

## **Privilege and Marginality: How Group Identification and Personality Predict Right- and Left-Wing Political Activism**

**Benjamin T. Blankenship, Jennifer K. Frederick, Özge Savaş,  
and Abigail J. Stewart\***

*University of Michigan*

**Samantha Montgomery**

*Professional Employees Association*

*In two studies, we examine how different processes might underlie the political mobilization of individuals with marginalized versus privileged identities for left-wing activism (LWA) versus right-wing activism (RWA). In the first study, with a sample of 244 midlife women, we tested the hypotheses that endorsement of system justification beliefs and social identities were direct predictors of political activism, and that system justification beliefs moderated the mobilization of social identities for activism on both the left and the right. We found that system justification predicted RWA only among those who felt close to privileged groups; the parallel reverse effect did not hold for LWA, though rejection of system-justifying beliefs was an important direct predictor. In Study 2, we replicated many of these findings with a sample of 113 college students. In addition, we tested and confirmed the hypothesis that LWA is predicted by openness to experience and is unrelated to RWA, but not that openness plays a stronger role among those with marginalized identities. These two studies together support our overall hypothesis that different personality processes are involved with*

---

\*Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Abigail J. Stewart, Departments of Psychology and Women's Studies, 530 Church St., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109 [e-mail: [abbystew@umich.edu](mailto:abbystew@umich.edu)].

Data collection for these studies was supported by a University of Michigan Rackham Graduate School grant and a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship from 2010 to 2013 to Samantha Montgomery.

We are grateful to the Gender and Personality in Context lab for valuable feedback at many points in the process of working on this manuscript.

*political mobilization of privileged and marginalized individuals on the right and the left.*

A relatively small number of people ever engage in political action on behalf of the social groups to which they belong. Although social group membership is widely believed to be a crucial starting point in identifying who becomes politically active, there is also widespread recognition that social group membership alone is not enough to move individuals to political action (Curtin & McGarty, 2016). It is clear that many different factors, and factors of different kinds, enter into the process of individual mobilization, including individuals' degree of identification with their group, their analysis of the political and social structure, their sense of political efficacy or empowerment, and the availability of time and other resources to devote to political action. In this article, we aim to contribute to understanding of the role of individual differences in transforming social identifications into political action. In addition, because most of the existing literature has focused on predictors of activism on the left, and because social identifications on the left and right potentially have different meanings and contents, we aim to separately consider individual differences that motivate activism on the left and right.

Most social and political psychological theories of activism are grounded in an understanding of intergroup behavior. From the pioneer realistic group conflict theory (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1988) to social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 2004) and social dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) theories, intergroup approaches share a common perspective that antagonism between privileged and marginalized groups is caused by the scarcity of resources such as power, wealth, and prestige. Thus, groups develop ideologies to justify their interests, view their group and group members in a positive light, enhance cohesiveness and cooperation within the group, while at the same time having distaste, prejudice, and even hostility toward out-group members, and engaging in political and partisan behavior that serve the group's interests (for a review, see Apfelbaum, 1979; Brewer, 1996; Tajfel & Turner, 2004). According to classic intergroup understanding, privileged individuals are ready to impose their hegemonic will on those who are marginalized (Fiske, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Marginalized individuals, on the other hand, seek out opportunities for individual upward mobility, and if those efforts fail they find ways to view their group in a positive light, or work toward social change to improve as a group (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Thus, social change efforts (or left-wing activism [LWA]) may tend to be associated with marginalized group membership, and status quo maintenance efforts (or right-wing activism [RWA]) may tend to be associated with privileged group membership. However, group membership only takes individuals part of the way toward political mobilization. For example, the literature suggests that beliefs, like endorsing or rejecting

system justification, and personality traits, like openness to experience, are also important factors (see, e.g., Curtin, Stewart, & Duncan, 2010; Jordan, Pope, Wallis, & Iyer, 2015).

### **System Justification and Social Groups**

Jost, Banaji, and Nosek (2004) point out that depending purely on intergroup membership when predicting people's orientation to social justice leads us to an oversimplified and inaccurate picture:

In the social scientific imagination, it is as if the advantaged are relentlessly looking to cash in on their dominance and the disadvantaged are proud revolutionaries-in-waiting. Both types of groups are seen as primarily self-interested, and overt conflicts of interest are assumed to be endemic. (p. 883)

In contrast, neither the relationship between belonging to a marginalized group and working toward social change on behalf of the marginalized, nor the relationship between belonging to a privileged group and working actively to rationalize the status quo, is in fact straightforward. This is partly due to the fact that both the marginalized and the privileged have reasons to justify the status quo, based on individuals' epistemic, existential, and relational needs (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost et al., 2004; Jost & Thompson, 2000). They argue that (Jost et al., 2004; Jost & Hunyady, 2002) there are reasons for both privileged and marginalized individuals to justify the status quo—perhaps most of all because doing so suggests that the world as it exists is fair. Thus, having a marginalized identity, or belonging to a disadvantaged or lower status group, does not necessarily entail critique of the status quo, or involvement in LWA. In fact, there is evidence that lower income people are not fierce defenders of policies of economic distribution that would benefit them (Fong, 2001; Gilens, 1999; Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Sullivan, 2003; Kluegel & Smith, 1986). In this sense, the tendency to defend and justify the status quo and blame the individual rather than the system is not exclusive to the privileged members of the society, but is ubiquitous (Gurin, Miller, & Gurin, 1980; Jost et al., 2004). In a similar vein, Frost (2011) argues that stigmas, or derogatory social meanings attached to the socially and economically disadvantaged members of the society, are perpetuated in part through internalization by the stigmatized. For example, some sexual minorities internalize homophobia (Frost & Meyer, 2009; Russell & Bohan, 2006); some racial/ethnic minorities internalize racism (Wester, Vogel, Wei, & McLain, 2006); and some women internalize sexism (Bearman, Korobov, & Thorne, 2009; Szymanski & Kashubeck-West, 2008). In other words, some members of marginalized groups do accept that their marginalized position is legitimate and/or deserved (Gurin et al., 1980), in which case out-group favoritism rather than in-group favoritism operates. In addition, members of marginalized

groups sometimes engage in efforts toward individual upward mobility that depend on seeking out opportunities for disidentification with the marginalized group (Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

Nevertheless, the literature on the association between group membership and political perspective suggests that the privileged are more likely to support the status quo in their beliefs. For example, meritocracy, or the belief that hard work leads to success, is helpful in the maintenance of a flattering image of privileged members of the society since it implies that those who are in upper positions achieved their status as a result of their personal talents; and those who are in lower positions are not as talented or hardworking (Gurin et al., 1980), and therefore they are less deserving (Crosby, 1976). Thus, privileged individuals tend to justify the status quo in order to maintain their group's positive image (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Kugler, Cooper, & Nosek, 2010); are less likely than marginalized individuals to recognize the disparities between the promises and the actual workings of the system (Zimmerman & Reyna, 2013); and are less dissatisfied with how the system works (Eibach & Ehrlinger, 2006). It is also well established that privileged individuals are more likely than marginalized individuals to score higher on political conservatism and social dominance orientation (Pratto & Stewart, 2012), which is the acceptance or even support for group-based dominance as opposed to equality and inclusion, and significantly correlates with hierarchy-enhancing legitimizing ideologies (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). In particular, men score higher than women, European Americans score higher than Hispanic Americans and African Americans, and straight people score higher than gays, lesbians, and bisexuals on social dominance orientation (Pratto & Stewart, 2012).

On average, then, privileged individuals are less aware of social disparities and are less dissatisfied with how the social, economic, and political systems work; however, only some of them express conservative ideologies and actively engage in right-wing politics (Knowles & Lowery, 2012; Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, & Goff, 2006; Roets, Cornelis, & Van Hiel, 2013). Additionally, even if privileged individuals in general tend to justify the status quo more than the marginalized, variation in privileged individuals' support for the status quo in turn should affect their political mobilization. This perspective is consistent with finding that in-group favoritism among the privileged is not consistent (Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998; Dovidio, Gaertner, Esses, & Brewer, 2003; Ellemers & Barreto, 2001; Gurin et al., 1980; Leonardelli, Pickett, & Brewer, 2010).

### **Motivation for Social Change**

Some privileged individuals actually endorse left-wing politics, particularly when they become aware of their privilege (Case, 2012; Montgomery & Stewart, 2012), and when they feel political efficacy (Stewart, Latu, Branscombe, Phillips,

& Ted Denney, 2012). White people who feel they have efficacy to affect change on behalf of African Americans are more likely to take action against injustice (Stewart et al., 2012); heterosexual college students who are aware of heterosexual privilege are more likely to engage in Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism (Montgomery & Stewart, 2012); and White women who become aware of male privilege are more likely to recognize their white privilege and engage in antiracist work (Case, 2012). Thus, for individuals with privileged identities, believing that the system of relations of privilege and marginality is just can motivate support for the status quo (or RWA), while a belief in the injustice of the system of privilege and marginality might have the opposite effect.

Members of marginalized groups, on the other hand, know from their own experiences and those of their relatives, neighbors, or friends that they are likely to be treated unequally when it comes to jobs, housing, and promotions (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The gap between their everyday experiences and what is promised by the system may make some of them more suspicious about accepting the status quo (Fischer & Bolton Holz, 2010; Zimmerman & Reyna, 2013). Since there is evidence that many members of subordinate groups do accept the status quo, this may help account for why, nevertheless, on average women are more likely than men to reject sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996); and African Americans are more likely than White people to reject racism (Henry, 2008). In short, although members of marginalized groups have reason to notice injustice in social arrangements more than their privileged counterparts, members of marginalized groups differ from each other in that view and in their tendency to accept or resist the status quo. However, we suspect that the process of developing political engagement depends on a different process for members of marginalized groups than those from privileged groups.

It is clearly possible for members of privileged groups to view their group as having unearned benefits that make them embarrassed or guilty, and unwilling to identify with that group, in which case members of privileged groups may seek social changes that benefit others they have come to feel have unearned disadvantages. For these reasons, we suggest that individual differences in the personality trait of openness to experience, in addition to rejection of system-justifying beliefs, may be an important predictor of an interest in pursuing social change, resulting in LWA. In contrast, openness to experience should not play a parallel role in motivating RWA, which aims to maintain the status quo.

### **Openness to Experience and Social Change**

In a foundational theoretical argument, Apfelbaum (1979) argued that subordinate groups are unlike dominant groups in that they lack a positive and cohesive collective identity because they have been “degrouped” by the hegemonic group (i.e., they lack a positive group identity, and therefore perceive themselves as

individuals more than members of a group). As a result, their individual traits may be particularly important in motivating political engagement. In particular, we propose that openness to experience (McCrae, 1996), often found to correlate with left-wing or status quo rejecting beliefs (Carney, Jost, Gosling, & Potter, 2008; Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2011; Hirsh, DeYoung, Xu, & Peterson, 2010), is a trait likely to foster an interest in the possibilities offered by social change, and that it therefore predicts left-wing political activism (but not RWA), perhaps among those with both marginalized and privileged identities. Carney et al. (2008) found that individuals who identify as politically liberal scored higher on openness to experience compared to individuals who identify as conservative. In addition, openness has been found to be linked to liberal ideologies (McCrae, 1996), political participation (Gerber et al., 2011; Jordan et al., 2015; Omoto, Snyder, & Hackett, 2010), and LWA (Curtin et al., 2010).

One study offers some perspective on how openness may foster an interest in social change: McAdams, Hanek, and Dadabo (2013) demonstrated that self-exploration (an emphasis on growing, developing, expanding, and fulfilling the self) emerged as a major theme in the narratives of Americans who were identified as liberals; and liberals scored higher on openness to experience compared to those who identified as conservatives. The particular role of openness to experience in the political development of marginalized individuals into activists is examined in our second study.

### Study 1

In our first study, we test the hypothesis that system-justifying beliefs (or their opposite—system blaming) are a critical factor both in predicting LWA and RWA along with social identity, and in moderating the relationship between social group identification and activism. Our hypothesis, then, is that adoption of system justification and system blaming can operate to mobilize RWA and LWA, respectively. The reviewed literature shows that both privileged and marginalized individuals embrace either left- or right-wing ideologies, and that there are no necessary links between having a privileged status and RWA or having a marginalized status and LWA. However, the system justification framework offers a particularly promising mechanism for linking privilege to RWA. In this first study, we focused on individuals' subjective feelings of closeness to privileged and marginalized people, the link between those feelings of closeness and their system justification or system blame tendencies, and engagement with LWA and RWA.

We hypothesize that (1) individual differences in the tendency to blame individuals for social group outcomes will be positively related to RWA, and negatively related to LWA, (2) among those who feel closer to privileged people, those who

have greater tendencies to blame individuals rather than the system will engage in RWA, and (3) among those who feel closer to marginalized people, those who have stronger tendencies to blame the system rather than individuals will engage in more LWA.

## Study 1 Method

### Participants and Procedure

For study one, we performed secondary data analysis on the 2008 (fifth) wave of the Women's Life Paths Study (WLPS) (Tangri, 1972). This multiwave study, initiated by Tangri in 1972, followed women ( $n = 244$ ) who graduated from the University of Michigan between 1967 and 1973, and surveyed participants at each wave about their various life experiences, political and social relationships and affiliations, as well as their general well-being (for more information about sampling procedures, see Stewart, Settles, & Winter, 1998). The 2008 wave asked these women various questions about their social identities, life experiences, and relation to others, as a continuation of similar questions asked in the previous waves of the study. Sixty-five percent of those responding identified themselves as White/Caucasian, 33% as Black/African American, and 2% as other (biracial, Latina, Native American). Fourteen percent of respondents reported yearly household incomes below \$50,000; 30% reported incomes of \$50,000–\$100,000; 21% reported annual incomes of \$100,000–\$150,000; 11% reported incomes of \$150,000–\$200,000; 9% reported incomes of \$200,000–\$250,000; and 15% reported incomes above \$250,000. The women in the sample averaged age 61 (ranging from 54 to 94) at the time of the 2008 wave of data collection.

### Measures

*System justification.* System justification was measured by reverse scoring the System Blame Scale, developed by Gurin et al. (1980) to measure the extent to which people attribute disparities and group differences (e.g., Black people doing poorly in school) to societal/systemic causes, rather than attributes of the individual (Gurin et al., 1980; see also Curtin, Stewart, & Cole, 2015). Therefore, the reverse of system blame is system justification, or the belief that society as a whole is set up in a just manner, and it is individual/group actions and choice that accounts for disparities, not social structures. Participants responded to a series of statements (e.g., “Men have more of the top jobs because society discriminates against women”), using a 6-point Likert scale from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Reliability analyses yielded an alpha of .81.

*Closeness to marginalized/privileged groups.* Closeness to marginalized and privileged groups was measured by having participants check a box next to each group to which they felt “close,” defined as “most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things.” Closeness to marginalized groups was based on whether they checked one to four boxes (next to Blacks, working-class people, lesbians, and women). Eight percent of the participants ( $n = 20$ ) reported feeling that they were close to none of these groups, 41% ( $n = 98$ ) to one, 33% ( $n = 78$ ) to two, 15% ( $n = 37$ ) to three, and 3% ( $n = 7$ ) felt close to all four groups. Closeness to privileged groups was based on whether they checked one to three boxes (next to Whites, upper class people, or heterosexuals). In this case, 42% of the participants ( $n = 100$ ) reported feeling close to none of these groups, 33% ( $n = 79$ ) to one, 18% ( $n = 44$ ) to two, and 7% ( $n = 17$ ) to all three. In this study, closeness to marginalized and privileged groups was assessed separately, and were in fact slightly positively correlated ( $r = .14, p < .05$ ).

*Left- and right-wing activism.* LWA and RWA were measured by having participants identify the types of activism in which they had previously engaged on behalf of left-/right-wing causes, as well as the type of action that they had engaged in, as a part of this activism. The types of action included signing a petition, giving money, writing a letter, attending a meeting, being an active member of an organization, or participating in a rally. LWA was operationalized as performing any of these actions for a left-wing cause, which included a wide range of positions that are close to the center like the Democratic party/candidate, as well as some that are more “left-wing,” like the environment, gay and lesbian rights, health care, immigrant rights, international human rights, the prochoice movement, racial equality/civil rights, and women’s rights. Scores for LWA were calculated by first adding up the actions (e.g., signing a petition, donating money), where presence of that action was coded as 1 and absence was coded as 0, for each left-wing cause (e.g., pro-gay marriage), to get an activism breadth score for that cause (e.g., pro-gay marriage breadth score). Then, LWA scores were calculated for each participant by taking the mean of their activism breadth scores for left-wing causes (.84).

RWA was operationalized as performing any of these actions for an equally wide range of right-wing causes, which included the prolife movement, the Republican party/candidate, war/troop support, and/or an independent conservative party. RWA scores were computed in the same way as LWA, except they were the mean of the activism breadth scores for right-wing causes (.14). This lower rate of endorsement of RWA than LWA was unsurprising for this sample of college-educated women from the baby-boom cohort (see Cole, Zucker, & Ostrove, 1998; Stewart et al., 1998).



**Table 1.** (Study 1) Correlations

Measure	Mean ( <i>SD</i> )	1	2	3	4	5
1. Closeness to marginal groups <sup>a</sup>	1.64 (.94)	–				
2. Closeness to privileged groups <sup>a</sup>	.91 (.94)	.13*	–			
3. System justification	2.46 (.63)	–.16*	.27**	–		
4. Left-wing activism	.84 (.76)	.17**	–.15*	–.33**	–	
5. Right-wing activism	.14 (.29)	–.02	.12 <sup>t</sup>	.13 <sup>t</sup>	.14*	–

Note. \* $p \leq .05$ ; \*\* $p \leq .01$ ; <sup>t</sup> $p \leq .1$ .

<sup>a</sup>Note that closeness to privileged groups and closeness to marginalized groups were assessed separately; therefore these variables are not mirror images.

## Study 1 Results

### Correlations

In Table 1 we can see that, as expected, system justification was negatively correlated with closeness to members of marginalized groups and positively correlated with closeness to members of privileged groups. Additionally, system justification was negatively correlated with LWA and not significantly correlated with RWA. Closeness to members of marginalized groups was positively correlated with LWA, while closeness to privileged people was not significantly correlated with RWA.

### Right-Wing Activism

We hypothesized that system justification and closeness to privileged people would interact to predict RWA. To test this hypothesis, we performed hierarchical regression analyses in which relationships of each predictor controlled for the other and then we added an interaction term. The results supported our hypothesis. When controlling for each other, there were no main effects for either system justification or closeness to privileged people in predicting RWA as the dependent variable, all  $p > .05$ . There was, however, a significant interaction between system justification and closeness to privileged people,  $t(223) = 2.80$ ,  $p < .01$  in predicting RWA. See Table 2 for results. Those who were both high in system justification and close to privileged people were most likely to engage in RWA. See Figure 1 for a visual representation.

### Left-Wing Activism

We also hypothesized that system justification and closeness to members of marginalized groups would significantly (negatively) predict LWA. Again, we used hierarchical regression analyses with the main effects entered first,

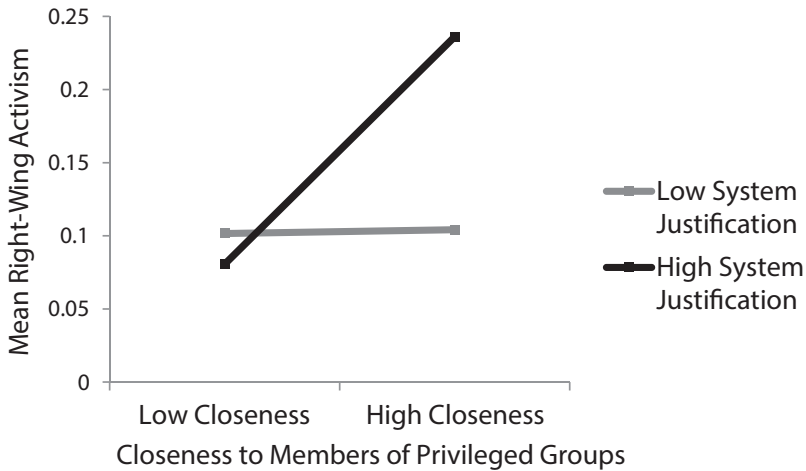
**Table 2.** (Study 1) Predicting Right-Wing Activism and Left-Wing Activism from Closeness to Members of Privileged Groups, Closeness to Members of Marginalized Groups, and System Justification

<i>Predicting from closeness to members of privileged groups and system justification</i>		
Variable	$\beta$	95% CI
Closeness to members of privileged groups <sup>b</sup>	.03	[-.01, .08]
System justification	.05	[-.01, .11]
Interaction (closeness $\times$ system justification)	.09**	[.03, .16]
	$R^2 = .06, F = 4.64^{**}$	
<i>Predicting from closeness to members of marginalized groups and system justification</i>		
Variable	$\beta$	95% CI
Closeness to members of marginalized groups <sup>b</sup>	.10 <sup>a</sup>	[.00, .20]
System justification	-.38***	[-.53, -.23]
Interaction (closeness $\times$ system justification)	-.01	[-.16, .14]
	$R^2 = .13, F = 10.73^{***}$	

Note. <sup>a</sup>  $p \leq .05$ ; <sup>\*\*</sup>  $p \leq .01$ ; <sup>\*\*\*</sup>  $p \leq .001$ .

<sup>a</sup>Variables were entered step-wise, with direct effects entered first, estimates of  $\beta$  for direct effects are from the first step, and for the interaction from the second.

<sup>b</sup>Note that closeness to privileged groups and closeness to marginalized groups were assessed separately in this study; therefore these variables are not mirror images.



**Fig. 1.** Statistically significant interaction between closeness to members of privileged groups and system justification on right-wing activism in Study 1.

and then an interaction term, to test this hypothesis. There were significant main effects of system justification and closeness to members of marginalized groups on LWA. Rejection of system justification was, related to LWA,  $t(224) = -5.03, p < .001$ ; and closeness to members of marginalized groups was related to LWA,  $t(224) = 1.94, p \leq .05$ . When it was added to the analysis, the interaction of these two was not significant,  $t(223) = -.13, p = ns$ , so the hypothesis that system justification would moderate the relationship between marginalized group closeness and LWA was not supported. See Table 2 for results.

### Study 1 Discussion

In the first study, we demonstrated that individual blame that justifies “the system” was positively linked with RWA and negatively linked with LWA in this sample of college-educated adult women. In addition, in multiple regression analyses, neither of these variables was a significant predictor of RWA overall, but (as hypothesized) among those who felt closer to members of privileged groups, those who blamed individuals rather than the system for differential statuses were most likely to engage in RWA. These findings are in line with McIntosh’s (1988, 2012) argument, and Pratto and Stewart’s (2012) finding that privilege is normalized by members of the privileged group since they lack the negative experiences of discrimination, prejudice, and inequality that might lead to challenging the existing social, economic, and political systems. In addition, with the individual differences approach we have taken, we can understand why not all privileged group members

of the society engage in RWA. Previous studies have shown that privileged individuals who become aware of their privilege have the potential to lend support to LWA (Case, 2012; Montgomery & Stewart, 2012). Our study complements these previous findings by showing that among those who felt close to members of privileged groups, only those who scored higher in system justification engaged in RWA.

Interestingly, belief in system blame and feeling close to members of marginalized groups predicted engagement in LWA as main effects, but there was no significant interaction, suggesting that these beliefs play different, independent, and complementary roles in mobilizing political activism on the left rather than having the interactive pattern demonstrated on the right.

In Study 2, we aimed to replicate these findings in a younger, less politicized sample. In addition, we considered the personality trait of openness to experience as a factor that might predict left-wing political activism among members of marginalized groups.

## Study 2

The aim of the second study was twofold. First, we wanted to replicate the findings from the first study using privileged and marginalized group *membership* rather than *felt closeness* to privileged and marginalized people to assess social identities. Second, we wanted to expand the findings from the first study by including consideration of how another individual difference measure, namely openness to experience, might predict LWA.

In this study, we hypothesized that (1) system justification tendencies would be positively related to RWA, and negatively related to LWA; (2) among privileged individuals, only those who have higher system justification tendencies would engage in RWA; in contrast, as found in Study 1, system justification tendencies would not moderate the relationship between marginalized identity and LWA; (3) LWA (but not RWA) would be predicted by openness to experience; and (4) the link between marginalized identity and LWA would be moderated by openness to experience.

## Study 2 Method

### Participants and Procedure

For Study 2, recruitment e-mails were sent to introductory psychology students at a large Midwestern university, as part of a larger project examining political participation and activism in a college sample. Participants completed an online survey, including measures of openness to experience, system justification, political orientation, social statuses, and LWA and RWA. Participants were

compensated for their participation with placement in a drawing for one of three \$50 Visa gift cards. Data from 113 students who provided complete data for the measures of political activism, social status, and personality were used in these analyses. The gender breakdown of the sample was 37.2% male ( $n = 42$ ) and 62.8% female ( $n = 71$ ). The racial composition of the sample was as follows: 72.6% White, European, or European American ( $n = 82$ ), 18.3% Asian, Asian American, or Pacific Islander ( $n = 21$ ), 2.6% Black, African, or African American ( $n = 3$ ), 1.7% Latino/a, Hispanic, or Hispanic American ( $n = 2$ ), 1.7% Native American or Alaskan Native ( $n = 2$ ), and 0.9% Middle Eastern, Arab, or Arab American ( $n = 1$ ). Ten participants were identified as nonheterosexual and one identified as having a disability. In terms of social class, 2.6% ( $n = 3$ ) described their financial situation growing up as having “barely enough to get by,” 18.3% ( $n = 21$ ) described it as “enough to get by but did not have many ‘extras,’” 32.2% ( $n = 37$ ) described it as “more than enough to get by,” 33% ( $n = 38$ ) said they were “well to do,” and 11.3% ( $n = 13$ ) said they were “extremely well to do.”

## Measures

*System justification.* To measure system justification, we used the Kay & Jost (2003) measure of system justification, which presents participants with a series of statements about the social structure in America, and asks them to rate their agreement with these statements, using a 5-point Likert scale, from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. An example of such a statement is “Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups” (Kay & Jost, 2003). The average score on system justification was slightly above the midpoint, with a mean for the sample equal to 2.92 on the 5-point scale. Reliability analyses yielded an alpha of .80.

*Openness to experience.* Participants completed the widely used Big Five Inventory (John & Srivastava, 1999), including the Openness subscale. This 10-item subscale is composed of several items, such as “I am interested in a variety of things,” which participants rated using a 5-point Likert scale from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. The average score on openness to experience was slightly above the midpoint, with a mean for the sample equal to 3.44 on the 5-point scale. As expected, based on previous research, reliability analyses yielded an alpha of .74.

*Marginalized identities.* All participants’ marginalized social statuses were counted, to create a score assessing the number of marginalized identities they held: female, LGB (sexual minority), low SES, a person with a disability, or non-white were coded as marginalized identities (with the reverse identities indicating privileged ones: male, straight, higher socio-economic status (SES), able-bodied, and white). A total of 25 individuals reported no marginalized identity; 62 reported

**Table 3.** (Study 2) Correlations

Measure	Mean (SD)	1	2	3	4	5
1. Number of marginalized identities	1.06 (.75)	—				
2. System justification	2.92 (.70)	-.35***	—			
3. Openness	3.45 (.55)	.18*	-.17 <sup>†</sup>	—		
4. Left-wing activism	.24 (.39)	.39***	-.15	.39***	—	
5. Right-wing activism	.16 (.34)	-.05	.33***	-.08	.14	—

Note. \*  $p \leq .05$ ; \*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ ; <sup>†</sup> $p \leq .1$ .

1, 24 reported 2, 4 reported 3, and none reported possessing all 4. In this study, unlike Study 1, a single measure assessed marginalized identities, and there was no independent measure of privileged identities (it was simply assumed to be the absence of marginalized identities).

*Left- and right-wing activism.* LWA and RWA were measured as they were in Study 1. RWA was the composite score of activism types for right-wing causes, such as the prolife movement, opposition to gay marriage, etc. LWA was the composite score of activism types for left-wing causes, such as the women's rights movement, worker's rights movements, support for gay marriage, etc. These scores were calculated in the same way that they were calculated in Study 1. It is worth noting that the levels of LWA and RWA reported in this sample were generally low but equivalent (.24 for LWA and .16 for RWA); a paired samples *t*-test also indicated that the means were not significantly different from each other,  $t(114) = 1.77, p > .05$ .

## Study 2 Results

### Correlations

In Table 3, we see that the number of marginalized identities held was, as expected, significantly and positively correlated with LWA and was uncorrelated with RWA. Additionally, as Table 3 indicates, system justification correlated positively and significantly with RWA but was not related to LWA.

### Right-Wing Activism

We hypothesized that people with fewer marginalized identities and those high in system justification would be more likely to participate in RWA. To test this, we performed a hierarchical regression analysis. The overall model was significant; the main effect for number of marginalized identities on RWA was not significant,

**Table 4.** (Study 2) Predicting Right-Wing and Left-Wing Activism from Number of Marginalized Identities and System Justification

<i>Predicting right-wing activism</i>		Relation to right-wing activism <sup>a</sup>	
Variable		$\beta$	95% CI
Number of marginalized identities		.03	[-.06, .11]
System justification		.17***	[.08, .26]
Interaction ( <i>N</i> of marginalized identities × system justification)		-.18**	[-.29, -.07]
		$R^2 = .19, F = 8.27^{***}$	
<i>Predicting left-wing activism</i>		Relation to left-wing activism <sup>a</sup>	
Variable		$\beta$	95% CI
Number of marginalized identities		.20***	[.10, .30]
System justification		-.01	[-.12, .09]
Interaction ( <i>N</i> of marginalized identities × system justification)		-.11	[-.24, .02]
		$R^2 = .17, F = 7.40^{***}$	

Note. \*\*  $p \leq .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p \leq .001$ .

<sup>a</sup>Variables were entered step-wise, with direct effects entered first; estimates of  $\beta$  for direct effects are from the first step, and for the interaction from the second.

$t(110) = .58, p = \text{ns}$ ; however, the main effect for system justification,  $t(110) = 3.62, p < .001$ , was highly significant. See Table 4 for the results.

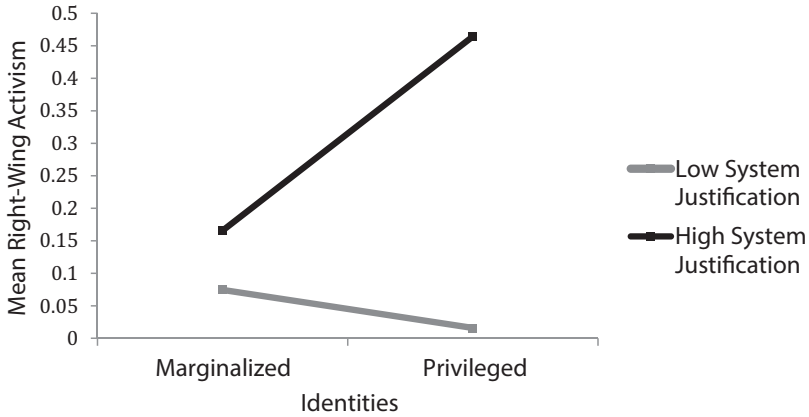
We also hypothesized that there would be a significant interaction between privileged identity and system justification on RWA. When this term was added to the regression analysis, the interaction between having fewer marginalized identities and system justification was statistically significant,  $t(109) = -3.17, p < .005$ . As can be seen in Figure 2, among those who had few marginalized identities, those who were high in system justification participated in RWA, replicating the results from Study 1.

As in Study 1, we conducted a parallel analysis for LWA.

The overall model was significant; there was a significant main effect for number of marginalized identities,  $t(110) = 4.01, p < .001$ , but system justification did not predict LWA,  $t(110) = -.23, p = \text{ns}$ . As expected and confirming the results of Study 1, the interaction was not significant when added to the analysis,  $t(109) = -1.67, p = \text{ns}$ . See Table 4 for results.

### Left-Wing Activism

We hypothesized that both those with more marginalized identities and those high in openness to experience would be more likely to participate in LWA. We tested this hypothesis using a hierarchical regression analysis. Controlling for number of marginalized identities, openness to experience significantly predicted participation in LWA,  $t(110) = 3.89, p < .001$ . When controlling for openness,



**Fig. 2.** Statistically significant interaction between privileged identity and system justification on right-wing activism in Study 2.

**Table 5.** (Study 2) Predicting Right-Wing and Left-Wing Activism from Number of Marginalized Identities and Openness to Experience

<i>Predicting right-wing activism</i>		Relation to right-wing activism <sup>a</sup>	
Variable		$\beta$	95% CI
Number of marginalized identities		-.02	[-.11, .06]
Openness to experience		-.05	[-.16, .07]
Interaction ( <i>N</i> of marginalized identities $\times$ openness)		-.06	[-.21, .10]
		$R^2 = .01, F = .53$	
<i>Predicting left-wing activism</i>		Relation to left-wing activism <sup>a</sup>	
Variable		$\beta$	95% CI
Number of marginalized identities		.17***	[.08, .26]
Openness to experience		.23***	[.12, .35]
Interaction ( <i>N</i> of marginalized identities $\times$ openness)		-.00	[-.15, .15]
		$R^2 = .25, F = 12.15^{***}$	

Note. \*\*\* $p \leq .001$ .

<sup>a</sup>Variables were entered step-wise, with direct effects entered first; estimates of  $\beta$  for direct effects are from the first step, and for the interaction from the second.

number of marginalized identities also significantly predicted participation in LWA,  $t(110) = 3.86, p < .001$ . The overall equation with the two predictors of LWA was highly significant ( $R = .50, F = 18.40, p < .001$ ); no additional variance was accounted for by the interaction. See Table 5 for results.

We tested the possibility that openness would also predict RWA, and moderate the relationship between number of marginalized identities and RWA. In this analysis, the overall model was not significant, and neither openness nor number



of marginalized identities was a significant predictor of RWA ( $t(110) = -.75$  and  $-.55$ , both ns). Moreover, there was no significant interaction between marginalized identities and openness in predicting RWA. See Table 5 for results.

### Discussion of Study 2

In Study 2, we used different indicators of our predictor variables than we used in Study 1. Specifically, instead of using “closeness” to marginalized and privileged groups (which allowed us to separately measure the two), we assessed the number of marginalized identities held by the individual from 0 to 4, with 0 indicating that they only held privileged identities. In addition, instead of the Gurin et al.’s system blame measure used in Study 1, we employed the more current Jost et al.’s system justification measure in Study 2. Correlational analyses (presented in Tables 1 and 3) suggest that these indicators have very similar relationships with LWA and RWA and with each other. Specifically, number of marginalized identities, and both closeness to privileged and to marginalized groups were significantly correlated with system-justifying beliefs in both studies. Similarly, closeness to marginalized groups was significantly related to LWA in Study 1, as were number of marginalized identities in Study 2. Closeness to privileged identities, like number of marginalized identities, was not significantly related to RWA in either study. Thus, we believe we can view the measures—as other researchers have—as reasonable proxies for each other.

Study 2 showed, in a different and younger sample, that although RWA was not associated with number of marginalized identities, it was associated with system justification, and with the interaction of the two. Thus, being a member of a privileged group in both studies was associated with RWA, particularly when combined with endorsement of system-justifying beliefs.

Also as in Study 1, LWA was associated with number of marginalized identities though in regressions not particularly with a lack of system-justifying beliefs; in addition, the interaction of the two was not significant. In contrast, openness to experience and marginalized identities were both positive predictors of LWA, but their interaction was not significant. Openness (as expected) and number of marginalized identities were not predictors of RWA, nor was the interaction of the two, confirming that openness to experience only motivates LWA, or activism aimed at social change.

### General Discussion

In both studies, system-justifying beliefs were significant predictors of RWA, but their absence only predicted LWA in Study 1. Identification with marginalized groups was, in contrast, a significant predictor of LWA (and not right), in both studies. Finally, in Study 2, openness to experience was a significant predictor

of LWA (and not right), but did not operate as a moderator of the relationship between identity and activism.

In multivariate analyses, both Studies 1 and 2 confirmed that system justification beliefs are associated with right-wing political activism among those with privileged identities (or few marginalized identities). In both studies, with different samples, and different indicators of identity and system-justifying beliefs, those without marginalized identities, who held beliefs that justified their social position, were particularly likely to engage in status quo maintaining political action (RWA). The robustness of this finding suggests that it is not only true, as previous literature has suggested, that those holding privileged identities can develop an understanding of their unearned privilege that can motivate LWA, but also that those members of privileged groups who endorse the belief that their social benefits are justified are particularly inclined to take political action to support the existing status quo. This finding also lends support for system justification to be an underlying ideological alignment of activism across various causes on the right (Louis, Amiot, Thomas, & Blackwood, 2016). Future research can investigate cross-domain activism on the right more systematically with the potential moderating role of system justification.

Parallel analyses did not support this pattern for LWA. *Rejection* of system-justifying beliefs did not moderate the relationship between marginalized identities and LWA in either sample. Moreover, while Study 2 demonstrated that openness to experience was an important predictor of LWA along with marginalized identities, there was no interaction between the two. One explanation for the lack of interaction might be that while the experiences of marginalized people put them in a position to see things differently, the lack of access to resources that are necessary to articulate their positions can make it difficult for them to engage in LWA (Collins, 1989).

Overall these two studies suggest that two quite different mechanisms may be involved with political mobilization on the right and the left. Individuals occupying privileged social statuses may be moved to political action to defend their privilege if they hold system-justifying beliefs, and not if they do not hold such beliefs. The parallel process does not operate for those occupying marginal social statuses, perhaps because they must first engage in development of some ideas about how to make social changes that would be consistent with collective action. That process may be facilitated by the personality trait of openness to experience, as Curtin et al. (2010) found.

Both of our studies support the notion that individual differences in ideology (or system-justifying beliefs) and in personality (openness to experience) are critical factors in transforming individuals who are members of different social groups into political actors. Taken together these two studies also suggest that the psychological processes that underlie political mobilization are different as a function of the kind of group identification individuals hold.

## Limitations and Future Directions

Both of our samples are college-educated; it is very important that future research examine the motivators of activism among those with less education. Both samples included individuals with relatively low levels of RWA, though levels were equivalent for RWA and LWA in Study 2. In order to examine the factors motivating LWA versus RWA, it may be particularly useful to recruit and study samples of activists of both kinds. Finally, in both samples we treated privileged and marginalized identities as single continua rather than considering intersections of multiple identities (e.g., multiple privileged vs. multiple marginalized vs. some of both). Since many people hold both privileged and marginalized identities, these intersections deserve further study (see Curtin, Kende, & Kende, 2016, for an exciting beginning).

This study confirms the well-established importance of social identities in political activism, and also points to the particular importance of system-justifying beliefs in motivating RWA among those with privileged identities, and of openness to experience in motivating LWA generally. We need to continue to develop and refine our understanding of how individual differences in beliefs and personality matter in motivating political action among those with both privileged and marginalized identities.

## References

- Apfelbaum, E. (1979). Relations of domination and movements for liberation: An analysis of power between groups. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 188–204). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Bearman, S., Korobov, N., & Thorne, A. (2009). The fabric of internalized sexism. *The Journal of Integrated Social Sciences*, 1(1), 10–47.
- Branscombe, N. R., & Ellemers, N. (1998). Coping with group-based discrimination: Individualistic versus group-level strategies. In J. K. Swim & C. Stangor (Eds.), *Prejudice: The target's perspective* (pp. 243–266). San Diego, CA: Academic.
- Branscombe, N. R., Ellemers, N., Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (1999). The context and content of social identity threat. In N. Ellemers, R. Spears, & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Social identity: Context, commitment, content* (pp. 35–58). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Brewer, M. B. (1996). When contact is not enough: Social identity and intergroup cooperation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20(3), 291–303. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767\(96\)00020-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(96)00020-X).
- Carney, D. R., Jost, J. T., Gosling, S. D., & Potter, J. (2008). The secret lives of liberals and conservatives: Personality profiles, interaction styles, and the things they leave behind. *Political Psychology*, 29, 807–840.
- Case, K. (2012). Discovering the privilege of whiteness: White women's reflections on anti-racist identity and ally behavior. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), 78–96. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2011.01737.x>
- Cole, E. R., Zucker, A. N., & Ostrove, J. M. (1998). Political participation and feminist consciousness among women activists of the 1960s. *International Society of Political Psychology*, 19(2), 349–371.

- Collins, P.H. (1989). The social construction of Black feminist thought. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 14(4), 745–773. <https://doi.org/10.1086/494543>.
- Crosby, F. (1976). A model of egoistical relative deprivation. *Psychological Review*, 83(2), 85–113.
- Curtin, N., Kende, A., & Kende, J. (2016). Navigating multiple identities: The simultaneous influence of advantaged and disadvantaged identities on politicization and activism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 72(2), 264–285. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12166>.
- Curtin, N. & McGarty, C. (2016). Expanding on psychological theories of engagement to understand activism in context(s). *Journal of Social Issues*, 72(2), 227–241. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12164>.
- Curtin, N., Stewart, A. J., & Cole, E. R. (2015). Challenging the status quo: The role of intersectional awareness in activism for social change and pro-social intergroup attitudes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* (online version), 4, 512–529. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315580439>.
- Curtin, N., Stewart, A. J., & Duncan, L. E. (2010). What makes the political personal? Openness, personal political salience, and activism. *Journal of Personality*, 78(3), 943–968.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Esses, V. M., & Brewer, M. B. (2003). Social conflict, harmony, and integration. In I. B. Weiner (Ed.), *Handbook of psychology* (pp. 485–506). New Jersey: Wiley.
- Eibach, R.P. & Ehrlinger, J. (2006). “Keep your eyes on the prize”: Reference points and racial differences in assessing progress toward equality. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(1), 66–77. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167205279585>.
- Ellemers, N., & Barreto, M. (2001). The impact of relative group status: Affective, perceptual, and behavioral consequences. In R. Brown & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of social psychology: Intergroup processes* (pp. 324–343). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Fischer, A. R., & Bolton Holz, K. (2010). Testing a model of women’s personal sense of justice, control, well-being, and distress in the context of sexist discrimination. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 34(3), 297–310. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2010.01576.x>
- Fiske, S. T. (1993). Controlling other people. *American Psychologist*, 48, 621–628.
- Fong, C. (2001). Social preferences, self-interest, and the demand for redistribution. *Journal of Public Economics*, 82, 225–246.
- Frost, D. M. (2011). Social stigma and its consequences for the socially stigmatized. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 5(11), 824–839. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2011.00394.x>
- Frost, D. M., & Meyer, I. H. (2009). Internalized homophobia and relationship quality among lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 56(1), 97–109. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0012844>
- Gerber, A. S., Huber, G. A., Doherty, D., & Dowling, C. M. (2011). Personality and the strength and direction of partisan identification. *Political Behavior*, 34, 653–688.
- Gilens, M. (1999). *Why Americans hate welfare: Race, media, and the politics of antipoverty policy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and ambivalent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 491–512. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491>
- Gurin, P., Miller, A. H., & Gurin, G. (1980). Stratum identification and consciousness. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 43(1), 30–47.
- Henry, P. J. (2008). College sophomores in the laboratory redux: Influences of a narrow data base on social psychology’s view of the nature of prejudice. *Psychological Inquiry*, 19, 49–71. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10478400802049936>
- Hirsh, J. B., DeYoung, C. G., Xu, X., & Peterson, J. B. (2010). Compassionate liberals and polite conservatives: Associations of agreeableness with political ideology and moral values. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36, 655–664.
- John, O. P. & Srivastava, S. (1999). The Big-Five trait taxonomy: History, measurement, and theoretical perspectives. In L. A. Pervin & O. P. John (Eds.), *Handbook of personality: Theory and research* (Vol. 2, pp. 102–138). New York: Guilford Press.
- Jordan, G., Pope, M., Wallis, P., & Iyer, S. (2015). The relationship between openness to experience and willingness to engage in online activism is influenced by news consumption. *Social Science Computer Review*, 33(2), 181–197.

- Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 33*, 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1994.tb01008.x>
- Jost, J., Banaji, M. R., & Nosek, B. A. (2004). A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the status quo. *Political Psychology, 25*(6), 881–919.
- Jost, J. T., & Hunyady, O. (2002). The psychology of system justification and the palliative function of ideology. *European Review of Social Psychology, 13*, 111–153.
- Jost, J. T., Pelham, B. W., Sheldon, O., & Sullivan, B. N. (2003). Social inequality and the reduction of ideological dissonance on behalf of the system: Evidence of enhanced system justification among the disadvantaged. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 33*, 13–36.
- Jost, J. T., & Thompson, E. P. (2000). Group-based dominance and opposition to equality as independent predictors of self-esteem, ethnocentrism, and social policy attitudes among African Americans and European Americans. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 36*(3), 209–232. <https://doi.org/10.1006/jesp.1999.1403>
- Kay, A. C., & Jost, J. T. (2003). Complementary justice: Effects of “poor but happy” and “poor but honest” stereotype exemplars on system justification and implicit activation of the justice motive. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 85*(5), 823–837. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.85.5.823>
- Kluegel, J. R., & Smith, E. R. (1986). *Beliefs without inequality: Americans' view of what is and what ought to be*. Hawthorne, NJ: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Knowles, E. D., & Lowery, B. S. (2012). Meritocracy, self-concerns, and Whites' denial of racial inequality. *Self and Identity, 11*, 202–222.
- Kugler, M. B., Cooper, J., & Nosek, B. A. (2010). Group-based dominance and opposition to equality correspond to different psychological motives. *Social Justice Research, 23*(2–3), 117–155. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-010-0112-5>
- Leonardelli, G. J., Pickett, C. L., & Brewer, M. B. (2010). Optimal distinctiveness theory. A framework for social identity, social cognition, and intergroup relations. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 43*(10), 63–113. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601\(10\)43002-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(10)43002-6)
- Louis, W. R., Amiot, C. E., Thomas, E. F., & Blackwood, L. (2016). The “activist identity” and activism across domains: A multiple identities analysis. *Journal of Social Issues, 72*(2), 242–264.
- Lowery, B. S., Unzueta, M. M., Knowles, E. G., & Goff, P. A. (2006). Concern for the in-group and opposition to affirmative action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*, 961–974.
- McAdams, D. P., Hanek, K. J., & Dadabo, J. G. (2013). Themes of self-regulation and self-exploration in the life stories of religious American conservatives and liberals. *Political Psychology, 34*(2), 201–219. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00933.x>
- McCrae, R. R. (1996). Social consequences of experiential openness. *Psychological Bulletin, 120*(3), 323–37.
- McIntosh, P. (1988). *White privilege and male privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondences through work in women's studies*. Working Paper no. 189. Wellesley, MA: Wellesley Centers for Women.
- McIntosh, P. (2012). Reflections and future directions for privilege studies. *Journal of Social Issues, 68*(1), 194–206. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2011.01744.x>
- Montgomery, S., & Stewart, A. J. (2012). Privileged allies in lesbian and gay rights activism: Gender, generation, and resistance to heteronormativity. *Journal of Social Issues, 68*(1), 162–177. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2012.01742.x>
- Omoto, A. M., Snyder, M., & Hackett, J. D. (2010). Personality and motivational antecedents of activism and civic engagement. *Journal of Personality, 78*, 1703–1734.
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., & Levin, S. (2006). Social dominance orientation and the legitimization of inequality across cultures. *European Review of Social Psychology, 17*, 271–320. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280601055772>
- Pratto, F., & Stewart, A. L. (2012). Group dominance and the half-blindness of privilege. *Journal of Social Issues, 68*(1), 28–45. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2011.01734.x>

- Roets, A., Cornelis, I., & Van Hiel, A. (2013). Openness as a predictor of political orientation and conventional and unconventional political activism in Western and Eastern Europe. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 96*(1), 53–63.
- Russell, G. M., & Bohan, J. S. (2006). The case of internalized homophobia: Theory and/as practice. *Theory & Psychology, 16*(3), 343–366. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959354306064283>
- Sherif, M., Harvey, O. J., White, B. J., Hood, W. R., & Sherif, C. W. (1988). *The Robbers Cave experiment: Intergroup cooperation and competition*. Norman, OK: University Book Exchange.
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139175043>
- Stewart, A. J., Settles, I. H., & Winter, N. J. G. (1998). Women and the social movements of the 1960s: Activists, engaged observers, and nonparticipants. *Political Psychology, 19*, 63–94.
- Stewart, T. L., Latu, I. M., Branscombe, N. R., Phillips, N. L., & Ted Denney, H. (2012). White privilege awareness and efficacy to reduce racial inequality improve white Americans' Attitudes toward African Americans. *Journal of Social Issues, 68*(1), 11–27. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2012.01733.x>
- Szymanski, D. M., & Kashubeck-West, S. (2008). Mediators of the relationship between internalized oppressions and lesbian and bisexual women's psychological distress. *The Counseling Psychologist, 36*(4), 575–594. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000007309490>.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (2004). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. Abridged version reprinted In J. Jost & J. Sidanius (Eds.), *Political psychology key readings* (pp. 276–293). New York: Psychology Press. (Original work published 1986).
- Tangri, S. S. (1972). Determinants of occupational role innovation among college women. *Journal of Social Issues, 28*(2), 177–199. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1972.tb00024.x>
- Wester, S. R., Vogel, D. L., Wei, M., & McLain, R. (2006). African American men, gender role conflict, and psychological distress: The role of racial identity. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 84*, 419–429.
- Zimmerman, J. L., & Reyna, C. (2013). The meaning and role of ideology in system justification and resistance for high- and low-status people. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 105*(1), 1–23.

**Benjamin T. Blankenship** is a Doctoral Candidate in the Department of Psychology at the University of Michigan. He received his B.S. in Psychology from Arizona State University. His research interests include how marginalized identities, identity dimensionality, and personality affect political outcomes, such as activism and voting, as well as educational success and retention in higher education.

**Jennifer K. Frederick** is a Doctoral Candidate in the Joint Women's Studies and Psychology Program at the University of Michigan. She has a B.A. in Psychology and a B.A. in Women's and Gender Studies from The College of New Jersey. Her research interests include a focus on political participation through collective action and cyberactivism and the role of social identity and group consciousness in politicizing people especially in the context of disability rights activism.

**Özge Savaş** is a PhD candidate in the Joint Women's Studies and Psychology Program at the University of Michigan. She has a M.A. in Developmental Psychology from Koç University, and a B.A. from Middle East Technical University. Her research focuses on psychology of belonging and intergroup relations in

different contexts ranging from political participation, activism and social identities, to immigration, gender, and citizenship.

**Abigail J. Stewart** is Professor of Psychology and Women's Studies at the University of Michigan. She has a Ph.D. in Psychology and Social Relations from Harvard University, an M.Sc. in Social Psychology from London School of Economics, and a B.A. from Wesleyan University. Her research interests focus on political activism and politicization more generally, personality development and change across the life course and in the context of experience and social history, and the role of marginalized identities in social change efforts, including changes in the university.

**Samantha Montgomery** is a Labour Relations Officer with the Professional Employees Association in Victoria, British Columbia. She holds a doctorate in Psychology and Women's Studies from the University of Michigan where she studied the intersections of gender, personality, and social contexts as predictors of political engagement and everyday social justice behavior.