

**(Re)Conceptualizing Nested Identities
Through Oppositional Identity Discourses in Girls Youth Sport**

Abstract

This study employs Fairhurst and Putnam's (2018) integrative method for oppositional organizational discourses to expose how participants in an all-female youth sport organization negotiate current oppositional discourses of identity. The oppositional discourse analysis revealed hegemonic and alternative discourses related to gender (i.e., *boys and girls are different; boys and girls are the same*), which influenced how participants negotiated a nested athletic identity and nested identity discourses (i.e., *collaborative vs. competitive, insecure vs. confident, and socially skilled vs. physically skilled*). This study documents how oppositional identity discourses influence the co-construction of nested identities in non-traditional organizational contexts. Practical implications for how these oppositional discourses affect participation in life-enrichment groups are discussed.

**(Re)Conceptualizing Nested Identities
Through Oppositional Identity Discourses in Girls Youth Sport**

June 23rd, 1972 marks a historic day for gender equity among men and women in U.S. sports. With the passage of IX education amendments legislation, U.S. government and public institutions were required to offer women with equitable resources and opportunities to participate in sports (Buchanan, 2012). Given the legal safeguards in place, female athletes have made significant strides toward equity in sport within the last fifty years (e.g., striking for equal pay, increasing sport access opportunities). However, in 2018, disparities remain among girls and boys in youth sport participation in the U.S. As evidence, in a 2016 survey of U.S. youth sports, girls' rates of sport participation (i.e., 52.8% nationally) did not match their male peers (i.e., 61.1%, The Aspen Institute, 2017). Research also indicates that worldwide girls are dropping out of sport at a rate two times higher than their male peers by the age of 14 (Sabo, 2008). This gender gap in sport participation is significant, given that youth sport participation has been shown to have immediate positive effects on social skill development, self-esteem, body image, as well as reduce risks of drug abuse, depression, cancer, obesity, and eating disorders (Debate & Thompson, 2005; Martin, Waldron, McCabe, & Choi, 2009; Sabo & Veliz, 2008).

While there are material factors that influence low rates of youth sport participation within underserved communities (e.g., transportation barriers, funding cuts, less access), these economic differences do not account for the disparities among boys and girls at even the highest income levels (Sabo & Veliz, 2008). An increasing body of research has begun to document the specific gendered, discursive, and social interaction factors that contribute to a female athlete's decision to discontinue participation in sport (Kågesten et al., 2016). These factors are related to identity conflict by membership in multiple social groups like gender, class, race, and athletic

teams (Adler & Adler, 1987; Cooky, 2009). Part of the problem relates to attributions of stereotypical athletic identity characteristics (e.g., strength, power), which conflict with hegemonic gender discourses that stereotype feminine identity characteristics (e.g., weakness, frailty, submissiveness, and passivity; Dowling, 2000). This biased and conventional ideology supports the notion that girls and women cannot be both feminine and athletic (Knight & Giuliano, 2003; Miller & Levy, 1996). This identity dichotomy is a product of social discourses that prescribe stereotypical feminine identities to women and girls (Messner, 2002).

However, this body of scholarship has not examined the relationships among these competing identity discourses, nor how these conflicting discourses might be negotiated in the organizational context of youth sports. Recently, Fairhurst and Putnam (2018) have turned their attention to integrating organizational discourse analysis with grounded theory principles to (a) reveal obscured discourses which may function as organizational oppositions, (b) categorize these types of oppositions (e.g., tensions, dialectics, paradoxes, contradictions), (c) assess the way in which organizational actors negotiate these oppositions in situ, and (d) document the effects such discourse management has on organizing practices. This method and conceptual lens provides insight to how discourses of identity from outside and within the organization might influence youth sport participation. Given the practical importance of reducing gender disparities in youth sports as well as the theoretical importance of understanding how oppositional identity discourses affect member participation in voluntary organizations, the purpose of this study is to reveal how members reify discourses of identity in an all-female youth sport context and document the effect such discourses have on organizational membership. The following sections will review research on multiple and complex identities in organizations as well as the

relationship between identity and discourse, with a specific rationale for why girls youth sport presents a unique case for studying layered identity in voluntary organizations.

Multiplicity, Fluidity, and Nested Identities in Organizational Contexts

Research on identity within and as a result of organization membership remains salient in organizational communication literature, given its ubiquitous influence on organizing and organizational life (Albert, Ashforth, & Dutton, 2000). Moreover, scholars argue that it is through discourse that personal, social and organizational identities are challenged and reproduced (e.g., Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004; Meisenbach, 2008; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014, Scott, Corman, & Cheney, 1998; Watson, 2008; Wieland, 2010).

The term discourse is conceptualized here as d/Discourse such that big “D”iscourses are ways of talking, therefore ways of thinking, whereas little “d”iscourses are actors’ everyday dialogue (see Alvesson & Karreman, 2000). This conceptual distinction is important because ideologies (i.e., “D”iscourses) about the self and others’ identity and identity characteristics become manifest through social actors everyday talk (i.e., “d”iscourse). Organizational communication scholars have established the importance of documenting both micro and macro-level discourse in relation to how individuals co-construct organizational identities.

Yet, much of the research on organizational identity and discourse has been conducted in traditional for-profit organizations and has focused on specific levels of analysis (e.g., individual identity, sub-group identity, organizational identity, occupational identity). As Ashforth, Rodgers, and Corely (2011) note “...the tendency toward within-level [identity] research has left important questions regarding between-level dynamics largely unanswered” (p. 1144). These unanswered questions are especially important in organizational contexts where members’ motivation to participate is predicated on their ability to enact and maintain multiple, often

conflicting, identities in such contexts, like volunteer non-profits and life-enrichments groups, such as sports teams or community choirs. Collison (2003) explains that “there appears to be an almost unlimited number of possible sources of identity ... while some of these coexisting identities are mutually reinforcing, others may be in tension, mutually contradictory and even incompatible” (p. 534).

Ashforth and Johnson (2001) offer the term *nested identity* to describe how multiple, often layered, identities (e.g., individual, group, organizational) necessitate members’ discursive negotiation, given that at times these identities are cohesive, but other times they may be in conflict. Recent explorations of nested identity reveal how between-level dynamics of nested identities influence constructions of identity and member decision-making in voluntary organizations. For example, Meisenbach and Kramer (2014) found that a nested choir identity was not as important to members enacting a family or music identity as a part of their participation in a community choir. Here, higher-level identities influenced member motivation to join and continue participation in a community choir. Similarly, Zanin, Hoelscher, and Kramer (2016) found that female rugby players were motivated to join and sustain identities as rugby players in this voluntary life-enrichment group because they were able to enact higher-level identities that would have been stigmatized outside of the group (e.g., masculine identities, LGBTQ identities).

Moreover, Scott and Stephens (2009) argue that organizational scholars have not fully considered the role of non-organizational identities in conceptualizing how cross-level identity dynamics function within the *durée* of organizational life. The few studies of cross-level identity in voluntary contexts have not explored how participants and influential identity targets, from within and outside voluntary organizations, negotiate oppositional and power-laden discourses

related to identity. Analysis of macro-level and situated organizational identities could provide insight into how identities from discourses within and outside of the organization are altered and reproduced over time. For example, in girls youth sport, competing identity discourses from parents, coaches, teammates, and out-group peers could influence youth participants' identification with their sport team and macro athletic identities. Documenting these dynamics could provide insight into how and why certain identity discourses are being reproduced as well as what effect these—possibly conflicting—identity discourses might have on member participation.

Discourses of Femininity and Masculinity in Sport Organizing

The presence of feminine and masculine discourses of identity have been established in the context of sport organizations and on a societal level (Anderson, 2008; Bryson, 1987; Messner, 1992; & Messner & Sabo, 1994). Scholars have documented sport discourses that ascribe stereotypical identity characteristics of strength, power, and competitiveness to masculine identities and ascribe stereotypical identity characteristics of socially and emotionally needy, as well as weakness, frailty, and submissiveness to feminine identities (Bryson, 1987; LaFountaine & Kamphoff, 2016; Messner & Sabo, 1994; & Norman, 2010). As boys and girls participate in youth sports, these identity discourses sanction stereotypical feminine traits and normalize stereotypical masculine traits through well-known sayings such as “no pain, no gain” and “you hit like a girl” (Bryson, 1987; & Messner & Sabo, 1994). The reproduction of such discourses privileges hegemonic stereotypes of masculinity in sport and devalues femininity by ascribing negative identity characteristics to feminine identities (Anderson, 2008; Bryson, 1987; Messner, 1992; & Messner & Sabo, 1994).

Given these gendered identity discourses in sport, research has documented how women struggle with a dual identification with femininity and athleticism (Bennett, Scarlett, Hurd Clarke, & Crocker, 2017; Evans, 2006; & Ezzell, 2009). Furthermore, recent research has documented how female athletes manage their feminine-athletic identity by differentiating feminine and athletic identities as different entities that do not overlap (Bennett et al., 2017; Evans, 2006). This identity differentiation affects female athletes' personal identities through "inhibited intentionality" (Young, 1990, p. 147), which is "a tendency to underestimate physical ability" (Evans, 2006, p. 548). This inhibition is associated with decreased rates of sport participation and female athletic identity enactment.

Identity and Oppositions in Organizational Discourse

Research on social and personal identity has established that identities are not monolithic, stagnant, or isomorphic, but rather they are layered and in-flux in organizations and society (Ashforth, Rogers, Corley, 2011; Gioia, 1998; Scott, et. al., 1998). Shifts and changes in identity often occur as a result of oppositional or conflicting identity discourses and identifications in one social context (e.g., Collinson, 2003; Scott et al., 1998). Fairhurst, Putnam, and Banghart (2016) offer a broad review and typology for how scholars have categorized forces of opposition in social interaction: (a) as dualities, (b) as dualisms, (c) as dialectics, (d) as paradoxes, (e) tensions, and (f) contradictions. Building on this typology, Fairhurst and Putnam (2018) propose an integrative methodology for aligning little "d" and big "D" orientations of discourses analysis with ground theory techniques to aid in identifying various types of organizational oppositions. This technique enables researchers to consider how different types of oppositions necessitate management by organizational members through every day talk and how members' management

affects processes of organizing (e.g., what macro-level discourse are reproduced and with what effect).

In the context of girls youth sport, previous research clearly establishes macro-level discourse oppositions regarding female athlete identity (e.g., Bennett et al., 2017; Evans, 2006; Ezzell, 2009), yet the ways in which hegemonic gendered discourse interact with youth sport participants personal identity discourses has not been studied. Inquiry into this unique context and method could provide insight into how particular categories of oppositional identity discourses (e.g., tension vs. dialectic) might influence multi-layer identity management differently. Research suggests that the presence of competing identity discourses within the context of girls youth sport may be affecting participant identity construction, however the dynamics of between-level identity discourses (e.g., gender, athlete, team, personal) in relation to identity construction is still unknown. Therefore, the authors pose the following research questions guided by Fairhurst and Putnam's (2018) oppositional discourse analysis:

RQ1: What macro discourses in an all-female youth sport context demonstrate ideologies about youth sport participants' identity?

RQ2: What, if any, discourse contradictions relative to identity do participants articulate within an all-female youth sport context?

Method

The data collected to answer these research questions comes from a larger study of girls participation in youth sports over the course of six months, including the ten-week spring 2018 season from late January to April. This research was conducted within two all-female youth sport teams located in a large metropolitan area of the Southwestern United States. To gain access, the primary investigator (PI) contacted the local county divisions of a youth development and sport

organization to establish two new sites at elementary schools in the community: (a) one in a well-served area (i.e., Suburban Elementary) and (b) one in an underserved area (i.e., City Elementary; all names are pseudonyms). The two sites were selected based on the following criteria: (a) public records of free and reduced lunch information, (b) both sites had not participated in the sport program in the last year, (c) location, and (d) school performance ranking. Suburban elementary was ranked 289th out of 1,106 elementary schools within the state and 44.6 percent of the students were on free and reduced lunch in 2018. Comparatively, City Elementary ranked 864th out of 1,106 elementary schools within the state and 87.5 percent of the students were on free and reduced lunch. The youth sport program consists of a 10-week social skill based curriculum (e.g., conflict management, self-esteem building, relationship management) paired with physical activities and games, such as running or walking, with the 21st lesson culminating in a 5-kilometer run. Practices range from 75 to 90 minutes and teams met twice a week for a lesson and physical activity. This youth sport program is designed specifically for 3rd to 5th grade girls and the majority of coaches, site liaisons, and county program directors are women.

Youth Sport Context Participants: Athletes, Parents, Coaches

Participants for the new youth sport teams were recruited by site liaisons at each elementary. Youth participants ($n = 22$) self-selected into the program with parental consent, and all program fees were paid by research and public grants. Nine participants completed the 10-week season at Suburban Elementary. At the start of the season, City Elementary had 13 youth participants, however only six girls participated for the entire 10-week season. Participant exit at City Elementary can be attributed to a variety of reasons including family relocation, lack of transportation, disinterest, and being placed into foster care by child protective services. The

findings section will further explore identity issues in relation to participant exit. Youth athletes ages ranged from 8 to 11 ($M = 9.77$, $SD = 0.83$). Ethnicity varied, with the majority of participants self-identifying as Caucasian (61.5%), and other participants identifying as Native American (7.7%), African American (7.7%), Latina (7.7%), or more than one ethnicity (7.7%). Parents at both sites were also included in data collection ($n = 9$). Parent marital status varied from never married (7.7%), separated (7.7%), divorced (38.5%), to married (46.2%). Coaches at both sites were Caucasian females, with ages ranging from 25 to 34 ($M = 28.6$).

Data Collection

At the beginning of the season, the primary investigator (PI) and three graduate students attended an all-day training event provided by the organization and were given curriculum to follow for each of the 21 practices. The research team engaged in participant observation as coaches for the spring 2018 season meeting twice per week for a total of 21 practices (i.e., approximately 32 hours of participant observation). During team practice, coaches would lead activities, interact with youth athletes, and observe participant discourse. Within the interactions the research team would make head notes (i.e., mental bracketing of events, Lindlof & Taylor, 2011) and later expand these into fieldnotes following each practice. This process yielded 133 pages of single-spaced fieldnotes. Notably, two researchers engaged in participant observation at each of the two sites to allow for a heightened process of crystallization (Ellingson, 2008) by including multiple member perspectives of identity negotiation and discourses as they unfolded over the course of the season. In addition, every three weeks the research team would engage in a process of interactive interviewing (Ellis, 2008) by discussing their experiences of identity, gender, and sport in the research context(s). These interactive interviews allowed the research team to act as both researchers and research participants and through semi-structured, recorded,

group conversations. These research conversations ranged from 38.5 to 61 minutes ($M = 51.5$ $SD = 11.6$) yielding 60 pages of single-spaced text.

After the season, the research team conducted formal interviews with parents ($n = 9$), athletes ($n = 13$), and two additional coaches not affiliated with the research team at the City Elementary site. Interview questions included questions such as “why were you (or your child) interested in being a part of the program?” and “why do you think more girls decide not to participate in sports than boys?” Formal interviews with participants ranged from 6 to 42.5 minutes ($M = 23.9$, $SD = 9.5$) and yielded 272 pages of interview transcript data. At the end of the interviews, youth participants were asked to draw a picture of an athlete, of a girl, and of themselves. Participants were then asked questions about the drawings as part of their recorded interview. This subset of data informed the organizational oppositions analysis, however a full qualitative drawing analysis (Schyns, Tymon, Kiefer, & Kerschreiter, 2013; Tracy & Redden, 2015) is available elsewhere—including a comparison with non-sport participants from the same research sites not included in this reduced dataset.

Data Analysis

While the steps data analysis and collection in this section are described in a linear format, this process was conducted in a cyclic, iterative manner by letting emergent data and findings drive the next steps of data collection and analysis. To answer the specific research questions posed, the authors utilized an integrative method to reveal organizational oppositions as proposed by Fairhurst and Putnam (2018). This analytic method was conducted in a series of steps beginning first with a process of data reduction guided by the research questions posed to include d/Discourses (i.e., ways of talking, therefore ways of thinking see Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000) related to gender identity and athletic identity. Identity discourses were identified through

participants attributing certain traits, behaviors, characteristic or claims to those identity groups (e.g., “Some girls are...” “Athletes are...” “When I think of the word girl, I think of ...”). Next, our team used a process of line-by-line coding to conduct a systematic comparison of the similarities and differences among the discourses. During this step, we derived higher-level codes through clustered identity discourses (e.g., ways of talking about gendered identities) by looking for patterns and “alignment or thematic patterning of similar terms, types of arguments” and traits attributions (Fairhurst & Putnam, 2018, p. 8). Third, we conducted a second constant comparative analysis among the clustered identity discourses to look for points of contrast or opposition between the identity discourses. Fourth, after reviewing literature on organizational oppositions (see Fairhurst & Putnam, 2018; Putnam et al., 2016), our team determined the types of identity discourse oppositions present in this organizational context.

Findings

The purposes of this study were to (a) document the discourses present within an all-female youth sport context that demonstrate ideologies about participant identities, and (b) categorize the types of oppositional discourses present within this organizational context relevant to identity. Analysis guided by RQ1 and RQ2 revealed two major categories of identity discourse in an all-female youth sport context—oppositional discourses about gendered identity (i.e., *boys and girls are different* and *boys and girls are the same*) and oppositional discourses about female athlete identity (i.e., *collaborative vs. competitive*, *insecure vs. confident*, *socially skilled vs. physically skilled*). While these categories are inextricably intertwined, it is important to examine these identity discourses in isolation as they inform how individuals manage identity biases and oppositional discourses in organizational contexts that challenge such biases.

Feminine and Masculine Identity Discourse Oppositions: Different and the Same

The following section will reveal how participants and parents articulated hegemonic (i.e., dominant social discourses) gender discourses as well as articulated alternative macro-level discourses about gendered identities. Table 1 summarizes the gendered identity discourses discussed by participants. These discourses represent an organizational *contradiction* such that gender difference or gender sameness are “bi-polar opposites that are mutually exclusive and interdependent such that the opposites define and potentially negate each other” (Putnam et al., 2016 p. 70). Participants described characteristics they associated girls and femininity (e.g., a “girly-girl,” “girly world”) to be insecurity, a need to fit-in or be conventional, weakness, and socially motivated. To make sense of gender disparities in youth sport participation, participants also articulated identity macro-level discourses about boys and masculinity (e.g., “tomboy¹” or “boys”) to be confident, competitive, athletic, and strong.

Hegemonic Gender Identity Discourse: *Boys and Girls are Different.* As part of the interview protocol, the research team asked participants why they thought that more girls stop participating in sports than boys. Even though these female participants had just participated on an all-female sports team, many of them articulated hegemonic discourses about feminine stereotypes. Recent sport participant, Peyton, age 10, explained the disparity by stating, “boys are more competitive ... people say that they’re faster than girls.” Similarly, Phoebe, age 11, stated that “boys like to take the pressure and some girls don't like taking pressure because some people say that boys have stronger minds than girls.” Importantly, in both of these excerpts, participants cite others’ discourse for why they hold these ideologies about identity characteristics of girls (i.e., “people say” and “some people say”) and reveal negative identity characteristics associated with girls (e.g., weakness, insecurity, slower, non-competitive).

Another participant, Leann, age 10, reinforces the hegemonic discourse that boys and girls are not only different, but girls are associated with less desirable identity characteristics.

She explained girls' sport participation disparity by exclaiming:

Oh dear god! Boys are better than girls because they're more athletic and they do more than girls do ... Girls are made different than boys and they like to do their hair and get their nails done. ... a lot of girls don't really like sports. They're like nah. They like to go on their phones usually, usually girls.

In this interview excerpt, Leann reveals specific identity characteristics that she attributes to both sex and gender. She categorizes girls as being concerned with appearances (i.e., “[girls] like to do their hair and get their nails done”) and are socially motivated— “[girls] like to go on their phones” rather than liking sports or being athletic. In her assertions, she also implies value-laden identity characteristics to boys and girls, such that boys “are better” and “do more than girls do.” She also explains these are intrinsic trait differences between boys and girls, rather than influenced by interactions or related to choice (i.e., “girls are made different than boys”). Notably, she makes these generalizations about gendered identities that she and other important identity targets in her life, such as her mother who runs marathons or her friends who play competitive soccer, contradict. Her articulation of these value-laden discourses about gendered identity demonstrate the power of such ideologies, even when individuals from these identity groups experience and enact identity characteristics that challenge biased hegemonic assumptions.

Parent responses also confirmed the strength of hegemonic assumptions about sex and gender in relation to girls' participation in sport. Adam, parent of Pam, age 9, explained that he views parents and society “place[ing] a bigger weight on athletic prowess for boys”. Similarly, Ava parent of Peyton, age 10, explained “I feel bad saying this, but in society, if you're a man and you're an athlete, it's kind of reveled. It's an amazing thing. I don't know if there's as much

emphasis on female athletes.” Ava acknowledges her resistance to the value-laden assumption in her response (i.e., “I feel bad saying this...”), yet still articulates hidden assumptions about how male athletes have more value in society than female athletes. In the same way, Adam, parent of Priscilla, age 10, also articulates a difference between how parents treat boys and girls in relation to sports. He stated,

A dad with a son playing football, he wants him to work out and go crush somebody. Then with a girl playing basketball or soccer, he wants you to do really, really well, but also wants you to be a lady and they’re just different. When they’re talking about their son being the best at football they’re not saying, but also act like a gentleman.

In this excerpt, Adam acknowledges that even parents who encourage their daughters to play sports may still imply different identity discourses based on different assumptions about gendered identity. Recent sport participants also explained this gender disparity in youth sports by differentiating between sex and gender. Lucy, age 10 made sense of the differences in sport participation by explaining that more masculine identity characteristics may be appealing prior to puberty and high school, but as girls grow-up they are then more interested in enacting stereotypical femininity. She stated:

So you know when you're little you used to play with toys and everything, and then you might want to be a tomboy, but you might not be interested in pretty pink things. But maybe teenagers you drop that old phase and you get interested in pretty pink things and everything that's popular. So, I think they just don't want to [play sports] anymore. And it's probably the latest trend.

Here, Lucy reveals her understanding of different enactments of masculinity and femininity by girls (e.g., “you want to be a tomboy” versus “you get interested in pretty pink things and everything that’s popular”). This difference in her articulation of gendered enactments of identity reveals hidden assumptions about identity characteristics associated with feminine stereotypes that develop later (i.e., “but maybe teenagers you drop that old phase”). Again, Lucy, like other

participants, associate femininity with being conventional and socially motivated by “everything that’s popular” and “the latest trend.”

Overall, these excerpts demonstrate prevailing ideologies about the difference in identity characteristics associated with boys and girls as well as masculinity and femininity. Importantly, in this research context each of these girls recently participated in an all-female youth sport program, but still articulated value-laden stereotypes about their gender group.

Alternative Gendered Discourses: *Boys and Girls are the Same*

In contrast to participant discourses that perpetuated the gendered ideology that boys and girls are intrinsically different, participants also articulated alternative gendered discourses that posited boys and girls can and do hold similar identity characteristics. One participant, Leslie, age 8, articulated a strong bond with her father, who recently completed a 5k run with her. She also discussed how some peers did not understand her affinity for comic book superheroes and why she liked to cut her hair short in the hot summer months. She explained her alternative understanding of gender by stating: “Because [boys and girls] can be the same, like I am. They’re different gender, but they can still be the same. They can like the same things. They don’t have to like different things.” Other participants also associated contrasting identity characteristics to girls and femininity. For example, Pam, age 9, explained, “If I would think of a girl, probably the first word that would pop in my head is strong.” Here, strength is associated with Pam’s mental model of a girl and femininity, which contrasts with other participants’ previous associations of weakness and insecurity.

In another example, Samantha, a coach from Suburban Elementary, wrote about an interaction in her field notes with her athletes in discussing her boyfriend. The girls on her team were asking if she was going to get married to him and suggested that instead of waiting for him

to propose, she should propose to him. She writes, “[My athletes] said I should propose to him because I am ‘a strong and independent woman.’” In this excerpt, her athletes are suggesting that conventional norms associated with gender and romantic relationships should be broken, again associating strength and independence with femininity. However, this excerpt is full of ambivalence, given that the participants also thought that she *should* get married, and part of enacting her independence was to commit to a long-term romantic relationship.

Similarly, Phoebe, age 10, articulated an ambivalence about the similarities and differences among boys and girls. While she still articulated negative identity characteristics associated with girls described in the previous section (i.e., “boys have stronger minds than girls”), she also expressed similarities among some girls and boys. For example, Phoebe explained how she could be a girl and still be competitive, “I think some girls like to be competitive towards other people. I’m competitive. For other people, they’re not competitive.” This excerpt is an example of defensive othering (see Ezzell, 2009) in which Phoebe manages her identity by reinforcing a hegemonic gender discourse (i.e., *other [girls] aren’t competitive*), but simultaneously distances herself from that group characteristic (e.g., *I’m competitive*).

Athletic Identity Oppositions in Girls’ Youth Sport Contexts

A second set of identity discourses in this organizational context specifically related to beliefs about female athletes. Table 2 summarizes the three organizational oppositions related to identity in an all-female youth sport context (i.e., *collaborative vs. competitive, insecure vs. confident, socially skilled vs. physically skilled*). The following sections reveal the ways in which each set of oppositional identity discourses were articulated and managed by organizational members.

Collaborative vs. Competitive: An Identity Discourse Paradox. First, collaborative and competitive identity traits were ascribed to female athletes by coaches and parents as well as claimed by sport participants. These discourses about female athletic identities created identity discourse paradox for participants such that *female athletes should be nice, friendly, kind, and inclusive as well as ambitious, aggressive, and fierce*. These oppositional discourses of identity function as a paradox in this context as they are persistent organizational oppositions for female athletes that must be negotiated, but often result in an ironic or absurd outcome (see Fairhurst & Putnam, 2018). For example, Andy discussed how parents of female athletes want their child “to do really, really well, but also wants [her] to be a lady.” Andy’s use of contrast between a parent’s desire to have their child enact a competitive athletic performance and also at the same time “be a lady” (i.e., a woman of gentle manners as defined by Merriam-Webster, 2018) highlights the identity double-bind for girls in youth sports. This identity discourse paradox was prevalent in other participants’ identity claims and management.

Similar to Phoebe self-identifying as competitive, when asked why she enjoys participating in sports, Patricia, age 10 explained “[I like doing sports] because I’m competitive, I don’t like losing.” In contrast, when asked what the best part of participating in a sport team was for her, Loretta, age 10 stated, “what I learned is how to get along with others, supporting others, ... having the courage to speak up for others.” Here, Loretta’s identity claim associated with her sport experience relates to collaboration and “getting along with others” rather than enacting a competitive identity.

Parents also discussed the negotiation of these identity discourses. Anna, parent of Penelope, age 9, discussed this paradox in her own experiences with youth sports. She stated,

I was like, I want to play soccer because my friends were playing soccer,... I was very shy, so for me to be on a team was huge. Then I continued because I loved the team sports, I love the competition. Even though I'm not competitive I just thought it was fun.

This excerpt is full of contradiction and reveals Anna's management of her feminine athletic identity. She explains that her motivation for joining a sports team was, at first, socially motivated, but she acknowledges that her continued participation was motivated by the ability to be competitive. Yet, she also rejects a competitive identity characteristic as well (i.e., "even though I'm not competitive").

Organizational discourses from administrators of the sports program also made it challenging for coaches to negotiate this discursive paradox. Program training manuals and in-person coach training set specific normative rules that regulated discourses of competition (e.g., the 5k is a "run" not a "race," the team goal is "positive social development through activity," not "physical skill or competition"). However, in practice, coach fieldnote excerpts revealed that sport participants resisted non-competitive organizational discourse by asking to play competitive games and often comparing the training distance they completed to other team members.

Insecure vs. Confident: An Identity Discourse Dialectic. Second, coaches and parents ascribed insecurity and confidence identity traits to female athletes. Participants also claimed insecurity and confidence as identity traits. These discourses about female athletic identities created an identity discourse dialectic for participants such that *female athletes have identity characteristics of bravery, grit, and self-assurance as well as introversion, and self-consciousness*. These oppositional discourses of identity function as a dialectic in this context as they are negating oppositions with an ongoing dynamic interplay (see Fairhurst & Putnam, 2018). For example, when participants were asked what words best describe who they are many

participants used words that appeared contradictory. For example, Penelope, age 9, responded, “[Words that describe me] Strong, powerful, kind of athletic. Beautiful.” In her response, Penelope demonstrates alternative feminine identity characteristics of strength and power related to confidence, but she also is reluctant to claim her athletic identity confidently, even though she participates in multiple sports. She uses the qualifier “kind of” to manage assumptions related to this identity claim.

Similarly, Piper, age 9, responded with the oppositional words, “Strong, soft.” When asked why she chose those words, she explained that her strength was related to her ability to control her emotions. She stated, “Most of the time at school I’m able to hide my feelings. Like if I’m going to cry, so I don’t burst out and so people don’t call me a crybaby like they do.” In her response, Piper articulates a self-consciousness about appearing too emotional in front of her peers, and claims the identity characteristic of strength in her ability to conceal her true emotions.

Other participants also described becoming too emotional as a flawed identity characteristic in relation to a female athlete identity. For example, Phoebe, age 11, explained, “Even though I’m an athlete, people can still not be mentally tough. For me, I’m an athlete and when I lose, I still get emotional.” Here, Phoebe claims an athlete identity and manages this identity by revealing that she still believes she lacks mental toughness because she gets emotional over losses. These identity claims reveal her confidence in her athletic identity and abilities, yet her insecurity about managing her emotions in athletic contexts.

Parents also articulated identity traits of increased grit, self-assurance, and confidence as a result of their daughters’ enactment of athletic identities. For example, many parents explained that the sport program was appealing to them because of the focus on “girl empowerment,” “girl

confidence,” given that many of parents described their daughters as “shy,” “introverted,” and “lacking confidence.” In fact, even though “confidence” was not included in the formal interview protocols, “confidence” was referenced 44 times across participant interviews and coaches’ fieldnotes, demonstrating the salience of this identity characteristic in girls youth sport contexts.

This negotiation of confidence and insecurity is apparent in Lucy’s previous argument for why girls drop out of sports at greater rates than their male peers. She explained that one of the reasons girls drop out of sports is related to a desire “do what’s popular” or “the latest trend.” Lucy’s reasoning supports the notion that for girls, participating in sport relates to the dynamic interplay of insecurity and confidence, such that enactments of athletic identities require and foster confidence; yet also create interpersonal and intrapersonal insecurities (e.g., fear of being too different or too unique, fear of not fitting-in, fear of being perceived as too emotional).

Socially Skilled vs. Physically Skilled: An Identity Discourse Tension. Lastly, socially skilled and physically skilled identity traits were described as aspirational identity characteristics of female athletes in this all-female youth sport context. These discourses about female athletic identities created identity discourses in tension for participants such they reinforced an ideology that *female athletes are motivated to participate in sport by friendship and belonging as well as the ability to perform physical activity in a team setting*. These oppositional discourses of identity function as a tension in this context as they are stress-inducing oppositions (see Fairhurst & Putnam, 2018). These stress-inducing oppositions created contexts in which coaches and athletes had to negotiate the goals and purpose of the sport team (e.g., to foster social skills like getting along with others or physical skills like improving their running endurance).

Many participants and parents described their own and their daughter’s motivation for joining related to a desire to enact and grow their social skill set. Similar to Anna’s description of

her motivation for joining a soccer team when she was a child, Andy parent of Priscilla, explained, “Initially, I’ll be honest, [Priscilla] wanted to do it because her friends were doing it.” In his response, Andy uses a disclosure frame of “I’ll be honest” indicating that his explanation for Priscilla’s motivation to join a sports team may not be the socially desirable answer, but indicates that his response is truthful and candid. This phrase reveals assumptions about the value of social motivations and belonging, over the value of physical motivations to enact athletic identities. Similarly, Alan, parent of Piper, explained his reasoning for encouraging his daughter to participate in the sport program. He stated, “Okay, it’s going to get her engaged. Let’s promote positivity instead of this girly world that these little kids live in of ‘who’s your friend today, and who’s not your friend tomorrow.’” In his explanation, Alan describes his desire to have Piper belong to a social and “positive” sport team by contrasting her other social relationships as a “girly world.” Worthy of note, not only does he describe reasoning in terms of Piper building friendships and social skills, but also uses the term “girly” with a negative connotation of not building loyal, lasting friendships.

Likewise, Piper, age 9, described her social motivations and benefits from joining the team. When asked what she liked about the sport program, she responded, “Just the team and everything and that I wasn’t the only one in it. I wasn’t a lone wolf.” Here, Piper uses a metaphor of a “lone wolf” to describe herself in relation to other sport and club contexts she has experienced. She articulated the value of her participation in relation to her ability to identify with like others through sport.

In contrast, other participant responses focused on physical enactments of athletic identity. Patricia, age 10, disclosed her dislike of the emotional skill lessons integrated into the sport program. She explained, “It’s a running program, but it also teaches you emotional skills.

Personally, I'm not very emotional about it, but the running part is good.” Other participants acknowledged that participating in sport provides both social and physical positive identity enactments. For example, Leslie, age 8, when asked why she liked the program, she responded, “Because I love running, and I love being in a team and doing fun things.” These differing motivations at times complemented one another, but other times they functioned in the organizational context as stress inducing oppositions. For example, both Coach Selena’s and Coach Sophia’s fieldnote excerpts revealed that participants would often cheer each other on and partner up to help one another complete their lap goals for the day, indicating enactments of socially skilled identities. However, at other times they would partner with a teammate and physically perform worse due to distraction and peer-pressure to slow down for one another. Taken together, these findings indicate the presence of several oppositional organizational discourses from within and outside of this youth sport organization that relate to participants’ constructions of their own and other’s identities.

Discussion

The primary aim of this research was to document discourses of identity within an all-female youth sport context. Multi-layered oppositional identity discourses were revealed through the application of an integrated model for oppositional discourse analysis. First, members described two main discourses in relation to gender identities in the context of youth sport (a) *boys and girls are different*, and (b) *boys and girls are the same*. Second, the analysis revealed oppositional discourses ascribed to a nested feminine-athletic identity in the context of youth sport: (a) *collaborative vs. competitive*, (b) *insecure vs. confident*, (c) *socially skilled vs. physically skilled*). These oppositions were influenced by higher-level identity discourse from outside of the team (i.e., gender), which manifested in member talk about identity characteristics

ascribed to a nested feminine-athletic identity. A second aim was to categorize these specific types of oppositional discourses (i.e., contradiction, paradox, dialectic, and tension). The following section will discuss the theoretical and practical implications of these findings.

Nested Identities in the context of Contradictions, Paradoxes, Dialectics, and Tensions

Similar to other work on voluntary organizations and life-enrichment groups, an analysis of identity discourses in this context provided insight into how discourse influenced the co-construction of higher-order gender identities, but also influenced the negotiation and enactment of nested athlete identities. For example, Meisenbach and Kramer (2014) found that community choir members articulated a “nesting, layering, and embedding of one identity within another.” (p. 204). Members explained that being a part of the choir was important to them because music and families were important to who they are. In this context of girls youth sport, a nested identity was also apparent in participants’ discourse about the enactment of a feminine-athletic identity as part of their construction of their gendered identities. For example, participants were able to demonstrate qualities of collaboration and social skill through enacting an identity as a good teammate. However, our research extends this link between a nested identity and a poststructuralist conceptualization of identity as fluid, fragmented, and power-laden (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004).

Our study extends previous findings about the maintenance of identity in volunteer groups, by documenting how oppositional discourses associated with multiple layers of identity revealed hidden distortions and allowed participants (some) discursive space to challenge inequities. As Mumby contends (2013) “people often don’t challenge or resist their social reality because they often lack awareness of the contradictions on which it is based” (p. 168). In our study, oppositional discourses about higher-order gender identities influenced the management

of a nested athletic identity. That is, what it meant to be a girl, and what it meant to be an athlete changed because of participants' management of oppositional identity discourses that were made salient by this organizational context.

Miesenbach and Kramer (2014) argued that nested identities might help members to “build and maintain higher order identities” (p. 206) in that they can enact both nested identities at once. In contrast, our study found that in this context girls' enactment of an athletic identity was a way for them to *challenge* stereotypes of higher-order gender identities. In other words, instead of working to maintain a cohesive nested identity, a nested identity aided them in resisting negative stereotypes reinforced by dominant discourses. For example, Patricia's rejection of the program's focus on sharing emotions, but positive association with the physical act of running and being competitive, exemplifies how her nested enactment of an athletic identity challenges stereotypical higher-order identity discourses. Figure 1 provides a comparison of how previous works (i.e., Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Meisenbach & Kramer, 2014) have conceptualized nested identities in traditional and volunteer organizational context as well as how the current findings build on these conceptualizations.

The Value of Defining Types of Oppositional Discourses. A second major contribution of this study related to Fairhurst and Putnam's (2018) call for scholars to focus on comparing different types of organizational oppositions. This study provides an exemplar for multiple types of oppositions present within one organizational setting and reveals the value of such analysis. For example, the discourses “*boys and girls are different*” and “*boys and girls are the same*” represent a contradiction such that these discourses are two bi-polar opposites that are mutually exclusive and interdependent “to create meanings in ways that juxtapose power and hierarchical differences” (Putnam et al. p.70; cf. Jones, 2004; Mumby & Stohl, 1991). Given

that this gender contradiction has persisted over time outside of the youth sport context, it influences the *collaborative vs. competitive* paradox for female athletes such that they are expected to “be a lady” and “get along with others,” but also be “aggressive” and “ambitious.” Putman and colleagues (2016) note that a paradox “typically occurs through the ways that contradictions and dialectics form the building blocks of paradox as it persists over time and makes choice difficult,” (p. 76). By defining the specific type of opposition, the relationships among the oppositions as well as how and why members managed such oppositions is refined and clarified. The value of viewing this relationship as a paradox reveals the absurd double-binds girls and women encounter in other similar competitive organizational contexts (e.g., athletic teams, sales teams, medical teams, law firms) as a result of gendered identity expectations of collaboration. Moreover, this discourse paradox also demonstrates why even girls exposed to empowered female identity targets might still reproduce biased gender discourses.

Implications of Multiple Nested Identity Oppositions beyond Youth Sports

Future work applying an oppositional discourse analysis should also consider how an integrative model of oppositional discourses analysis (Fairhurst & Putnam, 2016) might be fully articulated in one academic paper. Given the length restrictions for most academic work, answering more than two research questions in a qualitative study presents a writing and methodological challenge. In this study, the context of girls’ youth sport presents a unique case of voluntary organizing, multi-layered identities, and several different types of oppositional discourses reinforced by individuals inside (e.g., coaches, participants) and outside (e.g., parents, non-participant peers) the sports team. However, the findings presented here are likely transferable to other similar organizational contexts in which members must negotiate multi-layered identities related to gender, ethnicity, or class.

Table 1- Gendered d/Discourse Oppositions

Gendered Identity	Identity Discourse Contradiction	Data Excerpt Examples: “d” iscourse
Feminine	<i>Girls are... Insecure Conventional Weak Socially motivated</i>	<p>SP: “[Girls might think] maybe I should do stuff with my friends instead. If my friends don't do sports, then I'm not gonna do sports.”</p> <p>SP: “I think boys like to take the pressure and some girls don't like taking pressure because some people say that boys have stronger minds than girls.”</p>
Masculine	<i>Boys are... Confident Competitive Strong Tough</i>	<p>SP: “Cause boys are more competitive and the pushy kind, so they want to do competitive stuff. People say that they're faster than girls and stuff, so they probably would want to do it more than girls would.”</p> <p>P: “A dad with a son playing football, he wants him to work out and go crush somebody. Then with a girl playing basketball or soccer, he wants you to do really, really well, but also wants you to be a lady and there just different... When they're talking about their son being the best at football they're not saying, but also act like a gentleman.”</p>
Alternative	<i>Boys and girls are the same.</i>	<p>SP: “Because they can be the same, like I am. They're different gender, but they can still be the same. They can like the same things. They don't have to like different things.”</p> <p>Coach Fieldnote: “The girls said I should propose to him because I am a <i>strong and independent woman</i>.”</p>

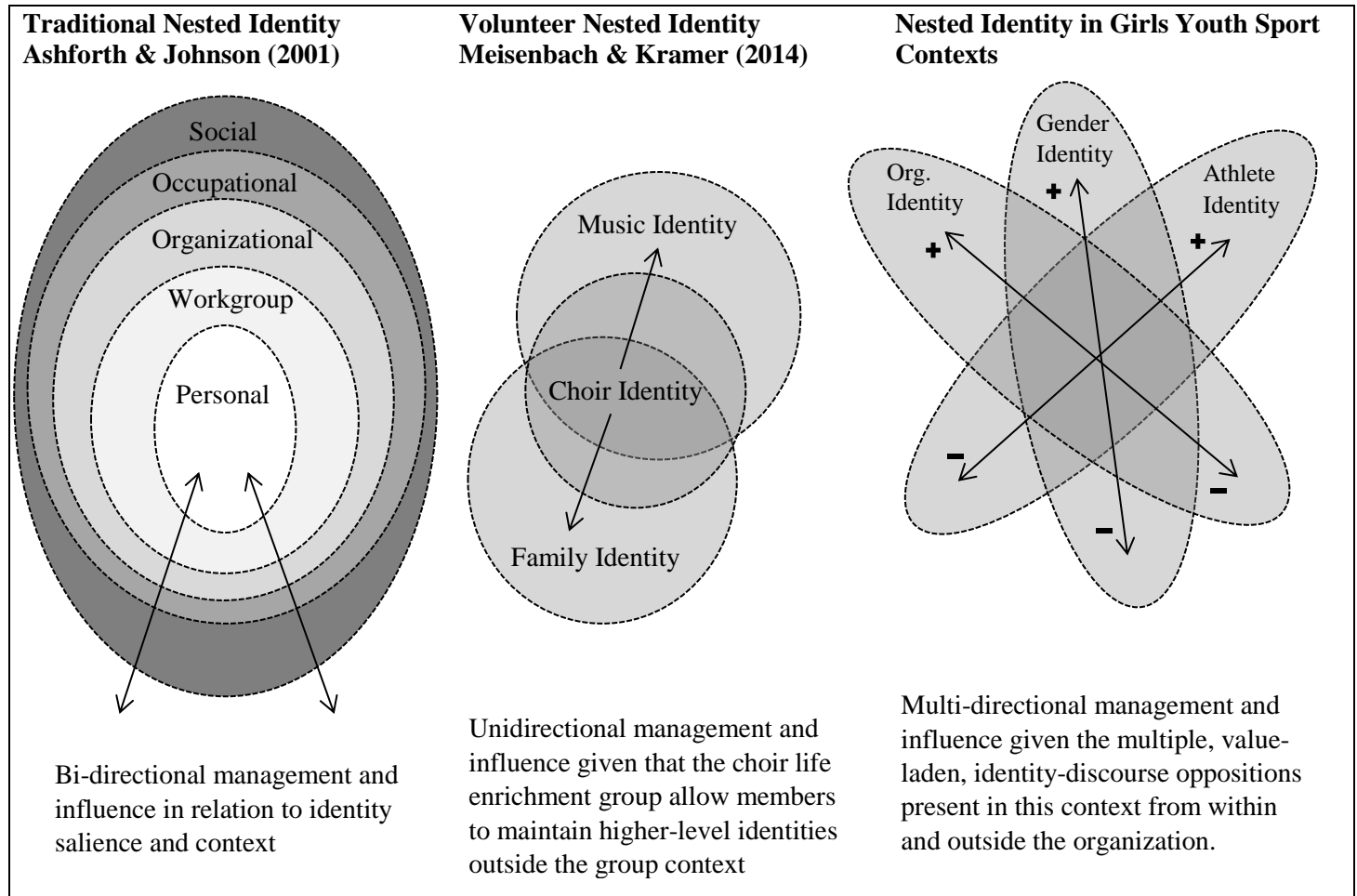
Note: The data excerpts presented in this table are exemplars of the macro-level identity discourses related to gender in the research context. These discourses were thematic across participant responses. “SP” denotes a direct quotation from a sport participant interview. “P” denotes a direct quotation from a parent of a sport participant.

Table 2 – Female Athlete d/Discourse Oppositions

Opposition	Discourse	Opposition Type	Data Excerpt: “d”iscourse
Collaborative vs. Competitive	<i>Female athletes should be nice, friendly, kind, and inclusive as well as ambitious, aggressive, and fierce.</i>	Identity d/Discourse Paradox: persistent oppositions that often result in an ironic or absurd outcome	<p>SP: “What I learned is how to get along with others, supporting others, and using our ...power to make others feel better, and having the courage to speak up for others.”</p> <p>SP: “[I like doing sports] because I’m competitive, I don’t like losing.”</p>
Insecure vs. Confident	<i>Female athletes have identity characteristics of bravery, grit, and self-assurance as well as introversion, and self-consciousness.</i>	Identity d/Discourse Dialectic: negating oppositions with an ongoing dynamic interplay	<p>SP: “Even though I’m an athlete, people can still not be mentally tough. For me, I’m an athlete and when I lose, I still get emotional.”</p> <p>SP: “{Words that describe me} Strong, powerful, kind of athletic. Beautiful.”</p>
Socially Skilled vs. Physically Skilled	<i>Female athletes are motivated to participate in sport by friendship and belonging as well as the ability to perform physical activity in a team setting.</i>	Identity d/Discourse Tension: stress-inducing oppositions	<p>SP: “Because I love running and I love being in a team and doing fun things.”</p> <p>SP: “Just the team and everything and that I wasn’t the only one in it. I wasn’t a lone wolf.”</p> <p>SP: “It’s a running program, but it also teaches you emotional skills. Personally I’m not very emotional about it, but the running part is good.”</p>

Note: The data excerpts presented in this table are exemplars of the macro-level identity discourses related to feminine athletic identities in the research context. These discourses were thematic across participant responses. “SP” denotes a direct quotation from a sport participant interview. The category of discourse opposition was derived from Putnam and colleagues’ (2016) review.

Figure 1- Comparison of conceptualization of nested identity in organizing



Note: These figures are based on the authors' interpretation of the literature on nested identity in traditional, volunteer, and the current study's organizational context. The figures do not represent all possible identities in a given organization context, rather these figures depict the progression of nested identity conceptualization in relation to social and organizational groups to highlight the current study's contribution.

References

- Adler, P., & Adler, P. A. (1987). Role conflict and identity salience: College athletics and the academic role. *The Social Science Journal*, 24(4), 443-455.
- Albert, S., Ashforth, B. E., & Dutton, J. E. (2000). Organizational identity and identification: Charting new waters and building new bridges. *Academy of Management Review* 25(1) 13–17.
- Alvesson, M., & Kärreman, D. (2000). Varieties of discourse: On the study of organizations through discourse analysis. *Human relations*, 53(9), 1125-1149.
- Anderson, E. (2008). “I used to think women were weak”: Orthodox masculinity, gender segregation, and sport. *Sociological Forum*, 23(2), 257-280.
- Ashcraft, K. L., & Mumby, D. K. (2004). *Reworking gender: A feminist communicology of organization*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ashforth, B. E., & Johnson, S. A. (2001). Which hat to wear? The relative salience of multiple identities in organizational contexts. In M. A. Hogg & D. J. Terry (Eds.), *Social identity processes in organizational contexts* (pp. 31-48). Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
- Ashforth, B. E., & Mael, F. (1989). Social identity theory and the organization. *Academy of Management Review*, 14, 20-39. doi:10.5465/amr.1989.4278999
- Ashforth, B. E., Rogers, K. M., & Corley, K. (2011). Identity in organizations: Exploring cross-level dynamics. *Organization Science*, 22, 1144-1156. doi:10.1287/orsc.1100.0591
- Bennett, E. V., Scarlett, L., Hurd Clarke, L., & Crocker, P. R. (2017). Negotiating (athletic) femininity: the body and identity in elite female basketball players. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 9(2), 233-246.

- Bryson, L. (1987). Sport and the maintenance of masculine hegemony. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 10(4), 349-360.
- Buchanan, M. J. P. (2012). Title IX turns 40: A brief history and look forward. *Texas Review of Entertainment, & Sports Law*, 14, 91-93.
- Collinson, D. L. (2003). Identities and insecurities: Selves at work. *Organization*, 10(3), 527-547.
- Cooky, C. (2009). "Girls just aren't interested": The social construction of interest in girls' sport. *Sociological Perspectives*, 52(2), 259-283. doi:10.1525/sop.2009.52.2.259
- DeBate, R. D., & Thompson, S. H. (2005). Girls on the Run: improvements in self-esteem, body size satisfaction and eating attitudes/behaviors. *Eating and Weight Disorders-Studies on Anorexia, Bulimia and Obesity*, 10(1), 25-32.
- Dowling, C. (2000). *The frailty myth: Women approaching physical equality*. New York: Random House.
- Ellingson, L. L. (2008). *Engaging crystallization in qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Evans, B. (2006). 'I'd feel ashamed': Girls' bodies and sports participation. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 13(5), 547-561.
- Ezzell, M. B. (2009). "Barbie dolls" on the pitch: Identity work, defensive othering, and inequality in women's rugby. *Social Problems*, 56(1), 111-131.
- Fairhurst, G. T., & Putnam, L. L. (2018). An integrative methodology for organizational oppositions: Aligning grounded theory and discourse analysis. *Organizational Research Methods*, 1094428118776771.

- Finley, N. J. (2010). Skating femininity: Gender maneuvering in women's roller derby. *Journal of contemporary ethnography*, 39(4), 359-387.
- Gioia, D. A. 1998. From individual to organizational identity. In D. A. Whetten, P. C. Godfrey, (Eds). *Identity in organizations: Building theory through conversations*. (pp. 17–31). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kågesten, A., Gibbs, S., Blum, R. W., Moreau, C., Chandra-Mouli, V., Herbert, A., & Amin, A. (2016). Understanding factors that shape gender attitudes in early adolescence globally: A mixed-methods systematic review. *PloS one*, 11(6), e0157805.
- Knight, J. L., & Giuliano, T. A. (2003). Blood, sweat, and jeers: The impact of the media's heterosexist portrayals on perceptions of male and female athletes. *Journal of Sport Behavior*, 26(3), 272-284.
- Kuhn, T., & Nelson, N. (2002). Reengineering identity: A case study of multiplicity and duality in organization identification. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 16, 5-38.
doi:10.1177/0893318902161001
- LaFountain, J., & Kamphoff, C. S. (2016). Coaching boys' high school teams: Female coaches' experiences and perceptions. *International Journal of Sports Science & Coaching*, 11(1), 27-38.
- Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2011). *Qualitative communication research methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Martin, J. J., Waldron, J. J., McCabe, A., & Choi, Y. S. (2009). The impact of "Girls on the Run" on self-concept and fat attitudes. *Journal of Clinical Sport Psychology*, 3(2), 127-138.

- Meisenbach, R. (2008). Working with tensions: Materiality, discourse, and (dis)empowerment in occupational identity negotiation among higher education fund-raisers. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 22, 258-287. doi:10.1177/0893318908323150
- Messner, M. A. (1992). *Power at play: Sports and the problem of masculinity*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Messner, M. A., & Sabo, D. F. (1994). *Sex, violence, & power in sports: Rethinking masculinity*. Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press.
- Miller, J. L., & Levy, G. D. (1996). Gender role conflict, gender-typed characteristics, self-concepts, and sport socialization in female athletes and nonathletes. *Sex Roles*, 35(1-2), 111-122.
- Morris, E. W. (2012). Repelling the “Rutter”: Social differentiation among rural teenagers. *Symbolic Interaction*, 35(3), 301-320.
- Norman, L. (2010). Bearing the burden of doubt: Female coaches’ experiences of gender relations. *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport*, 81(4), 506-517.
- Putnam, L. L., Fairhurst, G. T., & Banghart, S. (2016). Contradictions, dialectics, and paradoxes in organizations: A constitutive approach. *The Academy of Management Annals*, 10(1), 65-171.
- Sabo, D., Miller, K. E., Melnick, M. J., & Heywood, L. (2004). *Her Life Depends On It: Sport, Physical Activity, and the Health and Well-Being of American Girls*. East Meadow, NY: Women’s Sports Foundation.
- Sabo, D., & Veliz, P. (2008). *Go Out and Play: Youth Sports in America*. East Meadow, NY: Women’s Sports Foundation.

Schwalbe, M., Dodwin, S., Holden, D., Schrock, D., Thompson, S., & Wolkomir, M. (2000).

Generic processes in the reproduction of inequality: An interactionist analysis. *Social Forces* 79, 419–52.

Schwalbe, M. L., & Mason-Schrock, D. (1996). Identity work as group process. In B.

Markovsky, M. Lovaglia, and R. Simon (Eds.) *Advances in group processes*, (pp. 115-149). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Scott, C. R., & Stephens, K. K. (2009). It depends on who you're talking to . . . : Predictors and

outcomes of situated measures of organizational identification. *Western Journal of Communication*, 73, 370-394. doi:10.1080/10570310903279075

Scott, C. R., Corman, S. R., & Cheney, G. (1998). Development of a structural model of identification in the organization. *Communication Theory*, 8, 298-336.

doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.1998.tb00223.x

Schyns, B., Tymon, A., Kiefer, T., & Kerschreiter, R. (2013). New ways to leadership

development: A picture paints a thousand words. *Management Learning*, 44(1), 11-24.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1985) The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S.

Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (2nd ed., pp. 7-24). Chicago

The Aspen Institute. (2017). State of play: Trends and developments. Retrieved from

<https://assets.aspeninstitute.org/content/uploads/2017/12/FINAL-SOP2017-report.pdf>

Tracy, S. J., & Redden, S. M. (2015). Drawings as a visual and creative qualitative research

methodology in organizations. In K. D. Elsbach & R. M. Kramer (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative organizational research: Innovative pathways and methods*, (pp. 218-236)

New York, NY: Routledge.

- Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight “big-tent” criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 16*(10), 837-851.
- Watson, T. J. 2008. Managing identity: Identity work, personal predicaments and structural circumstances. *Organization 15*(1) 121–143.
- Wieland, S. M. B. (2010). Ideal selves as resources for the situated practice of identity. *Management Communication Quarterly, 24*, 503-528. doi:10.1177/0893318910374938
- Young, I. M. (1990). *Throwing like a girl and other essays in feminist philosophy and social thought*. Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Zanin, A. C., Hoelscher, C. S., & Kramer, M. W. (2016). Extending Symbolic Convergence Theory: A Shared Identity Perspective of a Team’s Culture. *Small Group Research, 47*(4), 438-472.