more stark transitions than transitioning between non-conflicting identities: one may have to psychologically exit the first identity and actively take on opposing enactments that align with the identity that is transitioned to (Ashforth, et al., 2000). For example, if an executive who is required to be aggressive and dominant at work inappropriately attempts to dominate his weekend cycling team, his network is not fully adaptable because he cannot easily transition between identities. In addition, identity conflict can also arise as individuals have two identities co-activated in the same context that call for different enactments. For example, individuals can have organizational and occupational identities in the workplace with differing behavioral expectations (Hekman, Steensma, Bigley, & Hereford, 2009), such as healthcare professionals who hold the role of both nurse and midwife (Caza & Wilson, 2009). In such situations, individuals may find themselves forced to choose between divergent sets of guidance on how to act. Such a situation will be depleting (Ramarajan, Rothbard, & Wilk, 2017) and make it difficult for the individual to enact either identity in a way that meets their identity standards.

Proposition 2a: The proportion of synergistic ties to other ties in the network will be positively related to network adaptability.

Proposition 2b: The proportion of conflicting ties to other ties in the network will be negatively related to network adaptability.

Network Valence. The final dimension of identity networks is valence. Network valence refers to the degree to which the overall identity network is more positive or more negative in nature. As such, valence is a function of the *value* of all of the identities in the identity network. The value of an individual identity has to do with contextual assessments of an identity in terms of worth and status (Tajfel & Turner, 1979;1985), which are rooted in both the individual's

assessment of the value of the identity as well as the value placed on the identity by others. In most contexts, there are identities that are considered more important and valuable and identities that are considered less so (Logel, Walton, Spencer, Iserman, von Hippel, & Bell, 2009; Roberts, 2005). Although individuals strive to see themselves in a positive light (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016; Dutton et al., 2010), they may hold identities that are not societally appreciated (e.g., Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Lyons, Pek & Wessel., 2017). While research tends to focus on the self-enhancing nature of specific identities, we instead focus on the value of the entire set of identities to determine the point in time valence of the network.

Unlike concordance and adaptability, valence is not premised on the ties in the network but rather on which identities in the network are most chronically salient in the identity hierarchy. This hierarchy represents which identities are most accessible and most likely to be drawn upon in any given situation (Strauss, Griffin & Parker, 2012). When positive identities are the most salient identities in the hierarchy, they will come to mind quickly and be used in many contexts. Having highly salient identities that are socially desirable means the individual will frequently conjure positive thoughts about the self. For example, if a woman's accountant identity, which she sees as prestigious, is more salient than her single woman identity, which she sees as negative, her accountant identity will come to mind more often, meaning she frequently relies on a positively valued identity. Conversely, if her single woman identity were more salient than her accountant identity, the overall valence of the network would be lower because she would frequently draw upon a low value identity. As a result, individuals who have highly salient identities that are also considered highly valuable will have positively valenced identity networks. In contrast, when negatively assessed identities are highly salient, such identities will dominate individuals' day-to-day experiences, leading to more negative network valence.

It could be argued that valence is purely a function of the number of positive versus negative identities in the network. In such an argument, the valence of the network would be assessed simply by counting and comparing how many positively-valued versus negatively-valued identities individuals hold. We suggest, instead, that valence will be influenced by the frequency by which identities are brought to mind, in addition to their mere existence in the network. Thus, salience matters. One could have few positive identities and several negative ones, but if the positive identities are the most salient in the network, the identity network could still be positively-valenced.

Proposition 3: Network valence will be a function of whether the identities that have the highest relative salience in the identity hierarchy are positive or negative, with highly salient positive identities contributing to more positive network valence and highly salient negative identities contributing to more negative network valence.

OUTCOMES OF IDENTITY NETWORK DIMENSIONS

The three network dimensions have implications for individuals' perceptions of self (see right half of Figure 1). Because the network dimensions focus on the level of the network, changes at this level will be broader than simply impacting one identity. Rather, they will impact individuals' overall assessments of who they are. The network dimensions are descriptive constructs that reflect the aggregate nature of the relational states among identities. We suggest that these network dimensions drive subjective perceptions of self. While individuals will be able to articulate all of the conflicts, synergies, or hierarchies in their network, they will have a generalized sense of whether their network is characterized by conflict or synergy and whether they often draw on positively or negatively valued identities, guiding their self-perceptions.

Concordance and Self-Concept Clarity

Levels of network concordance will impact an individuals' degree of self-concept clarity. Self-concept clarity is "the extent to which the contents of an individual's self-concept (e.g.,

perceived personal attributes) are clearly and confidently defined, internally consistent, and temporally stable” (Campbell et al., 1996: 141: see also Setterlund & Neidenthal, 1993).

Individuals with high levels of self-concept clarity feel that they have a good sense of who they are, whereas individuals with low self-concept clarity struggle with defining their overall selves. High levels of self-concept clarity help with overall psychological adjustment (Bigler, Neimeyer, & Brown, 2001). Further, self-concept clarity has been linked to important organizational outcomes such as other-rated performance (Earl & Bright, 2007), positive role-modeling (Gardner, Avolio, May, & Walumba, 2005) and having a calling (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007).

We posit that network concordance will impact self-concept clarity for two reasons. First, high levels of concordance mean there are synergies between the meanings associated with multiple identities. Further, there are few conflicting identities that individuals have to reconcile in order to understand who they are. Thus, high concordance allows for the internal consistency necessary for self-concept clarity. Second, when there are high levels of concordance, multiple identities have similar meanings. Thus, as individuals transition between identities, they can continue to define themselves in the same ways. As such, there will be temporal stability within these meanings that span identities. As a result of both internal consistency and temporal stability, individuals will feel able to confidently define themselves.

Proposition 4: Network concordance will be positively related to self-concept clarity.

Adaptability and Authenticity

Authenticity is an individual’s perceived alignment between who they believe they are and their actions (Harter, 2002). Feeling authentic is positively related to both well-being and work engagement (Cha et al., 2019). While often associated with a “true self” (Newman, Bloom & Knobe, 2014; Schlegel & Hicks, 2011), recent research has illustrated how individuals can develop a sense of authenticity across multiple identities (Caza, Moss, & Vough, 2018).

Authenticity differs from self-concept clarity in that self-concept clarity is about having a clear sense of who one is, whereas authenticity is about acting consistently with who one is. As such, individuals will need at least some self-concept clarity in order to experience authenticity, but self-concept clarity in and of itself is not sufficient for experiencing authenticity.

When individuals have highly adaptive networks in which they can adjust to any situation and fully express an identity in that situation, they are likely to experience authenticity. In contrast, a lack of adaptability may inhibit authenticity in multiple ways. If an individual has few identities and finds themselves in circumstances where they do not have an identity to draw on to guide behaviors, they may find themselves acting in ways that do not align with their self-views in order to meet environmental demands. This disconnect between behaviors and self-views will be experienced by the self, and even perhaps others, as inauthentic (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010). Or, lack of adaptability may lead to low levels of authenticity due to the inability to fully enact identities one does hold. For example, a man who holds both a professional and father identity may be unable to shut off his work identity at home and fully enact his identity standard as a father (e.g., checking his email instead of interacting with his kids). This lack of adaptability will impact authenticity because he is not enacting his “involved father” identity as “highly engaged, accessible, and responsible with his children” (Pleck, 1997). Thus, individuals need to have adaptable networks to experience an ongoing sense of authenticity.

Proposition 5: Network adaptability is positively related to authenticity.

Valence and Global Self-Esteem

Finally, the valence of the network will have a direct impact on an individual’s global self-esteem. Global self-esteem is the degree to which one thinks about oneself positively or negatively (Rosenberg et al., 1995) and is comprised of two distinct dimensions: self-competence: “the evaluative experience of oneself as a causal agent, an intentional being with

efficacy and power,” and self-liking: “the valuative experience of oneself as a social object, a good or bad person according to internalized criteria for worth” (Tafarodi & Milne, 2002: 444). Global self-esteem differs from specific self-esteem in that it is about a holistic assessment of the positivity or negativity of oneself, whereas specific self-esteem is about the perceived value of a particular aspect of the self (Marsh, 1986). While specific self-esteem drives behaviors, global self-esteem has a larger impact on well-being (Rosenberg et al., 1995). Identity and self-esteem are related in that one’s evaluation of one’s identities contributes to one’s self-esteem (Cast & Burke, 2002; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Pelham & Swann, 1989).

We expect network valence will impact an individual’s global self-esteem. Valence is a function of which identities are most salient in the identity hierarchy. When individuals find themselves regularly able to enact identities that are worthwhile and valuable (i.e., positive, high salience identities), they will feel good about themselves and have an overall positive assessment of their worth. In such cases, individuals may be able to develop a sense of self-liking. In contrast, when individuals have highly salient negative identities, which decreases the valence of the overall network, they are likely to have lower global self-esteem. Here, negative identities will often be activated, which means individuals will often think about themselves negatively. As a result, they will have negative overall evaluations of who they are. In such cases, individuals may struggle with self-liking due to not feeling that they have worth. Thus, we predict that valence will be closely associated with global self-esteem.

Proposition 6: Network valence is positively related to global self-esteem.

IDENTITY NETWORK PATHWAYS

With the dimensions of identity networks and their impact on self-perceptions in mind, we begin to theorize how changes in individual identities may have repercussions for the identity network and, ultimately, for self-perceptions. Our model begins with identity-implicating

experiences, on the left side of Figure 1. Identity implicating experiences are any experiences in an individual's life that impact their identity in some way (Bataille & Vough, 2022). Such experiences can be large in scale, such as an opportunity to move into a new position (Ibarra, 1999), or more mundane (Karreman & Alvesson, 2001), such as a slight in passing from a coworker. These experiences are subjective such that two individuals experiencing the same event may not both perceive it to be identity-implicating. Importantly, these experiences bring identity issues to the fore for the individual, subconsciously, if not consciously.

When identity issues are activated, individuals respond through identity work (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). This work can be aimed at seeking to repair threatened identities, to maintain existing identities, to improve upon identities, or construct new identities (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016; Petriglieri, 2011). When identity work maintains identities in their status quo states (no changes to meanings, enactments, or value), we do not predict changes in the relational states or in the network. However, when identity work responds to identity-implicating experiences do lead to changes in identities, these shifts may have ripple effects through the network. Specifically, identity work may change the nature of ties between identities or the relative salience of identities. When this occurs, the concordance, adaptability, and valence of the network may also change. In this section, we begin with the assumption that some sort of identity work has occurred that alters relational states. From this premise, we describe how these changes impact the network dimensions. While these paths are presented separately, they may intertwine and occur simultaneously.

Concordance Path

Given that concordance is a function of the meanings in the identity network, identity work to make changes to identity meanings will impact concordance. There are a number of

ways that identity meanings can change. Individuals may add new meanings to an identity. For example, after transitioning into a new identity, individuals may experiment with new meanings for that identity over time (Ibarra, 1999). In addition, they may discard existing meanings from an identity. Or, these two processes may occur simultaneously, wherein one meaning replaces another meaning. For example, musicians who sustained career-ending injuries may replace the “performing artist” meaning with “educator” or “creative person” meanings (Maitlis, 2009).

As a result of this identity work, the relational states in the network may change. Bataille and Vough (2022) argued that changes to one identity can reverberate throughout the network. In the case of changes to meanings of an identity, the ties related to that identity may need to be updated. When new meanings are added, these meanings may align nicely with meanings of other identities, creating the chance for synergistic ties to be created. Or, new meanings may contrast with existing meanings, resulting in conflicting ties. These changes to ties have implications for overall network concordance: when a newly added meaning to one identity results in new synergistic ties between that identity and other identities, the overall concordance of the network will increase. In contrast, when the new meaning leads to an increase in conflicting ties among identities, overall concordance decreases.

Alternatively, when an individual discards a meaning associated with one identity, the relationships between the focal identity and other identities in the network will be impacted. That is, the loss of a meaning could either mean fewer conflicts in the network, if the vacated meaning conflicted with other identities, or it could mean fewer synergies in the network. Based on our prior theorizing, fewer conflicts would lead to a greater sense of concordance in the network, whereas fewer synergies would lead to less concordance in the network. Additionally,

individuals may replace one identity meaning with another. In those instances, the dynamics described above concerning both adding and subtracting a meaning would occur.

Proposition 7: When individuals engage in identity work in response to identity-implicating experiences that change the meanings associated with an identity, it will change the overall concordance of the network, via shifts in ties.

Adaptability Path

Similar to the argument for concordance, individuals can also add, subtract, or replace identity enactments. When new identities are added to the network, new ties between identities will be created. For example, if a woman who holds the identities of mother and architect takes on an artist identity, new ties will form among these identities. If these ties are synergistic, we would expect an increase in the adaptability of the network because the individual has more behaviors to draw upon to meet the needs of any given situation and/or the new identities enable them to meet an identity standard for another identity or vice versa. The artist and architect identities may be synergistic in that she becomes more creative with her architecture projects as a result of her artist identity. If adding a new identity creates conflicting ties, however, there will be a decrease in adaptability as the individual is caught between multiple enactments or unable to easily transition between contexts due to divergent behavioral expectations.

Subtracting enactments with conflicting ties may have both positive and negative effects on the network. The loss of such enactments will aid in the adaptability of the network because some conflicting ties no longer exist. However, losing enactments may also decrease the behavioral repertoire and, as a result, lead to a decrease in adaptability. In contrast, subtracting enactments with synergistic ties will be negative for the adaptability of the network as identities in the network may no longer benefit from the resources generated by the subtracted identity. Finally, the impact of replacing identity enactments will depend on the relationship between the new enactment and the old enactment. If an enactment with conflicting ties is replaced by one

with synergistic ties, there will be an increase in adaptability. For example, if a manager shifts from punishing to coaching her “problem people” (Nicholson, 2003), the enactment of her manager identity will no longer conflict with the nurturing enactments of her mother identity and instead align with it. In contrast, if an enactment with synergistic ties is replaced by one with conflicting ties, adaptability will decrease.

Proposition 8: When individuals engage in identity work in response to identity-implicating experiences that change the enactments of identities, it will change the overall adaptability of the network, via shifts in ties.

Valence Path

Network valence becomes implicated when the value of an identity shifts. An identity that was once perceived as highly valuable could fall from grace and come to be seen as “dirty” or stigmatized (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). For example, as the work of firefighters shifts from heroically fighting fires to handling drug overdoses, the overall status of their work could change as they increasingly engage with individuals considered dirty. In contrast, an identity may become more valuable on dimensions like competence or virtuousness (e.g., Dutton et al., 2010; Kreiner & Sheep, 2009). Individuals are highly responsive to perceptions of the value of their identities and will work to adjust their value, typically to perceive them as more positive (Dutton, Roberts & Bednar, 2010). For example, when moving to a prestigious consulting firm, a management consultant may engage in identity work to make her professional identity more valuable by letting everyone in her network know that she is now working for a top-tier firm. An individual could also adopt a new identity, such as moving from consultant to manager, and imbue this identity with more positive value.

Shifts in the value of an identity can impact the overall valence of the network depending upon the relative salience of the identities¹. When a highly salient identity comes to be seen less positively, the overall valence of the network decreases because this identity is frequently drawn upon relative to other identities. For example, a professional woman may have a highly salient, positively-valued identity as a female. However, her female identity may become devalued in some contexts, such as her male-dominated workplace. As such, her highly salient female identity could shift from positively to more negatively valued, which would lead to decreases in overall network valence, due to its high relative salience. If, however, her gender identity takes on more positive value, perhaps if she takes a job in a female-dominated workplace, the overall valence of the network could increase. In contrast, when there is a positive or negative change to the value of a low salience identity, we predict little impact on the overall network valence because this identity does not come to mind frequently.

Proposition 9: Identity work in response to identity-implicating experiences that changes the value of an identity will impact network valence to the extent that the focal identity is salient, with high relative salience identities having a stronger impact on network valence than low relative salience identities.

MODERATORS IMPACTING CONCORDANCE AND ADAPTABILITY

Up to now, we have depicted a process wherein changes to the relational states have led to changes in identity network dimensions. In this section, we explore moderators to this relationship. We focus on concordance and adaptability because these dimensions are rooted in network ties which are complex in nature and thus subject to additional variables that do not

¹ It is also possible that shifts in value of an identity could implicate that identity's place in the salience hierarchy. Over time, as individuals draw on an identity that has taken on a positive identity more and more, this new identity may become chronically accessible and, therefore, more salient. Conversely, if a highly salient identity takes on more negative value (e.g., the firefighter example above), the individual will attempt to draw on the identity less often, with it eventually becoming less salient. That said, we focus on the short-term impact on the network of a change of the value of an identity.

impact valence. We identify two moderators at the tie level (inter-identity work and co-activation frequency) and two network level characteristics (tie type density and tie type clustering) to explore how different configurations of ties will impact the identity network.

Tie Level Moderators

Inter-identity work. Bataille and Vough (2022) define inter-identity work as identity work aimed at managing the relationships between identities. When an identity changes, the relationships between this focal identity and other identities in the network may need to be addressed, specifically if these changes lead to increased conflict. When individuals experience conflict between identities, they do not passively accept the conflict, but rather act to address it. Individuals may deal with conflicting identities by prioritizing one identity over the other, working to integrate identities, or segmenting identities (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Hirsh & Kang, 2016; Horton et al., 2014; Settles, 2004). Not all ways of addressing conflict will be equally effective in mitigating the impact of conflict on the identity network. For example, by prioritizing one identity, conflict may subside if not disappear. By prioritizing an identity, the meanings and enactments associated with the prioritized identity take precedence, backgrounding the enactments and meanings associated with conflicting identities. As such, concordance is increased as there are no longer multiple competing meanings and adaptability is enhanced as individuals have a clearer roadmap for how to act, based on the prioritized identity. Another effective strategy is to integrate conflicting identities, such as creating meta-identities (Gotsi, Andripoulos, Lewis, & Ingram, 2010; Caza, Moss, & Vough, 2018). When an individual creates a meta-identity, they unite meanings and enactments across identities, which mitigates the conflict between identities. For example, in her work on artist-academic hybrids, Lam (2020) found that the artist identity and academic identity conflicted. However, a subset of her sample

was able to overcome this conflict by constructing academic-practitioner identities that integrated the two identities. By engaging in integrating identities, new synergies may be created and the detrimental impact of identity conflict on concordance and adaptability can be reduced.

While prioritizing and integrating may be fairly effective forms of inter-identity work for managing conflict, segmenting may be less effective. Segmenting identities occurs when individuals put up a strong boundary between the activation and enactment of two identities (Nippert-Eng, 1996). Such segmentation may address aspects of adaptability, but it is less likely to help with concordance. That is, segmenting may lessen conflict and increase adaptability to the extent that the boundary between identities prevents one identity from encroaching upon another identity through temporal, spatial, and/or psychological separation (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000). However, segmenting may exacerbate the fragmentation of meanings in the network, reducing concordance. In segmenting, all of the meanings associated with each identity are maintained, they are just invoked in different contexts. Thus, although segmenting identities means that conflicting identities may be co-activated less frequently, segmenting does not decrease fragmentation or reduce conflict between meanings. As such, segmenting may not resolve the negative impact of conflicting ties on concordance.

Proposition 10: Inter-identity work will moderate the relationship between conflicting ties and concordance/adaptability, such that prioritizing and integrating forms of inter-identity work will decrease the impact of conflicting ties on concordance and adaptability more than segmenting forms of inter-identity work.

Co-activation frequency. A second tie-level factor that will influence the impact that new ties have on network concordance and adaptability is the frequency with which two or more identities are co-activated. Co-activation occurs when multiple identities are salient at once (Rothbard & Ramarajan, 2009). Some identities may be co-activated frequently. For example, a female scientist might have her scientist identity and her female identity on her mind much of the

time at work. In contrast, other identities may not be co-activated frequently. The same female scientist may also have a yoga teacher identity which is not activated frequently at work; thus, she rarely thinks about herself as a scientist and a yoga instructor at the same time.

The likelihood of co-activation will, to some extent, be a function of the type of identity. Identities that are based on demographic characteristics (e.g., black, male, or young) are difficult to put aside in any situation as they are not based on roles or memberships but more immutable characteristics. As such, these identities may follow us and be activated much of the time, whether we want them to be or not. In the prior example, this was the case for the demographic characteristic of “female” that was co-activated with the scientist identity. Thus, when demographic identities are in conflict with other identities (e.g., a role identity or a collective identity), this conflict may often be present due to their frequent co-activation. In contrast, when two identities are based on roles that are called upon in differing life domains, such as scientist and yoga instructor, they may be only rarely activated at the same time.

The frequency of co-activation matters because it will determine, to some extent, the degree to which tie conflict or synergy influences the overall network. When individuals have a conflicting tie between identities that are frequently co-activated, this tie will have a stronger impact on concordance and adaptability than if individuals have a conflicting tie between two identities that are not frequently activated together. We propose the same logic for synergistic ties: synergistic ties that are co-activated will have a greater impact on concordance and adaptability than synergistic ties that are not frequently co-activated. Thus, ties will have the strongest impact on network dimensions when they are frequently actuated. Ties will be actuated when both identities are activated in a situation. In contrast, if two identities rarely cross paths, the tie between them will be less consequential for the network as a whole.

Proposition 11: Co-activation frequency will moderate the relationship between changes to ties and concordance and adaptability, such that the higher the co-activation frequency, the more impact the change in ties will have on concordance and adaptability.

Network Level Moderators

Tie type density. As depicted in Figure 2, we predict that the extent to which changes in one identity will impact network concordance and adaptability will be a function of network tie density. Extrapolating from broader network theory (e.g. Labianca & Brass, 2006), identity network density refers to the number of conflicting and synergistic ties between identities in a network, with more ties of a particular type meaning higher density of that tie type (Ramarajan, 2014). We suggest that any changes to ties will be more impactful in low density, rather than high density, networks. Specifically, if a network has a great number of conflicting ties (high conflicting tie density), the addition or subtraction of one conflicting tie will make only a marginal difference in the overall concordance or adaptability of the network. This idea is depicted in Figure 2. In Identity Network 1, five of the ten total ties are conflicting. If a new conflicting tie were added between identity E and identity B, the shift would be from five to six conflicting ties, which is unlikely to strongly impact one's overall experience of conflict in the network. However, if in Identity Network 2, the tie between identities E and B moved from compatible to conflicting, that would increase the total number of conflicting ties from two to three. This would be a more consequential change because it implicates identities that did not previously have conflicts (identity E) and it increases the proportion of conflicts in the network from 20% to 33%, meaning there are now more conflicting than synergistic ties in the network.

INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

Similarly, networks with high synergistic tie density will not become substantially more concordant or adaptable if just one more synergistic tie is added. In contrast, networks low in synergistic tie density will be significantly impacted by the addition of synergistic ties. Again, if we look at Figure 2, we can see that Identity Network 1 has one synergistic tie and Identity Network 2 has four synergistic ties. Adding a single synergistic tie to Network 1 will double the number of synergistic ties, which will have a much stronger impact on the overall network than adding such a tie to Network 2. In contrast, moving from four to five synergistic ties in Network 2 will likely only result in an incremental increase in concordance and adaptability. Overall, network concordance and adaptability are most likely to change when there are not a lot of pre-existing ties of a particular tie type in the network, and new ties of that type are added.

Proposition 12: Network density will moderate the relationship between ties and concordance and adaptability, such that the lower the density of a tie-type, the more impact new ties of that type will have on concordance and adaptability.

Tie type clustering. Whereas tie-type density gets at how many of a particular tie type there are in the network, the location of a particular type of tie in the network will also matter. In the networks literature, clusters refer to the extent to which nodes are more closely connected to each other than to other parts of the network (Tichy, Tushman & Fombrun, 1979; Kim, Steensma, & Heidl, 2021). According to Shrader and colleagues (1989: 48) a “network which is partitioned into islands of relations, isolated from one another or bridged by infrequent ties, is structurally very different from one in which relations are evenly or homogeneously distributed.” Drawing from this concept, we posit that tie-type clustering refers to the degree to which a particular tie-type exists throughout the entire identity network or is more localized. An identity network without clusters would mean that many identities have at least one tie of that particular type. In contrast, a clustered network would mean that a particular tie-type is localized to just a

few identities. To illustrate, Figure 2 provides an example of two identity networks that consist of five identities and three conflicting ties. In Identity Network 1, on the left, we see that the three conflicting ties are all between identities A, B, and C. In contrast, in Identity Network 2, on the right, each identity has one or more conflicting tie: identities B and C both conflict with identity A, and identity D conflicts with identity E. If we compare these two networks, we see that conflicting ties are more distributed throughout Network 2, with every identity conflicting with at least one other identity. Network 1, in contrast, has more localized conflicting ties relating to identities A, B, and C. As such, Network 1 has more clustered conflicting ties than does Network 2. Synergistic ties could be depicted in a similar manner.

We suggest that clustering will matter for adaptability and concordance due to the frequency of individuals' experiences being characterized by either conflict or synergy. When conflicting/synergistic ties are dispersed throughout the network, individuals will experience some level of conflict/synergy with nearly every identity they enact. As such, conflict and/or synergy will be a nearly constant occurrence. In contrast, in more clustered networks, individuals will have some identities that do not have conflicting or synergistic ties, and thus they will not experience conflict/synergy when enacting those identities. For example, identities D and E in identity Network 1 do not have any conflicting ties, meaning individuals have opportunities to escape conflicts in Network 1 that are not available in Network 2. Extending this logic one step further, when changes to ties occur, the impact of the change is likely to depend on that tie's relationship to a cluster. If a new tie is added to a part of the network that is already highly clustered around that tie type (for example, adding a conflicting tie between identities B and C when there were already conflicting ties between A and B and A and C), the addition of that tie will have less of an impact on concordance and adaptability than the addition of a tie of that type

in a part of the network that does not have clusters of that tie type (such as adding a conflicting tie between E and D, when neither of them have conflicting ties with other identities).

Proposition 13: Tie-type clustering will moderate the relationship between ties and concordance and adaptability, such that when new ties are added to existing clusters, they will not impact concordance and adaptability as strongly as when new ties are added to parts of the network without clusters of that tie type.

DISCUSSION

Who we are is a complex, and slippery, question (Brown, 2015). We are dynamic and multifaceted. Although scholars have increasingly taken these factors into account, the majority of research engaging with identity work highlights one identity while the research on multiple identities tends to focus on dyads at a point in time. While this is reasonable considering the complexity of going beyond dualities and looking at relationships over time, there are important insights to be gained at the network level that cannot be understood at the dyadic level.

Accordingly, our manuscript explores how the relationships among all of an individuals' identities combine to define the identity network as a whole, as well as how changes to those relationships impact the network and self-perceptions. To this end, we introduce network concordance, adaptability, and valence as three dimensions that describe an individuals' identity network. We further demonstrate how these network level assessments arise from different configurations of ties and salience hierarchies, as well as how they impact fundamental perceptions of self. In the following sections, we articulate the theoretical advancements stemming from this framework as well as its empirical implications.

Theoretical Contributions

The first contribution from our work is that, by taking a network perspective, we can understand variation among individuals' identity sets on a gestalt level. Specifically, we can describe individuals' networks based on their degree of concordance, adaptability, and valence

and assess how those dimensions converge or diverge from others' networks. This theorizing opens a new line of inquiry in which behavior can be assessed and explained using the identity network level of analysis. For example, we know that global self-esteem impacts several behaviors and experiences at work (e.g., Bai, Lin, & Wang, 2016; Molero, Pérez-Fuentes, & Gázquez, 2018). If, in addition to measuring self-esteem, we also measured the valence of individuals' identity networks, we could pinpoint where the self-esteem derived from- perhaps a negative identity high in the salience hierarchy, or the lack of salient positive identities. Thus, the first take-away from our work is the ability to compare and contrast identity networks.

Identifying network dimensions also allows us to make connections between disparate self-related literatures. We suggest that network dimensions are predictive of self-concept clarity, authenticity, and global self-esteem: three self-perceptions that have each garnered substantial research attention, but not in parallel and not concerning how they relate to individuals' entire sets of identities. Before diving into the specifics for each outcome, it is worth noting that our central premise is that understanding one identity is insufficient for making predictions about global assessments of self, as individuals' lived experiences are predicated on all of their identities. In terms of self-concept clarity, scholars have suggested that specific identities (e.g., clarity of one's cultural identity) can lead to self-concept clarity (Usborne & Taylor, 2010) and that changes in identities can impact self-concept clarity, depending on the direction and magnitude of the change (Carter & Bruene, 2018). What is missing in this literature is a discussion of how the *combination* of identities that one holds contribute to, or even diminish, self-concept clarity. We suggest that self-concept clarity is not a function of one identity, but the entirety of identities in the identity network and their relationships to each other.

While authenticity research has always been inextricably tied to the notion of identity, scholarship in this area has historically assumed that authenticity reflects the notion of “one true self” (Kernis & Goldman, 2006). Recently, however, Caza, Moss and Vough (2018) called this assumption into question and suggested instead that a core struggle with authenticity is navigating the multiple identities that individuals hold. These authors ultimately showed that authenticity is possible among multiplicity. We extend this work by theorizing the specific compositional elements of the identity network that promote authenticity - lack of conflict in the enactment of identities, high levels of synergies in the enactment of identities, the ability to transition smoothly between identities, and the ability to enact identities in line with one’s identity standard. Thus, authenticity may not be predicated on one “true self,” but rather the relationships between the components of the self.

Finally, of the three outcome variables, perhaps the most research attention has been paid to self-esteem. Scholars have approached the relationship between self-esteem and identity in several ways. Gecas (1982) treats self-esteem (which he refers to as self-evaluation) and identity as two parallel elements that constitute the self-concept. Others have linked identity with self-esteem, suggesting that the positivity of personal or collective identities contributes to self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Marsh, 1986). Although findings about whether the importance of an identity matters for self-esteem have been mixed (e.g., Marsh, 1986; Pelham & Swann, 1989), there is indication that views of specific facets of self can have an impact on global self-esteem (Rosenberg et al., 1995). For example, Haslam and colleagues (2000) argue that whether personal or social identities are more salient will determine the sources of self-esteem individuals seek (see also Rowley, Sellers, Chavous & Smith, 1998). In a similar vein, we suggest that when the salient identities in the hierarchy are positively-valued identities, this will

have a positive impact on global self-esteem. Thus, we assert that global self-esteem, at least in part, is a function of all of the identities one holds and their salience hierarchy. To understand how individuals evaluate themselves, we need to understand how valuable they believe their most salient identities to be. In sum, by exploring the self-concept level implications of the intrapersonal identity network, we unite the multiple identities literature with these outcomes and provide new insights into from where perceptions of the self are derived.

Our findings also contribute to our understanding of the implications of identity work. There is a great deal of research on how individuals deal with conflicting ties between identities, identify connections between identities, and even erect boundaries between identities (e.g. Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006a; Nippert-Eng, 2008; Ramarajan, Rothbard, & Wilk, 2017; Zerubavel, 1991). This manuscript takes up where these works leave off. As individuals engage in the identity work necessary to achieve each of these goals, they often make changes to the identities in question. But these changes are not the end of the story. Changes to one identity can have implications for the other identities in the network. Changes to one identity can create new conflicts, allow for new synergies to emerge, or even disrupt the salience hierarchy (Bataille & Vough, 2022). As a result, changes to the network dimensions and their related outcomes may occur. Up to now, we do not have a way to describe or characterize what these identity-level changes mean for network-level outcomes. As such, our theorizing furthers the logical chain of the existing literature by exploring what identity work means for the entire identity set.

From a slightly broader perspective, our framework also aids in the connection of identity work to a broader set of outcomes than those typically studied. Up to now, research on identity work has tended to focus on outcomes for individual identities (e.g., identification (Alvesson, 2000; Bardon, Josserand, & Villesèche., 2015; Gendron & Spira, 2010)) or for identity dyads

(e.g., resolution of conflict (Carrim & Nkomo, 2016; Croft, Currie, & Lockett, 2015)). However, there is a small but growing set of research that links identity work to less proximal outcomes, such as personal fulfillment (Maclean, Harvey, Gordon, & Shaw, 2015), organizational commitment and anxiety (Gill, 2015), and performance (Frandsen, 2015; Elsbach, 2009). Our theorizing suggests that as we continue to explore how identity work shapes more distal outcomes, we should consider the mediating role of the identity network. Our framework allows for predictions about when changes in individual identities will have substantive impact at the network level and, subsequently, on self-perceptions. These self-perceptions, as argued above, have implications for a host of organizationally relevant outcomes. Further, the moderators we suggest explain the conditions under which these effects will be amplified or muted. Using the tools established here, scholars can begin to take the identity network into account as they incorporate it into their theorizing about the outcomes of identity work.

Empirical Implications and Future Research

The objective of this manuscript is to build the conceptual infrastructure enabling future research to take a network approach to understand individuals' behavior at work. As such, we set the stage for empirical work using this theorizing. Specifically, our research details the types of information scholars need to begin testing relationships related to identity networks. For example, in order to understand the adaptability of a network, one would need to know 1) the number of identities the individual holds, 2) the relationships between each identity (conflicting, or synergistic in terms of enactments), as well as 3) the proportion of each of these types of ties to the total ties. With this information, scholars could begin to quantify the adaptability of the network and compare and contrast it with other individuals' networks. We lay similar groundwork for determining individuals' concordance and valence. While this is admittedly a

great deal of information that may be difficult to collect all in one study, we can imagine programmatic research streams aimed at testing aspects of the model.

The ability to quantify identity networks opens up a host of research questions, some directly related to our theorizing and some related to extensions of this work. In terms of our framework, scholars could use this theory to empirically examine the relationship between network dimensions and self-perceptions. They could also test the moderators to see if our predictions hold. In terms of future research, we can imagine scholars exploring such questions as: How do network dimensions impact work engagement and relationships with others at work? How do network dimensions vary based on individual differences? And how do specific experiences at work (e.g., identity threats and opportunities) shape the network dimensions?

We also hope future work will seek to expand our model. For example, it is possible that there are other dimensions of the network that have not been considered. We adapted the dimensions from the distinction between identity meanings, enactments, and value (Petriglieri, 2011), but there may be other dimensions that our framework overlooks. Furthermore, there are interrelationships between the dimensions that were beyond the scope of this article. While meanings and enactments are conceptually distinct, in reality, they are likely to co-occur, meaning concordance and adaptability may co-vary. When the meanings of an identity conflict, it is likely that the expected enactments of these identities will also contrast. Furthermore, as is implicit in some of our theorizing, the salience hierarchy may also play a role in determining concordance and adaptability, in addition to valence. For instance, when two identities are highly salient, they are likely to also be frequently co-activated, which is a mediator of the degree to which ties impact concordance and adaptability. For the sake of clarity and parsimony in our theorizing we did not explore these overlaps, but we see them as a ripe area for future research.

Finally, it is worth more explicitly considering the number of identities in the network. We have assumed individuals have somewhere between four and seven identities (e.g., Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Thus, there is relatively low variance in terms of number of identities. However, changes to ties may be experienced differently based on the number of identities individuals have. An individual with four identities would have a total of six ties. In contrast, an individual with seven identities will have a total number of 20 ties. Thus, if identity work leads two ties to change from compatible to conflicting, this will have a stronger impact on the individual with fewer total identities, impacting one-third of the ties in the network rather than one-tenth. We call on future research to be more attentive to this aspect of the identity network.

CONCLUSION

It has come to be taken for granted by scholars that individuals have multiple identities. However, there are currently no frameworks that enable us to describe the differences between identity sets. We have articulated three dimensions upon which identity sets vary, based on the relational states between identities, and have associated these differences with specific self-perceptions. We hope that this theorizing provides the groundwork for future research to more effectively capture the entirety of who we are in both theoretical and empirical studies.

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FIGURE 1:
Model of Identity Network Dimensions and Their Antecedents and Consequences

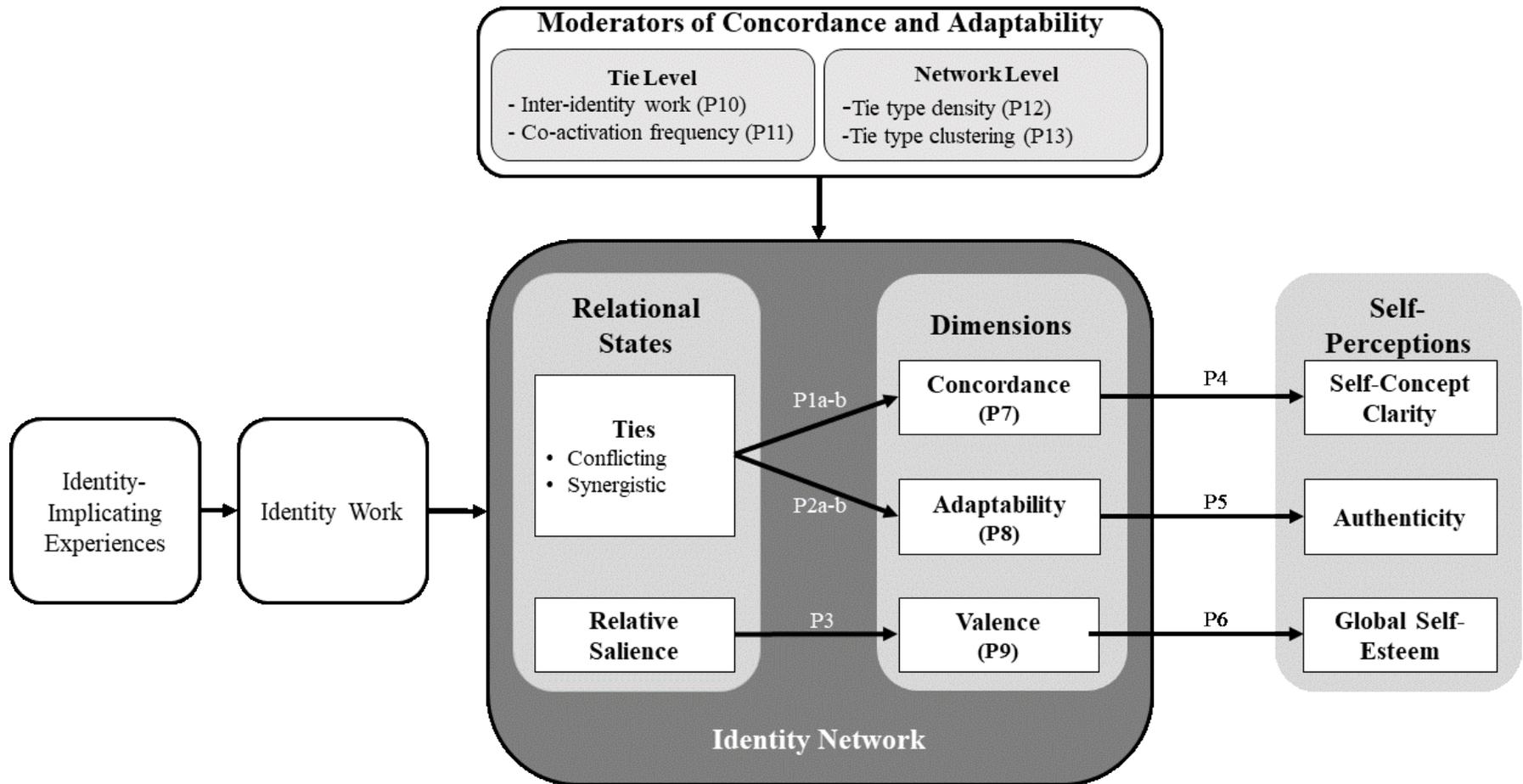
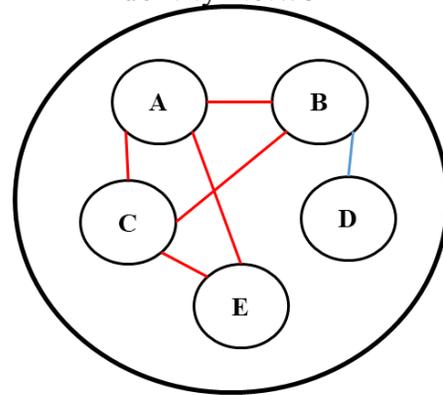


FIGURE 2:
Illustrative Models of Differences in Tie-Type Density and Tie-Type Diffusion

Tie Type Density

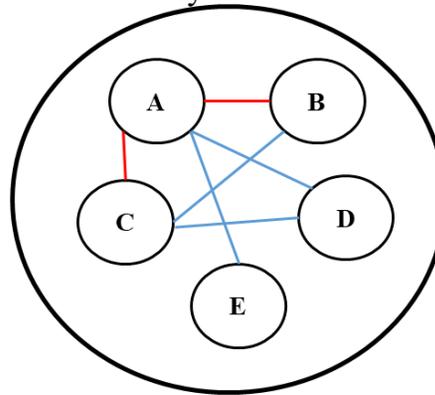
Identity Network 1



Total Ties: 10
 Conflicting = 5
 Synergistic = 1

High conflict density, low synergy density

Identity Network 2

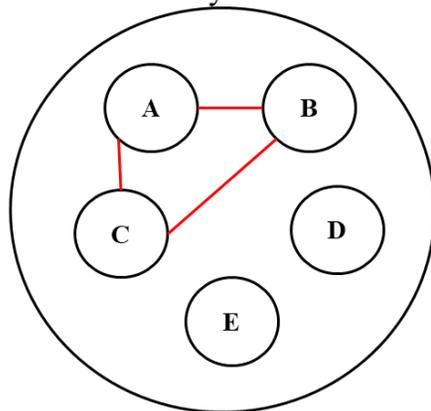


Total Ties: 10
 Conflicting = 2
 Synergistic = 4

Low conflict density, high synergy density

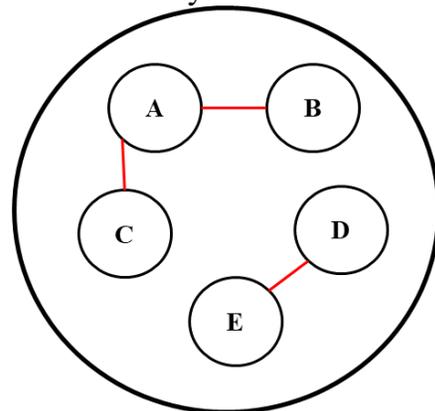
Tie Type Clustering (conflicting tie example)

Identity Network 1



Total conflicting ties: 3
 Identities with conflicting ties = 3

Identity Network 2



Total conflicting ties: 3
 Identities with conflicting ties = 5

Key

- Big circle= Self-concept
- Little circle= Identity
- = Conflicting Ties
- = Synergistic Ties