The Roles of Experiences of Discrimination, Collective Identification, and
Structural Awareness in Own-group and Ally Activism


by

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**Dedication**


To my granddad, Séan Curtin.

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**Abstract**

This dissertation examined how social location (e.g. gender, race, and age), as well as experiences of discrimination, collective identification, and structural awareness of group inequalities— which were assumed to be shaped by women's particular locations—relate to own-group and ally activism in a sample of older middle-aged heterosexual Black and White women graduates of the University of Michigan. Three types of activism were included as outcomes: Women's Rights activism (measure of own-group activism), and Lesbian and Gay Rights activism and International Human Rights activism (both defined as ally activism for the current sample). It was hypothesized that personal experiences of discrimination would be associated with both own-group and ally activism via their relationships with two intervening variables: collective identification (for own-group activism) and structural awareness of group inequalities (for both own-group and ally activism). Although previous research has examined the role of collective identification in predicting activism, the current project examined the independent roles of discrimination, collective identification, and structural awareness of group inequalities in predicting own-group activism; and the role of structural awareness of group inequalities and discrimination in ally activism. Results replicated previous findings that collective identification plays a key role in predicting own-group activism. Additional results showed that discrimination exerted significant indirect effects on own-group activist engagement, via its relationship with collective

identification. Structural awareness of group inequalities played a significant role in predicting ally activism, though it did not predict own-group activism. Experiences of personal discrimination also predicted ally activism, independent of the effect of structural awareness of group inequalities. Results highlighted the value of considering the role that life experiences, such as discrimination, play in predicting activism both on behalf of one's own group, as well as in alliance with groups to which one does not belong. Further, they showed that structural awareness of group inequalities plays a key role in understanding ally engagement.

**Chapter 1:**

**Introduction**

> If I could give you one thought, it would be to lift someone up. Lift a stranger up—lift her up. I would ask you, mother and father, brother and sister, lovers, mother and daughter, father and son, lift someone. The very idea of lifting someone up will lift you, as well. ~Maya Angelou

In 2008, the media featured multiple newspaper articles and editorials reflecting

on the 40th anniversary of 1968, and the enormous social changes that have occurred

since (e.g. Herbert, 2008; McFadden, 2008; Tariq, 2008). It remains a year that is

remembered as a "whirlwind" (Herbert, 2008) of social upheaval, violence and protest:

Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy were assassinated; the civil rights movement

was still active, the Black Power movement gained momentum and students both in the

United States and across the world engaged in mass protests. Among social scientists,

this period sparked an intense interest in movements for social change, and a desire to

understand who became involved in such movements, and how involvement affected

individuals across the lifespan (e.g. Block, Haan, & Smith, 1969a, 1969b; Fendrich,

1977; Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988; Franz & McClelland, 1994; Stewart, Settles, & Winter,

1998).

Much of the media coverage overlooked the role of women in their accounts of

this exciting time. However, women were indeed active members of these important

social change movements, and continue to participate in creating change through their

activism. Given the body of work in the social sciences that has either specifically

focused on women's roles in these movements, or included them in their examinations

(e.g. Franz & McClelland, 1994; Giddings, 1996; McAdam, 1992); as well as research

examining women's activism in general (e.g. Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995; Cole & Stewart,

1996; Duncan, 1999), women's absence from these accounts is surprising. Perhaps less

surprising is the absence of a different, but also important, aspect of these movements:

that while many of the activists shared similar ideals, they did not necessarily share

common identities.

While much has been made (and for good reason) of the shared outrage and

passion of student activists of the 1960s, and their critical stance towards inequality and

injustice, less focus has been placed on the fact that, at least in some cases, activists were

often acting against their own (either individual or group) self-interests. Although the

New Left movements gave rise to identity-based politics, some activists did not have an

identity in common with those with whom they worked to create change. It is only

recently that researchers have become interested in understanding— both conceptually

and empirically— this phenomenon of ally activism (e.g. van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009).

**Research Questions**

This dissertation examined the role of social location and individual differences in

shaping own-group and ally activism in a sample of women who came of age during the

"whirlwind" period of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Own-group activism is activism on

behalf of a group to which one belongs, and ally activism is activism in alliance with a

group to which one does not belong. In the current project, the particular "social

locations" of interest are gender, race, and age. The specific research question addressed

in this study is: How do personal experiences of discrimination, collective identification,

and structural awareness of group inequalities— which are assumed to be shaped by

women's particular social locations— differentially affect own-group and ally activism?

I will first discuss the feminist perspective that informs this examination, and the

reasons these particular women may be of specific interest. Then I will provide an

overview of the literature on activism, as well as a discussion of the particular constructs

of interest in the current study.

**Feminist Perspectives on Research and the Importance of the Current Sample**

In her now classic treatise on feminist standpoint theory, Donna Haraway (1991)

argued for "a doctrine and practice of objectivity, in research and scholarship that

privileges contestation, deconstruction, passionate construction, webbed connections, and

hope for transformation…" (p. 191-192; see also Smith, 1974; Harding, 1993; 2005;

Hartsock, 1998; and Collins, 1998). Some standpoint theory privileges the viewpoints of

oppressed groups (Haraway, 1991; Gorelick, 1991), arguing that they can "see" things

from a perspective that those in dominant positions cannot. Therefore, much is made of

the importance of representing women in areas of scholarship where they have been

previously understudied. Building on this notion, Gorelick (1991) argued that feminist

methodologies must move beyond recuperative efforts of "representing" or "giving

voice" to women. She argued that standpoint theory should not simply privilege the

oppressed, but must "locate" subjects (or, in psychology, participants) within particular

"systems of oppression." That is, one must pay attention to where people are in relation

to other members of their group, as well as in relation to other groups to which they do not belong.

Theories of intersectionality (Collins, 1989, 1998; King, 1988; Crenshaw, 1991) suggest that gender, race, sexuality, and class are often interconnected in unique ways that contribute to people's experiences and actions. Applying these theories to the women in the current study, it is important to clarify that, in addition to locating the women within particular "systems of oppression," they must also be located within particular systems of privilege (as they are both privileged and oppressed along different dimensions). Most, if not all, of the women in the current study occupy multiple positions of both privilege and lack thereof: they are all college-educated, many of them attained advanced degrees, their average household income is relatively high, and all are heterosexual. Yet they are also all women who, despite much social progress and change during their lifetimes, are nonetheless affected by gender discrimination (e.g. Cortina, 2008; Cortina & Wasti, 2005). Furthermore, almost one-third of the women are African American, and face a complex intersection of both gender- and race-based discrimination (e.g. Crenshaw, 1991; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003; Sesko & Biernat, 2010). Finally, these women are older middle-aged adults, in their early 60s, and it is likely that some of them have encountered age discrimination (e.g. Hummert, 2011; Gordon, Arvey, 2004; Nelson, 2002; Nelson, 2011). Further, there may be intersectional experiences of discrimination or invisibility based on gender and age (Belgrave, 1993; Clarke & Griffin, 2008), and/or race, gender, and age (Locher et al., 2005; Murray & Stahly, 1987). It is precisely this tension between privilege and oppression that makes the sample ideal for

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an examination of both own-group and ally activism. For this particular sample, heterosexuality is a privileged identity, yet their gender, at times their age— and in the case of Black participants, their race— is a subordinate identity.

Additionally, middle-age is marked by generativity, or "the concern for establishing and guiding the next generation." (Erikson 1968/1994, p. 138). Research has found that older adults are often quite actively engaged in their communities as a means of expressing their generative concern (Cox, Wilt, Olson, & McAdams, 2010; Hart, McAdams, Hirsch, & Bauer, 2001), and so despite the fact that they are not commonly included in examinations of general activism, older adults do contribute to social change. Furthermore, the cohort of women in this study experienced young adulthood during a period of time marked by social upheaval that precipitated enormous changes in American society (McAdam, 1992; Evans, 1979). Given that significant social events experienced during adolescence are likely to have lasting effects on identity (Stewart & Healy, 1986; 1989; Duncan & Agronick, 1995), it is not surprising that Cole and Stewart (1996) found relatively high levels of politicization in the current sample, during an earlier wave of data collection. Such a sample is ideal for examining the relationship between experiences of discrimination, politicized identification, beliefs about group inequalities, and own-group and ally activism.

Finally, although the current sample is particularly well-suited for asking the research questions that drive this project, this does not mean that the relationships under examination here are irrelevant for men's activism. However, examining these relationships in a sample of educated, politicized women (who may be particularly likely

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to have also experienced gender-, race-, or age-based discrimination) provides a useful

starting point for understanding how experiences of marginalization mobilize individuals

to act for change, even when that change may not directly benefit them.

**Research on Activism for Social Change**

One notable aspect of the literature on activism is the degree to which different

terms and concepts are used interchangeably and inconsistently defined. This

inconsistency has existed at a conceptual/definition level, for example in affecting which

behaviors are defined as activism, or failing to differentiate own-group from ally

activism. However, inconsistencies have also existed at an operationalization level;

researchers have examined similar kinds of constructs, but using different measures. For

example, identity has been operationalized as the degree to which one endorses a set of

politicized group-oriented beliefs (e.g. feminist; see Duncan & Stewart, 2007), the degree

of similarity one feels to other members of one's group (e.g., other gay men, Stürmer,

Snyder, & Omoto, 2004); the degree of importance one attaches to being a member of a

particular group (e.g. Simon, Lücken, & Stürmer, 2006), or the degree to which one

rejects one's privileged position (e.g. Duncan & Stewart, 2007). This observation is by no

means new (see Block et al., 1969b for an early, though brief, discussion of this). Some

(van Zomeren & Iyers, 2009) have argued that these multiple approaches are actually a

strength; and, as Block and colleagues noted, the findings have been generally consistent,

even where the specific criteria used to define activism, or to operationalize concepts

such as identity, are not. However, I will argue below, that there are advantages to testing

the independent effects of different constructs that have been traditionally subsumed under a larger concept.

Much of the early work on activism in psychology focused very specifically on individual-level factors that predicted engagement. For example, in a study of student activists of the 1960s, Block and colleagues (1969b) and Flacks (1967) examined the effects of parenting styles on participation in both social action and protest. Other researchers examined personality factors such as "psychopolitical rebellion," and authoritarian tendencies (e.g. Rothman, 1984; Litcher & Rothman, 1981; Litcher & Rothman, 1982).

More recent studies of students verified Block's observation that political activism may "run in families," rather than being an expression of rebellion against family. In their examination of both pro- and anti- war activists during the Gulf War of the 1990s, Duncan and Stewart (1995) found that these young adults tended to hold similar viewpoints towards the Gulf War as their parents had held towards the Vietnam War. Adult children who were anti-Gulf War activists were more likely to have had parents who had been activists opposed to the Vietnam War, and individuals involved in activism supporting the Gulf War were more likely to have had parents who had actively supported the Vietnam War.

The influence of families is structural, as well as psychological, in nature. Political activists tend to come from middle- or upper-class families (Block et al., 1969a, 1969b; Franz & McClelland, 1994; Verba, Schlozman, & Burns, 2004) and are well-educated (Burns, Schlozman, & Verba, 2001; Fendrich, 1977; Sherkat & Blocker, 1994).

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While much of the psychological research in the 1960s and 70s focused on individual factors, sociologists and political scientists were (and continue to be) primarily concerned with how structural factors and access to resources affected political and social activism (Beck & Jennings, 1982; Caiazza, 2005; Fendrich 1977 and Buechler, 1993 McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Verba et al.,2004). Often focused on low-status groups' attempts at improving social conditions for their own groups, sociological frameworks posited that feelings of relative deprivation, based on objective resource differences, were instrumental in predicting activism. Yet these theories failed to account for the fact that often groups do not act in their own best interest, even in the face of deprivation (e.g. Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star, & Williams, 1949; but see also Smith & Ortiz, 2002; and Klandermans, 1997). Crosby's (1976) theory of relative deprivation attempted to address this issue, by positing that it was not simply objective status differences that predicted an individual's engagement, but the individual's *feelings* associated with desiring rights or resources one (or one's group) did not have, and the belief that one deserved these rights and resources (Crosby, 1982; see Walker & Pettigrew, 1984 and Walker & Smith, 2002 for reviews and critiques of the model).

Stürmer and colleagues (Stürmer, Simon, Loewy, & Jörger, 2003; Stürmer & Simon, 2004a, 2004b) have attempted to reconcile the sociological and the social psychological literatures on engagement, proposing a dual pathway model of collective action designed to account for both the effects of individual analyses of the costs/benefits associated with engagement and collective identification in predicting activist engagement. The first pathway focuses on the role that cost/benefit analyses of

participation play in activism (for example see Klandermans, 1984, 1993). This work

builds on Olson's (1968) contention that individuals will only act when there are

resources readily available to them, and the benefits of action outweigh the costs. The

second pathway focuses on collective identity. Drawing on social identity theory (Tajfel

& Turner, 1979), research has shown that certain experiences can lead to feelings of

belonging to a particular group, the politicization of aspects of one's identity (Gurin,

1985; Gurin & Crosby, 1987; Gurin, Miller, & Gurin, 1980), and a sense that one's group

collectively experiences unjust discrimination. Stürmer and colleagues have suggested

that it is not simply feelings of relative deprivation that matter to political engagement,

but also identification with the particular group that one feels is being treated unfairly *and*

the belief that collective action can alleviate such disparities.

In a series of studies Stürmer and Simon (2004a) found that collective

identification with one's group was related to involvement in collective action on behalf

of that group for gay men, older adults, and people involved with the fat acceptance

movement. They identified three independent predictors of engagement: identification

with a particular social group; belief that one's group was denied equal access to

resources or rights; and belief that involvement with an organization devoted to seeking

social change would make a difference. Individuals who met one or more of these three

preconditions were more likely to be engaged than their counterparts who did not feel

either a sense of deprivation, group identification, or that their involvement with a group

would bring about change. Much of this research has examined individual group

members' activism on behalf of their own group. As mentioned above, there has been a

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dearth of research into whether or not the factors that predict own-group activism (including how people feel about social inequalities) also predict ally activism.

**Ally activism.** In an exception to the general under-representation of ally activism in the social psychological literature, Subasic, Reynolds and Turner (2008) proposed a model of ally identification and engagement, calling the sense of affiliation between both advantaged and disadvantaged group members political solidarity. They suggested that political solidarity relies not on a sense of common fate with other groups (or a politicized collective identity in the usual sense), but on a sense of common purpose or cause. Therefore, majority group members must be in agreement with minority group members that social change is needed. This belief depends upon an analysis of power relations (or an awareness of social structures) by these majority group members.

The most prolific area of current exploration of allies seems to be in the development of ally identities among college students. In particular, Beverly Tatum (Ayvazian & Tatum, 2004; Lawrence & Tatum, 1997; Tatum, 1994) has written about experiences of White students and educators, as they explore White identity in the context of the classroom. Using the Helms (1990) model of racial identity, Tatum has found that one important aspect of understanding both White privilege and racial oppression is an understanding of how power operates on social and structural levels. The development of an understanding of White privilege is often accompanied by a structural analysis of how power and privilege are tied to institutions. An understanding of one's privilege and a commitment to an identity as a White anti-racist person also often results in an individual's broader analysis of power and institutions. That is, allies make links

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between oppression and power. Tatum illustrated how these conceptual links are often

followed by moments of "interrupting" racism or discrimination. For example, she

recounted how a White teacher informed a local librarian that a sign reading "unattended

children will be sold as slaves" was offensive, after learning about and reflecting on her

own White privilege and power (Lawrence & Tatum, 1997).

Much of the extant literature examining ally activism in education has focused on

narrative explorations of the process of becoming an ally to a marginalized group (e.g.

Chojnacki & Gelberg, 1995; Gelberg & Chojnacki, 1995; Ji, 2007). Washington and

Evans (1991) have argued that the development of an ally identity requires one to

examine one's privilege and access to power. One must be aware of how structural

inequalities affect other groups, even as they privilege aspects of one's own identity. This

is a complex process, given that most people occupy multiple strata, some privileged and

others oppressed.

Iyer and Ryan (2009) recently conducted a survey study to examine the role of

identification and reactions to workplace gender discrimination among a group of adults.

They found that, for men who were strongly identified with other men, willingness to

engage in collective action was related to viewing workplace discrimination as both

unjust *and* pervasive (e.g. not simply a small, individualized, problem, but one that *most*

women have to deal with). Therefore, for these high-status (in the domain of gender)

individuals, it was not enough to simply see gender discrimination against women as

unjust, it had to also be seen as a pervasive problem. Iyer and Ryan did not measure the

degree to which men were self-reflective about their own power and privilege, nor did

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they assess the degree to which participants made *systemic* attributions for discrimination (their measure of pervasiveness was the degree to which men thought that *most* women experienced discrimination). However, their findings do suggest that viewing a problem (such as discrimination) as affecting more than just a few random members of a subordinate group may make privileged individuals more willing to act to address that problem.

It should be noted that much of the research on Whites' involvement with the civil rights movement (e.g. Fendrich, 1977; McAdam, 1986, 1989, 1992) examined ally activism, without conceptualizing it in that way. Duncan and Stewart (2007) argued that in some cases, "individuals develop collective identities based not solely on their position in the social structure (as straight or White), but also based on their analysis of the damage done by that social structure, and their rejection of the privileges associated with their position in it (we might label these antihomophobic or antiracist identities)." (p. 147). Indeed, as noted above, Duncan and Stewart found that what they called "politicized identities" predicted White women's involvement in civil rights activism, indicating that the process of developing a politicized sense of self, may generalize to broader forms of engagement. However, the measure of "political identity" used in the study was a combination of the degree to which participants identified as feminist, and as having a sense of shared common fate with other women, as well as the degree to which they rejected the idea that group inequalities between women and men were due to individual or group differences, rather than structural inequalities. The current project separated feelings of attachment to other group members (that is, identity) and beliefs

about the origin (structural or not) of group inequalities (structural awareness). Duncan and Stewart's findings indicated that both individual-level sense of group belonging, *and* analyses of power and difference were important predictors of engagement, both on behalf of one's own group and in alliance with other groups. However, their analyses conflated the two in such a way that it is not possible to see their individual effects.

Finally, qualitative research has examined how the "overlaying" or intersections of both privileged and oppressed identities seems to engender an awareness of structural oppression not necessarily related to one's own identities (Croteau et al., 2002). For example, several White lesbians interviewed by Croteau and colleagues discussed their awareness of how their whiteness gave them privileges that women of color did not have; and how in some situations their whiteness seemed to render their sexuality invisible. A heterosexual Black woman commented that she felt her racial oppression allowed her to more closely relate to the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT) people. Throughout these narratives, the tension between experiences of oppression and privilege engendered structural analyses of power. Specifically, participants reported that they developed a structural analysis of power by comparing the times when they experienced discrimination based on a marginalized identity to those times when they did not experience expected discrimination, and the cause was attributed to a dominant identity. These narratives also underscored the role of everyday discrimination in shaping structural analyses in people with complex intersecting identities. It seems then that people with at least one marginalized identity and one dominant identity may be particularly likely to develop structural analyses of power. In the current sample, many of

the women have had access to at least some form of social capital (in the form of education) and some economic privilege. However, these privileges are complicated by marginalized identities including gender for all of the women, and race for some. Therefore this particular sample may have experienced the tension described in Croteau's research quite keenly.

In sum, these findings indicate that having a structural awareness of group inequalities is consistently related to activist engagements; and may be of particular importance to ally activism. At the very least, allies show a tendency to view the world through a lens that explains group inequalities as stemming from institutional- and structural- level forces, as opposed to individual- or group-level differences in personality, preferences, or competencies. Furthermore, the awareness of how one's dominant and marginalized identities differentially confer and deny privilege may be particularly important for the development of structural awareness, of key interest in the current project. However, the extant literature has several gaps that the current project aims to address: 1. There has been little work that has explicitly included measures of discrimination in larger models of identity and structural awareness predicting own-group activism, and no quantitative work examining experiences of personal discrimination and ally activism. 2. Quantitative research has conflated group identification and the individual-level tendency to make structural attributions for group inequalities. It is not clear that these two processes are, in fact, the same. Nor is it clear that their role in own-group versus ally activism is the same. 3. Qualitative research has focused on allies in great depth, but without trying to establish whether the structural analysis of group

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inequalities that seems to characterize those engaged in ally activism in fact differentiates them from those who do not become engaged.

**Gender, Race, Age and Activism**

Nancy Burns and her colleagues (Burns et al., 2001; Schlozman, Burns, & Verba, 1994; Verba et al., 2004) found that women and men engaged in different kinds of activism (providing one explanation for why women consistently seem to be less politically engaged than men). They suggested that women and men have cumulatively different life and educational experiences that both affect their ability to be politically engaged and the kinds of subsequent experiences or outcomes that result from such engagement (see also Sherkat and Blocker, 1994 for a discussion of the effects of socialization and religiosity on women's different levels of participation).

In his examination of White women and men involved in the 1964 Freedom Summer, McAdam (1992) found that women not only reported different experiences during their time in the South, but also had different outcomes than their male peers. Freedom Summer took place at the height of the civil rights movement. During the summer of 1964, hundreds of White students (and some professionals) were brought to Mississippi to register voters and work and live in Black communities. Many of the leaders of student-led social movements that gained momentum later in the 1960s (such as the free speech movement and the anti-war movement) acquired much of their knowledge of activism during their time in Mississippi and from the Black civil rights leadership.

McAdam found that the women who participated that summer were less likely to be politically active in adulthood than their male counterparts. In contrast to men, when women were active in later life, their subsequent activism was related not only to their participation in Freedom Summer, but also to activist experiences pre-dating the summer. Men's subsequent activism was only related to their participation in Freedom Summer. In other words, men's activism pre-dating Freedom Summer was not a significant predictor of their activism after Freedom Summer. Women were also more likely than men to report feeling that the summer was personally meaningful. Therefore, it seems that women and men might not only take different pathways to political participation or activist engagement, they may also be affected differently by their experiences once they do become involved. McAdam suggested that these long-term effects were, in part, shaped by the fact that many of the women were subsequently involved in the women's movement during the 1970s and maintained a commitment to women's issues through the 1980s, leading them to see Freedom Summer as a key politicizing experience directly related to their feminist identities. White men, in contrast, had less consistent engagement with a specific social movement following the demise of the New Left. McAdam proposed that because the White men he sampled were not usually involved with an identity movement after Freedom Summer, they did not develop a politicized identity (such as feminist), whose genesis could be traced to their involvement in Freedom Summer (see also Cole et al., 1998).

There is, indeed, evidence that involvement with social activism politicizes women, shaping both future identity and likelihood of engagement. Cole, Zucker and

Ostrove (1998) found that White women who had participated in some form of activism during college in the 1960s (fighting for civil rights and protesting the war in Vietnam) were more likely to be politically active as adults, compared to their peers who did not participate in a movement. These women also reported higher levels of feminist consciousness, attached greater significance to the subsequent women's movement and were more likely to attribute women's struggles to structural sexism as opposed to individual characteristics.

Although much of the literature has focused on White activists, some researchers have explored racial differences in participation and outcomes. While not looking at the effects of race directly, Sherkat and Blocker (1994) found that the Black youth in their sample of students who graduated high-school in 1965 were overrepresented among those who went on to participate in social activism, compared to their White counterparts. Fendrich (1977) discovered several racial differences in outcomes between Black and White male activists of the 1960s. Specifically, he found that White activists were generally more radical as older adults than their Black counterparts, and they were also more likely to engage in protest behavior. Fendrich explained these differences by arguing that, in contrast to Black students, Whites became involved with the 1960s protest movements for ideological reasons rather than feelings of personal deprivation. He further suggested that as soon as the goals of civil rights had been achieved (at least to some degree), Black activists were less likely to stay engaged with left-wing political action, compared to their White (ideologically motivated) counterparts. Fendrich's

explanation ignored the different risks faced by— and resources available to— activists of color.

Cole and Stewart (1996) took a different perspective on Fendrich's conclusion, arguing that his findings indicate that for women, and African Americans, different factors might predict activism (McAdam's 1986 findings support this argument). Using an earlier wave of data collected from the women sampled in the current dissertation, Cole and Stewart explored differences in engagement between White and Black women. Although Cole and Stewart's sample was younger than Fendrich's (these women were in college during the 1960s and early 1970s), and not all the women were activists, there were important differences in the factors that led to political engagement in women of different races. The major difference was that although political ideology predicted White women's mid-life political engagement, it was previous activist involvement that predicted mid-life engagement for Black women (not ideology). Contrary to Fendrich's finding that Whites were more radical than Blacks, the Black women in Cole and Stewart's sample scored higher overall on political ideology (this included a measure of system blame and the salience of political and social events). Similarly, Stewart and colleagues (1998) found that Black women in their sample scored higher on political engagement, but their activism at mid-life was not as strongly linked to their engagement in college as it was for White women. These findings underscore the need for researchers to carefully consider different aspects of their participants' identities and social contexts when examining political activism. For example, the Black women in Cole and Stewart's sample showed less within group variance in their overall political ideology than the

White women, and they were also higher overall on the political measures than their White counterparts.

The role of age and developmental life-stage has received little attention in the research on activism. However, there is a small body of research that has examined the role of generativity in community engagement and activism in middle- and older-middle-aged adults. Generativity is the second to last of Erikson's eight epigenetic stages of development; the crisis of *generativity versus stagnation* characterizes middle-aged adulthood. Erikson (1968/1994) argued that generativity is "the concern for establishing and guiding the next generation" (p. 138). In Erikson's account, parenthood is the primary means by which people express generativity. However, he argued that it can be expressed by "other forms of altruistic concern and creativity which many absorb their kind of parental drive." (p. 138). Although the women in the current sample are at the older end of "middle-age" (Levinson, 1986), they fall within the age range commonly included in studies of generativity (e.g. Cox et., al 2010; Hart, McAdams, Hirsch, & Bauer, 2001).

Generativity has been associated with an expanding "radius of care" (Peterson & Klohnen, 1995). For example, Peterson and Klohnen found that parents who were high on generativity were more politically active, compared to those who were low on generativity. In two studies examining the relationship between generativity and community engagement in older adults Cox and colleagues (2010) and Hart and colleagues (2001) found that adults who were more generative were also more engaged, often in their local communities.

In sum, research has found that a consideration of social location, including race, gender, and— to the extent to which it has been studied—age, can deepen our understanding of activism, and the degree to which different people hold politicized beliefs. The current project considered race, gender, and age (and their intersection) as providing a particular kind of context in which activism occurs. Participants' social locations not only affect the degree to which they might experience discrimination, but also affect the development of their identities, beliefs about the world and the degree to which different groups access power, or do not. The next section will briefly discuss how activism was defined in the current project, and then review the relevant literature related to the predictors of activism under examination in this study.

**Predictors of Activism in the Current Project**

It is important to recognize that individual participation in efforts to make social change have been measured quite differently in different research traditions. Much of the sociological research has examined involvement in organized social movements (e.g. Klandermans 1984, 1993; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Sherkat & Blocker, 1994), that is, relatively large-scale activism organized around a particular social issue such as civil rights. As discussed above, recent social psychological literature, borrowing from the sociological tradition (e.g. Stürmer et al., 2003; Stürmer & Simon, 2004b), often focuses on participation in a particular organization that addresses a social issue (such as gay rights) and may or may not be part of a larger social movement. And much of the literature in political science focuses on political or civic engagement, such as voting or participation in local politics (e.g. Beck & Jennings, 1982; Verba et al., 1997; Verba et

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al., 2004). The present measure of activism encompasses all of these; it examined

engagement with specific social issues (such as women's rights), asking about activities

that included civic participation (e.g., writing to an official), protest activity (e.g.,

attending a rally or demonstration), and participation in an organization (which may or

may not have been affiliated with a larger social movement). The current project, then,

conceptualized activism as any behavior undertaken with the intention of creating some

kind of social improvement (defined by the actor).

**Experiences of discrimination.** Past research suggests that experiences of

discrimination are common, persistent, and occur along (and across) social categories of

gender, race and sexuality (e.g. Biafora, Taylor, Warheit, & Zimmerman, 1993; Cortina

& Wasti, 2005; Simon et al., 1998). Interestingly, much of the current research on

activism does not include measures of personal experiences of discrimination when

predicting engagement. This is despite the fact that evidence clearly indicates that

discrimination is related to factors that we know predict activism. For example,

experiences of discrimination shape group identity, and engender a structural analysis of

how the world works (Biafora et al.,1993; Brondolo et al., 2009; Caldwell, Guthrie, &

Jackson, 2006; Fine et al., 2003; Pastor et al., 2007).

In a comparative analysis of interviews conducted with Black women in America

and Surinamese women in the Netherlands, Essed (1990, 1991b) found that experiences

with everyday racism had implications for how Black women in both countries

understood structural power differences between Whites and Blacks. Some Black

women, though not all, made connections between their own individual experiences of

racism (such as hostile coworkers, or even seemingly friendly coworkers, whom they felt were "two faced") and the larger structural location of Blacks within both Dutch and American society. Essed argued that women understand their experiences of racism within a cognitive framework they have about the larger social context surrounding seemingly "banal" or personal experiences (1991b). Black American women, in particular, had inter-generational knowledge about racism. This functioned in two ways: history, knowledge and awareness of racism as a lived experience were passed down from one generation to another; and knowledge of the structural and historical meanings of racist actions or terminology was also passed down from one generation to another. Black American women, then, because of a community history of discrimination and oppression, may be more likely than White American women to have a structural analysis of power. As Essed observed, this analysis may be due to the intergenerational transmission of knowledge about the larger socio-historical framework in which discrimination has taken place (1991a, 1991b).

People have different reactions to experiences of discrimination. For example, Lykes (1983) found that some African American women responded to experiences of discrimination with direct confrontation and challenge, and others by ignoring it or pursuing their goals via alternative means; the situational context was an important determinant of their response. Cortina and Wasti (2005) similarly found that context shaped strategies for coping with discrimination and harassment in the workplace. Equally, considerable research has shown that discrimination experiences often have negative consequences for the individual, particularly mental and physical health

(Klonoff & Landrine, 2000; Klonoff, Landrine, & Campbell, 2000; Klonoff, Landrine &

Ullman, 1999; Lincoln, Chatters, Taylor, & Jackson, 2007; Williams & Mohammed,

2009). Additionally, a growing body of work has explored discrimination in the

workplace (Cortina, 2008; Konik & Cortina, 2008), indicating that forms of subtle and

pervasive harassment and discrimination have negative consequences for well-being

(Lim, Cortina, & Magley, 2008; Miner-Rubino & Cortina, 2007). Although

discrimination has negative individual-level effects, it may also serve as a politicizing

experience for some people, some of the time. It is for this reason that it was of interest in

the current project.

In her examination of everyday anti-Black, anti-Semitic, heterosexist, and sexist

discrimination in the lives of young college women, Hyers (2007) found that women's

responses to discrimination were shaped by gendered norms about how women should

behave. Many of the young women reported considering an active response to the

discrimination, but not engaging in such a response for fear that it would be construed as

hostile, rude or angry (and therefore confirm stereotypes about angry feminists, for

example). Perhaps not surprisingly, Hyers also found that women with gender

stereotyped beliefs about behavior were less likely to engage in active strategies to

confront discrimination. Important to the current project, this study suggested that

*rejection of traditional notions of women's roles* and the *ability to recognize structures of*

*power* might mediate the relationship between experiences of discrimination and

decisions to engage in activism.

Cole and colleagues (1998) found that feminist consciousness, in former activists, was relatively high for both women who were currently active and those who were not. They argued that these findings indicate that ideology (such as the rejection of traditional gender roles or beliefs) is not sufficient to engender activism. And indeed, theory and research have argued for the centrality of self-identification to the relationship between experiences of discrimination and collective engagement. For example, theories of relative deprivation suggest that collective action is only likely when the individual perceives discrimination to be related to group identification, and not a personal attribute (Crosby, 1976; Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995; Sayles, 1984). Social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) theory and self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) suggest that the more an individual thinks of herself as a group member, and not a unique individual, the more likely she is to engage in collective action (Kelly & Breinlinger, 1996; Liss, Crawford, & Popp, 2004; Nelson et al., 2008).

In an experimental manipulation of identity, Simon and colleagues (1998) found that gay men who were asked to write about an experience of harassment or violence motivated by anti-gay hatred were more likely to indicate a sense of common fate with other gay men, compared to gay men who were asked to write about their day. These findings provided further support that experiences of discrimination prompt a sense of collective identification (in this case, it was in the form of feelings of shared fate with other gay men). This kind of collective identification is a key predictor of subsequent activist engagement.

Furthermore, studies conducted by Foster (1999; Foster & Matheson, 1998) suggest that the *content* of women's understanding of the term "woman" shaped how they reacted to discrimination, and not simply collective versus individualistic identifications. Women whose understanding of "women" was based on stereotypes (for example that women are nurturing, sensitive, understanding) were less likely to engage in collective action against discrimination, even if they had a collective sense of identification with other women. In contrast, women whose collective sense of identification with other women fell along lines of certain kinds of shared social experiences (such as desire for pay equity, career opportunity and experiences of sexual harassment) were more likely to engage in collective action against discrimination. A second study found that women with "stereotypic" group identification were as likely to assess a scenario as discriminatory as were their "experience" counterparts; the difference seemed to lie in the *outcome* of discrimination (e.g. whether to act), not the *assessment*. What Foster called shared experiences can also be understood as an assessment of shared limitation to power and resources, or a shared understanding of one's structural location. This research suggests that the relationship between  experiences of discrimination and collective engagement is mediated by identification; less is known about whether this relationship holds for activism more broadly, or whether the ability to see power structures (and not only those related to one's own identity) may also play a mediating role in the relationship between discrimination and activist outcomes. Therefore, the current project tested both collective identification and structural awareness of group inequalities as mediators of the relationship between discrimination and activism.

**Collective identity: Gender-based common fate**. Identity plays a key role in how people understand themselves and their place in the world. In particular, politicized and collective identifications play an important role in activist engagements; though there is some evidence that this role is more central for White women than it is for Black women (Cole & Stewart, 1996). The current project examined one aspect of collective identity, common fate with other women. Please note that, given the measure of collective identification used here, the assumption in this project is that common fate with women would be relevant to own-group activism (e.g. Women's Rights activism) in a way that would not be the case for ally activism (e.g. Lesbian and Gay Rights activism and International Human Rights activism). Although there is research examining, for example, anti-racist identities (see above), there were no such measures collected for the current study.

*Own-group activism & collective identity.* Gurin and Townsend (1986) defined common fate as an "understand[ing] that individual mobility depends not on individual performance alone but also on group membership." They suggested that once someone has such an understanding, "they are motivated to act collectively to remove category-based barriers." (p. 141). Additionally, they argued that this shared sense of fate for women is a property of gender identification, different from both perceptions of similarities to other women and the centrality of gender to one's sense of self. That is, one can consider oneself to be like other women because of a sense of shared traits— such as the belief that one has a desire to nurture in common with other women— and not necessarily believe that what happens to other women in society will affect one

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individually. Beliefs about trait similarities or shared preferences, or even the centrality of being a woman to one's identity, do not rely on understanding a set of institutional or social practices. However, the belief that legislation or social practices that affect other women will also affect one's life relies on a sense of woman as a social category. Researchers interested in activism have used Gurin's measure of common fate as an indicator of politicized identity and found that it predicted political engagement (Duncan & Stewart, 2007; Fahs, 2007). However, this research has also subsumed indicators of identity and stratum consciousness under the rubric of "politicized identity," ignoring the fact that Gurin argues they are different (Gurin et al., 1980; Gurin, 1985; Gurin & Townsend, 1986). Gurin's distinction between consciousness and identity may be an important one, and therefore this project preserved the distinction between the two.

This distinction between common fate and structural awareness has some empirical support. In her analysis of 1960s left- (Student Democratic Society or SDS) and right- (Young Americans for Freedom or YAF) wing activists. Klatch (2001) found that collective identity developed separately from recognition of group inequality. The women in Klatch's study developed a structural analysis of gender inequality and power that allowed them to reject the legitimacy of such inequality. Both a sense of collective identification and recognition of group inequality often came about through experiences of discrimination or unequal treatment within their activist organizations, yet were separate processes. Following the trajectory that Klatch traced, the current project considered collective identification and structural awareness of group inequalities as independent predictors of women's rights activism.

**Awareness of structural inequalities.** As the literature review above suggests, having an awareness of structural inequalities is one predictor of activism. Furthermore, findings indicate that it may play a role in both own-group and ally activism (see Duncan & Stewart, 2007). Therefore, structural awareness was included as a predictor of both own-group and ally activism. The hypothesis was that it would play a parallel role to collective identification in own-group activism (as a mediating variable between experiences of discrimination and activism); and would be the sole mediating variable in the relationship between experiences of discrimination and ally activism.

Two quasi experiments conducted by Lopez, Gurin, and Nagda (1998) illustrated some important effects of exposure to structural thinking. They showed that students who developed structural analyses of racial and ethnic inequalities in the context of exposure to course material analyzing racial and ethnic identities were more likely to generalize this structural thinking to some other forms of inequality, such as class relations. Students who developed a structural analysis of group differences were also more likely to use these structural explanations as a means of explaining intergroup conflict, and less likely to attribute conflict to individual-level factors. The difference in likelihood of offering situational and structural explanations for intergroup conflict held even when controlling for political ideology, cognitive factors, and demographic variables. However, not all students consistently showed an increased inclination to generalize their understanding of structural inequality to issues beyond race, such as to thinking about sexual orientation. The second study revealed that students with structural analyses of inequality were less likely to attribute racial inequity and poverty to individual factors, and more likely to

engage in systematic analyses that examined the role of institutions in maintaining different forms of inequality. These findings indicated that structural thinking can be generalized and caused people to look for structural, and not simply individual, explanations of inequality. However, although for some students, learning to engage in structural thinking in one domain (i.e. race) translated more broadly (e.g. to class), it did not do so for others. Therefore, perhaps there are individual-level differences in the inclination to make connections between structural oppression experienced by different groups. That is, perhaps some individuals tend not to recognize social structures at all, while others see them only in one domain, while still others tend to perceive the ways in which different forms of oppression are interrelated.

Though Stürmer and colleagues' research (Stürmer et al., 2003; Stürmer & Simon, 2004a, 2004b) has focused mainly on identity theory as a means of thinking about collective identification, it also suggested that structural analyses are related to activist outcomes for members of marginalized groups. These studies showed that individuals who saw their inequality as the result of structural forces, and believed that those forces can be addressed through collective action, were more likely to engage in activism than those who lacked a structural analysis of power. In fact, research examining the relationship between personality and political engagement has indicated that having a structural analysis is a key predictor of activism (e.g. Cole & Stewart, 1996; Duncan & Stewart, 2007; Fahs, 2007).

In the current project awareness of structural inequality was considered a multi-faceted individual difference reflected in several variables that have been measured in

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different research traditions. These included power discontent, system blame, and intersectional consciousness. These first two variables, power discontent and system blame, commonly fall under "stratum consciousness" and previous research has found that they predict engagement. The third—intersectional consciousness— is a relatively new construct and (to this author's knowledge) has not been used in any analyses of activism to date.

*Stratum consciousness.* When Marx originally conceived of class consciousness, he was not interested in it as an individual-level psychological phenomenon. Rather, he was interested in it as a structural phenomenon concerning the relationships between those with power and those without it. Specifically, he was interested in relations of production and class conflict. Strict Marxist theory views class consciousness not as in intra-psychic process, but as a class (or collective) process or conflict (Lukács, 1920; Slaughter, 1975). This, however, has not stopped social scientists from productively conceptualizing group consciousness as an individual-level cognitive process reflecting the degree to which one recognizes one's self as part of a group that occupies a specific place in a social hierarchy. Reflecting the Marxist belief that consciousness comes about through class struggle— and that the working or subordinate class was in a particularly ideal position to understand power— much of the social science literature has focused on the consciousness of members of disadvantaged groups.

Gurin and colleagues (1980) differentiated between stratum identification and stratum consciousness; arguing that, though both are cognitions, "the former is about a person's relation to others within a stratum, the latter about a stratum's position within a

society." (p. 30). Identification, then, is about one's awareness of shared ideas, beliefs or interests similar to others in one's group (or stratum). Consciousness is a "set of political beliefs and action orientations arising out of this awareness of similarity." (p. 30). The authors identified three elements of consciousness: power discontent, rejection of legitimacy and collective orientation. Power discontent is a sense of injustice or grievance about one's own position within a power structure, and is characterized by a sense of deprivation compared to other groups. Rejection of legitimacy is the belief that one's position is the result of unfair structural factors, and not individual differences. Collective orientation is an individual-level "action orientation" towards collective action as a means of remedying power differences between groups. The first two elements of Gurin's stratum consciousness, power discontent and rejection of legitimacy, reflect structural analyses of power and were therefore included in the present study as assessments of structural awareness of group inequality.

*Power discontent.* Gurin and colleagues (1980) described power discontent as the affective experience of dissatisfaction with the position one's group occupies on a power hierarchy; specifically defined as believing one's group has *too little* power. However, this evaluation of whether or not certain groups have "enough" power does not have to be limited to assessments of one's own group. Therefore, researchers have assessed power discontent both as beliefs about the power of one's own group (e.g. Cole and Stewart, 1996, Gurin & Townsend, 1986) and as a more general set of beliefs about different groups' access to power, including groups to which participants do not belong (e.g. Duncan & Stewart, 2007). Please note that the assumption in the literature, and in this

current project, is that discontent is the feeling that a group has *too little* power. Specifically, we included groups that are often studied in the literature on discrimination (e.g. women, African Americans, lesbians and gay men, as well as older adults) with the assumption that the sense of discontent we were interested in was the feeling that these groups had *too little* and not *too much* power.

*Rejection of legitimacy.* Rejection of legitimacy refers to a cognitive evaluation about the cause of group differences. For example, explaining group status differences as being due to systemic or institutional factors (such as unequal opportunities for education, discrimination, or even market forces) indicates a rejection of legitimacy of those differences. In contrast, attributing group status differences to individual-level characteristics of group members (such as different interests, levels of competence and desire for success) indicates a low degree of rejection of legitimacy.

*Intersectional consciousness.* The work on stratum consciousness has proven extremely fruitful. However it often focuses on singular identities or group-identifications, and not on either intersectional identities or consciousness about groups to which one does not belong (exceptions to this, discussed above, are Cole & Stewart, 1996; Duncan & Stewart, 2007). Intersectional consciousness, in contrast, does not assume group membership. For this reason, it provides another means of assessing structural understandings of power as intersecting with, and potentially far removed from, one's own group membership.

Intersectionality (Collins, 1989, 1998; King, 1988; Crenshaw, 1991) was originally proposed by feminist scholars of color as an analytic tool for recognizing the

complexities of women's various social situations. These researchers and scholars observed that gender, race, sexuality, class and other social identities often operate together in complex ways that are difficult to separate from each other. Thus, when examining and drawing conclusions about women's lives, researchers must pay close attention to the intersections of multiple identities. Though feminist psychologists have advocated this approach as a useful methodological tool (see Deaux & Stewart, 2001; Stewart & McDermott, 2005; Cole, 2008), very little published research has examined awareness of intersectionality as an individual cognitive variable. King (2003) examined the differences between "womanist," feminist, and ethnic consciousness in African American women's perceptions of sexism and racism in ambiguous social situations where neither race nor gender were mentioned. She found that women who were high in "womanist" identification (that is, who had integrated both their ethnic and their feminist identities) were more likely to make attributions about both race and gender in social situations. The same was not true of women with who identified as feminists. Thus "intersectional" identifications may have different effects on social perceptions than "singular" identifications.

Greenwood (2008) proposed Intersectional Consciousness as a measure of individual differences in how women understand different kinds of oppression and how they operate in women's lives. Intersectional consciousness is the ability to see how multiple structural factors such as race, class or gender, operate in people's lives. Greenwood and Christian (2008) recently used this measure of intersectional consciousness to assess how White women evaluated Muslim women in the UK, arguing

that intersectional consciousness takes account of high status membership (e.g. whiteness) within a group that may not be high status (e.g. women). This work also highlights the fact that intersectional consciousness is not limited to individual differences between women. Men also can possess (or lack) similar awareness of structure. Men occupy multiple intersections, and some, but not all, of these intersections may be high status.

Like Gurin's stratum consciousness, Greenwood's conceptualization of intersectional consciousness placed an emphasis on both the individual's construction of the social world and her pursuit of goal-directed behavior. Greenwood suggested that "the awareness of multiple grounds of identity" should affect: (1) people's explanations for how the social world is constructed, and (2) their decisions as to which corrective goals to pursue (such as engaging in activism). Greenwood's measure also assumed a degree of pre-existing group consciousness (based on Gurin et al., 1980); this is most likely because she developed her measure using a feminist activist-only sample. She argued that one can have either a "singular consciousness" (that is, give priority to only one identity when identifying and addressing discrimination) or an "intersectional consciousness" (recognize multiple "grounds of identification").

There are some important differences in the current project's adaptation of Greenwood's approach. First, this study used the measure with a broader sample than Greenwood's original one, as there were both activists and non-activists in the sample, and the activists in the current study were not all engaged in feminist activism. In addition, intersectional consciousness is different from group consciousness in that it

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does not necessarily require membership in a particular group or the construction of a social identity in the same way that group consciousness does (Brewer, 2001). Because Greenwood's measure was developed using an activist sample, some of the items included an activist component in the questions themselves (therefore making it difficult to separate intersectional consciousness from activism itself). The content of the measure used in this study was modified so that it excluded activist content.

**Generativity as a moderator of collective identification.** Two moderator variables were included in the current study. The first, generativity, was discussed above, and seemed particularly relevant for the middle-aged women in the current sample. Although some research has examined the relationship between generativity and activism (Cox et al., 2010; Hart et al., 2001; Peterson & Klohnen, 1993) none of these studies controlled for politicized identities or beliefs, both of which are strong and consistent predictors of engagement. It was hypothesized that, in the context of own-group activism, generativity would provide a means of focusing collective identification in such a way that women who were both highly identified and highly generative would be more likely to engage in activism on behalf of their own group. In this case, the action on behalf of one's own group is a kind of generative act; and women who are low in identification with a group may find their generative tendencies expressed in other ways, and will be less likely to engage in activism for their group.

**Political efficacy as a moderator of structural awareness.** Political efficacy is the belief that one's actions can exert influence and create change in the political system (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960); that what one does will have discernable

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effects. It was included in the current study because it has long been acknowledged as a predictor of political engagement, in particular voting (e.g. Campbell et al., 1960; Pranger, 1968; Verba & Nie, 1972) and political activism (Braungart & Braungart, 1990; Cole, Zucker, & Ostrove, 1998; Stewart, Settles, & Winter, 1998; Vecchione & Caprara, 2009). Given this consistent finding, political efficacy was included in the current study because it was expected that it would be related to both own-group and ally activism. However, political efficacy was also expected to moderate the relationship between structural awareness and activism. Specifically, it was hypothesized that women who perceived structural reasons for group inequalities *and* believed that their actions to create change would be effective would be the most engaged in both own-group and ally activism.

**Current Study**

The current project's unique contribution to the literature is a comparative approach, examining the specific role of structural awareness in predicting own-group and ally activism. The examination of own-group activism is, in part, a replication and confirmation of the existing literature. However, examining the independent effects of collective identification and structural awareness is an approach that others have not used. Previous research has not carefully differentiated feelings of connection to other group members from structural beliefs about that group's location in the social hierarchy. Rather, some studies have included one construct and others another, always calling them "political identification." The current study aimed to differentiate the two in a new way. Replicating previous findings on own-group activism tests whether the current sample

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behaves in most respects like other samples in the literature, and, hence, whether the findings for ally activism are also likely to replicate across different contexts. Furthermore, as discussed above, there is little work in the social-psychological literature examining the relationship between experiences of discrimination and either own-group or ally activism. Therefore, even where this project is replicating some of the current literature on own-group activism, it is also expanding existing models to include consideration of important life-experiences.

I proceeded under the assumption that there would be some variables that would only be relevant for own-group activism (e.g., gender-based common-fate and generativity), and other variables that would be relevant so long as their operationalization was relevant to a given outcome domain (e.g. gender-based discrimination would predict women's rights activism; whereas total discrimination would predict both lesbian and gay rights activism, as well as international human rights activism). I hypothesized that there would be group differences between Black and White women on several measures of interest.

**General Hypotheses**

**Bivariate relations between predictor variables.** Based on the literature reviewed above, it was hypothesized that there would be significant relationships among the variables that predicted activism: that experiences of discrimination would be related to both collective identity, and beliefs about social structures; and that collective identity would be related to beliefs about social structures. It was therefore hypothesized that:

1. Experiences of gender discrimination would be related to gender-based common fate.
2. Gender discrimination would be related to gender-based structural awareness.
3. Gender-based awareness of structure would be related to gender-based common fate.
4. Total experiences of discrimination would be related to general awareness of structure.

**Group differences between African American and White women.** Given that feminist theory (and previous empirical research) argues for the importance of social location, there were several hypotheses about differences between African American and White women in the current study. Specifically it was hypothesized:

1. African American women would report more experiences of discrimination, compared to White women.
2. African American women would be more aware of power and social structures, compared to White women; therefore, they would score higher on all measures of structural awareness.

## Own-Group Activism Hypotheses

The first set of hypothesized relationships predicting own-group activism included discrimination, awareness of social structure, collective identity, generativity, and political efficacy. Own group activism was defined as Women's Rights activism, (Figure 1). The second set of hypothesized relationships, predicting ally activism, focused on discrimination, awareness of social structure, collective identity, and political efficacy. Ally activism was examined in two domains: Lesbian and Gay Rights activism and International Human Right activism (Figure 3, below). Before the hypothesized relationships between the predictors and activism were tested, a measure of Intersectional Consciousness was developed, to be included as one component of the structural

awareness construct. The development of this measure is described below in the method section.

      **Women's rights activism.** The variables hypothesized to predict own-group activism (in the form of women's rights activism) are shown in Figure 1. Please note that each of these hypotheses assumes controlling for all other variables in the model, as well as for the two control variables (general tendency to activism and race):

1. Experiences of gender-based discrimination would be related to both gender-based structural awareness and gender-based common fate.
2. Gender-based discrimination would be indirectly related to Women's Rights activism, via its relationship to gender-based structural awareness and gender-based common fate.
3. Gender-based common fate would be related to Women's Rights activism.
4. Gender-based structural awareness would be related to Women's Rights activism.
5. Generativity would moderate the relationship between common fate and Women's Rights activism, such that women who were high in generativity and common fate would be most engaged in Women's Rights activism.
6. Political efficacy would moderate the relationship between gender-based structural awareness and Women's Rights activism, such that women who were high in political efficacy and gender-based structural awareness would be most engaged in Women's Rights activism.

**Figure 1: Discrimination, Common Fate, & Structural Awareness Predicting Women's Rights Activism**
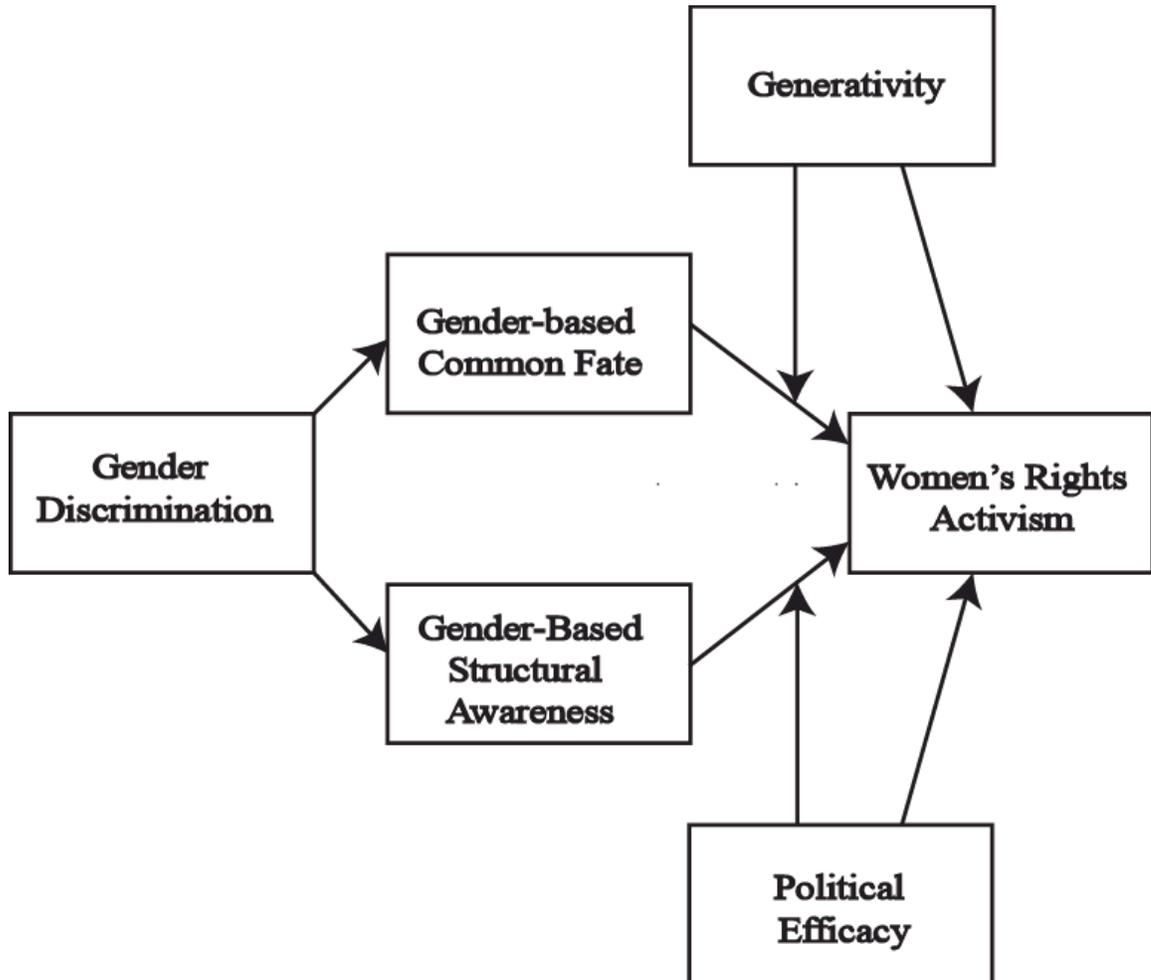


**Ally Activism Hypotheses**

      **Lesbian and gay rights and international human rights activism.** Although

lesbian and gay rights (LGR) and international human rights (IHR) activism were tested

separately, the same set of hypothesized relationships between variables was assessed for

both (Figure 2). Therefore, "ally activism" refers to both outcomes in the hypotheses

below. All hypotheses assume controlling for all other variables, including control

variables (general tendency to activism and race):

1. Total experiences of discrimination would be related to general structural awareness.
2. Total discrimination would be indirectly related to ally activism, via its relationship to general structural awareness.
3. Structural awareness would be related to ally activism.
4. Political efficacy would moderate the relationship between structural awareness and ally activism, such that women who were high in political efficacy and structural awareness would be more engaged in ally activism.

**Figure 2: Discrimination, Common Fate, & Structural Awareness Predicting Ally Activism**
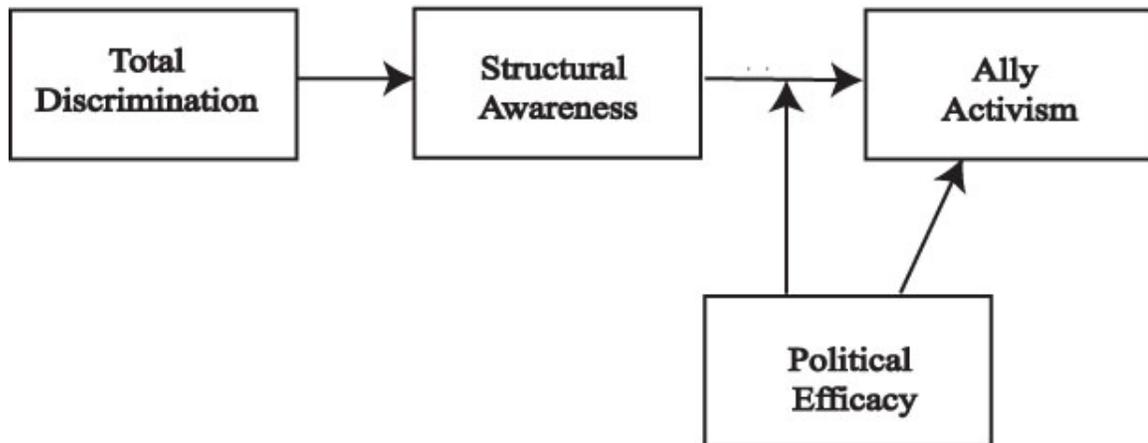


**Summary of own-group and ally hypotheses.** Note again that, although the exact

operationalization of each construct matches the appropriate activist outcome, the models

for own-group and ally activism assumed the same general relationships between

variables. A summary of these expected relationships is provided here, in Table 1.

**Table 1: Summary of Hypothesized Relationships to be Tested in Indirect Effects Analyses**

| | Own-Group Activism | Ally Activism | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Women's Rights | Lesbian & Gay Rights | International Human Rights |
| **Discrimination → Collective Identity** | * | n/a | n/a |
| **Discrimination → Structural Awareness** | * | * | * |
| **Discrimination → Activism (controlling for all other paths)** | * | * | * |
| **Collective Identity → Activism** | * | n/a | n/a |
| **Structural Awareness → Activism** | * | * | * |
| **Political Efficacy → Activism** | * | * | * |
| **PolEf by Struc. Aware. → Activism** | * | * | * |
| **Generativity → Activism** | * | n/a | n/a |
| **Gen by Collective Identity → Activism** | * | n/a | n/a |
| **Significant Indirect Effects of Discrimination on Activism** | significant | significant | significant |

**Chapter 2:**

**Method**

**Preliminary Analyses: Development of a Measure of Intersectional Consciousness.**

The purpose of this preliminary analysis was to create a version of the Intersectional Consciousness scale that could be used more broadly than Greenwood's original measure, and that assessed how people think about social structures of power across a variety of domains, not just gender.

**Participants and procedure.** In the winter of 2007 and early fall 2008, 414 undergraduates in an introductory psychology course participated in an on-line study assessing their personality and political beliefs and behaviors. Over half of the sample (58%) consisted of women and most of the participants were White (70%), with 15% identifying as Asian American/Asian Pacific Islander or Asian, 6% as African American/Black, 4% as Latino/a, and 5% as other or mixed race. Data on age was only collected from 252 of these participants. The average participant age for that subsample was 19 years old (range 18 – 22 years old).

**Intersectional consciousness.** A measure of Intersectional Consciousness (ISC) was developed based on Greenwood's (2008) measure. Greenwood's original measure had 9 items, and was used to assess ISC in a sample of Black and White feminist activists (all women). The purpose was to develop a measure that could be completed by both

women and men, and activists and non-activists alike. Sixteen items were developed based on Greenwood's original nine and using the literature on intersectionality (e.g. Collins, 1989, 1991; King, 1988; Crenshaw, 1991). Participants were asked to indicate the degree to which they agreed with each item, on a 6-point scale (1, strongly disagree; 6, strongly agree).

The initial reliability for all 16 items was assessed using Cronbach's alpha and was somewhat low at .56. Five items with the lowest levels of item-scale correlation were dropped. This adjustment increased the reliability to .71. See Appendix A for the resulting 11-item version of the ISC scale, as well as the five items that were dropped. A principal components analysis of these 11 items indicated that the first factor accounted for 29% of the variance, and the other factors extracted were not easily interpretable. For that reason a single overall score was created by summing all items on the scale. The mean intersectional consciousness score for the student sample was 4.34 ($SD = .55$) on a scale from 1-6.

This 11-item measure assessed intersectional awareness of social structures of power in the current sample.

**Predicting Own Group and Ally Activism**

The main purpose of this study was to test the proposed models of own-group and ally activism (Figures 1 and 2). Own-group activism was defined as Women's Rights activism. Ally activism was defined as both Lesbian and Gay Rights activism, and International Human Rights activism.

**Participants and procedure.** The Women's Life Paths Study is a longitudinal project following a group of women who graduated from the University of Michigan (UM) between 1967 and 1973. Originally, the sample consisted of a stratified (based on occupational goals) random sample of 200 women from whom data were collected in 1967 during their senior year of college (see Tangri & Jenkins, 1993). These women were followed up in 1970, 1981 and 1992. In 1992, Black women who had graduated between 1967 and 1973 were also recruited. Additionally, because the sub-sample of Black women was so politically active, a comparable group of White activists from the same time period was identified and invited to participate. In the fall of 2008, a new survey was sent to all of the women originally included in all of the three sampling efforts. A total of 623 women were contacted (303 Black women and 320 White women). It is important to note that not all of the women contacted had participated in any of the previous waves of data collection. The list included women for whom there was contact information, but who had never participated (for example, only 69 African American women completed the survey in 1992; but there was contact information for 303 African American alumnae). The women had the option of either completing a hard copy or an online version of the survey. Two-hundred and forty-four women participated in the study, for a response rate of 39%; 64% of these women who responded to the survey in 2008 had also responded to the survey in 1992. Of these women, 216 returned the hard copy version and 29 completed the survey online.

**Measures.**

**Basic demographics.** Each participant was asked to indicate her year of birth, race, sexual orientation, education level, and income. Education level was assessed by asking participants to indicate the highest degree they had achieved. Each participant was asked to indicate her total yearly household income, including income from all sources (for example, including partner or spouse's income). On average participants were 61 years of age. Thirty-three percent of the women in the sample were Black, 65% were White, and 2% identified as belonging to another racial or ethnic group. Almost all of the women were heterosexual, though 2% were lesbian and 2.5% were bisexual. Because this study employed a measure of Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism as ally activism, women who identified as lesbian or bisexual were not included in any analyses. Therefore, the final sample included in this dissertation consisted of 223 women who self-identified as heterosexual. Most of the sample (79%) had earned a post-graduate degree and over half (61%) had an annual household income between $50,000 and $150,000. There were no differences, by race, on either the rates at which women earned a post-graduate degree, or annual household income.

**Activism.** Activism was assessed using a measure that asked about activist behaviors (e.g., signing a petition, giving money, being an active member of a group; see Appendix B) across sixteen issue domains (e.g. AIDS, anti-war, immigrant rights, Republican Party). This scale was designed to account for the breadth of involvement in a particular domain, as well as overall participation, within the past two years of

participants' lives (Duncan & Stewart, 2007). Participants received a score of 1 for each issue-activity if they checked a box and 0 if they did not.

Several different "own-group" and "ally" activism scores were calculated. Because the only common identity-based items for both Black and White women referred to activism on behalf of women, women's rights activism was used to assess own-group activism. This own-group activism measure was a summed possible score ranging from 0 to 6. See Table D1 for activism frequencies for the sample; mean scores on this scale are shown in Table D2a-c.

Ally activism scores were taken from the same measure, but using items that asked about Lesbian and Gay Rights and International Human Rights participation (with a total score of 0-6 within each domain). The sample mean scores on these scales are shown in Table D2a-c.

**Experiences of discrimination.** Two measures were included to assess experiences of discrimination. The first was a measure based on items assessing everyday discrimination, developed by Forman, Williams and Jackson (1997) (Appendix C). The measure was adapted for use in the current sample, and participants were asked about experiences of discrimination in ten areas (for example, being treated with less respect than other people; or being ignored), on a four-point scale of how often each of the items occurred (1, never; 4, often). If women indicated that any of these experiences had occurred sometimes or often, they were asked in a close-ended format to indicate the domain in which such experiences had occurred (for example, because of their gender or age). Three additional items were also used in the current study, two that asked about job-

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related discrimination and one that asked about police harassment (Appendix D). Women were asked to simply indicate "yes" or "no" in response to whether they had experienced each of these three forms of discrimination. If women indicated that any of these 3 experiences had occurred, they were then asked to indicate the reason(s) they believed such experiences had occurred (for example, because of their gender or age). For all 13 items, across both measures, a present/absent assessment of discrimination within each domain (e.g. gender or age) was calculated.

For the current project, two different assessments of discrimination experiences were created: a gender-based discrimination score (used to predict women's rights activism) and a "total" discrimination score (used to predict lesbian and gay rights and international human rights activism). Within the domain of gender-based discrimination, a summed score across all 13 items was created; (present/absent for each) indicating whether or not the person viewed the discrimination as due to her gender. Please note that a participant could select as many categories (e.g., income, gender, or age) as she felt were grounds for the discrimination; but for this scale only experiences of discrimination based on gender were counted. Total discrimination was assessed based on the following criteria: any time a person indicated that they had been subject to discrimination based on gender, physical appearance, income, and/or age (with a possible score range of $0 - 52$)[1]. Therefore, each participant received two discrimination scores: one that summed the number of times she had been discriminated against based on her gender (with a possible

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[1] This total score includes all forms of discrimination relevant in the same way to both African American and White women in the sample. Thus it did not include discrimination on the basis of race.

score range of 0 – 13), and one based on "total" discrimination (possible score of 0-52). Note that the total discrimination score included gender experiences, in addition to those based on physical appearance, income and age. Again, the gender-based discrimination score was used to predict Women's Rights Activism (own-group for all women), and the Total Discrimination score was used to predict both Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism and International Human Rights activism. See Table D3a and D3b for frequencies for the sample. Scores for the sample are shown in Table D2a-c. Total discrimination was used on to predict ally engagement in order to use the broadest assessment of discrimination in domains common to all women in the sample to predict ally engagement.

**Structural awareness:** Given that the current project examined how structural awareness predicted activism across multiple domains, it seemed most logical to example two forms of structural awareness, paralleling the two measures of personal experiences of discrimination: gender-based and general. For all analyses involving Women's Rights activism (e.g., own-group activism for the entire sample), a measure of gender-based structural awareness was used along with the gender-based personal experiences of discrimination scale. In examining ally activism (Lesbian and Gay Rights activism and International Human Rights activism), the most broadly inclusive measure of structural awareness was used, referred to as *General Structural Awareness.*

Therefore, 33 standardized items from three different scales were combined (as averages) in two different ways to assess these different aspects of structural awareness. The three scales used to assess structural awareness— a Power Discontent Scale, a Rejection of Legitimacy Scale, and an Intersectional Consciousness scale— are described

below. Please note that there was overlap in items in the two versions of the measure of structural awareness used in the analyses; see Appendix H for a description of the items comprising each measure of structural awareness.

*Power discontent.* The degree to which participants felt a sense of discontent about the degree of power held by different groups was assessed using items that were based on those developed by Gurin and colleagues (1980). The original question included 11 different groups (see Appendix E). The following seven groups were included in this study: older people, African Americans, African American women, women in general, White women, lesbians, and gay men. These items were anchored on a five-point scale, ranging from 1 (too little power) to 5 (too much power).

The following items from the Power Discontent scale were included in gender-based structural awareness: African American women, women in general, White women, and lesbians. These items, as well as the items about older people, African Americans, and gay men were included in the General Structural Awareness measure (see Appendix H). Consistent with Gurin and others, we defined discontent as the belief that the groups asked about in this project had *too little* power. Therefore, all seven of the items were reverse scored, before being included in either of the two measures of structural awareness (e.g. gender-based structural awareness or general structural awareness). One might argue that the belief that any group has too much power is also a form of discontent. Commonly, this scoring method is only used with dominant groups (such as white men, or heterosexuals). In the current sample, few women agreed that any of the seven groups included in this study had too much power (for example, the highest

percentage—3% (n = 6) — indicated that gay men have "too much" power). Therefore, this particular issue was not a statistical concern, and arguably not a conceptual concern, in this particular sample. Please note that although the items were not used as a stand-alone scale, they had good internal consistency ($\alpha$ = .78).

*Rejection of legitimacy.* Gurin's (1985) measure of gender and race consciousness was used to assess rejection of legitimacy (see Appendix F). Seven items asked specifically about women's education and career opportunities, instructing participants to indicate the degree to which they agreed (1 = strongly disagree; 6 = strongly agree) with each item. These 7 items were included, in combination with the gender-relevant items from the power discontent scale above, in the measure of gender-based structural awareness (see Appendix H). Although not used as a stand-alone scale, these items had acceptable internal consistency ($\alpha$ = .68).

Eight items, on the same scale, asked specifically about education and career opportunities for Black people. Rejection of legitimacy does not assume group membership in order to make a judgment about why there are group differences. Therefore, these items could be used for both White and African American women. All 7 of gender items and 8 of the race items were included in the General Structural Awareness measure (see Appendix H). These 8 items had good internal consistency ($\alpha$ = .75).

*Intersectional consciousness.* Intersectional Consciousness (ISC) was measured using the 11-item ISC measure, described above (Appendix A). These items are anchored by a 6-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 6 = strongly agree) assessing the degree to

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which participants view different forms of oppression as interrelated, with higher scores indicating greater intersectional consciousness. These 11 items were standardized, and in combination with all of the items in the power discontent and rejection of legitimacy scales, were used to assess General Structural Awareness (see Appendix H). These items were not used to assess gender-based structural awareness, as the wording of all items included intersections of multiple different identities.

**Collective identification: Common fate.** Collective identification was assessed using a measure of gender-based collective identification, when examining Women's Rights activism. The degree to which women felt a sense of common fate (or shared circumstances) with other women was assessed for all women in the sample, based on items developed by Gurin (Gurin & Townsend, 1986). Three questions assessed common fate in women (see Appendix G). Responses were anchored on a five-point scale (1 = hardly at all; 5 = very much). Higher scores on both scales indicated a stronger sense of common fate. Mean scores for the sample are shown in Table D2a-c.

**Generativity**. Generativity, or the interest in caring for and contributing to subsequent generations, was assessed using 8-items developed by Stewart, Ostrove, & Helson (2001). These items come from a larger scale, The Feelings About Life Questionnaire (Helson & Moane, 1987). Items are anchored by a 3-point scale assessing the degree to which participants indicating the extent to which statements are descriptive of their lives (1 = not at all descriptive; 3 = very descriptive). Items assessing generativity include statements such as, "Effort to ensure that younger people get their chance to develop" and "Influence in my community or area of interest." A mean score was

generated for all participants, based on these items, and are shown in Table D2a-c (Appendix I).

**Political efficacy.** Craig and Maggiotto's (1982) Political Efficacy scale was used to assess internal political efficacy. This measure consists of 5 items that ask people to indicate the degree to which they believe that can effectively understand and act within the political system. Questions were asked on a 6-point scale (1, strongly disagree; 6, strongly agree). Sample items included, "People like me are generally well qualified to participate in the political activity and decision making in our country" and "I feel like I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues which confront our society." Means for these items are shown in Table D2a-c (Appendix J).

## Sampling Methods and Outcomes

The current sample is comprised of three different "subsamples," each of which was sampled in a somewhat different manner. The "longitudinal" sample (N=198) was originally selected using stratified (by career goal) sampling to ensure that a representative sub-sample of women graduates from the UM class of 1967 were included. These women have been a part of the study since the first wave of data collection in 1967. Because of the demographics of UM at the time, these women are all White. In 1992, in an attempt to gain a representative sample of African American women graduates, the contact information for all known African American women graduates of UM from 1967-1973 was acquired from the UM Alumni Association (because there were so few African American graduates in just 1967, the time-period was expanded). All of these women (N=303) were invited to participate in the 1992 data-collection, and those

who responded then became part of what was then the "African American" subsample. Finally, in 1992, because the African American sample was significantly more politically active (assessed using Fendrich and Lovoy's 1988 measure, from which some items are used in the current dissertation as a control measure for tendency to activism) than the White longitudinal sample, a third sub-sample was selected. This final subsample, called the "activist" sample, included White women from the classes of 1967-1973 who were selected because they were politically active during their time on campus (identified using the archives of campus and local newspapers). All such women (N=126) were then invited to participate. In 2008, all of the African American women alumnae from the original list (including both those who had participated in 1992 and those who had not), and all of the "activist" women who had been contacted in 1992 (including both those who had participated at the time and those who had not) were contacted again and invited to participate. Given that three different sampling methods were used to select women included in the WLPS study, analyses were run to assess the degree to which these three groups differed on the key outcome variables of interest: activism. One way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were run to assess group differences on two outcomes (see Table D4).

The first measure (Total Activism) consisted of 13 domains of activism: all domains that were included in an assessment of the degree to which participants had been active in the two years preceding data collection; excluding the three domains examined in the current dissertation (i.e., Women's Rights Activism, International Human Rights activism, and Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism; see Appendix B). Post hoc analyses

using the Bonferroni post hoc criterion for significance indicated that the White activist sample was significantly more active across the 13 domains of engagement ($M = 10.77$, $SD = 8.16$) than both the African American sample ($M = 5.32$, $SD = 4.58$) and the longitudinal sample ($M = 5.31$, $SD = 4.43$), $F(2, 211) = 17.34$, $p < .000$ (Table D4). There were no significant differences between the African American sample and the longitudinal sample on Total Activism.

The results were somewhat different for the general tendency to activism. This measure (Tendency to Activism) is a 15 item sub-scale of Fendrich & Lovoy's (1989) scale, which assesses general activism (see Appendix K), and was used in the current dissertation to control for the general tendency to be active. Both the White activist ($M = 1.18$, $SD = .59$) and the African American samples ($M = .96$, $SD = .49$) were significantly more active according to this measure of general activism, compared to the longitudinal sample ($M = .67$, $SD = .48$). However, the White activist and African American samples were not significantly different from each other, $F (2, 217) = 17.10$, $p < .000$). These results are presented in Table D4.

The White Activists and White longitudinal samples were combined, and $t$-tests were run examining the differences on these two variables by race, comparing White and African American women. When the groups were combined, there was a trend for African American women to score significantly higher on the Tendency to Activism scale ($t(218) = -1.79$; $p = .08$). However, White women scored significantly higher on the Total Activism scale ($t (212) = 2.00$; $p \leq .05$); this is due to the fact that White Activists were so much more active on the issue-based measure of activism, compared to the two other

samples. Therefore, the Tendency to Activism measure was included as a control in all regression analyses. Race was also used as a control in all regression analyses.

Given the differences among the subsamples, group-based race comparisons were run twice, once excluding the White Activists (e.g. comparing the African American women to the Longitudinal White women) and once with the White Activists in the sample (e.g. comparing the African American women to all White women). Please note that for the current set of analyses, because of the complexity of the proposed set of relationships and the relatively small sample of African American women,  conducting multivariate analyses by race was inappropriate. Therefore, the general tendency to be active and race were controlled for in all regression analyses. This method was preferred to creating two dummy-coded variables (e.g. one for African American women and one for Activist White women), because the Activist White women were originally selected because they were, in fact, activist. Therefore, a dummy-coded variable for White Activists would necessarily be confounded with both the activism control variable, and race[2].

**Plan for Analyses**

All of the hypothesized relationships between predictor variables were tested using simple Pearson correlations. Due to the sampling issues outlined above, all group difference hypotheses between Black and White women were tested using independent sample *t*-tests. These *t*-tests were run twice. The first set of analyses excluded the White

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[2] Please note that all analyses were run with dummy-coded variable and the same pattern of significant race-related relationships that emerged when just controlling for race were found.

Activists from the test, comparing only the White Longitudinal sample to the African American sample. The second set of *t*-tests compared all White women to the African American sample.

As background for the direct and indirect effects models, all bivariate relationships between predictor variables and the three forms of activism were reported in terms of simple correlations.

To understand the roles that discrimination, politicized identity, and structural awareness of group inequalities played in own-group and ally activist engagements, multiple indirect effects analyses were conducted using a bootstrapping approach (Preacher & Hayes, 2004; 2008). The bootstrapping approach to testing indirect effects was used for several reasons. First, unlike other tests of mediation (e.g. Sobel, 1982, 1986), this approach does not assume a normal sampling distribution of the total and specific indirect effects. Although in larger samples such an assumption of normality is less of a problem, in smaller samples it is rarely the case that the sampling distribution is normal. Therefore, the bootstrapping approach is a nonparametric resampling procedure especially suitable for smaller samples (Shrout & Bolger, 2002). It is also useful for multiple mediator models, such as the set of hypothesized relationships predicting own-group activism (Preacher & Hayes, 2008; see Figure 1). Bootstrapping involves repeatedly sampling from one's data-set and estimating the indirect effects each time. This produces a distribution that approximates the sampling distribution of the indirect effects; this distribution is then used to construct confidence intervals based on the actual distribution derived from the bootstrapping. Furthermore, this method tested for the total

indirect effects of multiple mediators (e.g. collective identity and awareness of structure) in the analyses predicting own-group activism. This method calculated the total indirect effect (of both mediators), as well as the indirect effect of each mediator, controlling for the effect of the other.

Note that the indirect effects macro provided by Preacher & Hayes (2008) calculates two different confidence intervals (CIs). The first, the percentile CI is calculated using the nonparametric distribution provided by the bootstrapping procedure (in other words, they do not assume a normal sampling distribution); for this reason, percentile bootstrap CIs can be asymmetrical because unlike regular CIs they are based on an empirical estimation of the sampling distribution of the indirect effect, rather than on an assumption that the sampling distribution is normal. However, according to Efron and Tibshirani (1993, as cited in Preacher & Hayes, 2008; and Wichmann & Hill, 2001) although percentile CIs are an improvement over other CIs, they can also be biased. By adjusting the percentile values comprising the distribution derived from the bootstrap estimates, a second CI is calculated. This second CI, the bias corrected and accelerated CI, is generally preferred over the percentile CI for its increased accuracy (Preacher & Hayes, 2008; Wichmann & Hill, 2001). Because it is preferred, the bias corrected CIs are reported in the results below.

To summarize, the proposed relationships between variables predicting own-group and ally activism (see Figures 1 and 2) were tested using an indirect effects macro (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) run in SPSS 18. Two controls were used in all analyses, race and general tendency to activism. Please note that, due to concerns about over-

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controlling, all of the analyses were run with general tendency to activism included

(reported here in the results), as well as excluded  Any differences in findings are

discussed, briefly, in the results. The control for general tendency to activism was

included in the final results presented here because it is the more conservative test of our

hypotheses.

Any significant interaction terms found in the indirect effects analyses were

probed using Aiken and West's (1991) simple slopes post-hoc analysis method. This

method involves picking two points (e.g. 1 standard deviation above the mean and 1

standard deviation below the mean for each variable associated with the interaction) and

calculating the significance of the associated slopes between these points. These post-hoc

probing analyses were conducted using mean centered variables in SPSS.

# Chapter 3:

## Results

### Relations between Predictor Variables

Hypotheses about the relations between different predictor variables were tested using simple Pearson correlations (see Table D5); all women from the sample were included in all analyses. Experiences of gender discrimination were related to gender-based common fate for all women ($r = .17$, $p \leq .01$). As hypothesized, experiences of gender discrimination were also related to gender-based structural awareness for all women, $r = .18$, $p \leq .01$. Total experiences of discrimination were not significantly related to general awareness of structure ($r = .08$). Finally, gender-based awareness of structure was significantly related to gender-based common fate ($r = .34$, $p \leq .001$). General structural awareness was also related to common fate ($r = .34$, $p \leq .001$).

To summarize, experiences of discrimination based on gender were related to collective gender identification (gender-based common fate), and gender-based structural awareness. However, total experiences of discrimination were unrelated to general structural awareness. Awareness of structure (gender as well as total) was related to gender-based common fate.

**Group Differences between African American and White Women**

Because of the sampling issues discussed above, and the potential differences between White women who were originally recruited as "activists" versus being part of the initial "longitudinal" recruitment, two sets of *t*-tests to examine differences between groups on both experiences of discrimination and structural awareness were run. The first set of analyses excluded the White activist sample from the analyses and the second set of analyses included them. These results are presented in Tables D6 and D7.

Partially supporting the hypothesis about group differences in experiences of personal discrimination, African-American women reported marginally more gender-based experiences of discrimination. This marginally significant difference was present both when White Activists were excluded, as well as when they were included, in the analyses; see Table D6. African-American women reported significantly more overall experiences of discrimination compared to White women. Again, this significant difference held when White Activists were included in the analyses, as well as when they were excluded.

Contrary to the hypothesis about group differences in structural awareness, there were no significant differences by race on gender-based structural awareness, when excluding White Activists; this remained true when including White Activists in the analyses (see Table D7). Offering some support for this hypothesis, African Americans scored significantly higher on total structural awareness ($t(177) = -1.26, p \leq .05$), compared to White women (excluding the White Activists). However, this difference dropped to non-significance when White Activists were included in the analyses.

In summary, supporting the hypotheses about race-based differences in experiences of discrimination, African-American women reported marginally more experiences with gender-based discrimination and significantly more experiences of total discrimination. Contrary to the hypotheses about structural awareness, there were no significant differences by race on gender-based structural awareness. However, when the White activists were not in the sample, African American women scored higher on the general measure of structural awareness, which included both the race- and gender- based structural awareness items, as well as items assessing intersectional consciousness. Please note that the significant difference on the total structural awareness was *not*, as one might assume, driven by the items specifically about race (e.g. power discontent related to race and rejection of legitimacy related to race). Rather, African American women scored significantly higher on the measure of Intersectional Consciousness, compared to White women from the longitudinal sample. It was this significant group difference that explains the difference by race on total structural awareness.

**Own-Group Activism Results: Women's Rights Activism**

Table 2 shows the bivariate relationships between the predictor variables and Women's Rights activism. All predictor variables, except political efficacy, were significantly correlated with WR Activism. Please note that total discrimination and general structural awareness were not included in any subsequent analyses predicting women's rights activism.

**Table 2: Intercorrelations of Predictor Variables and Women's Right Activism**

| | Women's Rights Activism |
|---|---|
| Gender-based Common Fate | .30*** |
| Gender-based Discrimination | .17** |
| Total Discrimination | .18** |
| Gender-based Structural Awareness | .19*** |
| General Structural Awareness | .19*** |
| Generativity | .26*** |
| Political Efficacy | .11 |
| Tendency to Activism | .33*** |

†$p \leq .10$ * $p \leq .05$. ** $p \leq .01$. **$p \leq .001$.

The proposed direct and indirect relationships between variables predicting

Women's Rights (WR) activism (see Figure 1) were tested using an indirect effects

macro and was run in SPSS 18. Table 3 shows both the unstandardized and standardized

coefficients for analyses testing the hypothesized relationships between the predictors and

WR activism. Partially supporting the hypothesis, there were marginally significant,

positive relationships between gender-based discrimination and gender-based common

fate ($\beta = .12$, $p = .09$), and between gender-based discrimination and gender-based

structural awareness ($\beta = .14$, $p = .07$). Gender-based common fate was significantly

related to WR activism ($\beta = .17$, $p \leq .05$). However, contrary to the hypotheses, gender-

based structural awareness was not related to WR activism ($\beta = .07$). Neither of the

predicted interactions (generativity by common fate and political efficacy by structural

awareness) was significant. However, generativity was significantly related to WR

activism as a main effect, controlling for other predictors ($\beta = .15$, $p \leq .05$). Gender-based

discrimination was significantly related to WR activism, before controlling for the effects

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of other variables ($\beta$ =.16, $p \leq$.05), and marginally related to WR activism, when controlling for the effects of all other variables ($\beta$ =.13, $p$ =.06).

Both control variables were significantly related to WR activism; the general tendency to be active ($\beta$ =.22, $p \leq$.01), and race ($\beta$ = -.18, $p \leq$.01). Women who were more active in general were more likely to engage in WR activism. African American women were significantly less likely than White women to engage in WR activism.

Partially supporting the hypotheses, there was a significant indirect effect of gender-based discrimination on WR activism (total indirect effect, $\beta$ =.03, $p \leq$.05). This significant total effect was driven by a marginally significant indirect effect of gender-based discrimination on WR activism, via its relation to gender-based common fate ($\beta$ =.02, $p \leq$.10); and not via its relation to gender-based structural awareness ($\beta$ =.01).

Please note that when the control for the general tendency to activism was removed from the model, there were few differences in overall significant relationships. However, the relationship between gender-based discrimination and gender-based common fate ($\beta$ =.14, $p$ =.04), and between gender-based discrimination and gender-based structural awareness ($\beta$ =.15, $p$ =.04), were significant when the control for general tendency to activism was removed. Furthermore, gender-based discrimination was significantly related to WR activism, when the control variable was removed($\beta$ =.16, $p$ =.03). There were no other differences in significances.

To summarize, the bivariate relationships indicated that all predictors, except political efficacy, were significantly correlated with women's rights activism. However, the indirect analyses showed that in the presence of all of the predictors, and the control

for the tendency toward activism and race, experiences of gender-based discrimination were marginally related to both gender-based common-fate among women and gender-based structural awareness. Gender-based common fate was a significant predictor of Women's Rights activism, even when controlling for the effects of gender-based structural awareness, other predictors, and control variables. Gender-based structural awareness was not a predictor of WR activism, when controlling for collective identification, other predictors, and controls. Generativity was a significant predictor of own-group activism, when controlling for the effects of other predictors. Furthermore, there was a significant relationship between discrimination and WR activism; this relationship was mediated by gender-based common fate, but not gender-based structural awareness. There were no significant interactions. Please note that a summary table of all indirect effects analyses results is located at the end of this chapter (Table 7).

**Table 3: Direct and Indirect Effects of Personality on Women's Rights Activism (N=206)**

| Direct Effects | B | B |
|---|---|---|
| Gender-based discrimination → Gender-based Common Fate | .06$^\dagger$ (.03) | .12$^\dagger$ (.07) |
| Gender-based discrimination → Gender-based Structural Awareness | .04$^\dagger$ (.02) | .14$^\dagger$ (.07) |
| Gender-based discrimination → Women's Rights Activism (c path) | .12* (.05) | .16* (.07) |
| Gender-based discrimination → Women's Rights Activism (c' path) | .10$^\dagger$ (.05) | .13$^\dagger$ (.07) |
| Gender-based Common Fate → Women's Rights Activism | .26* (.11) | .17* (.07) |
| Gender-based Structural Awareness → Women's Rights Activism | .16 (.16) | .07 (.07) |
| Generativity → Women's Rights Activism | .48* (.23) | .15* (.07) |
| Political Efficacy → Women's Rights Activism | -.03 (.11) | -.02 (.07) |
| Activism Control → Women's Rights Activism | .53** (.17) | .22** (.07) |
| Race Control → Women's Rights Activism | -.49** (.17) | -.18** (.06) |
| Generativity by Common Fate → Women's Rights Activism | .06 (.08) | .05 (.06) |
| Political Efficacy by Gender-based Structural Awareness | .06 (.08) | .05 (.06) |
| **Indirect Effects** | | |
| Total | .02* (.01) | .03* (.02) |
| Common Fate | .01$^\dagger$ (.01) | .02$^\dagger$ (.01) |
| Structural Awareness | .01 (.01) | .01 (.01) |
| **Confidence Intervals** | | |
| Bias Corrected CI: Total | .001 – .05 | .0001 – .08 |
| Bias Corrected CI: Common Fate | .001 – .04 | .002 – .05 |
| Bias Corrected CI: Structural Awareness | -.01 – .03 | -.01 – .05 |
| **Adjusted R$^2$** | .20 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **F** | | 6.70*** |

## Ally Activism Results

Table 4 shows the bivariate relationships between the predictor variables and ally activism indicators. All predictors, with the exception of generativity and political efficacy, were significantly correlated with both Lesbian and Gay Rights activism, as well as International Human Rights Activism.  Please note that gender-based common-fate, gender-based discrimination, gender-based structural awareness, and generativity were not included in any subsequent analyses predicting ally activism.

## Table 4: Intercorrelations of Predictor and Outcome Variables and Ally Activism Outcomes

| | Lesbian & Gay Rights Activism | International Human Rights Activism |
|---|---|---|
| Gender-based Common Fate | .14* | .17** |
| Gender-based Discrimination | .26*** | .15* |
| Total Discrimination | .15* | .17** |
| Gender-based Structural Awareness | .19** | .22*** |
| General Structural Awareness | .23*** | .26*** |
| Generativity | .10 | .09 |
| Political Efficacy | .11 | .09 |
| Tendency to Activism | .30*** | .33*** |

The proposed direct and indirect relationships between variables predicting ally activism (see Figures 3 and 4 above) were tested using an indirect effects macro and analyses were run in SPSS 18. Structural awareness was expected to play a key role in

predicting ally activism. Discrimination was expected to play an indirect role in predicting ally engagement, via its relation to structural awareness. Two different forms of ally activism were assessed: Lesbian and Gay Rights (LGR) activism and International Human Rights (IHR) Activism. All post-hoc simple-slopes analyses testing moderation effects were also run in SPSS 18, using moderated regression on mean-centered variables, following the method recommended by Aiken and West (1991). Please note that a summary table of all indirect effects analyses results is located at the end of this chapter (Table 7).

**Lesbian and gay rights (LGR) activism.** Table 5 shows both the unstandardized and standardized coefficients for analyses testing the hypothesized relationships between the predictors and LGR activism (see also Figure 3). Contrary to what was hypothesized, there was no significant relationship between total experiences of discrimination and structural awareness ($\beta$ =.01). However, as hypothesized, there were significant relationships between structural awareness and LGR activism ($\beta$ =.16, $p \leq$ .05). There were also significant direct effects of total experiences of discrimination on LGR activism, not controlling for the effects of other variables ($\beta$ =.14, $p \leq$ .05); as well as when controlling for the effects of other variables ($\beta$ =.14, $p \leq$ .05). There were no significant indirect effects of total experiences of discrimination on LGR activism, via general structural awareness ($\beta$ =.00).

Both control variables were significantly related to LGR activism: general tendency to activism ($\beta$ =.26, $p \leq$ .001) and race ($\beta$ = -.16, $p \leq$ .05). Women who were more active in general were more likely to engage in LGR activism, and African

American women were less likely to engage in LGR activism, compared to White women in the sample.

Although there was no direct relationship between political efficacy and LGR activism, there was a marginally significant interaction between political efficacy and structural awareness ($\beta$ =.11, $p$ =.06). Post-hoc simple slopes analyses showed that only the slope for high political efficacy was significantly different from 0 ($\beta$ =.27, $p$ ≤.01; see Figure 4); the slope for low political efficacy was not significantly different from 0 ($\beta$ =.05). As expected, women who were high on political efficacy, but low on structural awareness were significantly less engaged in LGR activism than those who were high on political efficacy and high on structural awareness. For those women who were low on political efficacy, structural awareness did not affect the likelihood of their participation in LGR activism.

When the control for the general tendency to activism was removed, there was only one difference in overall significant relationships between variables included in the regression equation. The interaction between political efficacy and structural awareness, predicting LG activism, reached significance less than $p$ of .05 ($\beta$ =.09, $p$ =.04).

**Table 5: Direct and Indirect Effects of Personality on Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism (N=207)**

| Direct Effects | B | B |
|---|---|---|
| Total Discrimination → Structural Awareness | .00 | .01 |
| | (.01) | (.07) |
| Structural Awareness → Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism | .25* | .16* |
| | (.11) | (.07) |
| Total Discrimination → Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism (c path) | .03* | .14* |
| | (.01) | (.07) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total Discrimination → Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism (c' path) | .03* (.01) | .14* (.07) |
| Political Efficacy → Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism | -.01 (.06) | -.01 (.07) |
| Activism Control → Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism | .32*** (.09) | .26*** (.07) |
| Race Control → Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism | -.22* (.10) | -.16* (.07) |
| Political Efficacy by Structural Awareness | .08 (.04) | .11† (.06) |
| **Indirect Effects** | | |
| Total | .00 (.00) | .00 (.01) |
| **Confidence Intervals** | | |
| Bias Corrected CI: Total | -.003 – .004 | -.01 – .02 |
| **Adjusted R$^2$** | | .14 |
| **F** | | 6.96*** |

† ≤ .10.  * $p$ ≤ .05.  ** $p$ ≤ .01.  *** $p$ ≤.001

**Figure 3: Standardized Coefficients for Discrimination and Structural Awareness Predicting Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism**
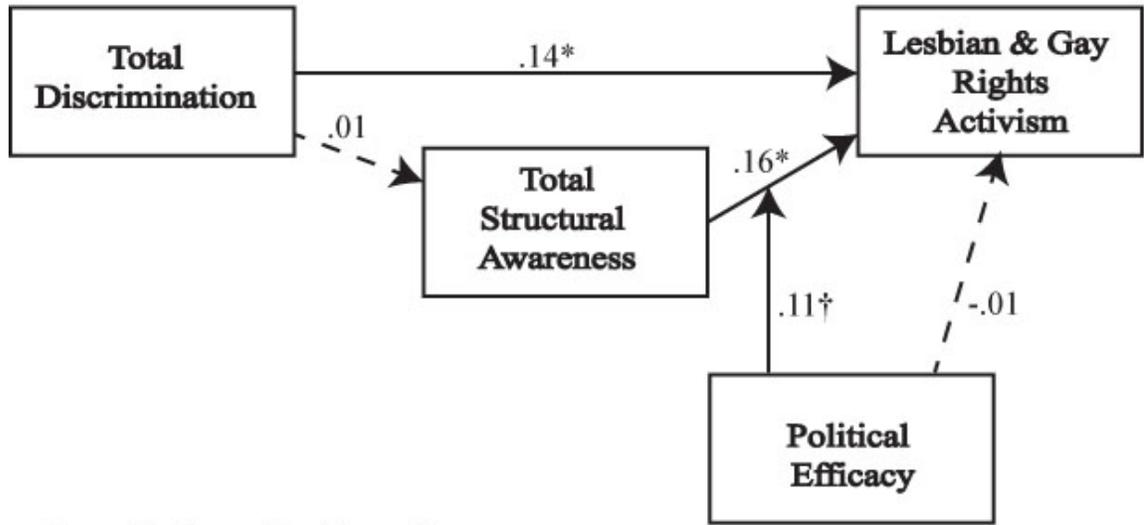


†p < .10.  *p < .05.  **p < .01.

**Figure 4: Simple Slopes Analysis: Structural Awareness by Political Efficacy Predicting Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism**
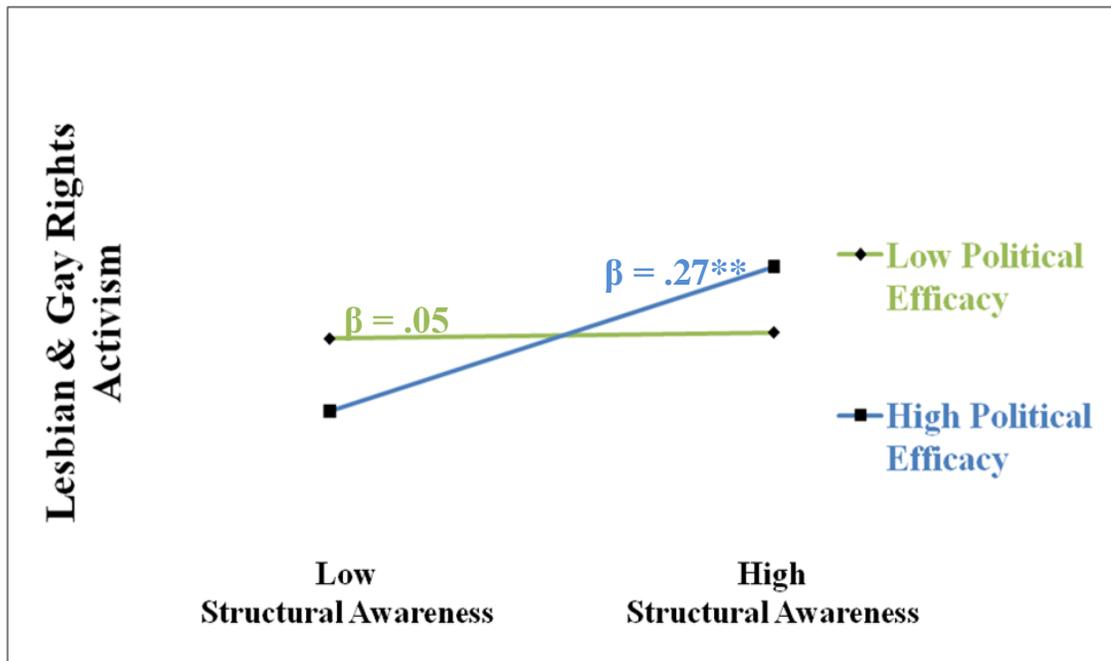


**International human rights (IHR) activism.** Table 6 shows both the unstandardized and standardized coefficients for analyses testing the hypothesized relationships between the predictors and IHR activism (see also Figure 5). As was found in the previous analysis, there was no significant relationship between total experiences of discrimination and general structural awareness ($\beta = .01$). However, as hypothesized, there was a significant relationship between structural awareness and IHR activism ($\beta = .19$, $p \leq .01$). Also similar to the results for LGR activism, there was a significant relationship between experiences of discrimination and IHR activism, both before controlling for the effects of other variables ($\beta = .16$, $p \leq .05$); as well as after ($\beta = .16$, $p = .05$).

Both control variables were significantly related to IHR activism: general tendency to activism ($\beta =.29$, $p \leq.001$) and race ($\beta = -.19$, $p \leq.01$). Women who were more active in general were more likely to engage in IHR activism, and African American women were less likely to engage in IHR activism, compared to White women in the sample.

There was no direct relationship between political efficacy and IHR activism, there was also no significant interaction between political efficacy and structural awareness ($\beta =.09$, $p =.13$).

When the control for the general tendency to activism was removed from the model, there was only one difference in overall significant relationships. Again the interaction between political efficacy and structural awareness, predicting IHR activism, reached marginal significance of $p = .07$ ($\beta =.10$).

**Table 6: Standardized Coefficients for Discrimination, Common Fate, & Structural Awareness Predicting International Human Rights Activism (N=207)**

| Direct Effects | B | B |
|---|---|---|
| Total Discrimination → Structural Awareness | .00 (.01) | .01 (.07) |
| Structural Awareness → International Human Rights Activism | .40** (.14) | .19** (.07) |
| Total Discrimination → International Human Rights Activism (c path) | .04* (.02) | .16* (.07) |
| Total Discrimination → International Human Rights Activism (c' path) | .04* (.02) | .16* (.07) |
| Political Efficacy → International Human Rights Activism | -.03 (.08) | -.03 (.07) |
| Activism Control → International Human Rights Activism | .50*** (.12) | .29*** (.07) |
| Race Control → International Human Rights Activism | -.38** (.13) | -.19** (.06) |
| Political Efficacy by Structural Awareness | .08 (.05) | .09 (.06) |
| **Indirect Effects** | | |
| Total | .00 (.00) | .00 (.00) |
| **Confidence Intervals** | | |
| Bias Corrected CI: Total | - .005 – .01 | -.02 – .02 |
| **Adjusted R²** | | .19 |
| **F** | | 8.99*** |

† ≤ .10.  * $p$ ≤ .05.  ** $p$ ≤ .01.  *** $p$ ≤.001

**Figure 5: Standardized Coefficients for Discrimination and, Common Fate, & Structural Awareness Predicting International Human Rights Activism**
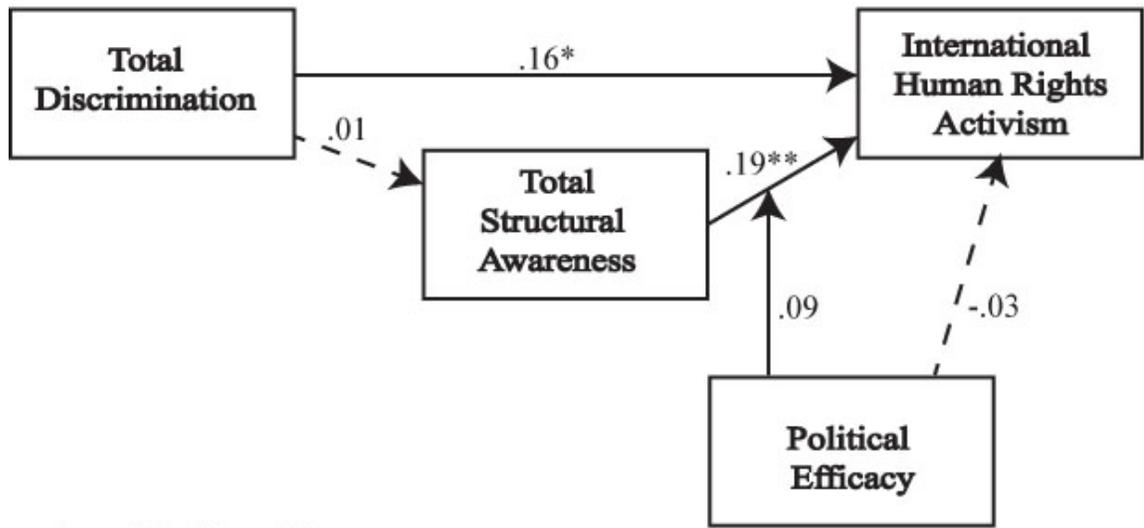


*p < .05. **p < .01.

**Table 7: Summary of Significant Relationships based on Indirect Effects Analyses**

| | Own-Group Activism | Ally Activism | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Women's Rights | Lesbian & Gay Rights | International Human Rights |
| **Discrimination → Collective Identity** | .12† | n/a | n/a |
| **Discrimination → Structural Awareness** | .14† | .01 | .01 |
| **Discrimination → Activism (controlling for all other paths)** | .13† | .14* | .16* |
| **Collective Identity → Activism** | .17* | n/a | n/a |
| **Structural Awareness → Activism** | .07 | .16* | .19* |
| **Political Efficacy → Activism** | -.02 | -.01 | -.03 |
| **PolEf by Struc. Aware. → Activism** | .05 | .11† | .09 |
| **Generativity → Activism** | .15* | n/a | n/a |
| **Gen by Collective Identity → Activism** | .05 | n/a | n/a |
| **Significant Indirect Effects of Discrimination on Activism** | significant | ns | ns |

† $\leq$.10. *$p \leq$.05. **$p \leq$.01. *** $p \leq$.001

**Chapter 4:**

**Discussion**

To remind the reader briefly, the current dissertation examined how personal experiences of discrimination, collective identification, and structural awareness of group inequalities— which were assumed to be shaped by women's particular locations— differentially related to own-group and ally activism. I hypothesized that gender, race, and age would predict activism via their relationship to important predictors of engagement. I also expected that both collective identification and structural awareness would independently predict own-group activism, with generativity and political efficacy acting as moderators; and that discrimination would indirectly affect own-group activism, via its relationship to collective identification and structural awareness. Structural awareness was hypothesized to predict ally engagement, political efficacy was hypothesized to act as a moderator, and discrimination was hypothesized to indirectly affect ally activism, via its relationship with structural awareness.

**Summary of Findings.**

Results indicated that social locations such as gender, race, and age have implications for activism, in particular via their relationships with important predictors of engagement.

**The role of social location in predicting activism: Gender.** One area of interest in the current study was how social location shaped women's beliefs about the social

world, or the degree to which gender-based discrimination was related to sense of collective identification with other women, and beliefs about the sources of gender inequalities. As hypothesized, women who experienced discrimination based on their gender were more likely to feel that what happened to other women directly affected them personally, and they were also more likely to feel that women did not have an appropriate degree of power in society, and that this lack of power was due to systemic and not individual-level factors.

**The role of social location in predicting activism: Race.** Race was related to women's experiences of discrimination, as well as their beliefs about the structural causes of social inequalities. It was hypothesized that African American women's social location would both expose them to more instances of discrimination, as well as engender a more critical analyses of group disparities.

As predicted, African American women reported more experiences of both gender-based and total discrimination. Although African American women also scored higher on general structural awareness, they were *not* consistently more likely to make structural attributions for gender-based social inequalities. The general structural awareness measure included the intersectional consciousness items, and African American women were more likely than White women in the longitudinal sub-sample to be aware of the intersection of multiple structures of oppression, although not more likely than the White activist sub-sample. Therefore, the significant difference on the general structural awareness measure was not driven by the items specifically about race (e.g. power discontent related to race and rejection of legitimacy related to race). Perhaps the

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White women in the current sample may be more likely than other groups of White women to make structural attributions because of their own historical location (coming of age during both the civil rights and the women's rights movements).

**The role of social location: Age.** The current project examined the role of age by including generativity as a developmentally appropriate predictor of own-group activism. It was expected that the concern for future generations and a desire to contribute to their development would act as a kind of "focus" for the degree to which women saw their own fate as connected to other women's fate. Although the expected interaction of gender-based common fate and generativity was not a significant predictor of women's rights activism, generativity did exert direct and significant effects on women's rights activism, controlling for the effects of other variables. It seems that the concern with future generations exerts direct and significant effects on own-group activism, independent of own-group identification. This finding suggests that developmental concerns related to age (here assessed as the desire to contribute to future generations) may be important predictors of activism, currently understudied. Furthermore, this study controlled for other important known predictors, such as identification, something other studies on the relationship between generativity and engagement have not done.

**The role of discrimination, collective identification, and structural awareness in predicting activism.** The second research question concerned the role of discrimination, collective identification and structural awareness in predicting activism, with a particular interest in understanding both own-group and ally activism. The measure of collective identification, gender-based common fate, was only relevant to the

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domain of own-group activism, and so was only examined in that context. Discrimination and structural awareness were expected to play significant roles in both own-group and ally activism.

*Personal experiences of discrimination, collective identification, and structural awareness predicting own-group activism.* Gender-based discrimination, gender-based common fate, gender-based structural awareness and generativity were all related to (e.g. correlated with) women's rights activism. In the regression analyses, as hypothesized, discrimination was indirectly related to women's rights (controlling for all other variables) via its marginally significant relationship to collective identification. Discrimination was also marginally related to structural awareness in the regression model predicting women's rights activism. Controlling for all other variables, gender-based collective identification (common fate) was significantly related to women's rights activism, as expected. However, gender-based structural awareness was not related to women's rights activism, when controlling for collective identification and other variables. Although there were none of the expected significant interactions predicting women's rights activism (generativity by collective identification and political efficacy by structural awareness), generativity was significantly related to women's rights activism.

In sum, women who had more experiences of gender discrimination were marginally more likely to develop a sense of common fate with other women, and a structural analysis of gender inequality. Women who had a sense of common fate with other women were significantly more likely to engage in women's rights activism, as

were women with a high degree of generativity (although these two variables did not interact as expected). Finally, women who were high on gender-based structural awareness were *not* more likely to engage in women's rights activism, when controlling for the effects of gender-based common fate.

***Personal experiences of discrimination and structural awareness predicting ally activism.*** Total experiences of discrimination were correlated with ally activism (both LGR and IHR), as was structural awareness of group inequalities. Interestingly, there was no significant simple correlation between total experiences of discrimination and general structural awareness. Total experiences of discrimination were correlated with ally activism (both LGR and IHR). The relationship between total discrimination and both LGR and IHR was present even when controlling for the effects of other variables. Structural awareness of group inequalities was also related to ally activism. Although the finding for structural awareness was predicted, the direct effect of discrimination on ally activism was not, and is discussed in greater detail below. Contrary to the hypotheses, total discrimination did not predict structural awareness of group inequalities in either the model predicting LGR or IHR activism (just as there was no relationship between the variables when not controlling for the effects of other predictors).

The hypothesized interaction effects of political efficacy on structural awareness were marginal in the case of LGR activism and non-significant in the model predicting IHR activism. In the model predicting LGR activism, post-hoc analyses revealed that the moderation was in the expected direction. That is, women who were high on political efficacy and high on structural awareness were more engaged in LGR activism than those

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women who were high on political efficacy, but low on structural awareness. In the case of certain forms of ally activism, political efficacy may have a particularly important role. It is interesting to note that there was not a significant simple correlation between political efficacy and either form of ally activism; it only acts as a moderator in the case of LGR activism.

Women who displayed a general tendency to make structural attributions for group inequalities, and to see different forms of discrimination as interconnected, were more likely to act to create social change for groups to which they did not belong. However, in the case of Lesbian and Gay Rights activism, this relationship was moderated by political efficacy. It may be the case that, lacking a collective identification, political efficacy becomes especially important in some cases, perhaps because it unites people in their belief that they can work effectively for social change (as opposed to under a shared identity). The degree to which one believes that one's actions will be effective—that one can, in fact, create change—may matter more for ally activism than own-group activism. In the case of engagement for change on behalf of one's own group, the promise of direct benefits may be enough to engender change efforts under conditions of collective identification. However, in the case of ally activism, one may note that there are structural inequalities, but unless one believes that one's actions to create change will be effective, there may simply not be enough incentive to actually act.

Of course, in the current analyses this interaction was marginal[3] and only significant for LGR activism; therefore it is important not to overstate the implications of the findings. One particular reason that the interaction did not reach significance for IHR activism (though please note footnote 2), is that it is likely that much of the LGR activism is taking place domestically, where most women would be more familiar with, and perhaps sure of influencing, the political system. In the case of international work, the notion of exerting influence in a foreign political context is perhaps less relevant (in particular given the context of the items assessing political efficacy, see Appendix J). Another possibility, which we are unable to rule out with the current data, is that women who are more active develop a stronger sense of political efficacy. However, our findings nicely fit with other research projects (using experimental designs) that have examined efficacy as a moderator of other important individual difference predictors of engagement (e.g. Hinkle, Fox-Cardamone, Haseleu, Brown, & Irwin, 1996; van Zomeren, Spears, & Leach, 2010). Comparing Own-group and Ally Activism.

*Experiences of discrimination.* Experiences of discrimination exerted direct and significant effects on both own-group and ally activism, even when accounting for the effects of other predictors. Although previous research has found that experiences of discrimination are related to both collective identification and structural analyses of group inequalities, discrimination was only marginally related to gender-based collective

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[3] Though please note that when the control variable for the general tendency for activism was excluded from the analyses, the interaction was significant. That is, political efficacy was a significant moderator of the relationship between structural awareness and both LG and LGR activism, and showed a trend toward significance in the model predicting IHR activism when the activism control variable was not included in the regression equation.

identification and gender based structural awareness when predicting women's rights activism. Furthermore, personal experiences of discrimination were unrelated to general structural awareness both as a simple correlation, and when controlling for other predictors, in the regression models predicting ally activism.

These findings suggest several things. The first is that experiences of discrimination may be powerful enough to engender engagement with relatively weak mediation via collective identification (in the case of own-group activism), and without any mediation by structural analyses of group inequalities (in the case of both own-group and ally activism). However, given the pervasiveness of discrimination and the relative rarity of activism, it seems likely that these relationships are more complex. It may be that, in this particular sample, the relationship between discrimination and activism was stronger than it might be in the general population. As noted above, Hyers (2007) found that people's reaction to discrimination was often shaped by the content of their beliefs about the group to which they belonged (and the identity subject to discrimination). Given that the women in this particular sample are relatively politicized in their understanding of gender, for example, it may be that they are more likely to act proactively on discrimination more broadly. In the case of ally activism this finding is quite interesting as it implies that people's own experiences of discrimination lead them to seek out activist opportunities that may be unrelated (or only peripherally related) to that "personal" experience. This finding suggests that experiences with discrimination may make people more likely to act against discrimination more generally.

An alternative explanation may be that individuals who are more active are more likely to be aware of, or "look for" experiences of discrimination. Unfortunately, this study's cross-sectional method cannot address the question of causality. However, given that experiences of discrimination related to activism independent of identification and awareness of structure, this project's findings illustrate that accounting for and including such experiences as predictors of engagement should be more common practice.

   ***Structural awareness of group inequalities.*** Structural awareness of group inequalities shows particular promise as a predictor of ally activism. It does not seem to require particular group identification, nor was it dependent on experiences of discrimination. This is promising as it suggests that structural awareness may not be dependent on experiences or identities that are necessarily "marginalized." Of course, the women in this sample have had very particular life experiences, and these may have engendered a general structural analysis of the world that would not be as strong in, for example, a group of young adults, or men of a similar age. Although previous research has found a relationship between power discontent and rejection of legitimacy and own-group activism, the current study did not replicate these results. However, as noted above, collective identification and gender-based structural awareness are not often considered as separate predictors of activism. Rather, most research programs operationalize both as assessing different aspects of "identity," and usually only include one or the other in their models of own-group activism. The current study's findings suggest that this approach may overestimate the effects of structural awareness on own-group activism. Feeling a sense of identification with other women may be sufficient to engender own-group

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activism, whereas having a structural awareness of gender-based group inequalities may not be as important.

**Implications of Findings: Contribution to Current Knowledge**

This dissertation reflects an effort to bridge the gap between both personality and social psychology inquiries into activism. This approach seems particularly valuable in attempting to understand what the differences may be between own-group and ally activism. By attempting to understand the ways in which both group identification and individual-level differences in understanding of social structures comprise separate, yet related, aspects of the self, researchers can see how they might differently affect activism, depending on the particular domain (e.g. "about self" or "not about self"). This approach is, in fact, directly relevant to the second contribution the current dissertation makes, which is an attempt to clarify the different role that individual differences may play in understanding own-group and ally activism. The findings summarized above not only clarify potential differences in how individual differences may affect activist engagements, but also point the way forward for future research into understanding activism, which I will discuss below. Another contribution is the consideration of important life experiences, which the current study attempted to integrate into models of engagement, discussed below.

**Collective identification and structural awareness as separate components of the politicized self.** In many cases, researchers have considered both collective identification and the components of structural awareness (such as power discontent or rejection of legitimacy related to one's own group) to simply be "political identity." This

particular conflation has been the case in both personality-based (e.g. Duncan & Stewart, 2007), as well as social psychological (e.g. Stürmer & Simon, 2004b) inquiries into activism. While both structural awareness and collective identification may constitute factors of the construct "politicized self," the current findings indicate that structural awareness may play somewhat different roles depending on whether one is engaging in activism on behalf of one's own group, or in alliance with a group to which one does not belong.

Understanding the different roles of collective identity and structural awareness in own-group activism is impossible if their individual effects are not statistically separated. For example, gender-based structural awareness was not a predictor of own-group activism, when gender-based collective identification was included in the model. This finding highlights the need to consider identification as a separate process from beliefs about one's group in relation to other groups. These two variables are often conflated in the literature on own-group activism, but it seems that a sense of common fate may be more predictive of own-group activism. However, more general structural analyses of group inequalities significantly predicted ally activism in both the case of LGR and IHR activism, indicating that this aspect of the politicized self is related to ally activism[4].

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[4] It may interest the reader to note that, although we included domain specific gender-based structural awareness in our final regression equation predicting own-group (Women's Rights) activism, general structural awareness was also *not* a significant predictor when included with gender-based collective identification in this equation. Therefore, it is not a matter of the somewhat different domain-specific measures of structural awareness used to predict Women's Rights activism versus Lesbian and Gay Rights and Interactional Human Rights activism.

**The role of social location in predicting activism.** As noted above, the current dissertation attempted to account for the effects of important life experiences, as well as the effects of individual differences on activism. Specifically, it examined the roles of gender, race, and age in shaping the kinds of experiences that were believed to be important for understanding own-group and ally activism. Although there were limitations in the degree to which the current study was able to do this,  findings suggest that assessing the ways in which people's social locations shape exposure to particular life-experiences (such as discrimination) allows us to develop fuller accounts of activist engagements. In some ways this statement may seem patently obvious, and much of the work on activism by marginalized groups clearly acknowledges this aspect of engagement. However, the degree to which different research programs actually assess these experiences directly is limited (Simon et al., 1998 for one the few exceptions in contemporary research).

*Race and activism.* In all cases of activism examined in the current dissertation, White women were significantly more likely to be politically active, compared to Black women. It is important to note that, although there were some sampling differences in the original recruitment of the three samples (as discussed above), even when running the analyses reported in the results section with a set of dummy variables (comparing Black women to the White longitudinal sample; and White activists to the White longitudinal sample), the same significant race differences emerged in our regression analyses. This finding deserves some discussion, particularly in light of previous research examining the role of race in politicization and activist engagements.

For example, Cole and Stewart (1996) found that Black women from the same sample as in this dissertation (but from an earlier wave of data collection) were significantly more active (as assessed by the Fendrich and Lovoy, 1988, scale), compared to White women. Hart and colleagues (2001) found that, among older adults, African Americans were significantly more likely to engage in generative acts as well as more engaged in their local communities. It is worth noting that such acts were not necessarily *activism* in the sense that it was operationalized in the current study. However, such acts may reflect a commitment to one's community that is an important aspect of creating social change, particularly in a community vulnerable to the effects of both historical and contemporary institutional racism. Such commitments may preclude engagement in the kinds of activism under examination in the current study. This particular issue was reflected in a conversation I had with one of the participants from this sample with whom I recently conducted an in-depth interview. At the end of our conversation, she was reflecting on some of the questions I had asked. In particular, she remarked on some of the questions about identification with different groups. She indicated that although she was a woman, she felt that, as an African American woman, her strongest ties were to the African American community (specifically African American men, whom she felt were more marginalized than she was as an African American woman), and not to other women (anonymous participant, personal communication, February 2nd, 2011). Therefore, much of the work she did was focused within her community, and not on "women's rights" per se. She did a great deal of work in her community, including voter out-reach, and she had come out of retirement to do paid work that very clearly reflected

her commitment to African American youth. While I am not suggesting that her particular set of beliefs are representative of all African American women in the sample, or that White women may not also have similar kinds of community-level engagements that are political in nature, it is certainly the case that the inclusion of women (and people) of color in many "mainstream" social change movements has a complex, and sometimes contentious and exclusionary history. For example, many women of color have argued that "mainstream" women's rights movements do not adequately address the complex intersections of oppression and discrimination that their communities face (e.g. Anzaldúa, 2003; Combahee River Collective, 1995; Crenshaw, 1991). This lack of representation may mean that women of color are less likely to identify with "women's rights" as an issue, and therefore be less engaged at both the individual and organizational level with certain issues. They may also not have, on the aggregate, the same "resources" in terms of money, or time, to contribute to ally issues, such as lesbian and gay rights, or international human rights.

In the current set of analyses, because of the complexity of the proposed set of relationships and the relatively small sample of African American women, conducting multivariate analyses to examine racial equality activism was not statistically appropriate. However, it is certainly the case that in this particular domain Black women were significantly more active than their White counterparts. This difference is certainly not surprising, and further indicates that it may be that for women who are "doubly" marginalized by both race and gender, decisions about where to focus one's time and energy must be made. This may mean that when researchers focus on only certain

domains, some groups of people may seem less engaged. This may not necessarily reflect overall trends of all forms of activism, but rather particular social and structural realities that differentially affect (in this case) Black and White women within different domains. In other words, how activism is defined, and the domains in which it is examined, will likely matter.

In summary, the current study clarified that there is value in differentiating different aspects of politicized identification and beliefs about the social world, and is valuable for understanding activism. It also illustrated that taking a contextualized view of how life experiences affect activist engagements adds to researchers' ability to predict engagement. And finally, it contributed some clarification to the growing interest in what might differentiate own-group and ally activism.

**Limitations.**

**Alternative explanations for ally activism.** There are several alternative explanations for ally engagement that were not tested in the current study, but that may be of value for future research in this area. One such possible alternative explanation is that knowing people who are members of an "out-group" may be an important predictor of acting on behalf of that particular group. Allport (1954/1979) suggested that having regular contact with out-group members is a necessary component of reducing negative attitudes towards different groups. Indeed, research has shown that intergroup contact positively affects White students' attitudes towards students of color (e.g. Chang, 2001; Chang, Witt, Jones, & Hakuta, 2003; and Milem, 2003) and heterosexuals' attitudes towards lesbian and gay men (e.g. Bowen & Bourgeois, 2001; Herek, 1988, 2002; Herek

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& Glunt, 1993). Given that out-group contact positively affects attitudes towards marginalized groups, it seems likely that it may play a role in people's decisions to engage in activism on behalf of a group to which they do not belong. For example Stewart (1997) interviewed a White woman, who attributed the origin of her involvement in the Civil Rights movement partly to her young adult friendship with a Black woman. While general contact may be important, having a close personal connection to a person from a marginalized group may allow advantaged group members the opportunity to witness instances of discrimination, but also may foster a sense of personal connection that may be otherwise difficult to cultivate. For example, it is quite likely that at least some of the participants in the sample had friends or relatives who were gay men or lesbians, and even likely that some of them had international connections of some kind. The current study included no measure of personal connection to lesbians or gay men, or people in other countries, but it is likely that these ties are important to understanding at least some people's motivations for ally activism.

Another possible explanation for ally engagement is some form of identification with the particular group one is working with. This could, of course, be the kind of closeness associated with friendship, or frequent intergroup contact, as discussed above. But it may also be that allies develop a sense of identification with a particular *organization* that does ally work, and that their engagement then stems from that identification (of course, this kind of identification is likely dependent on specific personal experiences, such as intergroup contact, or previous engagements). In a pair of studies examining older people's engagement with the Gray Panthers in Germany, and

gay men's involvement with gay rights organizations in the U.S., Simon and colleagues (1998) found that identification with a particular organization (e.g. the Gray Panthers) was more important for predicting engagement than collective identification with a social group (e.g. older adults). Though the authors do not interpret these findings in relation to ally engagement, they may have some important implications. After all, group membership is not necessarily a requirement for identification with a particular organization and its mission. One might feel a sense of identification with the mission based on one's beliefs about social inequalities, for example. Of course, it is likely that collective identification facilitates identification with an organization founded around that particular identity. However, it is also possible that individuals who do not hold a particular collective identity may still feel a sense of identification with an organization for other reasons. For example, if one has a lesbian or gay family member, one might feel a sense of identification with an organization working for civil rights for lesbians and gay men. Or if one studied abroad, one might feel a sense of connection to organizations doing international work. In sum, future analyses of ally activism should try and account for these possibilities as alternatives to structural analyses of group inequalities; or perhaps as pre-conditions to the development of beliefs about inequality and subsequent ally activism.

**Sample limitations.** The current data are cross-sectional and survey-based, which limits the ability to make causal attributions about the relationships between variables. In fact, given the fact that these women are in their early 60s, and many of them have a history of political engagement, it is likely at this point that many of the relationships

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studied in the current sample are reciprocal. This particular limitation is pervasive throughout the literature on activism. It is rare that researchers can find a sample of people who have never been active and begin following them prior to their first time engaging in activism. Another limitation of the sample, which is also a strength, is the degree to which they are relatively well-educated and middle-class. The lack of significant structural barriers in many of these women's lives means that these findings may not necessarily replicate in different contexts. At the same time, it allowed me to "control" in some ways for structural factors, which research has shown are important to activism. Given that this sample has a relatively high degree of access to day-to-day resources that allow one time to be politically engaged, it may be the case that the degree to which effects of personality-level variables are visible is increased. Perhaps no matter how much you identify with other group members, or believe in structural inequalities, such factors may not be sufficient to engender engagement in the face of extreme poverty. Even the fact that these women came of age during the period of some of the greatest social and political change of the past century may be thought of as a resource. Seeing the degree to which the world can change based on the actions of organized social movements may have been a powerful lesson, and is one that may not be readily available to members of other cohorts.

**Future Directions**

**Replication and Extension.** One of the most important future directions is a replication and extension of the current findings. Although this study looked at two rather different domains of ally activism, it only examined one domain of own-group activism.

It may be the case that in other activism contexts structural awareness of group inequalities would play either a lesser or greater role, compared to collective identification. Further, the findings for own-group activism partially confirm what is already known, so one particular value of the current dissertation is that it examined ally activism, and allowed for a comparison of the set of relationships that predict ally activism to those that predict own-group activism. The findings for own-group activism indicate that the sample of women in this study behaves in most respects like other samples in the literature, and therefore the findings for ally activism may be expected to replicate across different contexts.

Future replications will need to contend with the multiple issues in defining "allies." One particular point concerns the heterosexual parents, siblings, or children of gay men and lesbians: when they engage in lesbian and gay rights activism are they, for example, acting as allies? Are these people "allies" in the same way as heterosexuals who have no family ties to lesbians or gay men? There may be some ways in which they do, in fact, benefit directly from changes to the social, political, and legal landscapes. Do these considerations matter for the kinds of predictors that might engender ally activism? For example, it seems easy to imagine that although a close family or personal connection might be the most important factor contributing to decisions to engage in activism that does not directly benefit one's self, such close connections would likely also foster a critical stances towards the status quo. Ultimately, a structural analysis of group inequalities is a rejection of power differences between groups. Therefore, it seems likely that the same proximate factors predict "ally" activism consistently (for example, a sense

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of grievance about the existing power structures), but that people's life histories differentially inform how they come about this sense of grievance. At the same time, one imagines that there are people doing ally work who do not necessarily have a strong sense of grievance with the existing status quo; they might simply have strong emotional ties to one, or many, members of a particular group that sustain their engagements. These particular differences are of interest to researchers. For example, does perseverance across time within a given ally activism domain depend on *both* a sense of emotional connection and structural awareness? Are allies who can confidently and clearly articulate a critical analysis of power differences more likely to be accepted within certain movements for social change, compared to those who seem to "care," but have little understanding of discrimination, for example? Understanding these particular issues may not only differentiate "successful" from "unsuccessful" allies, but may also provide some deeper understanding of how people form and maintain long-term coalitions across difference.

Another issue, raised above, concerns how activism is defined, and in which domains it is examined. If it is the case that people of color are less likely to participate in certain movements or organizations that have not done a very good job of representing people of color's needs (though some large national organizations serving women have been held up as an example, this is certainly also the case for LGBT serving organizations and social movements; e.g. Willse & Spade, 2005; Smith, 2007) then it seems important to think creatively of ways to capture broader forms of activism. If groups of people are being excluded from "mainstream" social movements, then

researchers may be failing to capture at least some people's experiences of creating social change. The claim here is *not* necessarily that the individual differences that are found to matter in other domains will not predict engagement among people researchers may not currently be reaching. Rather, it is that researchers do not necessarily know. Furthermore, it may be that there are important contextual differences in the content of, for example, structural analyses. Theorists of intersectionality have long argued that how one conceptualizes (and experiences) power and oppression affects the ways in which one conceptualizes a social "problem" and mobilizes to create social change (e.g. Crenshaw, 1991). A rigorous examination of individual differences in predicting activism must therefore be able to adapt its constructs to different contexts. The concept of "structural awareness" is suitably adaptable for this purpose; it may be operationalized differently across different contexts. So while some people's awareness may be limited, for example, to the harmful effects of gender oppression, others' awareness of structure may focus on the ways in which gender and race intersect, and still others may see the problem at the intersections of race, gender and sexuality. These different perspectives may predict activism within different domains, may predict different degrees of commitment, and may even have implications for the ways in which people with different levels of structural awareness are able to successfully work together.

Psychologists have a number of methodological tools that could allow us to examine these different forms of structural awareness. The approach used here was to have different survey-based assessments of structural awareness, including power discontent, rejection of legitimacy, and intersectional consciousness. One could also

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imagine asking a series of open-ended questions about, for example, particular social issues of concern to the individual, and the ways in which they seek to explain those issues, and then coding the data to capture different degree of structural awareness. Or one could conduct one-on-one interviews and code those in a similar manner. The point is that the notion of structural awareness is valuable, in part, because it is flexible in both content and the ways in which it can be assessed (and because it consistently predicts activist engagement across a number of domains). While it is certainly not a "new" addition to the literature, the focus on structural awareness has been subsumed under the umbrella of "identity" in such a way as to limit its usefulness as a potentially independent predictor of activism. Given that it is *not* necessarily dependent on any particular group membership, for example, it seems particularly valuable for understanding both ally and coalitional activism, which cannot assume a shared or singular identity among different members. Future directions, then, include continued clarification of the independent roles of structural awareness and various aspects of group identification, as well as a consideration of what structural awareness looks like, how it is experienced across different social contexts and by different "actors," and the development of additional methods of assessing and accounting for the role of structural awareness in activist endeavors.

**Concluding Thoughts**

The current study has shown that there is value to unpacking some of the variables that are significant predictors of activism, in order to examine their independent effects across different domains: own group and ally. This study has also attempted to

illustrate the value in both considering, and engaging with, the ways in which social contexts shape the kinds of experiences and individual differences that are key to understanding activism from a social-personality perspective.

Structural awareness of group inequalities shows particular promise for future research examining ally activism, and understanding how people develop this kind of awareness is important. Much of the work on structural awareness has focused on its development in college-aged samples, but these results have shown that it continues to be relevant across the life-span. Furthermore, these findings suggest that structural awareness is most likely to result in ally activism when people believe that their actions will be effective. Finally, in this study structural awareness did not independently predict own-group activism after accounting for in-group common fate. These findings argue for clearer operationalizations of politicized identification in the literature on activism, and highlight the value of multi-pathway research in helping to clarify the role of individual differences in activism (see also Stürmer et al., 2003 and van Zomeren Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Finally, these findings also underscore the importance of life-experiences such as discrimination in predicting activism, and argue for the inclusion of such experiences even when they may not seem immediately relevant (such as in predicting ally activism). Peoples' personal experiences with discrimination may be generalized into the impulse to create change for other marginalized groups. Of course discrimination is never a "good thing," but it is heartening to know that some good may come of it, if it helps engage people in both own-group and ally activism. Particularly interesting is that discrimination was not related to structural awareness when predicting ally activism; the

two exerted independent effects.  Not many people become activists, and even fewer act to create change for groups other than their own. However, those who become allies may do so either because they have some personal experience with discrimination, have developed a sense of empathy for others, or they have developed a critical perspective on the status quo, and believe that their efforts to create change will be effective. The women in this sample came of age during a period of historical social change people of color, women, and sexual minorities. Today, many argue that there is still a need for social change and that the best way to bring about that change is through alliances and coalitions across different groups of people. Hopefully, this project is a modest contribution to a larger research project that social scientists will continue to develop. Only with further research can we deepen our understanding of how people develop critical analyses of social relations, and of why some people choose to use that perspective to create positive social change across difference.

# Appendices

# Appendix A:
# Intersectional Consciousness Items

**Please circle the number that best describes your feelings.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly disagree | | | | | Strongly agree |

Understanding the experiences of women from different ethnic groups is important

We must understand racism as well as sexism

Homophobia and heterosexism affect the lives of heterosexual people as well as gay men, lesbians and bisexuals

There is no connection between sexism and racism (-)

It's not important to think about race, class, gender and sexuality simultaneously (-)

While there are important differences in how different kinds of oppression work; there are also important similarities

People don't think enough about how connections between social class, race, gender and sexuality affect individuals

Sexuality is the most important issue in gay men's, lesbians' and bisexual's lives (-)

The answer to oppression in all women's lives is the same: end sexism (-)

Race is the most important issue in the lives of people of color (-)

Gender is the most important issue in women's lives (-)

**Items dropped based on Cronbach 's alpha**

Sex and race are inseparable issues in the lives of women

All oppressions are tied together

Women of color are often forgotten when people talk about race

Women of color are often forgotten when people talk about gender

Understanding the experiences of women from different ethnic groups is important

**Appendix B:**
**Activism Items**

**Please indicate how you have been involved in any of the following causes during the past two years by checking all boxes that are applicable.**

| | Signed a petition | Gave money | Wrote a letter or called a public office | Attended a meeting | Was an active member of an organization | Attended a rally or demonstration |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Women's rights* | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| Gay and lesbian rights* | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| International human rights* | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| AIDS | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| Anti-war/Peace | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| Racial equality/Civil Rights | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| The Democratic Party/ Candidate | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| The environment | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| Health care | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| Homelessness | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— |
| Immigrant rights | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— | —— |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pro-life movement | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| The Republican Party/ Candidate | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| War/Troop support | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| An independent conservative political party | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |
| An independent liberal political party | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ | ____ |

* Outcome of interest in current study

## Appendix C:
## Experiences of Discrimination 1

**Again, please answer these questions thinking about your every day experiences.**
**In your day-to-day life how often have you had the following experiences:**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Never | Rarely | Sometimes | Often |

You are treated with less courtesy than other people.

You are treated with less respect than other people.

You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores.

People act as if they think you are not smart.

People act as if they are afraid of you.

People act as if they think you are dishonest.

People act as if they're better than you are.

You or your family members are called names or insulted.

You are threatened or harassed.

People ignore you or act as if you are not there.

**Appendix D:**
**Experiences of Discrimination 2**

| Have you had the following experience? | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 |
| | No | Yes |
| Do you think you have ever been *unfairly* fired or denied promotion? | | |
| For *unfair* reasons, do you think you have ever not been hired for a job? | | |
| Do you think you have ever been *unfairly* stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police? | | |

## Appendix E:
## Power Discontent Items

**Some people think that certain groups have too much power and influence in our society and that others do not have as much as they deserve. Please indicate whether you think the following groups have too much power, just the right amount of power or too little power.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Too little | | About right | | Too much |

Older people

African Americans

African American women

African American men

Women in general

Men in general

White women

White men

Lesbians

Gay Men

# Appendix F:
## Rejection of Legitimacy Items

**Please circle the number that best describes your feelings.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly disagree | | | | | Strongly agree |

Many qualified women can't get good jobs. Men with the same skills have much less trouble.

In general, men are more qualified than women for jobs that have great responsibility. (-)

Our schools teach women to want the less important jobs.

If women don't advance in their jobs, it is because there are barriers which keep them from getting ahead.

By nature women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children. (-)

Men have more of the top jobs because our society discriminates against women.

Men have more of the top jobs because they are born with more drive to be ambitious and successful than women. (-)

If Black Americans don't go to college, it is because the schools don't prepare them well.

In this country, if Blacks don't get a good education or job, it is because they haven't had the same opportunities as others.

If Blacks don't get a good education or job, they have no one to blame but themselves. (-)

If Blacks don't advance in their jobs, it is because they aren't interested enough in getting ahead. (-)

If Blacks don't advance in their jobs, it is because there

are barriers which keep them from getting ahead.

If Blacks can't find work, it is because there aren't enough jobs for everybody. (-)

If Blacks can't find work, it is because they don't look hard enough (-)

If Blacks don't go to college, it is because they think education is not important. (-)

## Appendix G:
## Common Fate Items

**Please circle the number that best describes your feelings.**

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hardly at all | | | | Very much |

How much do you feel you have in common with most women?

To what extent do you believe that what happens to women generally in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

How often in your everyday life do you think about being a woman and what you have in common with women and men?

**Appendix H:**
**Different Versions of Structural Awareness**

| Different Versions of Structural Awareness | Items Comprising Assessment of Structural Awareness |
|---|---|
| **Gender-based structural awareness** | **Power Discontent:** African American women; Women in general; White women; Lesbians (see Appendix E)<br><br>**Rejection of Legitimacy:** All 7 gender-relevant items (see Appendix F) |
| **General structural awareness** | All 33 items from Power Discontent, Rejection of Legitimacy and Intersectional Consciousness Scales (see Appendices A, E, and F) |

**Appendix I:**
**Generativity**

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**We are interested in your experience of life during the last few years. Please rate each item below by putting the number in the column to the right that best reflects how descriptive each item is of your feelings about your life**.

| 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|
| Not at all descriptive | Somewhat descriptive | Very descriptive |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Feeling needed by people | | |
| Effort to ensure that younger people get their chance to develop | | |
| Influence in my community or area of interest | | |
| A new level of productivity or effectiveness | | |
| Appreciation and awareness of older people | | |
| Having a wider perspective | | |
| Interest in things beyond my family | | |
| Having something to teach young people | | |

Please circle the number that best describes your feelings.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly disagree | | | | | Strongly agree |

Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

People like me are generally well qualified to participate in the political activity and decision making in our country.

People like me are generally well qualified to participate in the political activity and decision making in our country.

Today's problems are so difficult that I feel I could not know enough to come up with any ideas that might solve them.

I feel like I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues which confront our society.

**Appendix K:**
**Tendency to Activism Items (Control Variable)**

**For each type of activity listed below, please circle the number which best describes how often you participated in that type of activity during the past two years.**

|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Never | Seldom | Occasionally | Regularly |

Sent messages to a political leader when they were doing well or poorly.

Informed others in my community about politics.

Tried to persuade others how to vote.

Was a candidate for office.

Worked with others on local problems.

Formed a group to work on local problems.

Contacted local officials on social issues.

Contacted a local, state or federal official about a particular personal problem.

Went with a group to protest to a public official.

Joined or supported a political party.

Took an active part in a political campaign.

Participated in a political party between elections as well as at election time.

Joined in a protest march.

Attended protest meetings.

Participated in any form of political activity which could lead to arrest.

**Table D1: Frequencies for Different Types of Activism by Race**

|  | Women's Rights Activism | | Lesbian and Gay Rights Activism | | International Human Rights Activism | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | African American Women (N=76) | White Women (N=147) | African American Women (N=76) | White Women (N=147) | African American Women (N=76) | White Women (N=147) |
| Signed a petition | 11 | 27 | 9 | 21 | 4 | 22 |
| Gave money | 9 | 44 | 2 | 16 | 7 | 35 |
| Wrote a letter or called a public office | 3 | 12 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 12 |
| Attended a meeting | 10 | 21 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 6 |
| Was an active member of an organization | 4 | 15 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 7 |
| Attended a rally or Demonstration | 2 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 1 |

**Table D2a: Descriptive Statistics for Predictor and Outcome Variables for Entire Sample (N = 208-222)**

| Variables | N | M | SD | Range | α |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender-based Common Fate | 221 | 3.42 | 0.85 | 1 – 5 | .68 |
| Gender-based Discrimination | 220 | .97 | 1.74 | 0 – 9 | n/a |
| Total Discrimination | 220 | 2.13 | 3.39 | 0 – 16 | n/a |
| Gender-based Structural Awareness[1] | 222 | -0.01 | 0.54 | -1.69 – 1.22 | .74 |
| General Structural Awareness[1] | 221 | -0.01 | 0.44 | -1.41 –.82 | .86 |
| Generativity | 222 | 2.37 | 0.39 | 1.13 – 3 | .73 |
| Political Efficacy | 217 | 4.80 | 0.81 | 2.40 – 6 | .71 |
| Tendency to Activism (control) | 220 | 0.87 | 0.54 | 0 – 2.60 | .87 |
| Women's Rights Activism | 214 | 0.78 | 1.28 | 0 – 6 | n/a |
| International Human Rights activism | 214 | 0.49 | 0.94 | 0 – 6 | n/a |
| Lesbian & Gay Rights Activism | 214 | 0.30 | 0.67 | 0 – 6 | n/a |

1. Based on average of individually standardized (z-score) items

**Table D2b: Descriptive Statistics for Predictor and Outcome Variables among African American Women (N = 72-76)**

| Variables | N | M | SD | Range | α |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender-based Common Fate | 74 | 3.57 | 0.77 | 1 – 5 | .70 |
| Gender-based Discrimination | 74 | .82 | 1.56 | 0 – 9 | n/a |
| Total Discrimination | 74 | 2.97 | 4.00 | 0 – 16 | n/a |
| Gender-based Structural Awareness[1] | 75 | -0.01 | 0.51 | -1.69 – 1.22 | .64 |
| General Structural Awareness[1] | 75 | 0.02 | 0.36 | -1.41 –.82 | .79 |
| Generativity | 76 | 2.46 | 0.36 | 1.13 – 3 | .72 |
| Political Efficacy | 72 | 4.90 | 0.76 | 2.40 – 6 | .63 |
| Tendency to Activism (control) | 74 | 0.96 | 0.49 | 0 – 2.60 | .84 |
| Women's Rights Activism | 72 | 0.54 | 1.01 | 0 – 6 | n/a |
| International Human Rights activism | 72 | 0.31 | 0.70 | 0 – 6 | n/a |
| Lesbian & Gay Rights Activism | 72 | 0.21 | 0.47 | 0 – 6 | n/a |

1. Based on average of individually standardized (z-score) items

**Table D2c: Descriptive Statistics for Predictor and Outcome Variables among White Women (N = 142-146)**

| Variables | N | M | SD | Range | α |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender-based Common Fate | 147 | 3.34 | 0.87 | 1 – 5 | .66 |
| Gender-based Discrimination | 146 | 1.28 | 2.04 | 0 – 9 | n/a |
| Total Discrimination | 146 | 1.70 | 2.94 | 0 – 16 | n/a |
| Gender-based Structural Awareness[1] | 147 | 0.00 | 0.55 | -1.69 – 1.22 | .80 |
| General Structural Awareness[1] | 147 | -0.02 | 0.47 | -1.41 –.82 | .89 |
| Generativity | 146 | 2.33 | 0.40 | 1.13 – 3 | .72 |
| Political Efficacy | 145 | 4.76 | 0.84 | 2.40 – 6 | .74 |
| Tendency to Activism (control) | 146 | 0.82 | 0.56 | 0 – 2.60 | .88 |
| Women's Rights Activism | 142 | 0.89 | 1.39 | 0 – 6 | n/a |
| International Human Rights activism | 142 | 0.58 | 1.03 | 0 – 6 | n/a |
| Lesbian & Gay Rights Activism | 142 | 0.35 | 0.75 | 0 – 6 | n/a |

1. Based on average of individually standardized (z-score) items

**Table D3a: Frequencies of Different Kinds of Discrimination among African American Women**

| | Gender | Physical Appearance | Income Level | Age |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Do you think you have ever been *unfairly* fired or denied promotion? | 16 | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| For *unfair* reasons, do you think you have ever not been hired for a job? | 11 | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| Do you think you have ever been *unfairly* stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police? | 5 | 5 | 0 | 2 |
| You are treated with less courtesy than other people. | 8 | 10 | 3 | 6 |
| You are treated with less respect than other people. | 12 | 8 | 0 | 7 |
| You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores. | 7 | 8 | 3 | 4 |
| People act as if they think you are not smart. | 10 | 6 | 2 | 7 |
| People act as if they are afraid of you. | 1 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| People act as if they think you are dishonest. | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| People act as if they're better than you are. | 9 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| You or your family members are called names or insulted. | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| You are threatened or harassed. | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| People ignore you or act as if you are not there. | 11 | 6 | 0 | 8 |

**Table D3b: Frequencies of Different Kinds of Discrimination among White Women**

| | Gender | Physical Appearance | Income Level | Age |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Do you think you have ever been *unfairly* fired or denied promotion? | 26 | 1 | 2 | 9 |
| For *unfair* reasons, do you think you have ever not been hired for a job? | 21 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Do you think you have ever been *unfairly* stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police? | 3 | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| You are treated with less courtesy than other people. | 9 | 4 | 3 | 9 |
| You are treated with less respect than other people. | 13 | 4 | 4 | 11 |
| You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores. | 7 | 3 | 2 | 7 |
| People act as if they think you are not smart. | 12 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| People act as if they are afraid of you. | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| People act as if they think you are dishonest. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| People act as if they're better than you are. | 14 | 6 | 11 | 9 |
| You or your family members are called names or insulted. | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| You are threatened or harassed. | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| People ignore you or act as if you are not there. | 9 | 4 | 0 | 11 |

**Table D4: Means, Standard Deviations, and One-Way Analyses of Variance (ANOVAs) for Effects of Sampling Method on Two Activist Outcomes**

| | Longitudinal Subsample (N = 99 & 103) | | African American Subsample (N = 72 & 74) | | White Activist Subsample (N = 43) | | ANOVA | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Variable | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | F | p |
| Tendency to Activism (Control) | .67$^{ab}$ | .48 | .96$^{a}$ | .49 | 1.18$^{b}$ | .59 | 17.10 (2, 217) | .000 |
| Total Activism[1] (13 domains) | 5.31$^{a}$ | 4.43 | 5.32$^{b}$ | 4.58 | 10.76$^{ab}$ | 8.16 | 17.34 (2, 211) | .000 |

[1] Includes all domains of activism, excluding those that were used as outcome variables in the dissertation: Women's Rights, International Human Rights, and Lesbian and Gay Rights activism.

ab. Means with same superscripts are significantly different from each other, Bonferroni test p = .05

**Table D5: Intercorrelations of Predictor Variables among All Women**

|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Gender-based Common Fate | -- | | | | | | | |
| 2. Gender-based Discrimination | .17** | -- | | | | | | |
| 3. Total Discrimination | .12$^\dagger$ | .81*** | . -- | | | | | |
| 4. Gender-based Structural Awareness | .34*** | .18* | .10 | -- | | | | |
| 5. General Structural Awareness | .34*** | .15* | .08 | .84*** | -- | | | |
| 6. Generativity | .32*** | .11 | .06 | .13$^\dagger$ | .22** | -- | | |
| 7. Political Efficacy | .10 | .20** | . 12$^\dagger$ | .24*** | .25*** | .21** | -- | |
| 8. Tendency to Activism | .28*** | .21** | .17** | .23*** | .25*** | .34*** | .34*** | -- |

$^\dagger$ p ≤.10 * p ≤.05. ** p ≤.01. **p ≤.001.

**Table D6: Experiences of Discrimination Group Means and Standard Deviations**

| | **Analyses Excluding White Activists** | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | African American (N = 74) | | White (N = 103) | | | |
| Variable | M | SD | M | SD | t | df |
| Gender-Based Discrimination | 1.28 | 2.03 | .78 | 1.46 | -1.83† | 124.75 |
| Total Discrimination | 2.97 | 4.00 | 1.60 | 2.76 | -2.54* | 121.23 |
| | **Analyses Including White Activists** | | | | | |
| | African American (N = 74) | | White (N = 146) | | | |
| | M | SD | M | SD | t | df |
| Gender-Based Discrimination | 1.28 | 2.03 | .82 | 1.56 | -1.74† | 117.49 |
| Total Discrimination | 2.97 | 4.00 | 1.70 | 2.94 | -2.43* | 114.31 |

† ≤.10. *p ≤.05. **$p$ ≤.01. *** $p$ ≤.001

**Table D7: Structural Awareness Group Means and Standard Deviations**

**Analyses Excluding White Activists**

| Variable | African American (N = 75) | | White (N = 102–104) | | | |
| | M | SD | M | SD | t | df |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender-Based Structural Awareness | -.01 | .51 | -.09 | .53 | -.92 | 177 |
| Total Structural Awareness | .02 | .36 | -.11 | .45 | -2.13* | 177 |

**Analyses Including White Activists**

| | African American (N = 75) | | White (N = 145-147) | | | |
| | M | SD | M | SD | t | df |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gender-Based Structural Awareness | -.01 | .51 | -.002 | .55 | .17 | 220 |
| Total Structural Awareness | .02 | .36 | -.02 | .47 | -.64 | 220 |

† ≤.10. *p ≤.05. **$p$ ≤.01. *** $p$ ≤.001

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