

Relationships Between Race, Generativity, Activist Identification, and Activism
for Midlife Women

by

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Abstract

The relationship between Erikson's (1963) seventh developmental stage – generativity – and activism has been a fertile source of research. Using a sample of midlife White and African American women from the Women's Life Paths Study (WLPS), the current research investigates how generativity is related to and predicts activism as well as how race and activist identification influence activism. The relationship between generativity and activism was significant for White but not African American women, potentially a result of high means and little variance in generativity and activism scores for the latter group. However, activist identification did strengthen the generativity-activism association for both groups of women. Additionally, while increasing generativity predicted greater participation in activism for White women regardless of activist identification, for African American women activist involvement was related to both generativity and activist identification. Implications for future research concerning relationships between generativity, race, activist identification, and activism are discussed.

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Over the course of their lifespan, humans go through a number of developmental changes, often influenced by the social environment in which they live. Developmental stages can shape what individuals find meaningful and which events influence them in the longer term. For example, women in a study conducted by Stewart and Healy (1989) who experienced social events during the transition from adolescence to adulthood, such as World War II, found them to be more consequential and personally meaningful than women who experienced the same events at a later life period. This illustrates not only the influence of developmental stages, but also the influence of the era during which an individual matures.

Many psychologists have suggested stage theories that encompass personality development over time. For example, Freud (1905/2000) developed a stage theory based on psychosexual development that outlines the stages children progress through to reach full sexual maturity. The first stage – oral – occurs during infancy and children derive pleasure from actions related to the mouth, such as thumb sucking. The anal stage follows infancy until approximately age four, and is when children fixate on control of their excretory functions. The third stage, which occurs between the ages of three and five, is the phallic stage where children focus on their genitals. The latency period follows the phallic stage and lasts until puberty. During this stage, children sublimate their sexual instincts into outside activities and develop attitudes and feelings like disgust that will later restrict expressions of sexuality. The fifth and final stage – genital – occurs during puberty when children develop their adult sexuality as a result of the changes of puberty. These stages taken together describe the development of sexuality among children. However, individuals continue to develop in other ways beyond the scope and timeframe of

Freud's psychosexual stage theory; Freud's theory stopped prior to adulthood, and most contemporary psychologists agree that development continues throughout the lifespan.

Erikson, one of the first stage theorists to extend the concept of development into adulthood, formulated an eight-stage model of psychosocial development that is arguably, as Josselson (2002) comments, "The only developmental model of sufficient generality that has had continuity of use across generations of psychosocial researchers" (p. 432). In each stage of Erikson's model, there is a core challenge between two conflicting learning opportunities, one that facilitates successful development and the other that hinders it. This conflict can either be resolved or not before progressing to the next stage. The first four stages outline the developmental challenges of childhood (Erikson, 1963). The fifth and sixth stages reflect the establishment of personal identity and intimacy with others during adolescence and young adulthood. The last two stages are dealt with during later adulthood and focus on generativity and ego-integrity.

The first developmental challenge is basic trust versus basic mistrust (Erikson, 1963), when an infant learns to not be anxious when his or her caregiver disappears from sight. The second stage is autonomy versus shame and doubt, which involves developing the confidence and embracing one's free will to make decisions without losing self-esteem or being self-conscious. After establishing autonomy, a child faces the challenge of initiative versus guilt. In this stage, initiative involves "the quality of undertaking, planning and 'attacking' a task for the sake of being active," whereas guilt can fester when children feel uncomfortable with the goals they want to reach or the activities they have attempted (p. 255). Erikson's fourth stage is that of industry versus inferiority: children learn how to be productive in school, and that they can gain

recognition or praise by doing things. In failing to develop a work ethic or necessary skills, children can feel inadequate or inferior in comparison to their peers.

Following the childhood stages are the four adult stages, the fifth of which is identity versus role confusion, which occurs during adolescence and early adulthood. This stage is self-focused as it involves the establishment of one's personal identity. Individuals are concerned with "what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are," and also with integrating the roles and skills they have learned previously (Erikson, 1963, p. 261). The sixth stage, intimacy versus isolation, typically occurs in young adulthood and shifts the focus from the self to the dynamic between the self and others. In this stage, individuals learn to mesh their personal identities with those of others. People learn to make and keep commitments to relationships and partnerships, as well as sacrifice and compromise when necessary. The development of intimacy concerns all types of close relationships, not only romantic ones. An unwillingness to be intimate with others results in isolation and unhealthy self-involvement.

Erikson's seventh stage, the conflict of generativity versus stagnation, occurs after the development of identity and intimacy, and is the focus of the current research. At this point in an individual's lifespan, his or her focus has moved to include not only the self and others, but the wider world as well. Erikson defined generativity as "primarily the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation" (1963, p. 267). On the other hand, stagnation is characterized by a return to self-indulgence and a self-focus. Generativity is conceptualized as the developmental stage of midlife. Indeed, research following Erikson's theory has shown that expressions of generativity are highest among individuals in midlife as compared to those who are younger or older (McAdams, de St. Aubin, & Logan, 1993). Ochse and Plug (1986) also found generativity

to be highest in the 40- to 60-year olds in a sample of 15- to 60-year old White and Black South Africans.

Erikson's eighth and final stage, ego-integrity versus despair, is characteristic of older adulthood. During this stage, prompted by their imminent mortality individuals reflect on their lives, defend their lifestyle decisions, and accept their only life cycle. Acceptance of life and subsequent death is defined by Erikson as ego-integrity. Others who fail to grasp the concept of ego-integrity are plagued with despair and are fearful of death since they do not feel they had enough time in life.

Other researchers have extended Erikson's basic conception of generativity, such as Kotre (1984), who stated that there were four 'types' of generativity. The first type, biological generativity, is procreation, or the creation of another human being. Parental generativity is the generative process of raising children. Kotre explains that biological and parental generativity do not always occur in sync with one another. A college student may physically have a child long before she is emotionally ready while an older woman may long to raise a child, but may be physically unable to. The third kind of generativity is technical generativity. This type involves the passing on of skills to students or apprentices, such as how to play a musical instrument or speak a foreign language. Kotre's final type of generativity is cultural generativity, which involves the passing on of meanings and symbols beyond simple rudimentary skills. Thus, expanding on Erikson's work, some researchers view generativity as a multi-dimensional or multi-modal concept.

Similarly, McAdams and de St. Aubin (1992) do not view generativity as a singular dimension. Consequently, they developed a theoretical model of generativity consisting of seven intertwined concepts. Two key concepts are generative concern and generative action, which

conceptualize cognitive and behavioral elements of generativity. Generative concern is simply one's concern for the next generation; generative action consists of behaviors focused on *creating, maintaining, and offering* (McAdams & de St. Aubin, 1992). Despite representing different aspects of generativity, previous research found generative concern and generative action to be significantly positively related for Whites and African Americans (Hart, McAdams, Hirsch, & Bauer, 2001). Thus, the cognitive and behavioral elements of generativity are associated.

Individuals can express their generativity and improve the position of future generations in a number of different domains, including the workplace. Among women focused on their careers, generativity was significantly related to personal mastery and helping others at work (Peterson & Stewart, 1996). Work may be one realm of generative expression, but Erikson believed parenting was the most prevalent form of generative expression, especially for women. Examining this idea, McAdams and de St. Aubin (1992) found that men who were fathers expressed significantly higher levels of generative concern than men who did not have children. In a parenting or mentoring role, generativity is implicated in individuals' relationships with their extended family as well. Generative women were found not only to be more involved in their roles as mothers, but also in their roles as grandmothers (Peterson & Duncan, 2007).

Individuals are not restricted to particular domains in expressing their generativity; moreover, the domains may change over time. Peterson and Stewart (1990) studied the expressions of generativity in the diaries of renowned British feminist and pacifist Vera Brittain. They found that during the 1930s, Brittain was more focused on productivity and creativity, but became more occupied with caring for others during the 1940s. Therefore, individuals have the

ability to express their generativity in a number of domains, and can explore different outlets for their generativity as time progresses.

In addition to expressing generativity in various domains, individuals can also express generativity at different levels based on the degree to which their generativity is other-focused. Involvement and inclusivity are two 'criteria' that can explain how an individual would be generative (Bradley, 1997). Involvement is "the degree of active concern for the growth of oneself and others, a sense of responsibility for sharing skills and knowledge and the ability to follow through with commitments" (p. 279). Inclusivity is who and what an individual includes in his or her circle of generativity recipients. Consequently, based on Bradley's model of generativity, how an individual expresses their generativity is based upon how wide an individual's circle of care is and how deeply they are personally invested in this circle.

Other researchers also support the idea of different levels of generativity ranging from the individual level to the societal level (MacDermid, Franz, & De Reus, 1998). MacDermid and colleagues (1998) chose Mother Teresa and Vera Brittain to illustrate this range of generative expression from working with people one-to-one in order to improve their livelihoods to grappling with larger political and social structures. Mother Teresa can be seen as someone who expresses her generativity at the individual level because she spent her life caring for impoverished individuals and focused on meeting their daily concerns. On the opposite end of the spectrum is Vera Brittain who dedicated her life to the furthering of peace and the position of women even though it significantly strained her family life (MacDermid et al., 1998; Peterson & Stewart, 1990). Brittain wanted to improve daily life for entire sectors of society. Peterson and Stewart (1996) built on the idea of multiple levels, highlighting that generative expression expands over time to include more levels. The circle of care expands over the lifespan to include

not only those in close proximity to the individual, but also those in the wider circle of society and the world.

Generativity and Activism

Individuals, like Vera Brittain, may aim to improve the well being of society and its major subgroups. This generative concern and care for others can be expressed through activism, from the local to the national level. Cole and Stewart (1996) included a number of behaviors in their conception of political participation including being a candidate for office, contacting public officials about personal problems, attending or organizing Women's Rights movement events, and participating in political parties at times other than during election years. Other researchers have conceived of activism differently, including in their definition items such as participating in demonstrations or protests, holding a politically-oriented job, doing nonpolitical humanitarian work, and being involved in children's or school organizations in their definition of political participation (Cole, Zucker, & Ostrove, 1998). What is key here is that activism and often generativity includes participating at the smaller, community level as well as at the larger, national movement or election level.

There is an established relationship between generativity and activism. Peterson and Stewart (1996) found that among a sample of women in midlife, those who expressed high levels of generativity motivation had been politically active in the past and were also currently politically active. Political involvement was coded from an open-ended question that allowed participants to reflect on the importance of a single social event during their lives. Peterson and Klohnen (1995) also found that generativity and political activism were significantly related for two different samples of White women in midlife. Among a sample of African American and White individuals from Evanston, Illinois, political participation was significantly and positively

correlated with generativity (Hart et al., 2001). More specifically, participants who were higher in generativity voted and participated in political campaigns more often than those lower in generativity. Similar research found that generative parents participated in activism at both the national and the local level (Peterson, Smirles, & Wentworth, 1997). Taken together, this research shows that generativity and political activism are significantly related. The current research aims to extend the reviewed research and examine the relationship between generativity and other types of activism in a sample of late midlife women.

Much of the research cited thus far has focused primarily on White individuals. While White women do display levels of generativity, research has shown that African American women have higher mean levels of generativity. For example, in Cole and Stewart (1996), African American women had a higher mean score on generativity than White women, which while not significant, was an important trend. Similar results indicated that African American women and men expressed both higher generative concern and more generative acts than Whites (Hart et al., 2001).

Based on both theory and research, the relationship between generativity and activism also holds for African Americans. Influenced by African American feminist theory, Cole and Stewart (1996) stated that African American women "...may be especially likely to view political activity as an appropriate domain of generative behavior" (p. 137). This statement comes from the idea that activism for African American women is about guaranteeing the well being of their immediate and extended families, of which the general community is a part (Collins, 1990; Harding, 1991; hooks, 1984). In addition, African American communities have focused on the overall goal of improving the standing of their racial group in society as a whole, and this goal is, in and of itself, generative (Giddings, 1984). Hart et al. (2001) found that generativity was

significantly related to political participation for African Americans and the entire sample. For Whites, the relationship was very close to significant. When only women were included in Hart et al.'s analyses, political participation and generativity were significantly correlated. Consequently, both theory and past research supports the idea that both White and African American women may express their generativity through activism.

Activist Identification and Activism

Not only is generativity related to involvement in activism, but identification with a group or as an activist can influence involvement as well. Specifically, personal identification, particularly identification as an activist, can shape an individual's involvement in activism. Kelly and Breinlinger (1995) examined British women's participation in the fight for Women's Rights and found that "identification as an activist was by far the most powerful correlate of participation" (p. 41). They also investigated which factors affected actual political participation, and found that gender identity, general collectivist orientation, and gender collectivist orientation were not significant predictors of political participation. Only activist identification significantly predicted actual political participation. Similarly, Simon et al. (1998) examined specific movement identifications and more general orientations to determine how they affected willingness to participate in a movement. Simon and colleagues looked at a group called the Senior Protection League Gray Panthers who worked to improve the position of older people, and found that identifying with the Gray Panthers significantly predicted willingness to participate in the movement while identification with older people did not. This research indicates that holding an activist or movement identity is related to and predicts actual participation in activism.

Race and Activism

Research indicates that Whites and African Americans participate in different movements. White women and African American women were found to be motivated by both individual and group interests when advancing the status of women (Stewart, Settles, & Winter, 1998); however, African American women also benefited from the improved status of African Americans. These dual interests may have decreased African American women's involvement in the Women's Rights movement because they felt it conflicted with achieving Civil Rights goals or did not sufficiently address their concerns as African American women and split the African American community. These arguments suggest that African American women may be more involved in the Civil Rights movement and less involved in the Women's Rights movement than White women, and research has paralleled these theories.

For the women in the current study, events like the Women's Rights movement and the Civil Rights movement occurred during their young adulthood. Researchers have found that individuals are most affected by events that occur during the transition to or the span of young adulthood (Duncan & Agronick, 1995; Stewart & Healy, 1989). Thus, these two movements may have dramatically influenced these women's attitudes, values, and their participation in activism. In these movements, race plays a role in determining the patterns of participation.

Research has shown that White women are more active than African American women in the Women's Rights movement. The 1992 phase of the Women's Life Paths Study was used in a number of studies such as Cole and Stewart (1996) and Stewart, Settles, and Winter (1998) to examine women's involvement in causes, like the Women's Rights movement and the Civil Rights movement. Cole and Stewart, whose definition of activism included a wide range of activities like attending protest meetings and doing campaign work, found that White women participated in the Women's Rights movement significantly more than African American women

did, 61% versus 42%. Similarly, in Stewart et al. (1998), where activism was more specifically defined as having marched, demonstrated, performed organization work, or held a leadership role, 33.7% of the White women versus only 22.7% of the African American women were active in the Women's Rights movement.

In contrast to participation in the Women's Rights movement, African American women are more active in the Civil Rights movement than White women. Cole and Stewart (1996) found that 92% of African American women versus 48% of White women participated in the Civil Rights movement; Stewart et al. (1998) showed a similar pattern with 76.9% of African American women and 18.9% of White women being active in the Civil Rights movement. Given the high rate of participation by African Americans in the Civil Rights movement, there is little variance in the level of participation. Lack of variance in Civil Rights activism participation means that little – if anything – can predict this participation.

The current study explores how generativity, activist identity, and race are related to participation in activism. This study broadens the spectrum of movements that are included in analyses, adding causes such as gay and lesbian rights and pro-choice activism to the more traditional causes such as Women's Rights and Civil Rights activism.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 extends previous research (e.g. Hart et al., 2001; Peterson & Klohnen, 1995) that indicates a significant relationship between generativity and activism for both White and African American women.

1. a. For the entire sample, generativity will be significantly related to activism.
- b. Similarly, generativity will be significantly related to activism for White women.
- c. Generativity will also be related to activism for African American women.

d. As an alternative to Hypothesis 1c., the relationship between generativity and activism will not hold for African American women due to a lack of variance in generativity and involvement in activism that will limit the ability to draw any relationships. This prediction is based on research indicating that African Americans have higher generativity scores (Hart et al., 2001), as well as research and theory highlighting African Americans' higher involvement in movements such as Civil Rights and their theoretical disposition to express generativity through activism (Cole and Stewart, 1996).

Hypothesis 2 is based on Kelly and Breinlinger's (1995) and Simon et al.'s (1998) research showing that activist identification is strongly positively related to participation in activism. Given that activist identification predicts activism, it follows that identifying as activists will increase involvement in activism.

2. Those who indicate that they identify as activists – defined here as 'close to activists' – will display higher levels of activism than those who do not identify as activists.

Hypothesis 3 extends the first two hypotheses; it combines the ideas that generativity and activism are related, and that activist identification increases involvement in activism, to propose that identifying as an activist may actually strengthen the predicted relationship between generativity and activism.

3. a. Activist identification will strengthen the relationship between generativity and activism for the entire sample.

b. Similarly, for White women, activist identification will strengthen the relationship between generativity and activism.

- c. Activist identification will also strengthen the relationship between generativity and activism for African American women, but only if the lack of variance is not present as discussed in Hypothesis 1d.

Hypothesis 4 is based on findings showing racial differences in involvement in activism and generativity: African American women had higher levels of generativity and participation in the Civil Rights movement than White women did, and White women were more involved than African American women in the Women's Rights movement (Cole & Stewart, 1996; Hart et al., 2001; Stewart et al., 1998).

4. a. African American women will display higher levels of generativity and Civil Rights activism.
- b. White women will display higher levels of Women's Rights activism.

Hypothesis 5 addresses what which variables in combination will predict activism in this study. Previous research, such as Peterson and Klohnen (1995), has found a significant relationship between generativity and activism, and the current research extends this work to hypothesize that generativity will actually predict activism. Activist identification is expected to be a predictor based on research by Kelly and Breinlinger (1995) and Simon et al. (1998), who found that activist identification significantly predicted actual participation or willingness to participate. Due to the differential participation patterns based on race, being African American or White is expected to predict activism (Cole & Stewart, 1996; Stewart et al., 1998).

5. Generativity, race, and activist identification in combination will differentially predict involvement in activism; that is, combinations of generativity level (high or low), race

(African American or White), and activist identification (close or not close to activists) will predict the level of activism.

Method

Participants

Participants were women who had graduated from the University of Michigan between 1967 and 1973, contacted using updated address lists provided by the University of Michigan Alumni Association. The Women's Life Paths Study was initiated by Tangri (1969) and follow-up data collections have occurred in 1970, 1981, 1992, and 2008. These women have been the focus of numerous previous studies including Jenkins (1987), which looked at achievement motivation in relation to women's careers, and Stewart and Vandewater (1999), which dealt with women's regrets and consequent life changes. The 2008 wave of data collection received responses from 244 women who were further divided into three main subsamples: Longitudinal, African American, and Activist.

Subsamples. The Longitudinal subsample is comprised of women who participated in the original 1967 phase of the WLPS. This first sample in 1967 consisted of 200 White women who graduated from the University of Michigan in 1967. 110 participated in this 2008 phase of the WLPS. Of the 168 surveys successfully received by participants, 110 were returned completed, yielding a response rate of 65.5%. This response rate is slightly lower than, but still within the range of, similar longitudinal studies where participants were first contacted as students and followed up again after graduation (Cole & Stewart, 1996, 72%, Hoge & Ankney, 1982, 74%).

The African American subsample was recruited during the 1992 phase of the WLPS (Cole & Stewart, 1996). The African American participants graduated between 1967 and 1973 because university enrollment of African American women only reached a comparable level to that of

White women post-1970. The subsample in 1992 consisted of 64 women; however, of the 273 African American women successfully contacted for the 2008 wave of data collection, 82 surveys were received: a response rate of 30.0%.

The Activist subsample was solicited in 1992 in order to compare potential differences between White women who participated in student movements and those who did not (Cole et al., 1998). The women in the activist subsample participated in student movements at the University of Michigan in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and graduated between 1967 and 1973. Their names were obtained through a variety of archival sources, including the University's student newspaper, the *Michigan Daily*, as detailed in Cole et al. (1998). While 96 women were originally contacted in 1992, 112 women were contacted for the 2008 wave of data collection; 52 completed surveys were received, yielding a response rate of 44.1%. While the response rates for both the African American and the Activist subsamples may seem low, they are comparable to, if not slightly higher than, response rates for studies where individuals were first contacted in the years following graduation (Cole et al., 1998, 41%, Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981, 29%).

The three subsamples did not significantly differ in the proportion of women who had married or lived with a partner, or had children. The subsamples also did not differ on the total yearly household income or highest level of education obtained.

Subsamples in the current research. In this study, the primary demographic variable investigated was race: whether the women indicated they were White ($N = 158$), African American ($N = 79$) or Other ($N = 5$). The category of Other included those participants who wrote in their race, for example, Jewish, and these women were subsequently excluded from analyses. The Longitudinal and Activist subsamples were combined to create the White group of participants. The African American subsample included all African American women recruited.

In addition, the total sample (244 women), as well as the White and African American subsamples, was also divided according to whether or not the women identified as activists. For both women who identified as activists and those who did not, relationships between involvement in activism and generativity were assessed.

Measures

The current study was based on responses gathered from women who completed the 2008 Women's Life Paths Study (WLPS) questionnaire, an extensive survey covering a range of topics, including demographic factors, feelings about life, health and political involvement.

Generativity. The generativity scale was an 8-item subscale of the Feelings about Life scale originally used in Helson and Moane (1987), and more recently developed and adapted by Stewart, Ostrove and Helson (2001). Stewart et al. used a 7-item generativity scale to determine the generativity of three samples of women across multiple decades. These generativity scales had moderate reliability values ranging from $\alpha = .51$ to $\alpha = .68$. As in previous research, current participants were asked to read each item and rate how descriptive it was of their current feelings about life. Each item was rated from 1 ("*Not at all descriptive*") to 3 ("*Very descriptive*"). A sample item was "Having something to teach young people." The scale's reliability in the present research was $\alpha = .75$. For the purposes of this study, a low generativity score was defined as a mean response of 1 while a high generativity score was defined as a mean response of 3.

Activist Identification. Activist identification was measured as presence/absence in a larger measure of group identification. Participants were asked to "Please check the box to the right of the following groups you feel particularly close to—people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things." Sixteen options were supplied, covering a wide range of demographic variables, such as "Women," "Working-class people," "Older people," and

“Activists.” Participants were not limited in the number of groups they could check. Checked responses indicated identification with a group, while not checked did not. This measure was used in a slightly different form by Gurin, Miller and Gurin (1980). In the current study, 159 of the 244 participants said they did not feel close to activists as a group, and 79 said they felt close to activists as a group. Six individuals did not respond to this portion of the survey.

Involvement in Causes. Involvement in causes, or activism, was measured by examining women’s participation in 18 different causes ranging from the environment to war/troop support. For each of these 18 causes, the women were asked to mark whether or not their support manifested in six specific ways during the past two years: signed a petition, gave money, wrote a letter or called a public office, attended a meeting, was an active member of an organization, or attended a rally or demonstration (Duncan, 1999). Duncan looked at two movements, reproductive rights and Women’s Rights, with these six types of involvement. Duncan also counted the number of organizations each participant worked in that related to women’s issues. Participation in the two movements and the number of organizations women were active in combined had an $\alpha = .76$.

Participants were also given the option of selecting an open-ended item, designated as “Other,” where they could name a cause they were involved in. If they nominated more than one cause in response to this question, only the first was included in analysis. Sums were then created for each of the 18 causes. A woman’s *total activism* score was the mean of the sums of the 18 individual causes. The range of possible total activism mean scores was thus 0 to 6. Subsets of these 18 sums were then grouped into four activism causes: political activism, social activism, Women’s Rights activism and Civil Rights activism. Political activism was chosen as a type of activism because 2008 was an election year; hence, political party support was likely to be a key

way that participants were active in causes. Social activism was studied because it combined multiple causes that are often in the media and tend to be seen as controversial. As a whole, this sample was primarily left leaning with very few women, typically less than 15, involved in more conservative causes like the Republican Party/Candidate or the Pro-life movement. Consequently, the causes included in the political activism and social activism scales are from the liberal end of the political spectrum. Women's Rights activism and Civil Rights activism were included in this research because the participants came of age during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Consequently, they were likely to have been more directly influenced by these movements, which were socially prominent at that time (Duncan & Agronick, 1995). All activism subscales had a possible range of 0 to 6 for their mean score.

Political activism was defined as the sum of all actions checked for the Democratic Party/Candidate cause. *Social activism* represented the mean of the sums for the following three causes: AIDS, Gay and lesbian rights, and Pro-choice movement. *Women's Rights activism* was the sum of all actions marked for the Women's Rights cause. *Civil Rights activism* was the sum of all checked actions for the Racial equality/Civil Rights cause.

Local activism. The local activism scale consisted of five items taken from the 20-item political engagement scale used in Fendrich and Lovoy (1988). The original scale had six different political behavior dimensions, but the current research used select items from the Political Communication and Community Activism dimensions. Sample items included, "Informed others in my community about politics" and "Contacted local officials on social issues." Women were asked to state how often they participated in each activity in the previous two years on a 3-point scale (0 = "Never," 3 = "Regularly"). A participant's local activism score

was her mean response to these five items with possible scores ranging from 0 to 3. The scale's reliability was $\alpha = .74$.

Results

Results are reported in two sections: first, those concerning the entire sample, and second, by race. Following these results are the regression results predicting four types of activism.

Entire Sample

Table 1 shows the correlations between generativity, and activism for the entire sample. Generativity was significantly related to total activism, $r = .30, p = .000$, political activism, $r = .20, p = .002$, social activism, $r = .22, p = .001$, Women's rights activism, $r = .28, p = .000$, Civil Rights activism, $r = .17, p = .011$, and local activism, $r = .39, p = .000$.

Generativity and Involvement in Activism Based on Activist Identification. Results for the overall sample as shown in Table 2 indicate that participants who identified as activists were significantly higher than participants who did not identify as activists on all variables: generativity, $t = 3.43, p = .001$, total activism, $t = 5.77, p = .000$, political activism, $t = 2.42, p = .016$, social activism, $t = 5.04, p = .000$, Women's Rights activism, $t = 3.83, p = .000$, Civil Rights activism, $t = 3.35, p = .001$, and local activism, $t = 4.04, p = .000$.

Generativity Correlates Based on Activist Identification. For those women who identified as activists, generativity was significantly correlated with total activism, $r = .31, p = .005$, political activism, $r = .30, p = .007$, and local activism, $r = .41, p = .000$. For women who did not identify as activists, generativity was significantly related to Women's Rights activism, $r = .23, p = .004$, and local activism, $r = .32, p = .000$. *Z* scores were calculated to determine whether the correlations between generativity and the types of activism for those participants who

identified as activists and those who did not were significantly different from one another. No significance differences were found. These results are displayed in Table 3.

Results Based on Racial Identification: White or African American

Means and standard deviations for the White and African American women on generativity and all types of activism are displayed in Table 4. Total activism and political activism did not significantly vary based on a participant's race. However, there were significant differences for generativity and the remaining types of activism (Civil Rights, local, social, and Women's Rights activism) based on race. African American women had higher mean levels of generativity, $t = -2.75, p = .007$, Civil Rights activism, $t = -5.12, p = .000$, and local activism, $t = -2.08, p = .039$, than White women. White women had higher mean levels of social activism, $t = 2.24, p = .026$, and Women's Rights activism, $t = 2.65, p = .009$, than African American women.

Correlates of Generativity. Table 5 displays the results for White and African American women concerning generativity and its relationships with activism. Generativity was significantly correlated with all variables tested for White women: total activism, $r = .38, p = .000$, political activism, $r = .18, p = .027$, social activism, $r = .26, p = .001$, Women's Rights activism, $r = .38, p = .000$, Civil Rights activism, $r = .22, p = .006$, and local activism, $r = .46, p = .000$. For African American women, generativity was significantly related to political activism, $r = .25, p = .034$. *Z* scores were calculated to determine whether the correlations between generativity and activism were significantly different between White and African American women. For the two groups of women, correlations between generativity and total activism, $p = .04$, Women's Rights activism, $p = .01$, Civil Rights activism, $p = .03$, and local activism, $p = .01$, were significantly different from one another.

Generativity Correlates Based on Activist Identification for White Women. Table 6 shows the correlations between generativity and various types of activism for White women depending on whether or not they identified as activists. For White women who identified as activists, generativity was significantly correlated with total activism, $r = .34, p = .011$, political activism, $r = .31, p = .022$, Women's Rights activism, $r = .29, p = .036$, and local activism, $r = .44, p = .001$. For White women who did not identify as activists, generativity was significantly correlated with total activism, $r = .27, p = .008$, Women's Rights activism, $r = .38, p = .000$, Civil Rights activism, $r = .26, p = .013$, and local activism, $r = .40, p = .000$. The correlations between generativity and all types of activism for White women who identified as activists were not significantly different from the same correlations for those who did not identify as activists.

Generativity Correlates Based on Activist Identification for African American Women. Table 7 shows the correlations between generativity and all types of activism for African American women depending on their identification as activists. For African American women who identified as activists, generativity was significantly correlated with political activism, $r = .44, p = .042$, Civil Rights activism, $r = .43, p = .047$, and local activism, $r = .46, p = .034$. The correlation between generativity and Civil Rights activism for those who identified as activists, $r = .43$, was significantly different, $p = .01$, from the correlation between generativity and Civil Rights activism for those who did not identify as activists, $r = -.24$.

Predicting Activism

Regression analyses were run to determine factors that predicted involvement in total activism, Women's Rights activism, Civil Rights activism and local activism. Two models were constructed. The first model included the main effects of generativity, race, and activist identification. The second model added three two-way interactions (race and generativity, race

and activist identification, and generativity and activist identification) as well as a three-way interaction (race, generativity, and activist identification). Based on the second model, graphs were constructed to illustrate the effects of generativity (low vs. high) and activist identification (not close to activists vs. close to activists) on each type of activism for White and African American women separately.

Predicting Total Activism. Table 8 shows the regression results for predicting total activism. In Model 1, generativity and activist identification significantly predicted total activism, $F(3, 219) = 19.80, p = .000$. However, when the two- and three-way interactions were added to the model, $F(7, 215) = 10.72, p = .000$, only the main effect of generativity remained significant. Figures 1 and 2 show how generativity and activist identification predicted total activism for White and African American women respectively.

Predicting Women's Rights Activism. The results for predicting Women's Rights activism are displayed in table 9. Generativity, race, and activist identification significantly predicted Women's Rights activism, $F(3, 219) = 12.71, p = .000$, but only generativity and race remained significant when the two- and three-way interactions were added, $F(7, 215) = 6.57, p = .000$. Figure 3 shows how generativity and activist identification affected White women's participation in Women's Rights activism while figure 4 illustrates the effects of generativity and activist identification on Women's Rights activism for African American women.

Predicting Civil Rights Activism. Table 10 shows the regression results for predicting Civil Rights activism. In Model 1, race and activist identification significantly predicted Civil Rights activism, $F(3, 219) = 16.32, p = .000$. When the interactions were added to the model, generativity and the three-way interaction between generativity, race, and activist identification predicted Civil Rights activism in addition to race and activist identification, $F(7, 215) = 9.42, p =$

.000. The relationships that generativity and activist identification had with involvement in Civil Rights activism for White and African American women are displayed in figures 5 and 6 respectively.

Predicting Local Activism. The regression results predicting local activism are shown in table 11. In the model with the three main effects, generativity and activist identification significantly predicted local activism, $F(3, 225) = 16.09, p = .000$. In model 2, generativity and now race significantly predicted local activism while activist identification no longer did, $F(7, 221) = 8.56, p = .000$. Figures 7 and 8 illustrate the effects of generativity and activist identification on local activism for White and African American women respectively.

Discussion

This study found that generativity was related to activism for African American and White women combined, and for the subsample of White women. However, a relationship between generativity and activism was not found for African Americans, although this was not entirely unexpected. Being close to activists as a group, or activist identification as it is defined here, resulted in more involvement in activism as well as higher levels of generativity. There was also a tendency for activist identification to strengthen the association between generativity and activism for the women overall, but it differentially affected the relationships between generativity and activism for White and African American women. African American women displayed significantly higher levels of generativity, Civil Rights activism, and local activism than White women while White women displayed significantly higher levels of social activism and Women's Rights activism compared to their African American counterparts. In terms of predicting activism, generativity predicted involvement in total activism, Women's Rights activism, Civil Rights activism, and local activism, while race also predicted involvement in the latter three types

of activism. Activist identification and a three-way interaction between generativity, race, and activist identification also predicted involvement in Civil Rights activism. That is, for example, being African American and high in generativity, as well as identifying as an activist led to higher participation in Civil Rights activism than being White and low in generativity, as well as not identifying as an activist.

Generativity and Activism

The relationship between generativity and activism for White women found in this current research both supported our hypotheses and was consistent with previous research. Peterson and Klohnen (1995) and Peterson and Stewart (1996) found that generativity and political activism were related among samples of White women. The current study expanded on this previous research, finding that generativity was associated with a wider range of activist causes including social activism, Women's Rights activism, Civil Rights activism, and activism in one's local community.

The present research found that generativity was not related to activism for African American women; however, the results appeared consistent with Hypothesis 1d, which stated that the relationship between generativity and activism for African American women would not hold due to a lack of variance. With African American women displaying higher levels of generativity and a number of types of activism and combined with less variance on these measures, there was no room statistically for a significant relationship between generativity and activism to emerge. The higher means imply that generativity and involvement in activist causes like Civil Rights may be more normative areas of expression for African American women. The lack of relationship between generativity and activism for African American women in this sample does

not mean that no relationship exists, only that the current research does not have the statistical variance to show the relationship if it does exist.

The exception to the lack of significant relationships between generativity and activism for African American women was political activism where a significant relationship was found between generativity and political activism for African American women. This finding is similar to the work of Hart et al. (2001), who found a link between political activism and generativity for African American men and women. This relationship could also be related to the timing of the survey, which was the fall of 2008. The 2008 election and its candidates may have influenced African American involvement in political activism, which was defined here as supporting the Democratic party/candidate since the party's nominee was Barack Obama, the first ever African American Presidential candidate in the United States.

Activist Identification and Activism

As hypothesized, those women who identified as activists did display higher levels of involvement in all categories of activism. The current finding supports the earlier research by Kelly and Breinlinger (1995) and Simon et al. (1998): identifying as an activist or with a specific movement identity was associated with higher levels of involvement. The current research extended the types of activism included in analyses on the effects of activist identification beyond specific social movements such as the Women's Rights movement. Although no prediction was made on the effect of activist identification on generativity levels, generativity was found to be higher among women who identified as activists. This finding may be a result of the significant relationship between generativity and activism already found, and the effect that activist identification has on that relationship. It may also be a result specific to this particular sample.

Overall, the current research found that activist identification strengthened the relationship between generativity and activism, which was consistent with hypotheses. This was true for all six types of activism for the entire sample and for African American women, and for four types of activism for White women, specifically total activism, political activism, social activism, and local activism. While the lack of variance in generativity and activism for African American women did limit the ability to find a significant relationship between generativity and activism, it did not prevent activist identification from strengthening the relationship between generativity and activism. Also as cited above, previous research found associations between generativity and activism, and activist identification and activism. The current research aimed to build on these previous findings and to explore how activist identification might *strengthen* the relationship between generativity and activism, given that both generativity and activist identification are associated with greater involvement in activism. In this sample, there is a trend for identifying as an activist to strengthen the relationship between generativity and activism for both White and African American women.

While activist identification strengthened the relationship between generativity and activism, it also affected specific generativity-activism links in different ways for the entire sample, for White women, and for African American women. As these were exploratory analyses, no specific hypotheses were made regarding which specific relationships would be significant. For the entire sample, total activism and political activism were significantly related to generativity for those women who identified as activists, whereas Women's Rights activism was significantly related to generativity for those women who did not identify as activists; local activism was significantly related to generativity regardless of activist identification. The patterns of significance also vary differently along racial lines, so a closer look at these results provides a

clearer picture, especially since the entire sample includes both White and African American women.

For White women, generativity was significantly related to total activism, Women's Rights activism, and local activism regardless of activist identification. Given that these women were in their young adulthood during the socially active late 1960s and early 1970s, these women may have developed an innate activist identity, which might orient them towards expressing their generativity through activism (Stewart & Healy, 1989). These women may not identify as activists specifically since being involved in activism was a common activity during their young adulthood; this may explain why generativity and a number of types of activism were significantly related for White women who both identified and did not identify as activists. However, activist identification did affect the relationships with generativity for other types of activism among White women. For White women who identified as activists, political activism was significantly related to generativity. This may be a result of the 2008 election, which took place during the survey timeframe, because there was an active social movement related to Barack Obama's campaign. Given that Obama was the first African American Presidential candidate, White women who identified as activists may have been eager to participate in what had the potential to be a revolutionary movement. However, this assertion conflicts with the finding that generativity was significantly related to Civil Rights activism for White women who did not identify as activists. It is unclear as to why these specific relationships between generativity and political activism as well as Civil Rights activism arose for White women, and since these were investigative analyses, it would be beneficial to explore these associations further in future research.

The effects of activist identification on the relationships between generativity and different types of activism were relatively more straightforward for African American women than for White women. For African American women who identified as activists, generativity was significantly related to political activism, Civil Rights activism, and local activism; for those African American women who did not identify as activists, generativity was not significantly related to any kind of activism. The lack of variance may partly explain why there were fewer significant relationships for African American women than for White women. The nature of the 2008 election, specifically Barack Obama's candidacy and the movement surrounding his campaign, may also explain why political activism was related to generativity for those African American women who identified as activists in a similar manner as with the White women. Given the previous research showing African American women's high level of involvement in the Civil Rights movement as well as feminist theory indicating a community focus for African American female generativity, it is understandable that African American women who identified as activists would have significant relationships between generativity and Civil Rights activism, as well as generativity and local activism (Cole & Stewart, 1996; Harding, 1991).

Race and Activism

As predicted, African American women were higher in generativity and Civil Rights activism. These results are consistent with previous research findings that African American women displayed higher levels of generativity and involvement in the Civil Rights movement (Cole & Stewart, 1996; Stewart et al., 1998). While no specific hypothesis regarding local activism was made, it is understandable that African American women were higher in local activism. As mentioned above, African American feminist theory explains that generativity for African American women is relatively community-focused, thus, it follows that African

American women would be particularly more likely to engage in a type of activism that directly relates to their communities. However, given that the current findings do not find a general relationship between generativity and activism for African American women, there may be other reasons as to why African American women were higher in local activism.

White women displayed higher levels of Women's Rights activism, which is consistent with the hypotheses tested here and previous research. Cole and Stewart (1996) and Stewart et al. (1998) both found that White women were more involved in the Women's Rights movement than their African American colleagues; therefore, the current results replicate previous findings. White women were also more involved in social activism than African American women, something that was not hypothesized. Just as Stewart et al. (1998) explain – that African Americans may participate less in the Women's Rights movement because of a conflict of interest – a similar explanation may also apply to social activism, which was defined as involvement in the AIDS, Gay and lesbian rights, and Pro-choice movements. However, this finding may also be a result of how social activism was specifically defined or the particular sample being used. Whether African Americans generally participate less in social causes such as gay and lesbian rights would require further investigation.

Predicting Activism

Regression analyses were conducted to predict involvement in four of the six types of activism included in this study (total activism, Women's Rights activism, Civil Rights activism, and local activism) based on generativity, race, and activist identification. The results were consistent with Hypothesis 5, which stated that generativity, race, and activist identification would interact to predict activism. Each of the four types of activism investigated had specific predictors; however, only the general patterns of how generativity, race, and activist identification

affected activism are explained here. As the results are complicated, they will be discussed in three sections: how race predicts activism, how generativity and activist identification predict activism for White women, and how generativity and activist identification predict activism for African American women.

How Race Predicts Activism. Race significantly predicted involvement in Women's Rights, Civil Rights, and local activism. Specifically, being White led to increased involvement in Women's Rights while being African American increased involvement in Civil Rights and local activism. This is consistent with previous research, which found White women to be substantially more involved in Women's Rights activism than their African American counterparts (Cole & Stewart, 1996; Stewart et al., 1998). Combining White women's greater involvement in Women's Rights activism with African American feminist theory, which states that Women's Rights activism might conflict with the Civil Rights interests of African Americans, it follows that being White rather than African American would predict involvement in the Women's Rights movement.

Cole and Stewart (1996), as well as Stewart et al. (1998), also found that African American women were more active in the Civil Rights movement than White women; the present study found the same involvement pattern. Given that successful Civil Rights activism would most likely have a stronger effect on the livelihood of African Americans rather than Whites, thus compelling African Americans to be involved, and the fact that African Americans really are more involved in Civil Rights activism than White women, the current finding that being African American predicts involvement in the Civil Rights movement is understandable. Finally, African American women were found to be significantly more involved in local activism than White women in the current study, and African American feminist theory emphasizes the local

community as a focus for African American women (Harding, 1991). Taking these two factors together may explain why being African American predicts involvement in local activism.

How Generativity and Activist Identification Predict Activism for White Women.

For White women, generativity and activist identification predicted all four types of activism in a consistent pattern. In general, White women who identified as activists were more involved in activism than those who did not identify as activists, which is consistent with Kelly and Breinlinger's (1995) findings. The only exception to this tendency concerned total activism: White women who did not identify as activists were more involved in total activism than White women who did identify as activists, but only when the expressed levels of generativity were low for all White women. However, the difference in total activism based on activist identification when generativity was low was very small and likely a result of the levels of activism displayed by this particular sample.

In addition to the effect of activist identification on White women's activism, generativity also influenced White women's participation: higher generativity resulted in greater participation in all types of activism. The current study extended earlier research (e.g., Peterson & Klohnen, 1995, which found that generativity and activism were related) to hypothesize that generativity actually predicted involvement in activism. The present findings support this hypothesis for White women. Thus, White women may express their generativity through their involvement in social movements.

How Generativity and Activist Identification Predict Activism for African American Women.

The regression results predicting activism for African American women were more complicated than those for White women, and will consequently be explained first for those who identified as activists and then for those who did not identify as activists.

For African American women who identified as activists, higher generativity increased almost all activism, with the exception of Women's Rights activism, where it *decreased* involvement. Excluding Women's Rights activism, these results are consistent with the findings for White women. In the case of Women's Rights, the decrease in involvement due to higher generativity may be a result of the previously mentioned potential conflict of interest between the Women's Rights and Civil Rights movements for African American women.

For African American women who did not identify as activists, higher levels of generativity were associated with decreased participation in activism, except for local activism where higher generativity resulted in higher local activism. Also, when African American women were low in generativity, those who did not identify as activists were more involved in total activism, Civil Rights activism, and local activism than those who did identify as activists. These findings concerning African American women who did not identify as activists may be a result of the lack of variance in African American women's generativity and activism. However, they may also be a result of the fact that expressing generativity and being involved in activism are normative for African American women. More in-depth research would clarify the interactions between generativity, activist identification, and activism for African American women.

Limitations

As with any research endeavor, this study also has its limitations. The properties of the activism scales may have affected the results perhaps alternatively explaining why there was no relationship between generativity and activism for African American women. That is, in general, the activism distributions were skewed towards not participating. Although attempts were made to alter the data with log base 10, natural log and square root transformations to make activist participation more normally distributed, this led to illogical results. For example, when the square

roots were taken of all the distributions, White women were found to be more involved in Civil Rights activism than African American women, which when looking at the raw distributions was not true. Also, when split by activist identification, *N*s were relatively small for some groups, such as African American women who identified as activists ($N = 21-22$). Given the already-skewed distributions, small *N*s may have resulted in even more skewed distributions.

Another major limitation of the current research is the operationalization of activist identification as ‘close to activists.’ This single dimension may not have tapped directly into personally feeling like an activist, since participants only checked whether or not they felt close to activists as a group. Feeling close to activists does not necessarily imply that someone identifies as an activist. In addition to a general activist identification, individuals may also identify with a myriad of activist groups that this measure may not capture, such as those participants in Simon et al. (1998) who identified with the Gray Panthers.

While the current sample was relatively diverse along racial lines by including both African American and White women, it was restricted along the dimensions of gender since there were no male participants, as well as socioeconomic status (SES). The women included in this sample were relatively privileged as they graduated from an esteemed university in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Thus, the present results may only apply to women similar to those included in the sample: female college graduates of relatively high SES currently in midlife. These women may also be products of their time, given that the Women’s Rights and Civil Rights movements occurred during their young adulthood, which Stewart and Healy (1989) state is a key developmental period for events to be deemed meaningful. Thus, these results certainly cannot be generalized to all women as these were women of a certain age and time who may have found

specific events to be of greater consequence than older or younger women may have, and – most importantly – may have been more inclined towards participating in activism.

Future Research Directions

Given the relatively privileged educational status of the sample, further research should ideally include non-college attendees in future samples. Individuals who did not attend college may express their generativity differently and/or be involved in more diverse types of activism than college graduates. Including individuals from a wide range of educational backgrounds would illuminate these differences.

In addition to a wider educational spectrum, it would be interesting to include a wider age range of participants. While generativity is primarily rooted in midlife, age may affect which type of generativity women express based on Kotre's (1984) four types. Biological and parental generativity may come much earlier than technical or cultural generativity; however, at the same time, they may significantly overlap. Peterson and Stewart (1993) found that younger women expressed Kotre's biological and parental types of generativity. Investigating women's generativity based on these types could potentially bring age differences in generative expression to light. Also, most of the research cited in this paper has focused on generativity in women, and Erikson (1963) theorized that men also experience the generativity versus stagnation stage. Including men in future studies would show whether or not generativity is related to many types of activism for men as well as women.

Another area to explore with this research would be to develop a fuller measure of activist identification that would allow for a better understanding of how people identify as activists. It may also be useful to do qualitative research asking women what activist identification actually means to them and what criteria they themselves would use to determine whether an individual

was an activist or not. Having an expanded measure of activist identification would permit further investigation into how identification as an activist affects the relationships between generativity and different types of activism for White and African American women.

The lack of variance in the levels of generativity and activism for African American women limited the ability to draw relationships between these variables. Investigating why this particular group of women participates in activism would provide a greater understanding of their motivations and may indicate whether the relationship between generativity and activism exists for African American women, and if so, how it is manifested.

The current research has answered many of the questions it set out to, but has raised many others of interest. Activism may be conceptualized as Kotre's (1984) cultural generativity; perhaps African American women express generativity through Kotre's three other types of generativity? How do African American women define activism? Is the definition the same for White women? These questions point towards future research directions that would facilitate a deeper understanding of the differences in the relationships between race, generativity, activist identification, and activism.

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Table 1

Correlations Between Generativity and Activism for the Entire Sample

	Generativity ($N = 234-240$)
Total Activism	.30***
Political Activism	.20**
Social Activism	.22**
Women's Rights Activism	.28***
Civil Rights Activism	.17*
Local Activism	.39***

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations of Generativity and Activism Based on Activist Identification

	Close to Activists (<i>N</i> = 77-79)	Not Close to Activists (<i>N</i> = 151-159)	<i>t</i>
Generativity	2.50 (.34)	2.33 (.41)	3.43**
Total Activism	1.00 (.72)	.50 (.39)	5.76***
Political Activism	2.38 (1.65)	1.82 (1.70)	2.42*
Social Activism	1.01 (.99)	.41 (.51)	5.04***
Women's Rights Activism	1.33 (1.53)	.58 (1.14)	3.83***
Civil Rights Activism	1.43 (1.71)	.70 (1.28)	3.35**
Local Activism	1.25 (.67)	.88 (.66)	4.04***

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 3

Correlations Between Generativity and Activism Based on Activist Identification

	Generativity	
	Close to Activists (<i>N</i> = 77-79)	Not Close to Activists (<i>N</i> = 150-158)
Total Activism	.31**	.16
Political Activism	.30**	.09
Social Activism	.19	.12
Women's Rights Activism	.22	.23**
Civil Rights Activism	.16	.08
Local Activism	.41***	.32***

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations of Generativity and Activism for White and African American Women

	White (<i>N</i> = 153-157)	African American (<i>N</i> = 75-79)	<i>t</i>
Generativity	2.32 (.41)	2.47 (.36)	-2.75**
Total Activism	.69 (.61)	.57 (.42)	1.79
Political Activism	1.88 (1.73)	2.16 (1.62)	-1.19
Social Activism	.66 (.84)	.46 (.54)	2.24*
Women's Rights Activism	.95 (1.45)	.52 (.99)	2.65**
Civil Rights Activism	.55 (1.18)	1.63 (1.63)	-5.12***
Local Activism	.90 (.67)	1.09 (.63)	-2.08*

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5

Correlations Between Generativity and Activism for White and African American Women

	Generativity	
	White (<i>N</i> = 152-156)	African American (<i>N</i> = 75-77)
Total Activism	.38***	.10
Political Activism	.18*	.25*
Social Activism	.26**	.17
Women's Rights Activism	.38***	.03
Civil Rights Activism	.22**	-.08
Local Activism	.46***	.12

Note. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 6

Correlations Between Generativity and Activism Based on Activist Identification for White Women

	Generativity	
	Close to Activists (<i>N</i> = 53-54)	Not Close to Activists (<i>N</i> = 95-100)
Total Activism	.34*	.27**
Political Activism	.31*	-.01
Social Activism	.20	.16
Women's Rights Activism	.29*	.38***
Civil Rights Activism	.07	.26*
Local Activism	.44**	.40***

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 7

Correlations Between Generativity and Activism Based on Activist Identification for African American Women

	Generativity	
	Close to Activists (<i>N</i> = 21-22)	Not Close to Activists (<i>N</i> = 52-55)
Total Activism	.34	-.07
Political Activism	.44*	.20
Social Activism	.25	.10
Women's Rights Activism	.02	-.06
Civil Rights Activism	.43*	-.24
Local Activism	.46*	.03

Note. * $p < .05$.

Table 8

Regression Analyses for Generativity, Race, Activist Identification, Three 2-Way Interactions, and a 3-Way Interaction Predicting Total Activism

Basic Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Generativity	.32	.09	.22***	.63	.31	.44*
Race	-.14	.07	-.12	.78	.52	.65
Activist Identification	.41	.07	.35***	.94	1.63	.80
RacexGen				-.34	.21	-.81
RacexActID				-1.41	1.33	-1.69
GenxActID				-.06	.65	-.12
RacexGenxActID				.45	.53	1.37
R^2		.21			.26	
F for change in R^2		19.80***			3.29*	

(compared to Model 1)

Note. * $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 9

Regression Analyses for Generativity, Race, Activist Identification, Three 2-Way Interactions, and a 3-Way Interaction Predicting Women's Rights Activism

Basic Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Generativity	.83	.22	.25***	2.49	.76	.74**
Race	-.48	.18	-.17**	2.60	1.27	.94*
Activist Identification	.58	.18	.21**	.79	4.01	.29
RacexGen				-1.29	.53	-1.31*
RacexActID				-.30	3.28	-.15
GenxActID				-.17	1.61	-.16
RacexGenxActID				.18	1.30	.24
R^2		.15			.18	
F for change in R^2		12.71***			1.81	

(compared to Model 1)

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 10

Regression Analyses for Generativity, Race, Activist Identification, Three 2-Way Interactions, and a 3-Way Interaction Predicting Civil Rights Activism

Basic Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Generativity	.17	.24	.05	1.98	1.90	.53*
Race	1.10	.19	.36***	4.75	.81	1.55**
Activist Identification	.70	.19	.23***	12.29	1.35	4.04**
RacexGen				-1.48	.56	-1.36**
RacexActID				-10.98	3.49	-5.08**
GenxActID				-4.46	1.71	-3.71*
RacexGenxActID				4.24	1.38	5.00**
R^2		.18			.24	
F for change in R^2		16.32***			3.65**	

(compared to Model 1)

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 11

Regression Analyses for Generativity, Race, Activist Identification, Three 2-Way Interactions, and a 3-Way Interaction Predicting Local Activism

Basic Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Generativity	.53	.11	.31***	1.17	.36	.70**
Race	.14	.09	.10	1.57	.61	1.12*
Activist Identification	.28	.09	.20**	2.33	1.98	1.65
RacexGen				-.56	.26	-1.12*
RacexActID				-2.37	1.62	-2.34
GenxActID				-.67	.79	-1.20
RacexGenxActID				.83	.64	2.09
R^2		.18			.21	
F for change in R^2		16.09***			2.58*	

(compared to Model 1)

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

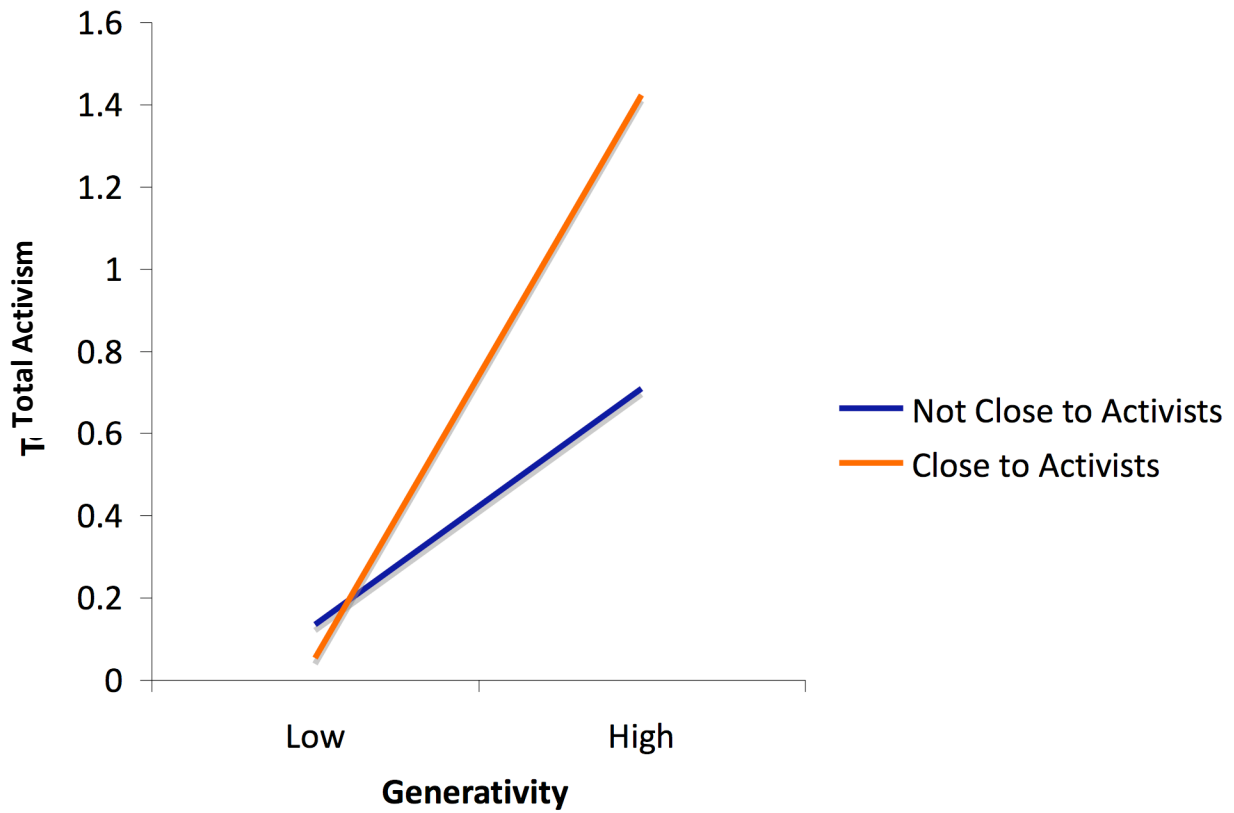


Figure 1. Total activism for White women by generativity (low vs. high) and activist identification (not close to activists vs. close to activists).

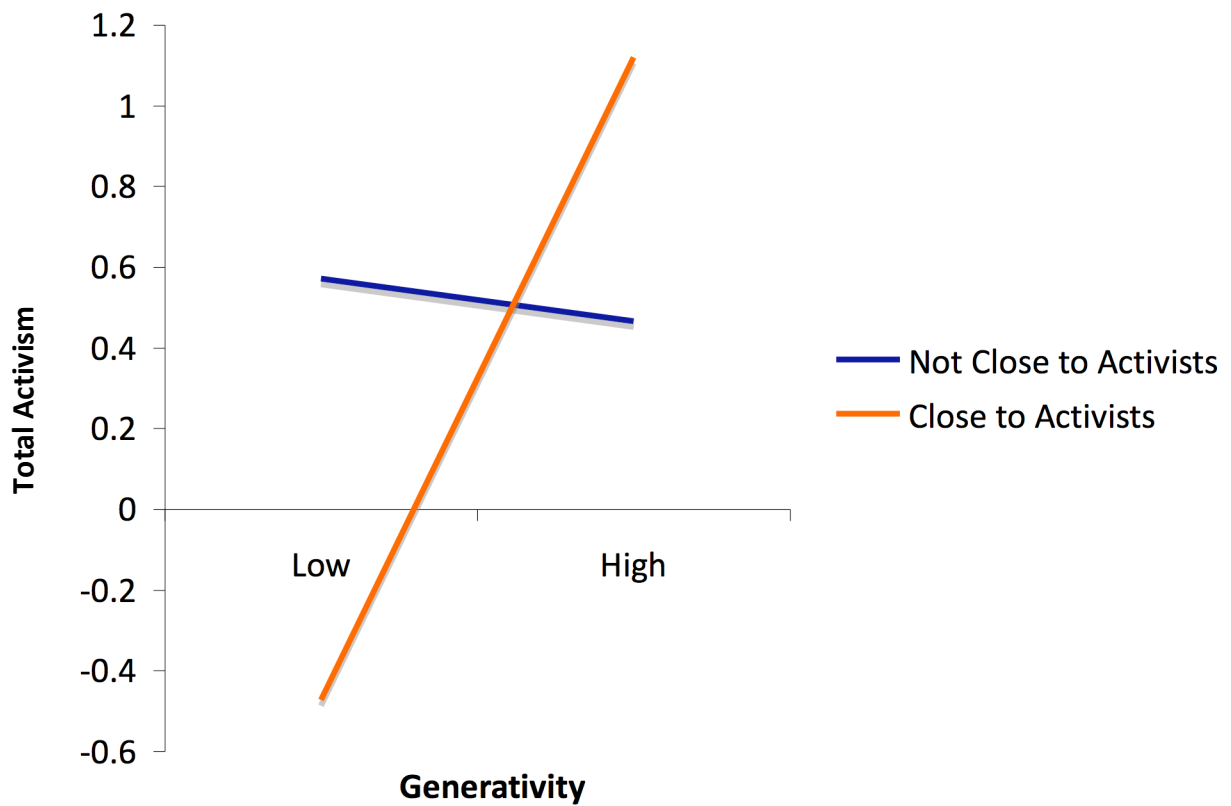


Figure 2. Total activism for African American women by generativity (low vs. high) and activist identification (not close to activists vs. close to activists).

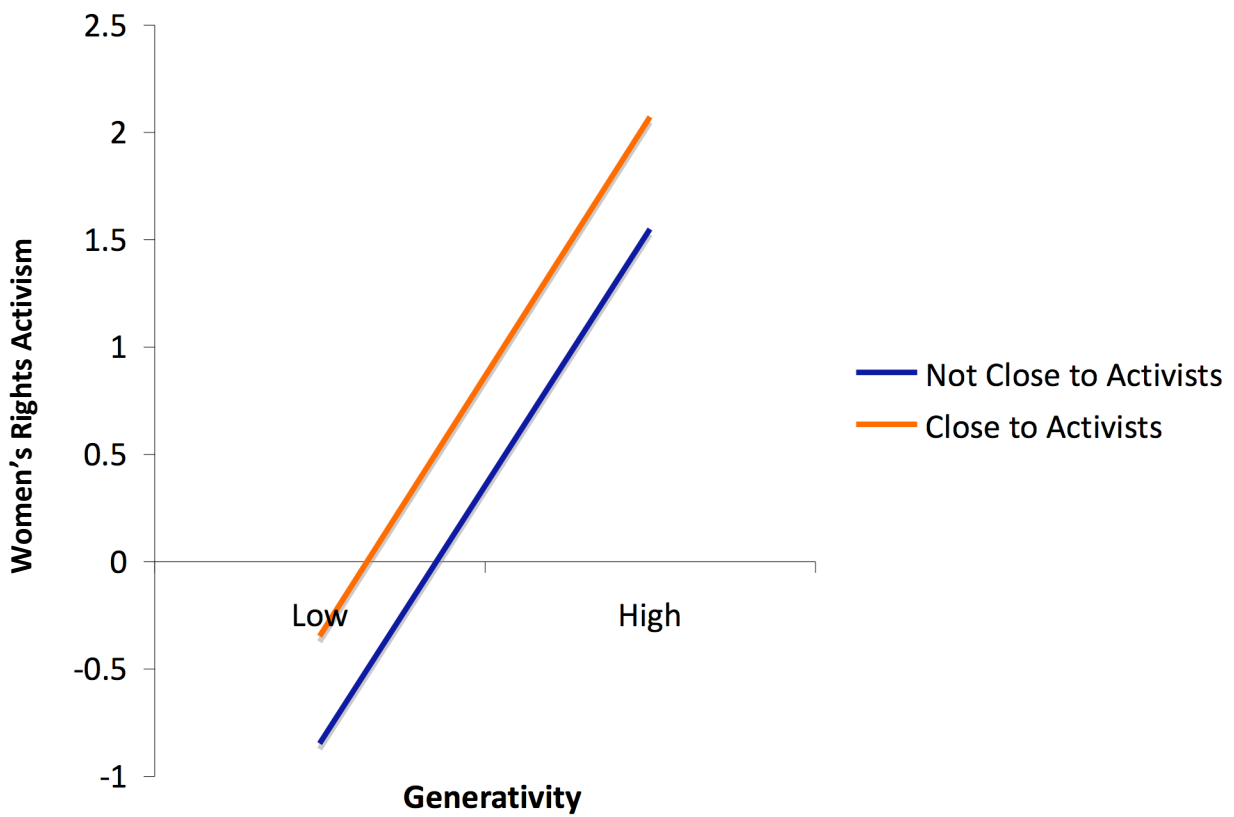


Figure 3. Women's Rights activism for White women by generativity (low vs. high) and activist identification (not close to activists vs. close to activists).

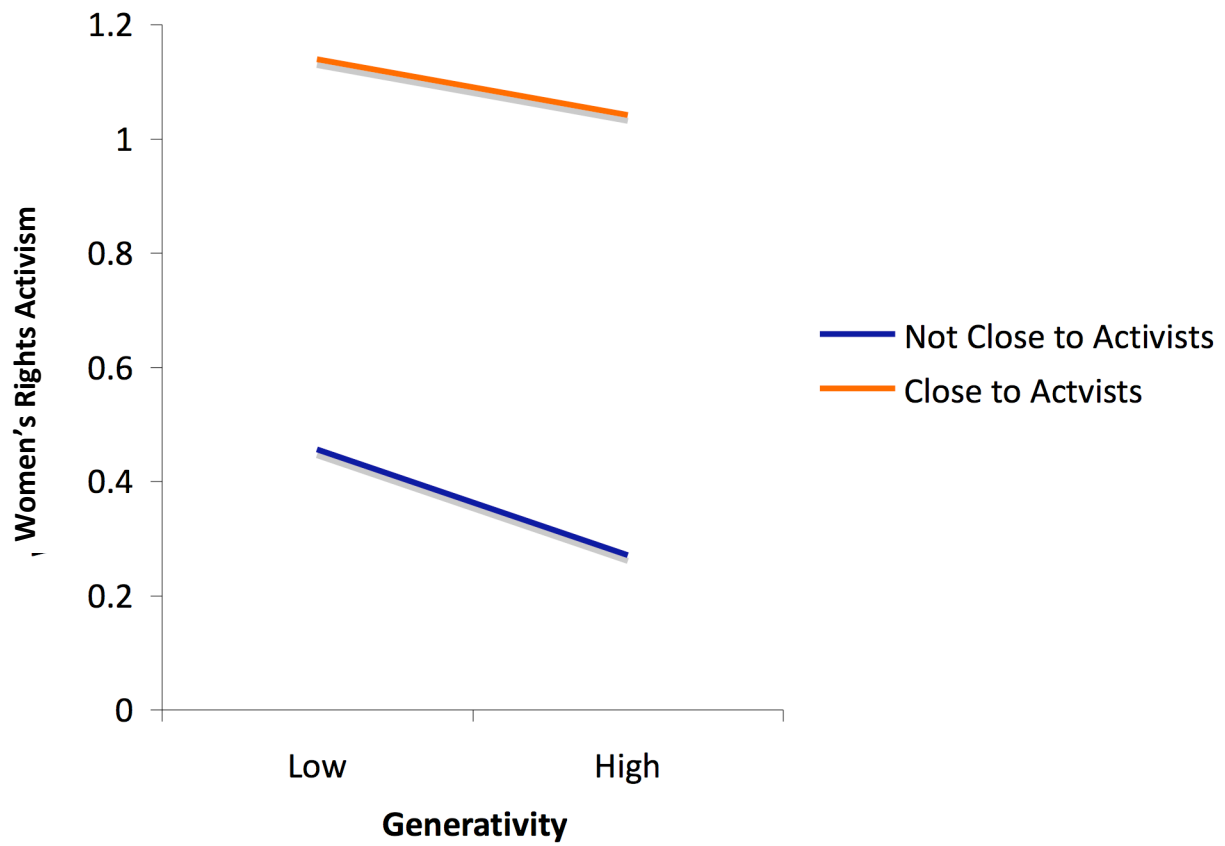


Figure 4. Women's Rights activism for African American women by generativity (low vs. high) and activist identification (not close to activists vs. close to activists).

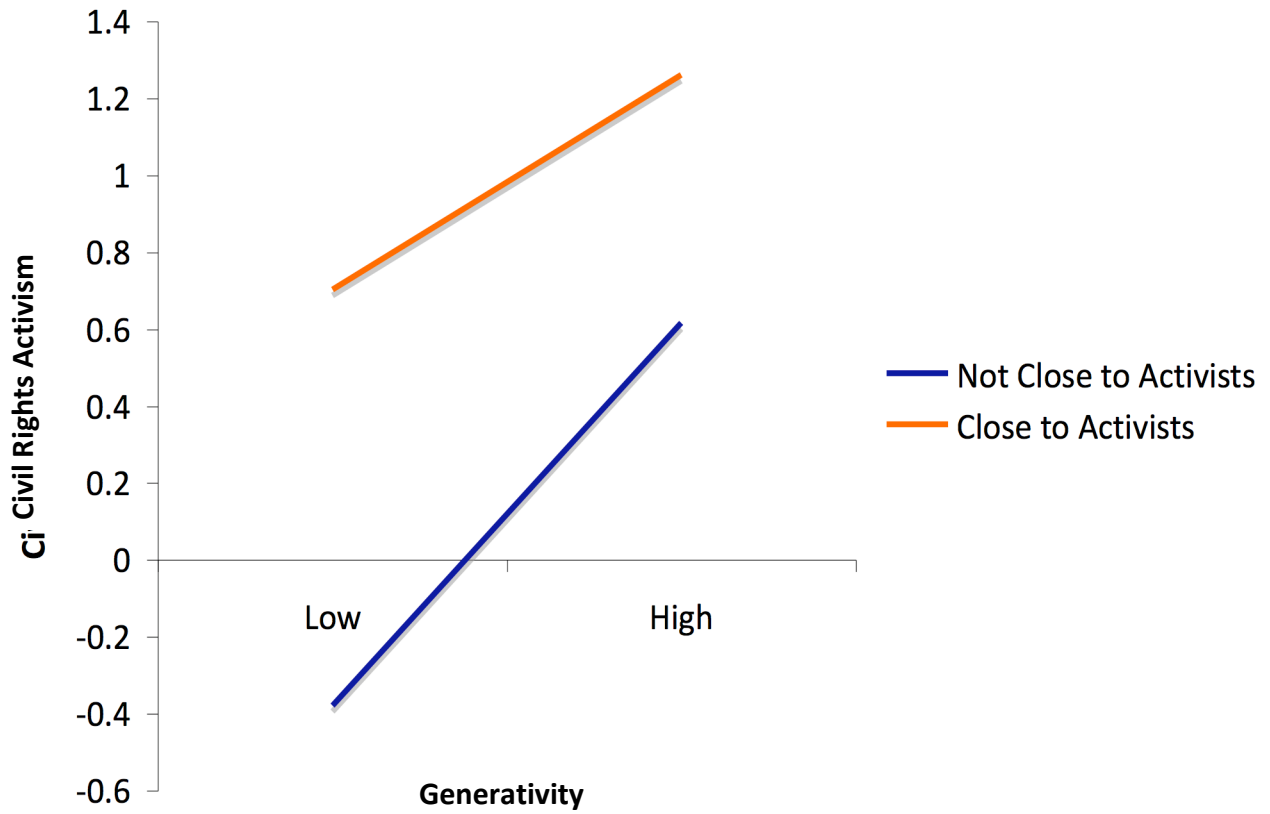


Figure 5. Civil Rights activism for White women by generativity (low vs. high) and activist identification (not close to activists vs. close to activists).

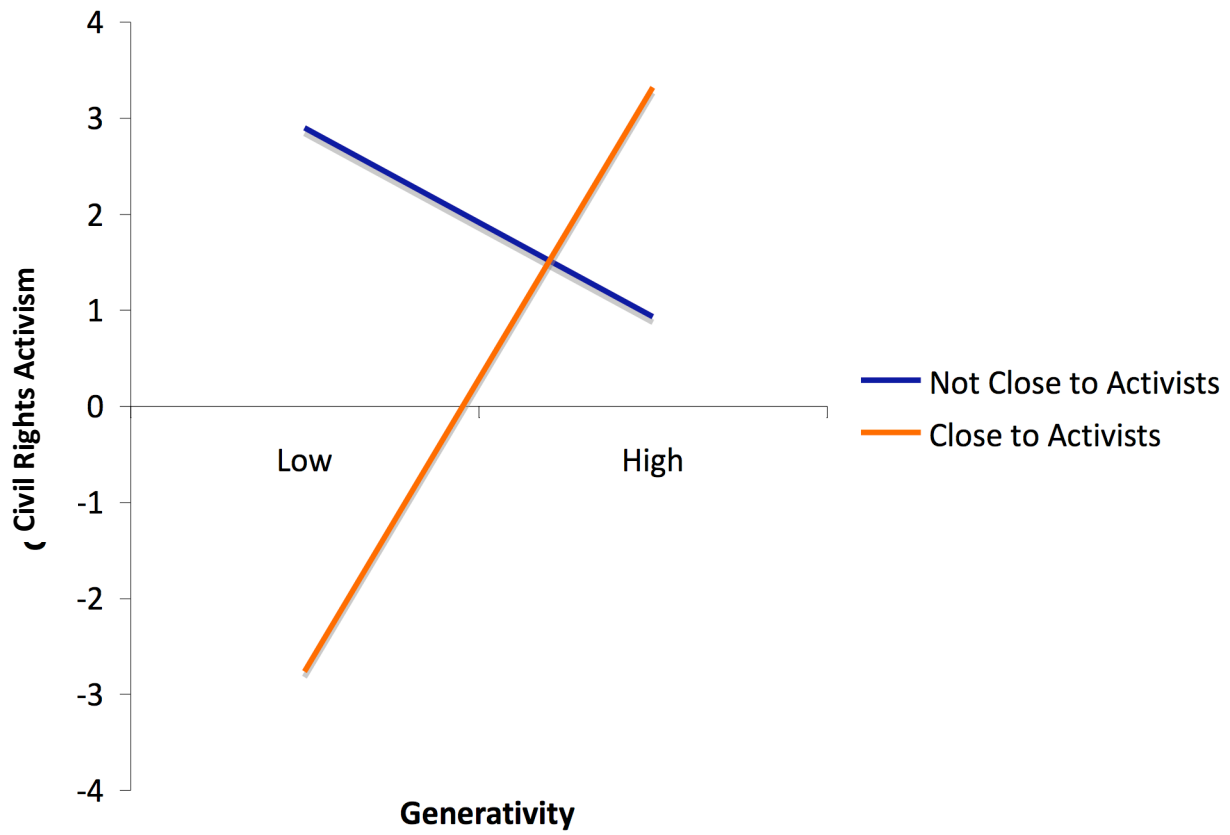


Figure 6. Civil Rights activism for African American women by generativity (low vs. high) and activist identification (not close to activists vs. close to activists).

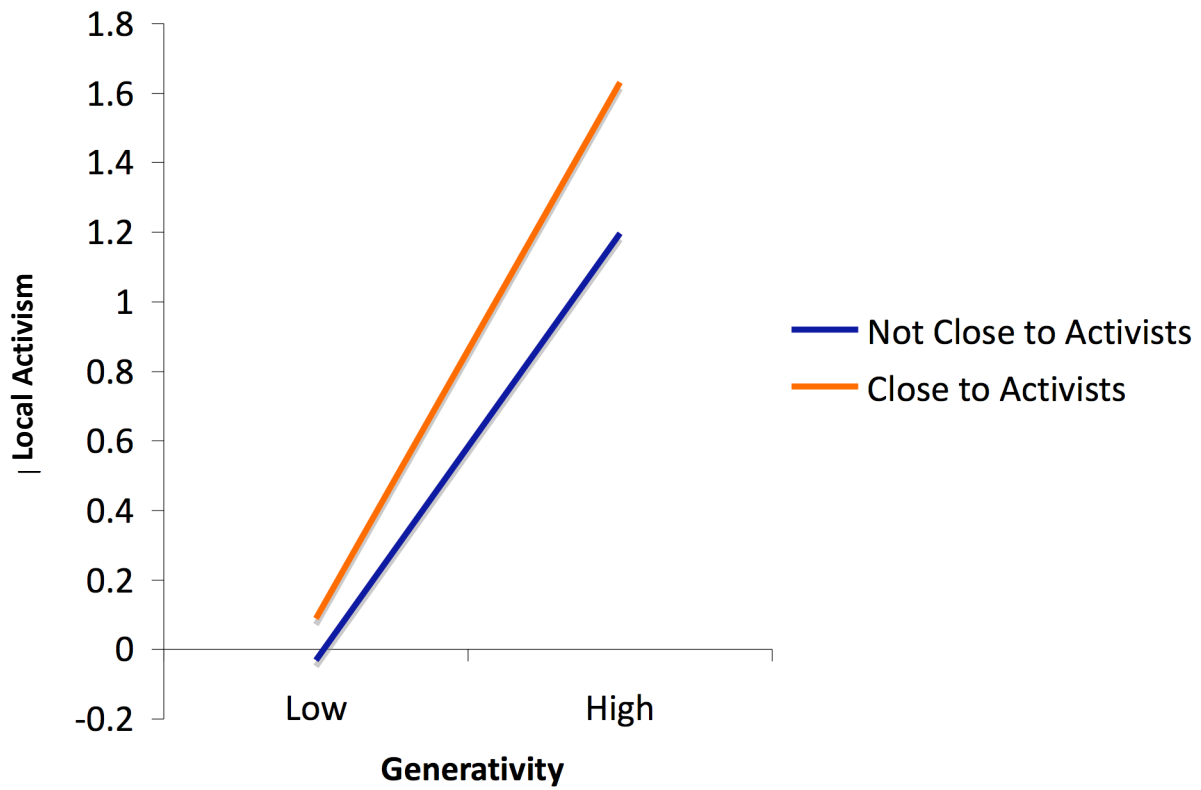


Figure 7. Local activism for White women by generativity (low vs. high) and activist identification (not close to activists vs. close to activists).

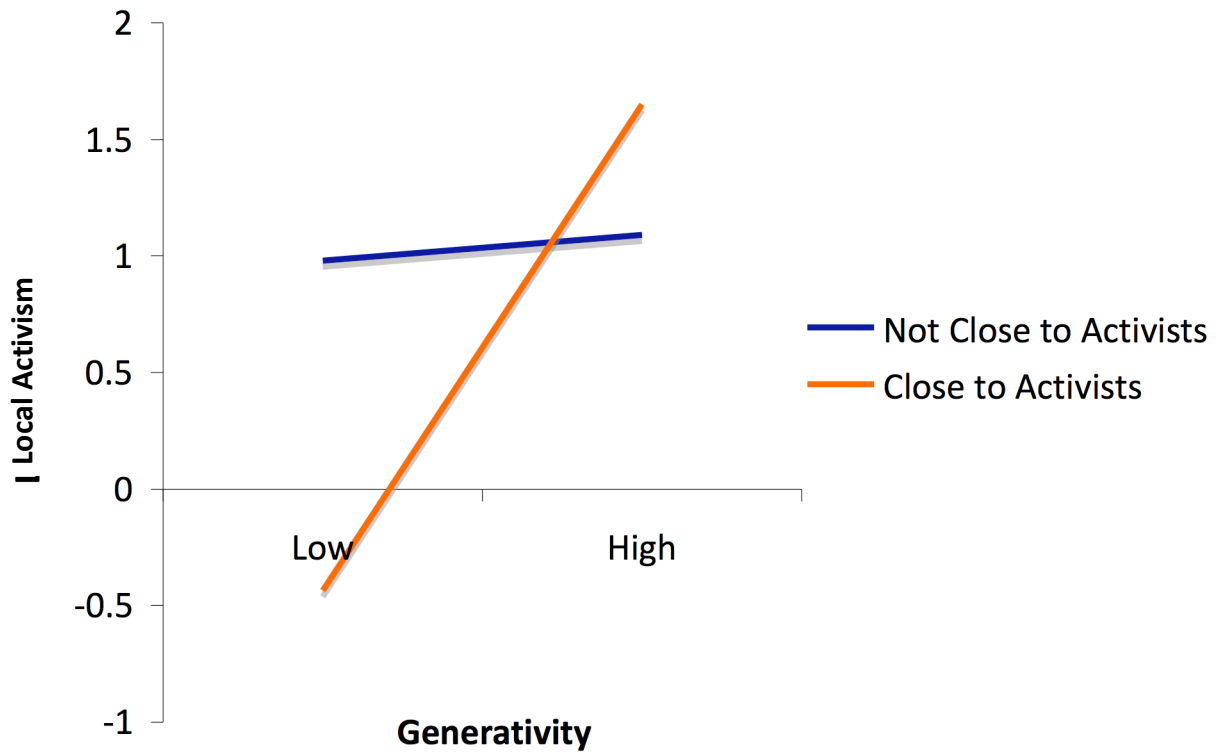


Figure 8. Local activism for African American women by generativity (low vs. high) and activist identification (not close to activists vs. close to activists).