



Editorial Young People's Constructions of Identities: Global Perspectives

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Introduction: The Issues of Constructing Identities in the Global Context

Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them. William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*.

(Act 2, Scene 5)

The concept of a personal identity is rather similar to Shakespeare's analysis of identity. Identities can be ascribed by one's birth, achieved by an individual or imposed upon one by others. It is generally assumed that identities are more likely to be ascribed in more traditional societies in which class, status or caste depend on one's parents' position in society. This remains true of many aspects of contemporary societies, where parental wealth and social and cultural capital largely determine one's status, at least in the early years of life. Membership of a religious/faith community is also generally presumed to be settled in the first place by parentage. Nationality and citizenship remain aspects of identity that are particularly prescribed, determined by parentage and/or birthplace in the first instance, sometimes with opportunities to seek to formally change this when one is considered an adult.

Other aspects of an individual's identity—and those initially ascribed—are increasingly considered to be matters that can be 'achieved' through personal choice, educational achievement, lifestyle and behaviour decisions.

But there are also constructs of identity that are 'thrust upon' one, where identities are prescribed by both the state and by the community. Modern states require the classification of their populations: Benedict Anderson points to how states need to distinguish between 'peoples, regions, religions, languages' in order to impose a 'totalizing classificatory grid' [1] (p. 184). This Foucauldian model of the surveillance of state [2] is used by Kertzer and Arel to explain:

how the use of identity categories ... creates a particular vision of social reality. All people are assigned to a single category, and are hence conceptualised as sharing, with a certain number of others, a common collective identity. [3] (p. 5)

These state processes have been described more recently as the processes of:

categorization and the proliferation of boundaries ... Census records, vital records, passports, identification documents, church records and medical research data establish and grant materiality to the categorisations that inform our identities: beyond sex and age, they designate citizenship, nationality, lineage, religion, ancestry, health, language, ethnicity and race. [4] (p. 5)

Instead of situationally determined complex social linkages, the reification process of identity categories creates neat boundaries between mutually exclusive groups [5].

The process of enumeration and assignation becomes determined through body-counts that:



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Copyright: © 2025 by the author. Licensee MDPI, Basel, Switzerland. This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (https://creativecommons.org/ licenses/by/4.0/). create not only types and classes ... but also homogeneous bodies, because number, by its nature, flattens idiosyncrasies and creates boundaries around these homogeneous bodies, since it performatively limits their extent ... Statistics are to bodies and social types what maps are to territories: they flatten and enclose. [6] (p. 133)

Such processes can also be replicated informally, where identities—of ethnicity, gender, class, sexuality and religious belief, amongst others—are projected by communities on an individual or group. There is a presumption by many people that most of these state-determined identity categories have a reality that can be projected onto individuals so that everyone can easily fit into such groups.

Historically, many of the early social scientists and psychologists in the early 20th century contributed to this process. Types of identity were identified and described as national typologies of identity determined by Western societies, and anthropologists were dispatched to colonial realms to create the typologies and characteristics of the subjects of empire. The assumptions behind these endeavours were that individuals and groups of individuals had identities that were immutable and determined initially by birth and then through early socialisation by family and community to fit into a prescribed range of types by adulthood that would, from then on, be largely immutable throughout adulthood.

As I describe in more detail in my own contribution to this volume (article 10), there has been discussion since the 1980s of multiple identities, as constructed by an individual about themselves—multi-faceted, complex and differently constructed in particular contexts and specific times: a palette of identities that is drawn upon contextually and contingently. A range of accounts of this have drawn on explanatory metaphors: Bauman [7] and then Blūhdorn and Butzlaff [8] described them as liquid identities; Crenshaw described them as intersectional multiple identities [9], palimpsest [10,11], unsettled, liminal [12] and fluid or bricolage [13] or, my preferred term, kaleidoscopic [14,15]:

Each individual has a palette of materials-the particles seen through the kaleidoscope-but they are rearranged in a fresh pattern as the context changes, as the instrument moves to a new position. The combined refractive and reflective powers of the instrument lead to new and specific patterns, but these are made up of a selection (not necessarily all) of the particles. Many of the particles themselves are common in nature, though not necessarily in all specifics, to those particles that others have-gender, age, social class, perceptions of ethnicity. And these particles-unlike those in a real kaleidoscope-may change and develop as experiences are accumulated. And, as in a kaleidoscope, not all of these elements are necessarily in view and contributing to the pattern, at any particular moment: it will vary according to the contingent twist or shake of the body of the instrument. The eyepiece or lens, the number of mirrors and their position, and polarised light filters all constitute particular focussing devices that determine how the particles are perceived. [14] (pp. 284–285)

Fisher et al. [16] proposed that there are currently three different theoretical approaches to identity, quoting Varghese et al. [17], these are *not* "a single, coherent theoretical approach [but] contain a set of features that may be common to various theoretical frameworks" [16] (p. 23), as shown in Figure 1.

The psycho-social concept of identity is particularly associated with the work of Erikson [18], combining a psychological focus on the 'self' with a sociological emphasis on environmental factors. Erikson differentiated the self—an inner psychological entity at the crux of one's experience—from identity, constructed by the self, the outcome of contingent and contextual pressures. While one might have a range of different identities, these are



incorporated into a consistent core that interprets previous experiences and selves with the present.

Figure 1. Three theoretical approaches to identity (after Fisher et al. [16], p. 452).

Socio-cultural identity theory also combines the individual and the social but with greater centrality given to the individual's social, cultural and historical context. Identity is seen as situational: Fisher et al. see such identities as 'framed in terms of individual participation of individual participation in communities of practice' [16] (p. 451). They are thus both multiple and provisional: there is no core identity, which is a foundation of psycho-cultural identity.

Post-structuralists extend such a singular core identity by denying the very possibility of a fixed self. Zemybylas sees identities as always incomplete, 'constantly becoming' [19] (p. 221). Post-structuralism gives the individual the agency to create identities defined by the situation and the contingent. The defining characteristics of such identities are the individual and the social, not the psychosocial.

These three approaches are represented by fairly distinct clusters of social scientists, who appear largely to reference and support each other, although occasionally alluding to members of the other groups to distinguish their approach to identity from the others. Table 1 shows various academics who have been associated with each of these groups. It should be noted that some names occur in more than one approach, either because their focus has changed over time or because they are associated with more than one cluster, and these names are italicised. Some often write collaboratively, and these names are linked together (with &) in the lists.

This volume brings together a number of papers that consider how young people in a range of societies are constructing their identities. The various authors analyse particular groups through diverse methodologies and focus on particular facets of identities. In an increasingly globalised society, young people are presented with a diverse range of potential characteristics of identity. The concept of ascribed social identities now appears to be less significant than was apparently common in the past, and many more people in contemporary societies seem to reach for 'achieved' identities. Most of the papers in this volume seek to explore *how* young people negotiate the construction of multiple identities, looking at the processes by which they manage this rather than the specifics of what they accomplish. They largely focus on young people, loosely defined, but it should not be assumed that they see identities as something that is constructed simply during the

period of 'being young': the process of building an identity is not seen as something that is concluded and set as one becomes adult. Modern identities are marked, it seems, by a sense of fluidity that persists through the life cycle: it is never complete but consistently being revised, refashioned and adjusted; reflecting, I would argue the contingencies and contexts of contemporary life.

Table 1. Various social scientists can be seen as associated with a particular theoretical approach to the analysis of identity.

| Psycho-Social | Socio-Cultural | Post-Structural |
|--|--|---|
| Erik Erikson John Berry Michael Berzonsky James Côté and Charles Levine Elisabetta Crocetti Mark Leary & June Price Tangney Koen Luyckx Daphna Oyserman & Leah James Dan P McAdams James E Marcia Jean Phinney Richard Ryan & Edward Deci Seth Schwartz Sheldon Stryker | Henri Tajfel Laura L Adams Albert Bandura David Block Virginia Braun Peter J Burke Michael Hogg Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger Bonny Norton Peirce & Kelleen Toohey John Turner André Vågan Hadrian Lankiewicz, AnnaSzczepaniak-Kozak & Emilia Wasikiewicz-Firlej Michalinos Zembylas | Pierre Bourdieu Irvine Goffman Michel Foucault Zygmunt Bauman Arjan Appuradi Benedict Anderson Rogers Brubaker Judith Butler Kimberle Crenshaw Stuart Hall Jean Lave & Etienne Wenger Barbara Fawcett Jurgen Habermas Bonny Norton Pierce Michalinos Zembylas |

Notes: 'Leading' figures are in **bold**; those in more than one grouping are in *italics*. This table is indicative, not complete, and should not be seen as definitive. Forenames are included to make identification easier. Some names have been derived from the analysis of Fisher et al. [16] and may therefore have a particular focus on linguistic identifies; these names are shown in blue. Some other authors are taken from Ismail et al. [20].

Identity in the context that we are using in these papers is not a thing, fixed, determinate, accepted by the individual and society as a persistent form of labelling or badging the individual. We can trace a history of the use of the term identity and see uses that are sometimes now largely redundant in contemporary uses—for example, the ascribed social strata of the Middle Ages, when individuals were born into a status or class largely determined by their parentage or gender, that confined their lives within a particular social order (though even here, many contemporary historians are exploring examples of women, commoners and others who broke through these (presumed) barriers).

And although the subjects of most of these papers are 'young people', several of them demonstrate that identity formation should not be seen as simply a construction of youth, something that is completed by some age between one's late teens and mid-twenties. In the post-structuralist world, identities are never static and are constantly changing (not necessarily 'progressing'), reflecting situations, social locations, contexts and *evénéments*.

Jong argues, in Article 1, that contemporary Iran provides a particular context where traditional social categories can be re-examined. He describes the inception of sociology as situated in an epoch characterised by determinism, rationalism and human agency, but sociology's origins coincided with the parallel emergence of the natural sciences. These held the powerful idea of an objective reality, which effectively imposed itself on the ordering of the social sciences around categories such as nation, society and class, for example. Such classifications, Abbas argues, required the attribution of formal rationality and defined existence in order to be credible and coherent in those times. But the contemporary shifting ontological landscape has become one in which established boundaries and entities have been deconstructed: cosmopolitanisation has left them fragmented. He suggests that in contemporary Iran, the insistence on a rigid politics of Islamic identity has led to the marginalisation of a sizeable proportion of Iranian society—particularly of younger people in urban societies—that challenges established concepts. Such a milieu has led to political and social indeterminacy and hybridity, which he argues makes the reimagining of existing units of analysis a necessity.

The economic, cultural, and political policies of the Islamic Republic have set the ground for the massive exclusion of large social groups in different layers of Iranian society. Especially with the transformations that took place in the regime of power, a kind of rentier state, a predatory and clientelist political economy, along with a kind of official politics of culture and identity, either directly or unintentionally, became the basis for the construction of new social spaces and groups. This situation was accompanied by the huge wave of cultural globalization in Iran thanks to the expansion of mass communication media and networks.

The following article 2, by Crespo Lopes and Liljefors Persson, takes up the ways in which educational institutions in Europe respond to controversial societal issues and the support young people, particularly in secondary education, can be supported in their developing identities. Using data from deliberative, non-structured conversations between 11- and 18-year-olds in the Nordic states shows how conversations that begin by with aspects of identity limited to geographical and temporal aspects can develop into a broader understanding of their identities as constructed, multiple and negotiable. Their discussions show awareness of how others in their societies, such as older relatives, may have developed diverse ways of thinking and acting due to historical and cultural contexts. Understanding the intersection between psychosocial, post-structural and sociocultural explanations for how identity formation progresses, they argue that such awareness necessitates the pedagogical use of controversial issues and values, raising their critical consciousness of context and situation. They argue that young people need to be encouraged to challenge dominant ideologies and power structures, actively participating in shaping their own identities and contributing to social transformation.

The impact of contemporary controversies on young people in Hong Kong's minorities is the focus of Article 3 by Kennedy, Gube and Bhowmik. They interviewed young minority people in the middle of the protest movements of 2019, particularly with reference to their sense of attachment to Hong Kong, which has no policy towards multiculturalism and minorities. Some of these young people are descendants of colonial minorities—Indian police officers, Pakistani traders, Nepalese Gurka soldiers; while others are the children of more recent Filipina and Indonesian domestic workers or of Europeans, Australians and Canadians. Chinese nationality law only provides for British National (Overseas) status or their heritage citizenship. Their study found that all had a strong sense of 'belonging' to the city, but this was both locational, social and geographical, and not necessarily in an identity. A series of interviews are analysed, with very varied senses of identity emerging. Jennedy and his colleagues conclude that identity is contingent and not a 'given' category, such as citizenship might provide: circumstances and experiences such as the protests might contribute to a sense of identity, but not simply because of them: "young people are not 'blank slates': they will write on their own slates in their own way".

Vallejo Rubinstein and Tonili, in Article 4, also explore minority transnational young people in the Catalonian region of Spain and their linguistic and cultural identities. Such a location means that these young people are transcultural and plurilingual, maintaining the heritage language alongside Spanish and Catalan. Interviewing individual young people about the content that they would select for their 'travelling suitcases' if they were to leave the city shows how identity is both an individual and a social process transversing cultures, ethnicities, family and personal trajectories. The authors argue that these complex patterns of being and belonging need to be recognised and supported by a variety of educational programmes that they proceed to outline. They argue that notions of culture, language and identity are essentialist and reductive markers that mask complex hybridities. Following Fisher et al., they develop a theoretical framework as an ongoing process situated at the

intersection of the three approaches shown in Figure 1 (above). They conclude that the process of identity construction enables them each to span various linguistic and cultural references with unique individual, non-exclusionary and transcultural repertoires and affiliations. Such identities are constantly evolving: they suggest a series of axes that they claim can account for a wide and diverse set of practises and influences.

The elements of a 'national' identity are considered in Article 5 by Taivalanti, Norpaa and Lofström. They focus particularly on the dissonance between historical identities and personal identities. Using written and pictorial methods, they contrast visual representations of the histories conveyed through school curricula with the young people's personal historical identities, drawing subjects from two Finnish and an International school. They observe a dissonance between personal historical identities and the wider 'official' histories and how many young people find it challenging to reconcile the two. The article focuses particularly on two particular young people, set in the group results, which highlight different approaches to the challenge. As they observe, there are in several countries (possibly very many) strong political agendas to promote a particular sense of a 'national' identity. How do young people, they ask, make sense of these alongside their own personal family histories? Much history education research, they say, is based on the singular identity layer of history, ethnicity or race, exaggerating the notion of a fixed historical social identity. The different strategies adopted by the two students show major divergencies: one uses a traditional narrative structure, with twin tracks of national ('official) and family ('personal' histories, side by side; the other uses a network of concepts that have an implicit narrative. Both young people discuss their pictures and the ways that they relate values and personal experiences to a historical framework, with various reservations and useful digressions.

Giardiello, Cuervo and Capobianca (Article 6) examine the particular situations of young Italians who have relocated to Australia, focussing on migration that has taken place over the past ten years. They explore two theoretical models of identity in particular: poststructural performative identity (following Butler), where ethnic identity in a diasporic context is a performative process—but one that ignores ties to roots, places and sociocultural dimensions, and the Bordieuan concept of embodied cultural capital, that focuses more on the capacities of adaptation resistance and innovation in identity, which create a reservoir of cultural and symbolic resources in the creation of anchoring processes. After a discussion of these two models, they introduce their mixed methods study of young Italian migrants. They suggest that the identity of these young migrants combines incorporation that emphasises their Italian roots and heritage and a performative element around transformation in the account of life history. This results in the fusion of anchoring in an (often revived and rejuvenated) sense of cultural identity with a parallel narrative of change and adaptation. Two different profiles are identified. One group express a dual identity, Australian and Italian, displaying 'a dynamic accommodation of their cultural background to the new Australian reality'—not an assimilation but a creative dynamic of a new form of Italian-ness. The second group defined their identity as an attachment to their Italian cultural roots: the key to this group is that they all identified a reattachment to these roots when they arrived in Australia, but their attachment is described as to Italian culture, not to the Italian state.

Article 7, by Freires, Thomas Dotta and Pieriera, focuses on identity and citizenship in Southern Europe (Portugal, Spain, Italy and Cyprus), examining particularly the socio-political values that were raised in small group deliberative discussions about the relationship between country/state identities and European identities. The values of solidarity and equality were particularly valued as contributing to the construction of a sense of Europeanness, which contributes in particular to the idea of an 'inclusive Europe'. They note how community support and equality integrate the meaning of Europe for these young people and make for the possibilities of rearranging national histories as less confrontational. They also referenced some people in older generations as less respectful of these values, and thus, a sense these generations have of a disconnect with the concept of a European identity. Young people in the groups often narrated Europeanness within the construct of nested identities, reinforcing the notion of Europeanness being plural. Cyprus was an exception in some respect: group discussions were in both the north and the south, and a sense of division was present in all these discussions. Overall, there were some controversies in these discussions around these values, and the authors suggest that such discussions might be valuable in citizenship education: a participatory perspective on group discussions stimulates the strengthening of citizenship if they are able to reason and debate controversy, and has particular value in negotiating differences in points of view in a structured environment.

Chistolini, Porcarelli and Lastrucci, in Article 8, examine young people's identities at the sub-national level in Italy. They begin by examining the nature of the Italian State and the legal and constitutional provisions for citizenship education: partly from this, they add to the lexicon of *ius solis* and *ius sanguinis* the terms *ius culturae* and *ius educationis*. When they examine the way young people discuss the notion of being Italian (using elements of the body of data used by Crespo Lopes and Liljefors in Article 2 and Freires, Thomas Dotta and Pieriera in Article 7, which is described more fully in Article 10) they generally are appreciative of the culture, history and artistic contributions of Itay, but also show various degrees of criticism of the nature of politics in Italy:

The most critical ... express the belief that politicians, regardless of ideological orientation and party affiliation, operate exclusively in the interest of small oligarchies and economic powers and almost never in the interest of the entire community. (The more radical ... declare that politicians are generally corrupt and carry out this activity solely for personal ends or for narrow associations.) ... Some ... highlight the poor efficiency of services, pointing out the inaction of institutions in carrying out their specific tasks.

Disturbingly, nearly all said that they would not wish to be involved in politics and saw no ways in which this situation might be improved or ameliorated. By way of contrast, the institutions of the European Union were generally welcomed. At the Italian level, their commitment would appear to be focused on building social cohesion and inclusionary practices.

This leads us to Article 9, where Angel Essomba, Nadeu and Tarrés examine the effects of social and community action initiatives on young people in Barcelona. Set in the same context of a decline in young people's satisfaction with their experiences of democracy, they contrast this with their support for more global initiatives, such as Black Lives Matter or Fridays for Future (the international development of the Swedish *Skolstrejk för klimatet*). Disaffection with mainstream politics, they conclude, does not necessarily mean a lack of identification with democratic values but rather a criticism of 'the current political atmosphere'. They suggest that civic engagement and volunteer participation in community-based organisations lead to a high-quality experience for young people and improve civic attitudes. This, they argue, is a necessary background for democratic political activism. But while they conclude that young people are not disconnected from the civic life of their communities and are using community organisations and networks instead of more traditional formal democratic institutions, they at the same time still have a remarkably low level of trust in political parties, with attitudes very similar those reported by Chistolini et al. in Article 8.

Article 10, by Ross, considers the three loose groupings of approaches to identity studies proposed by Fisher et al., and then the development of various models of nationality

that were fixed in an international context to determine a singular national identity for each individual, determined without reference to their own sense of 'belonging' to a nation. This is developed into a consideration of the emergence of the idea of 'a nation' from late 18th Century Europe, identifying many individual cases of multi-faceted loyalties and senses of identity that became subsumed into strict definitions of 'belonging' to a nation. This is contrasted by an analysis of evidence from deliberative discussions between small groups of young people across Europe in the 2010s, which analyse their various forms of descriptions of affiliations, or not, for countries and nations, in terms of 'geo-locational identities', the sense of belonging to what is variously described as a country, a state or a nation. How did they manage and engage (or not) with the potential multiplicity of possible identities? How confidently did they negotiate these structures?

Three kinds of descriptions were identified: the possible *attributes* of a country or nation; the *attitudes* towards identification (or not) with a country or nation; and the particular *qualities* that were associated with the country/nation. Young people seem to be increasingly aware of the impossibility of maintaining birthplace and parentage as the sole defining markers attributing identity. Instead, many offer a kaleidoscope bricolage of competing identities that they selectively adapt to particular circumstances, as required—and find no sense of confusion in summoning this up. Their awareness of the ways in which the European agenda of rights affects the sovereignty of states allows presumed loyalties to be further extended, weakening purely national allegiances. Both of these factors—recognising plural identities that are used to find an identity appropriate to the circumstance that is not inevitably tied to parentage or birth and the recognition of supra-national human rights as more fundamental than ties of nationality—are critical. Decoupling allows them to have a palette of identities that are freely available to be used in a contextual selection to fit the hour and the place.

And finally, now for something completely different: in Article 11, Simoes reminds us that identities can exist for locations as much as for individuals. She writes of how the city of Aveiro, in Portugal, has used street art to establish the city as a place of memory and identity for the inhabitants. Identity, as used in this collection, has been associated with the individual and society. This contribution demonstrates that identity can be attached to a place and a whole community, which can reflect multiple recollections, groups of people and histories in the graffiti and public art that adorn the streets.

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