THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL SELF AT WORK:
AN INTERSECTIONAL EXAMINATION OF IDENTITY CONFLICT AND
AUTHENTICITY AMONG BLACK AND WHITE MEN AND WOMEN

by

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
The University of North Carolina at Charlotte
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Organizational Science

Charlotte

2022

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ABSTRACT

KAROLINE SUMMERVILLE. The Multidimensional Self at Work:
An Intersectional Examination of Identity Conflict and Authenticity Among Black and White
Men and Women. (Under the direction of DR. SCOTT TONIDANDEL)

Diversity initiatives are often ineffective because they characterize differences at the group-level, and therefore, do not adequately address individuals' specific identity-related challenges. I apply intersectionality theory to understand how multiple identities are constructed into overall self-concepts at work. The purpose of this study is to use a network-based approach to identity to provide a comprehensive examination of the extent to which race, gender, and professional identities are salient, central, and conflicting for Black and White men and women at work. In support of intersectionality theory, which predicts that historically marginalized identities will be more salient and central for race and gender minority employees, results show that race identities are more salient, central, and conflicting for Black employees compared to White employees. Results suggest that women suppress their gender identities at work, however, they experience more conflict associated with gender identities across contexts. I integrate intersectionality theory and job-demands resources theory to develop and test a conceptual model that predicts race and gender interact to affect identity conflict and authenticity at work. Furthermore, I investigate how the relationships between identities (i.e., conflict, compatibility, centrality) in an identity network serve as resources that enable or constraint employees' sense of authenticity and identity conflict at work. In summary, this work sheds light on the coexistence of multiple identities at work and how identity dimensions and affect personal work experiences.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

To my husband, thank you for supporting my dreams and reminding me they are limitless. To my mother and father, thank you for being a testament of persistence, grace, and dedication. Without you, I would not have known a doctorate degree was within the realm of possibility. To my siblings, thank you for keeping me playful and bubbling with laughter throughout this journey, and for all the snacks. To my nieces, I finally finished my homework.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Companies in the United States typically spend an estimated 8 billion dollars on diversity, equity, and inclusion (DE&I) initiatives each year (Bishop-Monroe et al. 2020; Savion 2021). By the year 2026, the global market for DE&I is projected to reach $15 billion as companies aim to remain competitive in an increasingly global marketplace. Despite dedicated efforts to fund and implement DE&I programs, research suggests practices aimed at improving the workplace experiences and outcomes of groups that face discrimination in society (e.g., ethnic/racial minorities, women, etc.) often backfire and have little return on investment (Leslie, 2019). For example, when organizations tout, they value diversity, employees may perceive demographically homogenous organizations as inauthentic and feel less psychologically attached to the organization (Cundiff et al., 2018; Marcinko, 2020; Smith et al., 2012). Research suggests the unintended consequences associated with many forms of DE&I initiatives stem from a narrow focus on one or few dimensions of diversity at a time (Koellen, 2021). Scholars and practitioners alike typically focus on the "Big 8" dimensions of diversity: age, ethnicity/nationality, gender, mental/physical ability, organizational role/function, race, religion, and sexual orientation (Plummer, 2003), with most attention given to race and gender (Koellen, 2021). However, little systematic evidence exists that enables researchers and organizations to understand what identity dimensions are most salient in the workplace and for whom.

Many organizations prioritize certain diversity dimensions in response to social movements and legislation that target historically based inequalities at the group level. Targeting differences at the collective level of identity (e.g., race, gender) in response to social movements and legislation aligns with a justice-orientation to DE&I, however, targeting a specific collectivistic identity dimension ignores the complexity of employees' multidimensional, lived

experiences. Every individual embodies at least one manifestation of every dimension of diversity (e.g., age, race, gender, religion, etc.), however, little is known about how multiple identities are simultaneously experienced and expressed (Talwar, 2010). Additionally, different identity dimensions might be more crucial to one's overall self-concept depending on how they are experienced in general versus work contexts (Shore et al., 2011). As companies confront alarming quit-rates among diverse employees who are less tolerant than ever of unsafe work conditions, unfair wages, racism in the workplace, and other factors that contribute to job dissatisfaction, it is important to consider the complex interplay of multiple contextually relevant dimensions of diversity that contribute to an individual's lived experience in the workplace.

Many organizational scholars are calling for intersectional approaches to diversity management to adequately address the wide range of identities that exist in tandem and affect individuals' lived experiences at work (Özbilgin et al., 2011; Rosette et al., 2018; Ryan & Briggs, 2019). Intersectionality refers to "the complex, irreducible, varied and variable effects which ensue when mutually constitutive or contradictory relationships intersect among multiple social identities" (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, 76). From an intersectionality perspective, diversity dimensions are socially constructed through power dynamics that exist in historical and social contexts that shape the ways individuals experience and define their multiple identities at work. Intersectionality research consists of two predominant streams. The first research stream tests the assumption that membership in marginalized social groups increases one's chances of experiencing forms of oppression ranging from experiences with discrimination (Berdhahl & Moore, 2006; Jones et al., 2016; Truxillo et al., 2015) to unequal access to high status jobs and pay (Alonso-Villar et al., 2012; Weeks et al., 2020). Most of these studies use additive and

multiplicative approaches to evidence the extent to which multiple subordinate identities combine to affect objective outcomes.

The second stream of intersectionality research magnifies the subjective aspect of intersectionality. Many of these studies involve qualitative approaches that involve explicitly asking individuals about their identification with multiple social groups. This work further establishes that individuals' sense of who they are is derived from multiple identities and sheds light on the different ways individuals perceive and navigate competing meanings, expectations, and values associated with intersecting identities. Much of this work illustrates the stigmatization associated with intersecting identities and how individuals express or suppress their multiple identities to avoid identity-related threats at work. For example, immigrants may change their name at work to avoid social discomfort when colleagues struggle to pronounce their first name (Fernando et al., 2020). Similarly, LGBTQ individuals may choose not to disclose their gender identity or sexual orientation at work to avoid discrimination (Jones & King, 2014; Ragins & Steinberg, 2002). Preliminary work also suggests that various identities are activated differently based on situational factors and shifts in identity salience have been associated with shifts in how individuals think about, evaluate, and express their identities (Cheng et al., 2006).

Yet, what identity dimensions are most salient and how individuals configure multiple identity dimensions and how this affects their workplace experience is not well understood. That is, although prior studies have considered the simultaneity of multiple identities, many researchers do so in a deductive, pairwise fashion and only examine two or three social identities at a time (for an exception see Salters et al., 2021). Little empirical research exists that takes an inductive approach to exploring what identities are activated at work and for whom. Additionally, an overreliance on additive and multiplicative approaches oversimplifies how

multiple identities shape each other in mutually constitutive, reinforcing, and contradictory ways - as intersectionality proposes. Despite a small number of qualitative studies that reveal how social identities and professional identities shape each other in contradictory ways (Carrim & Nkomo, 2016; Smith & Nkomo, 2003), the overall mutual dependency between identities is largely ignored in the intersectionality and identity literatures more broadly. Understanding how employees construct their multiple identities at work is critical, given that such knowledge can aid diversity management practices in targeting person-centered experiences associated with multiple identities and more effective organizational policies that promote healthy workplace experiences in a more inclusive manner (as opposed to solely targeting unidimensional identity groups).

The present study contributes to the literature on multiple identities at work in three ways. First, I adopt an intrapersonal identity network framework to put forth a comprehensive, inductive examination of how intersecting identities and the relationships between them manifest in the self-conceptions of White and Black men and women at work. Using a network-based approach where identities are represented as nodes and ties indicate the relationships between them, I identify how multiple identities 'operate at work as entire systems in which parts (identities) are connected (via relationships) to form a whole (a network of identities)' (see Ramajaran, 2014, 592). By examining constellations of identities at the individual level, I provide an inductive, holistic investigation of what multiple identities are activated in work contexts, how they are structured into employees' overall self-concepts, and how they inform employees' experiences of identity expression at work (Emerson 1962, Fiske 2010, Keltner et al. 2003, Magee & Galinsky 2008, Pfeffer & Salancik 1978).

Second, I take an intersectional approach to examine how race, gender, and professional identities are simultaneously experienced at work. More specifically, I illustrate how race and gender affect employees' sense of identity conflict and authentic self-expression at work. Further, I explore identity construction mechanisms including identity centrality (or the importance of identity dimensions) and identity complexity (or the distinctiveness of various identities) as moderators in the relationships between identity (i.e., race and gender), identity conflict, and authenticity. Identity conflict and authenticity are relevant outcomes for understanding how identities are subjectively experienced in the workplace. Identity conflict refers to tension between the "values, beliefs, norms and demands" inherent in individual and group identities (Ashforth & Mael, 1989, p. 29) whereas authenticity represents consistency between a person's internal sense of self and their outward behavioral expression of that self (Lehman et al., 2019). Identity conflict has been shown to be negatively associated with work outcomes such as motivation (Karelaia & Guillén, 2014) and performance (Ramajaran et al., 2017). Authenticity has also been associated with work outcomes including work engagement, well-being, performance (Cha et al., 2019; Metin et al., 2016 and job satisfaction (Martinez et al., 2017). Despite these studies that illustrate that identity conflict and authenticity are both relevant predictors of importance work outcomes, few studies exist that explore identity conflict or authenticity as a function of diverse identities. In this study, I examine race and gender as antecedents of identity conflict and authenticity.

Lastly, the findings of this study extend intersectionality theory by providing more specific information about the multidimensional elements of the self- including the interconnected nature of identities, identity complexity, and identity centrality, and how these structural arrangements change when employees are in general contexts (e.g., home) versus work

contexts. Additionally, I answer calls to apply intersectionality to dominant (or non-marginalized) identities (Choo & Ferree, 2010; Levine-Rasky, 2011). I examine a sample population of White and Black men and women in the United States and consider the complete set of relationships between identities to fully understand how patterns of power and privilege form the bases for the construction of multiple identities (Choo & Ferree, 2010; McCall, 2005).

I contribute to research on authenticity in organizations by examining authenticity as a subjective experience at work that manifests as a form of identity expression. I draw upon job-demands resources theory to suggest that striving for authentic self-expression at work is an important identity-related motivation and that underlying identity construction processes explain why authentic-expression is constrained for some employees while for others, 'behavior that is phenomenally experienced as being authored by the self or internally caused' is within reach (Bettencourt & Sheldon, 2001: 1131). Recent work has illustrated how diversity is linked to external perceptions of organizational authenticity, yet studies that examine how authenticity is differentially expressed among diverse individuals at work are scarce. Lastly, the practical implications of this study are grounded in the diversity management literature. I provide a snapshot of the types of identities that are deemed most salient, important, conflicting, and compatible in the workplace in general. Knowing what types of identities are commonly invoked in the context of work can help guide practitioners in implementing more inclusive diversity management practices. Further, understanding how individuals' subjective experiences vary in the workplace depending on membership in dominant or subordinate race and gender groups and how identity formation modifies these experiences is important for disentangling the effects of identity and identification on workplace experiences. Rather than targeting specific groups with

depersonalized diversity management strategies, practitioners might be persuaded to invest in initiatives that target certain identity-related experiences.

In the present study, I apply an intrapersonal identity network framework to discover what identities are most salient at work, as well as how they co-occur with other identities and how their arrangement varies as a function of race and gender. I thus use a novel social identity mapping tool and apply network analysis to examine the structural components of identity at work and how they vary among individuals in various race and gender groups. In the next sections, I discuss intersectionality theory and explain the application of an intersectionality theory to the construction of multiple identities. Then, I integrate job-demands-resources theory to develop and test hypotheses regarding how majority and minority individuals self-identify within organizations, and how the construction of multiple identities enables or constrains authentic self-expression at work.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Intersectionality Theory and Constructing Multiple Identities

Intersectionality refers to "the complex, irreducible, varied and variable effects which ensue when mutually constitutive or contradictory relationships intersect among multiple social identities" (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, 76). Intersectionality theory explains outcomes of differentiation processes (e.g., domination, resistance, etc.) and stresses the importance of power and the coexistence of privilege and penalty, domination and oppression, and inclusion and exclusion on how individuals understand their self-concepts. Thus, intersectionality can be applied to both dominant and marginalized race and gender identities to understand the complex interplay between these identities in work settings and more specifically, how multiple identities are constructed at work (Levine-Rasky, 2011). A central tenet of intersectionality theory is that multiple identities intersect and interact to inform individuals' unique experiences in various contexts (Cho et al., 2013). In this study, I apply intersectionality theory to examine how intersecting identities inform how individuals construct their self-concepts self-concept at work.

Individuals construct their identities in terms of both content and structure in ways that will allow them to fulfill personally or socially meaningful goals and values (Schachter, 2004). Identity content (e.g., Democrat or Republican, Homosexual, Bisexual or Heterosexual) refers to what identities constitute one's overall self-concept and what identities are considered salient and meaningful (Kroger, 1997). Identity structures refer to the arrangement of and relations between the parts or elements of one's identity (Kroger, 1997). Intersectionality provides a framework for understanding how multiple identities are constructed into an overall self-concept because the theory places emphasis on the coexistence of identities as well as the relationships between them. This means that one can only gain an accurate understanding of the impact of membership in one

category (e.g., Black) on identity construction when that identity category is considered

alongside membership in another category (e.g., woman). In this way, intersectionality theory

helps shed light on what identities are considered important or meaningful and how individuals

cognitively and psychologically perceive the relationships between those identities (Settles &

Buchanan, 2014). Traditional identity theories suggest the identities that make up one's self-

concept are arranged according to hierarchical salience or which identities are considered

important (Stryker, 1987). Intersectionality suggests that multiple identities are simultaneously

salient and one's self-concept is derived from the relationships between them (Settles &

Buchanan, 2014).

According to Stryker (1987), the hierarchy in which identities are organized is based on

identity salience broadly defined as a readiness to act out an identity because of the identity's

properties as a cognitive structure or schema. Salient identities are organized by the probability

of their being invoked in each situation or in a series of situations (Brenner et al., 2014).

Intersectional identity salience occurs "when an individual is prompted to categorize himself or

herself along identity oriented criteria" such as ethnic-oriented or gender-oriented criteria

(Forehand & Deshpande, 2002, p. 1,087). Experimental studies suggest that affective

components of one's identity may determine the salience and importance of certain identity

categories (Brenner, et al., 2014), meaning the extent to which one denotes an identity as

subjectively valuable.

Intersectionality theory proposes that marginalized identities are more central than non-

marginalized identities (Settles & Buchanan, 2014). Studies that employ implicitly intersectional

samples (e.g., African American women, female scientists, and Black men) have shown that

individuals with intersecting identities often deem two or more social identities (e.g., race,

gender) to be important or central to their self-concept. Identity centrality is stable across contexts and situations (Sellers et al., 1998). Other research shows dominant identities are usually normalized whereas individuals with subordinate identities often experience having their non-prototypical identities pointed out to them such as their race, gender, or sexual orientation (Tropp et al., 2006). Therefore, subordinate or minority social identity categories are more likely to be self-defining and research suggests non-marginalized social identity categories (e.g., white) are less likely to be claimed as personally meaningful identities (Hurtado & Sinha, 2008; Pratto & Stewart, 2012). For example, Pratto and Stewart (2012) found that ingroup salience was higher for members of subordinated race/ethnicity, sex, and sexual orientation groups than dominant identities in these social groups. Specifically, African Americans and Hispanic Americans reported higher awareness of their ethnicity than European Americans. Women reported higher awareness of their gender than men, and gays, lesbians, and bisexuals reported more awareness of their sexual orientation than straight people (Pratto & Stewart, 2012). Taken together, these studies support a main proposition of intersectionality theory - the assumption that subordinate identities are likely to co-exist and are especially salient for individuals who are members of marginalized identity groups than individuals from non-marginalized identity groups.

Following Holvino's simultaneity model (2010), the self is made up of 'more than intersecting circles... social identity is constructed by several coexisting identity-forming systems of difference always in interaction and transaction with each other at the same time' (Holvino, 2012, p. 172). According to this model, simultaneity refers to mutually occurring processes of identity and institutional and social practices that manifest in various forms of power and privilege that shape experiences. Thus, according to intersectionality, complex experiences

cannot be reduced or simplified to a single category of oppression (or privilege) (Saraswathi's, 2014). Thus, identity perceptions are also irreducible to one identity dimension and intersectionality provides the ideal framework to understand how experience associated with multiple group memberships combine to create unique self-identity perceptions (Settles & Buchanan, 2014). In other words, individuals' perceptions of one of their social identities is dependent upon other social identities they identify with. In essence, intersectionality provides a framework through which to understand what identities are simultaneously included in one's self concept and the complex relationships between them.

The complexity of constructing intersectional identities into an overall self-concept is bolstered when one also considers the simultaneous existence of mutually constitutive (i.e., overlapping, or compatible) and contradictory (i.e., conflicting) relationships between identities. Identities are linked to social categories that are organized according to hierarchies of both privilege and power. This hierarchical structure of identities shapes one's social and material life (Cole, 2009). Thus, intersectionality points to the complex interactions between processes of differentiation (e.g., racism, patriarchy, etc.) and how they inform one's self-view and behavior in different contexts (Dhamoon, 2011). Through an intersectionality lens, identity is not static nor attributional, but emerges from the meanings associated with social identity groups in social and historical contexts. When identity formation is considered through the lens of intersectionality, multiplicity and complexity are fundamental elements of identity formation that signify possibilities for representation, resistance, and connection (Settles & Buchanan, 2014). Thus, multiple, fragmented and shifting identities signify the complex social realities of navigating contradictory positions of oppression and domination (Levine-Rasky, 2011).

For instance, different stereotypes are ascribed to Black, Asian, and White women and impact their professional experiences differently such as the extent to which they experience backlash when they display agentic behaviors, likelihood of getting hired, the types of occupations in which they are hired, and leadership evaluations such as competency ratings (See Rosette et al., 2018 for an integrative review). Managerial identity, as another example, may be understood through the lens of race-ethnicity, gender, and other categories of social difference. Managerial identity is not understood solely through personal identities (i.e., one's unique capabilities) but also by socio-historical, political, and cultural contexts which shape one's racio-ethnic and gender identity through processes of racialization, gendering, and culturalization (Carrim & Nkomo, 2016). Therefore, intersectionality provides a lens through which to understand the complex relationships between intersecting race and gender identities.

An Intrapersonal Identity Network Approach to Intersectionality Theory

Identity construction refers to the process by which individuals come to define who they are, and identification is a key outcome of identity construction and concerns the extent to which one internalizes a given identity as a (partial) definition of self (e.g., "I am a salesperson"). Employees construct multiple identities, or "self-definitions" at work based on roles they occupy, social categories or groups they belong to, and personal characteristics that help make sense of who they are. Organizational scholars have studied employees' multiple identities in organizations from a variety of theoretical perspectives including social psychological (i.e., social identity theory), micro sociological (i.e., identity theory), psychodynamic/developmental, and critical (i.e., intersectional) perspectives. Each of these perspectives conceptualizes the construction of multiple identities into an overall self-concept in terms of structural arrangement and relationships between salient identities. Given my focus on designing diversity initiatives

that dismantle inequitable power structures in the workplace, I take a critical orientation to identity construction that seeks to address the role of power in identity construction. This study seeks to understand the role of power between organizations seeking to impose a preferred corporatist identity and their employees who seek to carve out their best, or optimal self within and outside their working environment (Alvesson et al., 2008). Specifically, I consider how multiple identities are constructed in the workplace through an intersectional lens. Intersectionality provides a foundational explanation for individuals' identification with multiple social categories at once based on their historical and social experiences with interlocking privileges and oppressions that shape the meanings of identities in terms of power and status. Intersectionality, proposes that identities are not neutral but are in fact, intimately connected to power discourses within social contexts, such as the workplace. From this view, identities are produced in social interactions with others and the wider social environment in various social contexts such as organizations in ways that perpetuate, resist, and challenge social hierarchies.

The self-concept is a broad construct that denotes the entire set of identities a person may have and indicate more specific targets, such as role or social group-based identities (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016). From an intersectionality perspective, self-concepts are multi-dimensional, relatively unstable, fragmented, and contested (Liu et al., 2019). Multidimensionality asserts that people cannot be deduced to singular identities, but rather, the multi-dimensional and multi-faceted nature of the whole person must be considered (Warner, 2008). Organizational research on multidimensionality has explored how individuals experience multiple demographic and/or psychological attributes at work (e.g., Rodriguez et al., 2016; Thatcher & Patel, 2012). However, a narrow focus on various pairs of demographic attributes ignores the complex web of

identities that embeds individuals in their work groups and organizations and drives social behavior.

Intersectionality applied to prototypical versus non-prototypical identities

Intersectionality is inclusive by nature and highlights experiences associated with intersecting social identities that are often overlooked in traditional essentialist or single-axis approaches to identity (Crenshaw, 1990; Cole, 2009; Shields, 2008). Crenshaw (1990) originally coined 'intersectionality' in an illustrative overview of court cases involving Black women who could not claim racial or gender inequality in employment discrimination court cases because evidence did not show that Black men nor White women received the same unequal treatment. Intersectionality challenges this notion and permits a language within which to discuss and understand the unique experience of multiple axes of "difference" or "otherness."

Intersectionality theory emphasizes that individual identities, particularly social identities like race and gender cannot be divorced from structures of inequality and social locations. For instance, the industrial and market revolutions brought about the separation of the work and home spheres and the ability to compartmentalize the day and spending a considerable amount of uninterrupted focus on work became a key criterion for the ideal worker. As a result, the ideal worker was associated with White, middle-class men because this group is the most likely to have a stay-at-home spouse who provides backstage support (Davies & Frink, 2014). In this way, Whiteness and middle-classness are prototypical identities (Levine-Rasky, 2011) and meanings associated with these identities have become standard in the workplace. For example, while traditional masculinity standards (e.g., family provider, financially independent, aggressive) are attributed to White and middle to upper class men, Black men are simultaneously emasculated and hyper masculinized. For instance, Black men have historically suffered high unemployment

rates and continue to earn significantly less income than their white male counterparts due to high incarceration rates and limited higher education opportunities (Bayer & Charles, 2018). At the same time, Black men may experience advantages attributed to their intersectional race and gender identities such as increased social support experienced through positive recognition from lower-status peers and mentorship due to heightened visibility of their accomplishments (Wingfield & Wingfield, 2014). Similarly for Black and White women, the interrelated nature of racial and gendered expectations is deeply rooted in social and historical experiences such as how women are evaluated in the workplace and division of labor at home. Black women, since slavery, have been expected to work while White women receive backlash for working based on the beliefs of traditional family roles that relegate White women in middle class families to the role of housewife (Cuddy & Wolf, 2013; Rosette et al., 2018).

The issue becomes more complex in consideration of dominant identities such as White ethnicity. For example, individuals who identify with a Jewish ethnicity may have more difficulty perceiving their experience of whiteness as completely one of privilege. Specifically, Jewish individuals may have difficulty maintaining their cultural identity due to their ability to "pass" as White and may suppress historical collective experiences that distance them from their ethnic group despite the potential value for joining struggles for equity (Levine-Rasky, 2011). These findings support the main underlying notion of intersectionality that explaining identity requires considering the complete set of patterns of power and privilege of the groups which form the bases for the identities (Choo & Ferree, 2010). Through an intersectionality lens, identity construction in the form of both content and structure are context-dependent, relational processes wherein actors must navigate and negotiate asymmetrical power relations associated with social identity categories.

In this paper, I focus on identity construction processes that refer to the structural organization of various intersecting domains of identity into an overall self-concept (Erikson, 1968; Galliher et al., 2017; Parmenter et al., 2020; Schachter, 2004). In line with intersectionality theory, I examine mutually constitutive, reinforcing, and contradictory relationships. Identities that overlap in meaning are considered mutually constitutive (i.e., low identity complexity). Identity complexity also helps capture how individuals perceive their overall self as composed of multiple, separate, and distinct identities. Contradictory relationships between identities are considered to occur when a pair of identities are perceived to be in conflict or "at odds" with each other. Identities that are considerably important in guiding one's overall self-concept are considered mutually reinforcing (i.e., identity centrality).

Lastly, an intersectional approach highlights an individual's need to be viewed as a whole person and not simply as a compilation or collection of separate identities (Crenshaw, 1990). Thus, I incorporate Ramarajan's (2014) intrapersonal identity network perspective into my investigation of intersectionality and multiple social identities. From an intrapersonal identity network perspective, identities are represented as nodes and ties represent relationships between identities. Conceptualizing identity in this way aligns with intersectional perspectives of multiple identities as complex and simultaneously mutually reinforcing and contradictory (Ramarajan, 2014). By doing so, this study permits a more in-depth understanding of the overall self-concept as conceptualized as a network of identities and answers the following research questions:

RQ1: What identities are most salient, central, conflicting, and compatible at work?

RQ2: How do individuals with various combinations of race and gender identities (e.g., White men and women and Black men and women) construct their multiple identities at work in terms of what identities are most central and conflicting?

RQ3: How does the interplay of race and gender identities affect authenticity and identity conflict at work?

Race and gender effects on authenticity at work

Authenticity is defined in a multitude of ways. Trait perspectives of authenticity assume a person is authentic regardless of contextual circumstances and operationalize authenticity as congruency or consistency between a person's attitudes, beliefs, values, motives, and other dispositions (Wood et al., 2008). Person-centered approaches to state authenticity emphasize alignment between one's internal sense of self and the outward expression and experience of that self without concern for external influences (Jongman-Sereno & Leary, 2019). State authenticity perspectives acknowledge that contextual factors may constrain authenticity for some individuals (Sedikides et al., 2017; Sedikides et al., 2019). For instance, some employees may feel pressure to conform to contextual standards such as social identity valuation and emotional display rules, when their authentic selves do not align with the organization's contextual norms (Cha et al., 2019). Additionally, organizations confront tension between promoting authentic self-expression among employees at work while also maintaining organizational control (Cable et al., 2013).

Personal factors may also enable or constrain authenticity at work. Extant research suggests evidence of identity-related challenges to authenticity (Ebrahimi, 2019). Some scholars have noted the paradoxical, puzzling nature of authenticity, particularly for individuals with socially devalued identities. Race and gender minorities have been shown to disclose less about their race and gender identities with colleagues at work (Hewlin et al., 2014). Cha et al. (2019) noted that the positive effects of individual authenticity may be moderated by actor characteristics, such as narcissistic personalities or social identities (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). Additionally, people in structurally disadvantaged structural positions, including women, racial-ethnic minorities, and others in subordinate statuses tend to occupy job positions that require deference such as lower status jobs in hierarchical organizational structures, frontline

service positions, and care work - positions that often require emotional labor when interacting with supervisors, clients, and patients (Wharton, 2009). Prior research shows that Black women at historically white colleges reported suffering from the effects of emotional labor, a form of inauthentic behavior (Kelly et al., 2019). Emotional labor is likely exacerbated for race and gender minorities whose emotional expressions are likely to be misconstrued by others (Smith et al., 2017).

Along with emotion management strategies, race and gender minorities are also likely to employ strategic identity management strategies in situations or contexts where they perceive their identities are devalued (Madera et al., 2012). Such strategies are often manifested through the active suppression of a devalued social identity (e.g., avoiding conversations or behavioral displays that increase the salience of the identity) and attempts to appear like members of a more valued group (Dovidio et al., 2000; Ellemers et al., 2002; Major et al., 2000).

Self-determination perspectives stress that authentic behavior must be intrinsically motivated. That is, behavior is driven by a desire to engage in behaviors because they are inherently enjoyable or interesting (Jongman-Sereno & Leary, 2019; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Research evidence in support of this notion suggests that shifting one's behavior to avoid discrimination associated with one's race and gender identities may reduce feelings of authenticity (Pillow et al., 2017). For instance, some women may downplay their marital status or avoid discussing personal facets of her life. Women of color have been shown to compartmentalize their home and work lives and adopt a bicultural lifestyle to adapt their behaviors between their work and home environments (Smith & Nkomo, 2003). Common examples of behavioral adaptations include transforming one's hair or from its natural state, changing one's voice when they attend work events (e.g., meetings, conferences, etc.) and

interacting with work colleagues. Emotional labor and identity management strategies are not intrinsically motivated behaviors and can be seen as forms of inauthenticity that may be more likely to be experienced by individuals with marginalized race and gender identities.

In contrast, individuals with dominant race and gender identities may also feel the need to suppress their identity expressions in moments where they may feel concerned about being perceived as prejudiced or oppressors, and thus, may subdue prejudice behaviors or expressions that are stereotypical of their race and gender identities (Marshburn & Knowles, 2018; Shelton & Richeson, 2005). There may also be situations where individuals with dominant race identities (e.g., White) may experience friction between other social identities such as minority ethnic (e.g., Jewish), class, or political identities. Thus, individuals with majority race and gender identities also feel the need to engage in inauthentic behaviors at work - however, I argue such situations are likely less frequent in organizational contexts dominated by majority-identity individuals (e.g., White males).

Jongman-Sereno and Leary (2019) point out problematic assumptions about what constitutes authenticity such as the notion that authenticity is always desirable, and that people are always motivated to be authentic. The assumption that authenticity is inherently good is a problematic one, particularly in organizational contexts where being one's authentic self may have detrimental consequences for certain individuals. In this paper, I focus on a subjective sense of authenticity or the feeling that one's internal and external sense of self are in alignment. In line with state authenticity models, I argue that individuals with prototypical race and gender identities in the workplace may be less likely to experience tension between identity components that make up their self-concept and the work environment (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018; van den Bosch et al., 2019), thereby experiencing less identity conflict and more authenticity at work.

According to Schmader and Sedikides's (2018) state authenticity as fit to the environment model (SAFE), membership in a socially devalued group can often induce state inauthenticity, due to environmental signals that indicate a lack of fit to one's work environment. The opposite effect likely occurs for individuals who are members of majority or advantaged identity groups in workplace settings. Individuals with advantaged social identities are more likely to perceive person-environment fit, which induces more frequent state authenticity. For example, research shows that having a sense of power induces self-concept consistency and authenticity (Kraus et al., 2011). In turn, authenticity begets a sense of power (Gan et al, 2018). Taken together, these findings suggest that members of all social identity groups are likely to experience and perhaps, leverage inauthenticity at work at some point. However, I anticipate that feelings of authenticity will depend on the intersection of advantaged and disadvantaged race and gender identity groups.

> **Hypothesis 1a:** Race and gender have main effects on authenticity at work. Women feel less authentic at work than men and members of traditionally marginalized racial groups (e.g., Black) feel less authentic at work than members of non-marginalized racial majority groups (e.g., White).

> **Hypothesis 1b:** Race and gender will have interactive effects on authenticity at work such that the multiplicative effects will exceed the sum of the main effects of race and gender on authenticity at work. Women who are also racial minorities will experience less authenticity at work than their white and Black male counterparts.

In the next section, I develop hypotheses regarding the role of identity construction processes in enabling or hindering authenticity at work. Specifically, I discuss the effects of race and gender on identity conflict and review literature on identity centrality and identity complexity to explain when identity centrality and identity complexity enhance or reduce identity conflict and enable or constrain feelings of authenticity at work.

Identity Construction Processes and Authenticity at Work

Identity conflict

Work is a life domain that is critical for self-construction given that employed individuals spend more time working than any other activity (e.g., leisure activities, spending time with family, etc.) (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019). Constructing a positive identity at work can reduce the negative effects associated with identity conflict. Dutton et al. (2010) explain four perspectives of identity construction processes that enable positive identity including associating one's identities with virtuous qualities or characteristics (i.e., virtue perspective), favorably regarding one's identities (i.e., evaluative), engaging in progressive and adaptive identity processes (i.e., identity development), and lastly, organizing one's identity structure in ways that are balanced and complementary (Dutton et al., 2010). In this study, I focus on the ways in which identities are structured regarding which identities clash, which are the most central or important, and the multidimensional nature of identities, or identity complexity.

Identity conflict refers to the experience of tension or diverging relationships between identities (Hirsch & Kang, 2016). Individuals who experience identity conflict perceive difficulty enacting or meeting expectations associated with an identity, thereby reducing authenticity. Identity integration, on the other hand, occurs when the enactment of one identity makes the enactment of another identity easier (Settles & Buchanan, 2014; Syed & McLean, 2016). Identity conflict threatens one's sense of self and is related to increased levels of stress, and lower levels of well-being and life satisfaction (Hirsh & Kang, 2016). Person-environment fit theories suggest that the work context likely primes conflicting relationships between socially devalued identities such as race, gender, and work identity (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). According to these models, tension between one's multiple identities may be triggered by contextual cues that cue discrepancies between organizational goals, values, and beliefs and

those associated with one's race, gender, and professional identities (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). Such cues may consist of organizational composition or who occupies occupational roles in organizations, organizational culture, and climate, particularly diversity climate or the organization's values toward diversity and diverse individuals, and policies and practices. Acker (2006) broadly conceptualizes racialized and gendered structures and policies within organizations as 'inequality regimes' that perpetuate privilege for some and oppression for others. Intersectionality perspectives suggest one's stance at the intersection of multiple identities may shape unique and sometimes contradictory experiences for individuals with various combinations of intersecting race and gender identities.

Many research studies in this realm are grounded in identity work (i.e., how individuals form, repair, maintain, or revise identity constructions) and suggest that the integration of identities requires negotiation of identity conflicts in response to multiple discursive pressures (Caza et al., 2018). This is in line with authenticity conceptualized as the experience of one's 'whole self,' which implies a coherent organization of identities fitting or working together as one (Koole & Kuhl, 2003). Identity construction at work can be challenging, particularly for individuals whose identities are threatened or marginalized in the workplace (Karelaia & Guillén, 2014). In Smith and Nkomo's (2003) study, for example, Black women described the challenge of staying in touch with their racial identities while spending most of their time in a predominantly White work environment. White women, in contrast, reported being naive about the gender discrimination they would face in the workplace and struggling to find ways to fit in (Smith & Nkomo, 2003). Men who work in non-traditional, female-dominated roles or industries (e.g., nursing, teaching, librarianship) report experiencing role strain due to efforts to maintain their masculine identity in a 'feminine' role (Simpson, 2005). Hence, the source of identity

conflict may vary from person to person depending on what identities they claim to be a part of their overall self-concept.

The idea of conflict between aspects of self, particularly gender, has largely been explored in the context of work and family (Bagger et al., 2008; Blaire-Loy, 2009). Motherhood primes feminine stereotypes that portray working mothers as highly warm but not competent (Cuddy et al., 2004, Bear & Glick, 2017, Heilman and Okimoto, 2008). Women from all ethnic backgrounds face a motherhood penalty, however the evaluations of the motherhood penalty vary by ethnicity. For instance, Black mothers are expected to work whereas White women who have children risk being negatively evaluated (Rosette et al., 2018). Therefore, stereotypes likely complicate how women subconsciously navigate the social tensions between their roles at work and at home.

An intersectional lens also draws attention to ways men, like women, may experience conflict between their roles at home (e.g., parent, spouse) and their work roles. The Pew Research Center surveyed a nationally representative sample of adults in the United States and found that men with children were equally as likely as moms to report a desire to stay at home with their kids full-time and, agreed that they perceived difficulty in balancing their work and home lives (Horowitz, 2019). Interestingly, qualitative research shows that women attribute conflict between their gender and work identities to the challenge of balancing multiple roles while men attribute conflict to time conflicts or feeling guilty for not spending time with their kids when they were younger (Emslie & Hunt, 2009). Race complicates this area of examination further as research suggests that White women are more likely to perceive identity conflict driven by their gender identities. Karelaia and Gullién (2012) found that for women leaders living in Europe, Canada, Asia, and America across a diverse array of industries who were high

in identity conflict were more likely to experience stress and perceive leading as an obligation rather than an attractive goal. Nonetheless, the study does not make explicit examinations about which identities are the source of identity conflict such as race, professional identity, gender identity and so on.

Women of color have been shown to experience identity conflict between their race and professional identities. Carrim and Nkomo (2016) conducted a study on South African Indian women who were the first group to advance to leadership in their respective organizations. Through semi-structured interviews, the authors found that the intersection of their race and gender identities informed the development of their professional identity and how they behaved in the workplace. In this study, many of the women described struggling to overcome passive behavior which was expected of women within their cultures but contradicted masculine and assertive behaviors typical of leaders (Carrim & Nkomo, 2016). In support of intersectionality theory, Settles (2006) found that interference in the Black identity from the woman identity was significantly related to lower self-esteem and higher depression.

Black men may also experience tension between their race and gender identities due to varying and sometimes, conflicting cultural conceptions of masculinity. As a result, Black men experience a different social reality and confront different expectations and consequences for their expressions of masculinity. Black men are subject to unique socialization factors that contrast those faced by White men. The constructions of masculinity for Black men are steeped in traditional West African culture and the history of slavery and oppression present in the United States. Racism has been emphasized as having psychological consequences for the masculine identity of African American men (e.g., Cazenave, 1984; Clatterbaugh, 2018). In a study of adolescent Black males, racial and gender identity were highly central and positively

regarded. More specifically, racial centrality was positively related with gender centrality and racial private regard was positively associated with gender private regard, suggesting that the race and gender identities can be mutually constitutive in both positive and negative ways for Black men as well as Black women in certain situations (Shields, 2008; Wade, 1996).

Early on in their identity development process, Black men grapple with the opposing meanings associated with their race and gender identities (Rogers et al., 2015). As men, Black men occupy a superior social position to women – both Black and White – however, Black men's racial identities place them at the center of oppressive social structures right alongside Black women, who experience an enhanced experience of oppression due to their multiply marginalized race and gender identities (Beal, 2008). In contrast to Black women, Black males' race and gender identities exist at opposite ends of the social hierarchy with race at the bottom and gender at the top. This contrast in social position for each of these identities creates a "conflict" or tension (e.g., Wade, 1996) that complicates the identity process, as young Black men must grapple with the incongruence of their social group memberships. As a result, Black men face gender role conflict, operationalized as one's perception of a conflicting relation between one's gender identity and other social identities aroused by traditional masculinity standards. Gender role conflicts have been found to be related to low self-esteem (O'Beaglaoich et al., 2020). This tension may contribute to greater awareness of or focus on gender identity compared to race for Black males. In Rogers et al. (2015) study, as Black males placed more positive affective value on their gender identity, the less central their race identity became. Additionally, when Black men have high race identity centrality, gender role conflict or personal conflict or stress that arises due to cultural masculinity standards (Wade, 1996) is decreased (O'Neil, 2008).

In line with state authenticity models, I argue that because the intersection of dominant race and gender identities (e.g., White males) are often considered the standard in the workplace (Davies & Frink, 2014), individuals with dominant race and gender identities may be less likely to perceive conflicting meanings associated with their race and gender identities. Nonetheless, individuals with non-marginalized race identities (e.g., White) may still experience some level of conflict when the norms associated with other intersecting identities such as ethnicity, class, and role violate norms associated with one's prototypical identities. For example, White individuals who identify with liberal ideologies have been shown to try to distance themselves or disidentify with their White identities to avoid group image threat (Dai et al., 2021). Diangelo (2018) coined the term "White fragility" to describe the discomfort White individuals experience and the conflict avoidance strategies they employ when asked to think about themselves and their collective group in racial terms. White men who represent the prototype of both of their race and gender identities in comparison to non-prototypical members (e.g., Black women, Black men) are less likely to perceive conflict between their race *and* gender identities because these are typically seen by outsiders as mutually constitutive in upholding their prototypicality in homogeneous organizational settings (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008).

Individuals with marginalized identities may employ various strategies to cope with conflicts experienced between their identities that result in discrimination. Several research studies involve Black women who engage in shifting behaviors to cope with identity-related stress (Gamst et al., 2020). Few studies explicitly examine how shifting behaviors relate to authenticity for Black individuals however, studies suggest that individuals with racially marginalized identities face internalized pressures to adapt their behavior especially in organizational contexts to reduce the salience of their race identities to make White individuals

more comfortable (Sue, 2010). As a result, individuals of oppressed groups may be more likely to censor themselves and their true thoughts and opinions. In this way, identity conflict may constrain authenticity for individuals with marginalized identities in the workplaces (Roberts et al., 2009). Lack of identity conflict decreases the likelihood that individuals in dominant ingroups (e.g., White men) will have to consider their behavior in terms of their race and gender identities and can exhibit authentic behavior, whatever that behavior may be, because they will be less likely to face backlash (Livingston et al., 2012).

In summary, all individuals will experience identity conflict, however, the source, frequency and intensity of identity conflict likely varies by individual depending on what identities they consider most important and the extent to which they perceive their self-concept to be multidimensional. I discuss the moderating roles of identity centrality and complexity in the next section.

> **Hypothesis 2a:** Race and gender have main effects on identity conflict at work. Members of traditionally marginalized race and gender groups will experience more identity conflict at work than their race and gender majority counterparts.
>
> **Hypothesis 2b:** Race and gender will have interactive effects on identity conflict at work. The multiplicative effects of race and gender on identity conflict exceed the sum of the main effects of race and gender on identity conflict at work. Black women will experience more identity conflict at work than their white and Black male counterparts.
>
> **Hypothesis 3:** Identity conflict will have a negatively related effect to authenticity at work such that individuals who experience more identity conflict at work will also experience lower levels of authenticity at work.

Identity Centrality and Identity Complexity as Moderating Mechanisms

Identity centrality indicates what identities are considered central or important to one's self-concept (Meca et al., 2015). Intersectionality suggests that marginalized identities are simultaneously salient and are more prevalent than dominant identities within organizations.

While subordinate social identity categories are more likely to be self-defining, research suggests that dominant social identity categories (e.g., white) are not (Hurtado & Sinha, 2008; Pratto & Stewart, 2012).

Race, gender, and professional identity centrality

Central or important identities serve many functions. Identity , or the importance or meaningfulness of an identity has been shown to increase identity conflict, depending on the identity target of centrality (e.g., social identity, professional identity). Social identity centrality can enhance identity conflict in some cases while professional identity centrality can act as a protective mechanism against identity conflict, for example (Settles et al., 2016). In terms of the SAFE model (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018), social identity centrality can increase one's awareness of tensions associated with one's social identities in the organizational context, regardless of one's identification with dominant or subordinate race and gender identities. Among samples of African American college women, gender and race centrality were shown to increase identity conflict (Szymanski & Lewis, 2016) while for women scientists, the importance of their scientist identity served as a protective mechanism against identity interference (Settles, 2004).

Racial identity centrality has been shown to increase minorities sensitivities to discrimination (Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009). Sellers and Shelton (2003) showed that African Americans who saw their in-group as central were more likely to be sensitive to identity threats, such as racial discrimination when interacting with White individuals. According to minority stress theory, when an individual experiences an event that reinforces their status as a minority, they endure greater physical and psychological stress (Velez et al., 2013). Similarly, when racial identities become more central for White individuals, awareness of negative meanings associated

with their racial group's image rises and the desire to distance themselves from the historical dominance of their racial group also increases (Knowles & Peng, 2004).

Several scholars have applied an intersectional lens to understand how individuals' definitions of themselves in terms of race intersect with other salient identities, particularly gender. Studies have suggested that race identity centrality is more prevalent in individuals with ethnic minority identities than those with majority identities. Turner and Brown (2007) found that children in minority ethnic groups considered their ethnicity to be more central to their identities than ethnic majority children, who named gender to be their most important identities. As ethnic minority children increased in age, they began to consider both their gender and ethnicity to be central to their self-concept. Atewologun (2014) examined identity-heightening episodes for Black British, Asian, and mixed senior managers at work and found that gender, ethnic and senior identities infuse each other with significance and meaning simultaneously in everyday experiences in the workplace.

A few studies investigate gender and race identity centrality at the same time, termed gendered racial identity. Gendered racial identity centrality refers to the degree to which the intersection of one's race and gender form an important part of one's self-concept (Jones & Day, 2018). Settles (2006) conducted a mixed-methods study to examine the degree to which Black women identified themselves in terms of race and gender. This study showed that Black women who viewed their race as important also viewed their womanhood as integral to their self-concept (Settles, 2006). In a sample of African American college-aged women, racial identity centrality was directly associated with gender identity centrality (Watt, 2006). Indeed, variations exist in the extent to which Black women deem their race and gender identities important and the

meanings they ascribe to the intersections of these identities (Jones & Day, 2018; Thomas et al., 2011).

As stated previously, individuals with non-marginalized race identities (e.g., White men and women) are less likely to view their racial identity as central and more likely to place more precedence on other identities, such as their gender or professional identities. Interestingly, the White racial identity as a central identity is underexplored (Knowles & Peng, 2004). Existing studies show White adolescents place lower levels of importance on their ethnicity than Asian Americans, Blacks, and Latinos (Herman 2004; Phinney, 1990). Scholars suggest White individuals' unawareness of their ethnic identity may be associated with a reluctance to acknowledge White privilege and acceptance of Whiteness as the ''norm'' or "standard" (Frankenberg 1993; Sue, 2004). Jackson and Heckman (2002) conducted a focus group study of White college students. Only one in fifteen participants identified race as an important aspect of their identities, implying Whiteness as the standard for social comparison (Jackson & Heckman 2002; McDermott & Samson, 2005). Knowles and Peng (2005) also illustrated those higher levels of White identity centrality increased the likelihood that individuals feel somewhat responsible and possibly guilty for the historical wrongdoings of the in-group. As a result, preliminary research in this area suggests Whites' low levels of racial importance may be driven by lack of incentives for cognitively engaging their race identities.

Identity centrality may also serve as a buffer against identity conflict. Professional identities have been shown to buffer the negative effects of identity conflict. For example, identity conflict associated with being a woman was mitigated for women scientists who considered both their scientist and woman identities to be moderately to highly central to their self-concept (Haas et al., 2016). Professional identity centrality has also been shown to increase

feelings of passion for one's work responsibilities (Murnieks et al., 2014) and can serve as a

defense mechanism against burnout (Das et al., 2008). Research suggests that although social

identity centrality can also increase the likelihood of one's perceptions of discrimination

experiences, professional identity centrality can also serve as a buffering mechanism for negative

events. As a result, it may be that such individuals have a greater understanding of how to situate

themselves within their social environment despite having to co-exist with negative meanings

associated with their social identities.

Prioritizing one or few identities may reduce the need to navigate tensions associated

with other identities, meaning one's behavior is guided by one dominant identity, which may

enable individuals to focus on developing one's self-concept mainly through the lens of one's

'primary' or most central identities. For example, Black women who considered their race and

gender identities to be equally important described more nuanced understanding of their

identities and were able to cope with discrimination (Szymanski & Lewis, 2016) more readily.

As shown in previous research, the more invested one is in a particular central in-group, the more

individuals may feel the need to resist negative meanings associated with their race or gender

group (Leach et al., 2008). Thus, the centrality of a commonly shared identity can also reduce

conflict associated with other identities, as shown in research on Black men who may perceive

fewer identity conflicts regarding their gender if they deem their racial identity as more

important. Additionally, developing a positive social meaning around a devalued social group

may help buffer the negative effects associated with engaging in inauthentic behaviors and

experiencing threats to one's identity (Ellemers et al., 2002; Major et al., 2000; Roberts et al.,

2005).

> **Hypothesis 4:** Identity centrality will moderate the main effects of race and gender on
> authenticity and identity conflict. Specifically, race identity centrality will moderate the

relationships between race and a) authenticity, and b) identity conflict, such that the relationships will be stronger for (weaker) at higher (lower) levels of race identity centrality. Gender identity centrality will moderate the relationships between gender and a) authenticity and b) identity conflict, such that the relationships will be stronger or (weaker) at higher (lower) levels of gender identity centrality. Professional identity centrality will buffer the main effects of race and gender on a) authenticity, and b) identity conflict, such that the relationships will be weaker (stronger) at higher (lower) levels of professional identity centrality.

Identity complexity

Identity complexity concerns how many different identity dimensions an individual identifies with. Lower overlap reflects higher complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). An individual who recognizes that his or her ingroup memberships are composed of distinct, but no overlapping identity pairs would be characterized as having a complex identity structure. People with simplified identity structures perceive meanings associated with their prototypical identities to be mutually reinforcing or overlapping. Miller et al., (2009) offers the example of a woman who is both white and Christian who may think of her religious ingroup as composed primarily of white people, even though there are many non-white Christians to illustrate this point.

Cross-cultural research suggests that social identity complexity may be more prevalent amongst individuals with subordinate identities. Sociologist W.E.B. DuBois was among the earliest scholars to suggest that individuals who experience oppression may develop multidimensional self-concepts due to constantly perceiving their social identities through the eyes of others (DuBois, 1903). DuBois (1903) termed this phenomenon 'double-consciousness', or the sense of "twoness" Black people feel due to learning or developing their self-concepts in a context where they are made aware, at an early age, that their racial identity is considered a "minority" or "inferior" identity (Sellers et al., 1998; Whaley, 2016). In contrast, members of dominant groups are less likely to find themselves grappling with distinctions between their

identities because they are often considered the standard in many social contexts. As a result, the meanings of their identities are more likely to overlap, lowering social identity complexity.

The actual complexity of one's individual's social experience within one's social environment is a primary antecedent to social identity complexity. Antecedents of social identity complexity include stable experiential factors such as exposure to diverse groups (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). One's initial exposure to family members of different races, religions, and socioeconomic statuses, for example, can arouse individual differences in awareness of one's membership in multiple ingroups. Individuals who identify with social categories that are considered distinct or that are often threatened, are likely to perceive identity meanings according to outsiders' perspectives and thus, come to understand themselves in ways that are multidimensional (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Social identity complexity can serve as an adaptive identity resource. Research on bicultural individuals supports this notion that individuals who must adapt to a dominant target culture may develop multi-dimensional (e.g., bicultural identities) identity orientations and as a result, may experience greater cognitive complexity (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Cross-cultural research also challenges the idea that individuals who engage in 'shifting' or 'switching' behaviors in cross-cultural situations only experience negative outcomes. Instead, adaptive behaviors may help with adjustment by increasing one's competence in navigating various cultural contexts as well as sharpening one's intellectual flexibility and creativity (Benet-Martínez et al., 2006; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009). This research suggests that individuals who are members of different race and gender outgroups must be constantly aware of and negotiate the complex social meanings associated with their social identities in ways that reinforce a more in-depth understanding of oneself. Research has shown

that identity complexity can also be a resource for positive functioning within organizations such that social identity complexity has been shown to be related to attitudes toward diverse groups (Brewer, 2010; Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Miller et al., 2009). Individuals who are high in self-complexity have also been found to have less variation in their moods (Linville, 1985), lower levels of stress and depression (Linville, 1987) and higher levels of self-esteem and adjustment (Koch & Sheppard, 2004).

From this perspective, identity complexity provides a variety of resources from which to understand oneself and buffer the negative effects of identity-related challenges over time (Beyer & Hannah, 2002; Ramarajan, 2007). Therefore, I anticipate that social identity complexity will buffer the negative effects associated with race and gender on identity conflict and authenticity. Because people regularly straddle multiple roles and groups, their most authentic selves may be composed of these multiple, valued self-definitions. In situations where individuals may feel pressured to conform to a single work identity due to stereotypes and discrimination, people may be able to mentally disassociate negative meanings tied with their identities and play up other meaningful components of their self-concept. As a result, accepting one's multi-dimensional identities may reduce identity conflict and enhance authenticity (Erickson, 1995; Kernis & Goldman, 2006).

> **Hypothesis 5:** Identity complexity will buffer the main effects of race and gender on a) authenticity and b) identity conflict such that the relationships will be weaker (stronger) at higher (lower) levels of identity complexity.

Figure 1

Conceptual Model
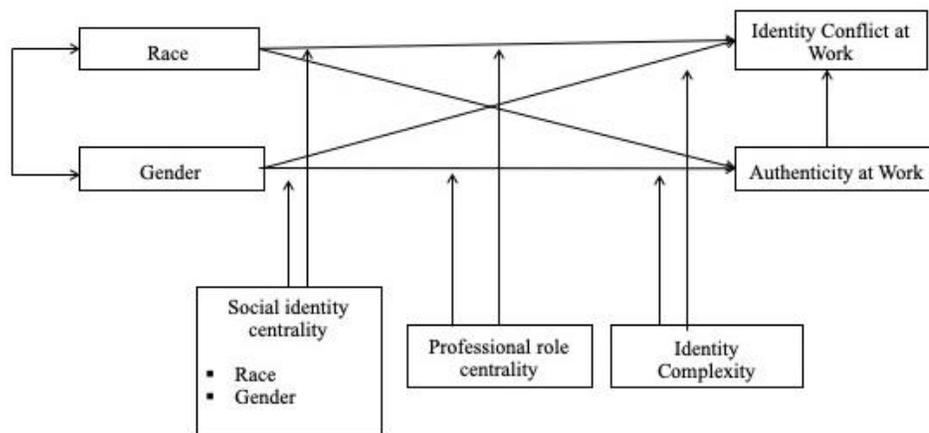
Methodological Approaches to Intersectionality

Intersectionality scholars have long grappled with appropriate methods to measuring intersecting identities and analyzing and interpreting intersectionality data. The key challenge in intersectionality research is avoiding the tendency to conceptualize experiences associated with social identity categories as separate, independent, and summative (Bowleg, 2008). Doing so only encourages an 'oppression Olympics' such that identities become ranked regarding the amount of discrimination or inequality associated with identities.

The present study accounts for intersectionality in the design phase by incorporating a novel, emic approach to measuring identity. Instead of relying on survey designs that constrain participants' identity to single dimensions of their identities (i.e., survey questions that ask individuals to report one or more race categories), I integrate an online social identity mapping tool that enables participants to 'draw' or 'map out' their identities in the form of a network. Identities are represented as nodes and the relationships between identities are represented by ties

or links between identities. Social identity mapping permits researchers to address concerns with previous intersectionality studies such as assessing one social identity dimension at a time, examining identities as separate and distinct entities, ignoring meaningful aspects of identity such as how individuals perceive their identities in relation to their overall self-concept, and lastly, how identities may be interrelated. Prior studies typically rely on etic approaches to identity, that is, the researcher assigns labels to identities from which respondents are asked to choose.

The advantages of this tool for conducting intersectionality research are twofold. First, social identity mapping enables participants to conceptualize their identities in their own words and allows participants to claim multiple group membership as opposed to constraining participants to choosing one identity that explains their self-concept. Second, social identity mapping permits researchers to assess a person's self-concept in its entirety. Based on social identity and social categorization theories, the tool integrates individual and socio-structural perspectives of identity, meaning researchers can explore the full extent of a person's social group memberships as well as how individuals feel about those memberships. The structural perspective of identity is understood by assessing the interconnected relationships among identities (e.g., compatibility, conflict). Thus, social identity mapping allows for exploration of the mutually reinforcing and contradictory characteristics of identities. Additionally, beyond being able to assess the quantity of social identities (based on group membership), researchers can also assess the quality of relationships between identities by examining identity processes including identification (e.g., centrality, conflict, complexity), prototypicality (i.e., how representative one feels of a particular social identity), and positive and negative identity construction (Bentley et al., 2020). Thus, the advantages of the SIM tool point to its theoretical

alignment with intersectionality and help capture the underpinnings of the theory including the coexistence of multiple identities that have overlap and contradict each other.

Intersectionality researchers suggest paying careful attention to the wording of the questions used in surveys aimed at extracting identity information from participants, as in any other study. Regarding intersectional identities, there are two important points Bowleg (2008) emphasizes. First, questions about intersectionality should focus on meaningful constructs (e.g., stress, prejudice, discrimination) rather than relying on demographic questions alone. The reasoning is that race and gender are socially constructed concepts and as such, do not reveal much information on their own. Secondly, questions should be 'intersectional in design and ought to tap the interdependence and mutuality of identities. Following this recommendation, I focus on authenticity (or *in*authenticity) as a form of stress. The use of an identity network allows for understanding the relationships between identities.

Researchers have used both additive and multiplicative models to analyze quantitative intersectional data sets. Additive models assume that social inequality increases with each additional minority or stigmatized identity (Bowleg, 2008; Hancock, 2007). Multiplicative models posit that there is an interaction between race and gender and that the effects of each compound on each other. That is, the amount of social inequality experienced by minority women exceeds the sum of the amounts experienced by White women and minority men (Bowleg, 2008). Critics have argued that both models violate the assumptions of intersectionality theory because both models require researchers to treat identity categories as static. Studies that have tested both models, although few, have shown that interaction effects are nonsignificant (Berdahl & Moore, 2006) or to explain little to no additional variance over the additive model (Veenstra, 2011). Thus, I use an additive model to test the hypotheses presented in this study.

Nonetheless, there may be instances where race and gender do have an interactive effect on outcomes, particularly when studies are conducted with a larger sample size (Salter et al., 2020). Therefore, whether race and gender have a multiplicative or additive effect is an empirical question. Hence, I will conduct multiplicative models as supplementary analyses.

Further, Scott and Siltanen (2017) acknowledge that interaction terms are helpful in identifying multiplicative effects over and beyond additive effects, however interaction terms limit the heuristic analysis of identity dimensions because they constitute a residual component that are relevant only after main effects have been accounted for, rather than being the focus of the analysis as the central tenets of intersectionality assume. Still, multiple regression remains the most common approach in quantitative examinations intersectionality and holds potential for understanding intersectional effects when used appropriately.

Scott and Siltanen (2017) argue that there are three key elements of appropriate intersectionality approaches. The authors stress the importance of addressing context, employing an intersectional heuristic orientation, and attending to the multi-dimensional structure of inequality (i.e., considering both individual and structural characteristics; Winker & Degele, 2011). In this study, I address how structural inequality affects authenticity in the work context. In line with the intersectional heuristic approach, I compare the experiences of individuals who identify with intersecting demographic identities (e.g., race and gender) including Black men and women and White men and women. I employ a social identity mapping method to avoid projecting labels or identities onto participants and specifically target and to account for complexity.

To address these gaps, I adopt an intrapersonal identity network approach to test overlooked tenets of intersectionality theories and provide a comprehensive examination of the

experiences of multidimensionality among Black and White men and women at work. Intrapersonal identity networks conceptualize those identities 'operate as entire systems in which parts (identities) are connected (via relationships) to form a whole (a network of identities)' (see Ramajaran, 2014, 592). Intrapersonal identity networks conceptualize identities as nodes and the relationships between them as ties. Nodes reveal information about identity content, or what identities constitute one's overall self-concept, or what identities are considered salient (e.g., Democrat or Republican, Homosexual, Bisexual or Heterosexual) (Kroger, 1997). Ties between nodes provide additional information about identities and the structural arrangement of and relations between the parts or elements of one's identity (Kroger, 1997).

 In this paper, I also answer calls to re-analyze traditional theories using an intersectional lens. In this study, I integrate Brickson and Brewer's (2000; 2001) identity orientation framework as well as job-demands-resources theory to explain how organizational structures differentially affect the identification processes that inform the subjective experiences of majority and minority individuals at work. Overall, I propose that employees at work face different psychological demands that affect their identity construction processes, which are conceptualized as resources or constraints in fulfilling self-enhancing identity motives. I explore the effects of identity construction processes on authentic self-expression at work.

Organizational structures prime collective identities among individuals within organizations. In line with intersectionality theory, demographic attributes will be the most salient and central collective identities for non-prototypical individuals in organizations while members that fit the identity characteristics of a proto-typical organizational member will perceive their professional identities to be most salient and central. This is because individuals with subordinate identities often experience having the non-prototypical aspects of their

identities (race, gender, or sexual orientation) pointed out to them through experiences of discrimination while non-marginalized identities are normalized (Tropp et al., 2006).

My study extends theoretical knowledge on the experience of multidimensionality within organizations and connects literatures on intersectionality, diversity, and authenticity. First, my findings reveal what identity orientations (i.e., personal, collective, and relational) are simultaneously primed within organizations and how they shape each other for diverse individuals in the workplace. Thus, this study offers concrete knowledge about the range of multiple identities that diverse employees grapple with at once in the workplace and how those identities are structurally arranged. Secondly, this study centralizes the implications of power on identity construction at work. This study shows how the salience of identities is determined by discourses in organizations that attempt to control and maintain employees' work identities and how power and privilege simultaneously manifest in our self-conceptions (Covaleski et al., 1998). I further build on power dynamics within organizations by exploring identity construction processes as predictors of the extent to which people's behavior is phenomenally experienced as being authored by the self or internally caused (Bettencourt & Sheldon, 2001: 1131) using job-demands resources theory. Thereby, this study interrogates authenticity as an identity-manifestation process. On a practical level, applying intersectionality to understand how identification with marginalized and non-marginalized groups extends knowledge on the ways individuals and organizations can leverage multiple identities and relations between them as resources that optimize employees' experiences by signifying possibilities for representation, resistance, and connection (Settles & Buchanan, 2014). I provide taxonomies of the types of identities that are most commonly salient at work, central, conflicting, and compatible in the workplace across diverse individuals. I discuss how this information can be useful for

organizations looking to strategically implement diversity initiatives that enable employees to

mitigate identity threat and capitalize on identity growth opportunities.

A Network-based Approach to Intersectionality

Intersectionality challenges the notion that identities are separate and distinct categories

and permits a language within which to discuss how multiple axes of "difference" or otherness

may overlap, reinforce, or contradict each other. Overlap between identities may be signified in

the descriptive content used to label identities. For example, a hyphenated description may

suggest that two separate identity dimensions (e.g., race and nationality) are considered to

combine to create a unique identity (e.g., African American) while separate and distinct identities

may be indicated by separate node representations of identities (e.g., Black, American, Woman).

Using network metrics, I operationalize the multi-dimensional aspects of intersectionality

including the extent to which multiple identities (i.e., co-exist and their embeddedness within

the self-concept I use network metrics to investigate central tenets of intersectionality including

multiplicity, the notion of a fragmented whole self and, I identify sources of identities that drive

relationships between specific identities that are mutually reinforcing and/or contradictory using

bipartite networks. Reinforcement between identities can be revealed in the embeddedness of

identities or 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 (Ramajaran, 2014). Identity integration and

identity centrality are primary indicators of reinforcement between identities in this study. In

contrast, identity conflict refers to the experience of tension or diverging relationships between

identities (Hirsch & Kang, 2016). By examining constellations of identities at the individual

level, management scholars can directly test "the complex, irreducible, varied and variable

effects which ensue when mutually constitutive or contradictory relationships intersect among

multiple social identities" within organizations (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, 76).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Participants

Inclusion criteria required for this study included employed individuals in the United States (i.e., working at least 20 hours or more per week) who identify as a White/Caucasian man or woman or Black man or woman. In the context of this study, White/Caucasian is a term used to refer to Eurocentric ethnic identities. Black is a term used to refer to Afro-Diasporic or a global Black identity. The term 'diaspora' describes the experiences of individuals who were forced to leave their native lands through modes of domination such as slavery, colonialism, imperialism, and migration. I recruited a diverse sample of participants from Prolific, an online crowdsourcing platform comparable to MTurk (Peer et al., 2017) during the months of April and May 2022. Prolific users have been shown to exhibit higher levels of naivety, replicability of tasks, and lower levels of dishonesty and propensity toward cheating among respondents than MTurk users (Palan & Schitter, 2018; Peer et al., 2017). Drawbacks associated with Prolific include slightly slower response times which might be due to the smaller size of the Prolific platform (Peer et al., 2017).

A total of 282 participants completed the first survey. Thirteen observations were removed due to inaccurate responses to all attention check questions, two observations were removed because they did not report their race. My initial sample consisted of 282 participants who identified with diverse racial backgrounds including 27 Asian participants (10 percent), 60 Black participants (23 percent), 26 Latinx participants, and 153 White participants (58 percent). Ages ranged from 23 to 84 ($M = 39.80$, $SD = 11.2$). One hundred and one (approximately 50 percent) identified as women (approximately 50% identified as men = 106). Given my focus on the intersections between Black, White, woman, and man identities, I only included individuals

who racially identified as Black and White in my analyses. The final sample consisted of 207 individuals. Of these 207 participants, 121 individuals completed the Time 2 survey. Given this low response rate (58%), analyses were conducted on the data from Time 1.

     Overall, the final sample consisted of 151 White participants and 56 Black participants. The sample was highly educated with 75% obtaining an associate degree or higher (all participants reported having at least a high school diploma or equivalent). Participants' annual income varied: Approximately 10% earned less than $25,000, 31% earned between $25,000 and $49,000, 25% between $50,000 and $75,000, 21% between $75,000 and $100,000, 9% between $100,000 and $150,000, and four percent over $150,000, and one person did not report their income. Participants worked in a variety of industries with most represented in education, technology services, financial services, and industrial (manufacturing and construction) industries. Fifty-three percent of employees in my sample were married and 63% were parents of at least one child. Ages ranged from 23 to 84. See Tables 1-3 for descriptive statistics of the study variables as well as identity network measures.

Procedure

As part of the survey, participants were asked to draw a map of their identities that represents their overall self-concept. I derive identity network measures from this map including identity conflict, identity centrality, and identity complexity. After generating their map, participants responded to survey items regarding their sense of authenticity at work, race and gender identity centrality, and demographic information, respectively.

Given cross-sectional studies where the independent and dependent variables are measured at the same time point using the same instrument are susceptible to common method bias, participants were asked to complete the survey at two different time points, with a time

period of two weeks between each time point. This is one of the five remedies Podsakoff and

colleagues (2003; 2012) recommends for handling common method bias, or the inflation of

variables measured associated with using similar methods of data collection for multiple

variables. Another recommended remedy applied in this study involved varying scale formats.

Given the social identity map is an interactive tool, where participants are asked to physically

draw a map or network of their identities, the format of the responses to the identity map varied

greatly from the response format from the authenticity measure, which required respondents to

respond using a 7-point Likert scale. To further enhance 'psychological' separation of

measurements of independent and dependent variables, participants were told that the survey

involved two different stages – with the first step involving the social identity map and the

second stage involving questions pertaining to their feelings at work. Also, the order of questions

presented to respondents was also randomized. Lastly, Podsakoff and colleagues (2003; 2012)

recommend mitigating common method bias by protecting the anonymity of participants.

Although it was necessary to collect identifier data in the form of Prolific Identification numbers

to match participants across time points, this information does not reveal any information about

the participant, and I guaranteed anonymity to participants according to ethical guidelines

outlined by the Institutional Review Board.

Measures

Social Identity Map

      I collected visual representations of respondents' social identity maps using a licensed

online Social Identity Mapping tool (oSIM) provided by the Social Identity and Groups Network

(SIGN) at the University of Queensland. Participants were first asked to create a map of their

self-concept with identities represented as nodes and the relationships between their identities

represented as links or ties between identities. First, participants were asked to draw a map of

their overall self-concept in general (or non-work contexts) that includes all the identities that

best represents their overall self and the relationships between those identities. After participants

completed their general (non-work context) map, participants were asked to revise their original

map based on how they define themselves in their work environment. In their revisions to their

original map, participants could include additional identities and were asked to re-draw the

relationships between identities as they perceive them in their work contexts.

Before creating their social identity map, participants were presented with a definition

of identities extracted from reviews of the identity literature (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016;

Ramajaran, 2014), as well as an Identity Wheel (adapted from Loden and Rosener's (1991)

diversity wheel) to illustrate to participants the various types of identities they might include in

their maps (see Appendix). Participants also walked through a step-by-step tutorial for

completing their maps. Participants included as many identities in their map as they would like.

Participants also provided an abundance of information about each identity and its relationship to

other identities in the map. For instance, participants could change the size of their identity to

indicate the importance of each identity and participants were asked to place similar (different)

identities closer together (further apart). Next, participants were asked to think about the

connections between identities (i.e., compatibility). Lastly, participants were asked follow-up

questions pertaining to each identity - both in general and at work, including 'How positive do

you feel about this identity (at work)? "How representative or typical are you of this identity at

work?" "How much support do you receive from others who share this identity (at work)?",

"How much support do you receive from others who share this identity (at work)?", "How many

days per month do you spend on activities related to this group (at work)?", "To what extent do

you feel advantaged or privileged because of this identity (at work)?", and "To what extent do you feel disadvantaged or oppressed because of this identity at work?" Participants responded to these questions on a 7-point rating scale. Results of a scale validation study examining the reliability and validity of the online social identity mapping tool indicate that the tool is predictive of outcomes across various contexts and demonstrates good internal consistency as well as convergent and discriminant validity. Additionally, respondents perceived the tool as user-friendly (Bentley et al., 2020).

Demographics. Individuals were asked to disclose information about their race, which was dummy coded 0 (White/Caucasian) and 1(Black or African American) and gender, which was later dummy coded 0 (man) and 1(woman). Additionally, individuals reported information about their current occupational title, tenure (number of years in the organization), education, income, marital status, and parental status, and age.

Dependent Variables

Identity conflict. The extent to which identities conflicted with each other was derived from the social identity maps. Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which each pair of identities were conflicting (versus compatible) by drawing a link connecting the two identities, and further, rating the conflicting links between identities on a scale from 1 (*Very compatible*) to 4 (*Very incompatible)*. The average scores associated with each conflicting link between identities in a participant's map was used to compute a total score for overall identity conflict across all identities in participants' overall maps. I also computed secondary measures of identity conflict attributed to gender, race, and professional identities.

Authenticity at work. The 12-item Individual Authenticity Measure at Work (IAM Work, Van den Bosch & Taris, 2014) was used to measure felt authenticity at work. The IAM

Work is a context-dependent adaptation of Wood *et al.'s* (2008) dispositional authenticity scale. IAM work explicitly refers to the work as the context in which authenticity is experienced as opposed to considering authenticity as a stable trait. The IAM Work consists of three dimensions; self-alienation ($\alpha = 0.90$) authentic living ($\alpha = 0.90$) and social or external influence ($\alpha = 0.69$) Each dimension was measured with four items. Example items of each dimension include, "At work, I feel out of touch with the "real me", "I am true to myself at work in most situations," and "At work, I behave in a manner that people expect me to behave," respectively. Responses were provided on a 7-point rating scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly Agree*; with a neutral score of 4) and averaged to create a composite authenticity score. Chronbach's alpha for this measure including all three dimensions was 0.87.

Moderators

Identity centrality. Before analyzing the identity maps, identity nodes were coded as race, gender, or professional identities. Race identities included identities that explicitly denoted race/ethnicity (e.g., White, African American). Gender identities were coded according to identities that explicitly indicated gender identity (e.g., female, male, woman, man, etc.) as well as identities that indicated the embodiment of 'gendered' identities or gender performance (e.g., husband, wife, brother, son, etc.). Professional identities reported in the map included any identity that denoted a work-related self-meaning including "job," "work group member," "leader/manager," "administrator." The importance of identities was computed using a network-based metric known as degree centrality, or the number of direct connections an identity has to other identities. To standardize this metric, the number of direct links are further divided by the number of potential connections (n-1), where n represents the total number of nodes or identities in an identity map; Heidemann, 2010; Zhang, & Luo, 2017). In social network analysis research,

degree centrality is an indicator of importance or influence of a node (e.g., person or organization) because nodes that are connected to many other nodes in the network are close to other nodes in the network, and thus, can facilitate information and resources between other nodes (Brandes et al., 2015; Mehra et al., 2006). In this study, an identity node with many connections is considered a critical or important identity node in the network.

Given the variables of interest in this study, I computed centrality scores for professional, race, and gender identities. If a respondent included multiple identities for race, gender, or professional identities, I summed the number of links included for each of the identities reported before dividing by the total number of potential links. The average score was taken as the total identity centrality score for each identity. Since several respondents did not report a race or gender identity in their social identity map, the average composite score of three items from the Centrality subscale in Leach's et al. (2008) In-group identification scale were also used to assess the subjective importance that individuals give their race ($\alpha = 0.95$) and gender ($\alpha = 0.91$) group memberships, respectively. Using a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*), participants rated the importance of their race and gender identities based on three items – one of which asks participants about the extent to which participants think about their race or gender identity often the importance of race and gender to their overall identity, and two items that ask participants to rate the importance of their race and gender identities to their overall identity. Centrality measures were centered before analyses were conducted to standardize scores across the two measures and improve interpretation of the results.

Identity complexity. The number of identities included in a participant's social identity map is the metric used for identity complexity. This operationalization aligns with the conceptual definition of identity complexity as the perception of one's multiple identities as distinct identity

dimensions (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). I operationalized identity complexity using a network-based metric known as network size or degree, or the number of identities included in an identity map. When considered on a continuum from low complexity to high complexity, individuals with low social identity complexity perceive their ingroups as highly overlapping and convergent, whereas those with high complexity see their different ingroups as distinct and non-overlapping.

Analytic Strategy

Research Questions

To address my research questions, I conducted a thematic analysis of the types of professional identities reported in the maps as well as examined the distributions of race and gender identities reported in the maps. I also compared the structural arrangement of these identities among Black and White men and women in terms of conflict (versus compatibility), centrality, and interconnectedness. I also conducted a clustering analysis to understand how the construction of multiple identities varies across Black men and women and White men and women. In this analysis, I classified individuals into groups based on six structural characteristics of their identity networks, including identity complexity, compatibility, conflict, prototypicality (high and low), advantage, and disadvantage. These structural characteristics reflect the core concepts of intersectionality including complexity, intersectional invisibility, and the simultaneous existence of advantage and disadvantage or privilege and oppression (McCall, 2005; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008).

Lastly, I investigated what identities tended to co-occur together in the maps using clustering techniques. In contrast to the clustering analysis discussed in the previous paragraph where I cluster participants according to the structures of their identity maps, this clustering

analysis involves clustering the actual terms participants used to describe their identities. To do this, I first computed similarity scores for each pair of words based on the distribution of frequencies of various identities co-occurring together in the maps. If two words were more likely to be reported in the same identity map, they were given a higher similarity score compared to pairs of words or identities that were not likely to reported together, which were given lower similarity scores.

Hypothesis Testing

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to test Hypotheses 1 and 2, while linear regression and hierarchical moderated regressions were conducted to test Hypotheses 3 and hypotheses 4-6, respectively. For moderated regression models, continuous predictors were mean centered (Dawson, 2014). For all analyses, advantage was entered as a control variable. Prior research shows that other individual level factors may be an alternative explanation of authenticity. Mainly, power has critical implications for authenticity such that individuals who are more powerful, tend to feel more authentic (Kraus et al., 2011). Given that the focus of my study is on the workplace where power dynamics are central (Clegg et al., 2006), it is important to control for factors that may be indicators of power. Thus, I included sense of advantage participants attribute to their identities as a control variable for the analyses that involve authenticity at work as an outcome variable. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which each identity node in their map is advantageous on a scale from 1(*Not advantageous at all*) to 7 (*Very advantageous*). Advantage scores were averaged across each identity node.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Preliminary analyses and descriptive statistics

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations are presented in Table 1. Preliminary correlational analyses between the demographic variables, independent variables and dependent variables revealed a few significant associations, as seen in Table 1. Race was significantly and positively correlated with race identity conflict ($r = 0.37$, $p < .001$) and external influence ($r = 0.20$, $p < .01$). Interestingly, race identity conflict was the only source of identity conflict that was significantly and negatively correlated with authenticity overall ($r = -0.14$, $p < .05$) as well as the self-alienation sub-dimension of authenticity ($r = -0.18$, $p < .01$) Also at the sub-dimensional level, identity conflict was significantly and negatively associated with authentic living ($r = -0.15$, $p < .05$). Implicit gender identity conflict was significantly and inversely correlated with external influence ($r = -0.19$, $p < .05$). Professional identity centrality ($r = 0.60$, $p < .01$), gender identity centrality ($r = 0.31$, $p < .01$), and race identity centrality ($r = 0.26$, $p < .05$) were significantly and positively associated with professional identity conflict, gender identity conflict, and race identity conflict, respectively. Gender and race identity centrality were also significantly and positively correlated ($r = 0.77$, $p < .01$). Lastly, advantage was significantly and positively correlated with identity conflict ($r = 0.14$, $p < .05$), authenticity ($r = 0.21$, $p < .01$), and identity complexity ($r = 0.40$, $p < .01$).

Although the independent variables race and race identity centrality and gender and gender identity centrality were intercorrelated, respectively, variance inflation factors among all predictor variables (i.e., Tolerance and VIF) were all within accepted limits (below 5), therefore multicollinearity is not an issue (Kalnins, 2018). Extreme univariate outliers identified in initial

data screening were removed. Residual and scatter plots indicated the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity were all satisfied (Cohen et al., 2014).

All variables included in this study were collected from the same source, and I therefore conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to examine the nature of the authenticity at work variable. Researchers have used authenticity at work as a three-factor construct. Therefore, I tested this measure to confirm the three-factor structure fit to the dataset used in this study. The model fit was assessed for the three-factor model that includes three sub-dimensional measures of authenticity at work including authentic living, self-alienation, and external influence. Comparing all fit statistics for the one-factor model and three-factor model, the three-factor model demonstrated improved fit ($\Delta\chi2$ (2) = 127.94, $p < .001$), with all fit indices at or near their criterion for reasonable fit (Matsunaga et al., 2019). All items in the three-factor model loaded reliably on their predicted factors; the lowest loading was .38. The results of this analysis are in the Appendix.

Descriptive statistics for the identity network characteristics for work identity maps and non-work identity maps are reported in Table 2 and Table 3, respectively. The average number of identities reported in work contexts across all participants was approximately seven, while the minimum number of identities reported was two and the maximum was 22. Across all participants, the degree of interconnectedness between identities was approximately 50%, meaning about half of the potential connections between identities in identity maps were actual connections, ($M = 0.47$, $SD = 0.28$). This metric represents the proportion of actual connections between identities to the number of potential connections between identities. Overall, this means that about half of the identities in an individual's map were integrated, or tied to another identity, in the overall identity network, on average. The number of linkages between identities in the

identity networks ranged from 0 to 44, with an average of 9.5 links across all participants. The average number of very compatible links reported in the maps was 2.07 ($SD = 2.63$), average compatible links was 5.91 ($SD = 5.06$), average incompatible links was 1.02 ($SD = 1.47$) and the average number of very incompatible links was 0.49 ($SD = 1.17$). I discuss how these identity network characteristics vary according to race and gender in the next few sections.

Table 1. *Means, standard deviations, correlations, and variance inflation factors for study variables*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. Race	-																			
2. Gender	-0.01																			
3. Identity conflict[a]	0.07	0.02																		
4. Professional identity conflict[a]	-0.08	0.04	0.42***																	
5. Race identity conflict[a]	0.37***	0.03	0.18*	0.04																
6. Explicit gender identity conflict[a]	0.17	0.11	0.51***	0.22	0.48***															
7. Implicit gender identity conflict[a]	0.07	0.09	0.50***	0.04	0.11	0.82***														
8. Authenticity	0.12	-0.03	-0.10	-0.01	-0.14*	-0.12	-0.09													
9. Authentic living	0.04	-0.06	-0.15*	-0.00	-0.13	-0.06	-0.05	0.81***												
10. Alienation	0.02	-0.04	-0.08	0.00	-0.18**	-0.02	0.00	0.91***	0.81***											
11. External influence	0.20**	0.01	-0.03	-0.02	-0.02	-0.20	-0.19*	0.76***	0.31***	0.47***										
12. Professional identity centrality[a]	-0.06	-0.04	0.27***	0.60***	0.01	0.26	0.13	0.03	0.11	0.09	-0.09									
13. Explicit gender identity centrality	0.16	0.07	0.34*	0.27	0.19	0.44**	0.45***	-0.15	-0.06	-0.17	-0.18	0.69***								
14. Implicit gender identity centrality	-0.02	-0.04	0.23**	0.13	-0.11	0.26	0.31***	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.00	0.40***	0.85***							
15. Race identity centrality[a]	0.19	-0.05	0.14	0.01	0.26*	0.15	0.12	-0.01	0.04	-0.03	-0.02	0.37**	0.79***	0.77***						
16. Gender identity centrality	0.17*	0.22**	-0.02	0.00	-0.03	0.14	0.15	-0.04	0.04	-0.01	-0.11	0.08	0.06	0.08	0.31**					
17. Race identity centrality	0.37***	0.08	-0.03	0.01	0.16*	0.26	0.10	-0.01	0.01	-0.00	-0.02	0.03	0.17	0.03	0.24	0.66***				
18. Identity complexity[a]	0.05	0.09	0.01	0.14*	0.19**	0.10	-0.07	0.02	-0.02	0.04	0.02	-0.14*	-0.33*	-0.47***	-0.39***	-0.02	0.07			
19. Interconnectedness[a]	0.04	-0.02	0.28***	0.07	-0.09	0.26	0.27***	-0.00	0.02	0.02	-0.04	0.48***	0.84***	0.80***	0.74***	0.18**	0.08	-0.51***		
20. Advantage[a]	0.07	-0.06	0.07	0.14*	0.08	0.20	0.04	0.21**	0.18**	0.22**	0.11	-0.02	0.10	-0.01	0.05	-0.01	0.12	0.40***	-0.07	-
Mean	-	-	1.93	1.59	0.58	1.68	1.77	4.1	5.48	4.35	2.98	0.37	0.38	0.78	0.34	4.41	3.85	7.26	0.47	2.34
Std. Dev.	-	-	0.52	0.99	0.99	0.86	0.71	1.01	1.18	1.48	1.09	0.3	0.3	0.52	0.3	2.04	2.04	3.24	0.28	1.92
Min	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	1.42	1	0.2	0.2	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0
Max	-	-	4	4	3.5	3	4	6.33	7	6.2	6	1.33	1.25	2.67	1.5	7	7	22	1.67	7
N	207	207	207	207	68	54	174	207	207	207	207	207	54	174	68	207	207	207	207	207
VIF	1.18	1.08	1.71	1.29	1.03	1.75	1.4	-	-	-	-	1.34	3.46	2.84	2.85	1.89	2.05	1.24	-	1.22

Note. $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $*** p < .001$; [a] indicates a measure that was derived from the work identity maps.

Table 2

Identity construction in non-work contexts by race and gender

	Black			White			Overall		
	Women	**Men**	**Overall**	**Women**	**Men**	**Overall**	**Women**	**Men**	**Total**
	(N=27)	**(N=29)**	**(N=56)**	**(N=74)**	**(N=77)**	**(N=151)**	**(N=101)**	**(N=106)**	**(N=207)**
Explicit gender identities									
Absent	13 (48%)	27(93)	40 (71%)	51 (69%)	58 (75%)	109 (72%)	64 (63%)	85 (80%)	149 (72%)
Present	14 (52%)	2 (7%)	16 (29%)	23 (31%)	19 (25%)	42 (28%)	37 (37%)	21 (20%)	58 (28%)
Implicit gender identities									
Absent	2 (7%)	9 (31%)	11 (20%)	8 (11%)	10 (13%)	18 (12%)	10 (10%)	19 (18%)	29 (14%)
Present	25 (93%)	20 (69%)	45 (80%)	66 (89%)	67 (87%)	133 (88%)	91 (90%)	87 (82%)	178 (86%)
Mean	1.52	1.00	1.25	1.61	1.49	1.55	1.58	1.36	1.47
SD	(1.05)	(1.00)	(1.05)	(1.11)	(1.03)	(1.07)	(1.09)	(1.04)	(1.07)
Median	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	5.00	4.00	5.00	6.00	5.00	6.00	6.00	5.00	6.00
Race identities									
Absent	9 (33%)	15 (52%)	24 (43%)	58 (78%)	62 (81%)	120 (80%)	67 (66%)	78 (74%)	142 (69%)
Present	18 (67%)	14 (48%)	32 (57%)	16 (22%)	15 (19%)	31 (20%)	34 (34%)	28 (26%)	63 (30%)
Intersecting identities									
None	0 (0%)	4 (14%)	4 (7%)	7 (10%)	9 (12%)	16 (11%)	7 (7%)	13 (12%)	20 (10%)
Gender only	8 (30%)	10 (35%)	18 (32%)	51 (69%)	53 (69%)	104 (69%)	59 (58%)	63 (59%)	122 (59%)
Race only	2 (7%)	3 (10%)	5 (9%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	2 (1%)	3 (3%)	4 (4%)	7 (3%)
Race and Gender	17 (63%)	12 (41%)	29 (52%)	15 (20%)	14 (18%)	29 (19%)	32 (32%)	26 (25%)	58 (28%)
Explicit gender identity conflict									
Mean	1.73	2.67	1.85	1.74	1.67	1.71	1.73	1.78	1.75

SD	(0.81)	(0.47)	(0.83)	(0.84)	(0.88)	(0.85)	(0.82)	(0.90)	(0.84)
Median	2.00	2.67	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Min	0.00	2.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Missing	13 (48%)	27 (93%)	40 (71%)	51 (69%)	61 (79%)	112(74%)	64 (63%)	88 (83%)	152 (73%)
Implicit Gender identity conflict									
Mean	2.07	1.91	2.00	1.80	1.72	1.76	1.87	1.76	1.82
SD	(1.03)	(0.53)	(0.84)	(0.59)	(0.73)	(0.67)	(0.74)	(0.69)	(0.72)
Median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Min	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	4.00	2.80	4.00	3.00	3.33	3.33	4.00	3.33	4.00
Missing	2 (7%)	9 (31%)	11 (20%)	8 (11%)	10 (13%)	18(12%)	10 (10%)	19 (18%)	29(9%)
Race identity conflict									
Mean	1.72	1.93	1.81	1.74	1.63	1.69	1.73	1.73	1.75
SD	(0.74)	(0.91)	(0.81)	(1.15)	(1.07)	(1.09)	(0.94)	(0.98)	(0.96)
Median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	3.00	3.50	3.50	3.50	3.00	3.50	3.50	3.50	3.50
Professional identity conflict									
Mean	1.82	1.87	1.85	1.95	1.86	1.91	1.92	1.86	1.89
SD	(1.22)	(0.65)	(0.94)	(0.77)	(0.81)	(0.79)	(0.88)	(0.77)	(0.82)
Median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	4.00	2.56	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00
Missing	12(44%)	12 (41%)	24 (43%)	20 (27%)	24 (31%)	44 (29%)	32 (32%)	36 (34%)	68 (33%)

Identity conflict

Mean	1.86	1.97	1.92	1.87	1.85	1.86	1.86	1.88	1.87

Measure									
Mean	1.86	1.97	1.92	1.87	1.85	1.86	1.86	1.88	1.87
SD	(0.77)	(0.41)	(0.61)	(0.52)	(0.64)	(0.58)	(0.59)	(0.58)	(0.59)
Median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Min	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.29	3.29	3.00	3.29	3.29
Explicit Gender identity centrality[a]									
Mean	0.55	0.69	0.57	0.35	0.47	0.39	0.42	0.49	0.44
SD	(0.41)	(0.44)	(0.40)	(0.27)	(0.68)	(0.50)	(0.34)	(0.66)	(0.48)
Median	0.55	0.69	0.55	0.30	0.25	0.25	0.40	0.25	0.30
Min	0.00	0.38	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	1.50	1.00	1.50	1.00	3.00	3.00	1.50	3.00	3.00
Missing	14 (52%)	27 (93%)	18 (32%)	52 (70%)	58 (75%)	110 (73%)	66 (65%)	85 (80%)	151 (73%)
Implicit gender identity centrality[a]									
Mean	0.62	0.61	0.61	0.65	0.69	0.67	0.64	0.68	0.66
SD	(0.38)	(0.41)	(0.39)	(0.59)	(0.58)	(0.58)	(0.54)	(0.55)	(0.54)
Median	0.67	0.46	0.60	0.50	0.57	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50
Min	0.00	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	1.50	1.75	1.75	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Missing	2 (7%)	9 (31%)	11 (20%)	8 (11%)	10 (13%)	18(12%)	10 (10%)	19 (18%)	29(14%)
Gender identity centrality									
Mean	5.31	4.70	4.99	4.70	3.71	4.19	4.86	3.98	4.41
SD	(1.70)	(2.01)	(1.88)	(1.98)	(2.02)	(2.06)	(1.92)	(2.06)	(2.04)
Median	6.00	5.67	5.67	5.33	4.00	4.67	5.67	4.33	5.00
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00
Gender identity centrality[b]									
Mean	5.35	4.48	4.96	4.62	3.61	4.11	4.82	3.81	4.32

SD	(1.73)	(2.14)	(1.95)	(1.98)	(2.05)	(2.07)	(1.94)	(2.09)	(2.07)
Median	6.00	5.50	5.67	5.17	4.00	4.67	5.67	4.33	5.00
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00
Race identity centrality[a]									
Mean	0.46	0.45	0.46	0.25	0.53	0.38	0.36	0.49	0.42
SD	(0.49)	(0.34)	(0.43)	(0.21)	(0.53)	(0.42)	(0.40)	(0.44)	(0.42)
Median	0.23	0.40	0.31	0.27	0.50	0.29	0.25	0.50	0.29
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	1.67	1.00	1.67	0.80	2.00	2.00	1.67	2.00	2.00
Race identity centrality									
Mean	5.59	4.63	5.10	3.45	3.32	3.38	4.02	3.68	3.85
SD	(1.84)	(1.96)	(1.95)	(1.81)	(1.93)	(1.87)	(2.05)	(2.02)	(2.04)
Median	6.00	5.00	5.67	3.67	3.33	3.67	4.33	4.00	4.00
Race identity centrality[b]									
Mean									
SD	5.76	4.64	5.27	3.29	3.42	3.35	4.60	4.01	4.33
SD	(1.61)	(2.19)	(1.94)	(1.45)	(2.26)	(1.86)	(1.96)	(2.27)	(2.12)
Median	6.00	5.17	6.00	3.67	4.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	4.67
Professional identity centrality[a]									
Mean	0.49	0.75	0.63	0.69	0.63	0.66	0.65	0.66	0.65
SD	(0.63)	(0.54)	(0.59)	(0.75)	(0.54)	(0.65)	(0.73)	(0.54)	(0.64)
Median [Min, Max]	0.30	0.60	0.50	0.50	0.48	0.50	0.40	0.50	0.50
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	2.33	1.75	2.33	3.50	2.00	3.50	3.50	2.00	3.50
Missing	12(44%)	12 (41%)	24 (43%)	20 (27%)	24 (31%)	44 (29%)	32 (32%)	36 (34%)	68 (33%)
Identity complexity[a]									
Mean	6.59	6.14	6.36	6.39	5.83	6.11	6.45	5.92	6.17

	(3.05)	(2.89)	(2.95)	(3.07)	(2.58)	(2.84)	(3.05)	(2.66)	(2.86)
SD									
Median	6.00	6.00	6.00	5.50	5.00	5.00	6.00	5.00	5.00
Min	4.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	20.00
Max	12.00	16.00	16.00	17.00	15.00	17.00	17.00	16.00	17.00

Note. [a] indicates a measure computed from non-work identity map, [b] indicates calculations only include participants who reported identity of interest in non-work identity map (e.g., race or gender)

Table 3

Identity construction at work by race and gender

	Black			White			Gender		
	Women **(N=27)**	**Men** **(N=29)**	**Total** **(N=56)**	**Women** **(N=74)**	**Men** **(N=77)**	**Total** **(N=151)**	**Women** **(N=101)**	**Men** **(N=106)**	**Total** **(N=207)**
Explicit gender identities									
Absent	17 (63%)	26 (90%)	43 (77%)	54 (73%)	56 (73%)	110 (73%)	71 (70%)	82 (77%)	153 (74%)
Present	10 (37%)	3 (10%)	13 (23%)	20 (27%)	21 (27%)	41 (27%)	30 (30%)	24 (23%)	54 (26%)
Implicit gender identities									
Absent	3 (11%)	9 (31%)	12 (21%)	9 (12%)	12 (16%)	21 (14%)	12 (12%)	21 (20%)	33 (16%)
Present	24 (89%)	20 (69%)	44 (79%)	65 (88%)	65 (84%)	130 (86%)	89 (88%)	85 (80%)	174 (84%)
Mean	1.59	1.03	1.30	1.62	1.49	1.56	1.61	1.37	1.49
SD	(1.12)	(1.12)	(1.14)	(1.12)	(1.11)	(1.11)	(1.11)	(1.12)	(1.12)
Median	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	5.00	5.00	5.00	6.00	5.00	6.00	6.00	5.00	6.00
Race identities reported									
Absent	6 (22%)	11 (38%)	20 (36%)	59 (80%)	61 (79%)	119 (79%)	65 (64%)	72 (68%)	139 (67%)
Present	21 (78%)	18 (62%)	36 (64%)	15 (20%)	16 (21%)	32 (21%)	36 (36%)	34 (32%)	68 (33%)
Intersecting identities									
None	1 (4%)	4 (14%)	5 (9%)	8 (11%)	9 (12%)	17 (11%)	9 (9%)	13 (12%)	22 (11%)
Gender only	7 (26%)	8 (28%)	15 (27%)	48 (65%)	52 (68%)	100 (66%)	55 (55%)	60 (57%)	115 (56%)
Race only	2 (7%)	4 (14%)	6 (11%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	4 (3%)	4 (4%)	6 (6%)	10 (5%)
Race and Gender	17 (63%)	13 (45%)	30 (54%)	16 (22%)	14 (18%)	30 (20%)	33 (33%)	27 (6%)	60 (29%)

Explicit gender identity conflict[ab]

Mean	1.93	1.94	1.93	1.69	1.52	1.60	1.77	1.57	1.68
SD	(0.75)	(0.42)	(0.68)	(0.89)	(0.92)	(0.89)	(0.84)	(0.88)	(0.86)
Median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.67	2.00	2.00	1.84	2.00
Min	0.00	1.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	3.00	2.33	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Missing	17 (63%)	26 (90%)	43 (77%)	54 (73%)	56 (73%)	110 (73%)	71 (70%)	82 (77%)	153 (74%)

Implicit gender identity conflict[ab]

Mean	1.90	1.79	1.85	1.81	1.68	1.74	1.83	1.70	1.77
SD	(0.81)	(0.74)	(0.77)	(0.63)	(0.75)	(0.69)	(0.68)	(0.75)	(0.71)
Median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.80	2.00	2.00	1.83	2.00
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	4.00	3.20	4.00	3.00	3.33	3.33	4.00	3.33	4.00
Missing	3 (11%)	9 (31%)	12(21%)	9 (12%)	12 (16%)	21(14%)	12 (12%)	21 (20%)	33 (16%)

Race identity conflict[ab]

Mean	1.70	2.03	1.85	1.84	1.63	1.67	1.76	1.83	1.77
SD	(0.91)	(0.72)	(0.84)	(1.09)	(1.05)	(1.09)	(0.98)	(0.91)	(0.96)
Median	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	3.00	3.50	3.50	3.50	3.00	3.50	3.50	3.50	3.50

Professional identity conflict[a]

Mean (SD)	1.53	1.42	1.47	1.67	1.61	1.64	1.63	1.56	1.59
SD	(1.08)	(0.96)	(1.01)	(1.04)	(0.96)	(0.99)	(1.04)	(0.96)	(1.00)
Median	2.00	1.75	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	3.00	3.00	30.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00	4.00

Overall identity conflict[a]

Mean	1.98	1.99	1.99	1.92	1.89	1.90	1.94	1.92	1.93
SD	(0.71)	(0.36)	(0.55)	(0.51)	(0.52)	(0.51)	(0.56)	(0.49)	(0.52)
Median	2.03	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Min	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	3.00	2.75	3.00	4.00	3.18	4.00	4.00	3.18	4,00

Explicit gender centrality[a]

Mean	0.51	0.27	0.46	0.34	0.37	0.36	0.40	0.36	0.38
SD	(0.37)	(0.15)	(0.36)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.32)	(0.27)	(0.29)
Median	0.50	0.30	0.43	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.38	0.29	0.33
Min	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	1.25	0.40	1.25	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.25	1.00	1.25
Missing	17 (63%)	26 (90%)	43 (77%)	54 (73%)	56 (73%)	110 (73%)	71 (70%)	82 (77%)	153 (74%)

Implicit gender centrality[ab]

Mean	0.49	0.45	0.48	0.47	0.52	0.49	0.48	0.50	0.49
SD	(0.32)	(0.25)	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.32)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.31)	(0.29)
Median	0.40	0.37	0.40	0.44	0.57	0.50	0.43	0.50	0.50
Min	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	1.25	1.00	1.25	1.00	1.34	1.34	1.25	1.34	1.34
Missing	3 (11%)	9 (31%)	12(21%)	9 (12%)	12 (16%)	21(14%)	12 (12%)	21 (20%)	33 (16%)

Gender identity centrality[b]

Mean	5.35	4.48	4.96	4.62	3.61	4.11	4.82	3.81	4.32
SD	(1.73)	(2.14)	(1.95)	(1.98)	(2.05)	(2.07)	(1.94)	(2.09)	(2.07)
Median	6.00	5.50	5.67	5.17	4.00	4.67	5.67	4.33	5.00
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00

Gender identity centrality

Mean	5.31	4.70	5.08	4.70	3.71	4.14	4.86	3.98	4.38
SD	(1.70)	(2.01)	(1.83)	(1.98)	(2.02)	(2.10)	(1.92)	(2.06)	(2.07)
Median	6.00	5.67	5.67	5.33	4.00	4.67	5.67	4.33	5.00
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00

Race identity centrality [ab]

Mean	0.45	0.36	0.39	0.19	0.37	0.28	0.34	0.36	0.34
SD	(0.40)	(0.23)	(0.32)	(0.14)	(0.32)	(0.26)	(0.33)	(0.27)	(0.29)
Median	0.28	0.33	0.33	0.22	0.38	0.24	0.25	0.33	0.26
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	1.50	0.75	1.50	0.43	1.00	1.00	1.50	1.00	1.50
Missing	9 (33%)	14 (48%)	12 (21%)	59 (80%)	61 (79%)	120(80%)	68 (67%)	75 (71%)	143 (69%)

Race identity centrality [b]

Mean	5.89	4.29	5.14	3.42	3.52	3.47	4.76	3.92	4.35
SD	(1.38)	(2.02)	(1.87)	(1.45)	(2.22)	(1.84)	(1.87)	(2.12)	(2.03)
Median	6.00	4.67	5.83	4.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	4.00	4.67
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00

Race identity centrality

Mean	5.59	4.63	5.10	3.45	3.32	3.38	4.02	3.68	3.85
SD	(1.84)	(1.96)	(1.95)	(1.81)	(1.93)	(1.87)	(2.05)	(2.02)	(2.04)
Median	6.00	5.00	5.67	3.67	3.33	3.67	4.33	4.00	4.00
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00

Professional identity centrality[a]

Mean	0.33	0.35	0.34	0.37	0.39	0.39	0.36	0.39	0.37
SD	(0.34)	(0.26)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.30)
Median	0.32	0.34	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.33
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	1.25	1.00	1.25	1.17	1.33	1.33	1.25	1.33	1.33

Identity complexity[a]

Mean	7.59	7.45	7.52	7.53	6.82	7.17	7.54	6.99	7.26
SD	(3.49)	(3.79)	(3.61)	(3.32)	(2.85)	(3.10)	(3.35)	(3.12)	(3.24)
Median	6.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00	7.00
Min	4.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Max	15.00	22.00	22.00	17.00	17.00	17.00	17.00	22.00	22.00

Note. [a] indicates a measure computed from work identity map, [b] indicates calculations only include participants who reported identity of interest in work identity map (e.g., race or gender)

Constructing Multiple Identities at Work

Research Question 1

To address my first research question, which asks what identities are most salient, central, and conflicting (versus compatible) at work, I conducted a holistic analysis of the work identity maps. Given my focus on race, gender, and professional identities, I deductively coded each of the identity nodes in the identity maps according to race, gender, and professional identities. Gender identities contained terms that indicated gender identities explicitly and implicitly. Explicit gender identities included terms such as *female*, *male*, *woman*, or *man*. Implicit gender identities were indicated by terms that signal internalized gender roles and norms including terms such as *brother, son, husband, wife, mother, girlfriend, boyfriend, father, daughter, niece, nephew*, and so on. Race identities included identity nodes that contained terms that indicated race/ethnicity at work such as *Black*, *African American*, *White*, *Caucasian* and *token minority*. Lastly, terms that were coded as professional identities including work roles or occupational titles (e.g., administrative assistant, leader, manager, analyst, IT professional, scientist), organizations (e.g., eBay, Amazon), and role in work group and teams (e.g., team lead, co-worker, team member), as well as professional skills and characteristics (e.g., hardworking manager, tech savvy). After coding each identity as a race, gender, or professional identity, I computed network metrics to examine what types of identities including race, gender, and professional identities were most salient, central, and conflicting (versus compatible) for Black and White men and women at work.

Identity salience

I first examined the extent to which race, gender, and professional identities were invoked for Black and White men and women at work. After coding each identity, I examined

what identities were most prominently reported in the work identity maps among participants. Women were almost twice as likely as men to include explicit gender identities in their non-work identity map, however, women reported explicit gender identities at equal rates as men in their work identity maps. A Chi-Square Test of Independence showed that the proportion of participants who reported explicit gender identities at work did not differ by gender X^2(2, N=207) = 1.09, p = .30). It is important to note that although there were not significant differences across gender groups, Black men (10.3%) reported explicit gender identities at work less than any other group, while Black women (37%) were the largest proportion of explicit gender identities reported.

The data show that men and women across both racial groups are more likely to report gender in terms of implicit gender identities, or identities that are suggestive of gender roles, values, or norms (e.g., husband, wife, brother, son, girlfriend, etc.). When accounting for implicit gender identities, over half of participants included gender identities in their work maps across all race and gender groups. Women reported both explicit (men = 22.6%, women = 29.7%) and implicit (men = 80.2%, women = 88.1%) gender identities at a higher rate than men. Like explicit gender identities, Black men (69%) were the least likely to report implicit gender identities at work compared to Black women (88.9%), and White men (84.4%) and women (87.8%). Black men included gender in their identity maps less than Black women, White women, and White men by approximately 20% for both explicit and implicit gender identities.

In terms of race, White participants were the least likely to report race identities in their work identity maps compared to Black participants. Only 21% of White participants reported race identities in their work identity maps compared to over sixty percent of Black participants who reported race in their work identity maps, with a higher percentage of Black women

(77.8%) reporting race at work compared to Black men (62.1%). A Chi-Square Test of Independence was performed to further assess the relationship between race reported in the work identity map and race. There was a significant relationship between the two variables, $X^2(2, N=207) = 32.47$, $p < .001$, indicating that the proportion of participants who reported race at work differed by race (see Figure 2). Black women were more likely to report both race and gender compared to any other group. A Chi-Square Test of Independence was performed to assess whether the proportion of participants who reported only gender, only race, or both race and gender differed among White men, White women, Black men, and Black women. There was a significant relationship between the two variables, $X^2(9, N=207) = 37.40$, $p < .001$. Figure 2 shows that this difference is largely driven by individuals who reported gender only, with Black men and women reporting gender only at a rate of 6 and 7%, respectively, and 45% of White men and 42% of White women reporting gender only.

Figure 2

Distribution of Black and White participants who reported race in work identity map
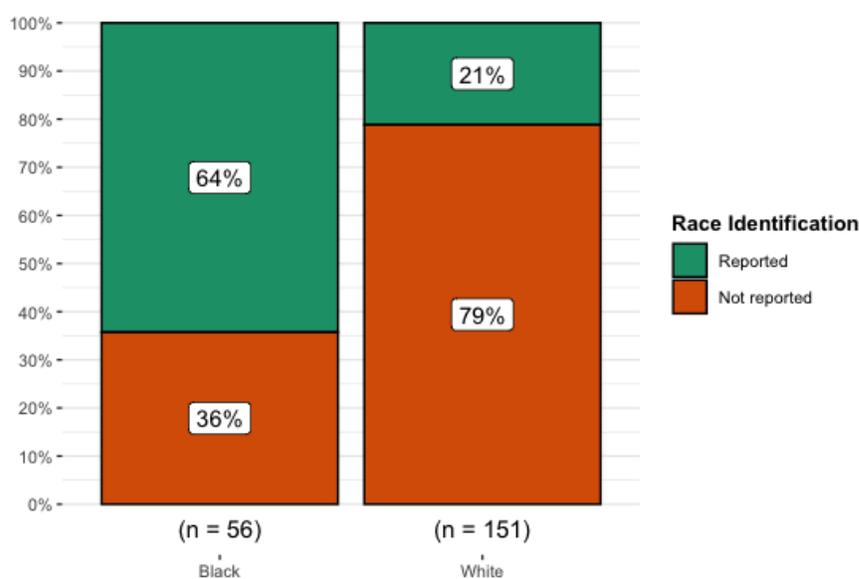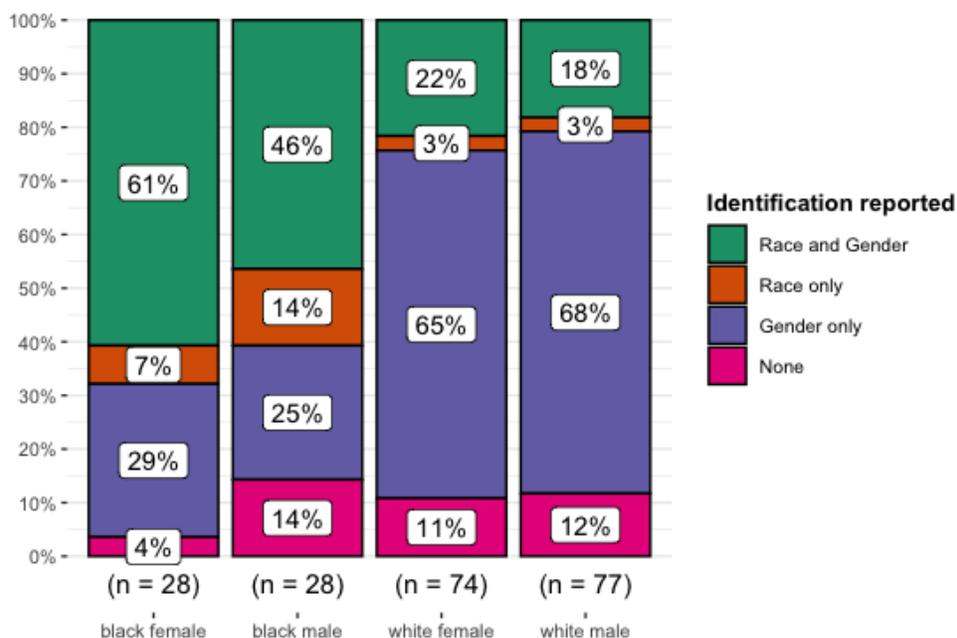
Figure 3

Distribution of Black and White participants who reported race and gender in work identity map

Because participants were asked to describe their identities at work, all participants reported professional or work-related identities in their work maps. Thus, I conducted a thematic analysis of the work-related identities ($N = 297$) to further explore the nuances of participants identification with professional identities. 35% of professional identities reported in the maps included occupational titles (e.g., administrative assistant, teacher, IT Professional, scientist; $N = 106$), 16.2% of identities indicated work level (e.g., manager, front-line), 11.7% of identities included roles in work groups or teams (e.g., co-worker, team lead), 11.7% of identities represented specific work knowledge, skills and abilities (e.g., problem-solver, tech savvy, experienced), and 9% of identities indicated employment type (e.g., remote worker, new hire, part-time). Approximately 9% of identity nodes cited 'work,' which suggests that some employees identified with work in general. Other types of identities less frequently reported

included organizations (3%), industries (1.3%) , clients (1.34%), career (1%), and miscellaneous identities (e.g., feelings and treatment at work, proximity to job; 1.35%).

Comparing Identity Construction Across Work and Non-work Identity Maps

Given that all participants reported professional identities in their work identity maps, it is important to also consider who identifies with professional identities outside of work. Thus, I compared rates of professional identity reports in non-work contexts among race and gender subgroups. Approximately 81% of all participants reported work-related identities in their non-work context identity maps. Despite Black participants (75%) reporting professional identities outside of work at a lower percentage than White participants (84.1%), a Chi-Square Test of Independence showed that the proportion of participants who reported professional identities in non-work identity maps did not differ significantly by race, $X^2(1, N=207) = 1.69$, $p = 0.19$, or gender, $X^2(1, N=207) = 0.49$, $p = 0.48$. Although men and women reported explicit gender identities at the same rate at work, women were nearly twice as likely to report explicit gender identities in their non-work identity map, $X^2(1, N=207) = 6.45$, $p < 0.05$. Black men and women were least likely to report only explicit gender identities outside of work. Black men (43%) were more likely than any other group to report race identities only, followed by Black women (29%). Black women (29%) were the largest group to report both race and gender in non-work identity maps (Figure 3). These patterns were similar in the work identity maps. In the next section, I move beyond what types of identities are most salient across race and gender groups, and consider what identities amongst race, gender, and professional identities are considered sources of identity conflict for Black and White men and women.

Figure 4

Distribution of professional identities reported among Black and White men and women in non-work identity map
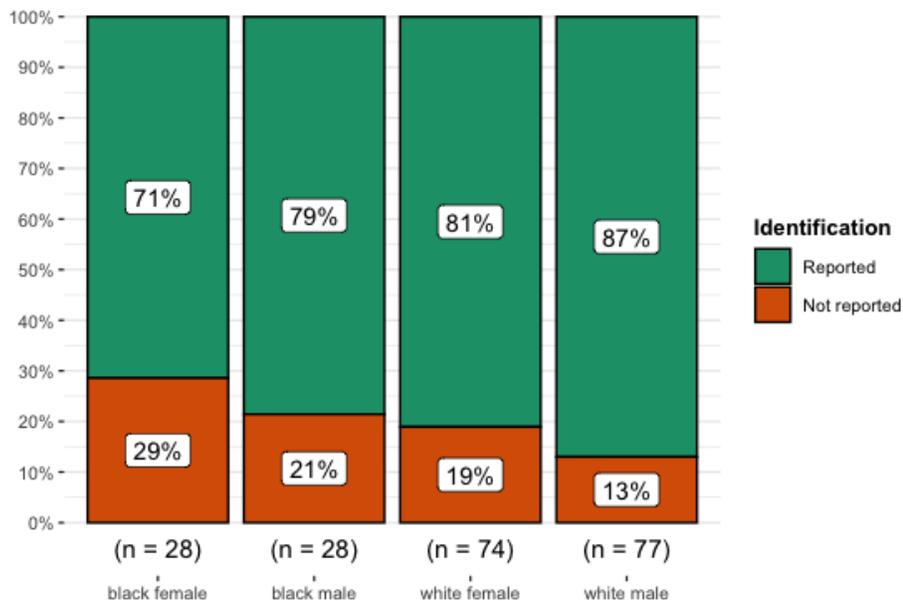
Identity conflict

The results of a t-test show there were no significant race or gender differences in the number of compatible links in work identity maps, despite Black participants (M = 2.14, SD = 2.50) and women (M = 1.56, SD = 2.27) reporting more compatible links than White men respectively, on average. However, there was a significant difference in total conflicting links reported for Black participants (M = 1.32, SD = 1.85) compared to White participants (M = 1.28), t(84.14) = 2.29, p = 0.02. Race identity conflict at work was also higher for Black participants (M = 1.85, SD = 0.84) compared to White participants (M = 1.67, SD = 1.09), t(79.55) = 5.06, p < .001. Additionally, there was a significant difference between men and women's reports of explicit, t(62.77) = -9.82, p < .001, and implicit gender identity conflict at work such that women reported more conflict associated with gender than men, t(379) = -20.545, p < .001. Professional identity conflict was also higher for Black employees than White employees, t(412)= -17.38, p <

.001. Lastly, professional identity conflict at work was higher for women compared to men, $t(412)= -14.21$, $p < .001$. These patterns were similar across both work and non-work contexts.

Identity centrality

In this study, I measured the centrality of identities in two ways. First, I captured centrality based on the extent to which identities related to other identities in the map. Secondly, I used a survey measure that explicitly asks participants to indicate the importance of race and gender to their overall self-concept in general. A one-way MANOVA was conducted to determine whether there is a difference between Black men, Black women, White men, and White women on race identity centrality, gender identity centrality, and professional identity centrality. A statistically significant MANOVA effect was only obtained for race identity centrality (measured via survey), Pillais' Trace $= .99$, $F(3, 27) = 11.86$, $p < .05$. Post hoc analyses were conducted using Bonferroni's post-hoc test. The results revealed statistically significant post-hoc mean comparisons between White women and Black women ($p < .001$), White women and Black men ($p < .05$), White men and Black women ($p < .001$), and White men and Black men ($p < .05$). That is, on average, Black women ($M = 5.45$, $SD = 1.38$) and Black men ($M = 4.73$, $SD = 1.96$) perceived race to be more important to their overall self-concept than White women ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 1.81$) and White men ($M = 3.32$, $SD = 1.93$) when explicitly asked via survey about the extent to which their race was important to their overall self-concept. It is important to note there were no significant differences between the four sub-groups on identity centrality (i.e., race, gender, professional) when the centrality or importance of identities was measured based on the number of links associated with each identity. This suggests that the extent to which race, gender, and professional identities were tied to other identities in

participants' maps did not significantly differ across Black men and women and White men and women.

I also conducted a one-way MANOVA to examine differences among various the four subgroups in race, gender, and professional identity centrality in the non-work identity map. Results show there are no statistically significant differences among the four sub-groups in any form of identity centrality (i.e., race, gender, professional) in the non-work identity maps. However, there were statistically significant differences between men and women in implicit gender identity centrality in the non-work identity maps, $t(383) = -3.19$, $p < .05$, such that women reported higher implicit gender identity centrality than men in the non-work identity maps.

Research Question 2

To address research question two, I clustered the structural characteristics of identity networks, or network metrics used to indicate interrelationships between identities (e.g., conflict, complexity). Specifically, I performed this clustering analysis on six structural components of identity networks that best reflect core concepts of intersectionality as applied to multiple identities: identity complexity, compatibility, conflict, prototypicality (high and low), advantage, and disadvantage. I first conducted a hierarchical clustering analysis to reduce the dimensions of the data and determine the optimal number of clusters, which revealed a two-cluster solution was present in the data. The elbow plot method also reflected an optimal solution of 2 clusters. After conducting the cluster analysis, I examined the means of the six identity network features across both clusters. Cluster 1 is characterized by high complexity, or a large total number of distinct identities ($M = 10.58$, $SD = 2.98$) , a large number of compatible identities ($M = 8.58$, $SD = 2.93$), few identities that serve as a source of conflict ($M = 0.96$, $SD = 1.71$), many prototypical

identities (*M*=6.88, *SD* = 2.82), few non-prototypical identities, an equal number of identities

that are considered highly advantageous (*M*=4.84, *SD* = 3.13), and lastly, many identities that are

considered mildly disadvantageous (*M* = 1.53, *SD* = 2.33). In contrast, cluster 2 is characterized

by low to mid complexity (*M* = 5.92, *SD* = 2.16), few identities that are considered compatible

with other identities (*M* = 4.29, *SD* = 2.45), fewer prototypical identities (*M* = 2.33, *SD* = 1.82),

and even fewer advantageous identities (*M* = 1.66, *SD* = 1.67). Disadvantageous identities were

low in this cluster (*M* = 0.75, *SD* = 1.32).

Table 4 shows the distribution of participants in each of these clusters by race and gender.

The greatest proportion of participants in Cluster 1 were White men (28.2%) and the smallest

proportion of participants in this cluster were Black women (14.8%). In contrast, Black women

(85.2%) made up the largest proportion of participants grouped in Cluster 2 and Black men

(62.1%) made up the smallest proportion of participants while there was an equal proportion of

White men and women. Table 5 shows the descriptive statistics for the structural identity

network measures that were used to group participants to each cluster.

Table 4

Distribution of study participants in clusters of intersectional identity network characteristics

| | Black | | White | | Overall | | | |
Cluster	Men (N=29)	Women (N=27)	Men (N=78)	Women (N=73)	Men (N=107)	Women (N=100)	Black (N=56)	White (N=151)
Cluster 1	11 (38%)	4 (15%)	22 (28%)	19 (26%)	33 (31%)	23 (23%)	15 (27%)	41 (27%)
Cluster 2	18 (62%)	23 (85%)	56 (72%)	54 (74%)	74 (69%)	77 (77%)	41 (73.2%)	110 (73%)

Table 5

Descriptive statistics for two-cluster solution based on identity network characteristics

	Cluster 1 (N=80)	Cluster 2 (N=201)	Overall (N=281)
Identity complexity			
Mean (SD)	10.60 (2.98)	5.92 (2.16)	7.24 (3.20)
Median [Min, Max]	10.0 [7.00, 22.0]	6.00 [2.00, 15.0]	7.00 [2.00, 22.0]
Compatible Identities			
Mean (SD)	8.58 (2.93)	4.29 (2.45)	5.51 (3.23)
Median [Min, Max]	8.00 [1.00, 18.0]	4.00 [0, 12.0]	5.00 [0, 18.0]
Conflicting Identities			
Mean (SD)	0.963 (1.71)	0.572 (1.10)	0.683 (1.31)
Median [Min, Max]	0 [0, 10.0]	0 [0, 6.00]	0 [0, 10.0]
Prototypical identities			
Mean (SD)	6.88 (2.82)	2.33 (1.82)	3.63 (2.97)
Median [Min, Max]	6.50 [2.00, 17.0]	2.00 [0, 7.00]	3.00 [0, 17.0]
Non-prototypical identities			
Mean (SD)	2.51 (2.34)	0.82 (1.16)	1.30 (1.76)
Median [Min, Max]	2.00 [0, 11.0]	0 [0, 5.00]	1.00 [0, 11.0]
Advantageous identities			
Mean (SD)	4.84 (3.13)	1.66 (1.67)	2.57 (2.61)
Median [Min, Max]	4.50 [0, 12.0]	1.00 [0, 7.00]	2.00 [0, 12.0]
Disadvantageous identities			
Mean (SD)	1.53 (2.33)	0.75 (1.32)	0.97 (1.70)
Median [Min, Max]	1.00 [0, 11.0]	0 [0, 7.00]	0 [0, 11.0]

I conducted an additional cluster-analysis to investigate what identities tended to be simultaneously reported in the work identity maps. While the prior cluster analysis grouped participants based on characteristics of identities in the work identity maps (e.g., conflict), this cluster analysis focused on the actual words or terms participants used to describe their identities

in their maps (e.g., mother, father, businessman, etc.). To understand how identities co-occurred in the maps, I computed similarity scores for each pair of words based on the distribution of frequencies of various identities reported together in the maps. If two words were more likely to be reported in the same identity map, they were given a higher similarity score compared to pairs of words or identities that were not likely to reported together, which were given lower similarity scores.

Elbow methods, an evaluation method for the optimal number of clusters, suggested that words that co-occurred together could be optimally clustered into six groups. This method is akin to evaluating a scree plot in factor analysis. I did not label these clusters, but rather, examined the patterns of specific identities reported in each cluster to understand how identities in the maps were shaping each other. In cluster 1, words including ''husband', 'father', 'Christian', 'White', 'intelligent,' and 'manager' were found to co-occur most frequently. In cluster 2, identities including 'intelligent,' 'hardworking,' 'woman', 'Black', and 'student' were shown to most frequently co-occur. In cluster 3, 'friend,' 'family,' 'work group,' and 'American' were shown to co-exist across the identity networks. Similarly, in cluster 4, 'social', 'work,' 'family,' and 'friend' were shown to co-occur. In cluster 5, words like 'woman,' 'educated,' 'worker', 'daughter,' and 'wife' were shown to co-exist. Results for these analyses are illustrated in the form of word clouds in Figure 5.

Figure 5

Six-Cluster solution of identity-co-occurrences

Note. Each word cloud depicts identities that tended to be reported together/simultaneously in the work identity maps.

Intersectional effects of race and gender on authenticity and identity conflict at work

Research question three asks how the interplay of race and gender affects authenticity and identity conflict at work. Figure 5 contains a conceptual model that outlines the proposed hypotheses that aim to detangle the effects of race and gender on how identities are related and expressed at work. I test these hypotheses using regression techniques. Prior to conducting hierarchical multiple regression analyses, the relevant assumptions of this statistical analysis were tested. First, a sample size of 200 was deemed adequate given five independent variables to be included in the analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). The assumption of singularity was also met as the independent variables (Authenticity, Identity Conflict, Identity Centrality) were not a combination of other independent variables.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypotheses 1 predicts that the multiplicative effects of race and gender on authenticity will exceed the additive effects of race and gender. A three-stage hierarchical multiple regression

analysis was implemented with authenticity as the dependent variable. In stage 1, advantage was entered as the control variable. Race (dummy coded as 0 for White/Caucasian, and 1 for Black) and gender (dummy coded as 0 for man as and 1 for woman) were entered in stage 2, and the interaction term (race x gender) was entered in the final stage, as shown in Table 6. Results show that the model accounts for approximately 6% of variation in authenticity ($R^2 = 0.06$, $F(4, 202) = 3.12$). Participants' sense of advantage was a significant predictor of *Authenticity* ($b = 0.11$, $p < .01$). However, neither the additive effects nor the interactive effects of gender and race were significant predictors of authenticity at work. Overall, hypothesis 1 was not supported.

Table 6

Additive and interactive effects of gender and race on authenticity at work

Variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Advantage	0.11**	0.11**	0.11**
Race		0.25	0.22
Gender		-0.02	-0.03
Race x Gender			0.06
R^2	.05**	.06**	.06*
ΔR^2		0.012	0

Note. N = 207. Race is dummy coded as 0 = White and 1 = Black, Gender is dummy coded as 0 = Man and 1 = Woman; *p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p < .001

In line with prior work on authenticity, I also conducted a sub-dimensional analysis of authenticity to detangle the effects of race and gender on the three dimensions of authenticity including authentic living, self-alienation, and external influence (See Table 7). The regression results revealed that the model accounted for 4% of variance in authentic living ($R^2 = 0.04$, $F(4, 202) = 2.07$), and 5% of variance in self-alienation ($R^2 = 0.05$, $F(4, 202) = 2.07$), and External influence ($R^2 = 0.05$, $F(4, 202) = 2.07$), respectively. Participants sense of advantage was a significant predictor of authentic living ($b = 0.12$, $p < .01$). and alienation ($b = 0.18$, $p < .01$), but

not External influence ($b = 0.06$, $p > .05$). Additionally, sub-dimensional analysis results showed

race was a significant predictor of external influence ($b = 0.48$, $p < .05$), such that Black

participants scored 0.48 points higher on external influence compared to White participants, on

average. These results suggest that on average, Black participants accepted external influence

more than White participants.

Table 7

Sub-dimensional analyses of the additive and interactive effects of race and gender on authentic living, alienation, and external influence

Variable	Authentic living			Alienation			External Influence		
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Advantage	0.12**	0.12**	0.12**	0.18**	0.18**	0.18**	0.06	0.05	0.05
Race		0.09	-0.08		0.01	-0.02		0.48**	0.54*
Gender		-0.09	-0.18		-0.04	-0.05		0.04	0.07
Race x Gender			0.34			0.06			-0.12
R^2	0.04**	0.04*	0.05	0.05**	0.05*	0.05*	0.01	0.05*	.05*
ΔR^2		0.00	0.01		0.00	0.00		0.01*	0.00

Note. $N = 207$; Race is dummy coded as 0 = White and 1 = Black; Gender is dummy coded as 0 = Man and 1 = Woman; *$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Hypothesis 2 predicted that the interactive effects of race and gender on identity conflict

at work will exceed the additive effects of race and gender. A two-stage hierarchical multiple

regression analysis was implemented with identity conflict as the dependent variable. Race and

gender were entered at stage 1 and the interaction term was entered in stage 2, as shown in Table

8. Main effects for race and gender were non-significant and the interaction between race and

gender was also non-significant. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported.

Table 8

Additive and interactive effects of race and gender
on identity conflict at work

Variable	Step 1	Step 2
Race	0.08	0.11
Gender	0.02	0.04
Race x Gender		-0.05
R^2	0.01	0.01
ΔR^2		0.00

Note. $N = 207$. Race is dummy coded as 0 = White and 1
= Black, *$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Hypothesis 3 predicted a positive association between identity conflict at work and

authenticity at work. A two-stage hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to test this

hypothesis with the control variable advantage entered in stage one and identity conflict at work

was entered in stage two, as shown in Table 9. Again, advantage accounted for 5% of variance in

authenticity at work and was shown to be a significant predictor of authenticity at work ($b =$

$0.11, p < .01$). Specifically, each additional advantageous identity increases authenticity at work

by 0.11 points. Identity conflict at work did not explain a significant amount of additional

variance in authenticity at work, $F(2, 204) = 6.39, p > .05, R^2 = 0.06$. Sub-dimensional analyses

also revealed a significant main effect for advantage on authentic living ($b = 0.12, p < .01$).

Identity conflict at work was a significant predictor of the authentic living sub-dimension ($b = -$

$0.41, p < .05$), such that a one unit increase in identity conflict was associated with a decrease in

authentic living scores by 0.41 points, on average.

Table 9

Direct effects of identity conflict on authenticity at work

Variable	Authenticity		Authentic living	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
Advantage	0.11**	0.12**	0.12**	0.14**
Identity conflict		-0.26		-0.41**
R^2	.05**	0.06**	0.04**	.07**
ΔR^2		0.02**		0.03**

*Note. N = 207; *p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p < .001*

To further explore the direct effect of identity conflict on authenticity at work, I also examined the direct effects of identity conflict specifically attributed to professional, race, and gender identities. Advantage proved again to be a significant predictor of authenticity at work, b = 0.11, $p < .01$, advantage was also shown to significantly predictor of authentic living (b = 0.12, $p < .01$) and alienation (b = 0.18, $p < .001$, but not external influence at work (b = 0.05, $p > .05$). More specifically, each advantageous identity was associated with an increase in authenticity, authentic living, and alienation. At stage 1, advantage accounted for about 5% of variance in each model. Adding professional, gender, and race identity centrality did not add much additional variance explained in each model, ranging from significant increases of 4-6% of additional variance explained for authentic living, alienation, and external influence. There were no significant main effects for any source of identity conflict on authenticity nor the sub-dimensions of authenticity at work, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10

Direct effects of professional, race, and gender identity conflict on authenticity at work

Variable	Authenticity		Authentic living		Alienation		External influence	
	b	ΔR^2	*b*	ΔR^2	*b*	ΔR^2	*b*	ΔR^2
Step 1		0.05**		.04**		0.05***		0.01
Advantage	0.11**		0.12**		0.18***		0.05	
Step 2		0.03		0.06**		.04*		0.04*
Professional identity conflict	0.03		0.06		0.07		-0.02	
Race identity conflict	-0.1		-0.13		-0.23		0.04	
Gender identity conflict	-0.14		-0.09		0.01		-0.3	

Note. N = 207; *p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p < .001

Moderating Effects of Identity Centrality and Identity Complexity

Hypothesis 4 predicted interaction effects between race and race centrality and gender and gender centrality on authenticity and identity conflict at work, respectively. A three-stage hierarchical multiple regression analysis was implemented with authenticity as the dependent variable. The control variable was entered at stage 1, the main effects of gender and gender identity centrality were entered at stage 2, and the interaction term was entered at stage 3, as seen in Table 11. To avoid potentially problematic high multicollinearity with the interaction term, race identity centrality was centered (Dawson, 2014). Once again, advantage significantly

predicted authenticity at work ($b = 0.11$, $p < .01$). There was no significant main effect of gender nor interactive effect for gender and gender centrality, $F(2, 204) = 2.62$, $p > .05$, $R^2 = 0.05$ on authenticity at work.

Table 11

Moderating effects of gender identity centrality on authenticity at work

Variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Advantage	0.11**	0.11**	0.11**
Gender		0.00	0.01
Gender identity centrality		-0.02	-0.01
Gender x Gender identity centrality			-0.04
R^2	.05**	0.00	0.00
ΔR^2	.05**	0.05*	0.05*

Note. N = 207; Gender is dummy coded as 0 = Man and 1 = Woman; *$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

I also conducted a moderated regression analysis to examine the effect of race and race identity centrality on authenticity at work, $F(2, 204) = 3.70$, $p > .05$, $R^2 = 0.05$ following the same steps as conducted in the previous analysis. As shown in Table 12, there were no main or interactive effects of race and race identity centrality, $F(2, 202) = 3.56$, $p > .05$, $R^2 = 0.07$.

Table 12

Moderating effects of race identity centrality on race and authenticity at work

Variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Advantage	0.11**	0.11**	0.11**
Race		0.32	0.28
Race identity centrality		-0.04	-0.06
Race x Race identity centrality			0.06
R^2	.05**	.63**	0.66**
ΔR^2	.05**	0.13	0.03

Note. N = 207; Race is dummy coded as 0 = White and 1 = Black
*$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Hypothesis 4 also predicted that gender and race identity centrality would have moderating effects on the identity conflict. Two-stage hierarchical multiple regression analyses were implemented with identity conflict as the dependent variable to test the moderating effects of gender and race identity centrality. Gender and race were entered in stage 1, and gender and race identity centrality were entered in stage two, respectively, and the interaction terms were entered in stage three in each model. To avoid potentially problematic high multicollinearity with the interaction term, race identity centrality was centered (Dawson, 2014). There were no significant main or interactive effects for gender and gender centrality, $F(3, 203) = 1.11$, $p > .05$, $R^2 = 0.00$, nor race and race centrality on identity conflict at work, $F(2, 203) = 1.36$, $p > .05$, $R^2 = 0.00$. These results are shown in Table 13.

Table 13

Moderating effects of gender identity centrality on the relationship between gender and identity conflict at work

Variable	Step 1	Step 2
Gender	0.07	0.08
Gender identity centrality	0.00	0.06
Gender x Gender identity centrality		-0.13
R^2	0.00	0.02
ΔR^2		0.02

Note. N = 207; Gender dummy coded as 0 = Man and 1 = Woman
*$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Regression analyses examining the main and interactive effects of race and race identity centrality showed there were no main effects for race ($b = 0.11$, $p > .05$) nor race identity centrality ($b = -0.02$, $p > .05$) on identity conflict at work. The centered interaction term between race and race identity centrality was also non-significant ($b = -0.04$, $p > .05$). These results can be seen in Table 14.

Table 14

Moderating effects of race identity centrality on race and identity conflict at work

Variable	Step 1	Step 2
Race	0.11	0.14
Race identity centrality	-0.02	-0.01
Race x Race identity centrality		-0.04
R^2	0.01	0.01
ΔR^2		0.00

Note. N = 207; Race is dummy coded as 0 = White and 1 = Black
*p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p < .001

Hypothesis 4 also predicted that professional identity centrality would buffer the effects of gender and race on authenticity and identity conflict at work. I conducted two two-stage hierarchical multiple regression analyses to explore the additive and interactive effects of gender (race) and professional identity centrality on authenticity and identity conflict at work. Professional identity centrality was centered before analyses (Dawson, 2014). Main effects were entered in stage two, and interaction terms were entered in stage 2, as shown in Tables 15-18. Advantage was a significant predictor of authenticity ($b = 0.11$, $p < .01$), and accounted for 5% of variance in authenticity at work. Main effects gender ($b = -0.02$, $p > .05$) and professional identity centrality ($b = 0.04$, $p > .05$) did not account for any additional variance in the model and were non-significant predictors of authenticity at work. Next, the interaction term between gender and professional identity centrality was added to the regression model, which accounted for additional variance in authenticity at work, $b = -1.07$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .07$. Examination of the interaction plot in Figure 6 aids in the interpretation of this finding. According to the plot, women with high professional identity centrality are less authentic than women with low professional identity centrality as well as men with low and high professional identity centrality. This partially supports hypothesis 4 which predicted that high professional identity centrality

would buffer the effect of gender on authenticity at work. These results show that professional identity centrality does have a buffering effect on the relationship between gender and authenticity at work. However, this buffering effect only occurs for men such that high professional identity centrality enables authenticity at work for men, while constraining authenticity at work for women (See Figure 6).

Table 15

Moderating effects of professional identity centrality on the relationship between gender and authenticity at work

Variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Advantage	0.11**	0.11**	0.11**
Gender		-0.02	0.38
Professional identity centrality		0.04	0.56
Gender x Professional identity centrality			-1.07*
R^2	0.05**	0.05*	0.07**
ΔR^2		0.00	0.02

Note. $N = 207$; Gender is dummy coded as 0 = Man and 1 = Woman; *$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Figure 6

Plot of Simple slopes for interaction effects between gender and gender identity centrality on authenticity at work
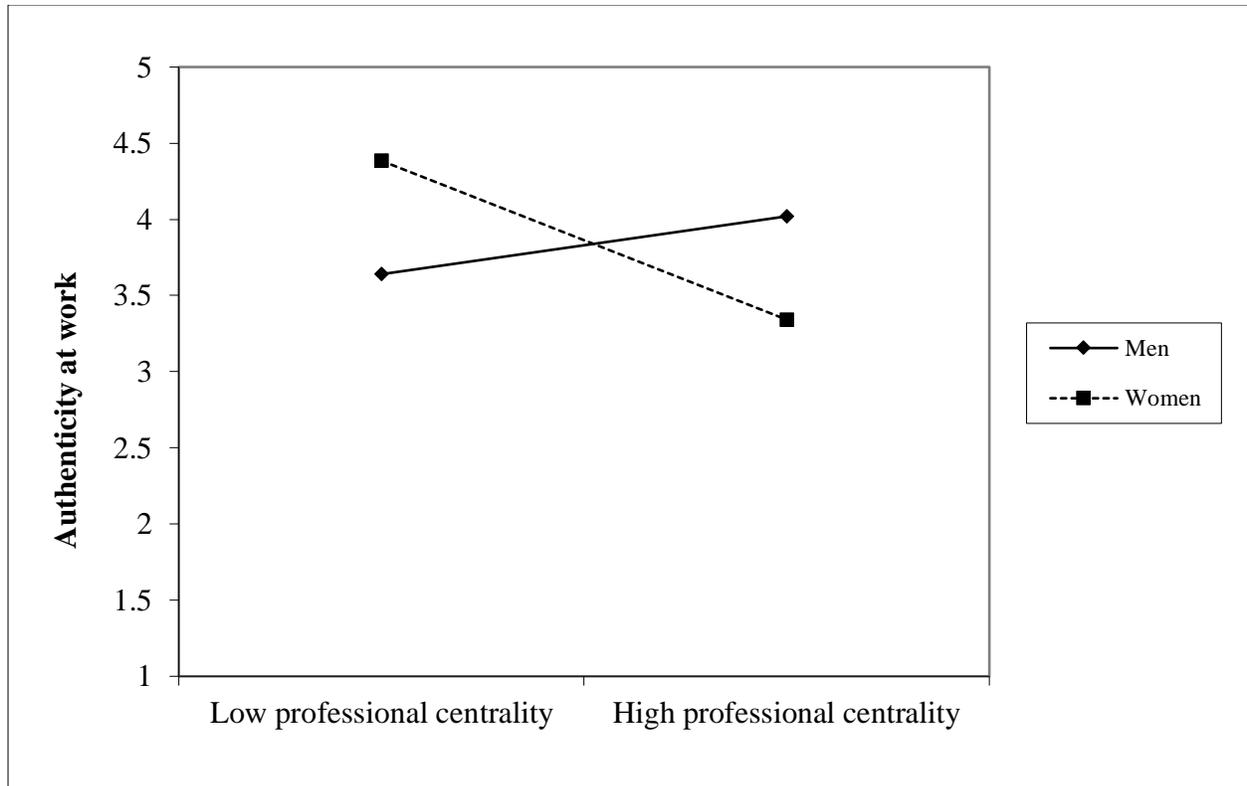
In the second model examining the interaction effect of race and professional identity centrality on authenticity at work, advantage was once again a significant predictor ($b = 0.11$, $p <$ .01) and accounted for 5% of the model. Adding race and professional identity centrality did not drastically increase variance accounted for by the model ($R^2 = 0.06$) and main effects of race (b = 0.26, $p > .05$) and professional identity centrality ($b = 0.07$, $p > .05$). The interaction term between race and professional identity centrality was also not significant ($b = 0.26$, $p > .05$) and did not account for any additional variance in the model ($b = -0.17$, $p > .05$). The results of these analyses are displayed in Table 16.

Table 16

Moderating effects of professional identity centrality on authenticity at work

Variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Advantage	0.11**	0.11**	0.11**
Race		0.26	0.32
Professional identity centrality		0.07	0.11
Race x Professional identity centrality			-0.17
R^2	.05**	0.06**	0.06**
ΔR^2		0.01	0.00

Note. N = 207; Race is dummy coded as 0 = White and 1 = Black; *$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Next, I conducted two-stage hierarchical regression models to examine the moderating effects of professional identity centrality on the relationships between gender and identity conflict at work (Table 17) and race and identity conflict at work (Table 18), respectively following similar steps in previous analyses. Adding gender and professional identity centrality as main effects in stage 1 accounted for 8% of variance in identity conflict at work. The main effect of gender was non-significant ($b = 0.03$, $p > .05$) while professional identity centrality was a significant predictor of identity conflict at work ($b = 0.47$, $p < .01$), showing that a one-unit increase in the number of links between one's professional identity and other identities results in increased identity conflict by 0.47 points. The interaction term was non-significant and did not account for any additional variance in the model ($b = 0.30$, $p > .05$).

Table 17

Moderating effects of professional identity centrality on the relationship between gender and identity conflict at work

Variable	Step 1	Step 2
Gender	0.03	-0.08
Professional identity centrality	0.47**	0.32*
Gender x Professional identity centrality		0.30
R^2	0.08**	0.08**
ΔR^2		0.00

Note. $N = 207$; Gender is dummy coded as $0 =$ Man and $1 =$ Woman
*$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 18

Moderating effects of professional identity centrality on the relationship between race and identity conflict at work

Variable	Step 1	Step 2
Race	0.18	-0.08
Professional identity centrality	0.53**	0.32*
Race x Professional identity centrality		-0.21
R^2	0.08**	0.08**
ΔR^2		0.00

Note. $N = 207$; Race is dummy coded as $0 =$ White and $1 =$ Black
*$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Hypothesis 5 predicted that identity complexity would buffer the effects of race and gender on authenticity and identity conflict, respectively. A three-stage hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted to test this hypothesis with the control variable advantage entered at stage one, gender and race predictors entered at stage two, and interaction terms entered in stage three of each model. Again, direct effects for gender ($b = -0.26$, $p > .05$) and race ($b = 0.55$, $p > .05$) were both non-significant. Interaction terms gender x identity complexity ($b = 0.03$, $p > .05$) and race x identity complexity were also non-significant ($b = -0.04$, $p > .05$) .

Overall, the models explained approximately 5% and 1% of variance in authenticity at work,

respectively, as shown in Tables 19-20.

Table 19

Moderating effects of identity complexity on the relationship between gender and authenticity at work

Variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Advantage	0.11**	0.11**	0.11**
Gender		-0.02	-0.26
Identity complexity		0.01	-0.01
Gender x Identity complexity			0.03
R^2	0.05**	0.05**	0.05*
ΔR^2		0.00	0.00

Note. $N = 207$; Gender is dummy coded as 0 = Man and 1 = Woman
*$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Table 20

Moderating effects of professional identity complexity on the relationship between race and authenticity at work

Variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Advantage	0.11**	0.11**	0.11**
Race		0.03	0.55
Identity complexity		0.01	0.02
Race x Identity complexity			-0.04
R^2	0.01**	0.01**	0.01*
ΔR^2		0.01	0.00

Note. $N = 207$; Race is dummy coded as 0 = White and 1 = Black; *$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Hypothesis 5 also predicted that identity complexity would buffer the effects of gender

and race on identity conflict at work. Three-stage hierarchical multiple regression analyses were

conducted to test this hypothesis with the direct effects of race and gender and identity

complexity entered at stage one, and the centered interaction terms entered in stage two of each

model. Results for the main effects of gender ($b = 0.02$, $p > .05$) and identity complexity ($b =$

0.02, $p > .05$) were shown to be non-significant. The interaction term between gender and identity complexity was also non-significant ($b = -0.03$, $p > .05$). Overall, the model accounted for 1% of variance in identity conflict. Given these results, hypothesis 5 was not supported.

Further probing the effect of identity complexity on specific sources of identity conflict at work showed a significant and positive direct effect of identity complexity on professional identity conflict at work ($b = 0.07$, $p < .05$), when accounting for gender. Specifically, after controlling for gender, each additional identity reported in an employee's work identity map, increases professional identity conflict by 0.07. Still, this model only accounted for 3% of variance in professional identity conflict (See Table 21).

Table 21

Moderating effects of identity complexity on the relationship between gender and identity conflict at work

	Identity conflict		Professional identity conflict	
Variable	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
Gender	0.02	0.21	0.05	0.37
Identity complexity	0.00	0.01	0.04*	0.07*
Gender x Identity complexity		-0.03		-0.04
R^2	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.03
ΔR^2		0.01		0.01

Note. N = 207; Gender is dummy coded as 0 = Man and 1 = Woman; *$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Results of the hierarchical regression analysis used to examine the interaction effects of race and identity complexity on identity conflict at work showed non-significant main effects of race ($b = 0.08$, $p > .05$) and identity complexity ($b = 0.00$, $p > .05$) on identity conflict at work. The interaction term between race and identity complexity was also non-significant ($b = -0.02$, $p > .05$). Further probing this analysis, I conducted two additional hierarchical regression analyses with professional identity conflict and race identity conflict as dependent variables. The results

mirrored results in the previous analysis that showed a significant main effect for identity complexity on professional identity conflict ($b = 0.04$, $p < .05$), yet there was no significant main effect for race on professional identity conflict ($b = -0.19$, $p > .05$). The interaction term (race x identity complexity) was also non-significant ($b = -0.02$, $p > .05$). Taken together, the main effects of race and identity complexity and the interaction term explained 3% of variance in professional identity conflict at work.

The results of the last hierarchical multiple regression showed that race ($b = 0.81$, $p < .01$) and identity complexity ($b = 0.05$, $p < .01$) both had significant main effects on race identity conflict at work ($b = 0.81$, $p < .01$). These results can be interpreted such that Black participants, on average, reported higher scores on identity conflict compared to White participants by 0.81 points. Additionally, each additional identity in the work identity map increases identity conflict by 0.05 points, on average. Taken together, race and identity complexity account for 17% of variance in race identity conflict. However, the interaction term did not show a significant effect ($b = 0.04$, $p < .01$) on identity conflict, professional identity conflict, or race identity conflict at work. These results are displayed in Table 22.

Table 22

Moderating effects of identity complexity on the relationship between race and identity conflict at work

Variable	Identity conflict		Professional identity conflict		Race identity conflict	
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2	Step 1	Step 2
Race	0.08	0.21	-0.19	-0.05	0.81**	0.53
Identity complexity	0.00	0.01	0.04*	0.05	0.05**	0.04
Race x Identity complexity		-0.02		-0.02		0.04
R^2	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.03	0.17**	0.17**
ΔR^2		0.00		0.00		0.00

Note. N = 207 for models with identity conflict and professional identity conflict as the criterion; N = 68 for model with race identity conflict as the criterion. Race is dummy coded as 0 = White and 1 = Black; *$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

In this study, I sought to provide a direct examination of how Black and White men and women construct multiple identities at once in the workplace. Further, I investigated the ways in which the relationships between identities in an overall identity network affects employees' sense of authenticity and identity conflict in the workplace. While knowledge is bountiful concerning the effects of intersecting identities on external outcomes at work such as negative evaluations, sexual harassment, and other forms of discrimination (Berdahl & Moore, 2006, Rosette et al., 2018), few studies exist that compare the lived, multidimensional experiences of Black and White employees in terms of how individuals construct and express these identities at work (see Smith & Nkomo, 2021 for an exception). I applied Ramajaran's (2014) intrapersonal identity network framework to assess employees' overall self-concepts as a network of multiple identities that are interrelated in mutually reinforcing and contradictory ways for Black and White men and women at work through the lens of intersectionality theory.

Theoretical Implications for Intersectionality

Overall, this study provides empirical support for the underlying assumptions of intersectionality theory. First, this study shows that people experience a wide array of multiple identities in tandem at work. The average employee in this study reported at least 7 identities at work. This finding underlines the need for identity researchers to consider more holistic approaches to identity to understand how multiple identities are interrelated and affect personal and work outcomes (Ramajaran, 2014). Studies that examine pairs of identities as commonly done in intersectionality research should provide justification for omitting other identity dimensions.

Intersectionality theory also highlights the role of power and organizational structures in shaping identity construction. In line with prior work, advantage was associated with a greater sense of authenticity at work (Kraus et al., 2011). Further, this study provides preliminary evidence that employees experience greater conflict at work compared to non-work contexts. This suggests that employees experience their identities differently in organizational structures, where they must grapple with the intertwined nature of socially constructed meanings associated with their race, gender, and professional identities and how these meanings may clash with self-definitions they ascribe to outside of work. Intersectionality presumes that employee's experiences at various intersections of race and gender rests on the extent to which those different identities are considered prototypical versus non-prototypical. However, additional research is needed to detangle when prototypicality and non-prototypicality are resourceful versus constraining across work and non-work contexts.

Clustering employees based on six structural properties of identity networks that reflect core tenets of intersectionality including identity complexity, compatibility, conflict, prototypicality (high and low), advantage, and disadvantage show that employees in my sample experienced their combined identities in ways that are considered prototypical or non-prototypical. These network metrics were chosen because they align with the core assumptions of the ways multiple identities are interrelated according to intersectionality theory. That is, identities are complex and multidimensional, simultaneously integrated, and fragmented, and advantageous and disadvantageous, due to the socially constructed notions of prototypicality (versus non-prototypicality). Interestingly, the results of this analysis showed that participants could be clustered into two groups, *Intersectional Prototypical* and *Intersectional Non-prototypical*, based on the ways they perceived their multiple identities in the workplace.

Individuals in the first cluster drew identity maps characterized by a relatively large number of identities (about 10) that are more prototypical than non-prototypical, included more than the average number of both compatible *and* conflicting identities, as well as more advantageous than disadvantageous identities, the number of which were both above average. In comparison to the first cluster, individuals' work identity maps in the second cluster were below average on all identity network characteristics. Thus, individuals' identity maps in this cluster were less complex and contained fewer identities that were characterized as compatible, conflicting, non-prototypical and prototypical, and advantageous and disadvantageous. Over 70% of employees in this sample were categorized in cluster two while 23% of employees were in cluster 1. These findings suggest that most employees in my sample generally feel non-prototypical at work and are less likely to experience their identities in a balanced manner (i.e., similarly compatible, and conflicting). Interestingly, Black men were the largest group in the prototypical cluster, while Black women made up the largest group in the non-prototypical cluster. Given that my sample was distributed across a wide array of work contexts, it is possible that Black men are more prototypical in certain occupations. For instance, Black men tend to be excluded from higher-wage jobs, even when accounting for education attainment (Hamilton et al., 2011). Thus, my results may have look different when investigating specific occupations or work contexts, such as corporate workplaces. These results lay the foundation for supplemental analyses which suggest that the way individuals perceive their identities in tandem may serve as a resource for power as well as a defense mechanism or method of resistance. The co-occurrences between identities further sheds light on this claim.

Examining how identities co-occurred together further illustrated how self-perceptions reflect both resistance to negative stereotypes and the internalization of positive stereotypes. This

is also reflected in the two broad ways individuals in my sample were shown to experience their identities. The results of cluster analysis that groups terms used to describe identities based on their likelihood of being reported together suggested that employees internalize positive stereotypes and resist negative stereotypes in their self-perceptions. For example, the co-existence of 'father,' 'Christian,' 'manager,' and 'White' parallels norms associated with heterosexual men both in the workplace and in broader society (Cheng, 1999). Meanwhile, clustered identities such as "African American", "woman" and "hardworking", 'student', and 'educated' and are in direct contrast to stereotypes associated with women, particularly Black women, who are often portrayed as 'lazy,' or incompetent (Rosette et al., 2018). Thus, the identity networks illustrate that people's self-perceptions are generally positive, and do not include self-meanings that reflect negative stereotypes. As a result, identity construction might be viewed as a form of individual power, or resource in the workplace.

In terms of identity construction, Black and White men and women vary in how they identify with race, gender, and professional identities at work. Across all participants, implicit gender identities appeared to be salient at work for most of the employees in my sample. Both men and women were more likely to define themselves in terms of implicit gender identities, or self-meanings that are suggestive of gender identities. For instance, both men and women were more likely to report identities like 'husband,' 'father,' 'son,' 'wife,' 'mother,' and 'sister' as opposed to strictly identifying as 'female' or 'woman'. These findings point to the internalization of traditional gender roles, norms, and values at work for both men and women in this sample. Interestingly, women were almost twice as likely as men to report gender identities in non-work contexts, however, women suppressed their gender identities at work. This suggests that women downplay gender at work, likely due to negative stereotypes associated with gender in work

contexts (e.g., women are incompetent). Still, women experienced more gender identity conflict overall than men in both work and non-work contexts.

Race was most salient and conflicting for Black employees at work, while most White employees did not regard race as a salient identity at work at all (nor outside of work) and experienced less conflict associated with race. These findings reflect a form of White identity in the literature known as a weakly identified diffuse form, characterized by a lack of acknowledgement of White as a race or ethnic identity (Perry, 2001). Studies suggest that this form of White identification is often shaped by contextual influences that shape White people's identification with their race, such as lack of exposure to diversity and/or marginalized experiences (Knowles & Peng, 2005; McDermott & Samson, 2005). In line with social categorization theory, White employees in this study may take their race identities for granted if they work in a racially homogenous organizational context and thus, do not have a racial outgroup to categorize themselves against. In line with intersectionality theory, White employees may disregard their race identities at work because they are considered prototypical or standard, and thus, do not have to shift their identities to align with a standard, as Black employees do (Dickens & Chavez, 2018). Prior work also refers to low race identification among Whites as a "White-as-Norm" form of identification. Additionally, White employees may be less cognizant of their race identities because there are few contextual cues that direct attention to these identities, particularly in White-and-male dominated work environments. Black employees in this study also considered race identities to be more important at work as well as more integrated with other identities. Race was also more conflicting for Black employees than White employees. This finding provides preliminary support for Schmader, and Sedikides's (2018)

state authenticity as fit to the environment model (SAFE), which states that environmental signals can signal a lack of fit to one's work environment.

My findings further highlight intersectionality dynamics as Black women were more likely to report both race and gender in their identity maps and considered both their racial and gender identities to be more highly central and conflicting at work compared to all other race and gender groups. Given that Black women also showed average high scores racial identity conflict at work, the higher degree of connectivity between Black women's racial identities and other identities in their identity networks suggests that the connections between Black women's racial identities and other identities at work tend to be more conflicting than compatible at work (compared to White men). This finding supports and extends prior work that shows that Black women's non-prototypical race and gender identities make Black women hyper-visible at work and shows that Black women internalize this hypervisibility and are more cognizant of their race and gender in their self-meanings at work.

In terms of professional identities, there were no significant race or gender differences in the extent to which employees considered their professional identity salient in non-work contexts. This suggests that professional identities may be primary identity dimensions, similar to race and gender. That is, professional identities are stable identities across contexts and are integrated in employees' self-concepts outside of work. A thematic analysis of the types of professional identities reported in the non-work identity maps further illustrates that employees identify most with their respective job titles, as over half of professional identities reported were job titles like administrative assistant, for example. This suggests that employees identify professionally in an individualized manner, as opposed to identifying with their work group or organization. Future research should further examine how identification with professional roles

affects how employees understand and construct other identity dimensions such as race and gender.

Findings from this study also extend prior knowledge on the intersection of race and gender in terms of how Black men construct their gender and race identities at work and in non-work contexts. Despite men and women reporting explicit and implicit gender identities at equal rates at work, gender identities were less prominent. for Black men in non-work contexts on average compared to all other groups. While African American men and White men alike subscribe to traditional western masculine norms, Black men tend to place more emphasis on the qualities of masculinity that negate common stereotypes associated with Black men. As an example, research shows that a primary stressor for Black men is the expectation to be the sole provider and caretaker for family members, which is likely a direct response to sociohistorical conceptualizations of Black men as absent fathers (Griffith et al., 2013). White men, on the other hand, have been shown to ascribe to masculine ideologies such as toughness and emotional suppression whereas Black men prioritize status, independence, and accountability, particularly when it comes to their relationships with others (Lease et al., 2010). This study provides preliminary evidence that race, gender, and professional identities intersect for Black men and White men in different ways. Since Black men confront obstacles to accessing traditional status indicators (e.g., wealth), Black men instead place more emphasis on status in the form of respectability and seek to gain this respect by taking care of family members, obtaining professional success, and serving as leaders in their communities (Hammon & Mattis, 2005; Lease et al., 2010). Despite racism, economic discrimination, high rates of incarceration, and other external factors that may constrain Black men from meeting expectations associated with hegemonic masculine norms, Black men seek to overcome these obstacles to meet gendered

expectations, even if it means disregarding their physical health in the process (Griffith et al., 2011; Griffith et al., 2013; Young, 2021). Taken together, the findings from this study suggest that Black men may construct their race, gender, and professional identities in response to being the non-prototypical man. This is in line with a recent study that showed that African Americans, particularly those in managerial positions, tend to report challenges with navigating work and non-work responsibilities (Tonidandel et al., 2021). Further research is needed that further explores how Black men navigate their professional and personal identities to enable organizations to better support them as they face unique challenges outside of work (Özbilgin et al., 2011). Future research should further unpack the effects of lived experiences at the intersection of masculinity and race at work.

Theoretical Implications for Authenticity at Work

The absence of additive and interactive effects between race or gender on authenticity and identity conflict at work could be due to the lack of a present and direct identity threat for employees at work. In this case, non-significant findings contribute to the debate on state versus trait authenticity and suggests that authenticity at work may be stable until there is some threat to behaving authentically. Alternatively, the lack of significant findings could be because people shift their identities at work, however, they may not perceive doing so as inauthentic. This work underlines the need for conceptual clarity around authenticity and what it looks like for diverse groups (Cha et al., 2019). For example, this study showed that Black employees were more likely to be socially influenced at work compared to White employees. This finding is in line with prior work that shows racial minorities tend to engage in identity-shifting behaviors to make racially dissimilar others more comfortable and negate negative stereotypes (Dickens, et al., 2018; Slay & Smith, 2011). Additionally, Black employees experienced more identity conflict at

work specifically attributed to race than White employees, regardless of whether they considered race to be an important aspect of their overall identity. Taken together, these findings hold important implications for authenticity at work. First, these findings suggest that authenticity may manifest in different ways for certain people. For instance, although Black employees were more likely to accept social influence when determining their behavior at work, they may simultaneously be less self-alienated due to the tendency to be more highly aware of themselves at work than people with prototypical race identities (Vargas et al., 2016). Thus, Black people may engage in behavioral shifting strategies, yet they may not perceive doing so as being inauthentic.

It is also important to note that in addition to different people experiencing authenticity in different ways (i.e., self-alienation may not be a primary component of authenticity for Black people versus White people), it is possible that some people may not ascribe to definitions of authenticity as a real or fake self. Some people may perceive their authentic self to be complex, malleable, and fluid, and thus, changing one's behavior at work may be a form of authentic expression. For instance, when a person's identity is stigmatized in the professional context, either due to their occupational status or race, or some other low status indicator, employees may seek to separate their authentic and real selves from their job as a protective mechanism (Tracey, 2005).

Interestingly, these ideas are further highlighted by the moderating effects of professional identity centrality found in this study. Specifically, this study showed that the extent to which women feel authentic at work depends on how important their professional identity is to their overall self-concept. Specifically, I found that women who consider their professional identities to be more important to their overall self-concept felt less authentic at work than women who

perceived professional identities to be less integral and men, regardless of whether their professional identities were highly central or not. Given that the importance of professional identities was measured based on the extent to which work-related identities were connected to other identities in the map, one could argue that women who compartmentalize their professional identities from their non-professional identities feel more aware of their true selves at work, are more likely to live out their internal values, and are less likely to accept social influence when determining their behavior. Men, on the other hand, showed a consistent degree of authenticity at work, regardless of whether they considered their professional identity to be highly important or not that important to their overall self-concept. This further supports the idea of prototypicality by suggesting that men's have consistent experiences of authenticity at work, regardless of how they perceive their professional identity. Thus, there is a strong need to revisit the broader conceptualization of authenticity regarding diverse identity backgrounds to better understand how authenticity manifests for different people, and further, if authenticity is a goal that is prioritized for diverse groups in the work context.

Identity conflict in general was not associated with less authenticity at work as predicted. This does not suggest that identity conflict does not matter for authenticity in the workplace. Given that the outcome of interest in this relationship concerns state-like authenticity, which can change across contexts, the lack of support for my prediction regarding the relationship between identity conflict and authenticity may be due to the lack of a present and explicit identity threat. In other words, the results of this study suggest that although people may perceive conflicts or friction between their identities, this identity conflict may not consistently manifest in changed or inauthentic behavior across contexts. Thus, according to the job-demands resources model, identity conflict does not necessarily constrain authenticity at work in all situations. Employees

may be more likely to feel their authentic sense of self is constrained when faced with a specific identity threat and find themselves in a situation where they must decide to change their behaviors to overcome that threat. This study further underscores the complex nature of authenticity and the need to further detangle how authenticity is embedded with socially constructed meanings of race and gender that induce conflict at work.

Also, in contrast to my predictions, identity complexity, or perceiving one's many identities as distinct and non-overlapping increases identity conflict at work, as opposed to protecting employees from identity conflict at work. My study showed that identity complexity, or having a self-concept that is comprised of multiple, non-overlapping identities specifically increased professional and race identity conflict at work, as opposed to buffering identity conflict associated with race and gender, as expected. On the surface, this finding is not surprising given that additional identities provide more opportunity for conflict to exist between identities. Nonetheless, given that links in the identity maps were able to be conflicting or compatible, this finding suggests that more complex identity networks were also more conflicting, as opposed to compatible. This negates prior work which touts social identity complexity as a protective identity resource that can aid individuals in becoming more tolerant of others (Brewer, 2013) and suggests that social identity complexity can have negative effects on the individual, who must figure out how to integrate additional identities into their overall self-concept at work. This underlines research on identity integration which largely assumes that compatibility between identities enables positive outcomes (e.g., well-being). In this case, the more identities one has in their overall self-concept, the more trouble people may have with integrating these identities into a coherent professional and/or racialized self-concept.

The results of this study also underline prior work on the relationship between power and authenticity. Employees' sense of advantage was consistently associated with increased feelings of authenticity at work. Although the effect sizes were small, which is likely due to the small sample size, this finding suggests that people who perceive their identities to be advantageous in the workplace are more likely to access feelings of authenticity at work. Given that people who experienced their identities as prototypical at work still reported a high average of identities that are disadvantageous, it may be more helpful for researchers to further explore how advantage or power is experienced in the workplace to understand who gets to be authentic at work.

Practical Implications

The practical implications of this study mostly concern diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives. The results of this study shed light on the types of identity dimensions that are most relevant for employees at work and in their broader lives. The prominence of job titles in individuals' professional identities found in this study suggests that employees largely internalize their professional identities based on the types of jobs that they hold. Thus, other identities may be largely integrated or conflicting in the context of employee's job titles, as opposed to the organization they work for, for example. This represents a huge opportunity for organizations. For instance, one way to increase inclusion may be to strive to emphasize organizational identity when seeking to increase employee identification. Prior work suggests that organizational identification can increase positive work outcomes such as job satisfaction and work performance (Hekman et al., 2009; Johnson et al., 2006). Given that professional identity centrality was a significant moderator in the relationship between gender and authenticity at work, specifically, it may be beneficial for woman employees for companies to emphasize organizational identification as opposed to individualized professional identities, for example.

Another practical implication of this study is that employers might benefit from prioritizing family leave policies that best address the conflicting goals employees may hold between their work and implicit gender roles. Given the salience of gender for both men and women, coupled with evidence that men and women did not differ in the extent to which they experienced gender identity conflict at work, employers might consider how to promote equality in the organization by attending to the different ways men and women may experience incongruent goals between their family roles and work roles, for instance. Implementing inclusive practices may further enable organizational identification and increase the likelihood for men and women alike to feel more prototypical in the workplace or experience their identities as consistent across work and non-work contexts because they will perceive less tension between their work and non-work roles.

Lastly, this study also highlights the need for organizations to address the differences in racial identity conflict among Black and White employees. Although a plethora of research illustrates reasons why Black employees experience racial identity conflict at work (i.e., discrimination, workplace harassment, low access to resources, collective trauma outside of work, etc.), little work is being done to understand how organizations can minimize racial identity conflict among Black employees. Conversely, this study shows that White employees can take their race identities for granted in the workplace. These contrasting experiences among Black and White employees may exacerbate negative intergroup relationships among racially dissimilar others. For instance, results from a recent study suggest that White employees may not be able or willing to support Black colleagues when negative effects of racially charged events (i.e., police shootings involving Black Americans) outside of work spillover in the workplace context because they may not consider these events to be relevant at work (Ruggs et al., in-

press). For organizations seeking to become more inclusive organizations, it may be important to consider ways to make race identity salient for White employees, particularly when it comes to raising awareness around conflicts racial minorities may face in the workplace. Overall, this study demonstrates that employees experience themselves as multidimensional in the workplace. In other words, employees are complex, and their multiple identities intersect and interact in various ways. Thus, it is important for organizations to consider the lived experiences of employees in the workplace when seeking ways to help diverse individuals construct their identities at work in ways that are empowering rather than constraining.

Limitations and Future Directions

As with any empirical study that attempts to directly test the core tenets of intersectionality theory, this study contains a few limitations. This study diverges from previous studies and investigates identification with intersectional identities in a purely inductive manner. However, the analysis of hypotheses relied on categorical race and gender variables. Several scholars have denoted that the conceptual ambiguity of race and gender variables renders these variables useless in measuring actual race or gender identification. This may explain why I did not find any main or interactive effects between these two variables and outcomes of interest. Future studies may incorporate variables directly from the identity network maps to test for correlations between identification mechanisms and authenticity and identity conflict at work.

A second limitation of this study concerns the small sample size. Despite textually analyzing thousands of self-reported identity dimensions from individuals from a more broadly diverse sample, the sample consisted of an unequally stratified sample of employees from racial backgrounds. The sample also contained an overrepresentation of White/Caucasian individuals. To obtain more generalizable knowledge, future studies will benefit from oversampling racially

diverse individuals to further unpack how identities are constructed and how these may vary as a function of specific identity backgrounds (e.g., culture).

A third limitation of this study involves the network metrics included in this study. Network concepts provide an innovative way to capture identity construction processes such as identity centrality and conflict. Nonetheless, there are challenges associated with the conceptual and operational alignment between these concepts as they relate to identities. For instance, in my study, identity centrality was captured in two ways. First, the importance of an identity was denoted by the number of connections between identities. Secondly, participants were explicitly asked to disclose how important certain identities (e.g., race and gender) were to their overall self-concept. In my study, these two measures were not correlated for race identity centrality or gender identity centrality. This is likely because the measures are conceptually different. One denotes importance as connectiveness, while the other denotes importance by the ascription of significance of an identity to a person's overall self-definition. The importance of the distinction between the two can be illustrated when looking at the difference in racial identity centrality between White men and Black women at work. In this study, White men had higher racial identity centrality as defined by connections between identities in non-work contexts while Black women had the highest average racial identity centrality at work. These findings suggest that White men's racial identities are more integrated in their identities outside of work while their racial identities are less likely to be tied to other identities in the work context. In contrast, Black women's racial identities are more likely to be tied to other identities, and often, in conflicting ways as the data in this study suggest. However, when explicitly asked about the importance of their racial identity overall, regardless of context, White men had the lowest racial identity centrality and Black women had the highest.

These contradictory findings support prior work that White men, for example, may actively suppress their racial identities when asked about them (Marshburn & Knowles, 2018), despite their racial identity being highly integrated into their overall self-concept. From these findings, it is unclear if degree centrality is the optimal measure of importance of an identity node in an identity network. Other measures of centrality exist that might better capture the psychological 'distance' between identities such as closeness centrality or network centralization. In the future, researchers would bode well to carefully consider what types of identity centrality measures may best fit their research questions of interest. Future research may also further investigate the effectiveness of such measures in accurately denoting identity construction processes such as identity centrality and identity complexity.

CONCLUSION

This study provides a comprehensive investigation of intersectional identities in an inductive manner. Leveraging network science concepts as well as unsupervised machine learning techniques, I examine how Black and White men and women employees experience their race, gender, and professional identities at work. Intersectionality as a theory emphasizes social identities, however, it is necessary to consider how networks of identities can reveal how and social identities are embedded in a larger system of identities and how the construction of self-definitions affects how people express themselves at work. Future studies should also further unpack the role of power in identity construction.

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APPENDIX: Supplemental Information about Study Measures

Figure 7

Diversity Wheel Model of Social Identity

Note. Diversity Wheel Model from *Diverse Teams at Work,* Gardenswartz & Rowe, (2nd edition, SHRM, 2003). Internal dimensions and external dimensions adapted from Marilyn Loden and Judy Rosener. *Workforce America!* (Loden & Rosener, 1991).

Table 23

Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Authenticity at Work

Model	1-factor	2-factor	3-factor
X2(df)	2.785 (2)	28.05 (19)	129.94 (51)***
CFI	0.99	0.99	0.946
TLI	0.93	0.99	0.99
SRMR	0.01	0.02	0.07
RMSEA	0.04	0.05	0.08
BIC	2479.1	4949.4	7906
Difference		25.27	101.89***

Note. CFI = confirmatory fit index, TLI = Tucker Lewis Index, SRMR = standardized root mean square residual, RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation, 90% CI = 90% confidence interval, BIC = Bayesian information criterion; *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$