Birds of Many Feathers: Uncovering Joint Similarities and Organizational Outcomes

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Abstract

Why do structurally identical organizations with comparable demographics develop vastly different collaboration patterns? I argue that the answer lies in intersectional homophily—the degree to which multiple identity dimensions jointly pattern informal networks at the organizational level. Unlike approaches examining similarity dimensions independently, this construct captures how identity combinations acquire collective meaning through organizational processes, creating distinct network signatures that shape collaboration, innovation, and conflict. I develop and validate a diagnostic test that detects when identity intersections, rather than single dimensions, drive network formation. Applying this test across three studies reveals systematic organizational variation invisible to traditional analysis. First, simulations validate the diagnostic's ability to distinguish intersectional from independent homophily patterns. Second, analysis of a manufacturing facility shows that discretionary friendship networks exhibit twice the intersectional homophily of task-constrained networks, confirming that relational choice amplifies identity intersection effects. Third, examining 56 schools demonstrates consequential outcomes: organizations with higher intersectional homophily experience significantly more conflict, even after controlling for demographics and structure. These patterns emerge through three mechanisms: identity-based clustering creates distinct interpretive schemes, limited crossgroup interaction prevents bridging relationships, and aligned boundaries reduce conflict resolution capacity. The framework reveals why seemingly similar organizations diverge—showing that effective collaboration depends not on who is present but on how their identities configure informal networks—and provides tools to diagnose and intervene before these patterns crystallize into organizational dysfunction.

Keywords: Social Networks; Collaboration and Innovation; Homophily; Team Composition; Organizational Design

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1 Introduction

Collaboration is a constant challenge for organizations. When collaboration fails, organizations face serious consequences: opportunities for innovation are missed (Perry-Smith and Mannucci, 2017), knowledge gets trapped within organizational silos (Carlile, 2004), and conflict often emerges between different groups (DiBenigno, 2022). Despite significant investments in formal structures designed to facilitate collaboration (Gulati, Puranam and Tushman, 2012), the informal networks through which work actually gets done often follow markedly different patterns that work at cross-purposes to managerial goals (Kleinbaum, Stuart and Tushman, 2013; Clement and Puranam, 2018).

Why do organizations with similar formal structures and demographic compositions develop such dramatically different patterns of collaboration and conflict? Some develop fluid knowledge-sharing networks that span boundaries, while others struggle with persistent intergroup tensions, even when they operate in similar industries with comparable workforce demographics. The disconnect between formal structures and informal networks (McEvily, Soda and Tortoriello, 2014; Soda and Zaheer, 2012) suggests that traditional explanations, which focus either on organizational design (Joseph and Gaba, 2020; Soda and Zaheer, 2012) or demographic composition (Ertug et al., 2022; Jehn, Bezrukova and Thatcher, 2007) in isolation, cannot fully explain organizational variation in collaboration patterns. These approaches treat formal constraints and individual preferences as separate mechanisms, overlooking their potential interdependence in shaping informal networks (Lawrence and Shah, 2020). Moreover, research typically examines single dimensions of similarity—such as function, expertise, or demographic characteristics—missing how multiple identities might combine to create distinct organizational environments (Dennissen, Benschop and van Den Brink, 2020; Block and Grund, 2014; Daw, Margolis and Verdery, 2015).

As an example of the problem, consider two bank branches. Both have the same formal structure: the same hierarchical reporting lines, standardized routines, pay structures,

and the like. Both workforces also have the same demographic composition across different functions, such as lending, customer service, and operations. In one branch, informal networks develop among employees sharing multiple similarities. Loan officers who are the same race and sex connect strongly with each other, as do customer service representatives with common backgrounds. This creates rigid departmental silos that impede knowledge-sharing (Cross and Cummings, 2004) and cross-selling opportunities, despite formal mandates to collaborate (Reagans and McEvily, 2003). In the other branch, informal networks cut across multiple identities: loan officers collaborate easily with customer service and operations staff from different backgrounds. Information about customer needs and innovative service solutions flows rapidly between the departments. Current approaches cannot explain why these otherwise-similar branches develop such different collaboration patterns.

This limitation points to a critical gap: the need for a construct that addresses both formal structure and social networks systematically while capturing the complexity of informal networks in increasingly diverse organizations. In particular, current approaches cannot account for how multiple identity dimensions jointly influence network formation (Lawrence and Shah, 2020). As organizations become more diverse and as collaboration across different groups becomes more important for innovation and performance, understanding these patterns is essential.

I introduce the concept of "intersectional homophily": a socially-constructed process in which multiple shared identities have varying strength in shaping informal connections at the organizational level. Unlike traditional approaches which examine similarity dimensions in isolation, intersectional homophily captures how combinations of identities acquire collective meaning and influence network formation beyond what formal structures or demography alone would predict. When intersectional homophily is high, organizations develop higher boundaries and resources and information become trapped within groups sharing multiple identity characteristics, leading to increased conflict and reduced innovation. When intersectional homophily is low, organizations develop fluid networks that cut across multiple

identity dimensions, enabling more effective collaboration and enhanced innovation. This framework can be systematically examined in relation to these and other organizational outcomes. Understanding how these patterns emerge and change over time is crucial for organizational design and management (Ahuja, Soda and Zaheer, 2012).

An intersectional-homophily framework offers two solutions to the major limitations that Lawrence and Shah (2020) identify in current homophily research. First, it addresses the problem of studying opportunity structures and individual preferences as separate mechanisms by revealing how formal constraints and individual choice interact through social construction to create distinct organizational environments. Rather than treating these as independent forces, intersectional homophily shows how organizational members collectively develop shared understandings of similarity across multiple identity dimensions. Second, it resolves the challenge of understanding how multiple similarities create meaning by moving beyond assumptions that more dimensions simply equal more homophily, to examine how specific combinations acquire organizational significance through collective sense-making processes.

I examine how intersectional homophily relates to organizational outcomes, particularly conflict. I develop and validate a statistical approach for detecting these patterns, and I use it to demonstrate that organizations vary systematically in their levels of intersectional homophily beyond what formal structures or demographics would predict. Using network data from 56 middle schools comprising 24,191 students, I show that higher levels of intersectional homophily are associated with higher levels of intra-organizational conflict. While I focus on schools as an illustrative case, my approach can be applied to any organizational setting where multiple identities shape interaction, from research labs that bridge scientific disciplines to healthcare teams that balance professional and departmental identities (e.g., DiBenigno, 2022), to cross-functional innovation teams that try to integrate diverse expertise (e.g., Gardner, Gino and Staats, 2012). My analyses reveal that organizations develop distinct network signatures with important implications for their collaboration, innovation,

knowledge transfer, and conflict management (Tortoriello, McEvily and Krackhardt, 2015; Gardner, Gino and Staats, 2012). These findings advance our understanding of how intraorganizational networks develop while offering insights for how to foster effective collaboration and reduce intergroup tensions in increasingly diverse organizations.

2 Theory Development

2.1 Understanding Organizational Variation in Informal Networks

Organizations with identical formal structures and demographic compositions develop dramatically different collaboration patterns – a puzzle that existing theories cannot fully explain. We know that homophily, the tendency for similar individuals to connect, manifests differently across otherwise similar organizations (Ertug et al., 2018; Smith, McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 2014). Some develop fluid knowledge-sharing networks that span boundaries, while others struggle with persistent intergroup tensions despite comparable formal arrangements and workforce demographics (Reagans and Zuckerman, 2001; Cross and Cummings, 2004). The fact that we see this pattern in contexts as different as healthcare teams, consulting firms, and R&D laboratories suggests this is a fundamental organization-level phenomenon whose drivers we are missing (Edmondson, 2003; Hansen, 2009).

Our best current explanations focus either on formal structure or demographic composition as separate, independent predictors of network formation (McEvily, Soda and Tortoriello, 2014). Structural approaches emphasize how organizational design creates opportunities for interaction, while demographic approaches focus on how similarity-based processes influence relationship formation (e.g., Ibarra, 1992; Gulati and Puranam, 2009; Soda and Zaheer, 2012). Within homophily research, these correspond to induced and choice homophily perspectives. Yet these approaches by themselves cannot explain the variation in collaboration patterns described above. Even organizations with identical designs exhibit considerable

variation in their networks (Kleinbaum, Stuart and Tushman, 2013), while demography alone is insufficient to predict network formation (Reagans, Zuckerman and McEvily, 2004).

To bridge these approaches, we must consider how similarity-based connections operate at the organizational level. Homophily powerfully shapes network formation across organizational contexts (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook, 2001), with many organizational characteristics jointly influencing tie formation and tie strength. Yet which dimensions matter and how they combine remains poorly understood (Reagans, 2005; Reagans and McEvily, 2003; Reagans, 2011). Demographic faultlines (Lau and Murnighan, 1998), for instance, create systematic organizational differences in performance and innovation, suggesting that identity-based patterns operate at levels transcending individual preferences (Leicht-Deobald et al., 2021). To heed Lawrence and Shah's (2020) call to understand how dimensions of similarity combine in organizations, we need ways to simultaneously examine multiple dimensions of similarity.

2.2 Bridging Structural and Individual Mechanisms Through Intersectional Analysis

The separation between induced and choice homophily, while analytically useful, may obscure important organizational dynamics. Induced homophily emerges from opportunity structures that constrain interaction possibilities, while choice homophily reflects individual preferences for similar others (McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1987; McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook, 2001). Formal structure induces homophily by determining who works near whom and which roles require coordination, then individual preferences drive discretionary choices in actually forming relationships (Kleinbaum, Stuart and Tushman, 2013). Studying these mechanisms separately, however, overlooks their potential interdependence in creating distinct organizational environments (Lawrence and Shah, 2020).

In addition, the strength of homophily varies with social distance (Brashears, 2008, 2015),

suggesting that organizational contexts may systematically affect how similarity translates into network formation (Kleinbaum, Stuart and Tushman, 2013; McEvily, Soda and Tortoriello, 2014). For example, racial homophily exhibits stronger effects when groups are more socially distant—in organizations where racial groups have little routine interaction, same-race preferences intensify, while in integrated settings with frequent cross-race collaboration, racial homophily weakens (Reagans, 2011). These differences matter because individual preferences are socially constructed. Organizational members develop shared understandings of which similarities matter and why—but how do these shared understandings emerge?

This question points to the missing link: understanding how organizational contexts determine when structural opportunities and individual preferences align through social construction—the process by which organizational members develop shared understandings of similarity that then influence their tendency to associate with similar others (Carroll and Harrison, 1998). A useful comparison here exists in social psychology. For half a century, the minimal group paradigm from Tajfel and Turner has shown that we have a hardwired tendency to favor our in-group members over out-group members (Tajfel et al., 1971; Tajfel, 1978). However, nothing in that theory explains why particular dimensions are used to define in-groups or out-groups. For example, Irish, Italian, and Polish immigrants to the United States faced severe discrimination in the early 1900s and were regarded as distinct ethnic groups. Yet by the mid-20th century, these distinctions had largely dissolved as they consolidated into a broader "white" category. In Britain, however, the same backgrounds are less salient, while other distinctions—regional accents, educational background (Oxbridge vs. others), and subtle class markers—create persistent social boundaries even among people who would all be categorized as "white." Just knowing demography is not going to tell us which of these dimensions will be salient for organizations, and that's why we have to think about how these different similarities and dissimilarities combine and how they differ across different organizations.

Yet even when we know which dimensions are salient, we still miss how they work to-

gether. Most approaches examine one characteristic at a time, trying to estimate independent effects while missing how multiple similarities interact to shape network formation and organizational outcomes (Lawrence and Shah, 2020; Daw, Margolis and Verdery, 2015). This limitation extends across various forms of similarity—demographic, ideological, and functional characteristics jointly influence network formation in ways that single-dimension approaches cannot capture (Reschke et al., 2020). Individuals construct different meanings around similar network structures, suggesting that organization-level meaning-making processes around multiple identities systematically vary. The theoretical gap is understanding when and how multiple similarities become organizationally meaningful rather than simply reflecting individual demographic preferences.

Intersectionality theory provides a theoretical foundation for understanding how multiple similarities create systematic organizational variation. Rather than treating intersectionality as one approach among many, Lawrence and Shah (2020) identify it as the framework that directly addresses how multiple identity dimensions relate to one another in ways that transcend simple additive effects, despite ongoing definitional challenges in the field (Collins, 2015; Collins and Bilge, 2020). Intersectionality reveals that identity combinations become salient and meaningful through specific organizational contexts and power dynamics, creating experiences that cannot be understood by examining single identities in isolation (Crenshaw, 1989). The intersection of race and gender, for example, becomes particularly salient in predominantly white, male-dominated organizations, where this combination creates distinct experiences that differ qualitatively from being Black or being a woman separately. However, this same intersection might hold different meanings or reduced salience in organizational contexts where these power dynamics operate differently. This contextual variation points toward systematic organizational differences in how multiple identities combine to influence network formation. Once salient, these intersectional patterns systematically affect organizational outcomes through specific mechanisms that operate at the organizational level, highlighting the importance of understanding intersectionality's theory and praxis in organizational contexts (Rodriguez et al., 2016; Thatcher, Hymer and Arwine, 2023).

2.3 Intersectional Homophily: A Two-Step Framework

The limitations identified in homophily research point toward a two-step framework that addresses both the boundary conditions determining when identity intersections become organizationally meaningful and the systematic mechanisms through which resulting patterns affect organizational outcomes (Figure 1). This framework explains organizational variation through systematic processes rather than ad hoc differences, generating testable predictions about when and how identity intersections matter for organizational networks and outcomes.

| Theoretical Step | Key Question | Key Factors | Outcome |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|---|
| STEP 1 Boundary Conditions | When do identity intersections become organizationally meaningful? | Power dynamics Organizational context Historical patterns Identity representation Environmental pressures | Intersectional Homophily Level (Low to High Spectrum) |
| STEP 2 Organizational Effects | <i>How</i> does intersectional homophily level affect organizational outcomes? | Knowledge boundariesSubculture formationBridging relationships | Organizational Outcomes (e.g., Conflict, Innovation, Performance) |

Figure 1: A Two-Step Framework for Understanding Intersectional Homophily in Organizations

The first step focuses on the organizational meaning-making processes that determine when intersectional identities become salient, creating systematic variation in what I theorize as intersectional homophily across organizations. Drawing on intersectionality theory (Crenshaw, 1989), this step recognizes that identity combinations become salient and meaningful through specific organizational contexts and power dynamics rather than simply reflecting demographic distributions or individual preferences. I propose that identity intersections become organizationally meaningful under five specific boundary conditions that activate collective awareness of identity combinations: when power and status systematically correlate with specific identity combinations, making the combination more predictive of or-

ganizational experiences than individual dimensions alone (Crenshaw, 1989; Acker, 2006); when limited resources make group boundaries important for competition, activating multiple identity dimensions simultaneously (Reagans, 2005; Hansen, 2009); when organizational policies, events, or discussions highlight specific identity combinations through formal and informal discourse (Lawrence, 2006; Dennissen, Benschop and van Den Brink, 2020); when past events create lasting meaning around specific identity combinations that persist in organizational memory (Lawrence, 2006; McEvily, Soda and Tortoriello, 2014; Soda, Usai and Zaheer, 2004); and when external events or pressures highlight specific identity combinations by making them organizationally relevant for survival or compliance (Gulati, Puranam and Tushman, 2012; Burt, Opper and Holm, 2022).

When boundary conditions make intersectional identities salient, I propose that organizations exhibit systematic variation in intersectional homophily—the degree to which multiple shared identities jointly influence network formation at the organizational level. Unlike our current approaches that examine individual preferences or single dimensions in isolation, intersectional homophily captures how multiple identity dimensions create complex patterns that characterize entire organizations. I theorize that these patterns emerge when specific combinations of identities acquire organizational significance through collective meaning-making processes, creating network structures that reflect more than simple demographic clustering or formal structural constraints (Rodriguez et al., 2016). Building on evidence that shared identities create intertwined rather than additive effects in organizational settings (Dennissen, Benschop and van Den Brink, 2020), I propose that intersectional homophily produces systematic differences that transcend individual preferences or formal structures.

Hypothesis 1: Organizations exhibit varying levels of intersectional homophily that are distinct from their demographic composition and formal structure.

The second step examines how varying levels of intersectional homophily systematically affect organizational outcomes through specific mechanisms that operate at the organiza-

tional level. Once intersectional homophily emerges, it systematically affects organizational outcomes through three interconnected mechanisms that operate at the organizational level. First, identity-based attractions create initial interaction patterns that reflect how multiple identities combine within local organizational contexts, establishing foundations for systematic differences in relationship formation (Ramarajan and Reid, 2020). Second, these interactions develop into shared language and understanding within identity groups, creating organizational subcultures with distinct interpretive schemes and ways of approaching problems (DiBenigno and Kellogg, 2014; Tasselli, Zappa and Lomi, 2020). Third, these subcultures establish cognitive and social boundaries between organizational groups that share multiple versus few identity dimensions, systematically constraining cross-group interaction and collaboration (Anteby, Chan and DiBenigno, 2016). These mechanisms create system-wide patterns that can produce stronger connections within identity-similar groups or deeper divisions across identity-different groups than single-dimension approaches would predict (Figure 2).

| Mechanism Pathway | Low IH Effects | High IH Effects |
|--|--|--|
| Knowledge Boundaries (Carlile, 2004) | •Shared understanding across groups •Common interpretive frameworks •Easy knowledge transfer •Collaborative problem-solving | •Distinct interpretive schemes by intersection •Communication barriers between groups •Knowledge trapped within intersections •Misunderstanding and misalignment |
| Subculture Formation (<u>DiBenigno</u> & Kellogg, 2014) | Shared organizational culture Common norms and values Unified approach to work Cultural integration | •Distinct subcultures by intersection •Different work approaches and values •Incompatible expectations •Cultural fragmentation |
| Bridging Relationships (Tortoriello & <u>Krackhardt</u> , 2010) | Abundant cross-cutting ties Multiple bridges between groups Conflict resolution pathways Information and resource flow | •Limited bridging relationships •Structural holes between intersections •Few conflict resolution mechanisms •Restricted information flow |

Figure 2: Effects of Intersectional Homophily Level on Organizational Outcomes

The relationship between intersectional homophily and organizational conflict illustrates how this framework generates precise predictions about organizational outcomes. When intersectional homophily is high, multiple identity alignment creates rigid knowledge boundaries that impede shared understanding across groups, as distinct subgroups develop incompatible ways of interpreting and approaching organizational challenges, leading to increased organizational conflict (Jehn, Bezrukova and Thatcher, 2007). Distinct interpretive schemes amplify misunderstanding during coordination efforts, particularly when groups must collaborate on complex tasks (Heath and Staudenmayer, 2000). Limited cross-group interaction reduces organizations' capacity for conflict resolution by preventing the development of bridging relationships that could help negotiate differences (Soda et al., 2024). These processes create self-reinforcing cycles where high intersectional homophily generates persistent conflict patterns that extend beyond what demographic composition alone would predict. This systematic relationship between organization-level identity patterns and conflict outcomes cannot be captured by examining formal structures, demographics, or single dimensions in isolation, illustrating how the two-step framework generates testable organization-level predictions that advance understanding of when and why organizations develop different collaboration and conflict patterns.

Hypothesis 2: Higher levels of intersectional homophily are positively associated with organizational conflict.

3 Empirical Analysis

Understanding how intersectional homophily shapes organizational outcomes presents three interconnected empirical challenges that mirror the theoretical complexity of the phenomenon itself. First, we must distinguish between traditional homophily—where single dimensions of similarity drive connection patterns—and the emergent patterns that arise when multiple identities meaningfully intersect in organizational contexts. This distinction matters because organizations may appear to have strong homophily along individual dimensions while actually exhibiting fundamentally different patterns of how those dimensions combine. Second,

we need to establish whether these intersectional patterns exist as a distinct organizational property in real workplace settings, beyond what formal structures or demographic distributions would predict. Third, we must demonstrate that these patterns systematically relate to meaningful organizational outcomes such as the emergence of intergroup conflict, the efficiency of knowledge transfer across departments, innovation performance in cross-functional teams, and employee retention patterns, providing evidence that intersectional homophily represents more than a statistical artifact but rather a fundamental driver of organizational dynamics.

I address these challenges through a progressive empirical strategy that builds evidence across three complementary studies. Study 1 introduces the methodological foundation by developing and validating a statistical approach for detecting organization-level variation in intersectional homophily. This study uses simulation (500 networks of 100 individuals each) to validate that the proposed test can reliably detect the presence and strength of intersectional patterns when they exist, providing the necessary tool for examining these patterns in real organizations. Study 2 applies this method to a manufacturing facility's workplace networks (337 employees), revealing how intersectional homophily manifests differently across task-based and social relationships within the same organizational context. Study 3 scales the analysis to examine 56 organizations (24,191 individuals), demonstrating how varying levels of intersectional homophily relate to organizational conflict. Together, these studies provide converging evidence that intersectional homophily represents a distinct organizational property with important implications for collaboration and conflict

3.1 Study 1: Introducing a Test for Intersectional Homophily

The first empirical challenge lies in detecting whether organizations exhibit varying levels of intersectional homophily distinct from their demographic composition and formal structure (H1). This detection requires developing a test that captures intersectionality's effect on in-

formal networks regardless of the number or type of dimensions (categorical or continuous), while controlling for both network structural effects and individual preferences. Previous organizational research has either converted continuous variables into categories—sacrificing important variation—or analyzed identity dimensions separately, missing potential interaction effects (Lawrence and Shah, 2020).

Contemporary network models offer limited solutions. While exponential random graph models (ERGMs) can incorporate both continuous dimensions and interaction terms, they become increasingly complex and difficult to estimate as the number of interaction terms grows. More importantly, these models cannot effectively test whether all interaction effects are *jointly* significant—a crucial requirement for establishing intersectional homophily as a systematic organizational phenomenon rather than a collection of isolated interaction effects.

I propose using F-statistics to compare nested models of network formation fit using ordinary least squares. This approach offers a distinct advantage: it evaluates the *joint* significance of all interaction terms while avoiding the overfitting concerns that plague more complex network models. While ordinary least squares models in network analysis face well-known challenges due to interdependencies between observations, these concerns are less problematic for our specific purpose of detecting the presence of intersectional effects rather than estimating precise network formation mechanisms.

Model Specification. To overcome these limitations and to align with the theoretical understanding of intersectionality, I propose testing the joint distribution of similarity dimensions through F-statistics that compare two dyadic models of tie formation. The intuition here is that if intersectional homophily exists then the formation of network ties should depend not just on individual dimensions of identity but also on their combinations. A joint F-test can evaluate this by comparing two models: a constrained one that assumes that identity dimensions are independent and an unconstrained one that allows those dimensions to interact.

For each individual i in a set of individuals \mathcal{I} , I define a characteristic vector of length M, where the first m characteristics are categorical and the rest are continuous. Assume for the moment that we care about three dimensions: sex, race, and age. The first two are categorical, the third is continuous:

(C) haracteristic_i =
$$\underbrace{(\text{sex}_i, \text{race}_i)}_{m \text{ categorical}}$$
, $\underbrace{\text{age}_i}_{M-m \text{ continuous}}$ (1)

This vector captures the individual's position across all the identity dimensions we wish to examine.

Next, we measure similarity between individuals. For any two individuals i and j, similarity on a categorical dimension equals one when their values match and zero otherwise. For each continuous dimension k, I calculate a normalized difference between zero and one:

(S)imilarity_{$$ij,k$$} = 1 - $\frac{|C_{i,k} - C_{j,k}|}{\max_{s,t \in \mathcal{I}} |C_{s,k} - C_{t,k}|}$ (2)

Based on the definition above the set of similarities between individuals i and j is defined as:

$$S_{ij} = \{S_{ij,1}, \dots, S_{ij,M}\}. \tag{3}$$

Using the definitions in equations 1 and 2, the constrained model of tie formation between individuals i and j in a directed network is expressed as follows:

$$\operatorname{Tie}_{i,j} = \beta_0 + \underbrace{\sum_{k} \beta_k^i C_{i,k}}_{\text{Ego effect}} + \underbrace{\sum_{k} \beta_k^j C_{j,k}}_{\text{Alter effect}} + \underbrace{\sum_{k} \gamma_k S_{ij,k}}_{\text{Unidimensional similarity}} + \underbrace{\delta \operatorname{Tie}_{j,i}}_{Reciprocity} + \epsilon_{i,j}$$
(4)

where $\text{Tie}_{i,j}$ equals one when individuals i and j are connected in the network and zero otherwise. This specification captures fundamental network-formation processes through the baseline probability of connection (intercept), the individuals' tendencies to send and receive

ties (the ego and alter effects), and the baseline structural tendency toward reciprocity. The unconstrained model introduces all possible interactions among the M similarity dimensions,

$$\operatorname{Tie}_{i,j} = \beta_0 + \sum_{k} \beta_k^i C_{i,k} + \sum_{k} \beta_k^j C_{j,k} + \sum_{k} \gamma_k S_{ij,k} + \sum_{k \in \mathcal{Q}} \gamma_k \prod_{x \in \mathcal{Q}} x + \delta \operatorname{Tie}_{j,i} + \epsilon_{i,j}$$

$$(5)$$

all interactions over K dimensions

where, $\mathcal{P}_{\mathcal{K}>1}(\mathcal{S}_{ij})$ represents the power set of all similarity dimensions excluding singletons in other words, all possible combinations of two or more similarity dimensions. In turn, γ_Q s represent coefficients of the interaction between similarity dimensions in $\mathcal{Q} \in \mathcal{P}_{\mathcal{K}>1}(\mathcal{S}_{ij})$.²

Using an F-test to compare these nested models lets us evaluate whether intersectional effects significantly improve our understanding of organizational network formation, while avoiding the computational complexity and scale limitations of traditional network-formation models. The F-test here evaluates whether the added interaction terms jointly improve model fit. The null hypothesis for this test is that all coefficients γ_Q collectively equal zero. Importantly, while each coefficient γ_Q in the unconstrained model captures the magnitude of specific intersectional effects, the F-test itself is a single statistical test for the presence of intersectional homophily at the organizational level. Under the null hypothesis, the constrained model should fit the data as well as the unconstrained model. A significant F-statistic thus indicates that the organization exhibits systematic patterns of intersectionality among the various identity dimensions in network formation.

 $^{^{1}}$ Network studies will traditionally control for other structural effects, such as triadic closure. Here, because the focus is on detecting rather than precisely estimating the magnitude of intersectional effects, the F-test is robust to their exclusion. I have conducted additional analyses controlling for various structural effects and found substantively similar results to what I present here (available upon request).

²In equation 5, \mathcal{K} represents *cardinality*, that is, the length of a set. The elements of a power set have cardinalities of their own. Thus the main effects, as we would typically refer to them, here are members of the power set with cardinality one; two-way interactions have cardinality two, and so on. Technically, $\mathcal{P}(\mathcal{S}_{ij})$ includes the $S_{ij,m}$ s here shown with γ coefficients—I have separated them from the power set to make the relationship between equations 4 and 5 as clear as possible.

Validation Through Simulation. To establish the test's effectiveness, I conduct systematic simulations where the presence or absence of intersectional effects is known by design. This validation strategy allows me to evaluate whether the proposed test can reliably distinguish between organizations where identity characteristics independently influence network formation and those where combinations of shared identities create distinct connection patterns.

The simulation protocol follows three steps. First, I generate organizational populations with realistic demographic distributions: binary sex, categorical race (five categories), and continuous age (uniform distribution between 18 – 65 years). These dimensions mirror those commonly examined in organizational research while providing a mix of categorical and continuous variables that tests the method's versatility. Second, I create two distinct types of networks following equation (5) to validate the test. In "Independent Networks," all interaction coefficients are set to zero, meaning shared identities have purely additive effects. In "Intersectional Networks," interaction coefficients create meaningful synergies—for example, sharing both race and gender multiplies the connection probability by an additional factor beyond their separate effects.³ Third, I apply the F-test to each generated network, comparing the constrained and unconstrained models to calculate whether the test correctly identifies the network type. The expectation is that the proposed test shows insignificant F-statistic values for independent networks and significant F-statistic values for intersectional networks, as illustrated in Figure 3.

For robust validation, I generate 250 networks of 100 individuals each for both network types. This sample size provides sufficient statistical power while maintaining computational efficiency.

$$Tie\ Prob_{i,j} = \max(0.001, \min(0.999, RawTieProb_{i,j}))$$

³I also apply a transformation function to ensure valid tie probabilities. The simulation results are not sensitive to alternative transformation functions and different lower and upper limits for the currently utilized transformation function:

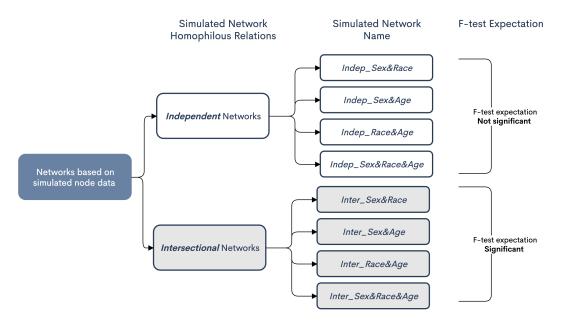


Figure 3: F-Test Expectation of Simulated Independent and Intersectional Networks

Note 1: Both sets of generated networks have multiple homophilous relations among three dimensions of sex (binary), race (categorical), and age (continuous).

Note 2: In the independent networks, intersectional homophily is not present.

Validation Results. The validation results provide compelling evidence for the test's effectiveness (Figure 4). The F-statistics for Independent Networks consistently fall below the critical threshold, correctly indicating the absence of meaningful intersectional effects. In contrast, Intersectional Networks generate significantly higher F-statistics that clearly exceed the significance threshold, accurately signaling the presence of intersectional homophily. The test demonstrates robust performance across different combinations of identity dimensions. Whether examining two-way interactions (race-gender, race-age, gender-age) or three-way interactions (race-gender-age), the method reliably distinguishes between independent and intersectional patterns. The clear separation between the distributions indicates that the test provides reliable detection even in the presence of statistical noise inherent in real organizational networks.

Importantly, the test's sensitivity allows detection of intersectional effects of varying strengths. Even when interaction coefficients are relatively modest—creating effects that

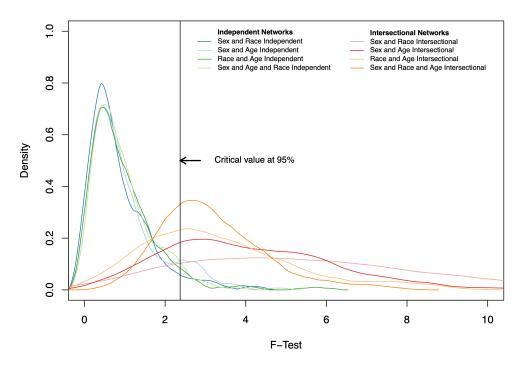


Figure 4: F-Test Distribution for Independent and Intersectional Networks Based on 250 Simulations Note 1: The Independent Networks are represented by the blue and light blue lines, while the red and orange lines represent the results for the Intersectional Networks. Note 2: The vertical line is the 95% significance threshold for F-Test, $F_{(0.05,4,\infty)}$

might be overlooked by visual inspection or traditional analysis—the F-Test successfully identifies their joint significance. This sensitivity proves crucial for detecting the subtle but systematic patterns that characterize real organizational environments, where intersectional effects may be present but not immediately obvious. These validation results establish that the F-Test provides a reliable method for detecting intersectional homophily in organizational networks. By demonstrating clear discrimination between networks with and without intersectional effects, Study 1 provides the methodological foundation for examining these patterns in actual organizational settings. The next challenge is to apply this method to real workplace networks to determine whether intersectional homophily exists as a meaningful organizational phenomenon beyond simulation.

3.2 Study 2: Validating Intersectional Homophily in Organizations

Having established in Study 1 that the proposed F-test reliably detects intersectional homophily in simulated networks, I now examine whether real organizations exhibit intersectional homophily beyond what would be expected from their demographic composition. The empirical setting is a food processing facility employing 346 factory workers, an ideal context for comparing task-based and social networks within the same organization. These networks differ in the degree of relational discretion: job-related networks are partially constrained by formal work structures, whereas friendship networks are largely discretionary.

The data come from face-to-face interviews conducted as part of a longitudinal study on industrial relocation (Fernandez, 1994). This dataset has been widely used to study workplace dynamics, including skill-biased technological change, spatial mismatch, and job accessibility (Fernandez, 2001, 2008). Following Study 1, I focus on three identity dimensions central to workplace relationships: gender (binary), race (five categories: White, African American, Native American, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican), and age (continuous, ranging from 20 to 70). After excluding nine cases with missing demographic data,⁴ the final sample includes 337 workers (Table 1).

Network data were collected using the roster method, which ensures comprehensive coverage of workplace ties (Tasselli, Zappa and Lomi, 2020). For job-related networks, respondents named those who helped them learn job skills and those they had helped. These nominations capture the reciprocal knowledge-transfer processes essential for organizational functioning. Workers reported an average of six job-related ties, reflecting substantive work relationships rather than incidental contact. For friendship networks, respondents identified "close friends in the plant," yielding an average of three ties—consistent with prior research showing that close workplace friendships are limited in number but central to shaping employees' experiences and shared interpretations of work (Lawrence, 2006).

⁴A sensitivity analysis confirmed that excluding these cases does not bias results.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Manufacturing Facility Data (N = 337 Workers)

| Panel (a): Categorical variables | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------|---------|------|--|--|
| Variable | | Frequency | Percent | | | |
| Sex | Female | | 123 | 40.0 | | |
| | Male | | 214 | 60.0 | | |
| Race | White | | 220 | 65.3 | | |
| | African American | 87 | 25.8 | | | |
| | Native American | | 3 | 0.9 | | |
| | Mexican American | | 15 | 4.5 | | |
| | Puerto Rican | | 8 | 2.4 | | |
| | Others | | 4 | 1.2 | | |
| Panel (b | Panel (b): Continuous variables | | | | | |
| Variable | e Mean | St. Dev. | Min | Max | | |
| Age | 39.1 | 10.3 | 20 | 70 | | |

For each network type, I estimate two OLS models: a *constrained* model including only main effects of demographic similarity (sex, race, age), and an *unconstrained* model that adds interaction terms for sex–race, sex–age, race–age, and the three-way combination. An F-test comparing these nested models evaluates whether the interaction terms jointly improve model fit, indicating the presence of intersectional homophily.

Results. Both networks display structural patterns typical of workplace relationships, with moderate reciprocity (0.26 in job-related ties, 0.31 in friendship ties). Applying the F-test reveals statistically significant intersectional homophily in both contexts. In job-related networks, the F-statistic is 16.47, exceeding the 99% critical value of 3.3. In friendship networks, the F-statistic increases to 31.57, nearly double that observed for job-related ties. This pattern aligns with the expectation that discretionary social relationships are more strongly shaped by the combined influence of multiple shared identities.

Tables 2 and 3 present the regression estimates for the constrained and unconstrained models. The joint F-tests comparing these models are significant in both networks, with a larger statistic for friendship ties, indicating stronger joint identity effects when tie formation

Table 2: OLS results of the constrained and unconstrained models in Job-Tie network

| | Dependent variable: | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| | (Tie in Job-Tie Network) | | | |
| | (Constrained Model) | (Unconstrained Model) | | |
| | (1) | (2) | | |
| Sex^{ego} | -0.001^* | -0.001 | | |
| | (0.001) | (0.001) | | |
| $Race^{ego}$ | -0.00004 | -0.00003 | | |
| | (0.0004) | (0.0004) | | |
| Age^{ego} | 0.00003 | 0.00003 | | |
| | (0.00004) | (0.00004) | | |
| Sex^{alter} | 0.002** | 0.002*** | | |
| | (0.001) | (0.001) | | |
| $Race^{alter}$ | 0.001*** | 0.001*** | | |
| | (0.0004) | (0.0004) | | |
| Age^{alter} | 0.00002 | 0.00001 | | |
| - 90 | (0.00004) | (0.00004) | | |
| Sim_{sex} | 0.009*** | -0.002 | | |
| villisex | (0.001) | (0.004) | | |
| Sim_{race} | 0.012*** | 0.004) | | |
| race | (0.001) | (0.004) | | |
| Sim | 0.012*** | 0.004) 0.001 | | |
| Gim_{age} | (0.002) | (0.004) | | |
| Cim V Cim | (0.002) | (0.004) -0.004 | | |
| $Sim_{sex} \times Sim_{race}$ | | | | |
| G: | | (0.006) | | |
| $Sim_{sex} \times Sim_{age}$ | | 0.011** | | |
| g | | (0.005) | | |
| $Sim_{race} \times Sim_{age}$ | | 0.002 | | |
| | | (0.005) | | |
| $Sim_{sex} \times Sim_{race} \times Sim_{age}$ | | 0.017** | | |
| | | (0.007) | | |
| Constant | 0.302*** | 0.301*** | | |
| | (0.003) | (0.003) | | |
| $\Gamma ie_{j,i}$ | -0.011^{***} | -0.001 | | |
| | (0.003) | (0.004) | | |
| Observations | 113,569 | 113,569 | | |
| \mathbb{R}^2 | 0.114 | 0.114 | | |
| Adjusted R ² | 0.113 | 0.114 | | |
| Residual Std. Error | 0.127 (df = 113558) | 0.127 (df = 113554) | | |
| F Statistic | $1,322.333^{***}$ (df = 11; 113558) | $974.632^{***} (df = 15; 113554)$ | | |

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 Standard errors are in parentheses Reciprocity term included

Table 3: OLS results of the constrained and unconstrained models in Social-Tie

| | Dependent variable: | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| | (Tie in Social-Tie Network) | | | |
| | (Constrained Model) (1) | (Unconstrained Model) (2) | | |
| Sex^{ego} | 0.002*** | 0.002*** | | |
| | (0.001) | (0.001) | | |
| $Race^{ego}$ | 0.001*** | 0.001*** | | |
| | (0.0003) | (0.0003) | | |
| Age^{ego} | -0.00000 | -0.00001 | | |
| | (0.00003) | (0.00003) | | |
| Sex^{alter} | 0.003*** | 0.003*** | | |
| | (0.001) | (0.001) | | |
| $Race^{alter}$ | 0.001*** | 0.001*** | | |
| | (0.0003) | (0.0003) | | |
| Age^{alter} | -0.0001^{***} | -0.0001^{***} | | |
| 3 | (0.00003) | (0.00003) | | |
| Sim_{sex} | 0.007*** | 0.002 | | |
| o vivoca | (0.001) | (0.003) | | |
| Sim_{race} | 0.012*** | 0.008*** | | |
| o morace | (0.001) | (0.003) | | |
| Sim_{age} | 0.007*** | -0.0002 | | |
| z virvage | (0.001) | (0.003) | | |
| $Sim_{sex} \times Sim_{race}$ | (0.001) | -0.008** | | |
| $Stitt_{sex} \wedge Stitt_{race}$ | | (0.004) | | |
| $Sim_{sex} \times Sim_{age}$ | | 0.002 | | |
| $Stitt_{sex} \wedge Stitt_{age}$ | | (0.004) | | |
| Cim V Cim | | -0.001 | | |
| $Sim_{race} \times Sim_{age}$ | | -0.001 (0.004) | | |
| Circo V Circo V Circo | | 0.023^{***} | | |
| $Sim_{sex} \times Sim_{race} \times Sim_{age}$ | | | | |
| C t t | 0.257*** | (0.005) | | |
| Constant | 0.257*** | 0.255*** | | |
| T: | (0.003) | (0.003) | | |
| $Tie_{j,i}$ | -0.010^{***} | -0.003 | | |
| | (0.002) | (0.003) | | |
| Observations | 113,569 | 113,569 | | |
| \mathbb{R}^2 | 0.082 | 0.083 | | |
| Adjusted R^2 | 0.082 | 0.083 | | |
| Residual Std. Error | 0.090 (df = 113558) | 0.090 (df = 113554) | | |
| F Statistic | $918.092^{***} (df = 11; 113558)$ | $682.414^{***} (df = 15; 113554)$ | | |
| Note: | , | *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.0 | | |

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01 Standard errors are in parentheses Reciprocity term included is more discretionary. In both networks, the three-way similarity in sex, race, and age is positive and significant (job-related: $\beta=0.017, p<0.05$; friendship: $\beta=0.023, p<0.01$), with a larger effect in friendship ties. In contrast, the sex–race interaction is negative and significant in friendship ties ($\beta=-0.008, p<0.05$) but not in job-related ties, suggesting that the meaning of identity pairings varies across relational domains. These results indicate that intersectional homophily is present in both network types but is amplified in social contexts where choice plays a larger role.

Overall, the within-organization comparison shows that intersectional homophily operates in both formal and informal relational domains, but its magnitude and configuration depend on the degree of relational discretion. In task-oriented exchanges, formal coordination requirements constrain—but do not eliminate—identity-based preferences. By contrast, social networks, unconstrained by task demands, exhibit a stronger and more consistent influence of multiple intersecting identities. Together, Studies 1 and 2 provide strong support for Hypothesis 1. In Study 1, simulations show that the F-test reliably detects intersectional homophily when it exists, distinguishing it from simple demographic composition. Study 2 extends these findings to real organizational networks: both task-based and social networks exhibit levels of intersectional homophily that cannot be explained by homophily on single attributes alone. Consistently significant F-statistics across both network types—with differing magnitudes—indicate that intersectional homophily is an organization-level property that varies independently of demographic composition and formal structure.

3.3 Study 3: Intersectional Homophily and Organizational Conflict in Schools

Conflict is a theoretically central and managerially consequential manifestation of how identity-based boundaries shape collective action. It disrupts coordination, stalls knowledge flows, and hardens subgroup lines. While intersectional homophily may relate to a

range of outcomes (e.g., knowledge transfer, innovation, coordination effectiveness), conflict is an analytically useful focal outcome: prior work links conflict to informal network patterns, and it is measurable and comparable across organizations (DiBenigno, 2022; Tasselli, Zappa and Lomi, 2020). Higher levels of intersectional homophily heighten boundary strength, increasing the odds that information remains trapped within identity-aligned clusters and, in turn, that frictions surface at the organizational level.

To evaluate this prediction at the organizational level, I use de-identified school data from 56 New Jersey middle schools (covering 24,191 students) drawn from a larger field experiment (Paluck, Shepherd and Aronow, 2016). These schools operate within the same state system and are organized into four grade levels (grades 5–8), providing comparable formal structures while preserving discretion in friendship formation within shared schedules and rules. Because the analysis focuses on within-school rosters, geographic opportunity barriers are minimized (Kleinbaum, Stuart and Tushman, 2013). Prior research identifies schools and friendship ties as canonical contexts for observing homophily processes (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook, 2001; Block and Grund, 2014; McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Rawlings, 2021). I focus on race (five categories) and gender (binary) as identity dimensions given their salience in this setting; age is excluded because it closely tracks grade level, which follows distinct social structuring mechanisms.

New Jersey middle schools are thus a theoretically informative setting for studying the joint effects of race and gender. A single state system standardizes grade structure, curricula, and schedules, creating comparable opportunity structures (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook, 2001) across schools, while demographic heterogeneity across—and within—schools renders race and gender both salient and negotiated in daily life. Because core classes are coeducational and not systematically sorted by race, within-grade exposure mixes students on these dimensions; any same-race or same-gender effects—and, critically, their interaction—therefore reflect selection and identity processes above baseline opportunity. This aligns with the paper's mechanism: when multiple identities align, boundary strength increases, ampli-

fying within-group affiliation and heightening the potential for intergroup friction (Lau and Murnighan, 1998; Jehn, Bezrukova and Thatcher, 2007). Adolescent peer contexts further intensify the meaning of these categories, as norms around gender and racialized belonging are actively enforced and negotiated, making the intersection of race and gender especially consequential for both affiliation and conflict (Paluck, Shepherd and Aronow, 2016; Shah et al., 2021; Hooijsma et al., 2020).

Analytical Approach. Based on students' survey responses indicating whom they choose to spend time with between classes and during breaks,⁵ I construct, for each school, a directed peer network. For each school, I then estimate the constrained and unconstrained dyadic OLS models introduced in Study 1 and formalized in Eqs. (4)–(5). A nested F-test (Study 1) evaluates whether the interaction block jointly improves fit, providing a within-organization test of intersectional homophily consistent with the method validated in Study 1.

Perceptions of relational conflict among peers are measured from student nominations. Students responded to: "I have a conflict with these students who go to my school (face to face, texts, online)" and could name as many peers as they could think of, with up to five recorded per student. For each school, I sum all recorded conflict nominations and divide by enrollment, reporting the result as perceived conflict per 100 students by multiplying by 100. In a second stage, I take each school's race×gender coefficient from the unconstrained specification as the measure of intersectional homophily and examine its association with the perceived conflict rate across schools. Because smaller schools yield noisier rates, I report the bivariate association and show that results are similar when weighting by enrollment.⁶

While the schools share comparable formal structures and opportunity conditions (same state system and grade organization), they exhibit useful compositional variation. Enrollment ranges from 104 to 794 students (mean = 389), and racial composition spans wide

⁵Roster method; up to ten nominations per respondent.

⁶Full cleaning details for the friendship rosters and additional robustness checks are available from the author upon request.

Table 4: School-Level Characteristics and Network Measures (56 Schools; 24,191 Students)

| Statistic | Mean | Median | St. Dev. | Min | Max |
|---|---------|--------|----------|-------|-------|
| Enrollment | 389.018 | 360.5 | 181.614 | 104 | 794 |
| Percentage Male | 0.506 | 0.509 | 0.033 | 0.367 | 0.580 |
| Percentage Race White | 0.563 | 0.677 | 0.286 | 0.007 | 0.924 |
| Percentage Race Black | 0.074 | 0.032 | 0.122 | 0.000 | 0.668 |
| Percentage Race Hispanic | 0.220 | 0.113 | 0.222 | 0.032 | 0.802 |
| Percentage Race Asian | 0.046 | 0.034 | 0.039 | 0.000 | 0.237 |
| Percentage Race Other | 0.097 | 0.082 | 0.049 | 0.019 | 0.239 |
| Avg Friendship Ties | 7.446 | 7.457 | 0.474 | 5.662 | 8.287 |
| Avg Conflict Nominations per Student | 1.604 | 1.621 | 0.311 | 0.952 | 2.465 |
| Conflict Perceptions (per 100 students) | 160.4 | 162.1 | 31.1 | 95.2 | 246.5 |

intervals—White 0.007–0.924, Hispanic 0.032–0.802, Black 0–0.668. This heterogeneity is analytically valuable: conflict variable is normalized by enrollment, and friendship–network opportunity is similar across units (average friendship nominations 7.45 ± 0.47 of 10), so cross-school differences in the nested F-tests and in the conflict association are not artifacts of size or overall density.

Results. Intersectional homophily is common: more than two-thirds of schools exhibit significant nested F-tests (at p < 0.10) favoring the unconstrained model, indicating that friendship ties depend on the *joint* configuration of race and gender rather than additive similarities alone. Schools with higher level of intersectional homophily also exhibit higher conflict: the correlation between the race×gender coefficient and the normalized conflict rate is r = 0.29 (p = 0.03; N = 56), accounting for about 8% of the variance in perceptions of relational conflict among peers. Results are similar when weighting by enrollment, which down-weights noisier rates in smaller schools.

Figure 5 visualizes the association between intersectional homophily and conflict across schools. The bivariate trend is positive (Pearson r = 0.29, Spearman $\rho = 0.29$; N = 56). A +0.01 increase in intersectional homophily—the order of magnitude observed across schools—is associated with roughly 29 additional conflict nominations per 100 students (OLS

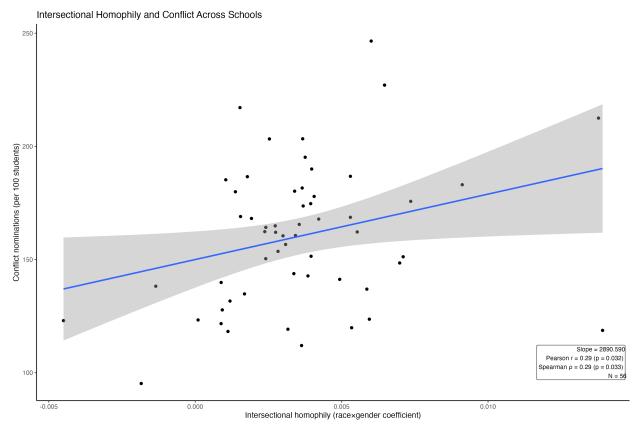


Figure 5: Intersectional Homophily and Normalized Conflict Across Schools. Notes: Each point is a school (N=56). Intersectional homophily is the race×gender coefficient from the per-school unconstrained model (Stage 1). Conflict is nominations per 100 students (school-level rate; not a network). Line shows OLS fit with 95% confidence band. Pearson's r and Spearman's ρ are printed on the panel.

slope from the plotted fit; SE = 13.14).

This pattern aligns with evidence that *multidimensional* similarity—the alignment of more than one attribute or role—intensifies within-group affiliation processes (Hooijsma et al., 2020; Block and Grund, 2014; Daw, Margolis and Verdery, 2015). Taken together with Study 1's validation and Study 2's workplace evidence, these findings show that intersectional homophily is detectable at the organizational level and relates to a consequential outcome: when identity intersections more strongly pattern informal networks, organizations experience measurably higher conflict—even after adjusting for sample composition through rate normalization and enrollment weighting in robustness checks.

4 Discussion

This paper began with a puzzle: why do organizations with identical structures and demographics develop such different collaboration patterns? My findings reveal that the answer lies neither in who is present nor how work is organized, but rather in how multiple identities combine to create distinct network signatures—what I term intersectional homophily. This property systematically shapes organizational outcomes from knowledge sharing to conflict emergence, providing both theoretical insights and practical tools for understanding and managing diverse organizations.

4.1 Theoretical Contributions

4.1.1 From Counting Categories to Reading Configurations

This research fundamentally reframes how we understand diversity's impact on organizational networks. Traditional approaches count demographic categories or measure single-dimension homophily effects, implicitly assuming that more diversity equals more challenge and that identity dimensions operate independently. My findings reveal a different reality: organizational outcomes depend on how multiple identities *combine* rather than their individual distributions. Two organizations with identical gender splits and comparable racial diversity can develop entirely different collaboration patterns—one fluid and boundary-spanning, another fragmented and conflictual—based on whether race and gender intersect to create meaningful organizational clusters.

This shift from counting to configuration extends diversity research beyond representation metrics. It explains why some diverse organizations thrive while others struggle, despite similar demographic compositions. The key lies not in the presence of different groups but in how their intersections acquire organizational meaning. When intersectional homophily is high, even well-intentioned diversity initiatives may paradoxically increase fragmentation by

making identity combinations more salient. When low, the same diversity becomes a source of creative recombination and innovation. This insight suggests that managing diversity requires attention to identity configurations, not just distributions.

4.1.2 Bridging Induced and Choice Homophily Through Social Construction

The intersectional homophily framework is a solution to a longstanding theoretical tension between structural and preference-based explanations of network formation. Induced homophily suggests that networks reflect organizational structures that constrain interaction opportunities, while choice homophily emphasizes individual preferences for similar others. These perspectives are typically treated as competing or additive forces. My framework reveals them as interdependent processes linked through organizational meaning-making.

The workplace findings illustrate this interdependence. Task-based networks, constrained by formal coordination requirements, still exhibit significant intersectional homophily (F = 16.47, p < 0.01), showing that structural constraints do not eliminate identity-based patterns. Yet friendship networks, where choice dominates, display nearly double the effect (F = 31.57, p < 0.01). This pattern suggests that structure and choice interact: formal arrangements create initial interaction patterns that then shape how identities acquire meaning, which in turn influences discretionary relationship formation. The process is neither purely structural nor purely preferential but emerges through collective sense-making about which identity combinations matter in a given organizational context.

4.1.3 Network Signatures as Organizational Properties

Perhaps most fundamentally, this research establishes that organizations possess distinct network signatures that transcend individual preferences or formal designs. The multi-organizational analysis demonstrates systematic variation in intersectional homophily across 56 schools, even after controlling for demographics and structure. This variation represents

an emergent organizational property—a collective pattern that cannot be reduced to its constituent parts.

These network signatures have implications for organizational learning and capability development. When intersectional homophily is high, organizations tend to form distinct knowledge communities aligned with identity combinations—a pattern of epistemic fragmentation that hinders cross-boundary sharing. When intersectional homophily is low, knowledge moves more freely across identity boundaries and recombines—a pattern of epistemic fluidity. This contrast helps explain persistent capability differences between otherwise similar organizations and suggests that network signatures can be a source of sustained advantage or vulnerability.

4.2 Implications for Managerial Practice

The diagnostic tool developed in this research offers immediate practical value. Managers can assess their organization's intersectional homophily level using readily available network and demographic data, obtaining actionable insights within days rather than months. The joint F-test diagnostic provides not just a number but a strategic input for organizational design.

Consider a technology firm where the diagnostic reveals high intersectional homophily, with strong boundaries between engineering-male-Asian clusters and design-female-White clusters. Traditional diversity training focusing on general inclusion would likely fail because it doesn't address the specific intersection creating the boundary. Instead, interventions should create projects requiring these particular intersections to collaborate, establish mentoring relationships that bridge these specific divides, and develop shared languages and practices that span these boundaries. The diagnostic also helps set realistic expectations: reducing entrenched intersectional patterns may require sustained intervention not quick fixes.

For organizations with moderate intersectional homophily, the strategy shifts to reinforcement rather than disruption. Here, some identity-based clustering exists but hasn't crystallized into rigid boundaries. Managers should focus on preserving existing cross-cutting ties through formal recognition, creating "boundary objects" that different groups can interpret through their own lenses while still collaborating, and establishing rotation programs that prevent further crystallization of identity-based boundaries.

4.3 Boundary Conditions and Contextual Factors

The relationship between intersectional homophily and organizational outcomes depends on several contextual factors that define the scope and applicability of these findings. Task interdependence moderates the conflict relationship: in highly interdependent work, intersectional homophily's negative effects intensify because groups cannot avoid interaction. Conversely, in modular work where groups can operate independently, high intersectional homophily may have minimal impact on overall performance.

Organizational culture also shapes these dynamics. In cultures emphasizing individual achievement, intersectional patterns may be weaker because personal performance overshadows group identity. In collectivist cultures or team-based organizations, intersectional homophily likely has stronger effects. The findings from schools and manufacturing may not fully generalize to knowledge-intensive firms where expertise can override demographic identities, though the workplace analysis suggests the patterns persist even in task-focused environments.

External pressures matter as well. Organizations facing crisis may see intersectional boundaries dissolve as survival becomes paramount, while stable environments may allow these patterns to crystallize over time. Regulatory requirements for diversity reporting might inadvertently strengthen intersectional homophily by making identity categories more salient, suggesting that policy interventions require careful consideration of these dynamics.

4.4 Limitations and Future Research Directions

Several limitations define the scope of these findings while pointing toward productive future research. The F-test diagnostic, while accessible and scalable, simplifies complex network formation processes. Future work should develop more sophisticated measures that capture the dynamic evolution of intersectional patterns, potentially using temporal ERGMs or machine learning approaches that can handle higher-dimensional identity spaces.

The focus on race and gender, while theoretically motivated and practically important, leaves open questions about other identity intersections. How do professional identities (role, expertise, tenure) intersect with demographic characteristics? Do virtual organizations exhibit different intersectional patterns than co-located ones? Future research should examine these alternative intersections and their implications for remote and hybrid work arrangements.

Longitudinal studies are essential for understanding causality and change. How does intersectional homophily evolve during mergers, restructuring, or culture change initiatives? Can organizations deliberately shift their network signatures, or are these patterns sticky once established? Field experiments testing specific interventions—cross-functional teams designed to bridge particular intersections, AI-assisted team formation that minimizes intersectional clustering, or communication technologies that obscure identity markers—would provide causal evidence for management strategies.

The relationship between intersectional homophily and innovation deserves particular attention. While high intersectional homophily appears to impede knowledge transfer and increase conflict, might it also enable deep specialization within identity-aligned communities? Under what conditions does identity-based clustering support versus hinder creative performance? These questions connect to broader debates about diversity's impact on innovation and suggest that the relationship may be more nuanced than current theory suggests.

4.5 Conclusion

By revealing the hidden network signatures that shape organizational life, this research shifts the conversation from demographic engineering to identity configuration management. Organizations are not simply collections of individuals sorted by formal structures; they are complex systems where multiple identities combine to create emergent patterns that profoundly impact collaboration, innovation, and performance. The intersectional homophily framework provides both a theoretical lens for understanding these patterns and a practical tool for managing them. As organizations become increasingly diverse and work becomes more collaborative, the ability to read and reshape these network signatures will become a critical capability. The question is not whether organizations have enough diversity, but whether they can configure that diversity to enable rather than impede collective action.

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