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## Epilogue: What's Next for Identity Theory and Research?

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This handbook has brought together, for the first time, several different lines of identity theory and research. Indeed, as outlined in the introductory chapter, our goal has been to map the landscape of identity studies and to provide expert reviews of various areas of this landscape. In doing so, we have begun to answer some important questions about identity—but we have also raised new ones. Hopefully, we have also created exciting integrative possibilities for the field as it moves forward. Although it is impossible for any edited volume to cover all of the identity-related perspectives that have been advanced, we believe that we have surveyed a wide range of models and have captured much of the diversity within the field of identity studies.

We, the editors, have learned an incredible amount from editing this book. The richness and diversity within the field of identity studies is staggering—which offers both a tremendous challenge and a tremendous opportunity. We continue to believe that integration is both possible and desirable among the many perspectives presented in this book. Yet, it is important to create an integrative framework that can genuinely give space to the insights available from each perspective, rather than forcing diverse perspectives into an overly narrow and restrictive synthesis. With this in mind, in this closing

chapter, we revisit some of the key divisions in the literature that we identified at the beginning of the book. We consider how far we have come, as well as what remains to be done in order to facilitate the integration that we have envisioned.

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### Issue 1: Identity as a Multilevel Construct

Operationalizing “identity” is not an easy task. To truly capture the complexity of this construct, we must move beyond isolated sub-disciplines, put forward integrative theoretical propositions, and design innovative research studies that capture multiple components and processes of identity. For example, Umaña-Taylor ([Chapter 33](#), this volume) illustrates how two prominent and largely separate perspectives on identity—the neo-Eriksonian approach and the social identity approach—actually complement one another well and can be used together to provide a much fuller understanding of the dynamics of ethnic identity than would be possible using either perspective on its own. To illustrate the possibilities for further integration of this kind, one might consider the role of identity in the workplace. On the one hand, Skorikov and Vondracek ([Chapter 29](#), this volume) examine occupational identity at the level of the individual person—who am I as a worker, and where am I going in my working life? On the other hand, Haslam and Ellemers ([Chapter 30](#), this volume) address the domain of work by viewing the workplace as a context

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for group activity. These perspectives highlight differing components of a single domain of life—the workplace—and as such, the potential may exist for integrating them into a larger model of how individuals choose careers and, at the same time, how group dynamics in the work context determine the effectiveness of leadership, feelings of motivation, and perceptions of stress among employees. Both the “inner” (choosing a career) and “outer” (workplace dynamics) worlds of work are important, and integrating them might indeed be important in helping individuals to develop a work identity—both in terms of the type of work one pursues and in terms of the effectiveness with which that work is performed.

The workplace is only one example of how exciting, innovative, and practically useful ideas can be pursued, based on bringing together diverse perspectives on identity. The issue of international migration—which is quite polarizing and divisive in many countries—can also be viewed from both “inner” and “outer” perspectives. That is, the phenomenon that we call “migration” is comprised of the experiences and views of the individual migrant, the “culture” (defined in many different ways) of the migrant group, and the ways in which the migrant group interacts with—and is perceived by—the receiving society. As such, chapters in this volume by Huynh, Nguyen, and Benet-Martínez (Chapter 35: the inner experience of the migrant person), Stepick, Dutton Stepick, and Vanderkooy (Chapter 37: the ways in which the choices available to individual migrants are constrained by the group to which they belong), and both Schildkraut (Chapter 36) and Licata et al. (Chapter 38: ways in which the receiving society views and interacts with migrant groups) suggest exciting directions in which the study of migration can be extended and expanded. How are the migrant’s sense of her/himself, group memberships, and relations with other people affected by the interplay among these various identity aspects and processes? These diverse perspectives, and their potential integration, suggest that the study of international migration is far more complex than is often portrayed in both academic and lay discourse.

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## Issue 2: Interplay of Short- and Long-Term Processes

Another important direction for integration involves exploring the links between short-term (e.g., moment-to-moment, daily variation) and long-term (e.g., across a span of months or years) identity processes (e.g., Klimstra et al., 2010). Short-term approaches, such as analyzing contextual shifts in the salience of personal and social identities (Spears, Chapter 9, this volume), the way individuals position themselves in conversations (Bamberg, De Fina, & Schiffrin, Chapter 8, this volume), or the ways in which people defend against threats to their self-esteem (Gregg, Sedikides, & Gebauer, Chapter 14, this volume), may represent the “building blocks” that comprise longer-term developmental trajectories in the development of self. The minute-by-minute, hour-by-hour, and day-by-day transactions in which one engages may bring about changes in identity exploration or commitment that may “add up” over longer periods of time (e.g., Luyckx, Schwartz, Goossens, Beyers, & Missotten, Chapter 4, this volume). And such changes in identity processes over longer periods of time may, in turn, represent the building blocks from which individuals construct an overall life story (see McAdams, Chapter 5, this volume). So the ways in which time is conceptualized within the study of identity allow for integration of different perspectives that focus on different timescales (Lichtwarck-Aschoff, van Geert, Bosma, & Kunnen, 2008).

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## Issue 3: Identity Discovery and Identity Construction

In the introductory chapter, we raised the issue of whether identity is discovered, personally constructed, or socially constructed. A number of chapters in this book addressed this issue (e.g., for self-discovery, Soenens & Vansteenkiste, Chapter 17, and Waterman, Chapter 16; for personal construction, Berzonsky, Chapter 3; and for social construction, Bamberg, De Fina, &

Schiffirin, [Chapter 8](#)). To address empirically the issue of how identity comes into being, innovative methodologies may need to be developed. A number of issues need to be considered regarding how these methodologies might be created. First, we are somewhat skeptical of the value of relying straightforwardly on individuals' self-reports of the extent to which they have discovered their "true selves" (e.g., Waterman, [Chapter 16](#), this volume). Individuals may not be able to distinguish, or they may even be motivated to avoid considering objectively, whether the "true self" that they are experiencing existed prior to its discovery or whether in reality they are experiencing a sense of fit and authenticity with a sense of self that they have constructed. Experimental methods, such as those used in social psychology, may be useful in determining the extent to which individuals are aware of precisely *what* they are discovering (cf. Schlenker & Weigold, 1990). For example, one might randomly assign participants to conditions where they receive descriptions of themselves that they are encouraged to believe are "true" or "authentic," when actually these are known to be either biased or random. If such an experimental manipulation is successful in prompting individuals to report feelings of self-discovery, then this could suggest that people's experiences of true self are in fact personally or socially constructed—or at least that this can sometimes be the case.

It may also be useful to conduct qualitative (narrative or discursive) studies to understand better how people experience the processes involved in self-construction and self-discovery. Such studies might utilize structured interview measures, similar to those that have been used to assess identity status (e.g., Marcia & Archer, 1993). A set of questions would be devised, such as "How did you come to know who you are?" and "Do you feel that you have discovered who you really are—and if so, how did you do this?" Such questions would allow individuals to describe their experiences of personal self-construction and self-discovery and to answer the question of *how* individuals come to realize, or feel, that they have discovered their "true" selves.

Future research must also explore in greater depth the interplay between personal and social processes of identity construction. This is connected to what Côté and Levine (2002) have labeled the "structure-agency debate" within sociology: how much of individual behavior is the result of free choice versus contextual constraint? As an interesting example of how this might be addressed, consider the construct of "commitment" as defined within the neo-Eriksonian (Kroger & Marcia, [Chapter 2](#), this volume; Luyckx et al., [Chapter 4](#), this volume) and symbolic interactionist (Serpe & Stryker, [Chapter 10](#), this volume) perspectives. Within the neo-Eriksonian approach, commitment is typically taken to imply an individual's conscious decision to adhere to a specific set of goals, values, and beliefs (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001). Seemingly in contrast, within symbolic interactionism, commitment refers to a person's occupying a specific social structural position that will tend to prescribe certain identities and behaviors and proscribe others (Stryker, 2003). At first blush, neo-Eriksonian commitment and symbolic interactionist commitment look like radically different constructs, despite the shared name. Yet, on closer inspection, there may be a lot more commonality between the processes underlying these constructs than at first appears. From a neo-Eriksonian perspective, a person may form a commitment largely based on social contextual influences or even pressures—not so different from the symbolic interactionist concept. Similarly, from a symbolic interactionist perspective, a person may enter willingly into a social structural position of commitment—for example, by starting a new job or getting married—which might be viewed in neo-Eriksonian terms as the behavioral component of a personally endorsed commitment. So agency operates within the constraints of structure while, at least to some extent, agency can help to determine the structural position in which individuals find themselves. Thus, the difference between the two concepts of "commitment" arguably turns out to be a difference of emphasis, rather than a difference of kind.

An important direction for future work, then, is to situate agency-based methodological approaches to identity (e.g., Schwartz, Côté, & Arnett, 2005) within the larger auspices of methodologies drawn from the symbolic interactionist and other role-based perspectives. For example, Bosma and Kunnen (2001) and Phillips and Pittman (2003) have suggested that contextual factors, such as socioeconomic status and cultural expectations, constrain the potential identity alternatives that are available for the person to select (see also Oyserman & James, Chapter 6, this volume). Ethnographic methodologies—as well as multilevel studies that study both individual and contextual variables—should be used to explore the ways in which contextual processes promote or inhibit the range of identity elements and positions from which one can choose (see the next section for an example of this approach). Additionally, the concept of “individuals as producers of their own development” (Lerner & Busch-Rossnagel, 1981) might be invoked, perhaps through narrative or discursive analyses, to examine the ways in which the commitments that individuals intentionally enact may subsequently become structural roles that then constrain the range of identity commitments that can be enacted at a later time. For example, entering into marriage and becoming a parent may contraindicate certain career moves that require a great deal of flexibility and traveling. Interdisciplinary, cross-perspective work is necessary to examine the processes involved in the interplay between explicit and implicit commitments.

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#### Issue 4: Multiple Methodologies

In addressing these complex theoretical issues, much could be gained from the combined use of qualitative and quantitative methods. Of course, this is not a new idea (see, e.g., Bryman, 1988; Denzin, 1978; Flick, 1992; Reicher, 1994). For example, some have suggested a circular movement between the two methodological approaches: qualitative analyses might be

used to explore new and complex phenomenon, leading to the generation of more sophisticated hypotheses for subsequent quantitative testing, and then further qualitative analyses might be conducted to explore surprising or unexplained results from the quantitative analysis, etc. But, although many writers have called for mixed-method research on identity processes, such research in the identity studies field remains relatively scarce (for exceptions, see Rodriguez, Schwartz, & Whitbourne, 2010; Verkuyten, 2005). Admittedly, mixed method research is difficult, because each method requires detailed training and experience (e.g., inferential statistics versus grounded-theory methods), and qualitative and quantitative methods require different sets of skills. Nevertheless, a good first step would be for quantitative-based researchers to read and seriously consider what they can learn from qualitative identity research, and vice versa.

As an example of this latter approach, Pehrson, Vignoles, and Brown (2009; see also Licata, Sanchez-Mazas, & Green, Chapter 38, this volume) conducted a quantitative analysis to test a prediction that they had derived originally from critical discourse theory (Parker, 1992; see also Bamberg et al., Chapter 8, this volume). A key theoretical idea underlying their study was that macro-level ideological discourses (in this case, particular social constructions of nationhood) can make certain identity positions easier to occupy and others less so (in this case, how easy it is to be strongly identified with one’s nation while simultaneously espousing positive attitudes toward immigrants). In a multilevel analysis of survey data from 31 nations, they found support for this prediction. Specifically, in those nations where national membership was defined to a greater extent in terms of shared language, they found that national identification was correlated with negative attitudes to immigrants (in these nations, either one could identify with the nation, or one could have a positive attitude to immigrants), whereas in those nations where national membership was defined in terms of shared citizenship, no such

correlation was found (in these nations, the discursive climate made it easier to identify strongly and yet also express positive attitudes toward immigrants).

This study, along with Verkuyten's (2005) pairing of discursive and experimental approaches, illustrates ways in which qualitative and quantitative approaches can be used together to develop and test broader and more sophisticated theoretical propositions. And, given that methodological approaches are often associated with specific theoretical worldviews and with certain types of research questions, mixed-method studies provide exciting possibilities for integration. Through such combined qualitative–quantitative lines of research, we can achieve the best of both worlds—drawing on the strengths, and compensating for the weaknesses, of both methodological approaches.

### Concluding Remarks

In closing, this handbook represents one of the first steps in—and hopefully it will be an important catalyst for—a coming together of the various currents of identity theory and research. Such an integration, extension, and expansion of current work may be the most effective response to critics such as Brubaker and Cooper (2000) and Gergen (1991), who have asserted that identity represents a “catch-all” term for anything related to the self. We hope to have clarified our conceptions of what identity is, and what it is not—as well as delineating the various dimensions of identity and how they fit together to create the whole that is the person, the relationship, the group, and the society. However, much work remains to be done, and it is important for future theoretical and empirical efforts to draw from a variety of fields, disciplines, and perspectives including and even beyond those in this handbook (see also Wetherell & Mohanty, 2010). It is our hope that the collection of chapters in this book inspires a new, integrative, and expansive line of identity theory and research.

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