

Navigating Marginalized Identities in Diverse Organizations

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Abstract

People with marginalized identities must often manage the diversity dynamics that are activated by their presence in organizations. Due to underrepresentation and stigmatization, they cope with a range of identity threats while navigating diverse settings. A host of studies over the past twenty-five years have examined the wide range of verbal and nonverbal tactics that people use to suppress and express their devalued versus valued social identities at work. Recent research has begun to specify the conditions under which different identity management tactics positively or negatively impact individual well-being, interpersonal relationships across difference, and important evaluations and outcomes (e.g., admissions, hiring). Less attention has been devoted to how members of marginalized groups directly and indirectly shape others' perceptions of them through emotional expressions and status signals. This review illuminates how people proactively affirm others' identities in order to bolster or protect their own, using a wide range of identity management tactics. As featured in this article, global studies of marginalized identity management tactics include nuanced portrayals of intersectionality, as they cope with threats to multiple identity group memberships.

The need to cultivate and sustain positive identities drives much of human behavior [1,2]. People strive to see themselves, and to be seen by others, in ways that validate their desirable characteristics, appreciate their contributions and align with their values. Yet, constructing positive identities is no simple task, especially in diverse organizations and communities [3]. The widespread denigration of lower status identity characteristics serves to protect and even enhance dominant groups' positive sense of self in diverse contexts. Yet, these negative characterizations potentially destabilize or undermine positive identity construction for members of marginalized groups [4]. This article reviews the behavioral identity management tactics that members of marginalized social identity groups employ to restore and bolster a positive sense of self in diverse settings.

Self-focused identity management tactics for navigating marginalized identities

Much of the research on navigating marginalized identities is framed as coping with threat, a defensive posture toward social and personal beliefs about inadequacy that undermine positive identities [5]. Identity threat research illuminates an individual's psychological and physiological response to devaluation [6] or stigma [7]. While this field of study often categorizes people into fixed groupings for parsimonious comparisons (e.g., dominance vs subordination; centrality vs marginality), we acknowledge that people maintain multiple, intersecting social identities [8], with some holding higher status than others within a given interactive context and broader social structure [9,10].

By extension, people consider their broad portfolio of identity characteristics and affiliations as they navigate their social contexts - amplifying or normalizing those that are valued more favorably, while concealing or transforming those that are socially devalued. People are generally aware of the varied characterizations and evaluations that others hold of their

multifaceted identity combinations, and seek to influence how they are treated accordingly, although this can vary from situation to situation based on the relevance and regard of their identities [11]. Members of marginalized groups typically use combinations of identity management tactics that fall along a continuum of claiming-to-concealing, anchored by identity suppression at one extreme and identity expression at the other [12,13]. A host of identity management typologies describe ways of actively suppressing and expressing identities, as well as detailing verbal and behavioral references that indirectly shape the devalued identity or how others experience it [14,15,16,17].

Suppression involves trying to downplay or even conceal devalued identities, by avoiding talking about categorizations (e.g., not discussing religion at work), hiding or de-emphasizing one's membership in a devalued group (e.g., concealing minority sexual orientation, gender identities or pregnancy at work), or attempting to assimilate by "passing" or behaving like members of a dominant group (e.g., changing one's ethnic-sounding name (e.g., Rayshawna or Xin), to a white-sounding name (e.g., Shawn or Cindy) [18,19].

Expression, instead, embraces the devalued identity, by directly referencing categorizations (e.g., circulating articles about women in leadership), self-identifying as a member of the devalued group (e.g., including "they/them" pronouns next to one's name), and representing the group's shared practices and culture through physical appearance (e.g., wearing braids or loques), discourse (e.g., speaking Spanish at U.S. workplaces), and mannerisms (e.g., stereotypically feminine, delicate hand gestures, facial expressions or stance). For some, expression may even include leveraging seemingly positive stereotypes of their devalued identity to build connections with ingroup and outgroup members [20,21*,22**], such as an Asian American emphasizing his interest in science/technology, an African American playing up his

athleticism, or a woman leader highlighting her nurturing approach. Expression may also involve education and advocacy, as people attempt to correct disparaging or constraining stereotypes and transform negative characterizations of their group into more positive ones [23]. For example, a person might attempt to serve as a positive group representative who excels academically or professionally, defying limiting beliefs about what is possible for members of their marginalized group.

Recent studies have expanded the typology of identity management tactics. Additional examples of suppressing and expressing marginalized identities include: acknowledging one's readily observable stigma (e.g., race, physical disability), providing individuating information beyond the stereotypes about one's group, affiliating with positively regarded groups instead of marginalized groups, increasing positivity and friendliness toward others (e.g., smiling more), and using humor about marginalized identities [20,24,25].

Codeswitching. Suppression and expression reflect opposite ends of the concealment continuum, though most people's repertoires of approaches to navigating marginalized identities combine both. That is, few people completely conceal stigmatized or marginalized identities; instead, they enact partial disclosure – revealing aspects of their identities in certain situations, but not others, often with indirect hints or signals, rather than fully embracing a devalued identity everywhere, at all times [26,27**]. For example, recent research on transgender experiences reveals how nonbinary individuals use cross-context identity enactment to obtain social validation in a less-threatening context, while disclosing less and relying less on validation in a more threatening context [28**].

Codeswitching research captures the intrapersonal variation in identity management across situations, characterizing how people alternate between downplaying and amplifying the

same identity dimension, based on contextual goals [29*]. For example, Black students and professionals often comport to white dominant cultural expressions when they are underrepresented in academia or the workplace, but openly express their racioethnic and cultural identities in predominately Black settings. Similarly, scholars have explored “identity shifting” among Black women that helps to foster positive identities [30,31].

Consequences of self-focused identity management tactics for navigating marginalized identities

Researchers refer to the above-listed tactics for navigating marginalized identities as “compensatory behaviors,” because they attempt to defuse tension, make people more comfortable with differences, and mitigate bias and discrimination toward devalued social identities [32,33]. Yet, some tactics are more effective than others in transforming devalued identities into personally and socially valued “positive” identities. As an example, Holmes et al [25] indicated that humor can put people at ease by signaling that a person is not too “serious” or “uptight” about an identity in question. Paradoxically, while humor and other ways of leveraging positive stereotypes might benefit the individual and the relationship, they may also reinforce stereotypes, unconscious bias and sustain social inequality [34].

Many people suppress aspects of their devalued identities in an attempt to avoid social rejection and gain acceptance into more socially valued categories [e.g., Refs. 18,19]. As with many aspects of conformity, suppression is a double-edged sword; it can increase social acceptance, however, it undermines psychological and physical well-being, particularly when active concealment is involved [12]. Like other forms of concealment, codeswitching and identity shifting can be cognitively and emotionally taxing.

Ahmad et al.'s [35*] study of religious identity management at work concluded that being open about one's religious affiliation improved interpersonal relations across groups, when they enhance perceptions of authenticity. Arnett [36**] found that minority group employees' rich cultural expressions of identity prompted majority group members to behave more inclusively, compared to when minority employees made superficial cultural-identity disclosures or intimate, noncultural self-disclosure. Ruggs et al. [37] found that people, especially Black participants, felt they benefitted from racial acknowledgements like affirming race and using humor.

These studies on outcomes suggest that expressing marginalized identities can enhance well-being and interpersonal relationships, while suppressing the same can detract from them. Authenticity is a key explanatory variable in these findings; perceived authenticity enhances interpersonal relationships and felt authenticity enhances cognition and emotional well-being. Yet, given the pervasive nature of stigma and devaluation, many people consider it more prudent to assimilate into socially valued groups if they seek to avert marginalization in diverse settings.

Other-focused identity management tactics for affirming dominant identities

A third set of tactics, beyond suppressing and expressing socially devalued identities, is also central to the process of navigating marginalization. These other-focused identity management tactics are rarely included in the research on coping with identity threat, but they are important to fully capture the extent of cognitive and emotional effort involved in navigating marginalization. Studies of other -focused identity management tactics illuminate how members of devalued groups must not only manage their own identities, but, in navigating marginalization, they also attempt to affirm the identities of dominant group members. Whether claiming or suppressing, marginalized group members are mindful of their dominant group

counterparts' response to their identity expressions, as well as their counterparts' needs to cultivate and sustain their own positive identities [38,39]. For example, many white people experienced high degrees of anxiety during interracial interactions [40], were concerned about being seen as likable [41], were threatened by the benefits of racial and gender privilege [42], and therefore overclaimed suffering and hardship to protect their sense of self [43]. Ironically, these behaviors may give the appearance of publicly suppressing or diminishing one's elevated status, but they actually serve to legitimate dominance (i.e., proving how hard one has worked to earn their status benefits and advantages).

As a result, marginalized group members (e.g., Black people interacting with white people) maintain heightened awareness of these interethnic ego-defensive routines [30], and have historically presented themselves in non-threatening ways (e.g., lowering one's voice, speaking in a higher register, shrinking or restricting bodily movements, avoiding direct eye contact, using questions rather than declarative statements, minimizing one's intelligence or authority). These behaviors directly and indirectly affirm the appearance of virtuous character and reinforce the higher status of their dominant group (e.g., white) counterparts [44]. Wingfield's research demonstrates that Black people enacted racialized emotional labor [45*], modulating their own emotional expressions to elevate the experiences of the dominant group (e.g., suppressing anger, extending pleasantries) and performing racial tasks that support hegemonic ideals in the workplace (e.g., service industry jobs like caregiving and transportation, and physically demanding, lower wage work) [46]. These identity management tactics like "doing deference" and "emotional labor" help preserve the safety of lower status members – avoiding direct confrontation with the power structure, while a few token representatives advance into more elite

educational and occupational roles – but, as with most concealment strategies, the social hierarchy remains intact [47].

Related studies highlight the ways in which a current or aspiring non-prototypical leader might attempt to manage their visibility, by playing up or toning down their noticeability, based on the situation [48]. Managing visibility involves shaping how marginalized employees are perceived, evaluated and relegated, such as publicly promoting credentials and accomplishments to increase visibility, while, at other times, downplaying them and instead, exerting leadership influence behind the scenes. These tactics fit within the categories of both self- and other-focused identity management, as they capture how marginalized leaders enact their own social and role identities, while attending to the relational dynamics of doing deference and claiming authority in diverse settings. McCluney and Rabelo [49] argued that “conditions of visibility are gendered and racialized – that is, reinforced through hierarchies that systematically normalize Whiteness and maleness in organizations.” Black women executives managed intersectional invisibility to advance their careers, by leveraging the heightened visibility of tokenism when it provided access to desirable opportunities, but faded into the background and moved out of the line of sight by downplaying their ambitions or authority that others may have considered threatening [50,51]. British women engineers also used different tactics to navigate sexualized visibility based on their career stage in order to navigate marginalization [52].

Consequences of other-focused identity-management tactics for affirming dominant identities.

As with all forms of emotional labor and codeswitching, these other-focused strategies foster a more comfortable environment for dominant group members, while cognitively and emotionally taxing marginalized group members. Those who are navigating marginalization

often face the complex task of selecting which tactics to use that will be effective, but not denigrating, and understanding the unique emotional needs and identity threats of their interaction partners, to protect themselves from any backlash that may occur from being seen as deceptive, manipulative, arrogant, or even a dangerous activist who engages in identity management.

Our review of self-and other-focused tactics highlights how positive self-discovery and affirmation of devalued social identities occurs within the constraints of a dominant group's need to maintain their moral, political, occupational and/or economic stature. Yet, behind the scenes or outside of the dominant gaze, and within the safety of identity affinity groups, marginalized members can better focus on building up their own and other in-group members' sense of self, without needing to prioritize and placate dominant group members' ego and productivity demands [53,54,55].

Intersectional analyses of identity management for marginalized groups

A substantial body of identity management literature uses intersectionality theories to study the workplace experiences of Black, Brown, Latina, and Indigenous women. Smith and Nkomo's [56] pioneering study of professional Black and white women's identity work in organizations provided a detailed, intersectional analysis of how women navigate race, gender and class when managing marginalized identities. Intersectionality has travelled from its origins in the United States context to other countries, with growing attention to transnational understandings of how women manage multiple identities in work and employment [57,58*,59,60,61]. Atewologun and Singh [62] studied UK black professionals' identity construction, and found that men used agentic strategies that draw strength from "black men" identities, while women used reframing to protect and restore their identities. Rodriguez and Ridgway [63] explored the simultaneity of

privilege and disadvantage among women expatriates in Gulf Cooperation Council countries in the Middle East. Fernando and Kenny [34] investigated how British Sri Lankan workers responded to panethnic “Asian” stereotypes by both claiming and rejecting the superordinate identity, while also attempting to formulate a more distinctive British Sri Lankan identity. Atewologun, Sealy & Vinnicombe [64] presented a theoretical and analytical framework for ‘intersectional identity work’ based on journal entries and interviews of British Asian and Black men and women. Dhanani et al. [65**] examined the intersections of race and sexual orientation identity management. As people are less prone to identify along singular categorical lines, research on intersectional identity management will add nuance and contextualization to this field of study. These studies showed how individual and organizational barriers affect careers, the ways in which people resist marginalization, their intersectional identity work to cope with hypervisibility and invisibility, and workplace experiences differ based on race/ethnicity, gender and class.

Recommendations for Further Inquiry

Most research over the past 50 years has focused on certain identity categories singularly – race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, ability, religion/spirituality or social class. A substantial share of this work originated in race and gender studies, with more emphasis on sexual orientation in the past 20 years. Global studies of religion/spirituality, ethnicity/nationality, and social class/caste are becoming even more important to understand current identity management dynamics. Future work should study identity management with regard to a wider array of categories. Studies might further investigate how the type of identity and the nature of disclosure influence how people feel about themselves and how others respond. George et al [61**] proposed using a standard measure to assess identity threat and enactment

across groups, which they tested for threats to teachers' work-related identity, pregnant women's leader identity, and organizational members' lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer or questioning identities. Studies that allow more theorizing across identities, and the intersections between them, will help this research advance into contemporary trends of increasingly complex, multifaceted identification in diverse settings.

We encourage scholars of identity management and diversity to feature the role of dominant groups in processes of positive identity construction, subordination and disadvantage within organizations [67]. This offers a lens on critical micro and macro-level dynamics, such as resistance toward DEI efforts, and leaders' efforts to reframe the work under the more palatable banner of culture, belongingness and inclusion versus anti-racism, anti-sexism, equity or justice. These attempts to defuse DEI serve to privilege the comfort and security of dominant group members' positive identities. Ideally, the work of positive identity construction would occur within diverse contexts that intentionally affirm historically devalued communities, through equity and inclusion practices. Rather than impose the burden of positive identity construction on members of marginalized groups - who must build up their own self-regard while also building up the self-regard of dominant groups, we encourage structural changes that expand inclusion beyond the repertoire of conventionally accepted identity expressions and social hierarchies.

Conflict of interest statement.
Nothing declared.

Table 1.

Tactics	Example	Outcome
Self-Focused Identity Management Tactics for Navigating Marginalization		
<u>Suppression</u>		
<p>Conceal devalued identities</p> <p>Avoid talking about categorizations</p> <p>Assimilate into the dominant group</p>	<p>Hide mental or physical health challenges at work</p> <p>Don't discuss marital, parental or romantic partnership status at work</p> <p>Emulate normative patterns of speech by removing one's native, nonstandard accent</p>	<p>SELF:</p> <p>{+} Protect self against stigmatization and marginalization</p> <p>{+} Increase odds of social acceptance</p> <p>{-} Increase feelings of inauthenticity, which diminish physical and psychological well-being</p> <p>OTHER:</p> <p>{+} Reinforce status hierarchy that affirms dominant culture, power</p> <p>{-} Increase feelings of betrayal if suppression is discovered</p> <p>{-} Increase likelihood of costly turnover of marginalized group members</p>
<u>Expression</u>		
<p>Self-identify as a member of a devalued group</p> <p>Represent cultural values & practices of marginalized group</p> <p>Educate about stereotypic inaccuracies</p> <p>Advocate for inclusion of marginalized group</p>	<p>Request closed caption or audio recording to support hearing or visual impairment</p> <p>Wear ethnic hairstyles (e.g., afro) or hijab head covering to work</p> <p>Explain how microaggressions (e.g., "you're so articulate") affect marginalized group members</p> <p>Join Employee or Business Resource Group to improve group access to opportunities,</p>	<p>SELF:</p> <p>{+} Increase feelings of authenticity, which enhance physical and psychological well-being</p> <p>{+} Increase shared understanding of the benefits of diversity</p> <p>{-} Increase odds of social rejection, stigmatization</p> <p>OTHER:</p> <p>{+} Build capacity for enduring, high quality connections based on positive identity affirmation</p> <p>{-} Increase likelihood of marginalized group members'</p>

<p>Leverage “positive” stereotypes</p>	<p>network and/or business strategy</p> <p>Use humor to make light of marginalized group stereotypes or choose not to correct compliments & jokes that are rooted in stereotypes (“I wouldn’t want to face you on the court!” “These analyses must come easily to you.”)</p>	<p>leadership advancement and resource redistribution</p> <p>{-} Raise dominant groups’ identity threat based on recognition of bias and privilege</p>
<p>Other-Focused Identity Management Tactics for Navigating Marginalization</p>		
<p>Emotional Labor</p>	<p>Display positivity and friendliness toward others (e.g., smiling more)</p> <p>Avoid outward expressions of anger</p> <p>Show compassion toward dominant group’s discomfort</p>	<p>SELF:</p> <p>{+} Protect self against stigmatization and marginalization</p> <p>{+} Increase odds of social acceptance</p> <p>{-} Increase feelings of inauthenticity*, which diminish physical and psychological well-being (*note – some research on emotional labor suggests that exaggerating displays of positive emotion can increase felt happiness).</p> <p>OTHER:</p> <p>{+} Reinforce status hierarchy that affirms dominant culture, power</p> <p>{-} Increase feelings of betrayal if emotional labor is discovered</p> <p>{-} Increase disengagement of marginalized group members</p>
<p>Deference</p>	<p>Use formal titles of address (Dr., Prof., Mr., Sir, Ma’am) with dominant group; accept</p>	<p>SELF:</p>

	<p>omission of titles for one's own marginalized group</p> <p>Avert gaze to avoid eye contact with dominant group members</p> <p>Speak more softly and in a higher register with dominant group members (e.g., phrasing comments in the form of questions)</p> <p>Avoid pointing out or correcting errors and inaccurate statements by dominant group members</p>	<p>{+} Protect self against stigmatization and marginalization</p> <p>{+} Increase odds of social acceptance</p> <p>{+} Increase personal safety by rendering oneself non-threatening in the presence of authority</p> <p>{-} Increase feelings of inauthenticity, which diminish physical and psychological well-being</p> <p>OTHER:</p> <p>{+} Reinforce status hierarchy that affirms dominant culture, power</p> <p>{-} Reduce quality of group decision-making (e.g., groupthink)</p> <p>{-} Increase burnout of marginalized group members</p>
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*of special interest

**of outstanding interest

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This article included three studies that tested gender and the use of feminine language in application situations. The first study reviewed resumes, cover letters and job offers, and found that women use less feminine language when applying for male-dominated jobs, but when they do, they are less likely to get an offer. Study 2 revealed similar patterns in MBA program admissions, in which women who used fewer were less likely to get a callback than women who used more of these words. Studies 3A and 3B involved experimental designs, altering the job posting language before asking participants to generate cover letters, and then testing how experienced managers evaluate these cover letters. Again, they found that women attempt to cover by using less feminine language when applying for male-dominated jobs, but they were penalized for doing so, because they were perceived as less likable, and therefore less hireable. These findings help to explain why occupational segregation persists, even when women attempt to overcome gender discrimination through managing perceptions of femininity.

22. **Madera J, Ng L, Zajac S, Hebl, M. **When words matter: communal and agentic language on men and women’s resumes.** *J. Bus. Psychol.* 2024, 1-18

This study examined whether gender differences exist in the use of communal and agentic language in resumes, and if they do, whether they are consequential. In three studies, two focused on self-presentation and one of external evaluation, Madera, Ng, Zajac and Hebl examined how men and women describe themselves in relation to gender stereotypes during the application phase of the hiring process. They found that women’s resumes use more communal language than men’s and that this can negatively impact perceived leadership ability and hireability for women (but not men) applying for prototypically masculine-typed jobs.

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This study examined disclosure decisions and identity management among employees living with depression. Through interviews of 30 employees with depression, followed by inductive thematic analysis, Follmer and Jones developed a continuum of disclosure decisions ranging from non-disclosure to partial and full disclosure), and eight accompanying identity management strategies that people enact around their mental health condition. The framework helps to flesh out the range of options that people utilize to enact stigmatized identities, and also expands the focus of identity management research to navigating mental illness stigmas.

28. **Felix B, Júlio AC, Rigel A. **‘Being accepted there makes me rely less on acceptance here’: cross-context identity enactment and coping with gender identity threats at work for non-binary individuals.** *Int. J. Hum. Resour. Manag.*, 2023, **35**: 1851–1882.

This study explored an important topic in navigating underrepresented gender identities – how nonbinary individuals use identity management when coping with gender identity threats at work. Felix, Júlio and Rigel interviewed 28 nonbinary Brazilian individuals from 25 organizations, and learned that many adopt ambiguous responses to make identity claims through performative processes of gender identity expression. They often gain social validation in less-threatening contexts, which allows them to satisfice with some degree of authenticity – but not

full disclosure - in a more threatening context. By navigating across contexts, nonbinary individuals are better able to retain such identity in their self-concept.

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This study investigated racial codeswitching, and impression management strategy that involves adjusting one's self-presentation to mirror norms, behaviors and attributes of a dominant group in certain contexts, but not others. In this research, McCluney et al examined how Black people engage in racial codeswitching to enhance perceived professionalism. Across two studies, they found that codeswitching behaviors were perceived by both Black and White participants as more professional than not adjusting one's speech, name, or hairstyle, but the difference was more pronounced for White professionals. Yet, the authors conclude by noting the other side of the double-edged sword – in that codeswitching likely reinforces White professional standards and generates social and psychological costs for Black employees.

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Ahmad et al conducted two experiments to examine religious identity management behaviors, ranging from concealing to ardently revealing in the workplace. They found a positive effect of revealing religious affiliation, because it enhanced perceptions of authenticity, which improved interpersonal reactions across religious groups. The second study extended beyond religious disclosure to test revealing behaviors of other social identity group memberships, and similarly found a beneficial effect. While many studies document the costs of revealing minoritized identities, and many are socialized to avoid discussing religion at work, this research indicates that disclosures can increase intrapersonal and interpersonal connections.

36. **Arnett RD. **Uniting through difference: rich cultural-identity expression as conduit to inclusion.** *Organ. Sci.* 2023, **34**: 1887-1913.

In three separate studies, Arnett found that bringing attention to minority cultural identities during interactions with majority-group coworkers can actually enhance professional outcomes. Specifically, when participants provided rich cultural identity expression disclosures about racial, ethnic, and/or national backgrounds during small talk, majority interaction partners engaged in more inclusive behaviors, because of an increased sense of closeness and learning potential. This study demonstrates the positive impact of amplifying minority identities during intergroup interactions, which contrasts with many studies that highlight the social and professional costs of minority identity expression.

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Wingfield’s review of the literature on intersections between race, gender and emotional labor breaks important ground in discussions on navigating underrepresented identities, by explicitly focusing on the important role of emotions, power, and occupational structures in maintaining racial division and inequalities. Feeling rules constrain emotional expression in the workplace for

members of minoritized racial groups, such as Black workers, who are expected or, at times, mandated to display pleasantness and geniality, while heavily penalized for expressing anger or aggravation, even when warranted. Thus research on navigating underrepresented identities must include specific references to one's social identity as well as indirect emotional expressions of conformity to (or divergence from) racialized and gendered roles within status hierarchies.

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This study utilized Holvino’s intersectional perspective of simultaneity to understand how female migrant workers from China, Japan and Korea living in the UK experienced and responded to gender/ethnic stereotyping and discriminatory practices at work. Interviews with 43 workers revealed how privilege is contextualized in various ways, including relative privilege (in comparison to reference groups), assigned privilege (associated with employers and host countries) and ambiguous privilege (as a double-edged sword). The fluidity of intersectionality creates in the backdrop upon which ethnic minority women navigate their minority gender and ethnic identities.

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This study drew upon intersectionality to extend research on identity management, particularly with respect to sexual minority employees who belong to different racial groups. Rather than examine only a singular minoritized identity, Dhanani et al explored how employees manage the presentation of their potentially less visible sexual identities and likely more visible racial identities. Racial identity groups and experiences of harassment influenced identity management strategies among 300 participants (202 White and 101 Black), and found that race may impact the degree to which people respond to identity-based harassment with concealment of sexual orientation or suppression of racial identity.

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George et al developed a standard measures of identity threat, with respect to value, meanings and enactment, and then validated each measure across different contexts: teachers’ work-related identity, pregnant women’s leader identity and organizational members’ lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer or questioning identities. Threats to identity enactment are most pertinent to the current review of navigating underrepresented identities, and the measure assessed experiences that limit or prevent an individual from expressing an identity. This measure is important for testing comparisons between different forms of identity threat, across different populations, and linking them to triggers, outcomes and metrics at different points in time.

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