A FEMINIST IDENTITY MODEL AMONG WOMEN OF COLOR

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by
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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to better understand feminist identity among Women of Color (WOC) by revising the widely critiqued Feminist Identity Composite (FIC; Fischer et al, 2000) using Downing and Roush's (1985) Feminist Identity Development (FID) model as its basis. In a majority of studies focused on FID, samples have been restricted to White middle class women (Moradi & Subich, 2002b; Hansen, 2002). In an age of growing diversity in the United States, counseling psychology literature has pointed to the significance of understanding individual experiences based on intersecting identities (e.g., Harnois, 2014), and for feminism to be integrated into the application of psychology (Bowman, 2014).

I revised the widely critiqued Feminist Identity Composite (FIC; Fischer et al., 2000) and explored the similarities and differences in responses between WOC ($N = 236$) and White women ($N = 164$) recruited via Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM), I analyzed the relationships between five feminist identity dimensions and feminist self-identification; psychological well-being (PWB) factors of positive relations, purpose in life and personal growth; and perceived stress. The relationship of these variables with gendered racism was also explored. The originally proposed factor structure of the

revised FIC was not confirmed in this sample and hence, the final scale for the two racial groups was derived using Exploratory Factor Analuses (EFAs). The FIC sub-scales of revelation and active commitment were configured differently for the two racial groups. In addition, small to moderate effect sizes were found in the hypothesized SEM models for WOC using the derived scale. Feminist self-identification when measured using a single item was significantly associated with each of the five derived feminist identity dimensions for WOC. I found a moderate significant relationship between revelation and perceived stress among WOC. Hypotheses regarding the feminist identity dimensions and PWB sub-scales were generally supported. Implications for feminist psychologists working with WOC have been discussed.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the School of Education, have examined a dissertation titled "A Feminist Identity Model Among Women of Color," presented by Richa Rajendra Khanna, candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree, and certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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As a young child, I had subconscious awareness that a part of me represented a feminist voice, without much insight into the concept, its implications or the fact that I would one day channel that voice to complete a dissertation in feminism! I can at best describe this dissertation and my doctoral achievements as a piece of a gradually evolving idea whose bounds I am yet to discover. I am indebted to my family, faculty members at UMKC and friends who have assisted me in this rollercoaster of a journey and helped me arrive at this important jujncture in my life.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND EXTENDED LITERATURE REVIEW

Feminism, at its core philosophy demands the equality of sexes in the face of patriarchal forces. The success of feminism relies not on the dominance of either sex, but the successful overrule of patriarchy by democracy (Gilligan, 2011). However, there are several indicators to suggest that feminism has yet to achieve success: most societies at a global level resist feminist principles and continue to be dominated by patriarchal values (e.g., Longman, 2006; Pease & Pringle, 2001). Even in the 21st century, though there have been some improvements seen as a result of social change via the feminist movement, much work in terms of gender consciousness and gender equality remains (Barreto, Ryan, & Schmitt, 2009). The feminist movement began in the 1960s in the Unites States, with organized activity aimed at gender equality for women in the political and economic domain (Mann & Huffman, 2005); women needed to be more visible as contributors to government policies, and needed to be assigned the same pay as a man doing the same task with the same qualifications and credentials. With growing diversity in the United States, especially by way of race/ethnicity, another feminist movement or "wave" in the country challenged the second wave in its non-inclusion of diversity, or an assumption that experiences of all women are the same, irrespective of race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, and social class. The third wave movement stressed the appreciation of social context, individual differences, and intersecting identities, such as race, ethnicity, and religion (Snyder, 2008). Mann and Huffman (2005) identify how a third wave feminism is sensitive to both external forms of oppression and internalized oppression; they also highlight the lack of cultural diversity in second wave feminism or its assumption that women's experiences are homogenous.

In 1985, Downing and Roush provided the model of Feminist Identity Development (FID) with the hope of helping feminist psychotherapists gain a better understanding of the concerns of women with whom they were working. Taking inspiration from Cross's (1971) theory of Black Identity Development, their model posited five sequential stages that women go through in establishing a feminist identity: *passive acceptance*, *revelation*, *embeddedness-emanation*, *synthesis*, and *active commitment*. As per the FID model (Downing & Roush, 1985), a woman at the passive acceptance stage might deny the reality of sexism and believe that men are superior to women. At the revelation stage, there may be feelings of anger and guilt as the woman realizes the reality of sexism and how she might have perpetuated it. At the embeddedness stage, women seek to connect with other women to gain support in their shared identity, followed by a gradual openness towards interacting with men at emanation. Women at the synthesis stage dismss traditional gender roles, develop a positive sense of self and a feminist identity, and appreciate men as individuals. Lastly, at the active commitment stage women tend to feel a sense of commitment towards challenging gender-based discrimination and creating a fair society for all sexes. The FID model, however, suffered limitations in not having considered the context of race, class, age, and ethnic differences (Downing & Roush, 1985). In a majority of studies focused on FID, samples have been restricted to White middle class women (Moradi & Subich, 2002b; Hansen, 2002). Hence, despite the third wave having been a mass movement and also one continuing to impact the 21st century, research in psychology is scarce on how ethnic minority women experience feminism and identify as feminists, or the attitudes they hold towards feminism. In an age of growing diversity in the United States, counseling psychology literature has pointed to the significance of understanding individual experiences based on intersecting identities (e.g.,

Harnois, 2014), and for feminism to be integrated into the application of psychology (Bowman, 2014). One of the goals of this research study is to study feminist identity among women of color (WOC) using Downing and Roush's FID model as a basis.

Contextually, a lot has changed since the Downing and Roush (1985) developed the FID, including the U.S. political climate, economics, and the status of women in society. In 2002, the American Psychological Association's Division of Counseling Psychology journal, *The Counseling Psychologist*, thoroughly critiqued and identifed avenues to revise and revisit feminist identity theory, namely the FID model and measurement issues associated with it. Several feminist researchers have questioned not only whether the stage model applies to women's context today, but also the overall soundness of the theoretical basis of the model (Hyde, 2002; Moradi, Subich & Phillips, 2002; Vandiver, 2002) and measures that have attempted to classify women based on stages (Hansen, 2002; Hyde, 2002). Hansen (2002) clarified that the original model suggested the fluidity of FID and the back and forth movement of women's identification with the stages. Additionally, Hyde (2002) pointed out that no empirical study has pointed to the presence of clear stages, and suggested that existing quantitative measures may at best suggest the presence of dimensions, sub-scales or factors rather than sequential stages. More recently Erchull et al. (2009) provided some support to the developmental nature of the model by the inclusion of qualitative research methods. They asked open-ended questions to participants about their feminist experiences at different times in their lives and found that these were related to the stages of the FID model.

After its conceptualization, an attempt was made to operationalize the five-stage FID model (Downing & Roush, 1985) through the four-stage Feminist Identity Scale (FIS;

Rickard, 1987), which was then modified by the Feminist Identity Development Scale (FIDS; Bargad & Hyde, 1991), and again with the Feminist Identity Composite (FIC; Fischer et al., 2000). The FIC is the most recent, yet widely critiqued, measure, especially for its evaluation of the synthesis stage (Hansen, 2002; Moradi, Subich & Phillips, 2002; Vandiver, 2002). Commonly cited criticisms are that the synthesis stage is not associated necessarily with self-identification as a feminist, and the scale has psychometric issues. For example, using the FIC, Erchull et al. (2009) found that the FID model in its original form might not be relevant for young women today, indicating the need to modify items associated with the synthesis stage. Hyde (2002) suggested modifications to the FIC, which included only having three stages of the original five-stage model: passive acceptance, revelation; and synthesis and accommodation. Hansen (2002), one of the original proponents of the model, suggested a further examination of the synthesis and active commitment subscale items as one area of future research in FID.

Clearly, FID theory and its operationalization have considerable scope for further study, modification, and clarification through research. The aims of the present study are as follows: (a) to modify items on the FIC, incorporating criticisms of and suggestions regarding FID's theory and operationalization. This revised scale will be used to measure feminist identity dimensions among WOC; (b) to evaluate the validity of the FID model for WOC, and explore the similarities and differences with White women; (c) examine the relationships between feminist self-identification and the FID dimensions of passive acceptance, revelation, embeddedness-emanation, synthesis and active commitment; (d) to examine the relationships of the FID dimensions with psychological well-being and perceived stress; and (e) to examine the relationships between gendered racism with each of

the FID dimensions, psychological well-being and perceived stress. The following sections will discuss the need for feminism in the current sociopolitical context, especially for WOC, a review of the FID theory and its model, the measurement/operationalization of FID, and implications for the practice of counseling psychology. With the diversity of suggestions for future research, it is apparent that feminism is a complex, dynamic, and multifaceted movement that has the ability to impact cultural norms. Results of this research study will serve as a step towards hopefully resolving some pending concerns with the FID model as it currently stands, especially measurement issues, and its minimal focus on ethnically diverse samples of women.

Using a Dimensional Model Versus a Stage Model

Models of identity development typically involve the idea of "renegotiating" one's social identity when faced with experiences that devalue one's social group (French et al., 2006, p. 1). In the discussion of their FID model, Downing and Roush (1985, p. 705), noted how women's progression was suggestive of a gradual attainment of sex-role transcendence, or the movement from a "polarized" to a more "transcendent sex-role identity." One main feature of a stage-based developmental model is the passage of time, and evidence to support the idea that earlier periods (such as age) relate to prior stages, and later periods relate to later stages. Methodologically speaking, several studies have indicated the need to conduct longitudinal research to provide empirical evidence for the existence of a true FID stage model, which would take the form of a gradual and distinct movement from the passive acceptance to the active commitment stage (e.g., Hansen, 2002; Moradi, Subich & Phillips, 2002). Additionally, linearity or sequence of developmental stages would be suggested by a greater correlation between adjacent rather than non-adjacent stages. Because the current

study will not use a longitudinal research design, it would be incorrect to refer to the original FID stages as such. This study will be tentative in its referral to the original FID categories as stages, and instead use the term "dimension" to refer to the five categories. A dimensional approach will help in the context of the current study, as it is a preliminary step towards using a revised scale with a racial minority population. Knowing the extent to which WOC as a group respond to the proposed dimensions will indicate whether these dimensions adequately capture their feminist experience. The presence of different dimensions from a factor analytic perspective among WOC will provide support for the scale with this population, and lay the ground for future research.

Literature Review

Sexism

This section will discuss the existing literature on sexism as it pertains to American or Westernized society, aligned with the context of the present study. Walby (1989) defined patriarchy as a "system of social structures, and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women" (p. 214). This definition has several implications for the lives of both men and women and how they operate in society. The patriarchal system has manifested by way of men and women behaving in ways aligned with traditional gender roles, such that men remain in positions of authority and power, and portray masculine traits, and women assume tasks of a more feminine nature, such as a care-taker or stay at home mother. One consequence of these rigid gender roles is that any deviation from the norm might lead to social judgment and negative self-appraisal. Men face bias when choosing to enter traditionally feminine careers such as nursing (Clow, Ricciardelli & Bartfay, 2015).

Similarly, women in male-dominated careers may be viewed as aggressive and controlling, implying they are contemptuous and power driven (e.g. Rudman & Glick, 2001).

Sexism includes prejudice, bias, or stereotypes that encourage rigid gender roles (Glick & Fiske, 1996). For example, an individual may have an overtly sexist attitude, and choose to hire a man in an intellectual field over a woman, despite that both may be qualified for the position, assuming that men are more intelligent than women. Similarly, several societies believe that women as a group need to be subordinate to their husbands. For example, families who ascribe to traditional Indian Hindu values believe that an Indian Hindu woman must dress in certain attire, be solely responsible for household duties such as catering to the needs of her husband and children, and be a virgin before marriage (e.g., Harlan & Courtright, 1995; Wadley, 1977). Sexism can also operate in more subtle ways, such as in the use of language. For example, using the term "he" or "man" to refer to both men and women, or assuming that a certain occupation/title, such as "teacher" or "counselor," will be held by a woman, and "mechanic," "engineer," or "statistician" will be held by a man (Swim, Mallett & Stangor, 2004).

Glick and Fiske (1996) proposed a multidimensional view of sexism, *ambivalent sexism*, consisting of hostile and benevolent sexism. *Hostile sexism* includes negative emotions and behaviors toward women, and assumes that gender inequality does not exist, and is, in fact, a means for women to assert power over men. On the other hand, *benevolent sexism* features more positive behaviors towards women based on the assumption that women need to be protected by and dependent on men. Becker (2010) found that women are more likely to internalize benevolent rather than hostile sexist beliefs. This internalized

sexism can be positively associated with several undesirable outcomes, such as disordered eating and negative mental health among others (Bearman, Korobov & Thorne, 2009).

For individuals experiencing external sexism, several sources have pointed to its negative impact on well-being. Swim, Hyers, Cohen and Ferguson (2001) found that both women and men experiencing sexist incidents reported feelings of anger, depression and reduced state self-esteem. Zucker and Landry (2007) reported that women's perceived sexism is related to higher psychological distress, which is in turn associated with their increased smoking. Sexism experienced in academic areas, such as math and science, was associated with fewer feelings of competence among both White and Latina adolescent girls (Brown & Leaper, 2010). Moreover, experiences of sexism have been positively associated with psychological distress among sexual minority women (Szymanski & Henrichs-Beck, 2014).

Several studies have pointed to the vulnerability of WOC to experiencing multiple forms of harassment and discrimination due to their dual minority statuses (e.g., Buchanan & Ormerod, 2002; Thomas, Witherspoon & Speight, 2008). African American women have especially been found to experience effects of both racial and sexist discrimination termed in one study as racialized sexual harassment (Buchanan & Omerod, 2002).Similarly, perceived racist and sexist events were positively correlated for African American women (Buchanan & Fitzgerald, 2008; Moradi & Subich, 2003). In addition, an intersection of racist and sexist discrimination was linked to psychological distress among African American women (Buchanan & Fitzgerald, 2008; Buchanan & West, 2009; Moradi & Subich, 2003; Szymanski & Stewart, 2010). Sexual minority women of color have also reported a positive relationship between sexist events and psychological distress (DeBlaere & Bertsch, 2013).

It is apparent that sexism operates in various forms and has negative implications for diverse samples of individuals, irrespective of gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation, on a range of outcomes, such as psychological distress, internalized sexism, poor self-esteem, perceived competence, or more serious mental health concerns. Researchers in the field of gender studies have pointed to the need to continue looking at how intersecting identities, such as race and gender, impact responses to discrimination in several forms (Harnois, 2014; Watson, Robinson, Dispenza & Nazari, 2012). The following sections will discuss the gender socialization process, the impact of race on this process, perceived benefits of internalizing sexist beliefs and coping mechanisms in the face of gender discrimination.

Gender Socialization

Sexism and sexist behavior that predominates in traditionally patriarchal societies typically manifests by a socialization process that begins in the early stages of an individual's development and continues throughout the life span (Risman, 2004). Literature has differentiated between the operationalization of sex and gender. Sex is typically indicated by the male or female organs one is born with, whereas gender refers to identification with traits, such as being masculine or feminine (Pryzgoa & Chrisler, 2000). In a traditional society, individuals born with male organs are assumed to and expected to have masculine traits and feminine traits are assumed and expected for individuals with female organs. Gender has been identified as a socially driven construct, indicating that behaviors and attitudes associated with identifying masculine or feminine are learned over time through observation, conditioning, and identification with subtle and implicit messages present in the environment. These gender roles are also maintained and reinforced by the environment; this process has been termed gender socialization (Risman, 2004). For example, in a patriarchal

culture, boys receive messages at a young age to be smart, assertive, achievement driven and emotionally and physically strong (e.g., Eckes & Trautner, 2000; Oakley, 2000).

Gender based stereotypes operate when males and females are judged and expected to be or behave a certain based on traditional gender norms. Commonly, boys may be judged as "girly" if seen crying or expressing sadness. On the other hand, girls are taught at a young age to put others' needs before their own, develop positive relationships and look attractive (e.g., Martin, Wood & Little, 1990). Moreover, females in corporate settings are perceived as aggressive by males if they communicate assertively (Oakley, 2000). Individuals also receive subtle and implicit messages by the media and predominant culture about traditional gender choices in attire, toys and education. For example, advertisements portray the color pink and dolls as being distinctly feminine, and the color blue and cars as distinctly masculine.

Similarly, with the underrepresentation of diverse gender identities in the professional realm, individuals implicitly learn to make career choices based on what they perceive is desirable or appropriate, rather than what they intrinsically value (Risman, 2004). Essentially, these differences in socialization for males and females create and maintain an environment for sexist attitudes and behavior by the individuals themselves and the society in which they live. In her discussion of gender as a social structure, Risman (2004) shared that society justifies gender discrimination by assigning different meanings and roles to different genders.

Individuals may learn about gender roles through their identification and interactions with same-sex parents (Liao & Cai, 1995), which may be reinforced by extended family, peers at school, the educational system, the neighborhood and mass media. The chronosystem or the idea that systems are influenced by the overarching changes brought

about by changes in time (Bronfrenbrenner, 2005) might explain differences in prevalent cultural beliefs in a country impacted by political events and movements, economic policy and judicial procedures over time. For example, in the current social context, an older aged female in the United States might identify with more traditional gender roles than a young adult female who might endorse more fluid gender roles based on the different political movements that have impacted them.

The Impact of Race and Gender

Race is a critical factor to consider in the development of an individual and the gender socialization process. Race refers to a category that distinguishes individuals on the basis of physical features such as skin color, hair type and facial features (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Cokley, 2007). Examples of racial categories might include White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native and Asian (Humes, Jones & Ramirez, 2011). The U.S. Census report also differentiates individuals in terms of ethnic categories of Hispanic/Latino and Not Hispanic/Latino, based on their nationality, country of birth or heritage. Psychology typically defines ethnicity as a sense of shared cultural identity in terms of language, food, attire, values and beliefs (Cokley, 2007). Hence, one's race is more visible than one's ethnicity. The terms race and ethnicity have been used interchangeably in psychology (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993) though they are considered different constructs. WOC in psychology literature have typically been identified by the racial categories mentioned above (e.g., Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Turner, 2002). Research may differentiate between race and ethnicity (e.g., Carlon & Jonhson, 2007) or use it interchangeably (e.g., Wyatt, Myers, Williams, Christina & al, 2002) depending on the research question being studied. This study will define WOC as women who racially identify

as non-White (Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, or other race), biracial or multiracial.

Men and women who are racial minorities within the context of the United States receive different messages than those belonging to the majority White culture. Unlike White women, WOC not only experience gender socialization, but also racial socialization. WOC are hence vulnerable not only to gender based discrimination but also racial discrimination; in terms of Bronfenbrenner's (2005) theory, their development is impacted by a different and likely more disadvantaged ecological system, especially at the level of the exosystem (Thomas, Hoxha & Hacker, 2013) than White women. It is important to appreciate these systemic differences and understand the impact of multiple systems on intersecting identities of gender and race (Shields, 2008).

Racial socialization is a process by which individuals receive messages about their racial identity and cultural history as a way to potentially help them function in the context of an oppressive society, and promote positive identity development and self-esteem (Thomas & King, 2007). Parents, especially mother's, play an important role in the racial socialization process of ethnic minority women (e.g., Thomas, Hacker & Hoxha, 2011; Smith, Reynolds, Fincham & Beach, 2016). Several studies have explored the racial socialization process of African American women and girls. African American mothers' experiences of racist discrimination were positively associated with socialization messages to their daughters about cultural traditions and preparing them to identify and cope with racism (Smith et al., 2016). Although media images were associated with physical appearance concerns among African American women, family socialization practices prevented these messages from influencing their racial identity development (Thomas, Hoxha & Hacker, 2013). Thomas

(1999) shared a personal reflection about her experiences as an African American woman. She learned specific coping strategies like defending herself by being assertive, and being rational rather than emotional when faced with racism. Similarly, African American women reported self-pride (having pride and respect for oneself) and self-determination (e.g., being assertive and standing up for themselves irrespective of an African American female identity) as salient messages from their mothers that led to positive identity development (Thomas & King, 2007).

A few studies have looked at racial socialization among other racial/ethnic minority groups. Asian Americans' perceptions of racism was related to their discussion of race-related topics with significant others (Alvarez, Huang & Liang, 2006). Additionally, racial socialization was associated with ambivalence with racial identity and anxiety about experiencing racism that, in turn, was related to their perceptions of racism. Recently, Juan, Shen, Kim and Wang (2016) created a scale to measure parent racial-ethnic socialization among Asian Americans. They found support for seven dimensions, including maintenance of cultural heritage, becoming American, awareness of discrimination, avoidance of outgroups, minimization of race, promotion of equality, and cultural pluralism. Liu and Lau (2013) studied the relationships among racial socialization components, traits of optimism and pessimism and depressive symptoms among African American, Latino and Asian American youth. They found that socialization about cultural traditions was related to greater optimism that was then related to lesser depressive symptoms. However, the opposite results were found for socialization processes including preparation for coping with racism and promotion of mistrust of members from other ethnic groups.

Gendered racism was a term introduced by Essed (1991) to capture the intersectional nature of racism and sexism experienced by Black women. She noted that Black women's oppressive experiences are based on their dual identities of being Black and female, and their ascribing to gender roles needs to be understood in the broader context of racism. Thomas, Speight and Witherspoon (2008) studied the gendered racism among African American women by modifying items of the Schedule of Sexist Events (SSE; Klonoff & Landrine, 1995), naming this the Revised SSE (RSSE). The SSE (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995) was originally created to measure the frequency of recent as well as lifetime sexist incidents faced by all women irrespective of race. The SSE theoretical model proposed that women are exposed to a variety of discriminatory incidents by virtue of their gender, in various setting such as close relationships (e.g., family members), distant relationships (e.g., teachers, strangers, neighbors) and the workplace (e.g., colleagues and supervisors). In the study by Klonoff and Landrine (1995), WOC reported a greater frequency of sexist degradation and sexist experiences in close relationships compared to White women. Furthermore, Asian Americans reported a greater frequency of overall sexist degradation compared to White women. Finally, Both Asian Americans and Latinas reported a greater frequency of sexist events in close relationships compared to White women.

Based on the RSSE, Black women reported experiencing gendered racism in several contexts such as by service professionals and employment contexts (Thomas et al., 2008). Additionally gendered racism was positively associated with psychological distress. Moreover, the researchers reported a partial mediation effect for coping by way of avoidance (of thinking about the incident), suggesting that this coping mechanism was unsuccessful in reducing the distress associated gendered racism. Black women might use other ways to cope

with disturbance associated with gendered racism such as seeking social support from family and friends, resistance of oppressive messages (e.g. non-conformity with White standards of beauty), and self-protective strategies (e.g., increased feelings of self-reliance and desensitization to the experience; Lewis, Mendenhall, Harwood & Huntt, 2013).

Several studies have highlighted the influence of gendered racism for WOC. For the present study, gendered racism will be defined as the oppressive experience faced by all WOC due to their identifying as both a woman and a racial/ethnic minority. Coltrane and Messineo (2000) found an underrepresentation of African American women, Asian American women and Latina women in 1990s television advertising. Additionally, when compared to White women, they noted that African American women in television commercials were infrequently portrayed as having a positive romantic and domestic life. This indicates a greater likelihood of biased messages being conveyed about what it means to identify as an African American woman. These discriminatory messages can in turn promote internalization of both racist and sexist messages. For example, in a qualitative study that explored the meaning that African American women assigned to their sexuality, adolescents endorsed European American standards of beauty (Stephens & Few, 2007). Ghavami and Peplau (2012) found support for several prejudiced beliefs by an ethnically diverse sample of undergraduate students towards ethnic minority women: Latina women were often perceived as "sexy and feisty" and African American women were viewed as "aggressive and dominant" (p. 124). In a qualitative analyses of the influence of intersecting race and gender identities among Latina college students, Liang, Knauer-Turner, Molenaar and Price (2016) found that participants were more likely to speak about their gendered experiences, rather than intersectional experiences, possibly due to a lower level of racial identity development.

Among their gendered experiences, participants noted that they learned gender roles through family members and felt a sense of confidence in seeing their mother assume both masculine and feminine roles (Liang et al., 2016). Others suggested that the differential treatment based on gender was perceived as the norm. Notably, although participants identified gender discrimination in family and academic experiences, such discriminatory experiences were not labeled as sexism. Similarly, Latina adolescents reported traditional gender role socialization from parents by way of imposed rules and restrictions (Raffeelli & Ontai, 2004). This study also found that parents' gender role attitudes were related to participants' gender role attitudes: traditional gender roles of both parents were associated with encouragement of feminine behavior for girls; traditional gender roles of the mother were associated with encouragement of masculine behaviors for boys.

WOC have been found to experience gendered racism in other developmental spheres or microsystems such as education and employment. In the educational realm, Black women students in doctoral programs reported greater dissatisfaction with their advisors than Black men, and White students, and a sense of isolation in their doctoral community (Ellis, 2001). Another commonly reported challenge faced by WOC in achieving academic success is having to compromise their own unique identities as both Black and women, and demonstrate behaviors consistent with the majority culture (White males) in order to "be taken seriously" (Fordham, 1993, p. 4). For Black women to succeed in academia, institutional marginalization forces them to challenge their image of "those loud Black girls" (Fordham, 1993, p. 8). This might involve some elements of what Downing and Roush (1985) conceptualized as the stage of revelation, which is triggered when women recognize their disadvantaged status and the reality of sexism.

WOC additionally experience disadvantages due to their gender and race in their professional lives. Martin (1994), in her interviews with both Black and White police officers and their supervisors, revealed the complex interaction of race and gender in shaping Black women officers' experiences. Black women reported experiencing racism more frequently than sexism. They also reported feelings of injustice in affirmative promotional policies. Specifically, an analysis of promotional procedures within the Chicago Police Department, it was revealed that their identity as women rather than Black women was considered in the promotional process, resulting in lesser promotional opportunities than for White women. In academia, WOC have experience both racism and sexism from institutional forces, and face challenges such as racial bias and hostility from students (Turner, 2002; Turner, Gonzalez & Wong, 2011). WOC faculty reported feeling disrespected and intimidated by White male students (Pittman, 2010). They also reported that White male students tended to challenge their competency and authority (Pittman, 2010). Ong (2005) noted unique trials faced by WOC in managing conflicted identities as racial minorities and science professionals. Both Fordham (1993) and Ong (2005) delineate a concept termed *gendered passing* and *racial passing* to explain the process by which WOC manipulate their identities to fit the norms of the majority culture.

In response to institutional oppression, it is evident that WOC feel the need to appear competent and successful in comparison to both White males and females, which highlights the dual impact of sexism and racism in their lives. It is likely that WOC realize the oppressive nature of these experiences and feel anger, frustration and dissatisfaction. In sum, it is apparent that WOC have different experiences than White women; at an implicit level,

White women or the majority culture are viewed as a reference point for behaviors. Thus, many of the stressors faced by WOC are largely a result of systemic and institutional barriers.

Perceived Benefits of Sexism

Gender inequality has an impact on the functioning of individuals belonging to all gender identities. Additionally, one reason why sexism might persist in a society is because its members intentionally or unintentionally value its outcomes, and perceive that the benefits outweigh the costs. The following research findings are indicative of aspects of both intentional and unintentional passive acceptance of traditional gender roles by women (Downing & Roush, 1985). Some women might adapt their behaviors to be traditionally "manly," with the hope that their competence will be valued and appreciated (e.g., Leidner, 1991).

As much as women might experience pressure of rigid gender roles, some might find it beneficial to restrict themselves to and accept the roles assigned to them. Several explanations may be offered regarding the operation and maintenance of gender inequality, especially in romantic relationships. For some women, their values (e.g., traditional values) or disposition (e.g., entitlement) might explain their endorsement of sexist beliefs. Sibley, Overall and Duckitt (2007) reported that women who highly endorsed social cohesion and preservation of traditional values were more likely to endorse both benevolent sexism and hostile sexism towards their gender. Among women in New Zealand, Hammond, Sibley, and Overall (2013) found that women who endorsed psychological entitlement—or the belief that one deserves material resources, praise, and status—were more appreciative of men's benevolent sexism. Women who tend to endorse sexist attitudes are also less likely to value personal educational and career goals, and more likely to appreciate men's chivalrous

behavior (e.g., protecting women from potential harm; Overall, Sibley & Tan, 2011). Furthermore, in relational conflicts, women are more likely to view their male partners' intentions as benevolent. Among women with anxious attachment styles, their partner's benevolent sexist behavior was associated with more interpersonal security (Cross, Overall & Hammond, 2016). That is, for these women, the partner's sexist attitude conveys that he will be reliable and committed in their relationship. Women might also overlook the possibility of hostile sexism in men while perceiving them as a benevolent sexist (Kilianski & Rudman, 1998). Of note, Connelly and Heesacker (2012) found that women with benevolent sexist beliefs were likely to endorse the belief that their gender-based injustice was fair, which was then associated with greater life satisfaction. The authors discussed that women's endorsement of benevolent sexism might encourage a sense of personal security, reduced frustration around an unfair system and increase their self-concept and satisfaction with life.

An analysis of the above literature suggests that some women find benefits in sexism, despite the disadvantages. Some women might not be aware of the inherent power difference implied in endorsing subtly sexist attitudes. Other women might find that these attitudes assist in maintaining interpersonal relationships, physical and emotional security and experiencing positive emotions. This might be intentional or unintentional, depending on the awareness of the consequences of passively complying with traditional gender roles. It is important to note, however, that the samples utilized in the above studies were predominantly White, neglecting interactions of gender with race/ethnicity.

Coping with Sexism

In the context of gender inequality, women respond in different ways based on their cultural context, personal dispositions and the individual ecosystem in which they have been

raised and nurtured. Their responses to an oppressive experience can take many forms, one of which potentially involves assessing the situation (e.g., Lewis et al., 2013). Once labeled as such, an experience of discrimination typically induces stress and precedes the process of making a decision that is best suited for the context of the incident and relevant goals (e.g., Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Shorten-Gooden, 2004). Women may be placed in situations where they need to analyze their immediate and long-term goals, one of which may pertain to emotional and physical safety. Through an interactive process, goals may be similarly informed by systemic oppressive messages, which may accordingly become internalized. Whereas some women might behave in ways that promote gender inequality, this might be driven by goals of harmony and the need to be safe and comfortable. These women might accept the roles they have been assigned or manipulate their identity so as to conform to gender norms, assuming that resistance might equate to thwarting of personal goals. Other women might take a more active stance in challenging and confronting unequal treatment, which may be aligned with goals of authenticity and fairness.

Even though some women might endorse sexist attitudes, others report various ways of coping with sexism that may not result in internalization of such attitudes. Ayres, Friedman, and Leaper (2009) found that female undergraduates were more likely to confront sexism if they identified as feminist, if the perpetrator was familiar, and if the situation involved sexist comments (rather than unwanted sexual attention). Moreover, African American and other WOC faculty used resistance strategies as a way to cope with several institutional barriers such as climate, mentoring and relational concerns with colleagues (Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). In their interview responses, WOC faculty identified specific strategies like resisting the internalization of oppressive messages, using their own

values to guide their success and finding creative ways to receive mentoring. The emergent theme from their study was that oppression need not hamper capacity for success, and unjust situations can be dealt with through several avenues of support. African American women when faced racism and sexism may also rely on several internal and external coping methods, such as spiritual faith, self-valuing, appreciation of strengths inherent in their community, manipulating their behavior so as to "fit in" (Shorter-Gooden, 2004, p. 418) with the majority group, avoiding interactions or situations where they are likely to face prejudice, and in some cases directly challenging stereotypes or biases. As noted previously, with family being a primary source of gendered messages, Stephens and Few (2007) posited that African American girls might receive affirming messages regarding physical attractiveness from their mothers, which might potentially negate the effects of media messages. In Liang et al.'s (2016) study, Latina college students reported behavioral, emotional and cognitive responses to coping with the stress of various forms of discrimination. Intrinsic factors such as self-esteem, race and sexual orientation were related to more active coping among Black lesbians (Bowleg, Craig, & Burkholder, 2004).

Intersectionality Research

Crenshaw (1989) first introduced the concept of intersectionality to highlight the unique experiences of Black women, compared to White women, due to their social positions as both racial minorities and women. Race and gender intersect in WOC's experiences to impact their social position, the way they are represented in the media and also their political attitudes (Crenshaw, 1993). WOC overall are more vulnerable than White women to stereotypes about race and gender that can put them at risk of domestic violence and also reduce the likelihood for them to receive justice (Crenshaw, 1991). For example, Crenshaw

(1991) noted that when a Black woman is seeking justice for sexual harassment, she is unlikely to be taken seriously by the legal system and her injury might be considered irrelevant (Crenshaw, 1991). This might be due to stereotypes that Black women are immoral, indecent or impure compared to White women. Similarly, she discussed the importance of addressing how race, class and gender interact to shape WOC's discriminatory experiences.

Intersectionality theory (Cole, 2009) suggests that it is important to consider the multiple identities of individuals to understand their life experiences because each identity might be assigned a different social meaning, biases or stereotypes. For example, women might be judged as nurturing and kind. However, WOC might be judged differently based on their racial identity. Black women are perceived as loud and antagonistic, Asian women are judged as quiet and achievement oriented, and Latina women are judged to be promiscuous (Settles & Buchanan, 2014). Additionally, where some individual identities might be assigned a more privileged social status, others might be more disadvantaged. A White man who identifies as gay might receive privileges due to being White but face discrimination due to being gay. Several frameworks of intersectionality have been offered in terms of organization of multiple identities (Settles & Buchanan, 2014). First, the identities might be added or merged such as when an individual identifies as African American and woman. Second, one identity might be considered as dominant such as only African American. Third, identity salience might be determined based on the social context, such as African American (say when seated among a group of White women) or woman (say when seated among a group of African American men). And lastly, multiple identities are considered as intersecting with one another.

Research has supported the value of a truly intersectional framework when describing lived experiences of WOC. Settles (2006) found that Black women rated their intersecting identity of beign a Black woman as more important than identifying as only Black or only woman. Participants also shared experiences about the advantages and disadvantages they perceive in identifying as Black women. Among Black women, certain disadvantages may arise from gendered racial stereotypes, including being perceived as a Jezebel, "breeders" and "gold diggers" (Settle, 2006, p. 595). Similarly, Thomas, Hacker and Hoxha (2011) conducted focus groups for young Black women and found that gendered race was a salient component of their self-perceptions. This theme of gendered race seemed to influence their responses even when they were asked questions related only their race or their gender.

Feminism and Feminist Identity

Feminism has been defined at its core to mean an ideology aimed at achieving gender equality for women. Several writers and researchers have described feminism as a set of attitudes or beliefs; and also a political movement hoping for a society where all individuals ascribe to and behave in ways that are feminist or non-gender discriminatory (e.g., Aronson, 2003; Cole, Zucker & Ostrove, 1998). Interestingly, Gilligan (2011) has offered the idea that in a truly humanitarian society, democracy, rather than matriarchy, opposes patriarchy. She described feminism as "the movement to free democracy from patriarchy" (p. 180). Taking a global stance, Paludi (2010) equated feminism to human rights. A popular phrase associated with feminism is "the personal is political" (Enns, 1997, p. 199), suggesting that women's experiences are a result of their political context, and that for women to achieve freedom, their political environment needs to change so as to foster equality and justice.

From a psychological perspective, Enns, Williams and Fassinger (2013) described some aspects of feminism as including appreciation of the impact of the social environment on one's life path, acknowledgment of power structures, importance of consciousness-raising and social change. Inherent within feminism is the idea of social change, an idea related to Downing and Roush's (1985) proposed final stage of active commitment. Even though the underlying motive seems similar and stems from the issue of challenging gender inequality, literature has suggested conflicting viewpoints among writers on feminist theory. For example, Zaretsky, Mitchell and Oakley (1988) noted the challenges faced by feminists as they hope to unify the construct due to racial and class diversity among women. Additionally, Fiss (1994) acknowledged within group diversity among the feminist movement, including the varying feminist ideologies such as radical, socialist, liberal, and cultural or relational feminisms (among others). Similarly, in an attempt to measure the above feminist ideologies, Henley, Meng, O'Brien, McCarthy and Sockloskie (1998) highlighted the need for inclusion of experiences of WOC while measuring feminist attitudes.

Whereas liberal feminists believe in equal opportunity based on individual rights, radical feminists believe that women's oppression forms the foundation of other types of oppression faced by them such as racism and economic exploitation (Friedman et al., 1987; Henley et al., 1998). Socialist feminism appreciates the intersection of the individual with systemic factors, noting that various forms of oppression need to be viewed as a part of broader interacting systems (Friedman et al., 1987). Marxist feminism explained the bias inherent in the division of labor, questioning the restriction of women to household duties (Friedman et al., 1987). Whereas cultural feminism promotes the appreciation of "feminine values" over "masculine values" (Henley et al., 1998; p. 321) in society, womanism is

concerned especially with the impact of racism and classism on sexism, and is a position expected to be held more by WOC (Henley et al., 1998). Similarly, Zinn and Dill (1996) describe *multiracial feminism*, which highlights the differential experience of race, class, gender, and sexuality based on social locations within a system, a theoretical standpoint that appreciates the role of interacting systemic factors, such as hierarchical structures, that lead to both opportunity and oppression for the individual in that system. For example, it may consider oppression faced by WOC in relation to the systemic power experienced by White women, in addition to the oppression faced by White women compared to the power held by White men.

All of the above ideologies highlight the diverse nature of feminism and beliefs associated with it, but it is also important to consider changing definitions and conceptualization of feminism with the passage of time. In considering the status of women in the current social context, it is helpful to understand the role of feminism in political movements across time. Feminist movements have the ability to impact several pre-existing social, economic, judicial and political systems that have traditionally been gender-biased. For example mass movements might increase opportunities for women in education, employment and leadership positions, and they might promote the implementation of laws that protect women's sexual rights among others. The term "waves" is often used to describe mass movements that have significantly impacted a society's beliefs and attitudes during a specific time period (Mann & Huffman, 2005). The first wave of feminism began in the 19th century in the United States, and stemmed from the demand for women's suffrage, or their right to vote (DuBois, 1999). There was a need to challenge women's status as merely caretakers of the household and also increase their visibility in the public sphere that was

dominated by men. The suffrage movement was a first step towards achieving this (DuBois, 1999). DuBois (1999) also noted the impact of the first wave on establishing future feminist movements and processes.

Second wave feminism was popular in the 1960s and focused on attaining political and economic equality for women. Existing political power structures were being challenged and women were encouraged to recognize gender-based inequalities (Mann & Huffman, 2005). For example, during the second wave, a woman's organization named the National Woman's Party advocated for the non-discrimination of women in employment and acknowledgement of women's civil rights (Taylor, 1989). The third wave feminist movement began in the 1990s, the goal of which was the inclusion or appreciation of women from diverse backgrounds (Moradi et al., 2002). WOC feminists noted how the second wave failed to acknowledge difference among women (Mann & Huffman, 2005). It is apparent that third wave feminism differs from second wave feminism not only by virtue of being applied to a newer generation of feminists, but also by its acknowledgement of individual differences in experience, and the appreciation of intersecting identities, such as race, ethnicity, and religion (Snyder, 2008).

It is important to question the achievement of these "waves," especially in the most recent sociopolitical context: how helpful has the feminist movement, overall, been in achieving gender equality? How successful have active commitment efforts been? The process, means and outcomes of feminist movements in a society are quite dependent on the cultural context in perspective. Several studies have pointed to the fact that although much has changed in terms of gender equality since the first wave, a lot of work in the area still remains to be done in the United States and globally (e.g., Black & Rothman, 1998; Hepburn

& Simon, 2006; Looker & Magee, 2000). Black and Rothman (1998), for example, found that women in leadership positions in the United States still remain underrepresented in comparison to White males specifically in business organizations. Additionally, despite both partners of a heterosexual couple holding blue-collar jobs in the United States, men are still perceived as the financial providers for their families whereas women are perceived primarily as the parent (Deutsch & Saxon, 1998). In a longitudinal study with youth from Canada between 1989 and 1994, Looker and Magee (2000) found that, although women believed that they could hold any occupational job or position, they also held the self-expectation that they will need to pursue family responsibilities such as caring for children more than men. Similarly, results from a qualitative study by Gunter and Stambach (2003) indicated that men and women science professors viewed the promotion process differently: whereas women identified their role as mothers and caretakers of the household as a factor that influenced their experience with the promotion system, men did not identify their role as a father, but rather a sense of competition and needing to "play the game" (p. 34) in order to achieve promotion. A more recent study highlighted the presence of gender-based oppression in the legal system: In their study of Missouri's juvenile court system, McGuire, Donner, & Callahan (2012) found that judicial actions against perpetrators of rape (where women are typically the victims) were more lenient than perpetrators of robbery (in which men are typically the victims). They suggested inferentially that this legal system minimizes the victimization of women.

The Feminist Experience

Feminist theories and associated literature provide intellectual arguments challenging women's traditional roles and expected gendered behavior. However, in terms of application

of feminist theory, the actual meaning of feminism and how it plays out in women's experiences is also an important consideration, especially from a psychological perspective. What does feminism mean to feminists? How do they experience feminism? How do they come to develop these ideologies?

Several psychometric instruments have been developed with the purpose of understanding women's views of feminism, and gender role attitudes, such as the Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Scale (Morgan, 1996), Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence & Helmrich, 1972), the Gender Role Attitudes Scale (McHugh & Frieze, 1997), the Gender Collectivity Scale (Liss, Walker, & Crawford, 1999), the Womanist Identity Attitude Scale (Moradi, Yoder, & Berendson, 2004), the Conformity to Feminine Norms Inventory (Mahalik et al., 2005), and the Feminist Perspectives Scale (Henley et al., 1998), among others. Kimmel (1989) found that fellows of Division 35 (Psychology of Women) of the American Psychological Association (APA) defined their experience of feminism as including awareness of gender inequality and its impact on women, eagerness to engage in social change and feminist activities, and an experience that is changing over time. Liss, Hoffner and Crawford (2000) revealed that self-identified feminists believed in more liberal feminism ideologies in comparison to non-feminists. Liberal feminists believe in the inherent equality of men and women, and hence support equal opportunity to both sexes, and social change that preserves individual rights and choices with less interference by governmental norms. Women's self-identification as feminists has been related to lower endorsement of conservative beliefs, a positive evaluation of feminists, and belief in collective action compared to non-feminists (Liss, O'Connor, Morowsky & Crawford, 2001). It might be inferred that a positive evaluation of the self might be associated with synthesis, whereas

belief in collective action might pertain to the active commitment stage that was proposed by Downing & Roush (1985). Overall, having a feminist identity seems to be correlated with exposure to feminist ideology through life experiences, awareness of gender-based inequities, belief in collective action, the ability to identify with experiences of other women (similar to some aspects of embeddedness-emanation), and liberal gender role attitudes (Reid & Purcell, 2004).

Aligned with the goals of third-wave feminism, of particular interest in the present study is the experience of feminism among WOC. Just as gender socialization experiences of WOC have been impacted by their cultural identity, their experiences of feminism have been similarly informed by their racial minority status. It is important for feminist research to appreciate this diversity in experience. The central idea is not only acknowledgement of differences in how WOC perceive feminism, but the appreciation of the contextual factors (race, gender identity, social class, sexuality, disability) that shape their experiences and perceptions (e.g., Ortega, 2006; Qin, 2004; Enns & Williams, 2013).

Several authors have attempted to provide perspectives on feminism for WOC. Enns (2010) described WOC feminism as one that takes an intersectional view of feminism, challenges stereotypes associated with WOC, describes resiliencies of WOC in the light of their oppression and indicates the nature of their activism. Walker (1983) introduced the term womanism to indicate feminism pertaining to Black women and WOC. It was one that appreciated the culture of women and one's core self (Taylor, 1998), and the idea that feminism for WOC can be different from that of White women. Womanism not only includes feminist values of challenging patriarchy and promoting social justice, but also an aspect of spiritual faith. Collins (2000) described Black feminism as one that considers oppressions

with regards to race, class, gender and sexual orientation, and redefines Black women's culture and promotes their strengths. Latina feminists have also been termed "feministas" (Sanchez-Hucles, Dryden & Winstead, 2012). Latinas, due to their gendered racial socialization might feel pressured to adhere to family values and be submissive. Enns (2010) suggests that Latinas have faced unique historical challenges associated with colonization of their country of origin, immigration into the United States and managing language differences. Hence, Latina feminists have to manage the conflict associated with maintaining their cultural values while surviving in a new and possibly threatening environment due to migration (Enns, 2010).

Native American women were traditionally matriarchs, but lost their position due to colonization by the United States (Enns, 2010). Sanchez-Hucles, Dryden and Winstead (2012) also point to reaffirm unique identity factors such as sexual orientation, spirituality and the bi-cultural status for Native American women. Hence, one goal of feminism for Native American women is to restore their authority in the family (Enns, 2010). They might also face challenges as they balance Native American and "Anglo" identities. They similarly attempt to resolve their sexual minority status with their ethnic identity (Sanchez-Hucles et al., 2012). Asian American women have been faced with stressors associated especially with immigration due to political oppression, confinement to traditional gender roles (Sanchez-Hucles et al., 2012), sexualized stereotypes (e.g. exotic and seductive), and being consistent with traditional Asian values in an American context (Enns, 2010). Asian American feminists' goals might include obtaining flexibility in roles, maintaining Asian heritage, and challenging their perception of being passive and subservient (Enns, 2010). Asian American feminist women might feel isolated in their advocacy against gendered racism, whereas other

individuals in their community might be fighting only against racism (Sanchez-Hucles et al., 2012).

Some research studies have also explored how WOC experience feminism or the attitudes they hold towards it. African American women feminists identified the history of oppression faced especially in comparison to and at the hands of White women (Johnson-Bailey, 2003). They also identified goals very different from those of White feminists, such as issues related to improvement in welfare and housing versus pay equity and sexual harassment. Sanchez-Hucles et.al (2012) also suggest that Black women don't consider their feminist movement different from that of White women. Black women have also been found to support feminist beliefs and find that they interact with racial consciousness (Simien & Clawson, 2004). As previously stated, several sources point to the application of womanism as a form of Black women's feminism (e.g., Collins, 1996; Taylor, 1998; Williams, 2006). In one study, African American women were asked to visualize themselves in an audiotaped scenario where White male classmates criticized them, but with no reference to the women's gender or race (King, 2003). The findings indicated that participants' womanist and ethnic identity (and not feminism) were associated with greater identification of prejudiced statements about themselves.Wind (2015) described her experiences as a young feminist in the military, raised in Israel. She raised the importance of challenging several power structures and forms of oppression such as militarism and racism, among others in order to achieve gender equality. Similarly using a narrative style, Martinez and Mejia (2015) shared their experiences as young Latina feminists. Martinez revealed conflict around managing cultural expectations around gender roles and those she personally seeks in her identification as a feminist. She described her own feminism as recognizing "hidden aspects" (p. 26) of

herself that are more liberating. Mejia, on the other hand noted her initial belief that feminism was a primarily "American thing" (p. 26), and that though she also faces conflict between cultural values she was raised with and her feminist beliefs, she is now able to appreciate the importance of her multiple intersecting identities. Sanchez-Hucles et al. (2012) additionally noted that Latina women need to balance their race, class and gender identities in their feminist movement along with demonstrating loyalty to their family values.

It is also important to consider factors that contribute to or threaten the development of a feminist identity, the implications of self-identifying as a feminist, and the outcomes associated with it. To begin with, identifying as a feminist can be challenging in the face of stereotypes and labels implying they hold extreme values such as being against men and raising families, among others (Cichocka, De Zavala, Kofta & Rozum, 2013). In an experimental study, Jenen, Winquist, Arkkelin and Schuster (2009) using the Implicit Association Test found the presence of implicit negative biases against feminists among U.S. undergraduates. Participants were faster to associate bad versus good words with "feminist", and faster to associate good versus bad words with "traditionalist". In addition, as a result of identifying as feminist, women may also have their experiences of gender discrimination invalidated (Roy, Weibust & Miller, 2009). In the presence of an identity threat, feminist women in Poland were found to feel more compassion for a victim who also identified as a feminist rather than a conservative. This implies that threat impacted a feminist woman's perceptions of victims, and made it conditional upon the beliefs held by the victim.

Reid and Purcell (2004) explored WOC's pathways to feminist identification; they noted a mediating influence of gender role attitudes on the relationship between experiences or prior exposure to feminism and feminist self-identification. Specifically, the results

indicated that with greater experience with feminism, feminist self-identification was stronger for more women endorsing liberal rather than traditional gender role attitudes and who evaluated feminists less negatively. In another study, Myaskovsky and Wittig (1997) found that, for college women, support for feminist goals, positive attitudes towards feminists and the feminist movement, past experience with feminism, awareness and recognition of gender bias against women, and belief in collective action were associated with greater social identification as a feminist. Moreover, African American women's feminist identification was significantly predicted by their support of feminist goals; whereas White women were more likely to publicly identify with the feminist label compared to WOC. Similar to this finding, Robnett, Anderson, and Hunter (2012) revealed that ethnicity impacted self-identification as feminist among African American, Latina, and European American women. White women's endorsementof hostile sexism was directly associated with identification as a feminist. But for WOC, greater endorsement of hostile sexism was associated with endorsing negative stereotypes about feminists, which was in turn related to lower feminist identification. The researchers pointed to the need to acknowledge ethnic differences when studying feminist attitudes.

Williams and Wittig (1997) discovered that both self-identified feminists and individuals endorsing feminist attitudes supported feminist goals. in an important contribution towards better understanding threats to feminist identification, Moradi, Martin and Brewster (2012) experimentally demonstrated that the discrepancy between agreeing with feminist values and not identifying as a feminist might be explained using personal construct theory; individuals whose positive self-concept conflicted with a feminist identity were less likely to identify as feminist. Liss and Erchull (2013) studied a group of feminist

mothers and feminist anticipated mothers. They found that feminist mothers behaved more in accordance with traditional gender roles than feminist anticipated mothers. Hence, parenthood for women might be another important context where identifying as a feminist might become salient due to expectations of potential gender role transitions. Women might find it challenging to identify as feminists, although they might agree with feminist values. Though a part of this discrepancy might be due to internal dissonance of self-concept, there might also be an added layer of prejudice stemming from the broader majority culture that stereotype feminists in a negative manner.

Unless otherwise specified, most of the above literature pertains to studying young undergraduate White women. It is apparent that there are only a few research studies on feminism for WOC, indicating that WOC continue to be underrepresented in this literature. Gender equality for women, though contextually defined, affects all women, regardless of race and ethnicity. Although most women might be faced with sexism, what seems to differ for WOC is the complexity added due to potential circumstance of racism, or gendered racism. For example, in the broader U.S. culture, whereas a White women might face discrimination while employed, WOC might find it more challenging than White women to secure employment in the first place, even though they are equally capable (e.g., Settles, 2006). In another scenario where both a White woman and a WOC experience discrimination at work, the White woman may be more likely to attribute discrimination to her gender, whereas the WOC may be more likely to perceive the situation as both racist and sexist (Settles, 2014).

In terms of the stages of feminist identity development, the above review of literature lends some support to the five different aspects associated with feminist identity, such as

intentional and unintentional passive acceptance of sexist experiences, dissatisfaction of perceived gendered racial discrimination, identification with other women's experiences, positive evaluation of the feminist self, and commitment to social change. However, for WOC, living by expectations from family and maintaining cultural values may takes precedence over personal feminist beliefs (Sanchez-Hucles et al., 2012). It would be worth exploring the feminist identity model for WOC and White women especially in the absence of research in this area (see Research Question 1). In intersectionality research, it is important to explore how experiences of multiple identities interact with and shape one another, rather than study between group differences (Settles, 2014). For example, for a WOC, racial biases shape her gendered experience, and sexism impacts her racial experience (e.g., Crenshaw, 1991). Hence, the current study will also explore the impact of experiences of gendered racism on the feminist identity experiences of WOC, aligned with the tenet of intersectionality research (see Research Question 2).

Operationalizing and Measuring FID

Downing and Roush's Original Model of FID

Downing and Roush's (1985) FID model for women was based on the idea that in order to develop a feminist identity, women will first need to recognize, and work through their feelings associated with, gender-based discrimination. In particular, the authors wanted their model to serve as a framework for interventions provided by feminist and nonsexist psychotherapists. Downing and Roush (1985) drew upon Cross's (1971) Black Identity model when formulating their FID model. Cross identified the five stages in his model as pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, internalization and internalization-commitment.

This section will describe the five stages provided by Downing and Roush (1985) and their parallels with stages provided by Cross (1971). Downing and Roush proposed five stages of feminist identity development: passive acceptance, revelation, embeddedness-emanation, synthesis and active commitment. At each stage, women tend to hold unique perceptions of and internalizations of feminism. Pre-encounter is the first stage of Black identity development where individuals knowingly or unknowingly support cultural oppression and believe that they need to assimilate into the majority culture. Aligned with this, at FID's passive acceptance stage, women might be in denial of the reality of sexism and that they are being impacted by it. For example, a woman might by unaware of or refuse to believe that she has been treated unfairly or has not received advantages allotted to her male counterparts. At Cross's encounter stage, Black individuals realize the racism they have faced and experience emotions of guilt for having supported it and anger against the majority culture. Parallel to this is the second FID stage of revelation, which may occur as a result of exposure to sexist events. During this stage, women may experience anger at society and guilt for participating in or endorsing sexist attitudes and behaviors. Women may also think of all men as negative and all women as positive; she might develop an identity based on ascribing negative labels to traditional values, rather than affirming her own strengths of being a woman. At immersion, Black individuals attempt to integrate into their own culture, seek support from other Black individuals and withdraw from the majority culture. At emersion, there is reduced anger and openness to non-dualistic viewpoints regarding race. Similarly, at the FID stage of embeddedness-emanation, women seek and experience a sense of connectedness towards other women, perhaps through support groups, women's studies classes, among others. During emanation, women begin to challenge their dualistic thinking

about men and women and come to appreciate the alternative viewpoints; they might, however, continue to experience wariness of men. Cross's internalization stage is marked by greater confidence in identifying as Black and appreciation of multiculturalism. In the fourth FID stage, Synthesis, women may develop a positive self-concept, a sense of inner strength, and reduced feelings of anger. The woman is more likely now to perceive men as individuals rather than hold stereotypes against them. Furthermore, it is during this stage that a woman is believed to develop her feminist identity. Cross denoted internalization-commitment as the fifth and final stage, where a Black individual might channel their newly internalized identity towards active justice efforts for their community. The final stage is marked by active commitment, which is a motivation to pursue social change, a need to educate other individuals about the knowledge they have received, volunteering in advocacy related activities, and offering corrections to sexist beliefs, but all in a fashion that does not cause as much distress as in the revelation stage. Downing and Roush (1985) assume that women might move through the stages based on their own skills and life stressors; they are more likely to be idle when finding themselves at the revelation and embeddedness-emanation stages. Movement through the stages can be influenced by unique contextual factors (Downing & Roush, 1985).

Race and ethnicity was not addressed in the FID model and there is limited research on how WOC experience these feminist identity stages. Moreover, when FID and womanist identity development (WID) were studied among Black and White female college students, more support was found for the WID among Black students and FID among the White students (Boisnier, 2003). This is not surprising considering the FID model operationalized in the study was based on the original FID model that did not consider the context of racial

identification and was also introduced during the second wave of feminist movement, a time when ethnic differences and other diversity factors were not at the forefront. In another study, Flores, Carrubba and Good (2006) explored the FID model among Mexican American 11th and 12th grade women, using the FIDS (Feminist Identity Development Scale; Bargad & Hyde, 1991) and found a poor fit of the scale's factor structure. Nadal (2011) proposed a FID model that could be used to better understand the adult development of Filipina American women and other WOC. He advised that each stage of the original FID model needs to incorporate each of the five stages of racial/ethnic identity development (assimilation, sociopolitical awakening, pan-ethnic consciousness, ethnocentric consciousness and integration). He provided a model including 20 statuses, each resulting in a unique experience based on the intersection between one of four FID stages (passive acceptance, revelation, embeddedness-emanation, and synthesis/active commitment as one stage) and one of five racial/ethnic identity stages. For example, at Status 1 the woman identifies with both passive acceptance and assimilation where she internalizes both racism and traditional gender roles, and considers herself inferior to men. Status 7 refers to identification with revelation and sociopolitical awakening. Here the woman might feel angry as she realizes the racism and sexism she has experienced. At Status 13 (embeddedness-emanation and panethnic consciousness) the woman seeks to find support in the company of other Asian American women. At Status 20 (synthesis/active commitment/integration), the woman may find strength in her multiple identities of being Filipina, Asian, a WOC and a woman.

There are several concerns noted with the operationalization and measurement of FID in recent literature (see FID theoretical and measurement issues). In addition, there is still a need for research to look at feminist identity development in more regionally and ethnically

diverse populations of women (Fischer et al., 2000; Hansen, 2002; Moradi, et al., 2002; Saunders & Kashubeck, 2006; Vandiver, 2002). Feminist writers have also highlighted the need to facilitate feminism among ethnically diverse women (Chow, 1987; Chow, 1992; Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983) and racial/ethnic families (Zin, 1994; Mahler, Chaudhuri & Patil, 2015) as a means to advocate for their rights.

FID Theoretical and Measurement Issues

Feminist identity was operationalized by the FID and efforts were made to develop measures for the construct. Several scales were created for the purpose of measuring the five FID stages. Literature on feminist identity development points mainly to three scales: the Feminist Identity Scale (FIS; Rickard, 1987), the Feminist Identity Development Scale (FIDS; Bargad & Hyde, 1991) and the Feminist Identity Composite (FIC; Fischer et al., 2000). Rickard developed the FIS in 1987 to assess the emotional and cognitive components of attitudes held by women towards themselves, based on the first four stages of Downing and Roush's (1985) model. She felt that the active commitment stage was a behavioral component of the synthesis stage, and did not include this stage in the scale. Rickard then revised this scale in 1989, but no data regarding psychometric properties has been found in the literature (Fischer et al., 2000). Overall, the psychometric properties of the original FIS have been reported to have issues: internal consistency for the passive acceptance has consistently been poor to questionable (.54 to .69) (Fischer et al., 2000), and not much evidence exists for the original scale's discriminant and convergent validity (Moradi & Subich, 2002a).

In 1991, Bargad and Hyde developed the FIDS to measure all five stages of the FID model. However, they found issues with the synthesis and active commitment stages, noting

specifically that the synthesis items loaded more on the active commitment subscale, and hence, they suggested that these two subscales may be combined. In contrast, Moradi and Subich (2002a) indicated that synthesis and active commitment are related yet distinct constructs, and so should not be combined unless further evidence is gathered to support their combination. Based on a sample of women taking women's studies courses, Bargad and Hyde (1991) found some support for construct validity as well as discriminant validity through non-significant associations with social desirability. Psychometrically speaking, internal consistency was poor for the synthesis subscale (.48 to .65; Fischer et al., 2000). Moreover, when Fischer et al. and Moradi and Subich (2002a) assessed the properties of both the FIS and FIDS, they found concerns with the internal consistency reliability of the FIS (especially passive acceptance and embeddedness-emanation subscales; Moradi & Subich, 2002a), low test-retest reliability of the FIDS for synthesis and active commitment (Moradi & Subich, 2002a), and overall lack of fit for the hypothesized factor structure.

Fischer et al. (2000) created the composite instrument, FIC, based on items from both the FIS and FIDS in an attempt to create a more psychometrically sound instrument to measure FID. They retained a 33-item measure, assessing all five stages of the FID model. An example of items corresponding to each of the stages (i.e., passive acceptance, revelation, embeddedness-emanation, synthesis and active commitment) includes: "I think most women will feel most fulfilled by being a wife and a mother," "I never realized until recently that I have experienced oppression and discrimination as a woman in society," "I am very interested in women writers," "I am proud to be a competent woman," and "I care very deeply about men and women having equal opportunities in all respects", respectively. Participants rate the degree to which they agree with the statements provided on a five point

Likert scale ranging from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*. The scale has been normed on two samples: a sample of White heterosexual women, in the age range of 17 to 67, who were community residents primarily living in eastern-central United States; and a sample of White women college students in the age range of 16 to 50, studying in an eastern-central university. Fischer et al. have reported internal consistency reliability estimates for each stage: .74 (passive acceptance), .75 (revelation), .86 (embeddedness-emanation), .71 (synthesis) and .81 (active commitment). Convergent validity of the scale has been evidenced by significant correlations with perceived sexist events, ego identity development, and involvement in women's organizations; discriminant validity was established by weak or absent correlations with social desirability measures.

Moradi and Subich (2002a) noted generally acceptable internal consistency estimates of the FIC subscales (above .70), but found concerns with the stability of the active commitment subscale. Moreover, they found evidence opposing the linearity of the model. Linearity would have been indicated by greater correlations between the proposed adjacent stages than the non-adjacent stages. However, Moradi and Subich (2002a) observed greater correlations between embeddedness-emanation and active commitment (non-adjacent stages) than between synthesis and active commitment (adjacent stages). Overall, they noted better internal consistency and structural validity of the FIC over the FIS and FIDS, but as an alternative, also suggested that future research might use items of passive acceptance, embeddedness-emanation, and active commitment from the FIDS, and revelation and synthesis from the FIS. Due to this, they noted the need to further assess and clarify both theoretical and measurement issues of the FID model, especially with passive acceptance and embeddedness-emanation.

Several studies using the FIC have noted that, when attempting to link back to the original FID theory, items especially on the synthesis stage are problematic (Erchull et al., 2009; Hyde, 2002; Hansen, 2002). Fischer et al. (2000) found low internal consistency of the synthesis stage. Szymanski (2004) found that the synthesis stage was unrelated to feminist activities. Erchull et al. (2009) noted that women may score high on the synthesis stage irrespective of their feminist identity. Whereas Hyde suggested a three-stage model that included only passive acceptance, revelation, and synthesis and accommodation (as one stage), Hansen suggested a re-examination of the current synthesis stage items to adequately capture the components of that stage.

Feminist identity has been indicated as a dynamic (non-linear) process that changes over time (Hyde, 2002); that is, an individual may switch between a later and earlier stage, although it is less likely that a woman who used to identify as a feminist would now not identify as one (Liss, O'Connor, Morowsky & Crawford, 2001). The FID model has been criticized theoretically on several accounts. The most frequent critique is the question of whether it is truly a stage model: do women truly advance in a linear and sequential fashion from one stage to the next? As noted, Moradi and Subich (2002a) compared the properties of three FID measures and found greater correlations between non-adjacent stages than adjacent stages of the model, suggesting that feminist identity development is a non-linear progression. As a proponent of the model, Hansen (2002) acknowledged these concerns, referencing the dynamic nature of revelation, embeddedness-emanation and active commitment, and the static nature of passive acceptance and synthesis. For example, she described that women might perceive the world differently during revelation and actively seek support from other women during embeddedness, versus at passive acceptance or

synthesis where they might not be doing anything differently. Hansen (2002) also proposed that women may revisit earlier stages.

Erchull et al. (2009) found some support for the stage model, but noted concerns especially with the synthesis stage. They noted the synthesis subscale items measured by the FIC were endorsed by women irrespective of their feminist identity. They concluded that synthesis which was meant to capture the development of feminist identity (Downing & Roush, 1985) were not adequately captured by the FIC items. They similarly questioned whether the FID model is relevant for young women today, as younger women endorsed synthesis (an advanced stage expected to be endorsed at an older age) rather than passive acceptance (the first stage). Erchull et al. (2009) also suggested that in the current context women might experience more subtle forms of sexism and hence might not be able to easily identify it. Overall, they questioned the use of the FIC measure to assess FID especially in young women. Liss and Erchull (2010) further investigated the relationship between feminist self-labeling and the synthesis stage. They found that feminist identification was not related to synthesis and that women who endorsed synthesis also supported traditional gender roles. The researchers not only questioned whether the FIC adequately captures the synthesis construct, but also whether the original FID model is relevant for women today. Moreover, identifying as a feminist was more strongly associated with the revelation and embeddedness-emanation stages of FID as measured by the FIC, rather than synthesis (Liss et al., 2001).

Regarding other stages, Vandiver (2002) questioned the notion of passive acceptance as theorized by the model, noting that for women in the 21st century, the definition and identification with passive acceptance might look different. For example, she raised the

question: “Does the unquestioned acceptance of traditional sex roles automatically imply the denial of sexism?” (Vandiver, p. 98). She suggested that women who live by traditional gender roles might not necessarily be unaware of sexism and might not support gender inequality. Additionally, women’s gender role salience might need to be considered to better understand and operationalize passive acceptance (Vandiver, 2002). In reference to this, Moradi et al. (2002) proposed the distinction between intentional and unintentional participation in traditional gender roles, and that woman who passively accept traditional gender roles might be doing this unintentionally. Passive acceptance as measured by the FIC has been generally associated with lower feminist identification (Liss et al., 2001; Yoder, Snell & Tobias, 2012).

In their study of various types of feminist beliefs (including the FIC as one measure), well-being and feelings of liberation, Yoder, Snell and Tobias (2012) found a negative relationship between holding traditional beliefs (passive acceptance) and embeddedness with feminists. They found a positive relationship between passive acceptance and being a non-feminist. Higher scores on embeddedness-emanation were also associated with higher identification as a feminist (Liss et al., 2001). However, Moradi and Subich (2002a) identified the need to develop new items for the embeddedness-emanation stage of FIC. They felt that the FIC items for this stage do not capture the definition of this construct as it was proposed in the original FID model.

Research has also questioned whether attitudes, values, or statuses are more suitable than conceptualizing FID as stages (Hyde, 2002). Overall, research is fairly inconsistent regarding whether clear developmental stages exist. Additionally, a longitudinal methodology would be most appropriate to empirically assess for the presence of true stages.

As stated earlier, due to the non-longitudinal nature of the present study, what has been termed as "stages" in the original FID literature will be operationalized as feminist identity dimensions. Some research studies have supported the idea that greater endorsement of later stages is associated with feminist self-identification (Rickard, 1990; Saunders & Kashubeck-West, 2006). The current study will test if this finding is supported for WOC. It is hypothesized that in a sample of WOC, those who do not self-identity as feminists would identify with passive acceptance, whereas self-identified feminists would identify with remaining dimensions of the model (see Hypothesis 1).

Revision of Scale Items

An important issue to address in the current study is the operationalization and measurement of the FID stages that were proposed by Downing and Roush (1985). Based on reviewed literature on feminism for WOC, it is apparent that the operationalization of feminist identity development may not fit Women of Color's experiences. In addition to questioning whether feminist identity actually develops according to series of linear stages, there are also concerns that FIC subscales may not be valid measures of the respective stages or attitudes. There is also a question regarding whether the model as measured by FIC is relevant for women in today's sociopolitical context (e.g., Erchull et al., 2009), and research is absent on what feminist identity looks like for WOC. The present study will incorporate feedback on FIC subscale items that is consistent with the present state of the literature. Additionally, these revised items will explore the feminist identity dimensional model among WOC, aligned with the context of the third wave feminist movement. In this way, the revised items will pave the way for informing and revising the existing theory.

Based on the above critique and suggestions offered in FID literature, the present study will revise some items on the FIC (see Appendix B), and use this revised scale to test the hypotheses of this study. Minor revisions will be made to some items on the passive acceptance sub-scale to indicate more rigidity in gender roles such as by using the word "should". This would help in testing for the relationship between lesser feminist identification and belief that gender roles must be fixed (see Hypothesis 1). The main critique of items on the synthesis stage is that they might be endorsed by both feminist and non-feminist women. Synthesis has been operationalized as including a positive self-concept, lesser identification with traditional sex roles and lesser stereotypical views of men (Downing & Roush, 1985). Synthesis items will be reworded such that they capture the experience of synthesis as suggested in Downing and Roush's (1985) model. Similarly, embeddedness-emanation items of the FIC will be modified to more explicitly capture immersion with other women and cautious interactions with men, similar to items from the FIDS. This is also aligned with one of the recommendations by Moradi & Subich (2002a).

As stated previously, the current study will explore the feminist identity model as it pertains to feminism for WOC and White women. It would be worth understanding the ways in which the model captures the feminist experience for WOC and White women. The present study will also explore the impact of gendered racism for WOC on the other constructs of interest including the five FID stage-dimensions, psychological outcomes of well-being and perceived stress.

Outcomes of Feminist Identity

Identifying as a feminist may serve several protective functions especially against gender based discrimination. Studies have shown that feminism may be helpful in coping

with distress associated with sexism, and may also promote well-being, encourage collective action and engage in positive romantic relationships. On interviewing feminist women professors of psychology, Klonis, Endo, Crosby and Worell (1997) found that most women's identification with feminism helped them cope with gender discrimination, especially in the form of subtle and explicit gender stereotyping. More specifically, engaging with other feminists through professional groups, and using feminist ideals as a way to make meaning of their lives, was useful in coping.

The relationship between feminist identity and disordered eating has also been examined. Sabik and Tylka (2006) found that for women who identified less with later stages of feminist identity (synthesis and active commitment), perceived sexist events were positively related to disordered eating; however, greater identification with later stages did not influence this relationship. Interestingly one study found that feelings of being in control of one's decisions, rather than feminist identity, was associated with body image and eating disturbance (Peterson, Grippo & Tantleff-Dunn, 2008). In a meta-analytic study assessing feminist identification and body image disturbances, Murnen and Smolak (2009) observed small yet significant effect sizes, indicating a relationship between feminist identity and attitudes towards one's body. These effects were stronger among older women when body shame was the variable of interest, and when a measure of feminist self-identification was included.

The relationship between feminist identification and quality of romantic relationships has also been assessed. Identifying with non-feminist attitudes was related to lower expectations of egalitarianism in relationships and also lower sexual assertiveness; identifying with the synthesis and active commitment stages of feminist identification was

linked to greater expectation of egalitarianism (Yoder, Perry & Saal, 2007). Rudman and Phelan (2007) indicated that feminist women were more likely to be in a romantic relationship than non-feminist women, and both feminist men and women may report more positive relationships if they perceive their partners to be feminist.

The current study is specifically interested in feminist identity development and its association with stress and well-being. Feminist identity, especially in the later stages of development, has been associated higher levels of self-esteem (Carpenter & Johnson, 2001), less disordered eating (Blue & Berkel, 2010), and greater psychological well-being (Saunders & Kashubeck, 2006). Adding to this literature, Yakushko (2007) found that women who identified with moderate or feminist values, rather than traditional values, were more likely to have higher scores on subjective well-being areas of personal growth, autonomy, and purpose in life. Rederstoff, Buchanan and Settles (2007) found that endorsement of feminist attitudes protected against the negative psychological outcomes associated with sexual harassment among White women, although the opposite was true for Black women. Using a single item dichotomous measure of self-identifying as a feminist, Yoder, Tobias, and Snell (2011) found that self-identification was related to collective action, above and beyond the effects of feminist identity attitudes. Moreover, Yoder, Snell, and Tobias (2012) observed that endorsement of Synthesis attitudes was related to more personal empowerment, egalitarianism, personal growth, well-being, and collective member esteem among women. In contrast, women who endorse attitudes associated with passive acceptance and/or revelation may experience more disordered eating (Snyder & Hasbruck, 1996), psychological distress in response to sexist events (Moradi & Subich, 2002b), lower psychological well-being (Saunders & Kashubeck, 2006), and lower self-esteem (Fischer & Good, 1994; Yoder

et al., 2012). It would be worth confirming these findings for WOC especially with the revised the FIC measure (please see Revision of Scale Items). As there is not enough clear evidence to indicate the relationship between embeddedness-emanation and overall well-being, it will not be included in this study's hypotheses.

Ryff's (1989) model of psychological well-being will be used in this study. This model consists of autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relations with others, purpose in life, and self-acceptance; each of these will be briefly described here. Autonomy refers to a sense of independence and reliance on personal standards for regulating one's behavior and evaluating oneself. Environmental mastery suggests a sense of control and competence in managing one's external environment. Individuals high on personal growth view themselves as growing and developing, and engage in gaining self-knowledge and improved personal effectiveness. Positive relations with others indicates the ability to express empathy, affection, and intimacy with others, concern for others' welfare, and trusting relationships. Purpose in life refers to a sense of goal directedness in life activities and meaning in life. Last, self-acceptance reflects a positive attitude towards oneself, and acceptance of one's good and bad qualities.

Feminist identification has been found to be related to several aspects of well-being, such as autonomy, personal growth, purpose in life (e.g., Yakushko, 2007), and relationships with others (such as romantic relationships and collective member esteem; e.g., Yoder et al., 2012). Culturally, individuals in Eastern cultures might ascribe more to dimensions of positive relations with others rather than autonomy and self-acceptance, which might be salient in Western cultures (Ryff, 1995). Also, ethnic minority individuals tend to value group membership over individualism (Helms & Cook, 1999; Landrine, 1995). Therefore, it

is likely that WOC might especially value positive relationships compared to a sense of autonomy. Hence, the current study will focus on exploring the relationships between FID dimensions and the three well-being dimensions of personal growth, positive relations with others and purpose in life, as a means of confirming past evidence and adding to the literature for WOC based on the revised FID measure that will be used in this study.

Similarly, to confirm existing findings linking earlier stages of feminist identity with psychological distress (e.g. Fischer & Good, 1994; Saunders & Kashubeck, 2006), subjective stress as an operationalization of psychological distress will also be used and explored as a psychological outcome of feminist identity development dimensions. This study will define experienced stress based on the Perceived Stress Model (Cohen, Kamarck & Mermelstein, 1983). The proponents of the model emphasize the following: (a) the importance of measuring stress based on the appraisal of the life event rather than merely the presence of objectively stressful life events, and (b) the importance of measuring stress at a global rather than event specific level; the latter assumes that subjective stress is solely associated with a specific event even though this might not be the case. The measure based on this model assesses the extent to which individuals feel a lack of control and unpredictability in their lives (Cohen, Kamarck, & Mermelstein, 1983). It would be beneficial to use this model rather than a more specific indicator, such as a symptom checklist, due to the non-clinical nature of the proposed sample in this study. Moreover, this model is most frequently used in studying global responses to recent stressful events. Not much has been stated in the literature regarding perceived stress in the context of feminist identity stages, and so the current study will attempt to do this.

Implications for Counseling Psychology

The present study is of value to the field of counseling psychology. Although historically feminism has typically been viewed as a political movement, it is also a therapeutic framework (Enns, 1997). Feminist therapy differs from traditional psychotherapy approaches, in that it has fewer techniques and is viewed as being more value-driven and focused on social change (Enns, 1997). The aim is to empower the individual by gradually challenging traditional gender roles. Included in this process is psychoeducation regarding the benefits of an assertive versus passive or aggressive attitude, and also an assessment of the risk involved in holding an assertive stance (Morrow & Hawxhurst, 2011). Feminist psychology has influenced social change by advocating for greater gender equality (Eagly, Eaton, Rose, Riger & McHugh, 2012), and has demonstrated how both women and men are harmed as a result of sexism in society. Rutherford, Vaughn-Blount and Ball (2010) highlighted the importance of feminism and psychology working together to bring about social change. Interestingly, they noted that "psychology itself is deeply implicated in creating the society that feminism seeks to change" (p. 470).

In line with researchers who have indicated the need to look at intersecting identities when studying experiences of discrimination, Bowman (2014) has proposed that feminist counseling psychologists incorporate multicultural perspectives in their work. As noted earlier, the original FID model was introduced to help feminist and nonsexist psychotherapists to appreciate the context of women clients presenting to therapy (Downing & Roush, 1985). An important contribution was made by Raja (1998), who pointed to the fact that feminist therapy's appreciation of the client's social context, focus on advocacy, a collaborative therapeutic relationship and disclosure of therapists' values, is particularly

well-suited for WOC. She added that a feminist therapist in working with a WOC must be mindful of the client's therapeutic goals. For the WOC who presents to therapy, knowing the general applicability of the FID model would help in understanding her experiences with feminism; this would benefit in several therapeutic processes, such as case conceptualization and assessment, goal identification, and treatment planning. Furthermore, knowledge of a WOC client's feminist values and their relationship with perceived stress and factors of well-being would be beneficial from a treatment standpoint. If the proposed FID model is supported for WOC, this will guide therapists in potentially identifying and understanding presenting concerns from a FID lens.

Moradi et al. (2002) suggested that therapists will need to consider multiple identities while incorporating the FID model in their work. Treatment planning might be made more comprehensive with knowledge of these multiple identities. Enns and Williams (2013) suggested that psychotherapists incorporate the Identity Salience Model (Yakushko, Davidson & Williams, 2009), the racial identity model (Root, 2003), ecological factors and the ADDRESSING model (Hays, 2008) in their work with a WOC. The ADDRESSING model refers 9 factors (age, disability, religion, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation, indigenous background, national origin and gender) to understand various forms of privilege and oppression. The model serves as a mechanism to expand counselor's understanding of racism and other forms of privilege and oppression that are widely experienced. For example, the FID dimensions a WOC client most identifies with can be assessed and noted, along with the extent to which this interacts with the unique ecological factors impacting her and other salient identities, such as ethnicity, religion, social status, disability, etc. The hope especially in working with WOC is to move from an assessment system that pathologizes a client to one

that appreciates oppression as a factor contributing to and maintaining her disturbance (Enns & Williams, 2013).

The long-term implication of the current research is to support and build awareness among women, not only as clients but also therapists. The present study will add to the theoretical base of feminist counseling psychology literature in its current state, aligned with the values of the third wave feminist movement. Baker (2006) identified three avenues of work for feminist psychologists, namely clinical work, research and teaching. The current study might serve as a valuable tool in furthering feminist research for diverse women; help students pay attention to systemic forces and their own reactions to gender, race and ethnic differences in working with women clients (e.g. Ancis & Sanchez-Hucles, 2000); and also increase the knowledge base of teachers of counseling psychology looking to develop cultural sensitivity among students. The results of the study can also inform various approaches in psychotherapy. For example, Lee (1997) proposed the use of narrative therapy as way to bridge feminist theory with practice. Knowledge of a WOC's most salient FID dimensions is an added piece of information that could be easily introduced and incorporated with various feminist approaches and their extensions.

Summary and Purpose

Based on the review of the literature above, it is evident that the intersectional nature of sexism and racism is an important consideration in the context of shaping WOC's feminist experiences. Similarly, the applicability of the FID model, as measured by the FIC in its original form has been consistently questioned. Hence, I will study feminist identity experiences for WOC by making revisions to the FIC and I will explore the following research questions and hypotheses:

Research Question 1: What are the differences between the feminist identity model fit between WOC and White women?

Research Question 2: What is the relationship between gendered racism and FID dimensions, psychological well-being and perceived stress for WOC?

Hypothesis 1: Passive acceptance will be negatively related with feminist identification; feminist identification will be positively related with revelation, embeddedness-emanation, synthesis and active commitment.

Hypothesis 2a: Passive acceptance and revelation will be positively related to perceived stress; Synthesis and active commitment will be negatively related to perceived stress.

Hypothesis 2b: Passive acceptance and revelation will be negatively related to positive relations, purpose in life and personal growth; synthesis and active commitment will be positively related to positive relations, purpose in life and personal growth.

CHAPTER 2

A FEMINIST IDENTITY MODEL AMONG WOMEN OF COLOR

Feminism at its core demands the equality of sexes in the face of patriarchal forces. The success of feminism relies not on the dominance of either sex, but the successful overrule of patriarchy by democracy (Gilligan, 2011). However, there are several indicators to suggest that feminism has yet to achieve success: most societies at a global level resist feminist principles and continue to be dominated by patriarchal values (e.g., Longman, 2006; Pease & Pringle, 2001). Even in the 21st century, though there have been some improvements seen as a result of social change via the feminist movement, much work in terms of gender consciousness and gender equality remains (Barreto, Ryan, & Schmitt, 2009).

The feminist movement began in the 1960s in the Unites States, with organized activity aimed at gender equality for women in the political and economic domain (Mann & Huffman, 2005); women needed to be more visible as contributors to government policies, and needed to be assigned the same pay as a man doing the same task with the same qualifications and credentials. With growing diversity in the United States, especially by way of race/ethnicity, another feminist movement or "wave" in the country challenged the second wave in its non-inclusion of diversity, or an assumption that experiences of all women are the same, irrespective of race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, and social class. The third wave movement stressed the appreciation of social context, individual differences, and intersecting identities, such as race, ethnicity, and religion (Snyder, 2008). Mann and Huffman (2005) asserted that a third wave feminism is sensitive to both external and internalized oppression; they also highlighted the lack of cultural diversity in second wave feminism or its assumption that women's experiences are homogenous.

The FID Model

In 1985, Downing and Roush developed the Feminist Identity Development (FID) model with the hope of helping feminist psychotherapists better understand the concerns of women with whom they were working. Taking inspiration from Cross's (1971) theory of Black Identity Development, their model posited five sequential stages that women go through in establishing a feminist identity: *passive acceptance*, *revelation*, *embeddedness-emanation*, *synthesis*, and *active commitment*.

The FID model, however, suffered limitations in not considering the roles of race, class, age, and ethnic differences in women's feminist identity development (Downing & Roush, 1985). In a majority of studies focused on FID, samples have been restricted to White middle class women (Moradi & Subich, 2002b; Hansen, 2002). Hence, despite the third wave having been a mass movement and also one continuing to impact the 21st century, research in psychology is scarce on how racial minority women experience and view feminism. In an age of growing diversity in the United States, counseling psychology literature has pointed to the significance of understanding individual experiences based on intersecting identities (e.g., Harnois, 2014), and for feminism to be integrated into the application of psychology (Bowman, 2014). One of the goals of this research study is to study FID in women of color (WOC) using Downing and Roush's model as its basis.

After its conceptualization, an attempt was made to operationalize the five-stage FID model through the four-stage Feminist Identity Scale (FIS; Rickard, 1987), which was then modified by the Feminist Identity Development Scale (FIDS; Bargad & Hyde, 1991), and finally, the Feminist Identity Composite (FIC; Fischer et al., 2000). The FIC is the most frequently used measure, despite still having substantial concerns associated with it. For

example, it has been widely critiqued for its evaluation of the synthesis stage (Hansen, 2002; Moradi, Subich & Phillips, 2002; Vandiver, 2002). Commonly cited criticisms are that the synthesis stage is not associated necessarily with self-identification as a feminist, and the scale has psychometric issues (Erchull et al., 2009). For example, using the FIC, Erchull et al. (2009) found that the FID model in its original form might not be relevant for young women today, indicating the need to modify items associated with the synthesis stage. Hyde (2002) suggested re-operationalizing the FID by only including three stages of the original five-stage model: passive acceptance, revelation; and synthesis and accommodation. Hansen (2002), one of the original proponents of the model, suggested a further examination of the synthesis and active commitment subscale items as one area of future research in FID.

Clearly, FID theory and its operationalization has considerable scope for further study, modification, and clarification through research. I will make revisions to the FIC based on research criticisms, and use this to measure feminist identity development among WOC. Consistent with a quantitative, non-longitudinal research design, I will use a dimensional rather than a developmental model, the rationale for which will be discussed in the next section. The following sections will then provide a background of feminist research and concepts as they pertain to WOC, including gendered racism and feminist experiences for WOC, and revisions made to the FIC items.

Using a Dimensional Model Versus a Stage Model

Models of identity development typically involve the idea of "renegotiating" one's social identity when faced with experiences that devalue one's social group (French et al., 2006, p. 1). In the discussion of their FID model, Downing and Roush (1985, p. 705) noted how women's progression was suggestive of a gradual attainment of sex-role transcendence,

or the movement from a "polarized" to a more "transcendent sex-role identity." One main feature of a stage-based developmental model is the passage of time, and evidence to support the idea that earlier periods (such as age) relate to prior stages, and later periods relate to later stages. Methodologically speaking, several studies have indicated the need to conduct longitudinal research to provide empirical evidence for the existence of a true FID stage model, which would take the form of a gradual and distinct movement from the passive acceptance to the active commitment stage (e.g., Hansen, 2002; Moradi, Subich & Phillips, 2002). Additionally, linearity or sequence of developmental stages would be suggested by a greater correlation between adjacent rather than non-adjacent stages. Because the current study will not use a longitudinal research design, it would be incorrect to refer to the original FID stages as such. This study will be tentative in its referral to the original FID categories as stages, and instead use the term "dimension" to refer to the five categories. A dimensional approach will help in the context of the current study, as it is a preliminary step towards using a revised scale with a racial minority population. Knowing the extent to which WOC respond to the proposed dimensions will indicate whether these dimensions adequately capture their feminist experience. The presence of different dimensions from a factor analytic perspective among WOC will provide support for the scale with this population, and lay the groundwork for future research. In order to avoid confusion regarding the various terms associated with FID, this document will henceforth refer to FID dimensions rather than FID stages.

Conceptual Framework

Gendered Racism

Gendered racism was a term introduced by Essed (1991) to capture the intersectional nature of racism and sexism experienced by Black women. She noted that Black women's oppressive experiences are based on their dual identities of being Black and female, and gender role conformity needs to be understood in the broader context of racism. Thomas, Speight and Witherspoon (2008) quantitatively studied the construct of gendered racism among African American women by modifying items of the Schedule of Sexist Events (SSE; Klonoff & Landrine, 1995), naming this the Revised SSE (RSSE). The SSE (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995) was originally created to measure the frequency of recent (within the past year) as well as lifetime sexist incidents faced by all women, irrespective of race. The SSE theoretical model proposed that women are exposed to a variety of discriminatory incidents by virtue of their gender in various settings, such as close relationships (such as from a family member), distant relationships (such as teachers, strangers, neighbors) and the workplace (such as from colleagues and supervisors). WOC reported a greater frequency of sexist degradation and sexist experience in close relationships. Furthermore, Asian Americans reported a greater frequency of sexist degradation compared to White women. Both Asian Americans and Latinas reported a greater frequency of sexist events in close relationships compared to White women (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995).

Several studies have highlighted the influence of gendered racism among WOC. For the present study, gendered racism will be defined as the oppressive experiences faced by all WOC due to identifying as both a woman and a racial/ethnic minority. Coltrane and Messineo (2000) found an underrepresentation of African American women, Asian

American women and Latina women in 1990s television advertising. Additionally, when compared to White women, they noted that African American women in television commercials were infrequently portrayed as having a positive romantic and domestic life. In a qualitative study that explored the meaning that African American women assigned to their sexuality, adolescents were found to appreciate European American standards of beauty (Stephens & Few, 2007). Ghavami and Peplau (2012) found support for several prejudiced beliefs towards ethnic minority women by an ethnically diverse sample of undergraduate students: Latina women were often perceived as "sexy and feisty" and African American women were viewed as "aggressive and dominant" (p. 124). In a qualitative analyses of the influence of intersecting race and gender identities among Latina college students, Liang, Knauer-Turner, Molenaar and Price (2016) found that participants were more likely to speak only about their gendered experiences rather than intersectional experiences, possibly due to a lower level of racial identity development. Among their gendered experiences, participants noted that they learned gender roles through family members and felt a sense of confidence in seeing their mother assume both masculine and feminine roles (Liang et al., 2016). Other suggested that the differential treatment based on gender was perceived as the norm. Notably, although participants identified gender discrimination in family and academic experiences, such discriminatory experiences were not labeled as sexism. Similarly, Latina adolescents reported parental-imposed rules and restrictions based on traditional gender role socialization (Raffeelli & Ontai, 2004). This study also reported gender differences in socialization based on parents' gender role attitudes: traditional gender roles of both parents were associated with encouragement of feminine behavior for girls; traditional gender roles of the mother were associated with encouragement of masculine behaviors for boys.

Crenshaw (1989) first introduced the concept of intersectionality to highlight the unique experiences of Black women compared to White women, due to their social positions as both racial minorities and women. Race and gender intersect in WOC's experiences to impact their social position, the way they are represented in the media and also their political attitudes (Crenshaw, 1993). WOC overall are more vulnerable than White women to stereotypes about race and gender that can put them at risk of domestic violence and also reduce the likelihood for them to receive justice (Crenshaw, 1991). Research has supported the value of a truly intersectional framework when describing lived experiences of WOC. Settles (2006) found that Black women rated their intersecting identities as Black women being more important than identifying as only Black or only woman. Participants also shared experiences about the advantages and disadvantages they perceive in identifying as Black women. Specifically, participants cited racialized sexual harassment (i.e., being assigned the stereotypical labels Jezebel, "breeders" and "gold diggers") as being a particular distadvantage based on their intersecting identities (Settles, 2006, p. 595). Along similar lines, Thomas, Hacker and Hoxha (2011) conducted focus groups for young Black women and found the salience of gendered race in their self-perceptions. This theme of gendered race seemed to influence their responses even when they were asked questions related only their race or their gender.

Feminist Experiences for WOC

Several authors have attempted to provide perspectives on feminism for WOC. Enns (2010) described WOC feminism as one that takes an intersectional view of feminism, challenges stereotypes associated with WOC, describes resiliencies of WOC in the light of their oppression and indicates the nature of their activism. Walker (1983) introduced the term

womanism to indicate feminism pertaining to Black women and WOC. It was one that appreciated the culture of women and the "self" (Taylor, 1998, p. 26), and the idea that feminism for WOC can be different from that of White women. Womanism not only includes feminist values of challenging patriarchy and promoting social justice, but also an aspect of spiritual faith. Collins (2000) describes Black feminism as one that considers oppressions with regards to race, class, gender and sexual orientation, redefines Black women's culture and promotes their strengths.

Latina feminists have also been termed "feministas" (Sanchez-Hucles, Dryden & Winstead, 2012). Latinas, due to their gendered racial socialization, might feel pressured to adhere to family values and be submissive. Enns suggested that Latinas have faced unique historical challenges associated with colonization of their country of origin, immigration into the United States and managing language differences. Hence, Latina feminists have to manage the conflict associated with maintaining their cultural values while surviving in a new and possibly threatening environment due to migration (Enns, 2010).

Native American women were traditionally matriarchs, but lost their position due to colonization by the United States (Enns, 2010). Sanchez-Hucles et al. (2012) reaffirmed unique identities such as sexual orientation, spirituality and the bi-cultural status for Native American women. Hence, one goal of feminism for Native American women is to restore their authority in the family (Enns, 2010). They might also face challenges as they balance Native American and "Anglo" identities. They may similarly attempt to resolve their sexual minority status with their ethnic identity (Sanchez-Hucles et al.).

Asian American women may also face stressors associated with immigration due to political oppression, confinement to traditional gender roles (Sanchez-Hucles et al., 2012),

sexualized stereotypes (e.g. exotic and seductive), and negotiating traditional Asian values in an American context (Enns, 2010). Asian American feminists' goals might include obtaining flexibility in roles, maintaining Asian heritage, and challenging their perception of being passive and subservient (Enns, 2010). Asian American feminist women might feel isolated in their advocacy against gendered racism, whereas other individuals in their community might be fighting only against racism (Sanchez-Hucles et al.).

Revision of Scale Items

An important issue to address in the current study is the operationalization and measurement of the FID stages that were proposed by Downing and Roush (1985). Based on reviewed literature on feminism for WOC, it is apparent that the current FIC model may not capture the experiences of WOC. Where questions have been raised in regards to the theory of FID as being a stage model, the issue with the measurement has been whether the items, indeed, adequately capture the model. There is also a question regarding whether the model as measured by FIC is relevant for women in today's sociopolitical context (e.g., Erchull et al., 2009), and research is absent on what feminist identity looks like for WOC. The present study will incorporate critical feedback on some of the current items, as described below. Additionally, these items will explore the feminist identity dimensional model among WOC, which are aligned with the goals of the third wave feminist movement. In this way, the revised items will pave the way for informing and revising the existing theory.

Based on the above critique and suggestions offered in FID literature, the present study will revise some items on the FIC (see Appendix B), and use this revised scale to test the hypotheses of this study. The main critique of items on the synthesis stage is that they might be endorsed by both feminist and non-feminist women. Synthesis has been

operationalized as including a positive self-concept, lesser identification with traditional sex roles and lesser stereotypical views of men (Downing & Roush, 1985). Synthesis items will be reworded such that they capture the experience of synthesis as suggested in Downing and Roush's (1985) model. Similarly, embeddedness-emanation items of the FIC will be modified to more explicitly capture immersion with other women and cautious interactions with men, similar to items from the FIDS; this is also aligned with one of the recommendations by Moradi and Subich (2002a). Minor revisions will be made to some items on the passive acceptance subscale to indicate more rigidity in gender roles such as by using the word "should." This would help in testing for the relationship between lesser feminist identification and belief that gender roles must be fixed (see Hypothesis 1).

Outcomes of Feminist Identity

Feminist identification has been found to relate to several aspects of well-being, such as autonomy, personal growth, purpose in life (e.g., Yakushko, 2007), and relationships with others (such as romantic relationships and collective member esteem; e.g., Yoder et al., 2012). Culturally, individuals in Eastern cultures might ascribe more to dimensions of positive relations with others, rather than autonomy and self-acceptance, which might be more salient in Western cultures (Ryff, 1995). Also, ethnic minority individuals tend to value group membership over individualism (Helms & Cook, 1999; Landrine, 1995). Therefore, it is likely that WOC might especially value positive relationships compared to a sense of autonomy. Hence, the current study will focus on exploring the relationships between FID dimensions and the three well-being dimensions of personal growth, positive relations with others and purpose in life.

Similarly, to confirm existing findings linking earlier stages of feminist identity with psychological distress (e.g. Fischer & Good, 1994; Saunders & Kashubeck, 2006), subjective stress (as an operationalization of psychological distress) will also be used and explored as a psychological outcome of feminist identity development dimensions. This study will utilize the Perceived Stress Model (Cohen, Kamarck & Mermelstein, 1983). The measure based on this model assesses the extent to which individuals feel a lack of control and unpredictability in their lives (Cohen, Kamarck, & Mermelstein, 1983). Not much has been stated in the literature regarding perceived stress in the context of feminist identity stages, and so the current study will attempt to do this.

Summary and Purpose

Based on the review of the literature above, it is evident that the intersectional nature of sexism and racism is an important consideration in the context of shaping WOC's feminist experiences. Similarly, the applicability of the FID model, as measured by the FIC in its original form has been consistently questioned. Hence, I will study feminist identity experiences for WOC by making revisions to the FIC and I will explore the following research questions and hypotheses:

Research Question 1: What are the differences between the feminist identity model fit between WOC and White women?

Research Question 2: What is the relationship between gendered racism and FID dimensions, psychological well-being and perceived stress for WOC?

Hypothesis 1: Passive acceptance will be negatively related with feminist identification; feminist identification will be positively related with revelation, embeddedness-emanation, synthesis and active commitment.

Hypothesis 2a.: Passive acceptance and revelation will be positively related to perceived stress; Synthesis and active commitment will be negatively related to perceived stress.

Hypothesis 2b. Passive acceptance and revelation will be negatively related to positive relations, purpose in life and personal growth; synthesis and active commitment will be positively related to positive relations, purpose in life and personal growth .

Methodology

Participants

Participants were WOC (women who identified as Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian or Asian American, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, biracial, multiracial or other race) and White women. Demographic data and descriptive analyses for the final data set have been provided in Tables 1 – 3. Please also refer to Appendix H for a detailed discussion of demographic variables and descriptive analyses.

Procedures

Participants were recruited via the following sources: (a) Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk), (b) university listservs, (c) social media, and (d) UMKC's Psychology Participant Recruitment Pool. The Social Sciences Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Missouri-Kansas City approved this study prior to its commencement and recruiting participants. Participants were asked to provide their age, gender identity, and citizenship in the demographics section. If they indicated any age less than 18 years, gender identity other than woman, or did not identify as citizens of the United States, they were not allowed to

continue with the study. The study took place in an online survey format hosted on Qualtrics, a web-based application. Eligible participants were directed to complete measures of feminist identity dimensions, psychological well-being, perceived stress and gendered racism (a total of 90 items taking approximately 30 minutes to complete). We decided to use MTurk as the final data set to analyze the study's hypotheses and research questions (please refer to Appendix H for detailed rationale for final data set)

Measures

Demographic data. The participants were asked to provide demographic data such as age range, gender identity, geographic location, highest level of education achieved, race, occupational status, annual income and the extent to which they identify as feminists (Likert scale; see Appendix A for questions).

Feminist identity dimensions. The original FIC (Fischer et al., 2002) was a 33-item measure (see Appendix B) using items from the Feminist Identity Scale (Rickard, 1987) and the Feminist Identity Development Scale (Bargad & Hyde, 1991). Based on Downing and Roush's (1985) model, the FIC measures identification on the five sub-scales of passive acceptance, revelation, embeddedness-emanation, synthesis and active commitment. In this study, feminist identity development was measured using a modified version of Fischer et al.'s (2002) FIC scale. Items on the FIC were revised for use in the current study (please see revised scale items and Appendix C). Examples of some revised items include "Especially now, I would like to join a group pertaining to women such as women's studies, a women's center or a women's support group" (embeddedness-emanation), and "I now consciously try to view people as individuals rather than as members of their gender group" (synthesis).

Participants rated the degree to which they agree with the statements provided on a five-point Likert scale ranging from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*.

The final 29-item scale EFA results for WOC have been reported in Appendix H. This modified five-factor scale was used in order to test Hypotheses 1, 2a, and 2b, and to explore Research Question 2, with active commitment-cognition and active commitment-behavior replacing synthesis and active commitment from the original scale, respectively. Mean scores for each subscale were computed rather than summation scores, in order to maintain uniformity of variance prior to running SEM analyses. The figures representing SEM models based on this new scale were modified accordingly.

Psychological well-being. Ryff's (1989) Psychological Well-Being Scale (PWBS) was used to measure psychological well-being in this study. The current study utilized items associated with the dimensions of Personal Growth, Positive relations with others and Purpose in Life due to it specific interest in these well-being outcomes. In order to prevent participant fatigue and completion time, this study utilized the 9-item per subscale version of the Psychological Well-being scale (a total of 27 items, see Appendix E). Examples of items from each of these dimensions are: "For me, life has been a continuous process of learning, change and growth," "People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others," and "Some people wander aimlessly in life, but I am not one of them". Participants rated the degree to which they agreed with the statements provided on a six-point scale ranging from (1) *strongly disagree* to (6) *strongly agree*. Internal consistency estimates of the three dimensions has been reported to fall between moderate (>0.70) and good (>0.80; T Berrie, personal communication, September 1, 2016). In this study, internal consistency

estimates for each of the three sub-scales was good, and as follows: positive relations (α = 0.85); purpose in life (α = 0.84); and personal growth (α = 0.84).

Perceived stress. Perceived stress was measured using the 10-item Perceived Stress Scale (PSS; Cohen & Williamson, 1988). The PSS is a frequently used instrument in non-clinical samples to measure the perception or appraisal of stressful situations (see Appendix F). Respondents rated each item based on the extent to which they have felt stressed during the last month, on a 5-point scale ranging from (0) *never* to (4) *very often.* An example of items include "In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?" and "In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?" Roberti, Harrington, and Storch (2006), in analyzing the psychometric properties of the PSS, found good internal consistency reliability (.89). Though there has been no research looking exclusively at the psychometric soundness of the scale when used with racial/ethnic minorities, several studies with racial/ethnic minority samples have utilized the PSS to measure perceived stress, and have reported good internal consistency estimates of the scale (e.g., Flores et al., 2008; Pieterse & Carter, 2007; Wei et. al., 2010). In the current study, this scale had excellent internal consistency (Cronbach's α = .90).

Gendered racism. Gendered racism was measured for WOC using the 20-item Revised Schedule of Sexist Events (RSSE; Thomas, Witherspoon & Speight, 2008). The RSSE was created by modifying the Schedule of Sexist Events (SSE; Klonoff & Landrine, 1995), in order to measure gendered racism experiences specifically for Black women. In this study, the phrase "Black woman" in every item was replaced with "woman of color" in order to measure gendered racism for all WOC (see Appendix G). Participants rated the frequency

of having experienced sexism across their lifetime because they are a racial minority woman, on a scale of (1) *never* to (6) *almost all of the time.* Examples of some items include "How many times have you been treated unfairly by strangers because you are a woman of color?", "How many times have people made inappropriate or unwanted sexual advances to you because you are a woman of color?" Internal consistency reliability for RSSE was excellent (.93) and similar to the original SSE (.92). In the current study, the revised RSSE had excellent internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = .96$).

Results

Missing Data

A total of 440 Amazon MTurk workers attempted to complete the survey by indicating "next" on the informed consent page. Of these, 11 respondents indicated their gender identity as "man" and were therefore prevented from further participation as they did not meet the inclusion criteria. Additionally, 19 respondents had completely missing data on all scales and hence were excluded from further analyses. For 10 respondents, data were found to be missing on at least one entire scale, and they were excluded from further analyses. One respondent provided partial data on the RSSE. A pattern analysis of this case did not indicate response bias on other scales. We decided to include this case in the data set for all statistical analyses unless its removal or modification was warranted based on the data screening outcomes for each analysis. After handling all missing data, the final data set was comprised of 400 respondents which was used for further analyses. Please also refer to Appendix H for more information about preliminary analyses.

Research Question 1

Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) Results. As the final data set did not have the minimum sample size required to conduct a CFA for each racial category separately, we first conducted a CFA for all cases to explore the model fit in Figure 5 (p. 177;please refer to Appendix H, page 122 for criteria used to determine model fit).

Global fit indices for the model suggested the following: $\chi^2(485) = 1384.38$, $p < .001$, SRMR = .09, CFI = .82 and RMSEA = .07, 90% CI [.06, .07]. Although the RMSEA statistic was acceptable (less than .08), other fit statistics suggested an overall poor fit. The model also had poor local fit, as the standardized residual covariance for several items were greater than the cutoff of |2.00|. A poor global and local fit of the model warranted further exploration of the factor structure of the revised FIC scale. This would determine the final version of the revised FIC scale to be used to test the SEM models in Hypotheses 1 and 2. Hence, we conducted an EFA to better understand the dimensionality of the FID scale for all participants, and then separately for WOC and White women. The assessment of EFA results for both racial categories would help explore Research Question 1.

Comparison of EFA results by Racial Category. On comparing the EFA results for WOC and White women, several points of similarity and difference were noted (see Table 7). These will be reported in terms of consistency of items with factors (configuration of factor structure); and metric differences in factor loadings if they were greater than |0.20| (Osborne, 2014). Metric differences of this value would indicate instability of the item (Osborne, 2014) across groups (please refer to Appendix H, pages 157-158 for EFA crieria).

For both groups, all seven passive acceptance items loaded together forming a distinct factor; metric differences for all items on this factor were less than .20 suggesting similar

strength in loadings. Configurational differences between racial groups were noted for the revelation items. For WOC, seven out of eight revelation items loaded together, but these eight items made up two distinct factors for White women each comprising four items. In addition, one of the items "In my interactions with men, I am always looking for ways I may be discriminated against because I am female" (R8) loaded with active commitment items for WOC. Finally, White women had a higher loading (.69) for the item "My female friends are like me in that we are all angry at men and the ways we have been treated as women" (R1) than WOC (.47). The four embeddedness-emanation items for both groups also loaded together on a single distinct factor suggesting configurational consistency. However, metric differences were observed for two embeddedness-emanation items. The item "Especially now, I feel that I derive strength from other women around me" had a higher loading for White women (.65) than WOC (.39). On the other hand, the item "I share most of my time with a few close women friends who share my feminist values" had a stronger loading for WOC (.93) than White women (.48).

Evidence of synthesis as a distinct construct was poor for both racial groups. A weak communality for SYN3 of less than .10 was found for the combined data, and therefore it was not analyzed for the two groups. Additionally, SYN4 and SYN5 were the only items loading on one of the factors, suggesting an unstable configuration. Moreover, SYN1 and SYN2 loaded strongly on other factors (revelation and active commitment respectively). Finally, similar to the revelation items, differences in factor configuration were seen for the active commitment subscale. For White women, seven out of nine items loaded together; the item "I feel that I am a very powerful and effective spokesperson for the women's issues I am concerned with right now" failed to load on any factor; and the item "I want to work to

improve women's status" loaded with the embeddedness-emanation items, which seemed inconsistent with existing research. For WOC, six out of nine items loaded together and the remaining three items loaded separately. Finally, a large metric difference of .40 were observed for the item "I care very deeply about men and women having equal opportunities in all respects," where White women had a higher loading (.85).

In sum, two separate scales emerged for WOC and White women based on the EFA results. The five factors for White women were labeled: Passive Acceptance, Active Commitment, Revelation-Anger, Revelation-Guilt, and Embeddedness-Emanation (see Table 7). The total scale with 29 items had good reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$). The 29-item five factor solution for WOC appeared to be theoretically and statistically stronger than the 30-item solution and hence was retained as the final solution. The five factors were labeled: Passive Acceptance, Active Commitment-Behavior, Revelation, Active Commitment-Cognition, and Embeddedness-Emanation (see Table 8). The total scale reliability was good with Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$.

We decided to use the scale for WOC derived from the EFA to test hyptotheses in our study. This factor solution will be used to test other research questions and hypotheses due to stability of all factors, acceptable to good internal consistency of sub-scales and the final scale, and sufficient evidence to distinguish items and their associated factors. The main difference from the original FID theory would be the absence of the synthesis factor due to poor psychometric properties. Where this could be an indication of theoretical issues, it may also point to concerns with the wording of items (see Discussion section).

Structural Equation Models

Hypothesis 1. The model in Figure 6 (p. 178) was theoretically identified: it was recursive with zero degrees of freedom and every latent variable set to a scale. Because the model was just-identified, it had perfect fit. All direct effects except for revelation ($p < .01$) were significant at $p < .001$ (see Table 9, p. 168). A small direct effect in the hypothesized direction was found between feminist self-identification and each of passive acceptance (β = -0.26), revelation (β = 0.17), embeddedness-emanation (β = 0.27), active commitment-cognition (β = 0.23); and a moderate direct effect was found between feminist self-identification and active commitment-behavior (β = 0.39). Feminist self-identification accounted for 3%-7% of the variance in the FIC subscales of passive acceptance, revelation, embeddedness-emanation, and active commitment-cognition, a small effect size. It accounted for 15% of the variance in active commitment-behavior, a moderate effect size. Hypotheiss 1 was supported in this study. All variances and model estimates have been reported in Table 9.

Hypothesis 2a. The model in Figure 8 (p. 180) was theoretically over-identified: it was recursive with $df = 1$ and every latent variable set to a scale. A total of 22 outliers were indicated for this model in the Amos output. Minimal differences were found between the model output with and without outliers; therefore, all of these were retained. Global fit indices evidenced a good model fit: $\chi^2(1) = .55$, $p = .46$; SRMR = .01, CFI =1.00, RMSEA = .00, .90CI = [.00, .16]. In addition, local model fit was also good with all standardized residual covariances less than |2.00|. Contrary to the hypothesis, the direct effect between passive acceptance and perceived stress (β = -0.16, $p < .05$) was small, yet significant in the negative direction. A moderate direct effect was found between revelation and perceived

stress, in the expected direction (β = 0.35, p <.001). The direct effects between active commitment-behavior and perceived stress (β = -0.20, p <.05) was small, yet significant and in the expected direction. Overall, the model accounted for 10.2% of the variance in perceived stress, a moderate effect size. Hypohthesis 2a was partially supported in this study. All variances and model estimates have been reported in Table 10 (p. 169).

Hypothesis 2b. The model in Figure 9 (p. 181) was also theoretically identified; it was recursive with df = 3 and every latent variable set to a scale. The Amos output indicated 27 outliers in this model that appeared to alter the model fit. However, upon further analysis, it was determined that the outliers were not influential, and it was decided to retain them. The final retained model evidenced a good fit for the data: $\chi^2(3) = 4.43$, p = .22; SRMR = .01, CFI =1.00, RMSEA = .05, .90CI = [.00, .13]. Local fit was also good with all standardized residual covariances less than |2.00|. For the PWB sub-scale of positive relations, the following direct paths were significant, in the expected directions, and of moderate size: revelation (β = -0.33, p <.001), and active commitment-behavior (β = 0.39, p <.001). A small effect was found between active commitment-cognition and positive relations (β = 0.15, p <.05). This model explained 19% of the variance in positive relations, a medium effect size. Next, the direct effect between revelation and purpose in life (β = -0.27, p <.001) was small; on the other hand, the direct effect between active commitment-behavior and purpose in life (β = 0.33, p <.001) was moderate. Both these effects were in the expected direction. This model accounted for 17.3% of the variance in purpose in life, denoting a medium effect size. Finally, for the personal growth dimension of PWB, direct effects for active commitment-cognition (β = 0.30), and active commitment-behavior (β = 0.33) were moderate, and significant at p <.001; the direct effect for revelation (β = -0.20) was small and significant at

p <.01. These relationships were in the hypothesized directions. The model accounted for approximately 32% of the variance in personal growth, a large effect size. All direct paths between passive acceptance and PWB sub-scales were weak and not significant. Hyptothesis 2b was partially supported in this study. All variances and model estimates have been reported in Table 11 (p. 171).

Research Question 2

This study explored the strength and direction of relationships between gendered racism and the five FID dimensions, psychological well-being, and perceived stress for WOC. Pearson's correlations for all scales have been reported in Table 4. Small, yet significant positive relationships were found between gendered racism and the FID dimensions of revelation (r = .25), embeddedness-emanation (r = .18), and active commitment-behavior (r = .16). On the other hand, significant small negative relationships were noted between gendered racism and the PWB factors of positive relations (r = -.27), personal growth (r = -.16) and purpose in life (r = -.19). Finally, gendered racism demonstrated a significant moderate positive relationship with perceived stress (r = .32).

Discussion

The main purpose of this study was to understand the feminist identity experience of WOC using the FID model, based on a revised version of the FIC that incorporated changes to the original measure (Erchull et al., 2009; Hansen, 2002; Moradi & Subich, 2002a) to explore similarities and differences between WOC and White women on five feminist identity dimensions. Because the item level CFA model did not fit the data well, I determined the final versions of the scale for WOC and White women using separate EFA models. I then studied the relationships among the feminist identity dimensions, psychological well-being,

perceived stress, and gendered racism among WOC. All hypotheses were supported, with small to moderate effect sizes. The following sections will provide a detailed discussion and implications of the findings for each research question and hypothesis.

Research Question 1

Overall, the noteworthy areas of difference in feminist identity dimensions for WOC and White women were in the configuration of revelation and active commitment. In addition, passive acceptance and embeddedness-emanation maintained their configuration for both groups consistent with past theory. Synthesis did not emerge as a distinct construct for either group of women, possibly indicating both theoretical and measurement concerns.

The definition of revelation by Downing and Roush (1985) was more consistent for WOC than White women. If WOC experience anger and guilt as suggested by the FID theory, this couldbe a response to their recognition of gendered racism experiences. Further research would be needed to understand whether are true differences in the revelation process for White women, or if mine was a chance finding due to revision of other scale items.

The process of active commitment for WOC appeared to involve two distinct processes: a personal understanding of egalitarian society and what its achievement might involve, and a behavioral and motivational component suggesting involvement in creating a fair society for both sexes. The literature has indicated the various coping mechanisms employed by WOC in the light of gendered racism (Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Shorten-Gooden, 2004), including cognitive and behavioral components (e.g., Liang et al., 2016). Hence, it is possible that our results lend support to the presence of these distinct coping mechanisms that help maintain and promote cultural and systemic harmony. Please also refer to Appendix H for an extended discussion of Research Question 1.

Our results indicating differences between WOC and White women's feminist identity dimensions highlight the importance of being sensitive to cultural differences inherent in the definition of feminism. For example, several authors have pointed to the concept of womanism as Black women's feminism (e.g., Collins, 1996). Womanism is concerned especially with the impact of racism and classism on sexism (Henley et al., 1998), challenging patriarchy, promoting social justice; and an aspect of spiritual faith (Taylor, 1998). It is likely that womanist identity theory, one that incorporates unique definitions of feminism for Black women, is more applicable to WOC's feminist identity development process. This is an additional consideration for future research.

Hypothesis 1

Feminist self-identification when measured using a single item was significantly associated with each of the five derived FID dimensions for WOC. Identifying as a feminist had the largest direct effect on the active commitment-behavior dimension. This suggests that identifying as a feminist is more strongly related with being committed to social change and achieving equality of the sexes for WOC. Though this relationship makes intuitive sense, it also speaks to the inherent need for some women to connect their identity as feminists to social commitment and personal responsibility towards those ends. While this mirrors past research that had found women to equate a feminist label with advocacy efforts and collective action (e.g., Liss, O'Connor, Morowsky & Crawford, 2001; Reid & Purcell, 2004; Yoder, Tobias & Snell, 2011), it is also important to simply view the results relative to other dimensions. Also, I am not aware of how WOC in my study personally defined "feminist." The next largest direct effect in the path model, though small, was observed for embeddedness-emanation, followed by revelation. Feminist identification had a negative

effect on passive acceptance, consistent with existing literature (Liss et al., 2001). Though this effect was small, it might indicate that WOC's preference for traditional gender roles is lesser associated with considering oneself a feminist. These findings are consistent with research that has found later dimensions of the FID model are associated with greater feminist self-identification (e.g., Saunders & Kashubeck-West, 2006).

Past research has generally used a variety of scales to measure feminist self-identification. The finding of these significant relationships while using a single item measure might speak to some universality in the presence of these relationships for women, irrespective of race and the way feminist self-identification is measured. These results also point to some knowledge of how WOC relate to their feminist identity; there is some support in my study that women who identify with feminist values are also likely to label themselves as feminists. On the other hand, it is also possible that these relationships hold true just for my sample. Thus, it would be worth corroborating through research with larger WOC samples. These statistical findings would potentially contribute to the broader literature base of feminist theory for WOC.

Hypothesis 2a

I found a moderate significant relationship between revelation and perceived stress among WOC; relationships between other dimensions and perceived stress denoted small or nonsignificant effects. The overall model accounted for a moderate effect in perceived stress. This finding is generally consistent with the literature that has generally found earlier dimensions of the FID model are associated with greater psychological disturbance in response to sexist events (Moradi & Subich, 2002b) and low self-esteem (Yoder et al., 2012). Women of Colors' experiences of guilt and anger when they recognize sexism, as denoted by

the Revelation subscale, are associated with greater appraisal of life events as being stressful. This might speak to the general feelings of helplessness and lack of control, as WOC attempt to manage emotions that accompany revelation. Moreover, the findings indicate that greater commitment towards building a feminist society is associated with lower perceived stress. When WOC feel a sense of personal responsibility to making social change, this possibly makes them feel more in control of their lives and reduces unpredictability.

However, contrary to past research and what I anticipated, passive acceptance was associated with lower perceived stress among WOC. This directionality, though associated with a small effect size is noteworthy as it is possible that WOC who prefer to comply with traditional gender roles are less likely to report stress. There can be several explanations for this: maybe the WOC in this study fully understand their disadvantaged position and its implications; however, they might also perceive benefits to it that appear to outweigh the costs. Second, some WOC may endorse traditional feminine gender roles because they are aligned with their personal and/or cultural values, and/or perhaps do not believe that sexism is a societal reality or that they are disadvantaged due to their gender. Conforming to traditional feminine gender roles may, in fact, be a form of coping for WOC; that is, they may be more inclined to comply with situational demands in order to avoid both internal conflict and interpersonal stress.

Hypothesis 2b

My hypothesis regarding the FID scale-dimensions and PWB sub-scales was generally supported. Revelation was negatively associated with positive relations, followed by purpose in life and personal growth. It appears that recognition of sexism for WOC might impact their ability to form trusting relationships, to the greatest extent of the three well-

being areas measured. This is not an unusual finding considering that at revelation, the feeling of being duped or manipulated by societal expectations, is at the forefront. WOC might similarly feel a lack of existential meaning and personal effectiveness as they attempt to make sense of their new reality of having lived and maintained sexism in society. This is aligned with the finding that revelation was associated with greater perceived stress in this study.

Similarly, greater endorsement of active commitment in behavioral terms was positively associated with all three well-being dimensions. Engaging in behaviors that seek to foster an egalitarian society was related to a greater concern for the welfare of others, self-development, and enhanced meaning in life. These findings are consistent with theory and prior scholarship (Saunders & Kashubeck, 2006; Yakushko 2007). The active commitment-cognition dimension was related to positive relations and personal growth, but not purpose in life. Moreover, the effect sizes were smaller than active commitment-behavior findings. It is possible that attitudes and thoughts of feminist activity need to be backed by behaviors in order to increasingly impact well-being in WOC. As previous research has not separated the active commitment dimension in this way, additional research is needed so that stronger inferences can be made.

Next, there was no evidence in our model to suggest that rigid compliance with certain gender roles significantly impacted psychological well-being of WOC. Taken together with the finding of a small negative association with perceived stress, there is a need to better understand the ways in which WOC perceive and experience endorsement of traditional feminine gender roles (i.e., passive acceptance). That is, what do WOC perceive to be their intent, purpose and hoped outcome while identifying with this dimension? Finally, it

is noteworthy that the five FID dimensions accounted for larger variance in the well-being sub-scales, compared to perceived stress. This may be due to greater specificity of the well-being constructs and that stress was measured at a global rather than symptomatic level.

The relationship between embeddedness-emanation and psychological well-being was not tested in this study. Embeddedness speaks to greater connection with other feminist women, while emanation indicates a gradual openness to engaging with men (Downing & Roush, 1985). There was a significant positive relationship between this dimension and PWB sub-scales among WOC (see Table 4). However, a non-significant relationship was noted between this dimension and PWB sub-scales for White women (see Table 5). Future research using SEM analyses is encouraged to further corroborate these relationships.

Research Question 2

I modified the RSSE to measure gendered racism experiences of WOC and explore its relationship with five FID dimensions, psychological well-being, and perceived stress. The scale properties suggested excellent internal consistency ($\alpha = .96$), slightly higher than the original RSSE ($\alpha = .93$) and SSE ($\alpha = .92$) suggesting that the scale may be used in future studies with WOC. Because these are preliminary analyses results, I can only speak in terms of strength of associations without directionality of relationships. Gendered racism experiences of WOC had the strongest relationship with perceived stress. WOC who experienced gendered racial discrimination were more likely to appraise life events as stressful. This not only makes logical sense, but is consistent with research supporting associations between RSSE and stress and psychological distress (Thomas et al., 2008). Furthermore, gendered racism was negatively associated with positive relations, followed by purpose in life and personal growth. Knowing that gendered racism was originally

operationalized to measure discrimination in close relationships, the finding associating it with lower trust in relationships makes sense. In addition, its negative association with other well-being dimensions possibly reflects low existential faith and reduced self-worth, forms of disturbance that might be triggered by discriminatory experiences.

Gendered racism yielded significant relationships with the FID dimensions of revelation, followed by embeddedness-emanation and active commitment-behavior. It is important to note that these relationships were small and hence need to be interpreted cautiously. It makes logical sense that WOC who identify discrimination are also more likely to experience the anger associated with recognizing sexist treatment. These women are also more likely to be motivated to seek support from and engage with other similar women. Unique to individuals who identify as ethnic minorities is the concept of family values, collectivism and strength derived from interpersonal connectedness (e.g., Constantine & Sue, 2006; Tate & Linn, 2005), and so the association with embeddedness-emanation could be representative of that. Moreover, gendered racism was related to more active commitment-behavior, suggesting that gendered racism may foster commitment and inspiration to change the status quo in society.

Implications

The results of this study were based on exploratory research and analyses; therefore, inferences drawn and clinical implications are tentative. Some outcomes in this study might be clinically beneficial for multicultural feminist therapists and theorists. First, professionals working with WOC can be made aware of the varied coping mechanisms employed to counter gendered racism. It might be important to recognize the difference between cognitive and behavioral manifestations of coping. Similarly, it would be an assumption to conclude

that feminist beliefs associated with change will necessarily lead to related behaviors. It would be important to attend to and consider unique contextual stressors for the woman as well as contextual facilitators of her feminist beliefs and actions. Second, professionals are encouraged to be mindful of their work with WOC whose beliefs mirror that of revelation. These women might specially be vulnerable to experiencing disturbance that may impact their relationships. It is possible that in this psychological frame, social support will be protective only if it is validating of the woman's developing feminist outlook. Ensuring a proper facilitation of emotional expression and a simultaneous identification of unique sources of strength could be crucial goals at this time. Another therapeutic goal for practitioners could be to help WOC manage and navigate close interpersonal relationships where they experience sexism.

Finally, therapists may benefit from being knowledgable of womanist identity theory (Ossana, Helms & Leonard, 1992), as this could be a better representation of feminism, especially among Black women (e.g., Boisnier, 2003; Collins, 1996). Collins (1996) spoke to the importance of Black women's self-definition of feminism, a viewpoint to consider for mental health professionals while conceptualzing their feminist identity development process.

Limitations

The findings in this study need to be viewed in the light of several limitations in terms of research design and methodology. In addition to limitations of sample size, the revised scale had some statistical issues which highlight continued concerns with the original FID theory and challenges its applicability to women. Evidently, the absence of synthesis as a distinct factor makes one question whether this dimension represents aspects of feminist

identity in the current sociopolitical context. Overall, the FIC scale used in this study was possibly not modified enough to adequately capture WOC's feminist experiences. As an example, Nadal's (2011) feminist identity development model for WOC can be used as a framework, in addition to our findings such that both racial identity and feminist identity dimensions are incorporated.

Endorsing varying attitudes and behaviors towards gender equality may not be a linear or definite process for WOC, but a fluid one that may shift in either direction based on several factors, such as government policies, family context and experiences (e.g., Bronfrenbrenner, 2005), identity salience (e.g., Crenshaw, 1989; Sanchez-Hucles et al., 2012), and generational differences (e.g., Bronfrenbrenner, 2005). There could also be nuanced differences in the feminist process among WOC socialized in individualistic (such as the U. S.) versus more collectivistic (such as Asian) cultures. For example, an Indian American woman born and raised in the U.S. may have a different feminist process from a woman born, raised, and living in India; or even an Indian international student living in America. Indians born outside the U.S. with stronger ethnic identity have found to report more traditional gender role attitudes compared to those born in the U.S. (Tummala-Narra, Houston-Kolnik, Sathasivam-Rueckert, & Greeson, 2017).An Indian woman's feminism may need to be seen in the context of caste, religion, social class and the current political climate (Ghosh, 2007). For an Indian international student, the impact acculturation on gender role attitudes would be an additional consideration. The present study did not address these unique contextual variables.

Conclusions

This study attempted to explore feminist identity dimensions among WOC using the FID framework provided by Downing and Roush (1985), using a revised FIC measure. The originally proposed factors were not supported for WOC in this study. Exploratory analyses revealed sub-factors within active commitment for WOC, and revelation for White women. Synthesis continued to perform poorly as a distinct dimension; however, revisions to passive acceptance and embeddedness-emanation appeared to work well in this study. The three hypotheses we tested were generally confirmed in the study, using a derived scale from the data. Though the inferences need to be viewed cautiously, feminist professionals in psychology may continue to be mindful of the cultural differences and contextual factors underlying the feminist identity process for WOC. Research recommendations include the need to further refine feminist identity theory for WOC, using qualitative designs; especially in order to verify or refute results obtained in this study. There is a need to investigate the psychological mechanism of passive acceptance of gender roles and its contribution to the feminist identification process. On similar lines, gendered racism and its specific impact on the feminist experience for WOC would be worthy of further exploration. Longitudinal research may lend support to the developmental nature of this process and help clarify whether true stages exist.

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Appendix A

Demographic Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions as accurately as possible:

1. What is your age? (in years)
   _____

2. What gender do you identify with?
   a. Woman
   b. Transgender woman
   c. Man
   d. Transgender man
   e. Other, please specify: _____

3. Are you a citizen of the United States?
   a. Yes
   b. No

4. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
   a. Grade School
   b. High School
   c. GED
   d. Associates Degree
   e. Bachelors' Degree (e.g., B.A., B.S., B.Sc. etc.)
   f. Masters' Degree (e.g., M.A., M.S., M.Sc., etc.)
   g. Doctoral degree (e.g., Ph.D.)
   h. Other, please specify:_____

5. What is your race/ethnicity?
   a. Asian or Asian American
   b. Black or African American
   c. Hispanic or Latino/Latina
   d. Native American/American Indian
   e. White/Caucasian/European American
   f. Biracial
   g. Multiracial
   h. Other, please specify:_____

6. What is your sexual orientation?
   a. Straight or heterosexual
   b. Lesbian
   c. Gay

d. Bisexual
e. Queer
f. Other, please specify: _____

7. What is your occupational status? (please select all that apply)
    a. Student
    b. Unemployed
    c. Full-time
    d. Part-time
    e. Retired
    f. Other, please specify:_____

8. What is your annual income?
    a. Less than $10,000
    b. $10,000 to $19,999
    c. $20,000 to $29,999
    d. $30,000 to $39,999
    e. $40,000 to $49,999
    f. $50,000 to $59,999
    g. $60,000 to $69,999
    h. $70,000 to $79,999
    i. $80,000 to $89,999
    j. $90,000 to $99,999
    k. More than $100,000

9. I identify as a feminist.

    a. Strongly disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither agree nor disagree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly agree

Appendix B

Feminist Identity Composite Scale

On the following pages you will find a series of statements which people might use to describe themselves. Read each statement carefully and decide to what degree you think it presently describes you. Then select one of the five answers that best describes your present agreement or disagreement with the statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree

---

1. I like being a traditional female. (PA)
2. My female friends are like me in that we are all angry at men and the ways we have been treated as women. (R)
3. I am very interested in women artists. (EE)
4. I am very interested in women's studies. (EE)
5. I never realized until recently that I have experienced oppression and discrimination as a woman in this society. (R)
6. I feel like I've been duped into believing society's perceptions of me as a woman. (R)
7. I feel angry when I think about the way I am treated by men and boys. (R)
8. Men receive many advantages in society and because of this are against equality for women. (R)
9. Gradually, I am beginning to see just how sexist society really is. (R)
10. Regretfully, I can see ways in which I have perpetuated sexist attitudes in the past. (R)
11. I am very interested in women musicians. (EE)
12. I am very interested in women writers. (EE)
13. I enjoy the pride and self-assurance that comes from being a strong female. (SYN)
14. I choose my "causes" carefully to work for greater equality of all people. (AC)
15. I owe it not only to women but to all people to work for greater opportunity and equality for all. (AC)
16. In my interactions with men, I am always looking for ways I may be discriminated against because I am female. (R)
17. As I have grown in my beliefs I have realized that it is more important to value women as individuals than as members of a larger group of women. (SYN)
18. I am proud to be a competent woman. (SYN)
19. I feel like I have blended my female attributes with my unique personal qualities. (SYN)
20. I have incorporated what is female and feminine into my own unique personality. (SYN)

21. I think it's lucky that women aren't expected to do some of the more dangerous jobs that men are expected to do, like construction work or race car driving. (PA)
22. I care very deeply about men and women having equal opportunities in all respects. (AC)
23. If I were married to a man and my husband was offered a job in another state, it would be my obligation to move in support of his career. (PA)
24. I think that men and women had it better in the 1950s when married women were housewives and their husbands supported them. (PA)
25. It is very satisfying to me to be able to use my talents and skills in my work in the women's movement. (AC)
26. I am willing to make certain sacrifices to effect change in this society in order to create a
non-sexist, peaceful place where all people have equal opportunities. (AC)
27. One thing I especially like about being a woman is that men will offer me their seat on a crowded bus or open doors for me because I am a woman. (PA)
28. On some level, my motivation for almost every activity I engage in is my desire for an egalitarian world. (AC)
29. I don't see much point in questioning the general expectation that men should be masculine and women should be feminine. (PA)
30. I feel that I am a very powerful and effective spokesperson for the women's issues I am concerned with right now. (AC)
31. I think that most women will feel most fulfilled by being a wife and a mother. (PA)
32. I want to work to improve women's status. (AC)
33. I am very committed to a cause that I believe contributes to a more fair and just world for all people. (AC)

Appendix C

Revised Feminist Identity Composite Scale

On the following pages you will find a series of statements which people might use to describe themselves. Read each statement carefully and decide to what degree you think it presently describes you. Then select one of the five answers that best describes your present agreement or disagreement with the statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree

---

1. I should try my best to be a traditional woman. (PA1)
2. My female friends are like me in that we are all angry at men and the ways we have been treated as women. (R1)
3. Especially now, I feel that I derive strength from other women around me. (EE1)
4. I share most of my time with a few close women friends who share my feminist values. (EE2)
5. I never realized until recently that I have experienced oppression and discrimination as a woman in this society. (R2)
6. I feel like I've been duped into believing society's perceptions of me as a woman. (R3)
7. I feel angry when I think about the way I am treated by men and boys. (R4)
8. Men receive many advantages in society and because of this are against equality for women. (R5)
9. Gradually, I am beginning to see just how sexist society really is. (R6)
10. Regretfully, I can see ways in which I have perpetuated sexist attitudes in the past. (R7)
11. My social life is mainly with women these days, but there are a few men I wouldn't mind interacting with on a friendship basis. (EE3)
12. Especially now, I would like to join a group pertaining to women such as women's studies, a women's center or a women's support group. (EE4)
13. All men hold biased views against women. (reverse score SYN1)
14. I choose my "causes" carefully to work for greater equality of all people. (AC1)
15. I owe it not only to women but to all people to work for greater opportunity and equality for all. (AC2)
16. In my interactions with men, I am always looking for ways I may be discriminated against because I am female. (R8)
17. I now consciously try to view people as individuals rather than as members of their gender group. (SYN2)
18. I have never felt as proud to be a woman. (SYN3)
19. I am now living my life authentically and aligned with my personal values. (SYN4)

20. I am now more likely to choose a career based on my personal values rather than traditional gender roles. (SYN5)
21. I think it's lucky that women aren't expected to do some of the more dangerous jobs that men are expected to do, like construction work or fire-fighting. (PA2)
22. I care very deeply about men and women having equal opportunities in all respects. (AC3)
23. If I were married to a man and my husband was offered a job in another state, it would be my obligation to move in support of his career. (PA3)
24. I think that men and women had it better in the 1950s when married women were housewives and their husbands supported them. (PA4)
25. It is very satisfying to me to be able to use my talents and skills in my work in the women's movement. (AC4)
26. I am willing to make certain sacrifices to effect change in this society in order to create a non-sexist, peaceful place where all people have equal opportunities. (AC5)
27. One thing I especially like about being a woman is that men will offer me their seat in a crowded place or open doors for me because I am a woman. (PA5)
28. On some level, my motivation for almost every activity I engage in is my desire for an egalitarian world. (AC6)
29. I don't see much point in questioning the general expectation that men should be masculine and women should be feminine. (PA6)
30. I feel that I am a very powerful and effective spokesperson for the women's issues I am concerned with right now. (AC7)
31. I think that most women should feel most fulfilled by being a wife and a mother. (PA7)
32. I want to work to improve women's status. (AC8)
33. I am very committed to a cause that I believe contributes to a more fair and just world for all people. (AC9)

Appendix D

Original and Revised Feminist Identity Composite Scale Items

Original Item	Revised Item
I like being a traditional female. (PA1)	I should try my best to be a traditional woman. (PA1)
I think it's lucky that women aren't expected to do some of the more dangerous jobs that men are expected to do, like construction work or race car driving. (PA2)	I think it's lucky that women aren't expected to do some of the more dangerous jobs that men are expected to do, like construction work or fire-fighting. (PA2)
I think that most women will feel most fulfilled by being a wife and a mother. (PA7)	I think that most women should feel most fulfilled by being a wife and a mother. (PA7)
I am very interested in women artists. (EE1)	Especially now, I feel that I derive strength from other women around me. (EE1)
I am very interested in women's studies. (EE2)	I share most of my time with a few close women friends who share my feminist values. (EE2)
I am very interested in women musicians. (EE3)	My social life is mainly with women these days, but there are a few men I wouldn't mind interacting with on a friendship basis. (EE3)
I am very interested in women writers. (EE4)	Especially now, I would like to join a group pertaining to women such as women's studies, a women's center or a women's support group. (EE4)
I enjoy the pride and self-assurance that comes from being a strong female (SYN1)	All men hold biased views against women. (reverse score SYN1)
As I have grown in my beliefs I have realized that it is more important to value women as individuals than as members of a larger group of women. (SYN2)	I now consciously try to view people as individuals rather than as members of their gender group. (SYN2)
I am proud to be a competent woman. (SYN3)	I have never felt as proud to be a woman. (SYN3)
I feel like I have blended my female attributes with my unique personal qualities. (SYN4)	I am now living my life authentically and aligned with my personal values. (SYN4)
I have incorporated what is female and feminine into my own unique personality. (SYN5)	I am now more likely to choose a career based on my personal values rather than traditional gender roles. (SYN5)

Appendix E

Psychological Well-being Scale

Instructions: The following The following set of questions deals with how you feel about yours nd your life. Please remember that there are no right or wrong answers.						
Select the number that best describes your present agreement or disagreement with each statement.	*Strongly Disagree*	*Disagree Somewhat*	*Disagree Slightly*	*Agree Slightly*	*Agree Some what*	*Stro ngly Agr ee*
Most people see me as loving and affectionate.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I am not interested in activities that will expand my horizons.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Maintaining close relationships has been difficult and frustrating for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I live life one day at a time and don't really think about the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I often feel lonely because I have few close friends with whom to share my concerns.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I tend to focus on the present, because the future nearly always brings me problems.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I enjoy personal and mutual conversations with family members or friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I don't want to try new ways of doing things - my life is fine the way it is.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how you think about yourself and the world.	1	2	3	4	5	6
My daily activities often seem	1	2	3	4	5	6

trivial and unimportant to me.						
I don't have many people who want to listen when I need to talk.	1	2	3	4	5	6
When I think about it, I haven't really improved much as a person over the years.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I don't have a good sense of what it is I'm trying to accomplish in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I used to set goals for myself, but that now seems like a waste of time.	1	2	3	4	5	6
It seems to me that most other people have more friends than I do.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I enjoy making plans for the future and working to make them a reality.	1	2	3	4	5	6
People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I have a sense that I have developed a lot as a person over time.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I am an active person in carrying out the plans I set for myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I have not experienced many warm and trusting relationships with others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I do not enjoy being in new situations that require me to change my old familiar ways of doing things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
Some people wander aimlessly through life, but I am not one	1	2	3	4	5	6

of them.						
For me, life has been a continuous process of learning, changing, and growth.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I sometimes feel as if I've done all there is to do in life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I know that I can trust my friends, and they know they can trust me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
I gave up trying to make big improvements or changes in my life a long time ago.	1	2	3	4	5	6
There is truth to the saying you can't teach an old dog new tricks.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix F

Perceived Stress Scale

*Instructions: The questions below will ask you about your feelings and thoughts **during the last month.** In each case, you will be asked to indicate by selecting how often you felt or thought a certain way. There are no right or wrong answers.*					
	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very often
1. In the last month, how often have you been upset because of something that happened unexpectedly?	0	1	2	3	4
2. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?	0	1	2	3	4
3. In the last month, how often have you felt nervous and "stressed"?	0	1	2	3	4
4. In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?	0	1	2	3	4
5. In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going your way?	0	1	2	3	4
6. In the last month, how often have you found that you could not cope with all the things that you had to do?	0	1	2	3	4
7. In the last month, how often have you been able to control irritations in your life?	0	1	2	3	4
8. In the last month, how often have you felt that you were on top of things?	0	1	2	3	4
9. In the last month, how often have you been angered because of things that were outside of your control?	0	1	2	3	4
10. In the last month, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high that	0	1	2	3	4

you could not overcome them?	

Appendix G

Revised Schedule of Sexist Events

Instructions: Please think carefully about your life as you answer the questions below. For each question, choose the number that best describes events in YOUR ENTIRE LIFE, using these rules.

1 = If this has NEVER happened to you
2 = If this has happened ONCE IN A WHILE (less than 10% of the time).
3 = If this has happened SOMETIMES (10% - 25& of the time).
4 = If this has happened A LOT (26% - 49% of the time).
5 = If this has happened MOST OF THE TIME (50% - 70% of the time).
6 = If this has happened ALMOST ALL OF THE TIME (more than 70% of the time).

How many times have you been treated unfairly by teachers or professors because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have you been treated unfairly by your employers, bosses, and supervisors because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have you been treated unfairly by your coworkers fellow students and colleagues because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have you been treated unfairly by people in service jobs (store clerks, waiters, bartenders, waitresses, bank tellers, mechanics and others) because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have you been treated unfairly by strangers because you are a woman of color.	1	2	3	4	5	6

How many times have you been treated unfairly by people in helping jobs (by doctors, nurses, psychiatrist, case workers, dentists, school counselors, therapists, pediatrician, school principals, gynecologists and others) because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have you been treated unfairly by neighbors because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have you been treated unfairly by an important man in your life because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times were you denied a raise, a promotion, tenure, a good assignment, a job or other such thing at work that you deserved because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have you been treated unfairly by your family because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many time have people made in appropriate or unwanted sexual advances to you because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have people failed to show you the respect you deserve because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have you wanted to tell someone off for being oppressive to you as a	1	2	3	4	5	6

woman of color?						
How many times have you been really angry about something oppressive that was done to you as a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times were you forced to take drastic steps (such as filing a grievance, filing a lawsuit, quitting your job, moving away, and other actions) to deal with some oppressive thing that was done to you as a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have you been called a name or slur because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have you gotten into an argument or a fight about something oppressive that was done or said to you as a woman of color or other women of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have you been made fun of, picked on pushed, shoved, hit, or threatened with harm because you are a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How many times have you heard people making inappropriate or degrading jokes about women of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6
How different would your life be now if you HAD NOT BEEN treated in an unfair way as a woman of color?	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix H

Extended Results and Discussion

Summary of Source Differences

A single common survey link was used to obtain data from social media websites (Facebook and Reddit) and graduate psychology listervs, considering this as one data source. A separate link was used to recruit MTurk workers. Statistically significant mean differences were found for scores on several items from the two sources when comparing WOC and White women samples. After consultation it was decided not to combine the data sets for further analyses. Data collection from the third source (PsychPool) was still ongoing at this time. Based on factors such as having obtained a large data set from MTurk, the possibility that mean differences by source may continue to exist, and timely project completion, we decided to exclude data obtained from PsychPool. Finally, we decided to use MTurk as the final data set to analyze the study's hypotheses and research questions. It might be beneficial to explore the effect of these sources on the outcome variables as a research question in the future.

For WOC, differences were found on the FID scale of passive acceptance and PWB scales. For example, the results indicated that participants from MT (M =17.82, SD = 6.21, N = 236) scored significantly higher on the passive acceptance sub-scale than social media and listserv (SML) participants (M = 13.89, SD = 4.80, N = 47), $t(80) = 4.86$, $p<.001$. Item level mean differences were observed on four passive acceptance items. On the other hand, participants from SML scored much higher on all three PWB scales of Positive Relations, Personal Growth and Purpose in Life than MT participants; item level mean differences were observed on a total of 15 items. Additionally, item-level mean differences were found for one

item on the PSS and two items of the RSSE. For White women, differences were observed for the FID sub-scales of passive acceptance (all seven items) and active commitment (six items); and all three PWB sub-scales (on a total of 18 items). For example, participants from MT (M =16.59, SD = 6.21, N = 164) scored significantly higher on the passive acceptance sub-scale than SML participants (M = 11.58, SD = 4.03, N = 95), $t(253) = 7.89$, $p<.001$. The opposite finding was observed for active commitment where participants from SML (M = 37.59, SD = 4.93, N = 95) scored significantly higher than MT participants (M = 33.60, SD = 5.87, N = 164), $t(257) = -5.55$, $p<.001$. In addition, item-level mean differences were also noted for at least one item each of the other three FID sub-scales.

Participant Description

Data from 400 adult citizens of the U.S. served as participants in the study who provided complete data for analysis. The age range of the sample was 18-72 years (M = 33.15, SD = 10.28), with an above average rating on feminist self-identification (M = 3.95, SD = 1.00). All other demographic data has been indicated for all cases and separated by racial categories in Table 1 (p. 148). As indicated, a majority of participants identified as "woman", and two identified as transgender women. For the purpose of ease and clarity, respondents henceforth will be referred to as women and "she" will be used as the pronoun.

A majority of women (n = 231; 57.8%) could be categorized as racial/ethnic minorities or WOC. A majority of WOC identified as Black or African American (n = 119; 29.8%); others indicated their race/ethnicity as Asian or Asian American (n = 40; 10.0%); Hispanic or Latina (n = 37; 9.3%); Native American/American Indian (n = 12; 3.0%); multiracial (n = 12; 3.0%) or biracial (n = 11; 2.8%). One hundred and sixty three women (40.8%) identified as White/Caucasian/European American. Six women (1.4%) indicated

their race/ethnicity as other; based on specific responses, four respondents (Arab American, Black Asian, Guyanese and Middle Eastern) could be clearly categorized as WOC and one respondent (Irish) was categorized as White. One woman who indicated "I don't believe in race" was also categorized as a Woman of Color due to her completion of the RSSE scale and responses indicating some gendered racism experiences. Therefore, the final data set was comprised of 236 (59.0%) WOC and 164 (41.0%) White women. As per the U.S. Census Bureau (2015), WOC make up 38.5% of the general population of women, with 17.1% categorized as having Hispanic origin, 12.7% Black/African Americans, 5.6% Asian Americans, 2.4% belonging to more than one racial category, and 0.9% American Indian/American Indians. In comparison, as expected, WOC in our sample were overrepresented possibly due to specific efforts geared towards recruiting them. Similarly, Black/African American women, Native American/American Indian women, Asian American women, and biracial/multiracial women were slightly overrepresented in our sample. Hispanic/Latinas were underrepresented in our sample.

A majority of the sample comprised WOC (59%), identified as straight or heterosexual (82.8%), and reported having highest education of a Bachelor's degree (40.3%), a full-time occupational status (60.8%), an income in the range of $30,000-$39,000 (16.3%) and who agreed or strongly agreed to the statement "I identify as a feminist" (75.5%). Consistent with past findings linking higher education to feminist self-identification (e.g., McCabe, 2005), it is not surprising that a majority of our sample (52.1% having at least a Bachelor's degree) also identified as feminists. A majority of younger women (86.3%) in the age range of 18-25 years agreed or strongly agreed that they identify as feminists; in comparison to 69.9% of older women (40-72 years). These findings are opposite to those

reported by Erchull et al. (2009). It is important to note however that the cited study used a dichotomous measure versus a continuous measure of feminist self-identification.

Extended Results

Descriptive Analyses

The mean, standard deviations, minimum and maximum values, and 95% confidence intervals for age, feminist self-identification, revised feminist identity dimension sub-scales, psychological well-being (PWB) sub-scales, perceived stress and gendered racism have been reported in Table 2 (p. 150) for WOC and Table 3 (p. 151) for White women. In addition, correlations among these sub-scales have been reported in Table 4 (p. 152) for WOC and Table 5 (p. 153) for White women. The mean scores for both racial groups were generally comparable on all measures. A majority of women in both groups agreed or strongly agreed they identified as feminists, with the mean of the scores slightly exceeding the median. They reported higher mean scores on the active commitment dimensions compared to other dimensions, which is theoretically consistent with feminist identification as observed in the general population. All women tended to score above the median on PWB sub-scales and below the median for perceived stress. Consistent with existing research (e.g., Cohen, 1994), mean score differences for perceived stress between WOC and White women, were small in our sample.

Among WOC, significant weak positive correlations were noted between self-identifying as a feminist and all feminist identity dimensions except passive acceptance, where a weak negative relationship was noted. A moderate positive correlation was found between feminist self-identification and active commitment-behavior. For White women, the strength of all these correlations was moderate. Correlations among most FID scale-

dimensions for both racial groups were significant except for passive acceptance with revelation and embeddedness-emanation. For WOC, a weak relationship was noted between passive acceptance with revelation, which is inconsistent with Fisher et al.'s (2000) study, which found negative relationships between passive acceptance and all dimensions for the FIC. However, this relationship was consistent with past research for White women in this sample. In addition, close to no relationship was found between passive acceptance and embeddedness-emanation for WOC. This finding is generally consistent with that of Fisher et al.'s (2000) study, while considering that the items of the embeddedness-emanation sub-scale mirrored those of the FIDS.

In terms of correlation patterns between adjacent stage dimensions, some deviations were noted. For both racial groups, passive acceptance had a stronger and significant relationship with the active commitment dimension (non-adjacent dimension) than with revelation (adjacent dimension). Among WOC, embeddedness-emanation had a slightly stronger relationship with the active commitment-behavior (non-adjacent) stage dimension than with the revelation (adjacent) stage dimension. As expected, revelation had a stronger significant relationship with embeddedness-emanation (adjacent dimension) than with the active commitment dimensions (non-adjacent) for both racial groups. Finally for WOC, stronger significant relationships were found between active commitment-cognition and active commitment-behavior (adjacent dimension) than with revelation or passive acceptance (non-adjacent dimensions).

Finally, among WOC, perceived stress was found to have significant weak relationship in the expected direction with revelation. However, non-significant relationships were observed for perceived stress with all other feminist identity dimensions. Significant

positive correlations of varying strength were found between each of the three psychological well-being sub-scales and all feminist identity dimensions, except revelation, where correlations were weak and not significant, and the correlation of positive relations with passive acceptance, which was negative and nonsignificant.

Exploratory Factor Analyses

An EFA was conducted for all instruments using Maximum Likelihood Estimation (MLE) as the data met normality assumptions. Promax was used as the method of rotation (oblique) due to the assumption that underlying factors are correlated. Appropriateness of the data for EFA was assessed using KMO's Measure of Sampling Adequacy and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity. An inspection of the scree plot, eigenvalues (greater than 1), and factor loadings greater than .32 (Warner, 2013) was used to determine the number of factors supported and whether dimensionality was consistent with that of theory and past research. In addition, reliability of the measures or sub-scales were determined using Cronbach's alpha, an internal consistency estimate.

Revised FIC. The final 29-item scale EFA results for WOC have been reported in the next section. This modified five-factor scale was used in order to test Hypotheses 1, 2a, and 2b, and to explore Research Question 2, with active commitment-cognition and active commitment-behavior replacing synthesis and active commitment from the original scale, respectively. Mean scores for each subscale were computed rather than summation scores, in order to maintain uniformity of variance prior to running SEM analyses. The figures representing SEM models based on this new scale have been modified accordingly.

Perceived Stress Scale (PSS). For this 10-item scale, KMO Measure of Sampling Adequacy was "meritorious" at .89 (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999), and Bartlett's Test of

Sphericity was significant (χ^2 = 1408.29, *df* = 45, $p < .001$). Eigenvalues and the scree plot suggested a two-factor solution that explained approximately 62.00% of the total variance and all items had factor loadings greater than .32. Further examination of the pattern matrix suggested that the two factors could be differentiated based on the directionality of scoring: the four reverse-scored items (Items 4, 5, 7, and 8) loaded separately on a single factor. Due to evidence for unidimensionality of the scale based on the original PSS theory, and as the first extracted eigenvalue was more than three times larger than the second, a single factor solution was extracted which explained 47.47% of the total variance. The 10-item scale had excellent internal consistency (Cronbach's α = .90). This original unidimensional scale was used to test all hypotheses and explore Research Question 2 (RQ2) in this study.

Revised Schedule of Sexist Events (RSSE). This 20-item scale was used to measure gendered racism experiences among WOC. KMO Measure of Sampling Adequacy for this scale was "marvelous" at .95 (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999), and Bartlett's test of Sphericity was significant (χ^2 = 3808.94, *df* = 190, $p < .001$). Eigenvalues suggested a three-factor solution that explained approximately 64.06% of the total variance. All items had primary factor loadings greater than .32, with three cross-loaded items. The RSSE was proposed to capture the single dimension of gendered racism; an EFA was re-run while extracting a single factor. This solution explained 56.14 % of the total variance in the sample, and all factor loadings were above .32. The 20-item scale had excellent internal consistency (Cronbach's α = .96).

Psychological Well-Being (PWB) scale. We used three of the six sub-scales from the original 54-item version PWB scale. A total of 26 instead of 27 items were administered to participants due to administration error. A three-factor solution was extracted for the total

scale due to adequate research supporting the presence of these factors. KMO Measure of Sampling Adequacy for this 26-item scale was "marvelous" at .92 (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999), and Bartlett's test of Sphericity was significant (χ^2 =3314.38, *df* = 325, $p < .001$). The three-factor solution explained approximately 49.00% of the total variance with all primary factor loadings greater than .32. This scale had excellent internal consistency (Cronbach's α = .93). Internal consistency estimates for each of the three sub-scales was good, and as follows: positive relations (α = .85); purpose in life (α = .84); and personal growth (α = .84).

Preliminary Analyses

The specific projected sample size for this study was calculated based on guidelines provided by Shultz and Whitney (2005). They suggest using a minimum of 5-10 cases per item in order to do a meaningful factor analysis. The main CFA model in this study explored the FID model for WOC and White women by administering 33 items using the revised FIC (see Appendix B). Hence, using this ratio the projected minimum sample size for this study was 330 WOC and 330 White women leading to a total of 660 participants.

Data were screened prior to conducting the CFA based on suggestions by Warner (2013) and Kline (2016). A visual inspection of histograms revealed a mild negative skewness of scores on feminist self-identification and active commitment. The assessment of normality results from the Amos v24.0 output indicated that skewness and kurtosis statistics of sub-scale scores fell within acceptable limits. All variables had Tolerance scores greater than 0.1 and VIF statistics less than 10, indicating the absence of multicollinearity. Similarly, a visual inspection of plots of the standardized predicted score against the standardized residuals suggested that the assumption of homoscedasticity was supported. Data was also assessed for the presence of univariate and multivariate outliers. Univariate outliers were

identified by inspecting Z scores (values exceeding +/- 3.30) for each sub-scale. A total of 8 outliers were identified. Mahalanobis distances and corresponding *p* values in the Amos output were assessed to check for the presence of any significant multivariate outliers. Based on the criterion of both *p1* and *p2* values less than .05 (Arbuckle, 2012), 64 outliers were identified in the entire data set.

In order for an SEM model to be theoretically identified, the degrees of freedom need to be greater than or equal to zero, the disturbances in the model need to be set to a scale, and the model should be recursive (Kline, 2011). A model is a recursive path model when there are no feedback loops between variables; as per Kline, recursive models are "always identified" (p. 132). Finally, the following indices were used to determine global fit (Kline, 2011; cutoffs commonly used by researchers are in parentheses): a non-significant model chi square, Steiger-Lind Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA; less than .05), Bentler Comparative Fit Index (CFI; greater than .95), and Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR; less than .05). Local model fit was assessed based on standardized residual covariances, which should be less than |2.00| to indicate good fit.

Hypothesis 1 was tested using the model indicated in Figure 6 (p. 178). Figures 8 and 9 were used to test Hypotheses 2a and 2b, respectively. Amos v24.0 software was used to analyze and interpret the results. Data was screened for assumptions prior to running each SEM analysis. For all models, the assumptions of normality, homoscedasticity, and absence of multicollinearity were met. As the Amos output for each model indicated a different number of outliers, these will be reported and discussed separately for each model.

Research Question 1

After running the CFA model with and without the 64 outliers, the difference in outputs were minimal and hence, all outliers were retained for further analyses. Global fit indices for the model suggested the following: $\chi^2(485) = 1384.38$, $p < .001$, SRMR = .09, CFI = .82 and RMSEA = .07, 90% CI [.06, .07]. Although the RMSEA statistic was acceptable (less than .08), other fit statistics suggested an overall poor fit. The model also had poor local fit, as the standardized residual covariance for several items were greater than the cutoff of |2.00|.

EFA Results for Research Question 1. An EFA was conducted on all cases first, using Maximum Likelihood Estimation (MLE) extraction method as the data met normality assumptions. Promax was used as the method of rotation (oblique) due to the assumption that underlying factors are correlated (see Figure 5, p. 177). An inspection of the scree plot, eigenvalues (greater than 1) and factor loadings greater than .32 (Warner, 2013) was used to determine the number of factors supported and whether dimensionality was consistent with that of theory and past research. Additionally, reliability of the measures or sub-scales were determined using Cronbach's alpha, an internal consistency estimate.

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) Measure of Sampling Adequacy was "marvelous" at .91 (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999), and Bartlett's test of Sphericity was significant ($\chi^2 = 5371.60$, $df = 528$, $p < .001$). Eigenvalues suggested a 7 factor solution for all 33 items explaining 48.70% of the total variance. An examination of factor loadings (greater than .32) suggested that seven items for passive acceptance and four items for embeddedness-emanation loaded on separate factors. Four items for active commitment and a single synthesis item (SYN2) "I now consciously try to view people as individuals rather than as members of their gender group" loaded on a single factor; the remainder five items of active

commitment loaded on a separate factor. Four items each of revelation loaded on two separate factors (Items 1, 4, 5 and 8; Items 2, 3, 6 and 7). Further examination of these item wordings suggested that where the first cluster may relate to anger felt upon experiencing sexism, the second cluster might better capture a sense of awareness of sexism and guilt tied to contributing to this. The reverse scored synthesis item "All men hold biased views against women" (REVSYN1) had negative factor loadings and SYN3 did not load heavily on any factor (less than .10). Finally, the two reworded synthesis items, "I am now living my life authentically and aligned with my personal values" (SYN4) and "I am now more likely to choose a career based on my personal values rather than traditional gender roles" (SYN5) loaded on a single factor. The reworded synthesis item "I have never felt as proud to be a woman" (SYN3) was found to have a low extraction communality (less than 1) indicating a poor correlation with the extracted factors; and also did not load heavily on any factor.

An observation of the eigenvalues for the output above indicated that a five-factor solution explained 45.61% of the total variance. This led us to attempt another EFA (using MLE extraction and Promax rotation), but this time extracting a five-factor solution to the data with all 33 items to explore the findings. This five-factor solution explained 45.13% of the total variance. The item SYN3 continued to have poor extraction communality (less than 1) and failed to load heavily on any factor indicating that it may need to be dropped. The items SYN4 and SYN5 continued to load on a separate factor. REVSYN1 continued to have negative factor loadings and an extracted communality of .26. The seven passive acceptance items were the only ones that appropriately loaded together; all other items were scattered across factors leaving them indistinct. For example, certain active commitment, embeddedness-emanation and revelation items loaded together.

Next, we dropped the SYN3 item and ran the EFA with 32 items, and explored the number of factors indicated. REVSYN1 was not dropped at this time due to having an acceptable extraction communality in the previous EFA and need to further explore its contribution. The eigenvalues indicated a six-factor solution this time explaining 48.15% of the total variance. The pattern matrix suggested the following six factors and associated items: nine active commitment items and SYN2; seven passive acceptance items; four revelation items each on separate factors; all four embeddedness-emanation items; and SYN4 and SYN5. REVSYN1 continued to have an extraction communality of .26 and loaded in the negative direction (-.47) with revelation items.

In the final EFA, the two items SYN4 and SYN5 were dropped based on the recommendation that at least three items should make up a factor for it to be stable (Costello & Osborne, 2005). We ran the EFA with 30 items and explored the number of resulting factors. Eigen values indicated a five-factor solution this time explaining 47.38% of the total variance. The pattern matrix suggested the following factors and associated items: seven passive acceptance items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$); four revelation items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$); four other revelation items with REVSYN1 having a slightly higher negative loading of -.51 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .41$); four embeddedness-emanation items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$); nine active commitment items and SYN2 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$). It appeared that scoring the SYN1 item in the positive direction rather than reverse scoring it would be a better indicator of the factor that included revelation items. Hence, the scoring of the REVSYN1 item was changed to the positive direction and the EFA was re-run. This yielded a five-factor solution that explained 47% of the total variance, not too different from the previous solution. However, some minor differences were noted in the configuration of factors: Factor 1 included eight active

commitment items and SYN2 (Cronbach's α = .85; .86 if SYN2 deleted); Factor 2 included all seven passive acceptance items (Cronbach's α = .86); Factor 3 included four embeddedness-emanation items and one active commitment item (Cronbach's α = .77); Factor 4 included four revelation items (Cronbach's α = .75); and Factor 5 included the other four revelation items and SYN1 (Cronbach's α = .74; .75 if SYN1 deleted). Evidently, the reliability estimate of Factor 5 considerably improved after changing the scoring of SYN1. Reliability estimates on deleting items did not seem to improve considerably for Factors 1 and 5. Additionally, the total scale with these 30 items had good reliability (Cronbach's α = .88). Therefore, we decided to use this five-factor solution, with 30 items for the next stage of analysis with WOC and White women (see Table 6, p. 154). These five factors were labeled: Active Commitment, Passive Acceptance, Embeddedness-Emanation, Revelation-Guilt and Revelation-Anger.

Women of Color. An EFA was conducted for WOC ($N = 236$) for the 30 items scale, using MLE and Promax rotation, and extracting a five-factor solution. KMO was "meritorious" at .88 (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999), and Bartlett's test of Sphericity was significant ($\chi^2 = 3129.59$, $df = 435$, $p < .001$). Eigen-values suggested that this solution explained 48.12% of the total variance. All extracted communalities were above .30 except for SYN1 (.17). All items had factor loadings greater than .32 on at least one factor; five items were found to cross load, with the following four items having a difference of loading less than .20: "Especially now, I feel that I derive strength from other women around me" (EE1), "Men receive many advantages in society and because of this are against equality for women" (R5), "Gradually, I am beginning to see how sexist society really is" (R6), "I am willing to make certain sacrifices to effect change in this society in order to create a non-

sexist, peaceful place where all people have equal opportunities" (AC5) and "I am very committed to a cause that I believe contributes to a more fair and just world for all people" (AC9). Costello and Osborne (2005) have recommended dropping cross loaded items when factor loadings are strong (more than .50) on each factor. In addition, after assessing the nature of cross loadings for each of the five items, loading on the higher factor was considered because they were better supported by theory. Furthermore, removing the items would have reduced the respective sub-scale's reliability. For these reasons, all cross-loaded items were retained to determine the fitted five-factor structure. The following factor structure was indicated (see Table 7, p. 158): Factor 1 included the seven passive acceptance items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$); Factor 2 included seven revelation items and SYN1 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$; .80 if SYN1 deleted); Factor 3 included three active commitment items and SYN2 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .74$; .75 if SYN2 deleted); Factor 4 included six active commitment items and one revelation item (Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$; .85 if revelation item deleted); and Factor 5 included four embeddedness-emanation items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$).

It was noted that for Factor 4, retaining the revelation item "In my interactions with men, I am always looking for ways I may be discriminated against because I am female" (R8) was not theoretically consistent with the six active commitment items. Hence, the EFA was re-run after dropping this item, using MLE and Promax rotation, and extracting a five-factor solution. Similar to the previous solution, KMO was "meritorious" at .88 (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999), and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant ($\chi^2 = 3013.94$, $df = 406$, $p < .001$). Eigen-values suggested that this solution explained 48.26% of the total variance. Factor loadings for a majority of the items was either marginally higher or same as those of the previous solution. The number of cross loaded items decreased to three in this solution

(EE1, R5 and AC9). Finally, though the sequence of factors was slightly different, the configuration was same as the previous solution. The following factor structure was indicated: Factor 1 included the seven passive acceptance items (Cronbach's α = .86); Factor 2 included six active commitment items (Cronbach's α = .85); Factor 3 included seven revelation items and SYN1 (Cronbach's α = .79; .80 if SYN1 deleted); Factor 4 included three active commitment items and SYN2 (Cronbach's α = .74; .75 if SYN2 deleted); and Factor 5 included four embeddedness-emanation items (Cronbach's α = .77).

Overall, the 29-item five factor solution for WOC appeared to be theoretically and statistically stronger than the 30-item solution and hence was retained as the final solution. The five factors were labeled: Passive Acceptance, Active Commitment-Behavior, Revelation, Active Commitment-Cognition, and Embeddedness-Emanation (see Table 8, 163). The total scale reliability was good with Cronbach's α = .87. This factor solution will be used to test other research questions and hypotheses due to stability of all factors, acceptable to good internal consistency of sub-scales and the final scale, and sufficient evidence to distinguish items and their associated factors. The main difference from the original FID theory would be the absence of the synthesis factor due to poor psychometric properties. Where this could be an indication of theoretical issues, it may also point to concerns with the wording of items (see Discussion section).

White Women. An EFA was similarly conducted for the White women ($N = 164$) for the 30 item scale. KMO was "meritorious" at .87 (Hutcheson & Sofroniou, 1999), and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant ($\chi^2 = 2245.68$, $df = 435$, $p < .001$). Eigen-values suggested that this solution explained 48.57% of the total variance. All extracted communalities were above .30 except for SYN1 (.13) and SYN2 (.24). All items had factor

loadings greater than .32 except the item: “I feel that I am a very powerful and effective spokesperson for the women's issues I am concerned with right now,” indicating that it may need to be deleted. The following four items were found to have cross-loadings, with the difference in loadings found to be less than 0.20 : “I share most of my time with a few close women friends who share my feminist values”, “My social life is mainly with women these days, but there are a few men I wouldn’t mind interacting with on a friendship basis”, “It is very satisfying to me to be able to use my talents and skills in my work in the women's movement”, and “I am willing to make certain sacrifices to effect change in this society in order to create a non-sexist, peaceful place where all people have equal opportunities”. Cross loaded items were retained and the following factors were thereby indicated: Factor 1 included the seven passive acceptance items (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .86$); Factor 2 included seven active commitment items and SYN2 (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .83$; .84 if SYN2 deleted); Factor 3 included four revelation items and SYN1 (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .74$; .77 if SYN1 deleted); Factor 4 included the other four revelation items (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .77$); and Factor 5 included four embeddedness-emanation items and 1 active commitment item (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .77$; .78 if one embeddedness-emanation item deleted). Finally, the five factors were labeled: Passive Acceptance, Active Commitment, Revelation-Anger, Revelation-Guilt, and Embeddedness-Emanation (see Table 7). The total scale with 29 items had good reliability (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .89$).

Hypothesis 1

A negative direct path was hypothesized from feminist self-identification to the dimension passive acceptance; a positive direct path was hypothesized from feminist self-identification to each of the dimensions revelation, embeddedness-emanation, active

commitment-cognition, and active commitment-behavior (see Table 8 for final factors used for WOC).

Based on the Amos output and previously mentioned criteria (Arbuckle, 2012), 24 outliers were identified for this model. After running the model with and without the 24 outliers, the difference in output was minimal. Hence, all outliers were retained for further analyses. After controlling for feminist self-identification, the correlation between passive acceptance and each of the other four subscales slightly increased; whereas correlations among all other dimensions slightly decreased.

Hypothesis 2a

As this model was originally proposed to be a structural regression (SR) model, I first assessed the fit of the measurement or CFA model (see Figure 7, p. 179), which was theoretically identified (i.e., it was a standard CFA model with $df \geq 0$, and every latent variable set to a scale). This model did not have good global fit: $\chi^2(5) = 63.90$, $p < .001$; SRMR = .10, CFI =.82, RMSEA = .22, .90CI = [.18, .27]. Four standardized residual covariances were found to be greater than |2.00|, suggesting poor local fit. Due to poor fit of this measurement model, the five feminist identity dimensions were represented as correlated observed subscale variables instead, to test Hypotheses 2a and 2b (see Figures 8 and 9).

As per Figure 8 (p. 180), positive direct paths were hypothesized from each of the dimensions of passive acceptance and revelation to perceived stress; a negative direct path was hypothesized from each of the dimensions of active commitment-cognition and active commitment-behavior to perceived stress. A total of 22 outliers were indicated for this model in the Amos output. Minimal differences were found between the model output with and without outliers; therefore, all of these were retained. Although the relationship between

active commitment-cognition (β = -0.02) and perceived stress was in the expected direction, this was weak and not significant.

Hypothesis 2b

Based on Figure 9 (p. 181), a negative direct path was hypothesized from each of the dimensions of passive acceptance and revelation to each of the three psychological well-being factors, personal growth, purpose in life, and positive relations; and a positive direct path was hypothesized from each of the dimensions of active commitment-cognition and active commitment-behavior to each of the three psychological well-being factors personal growth, purpose in life, and positive relations. The Amos output indicated 27 outliers in this model that appeared to alter the model fit. However, upon further analysis, it was determined that the outliers were not influential, and it was decided to retain them. Where a positive effect was observed between passive acceptance and positive relations (β = 0.11), negative relationships were found between passive acceptance and purpose in life (β = -0.03) and personal growth (β = -0.11).

Extended Discussion of Research Question 1

Due to a limited sample size, instead of comparing CFAs for the two racial groups, I conducted a CFA for the entire sample. This did not yield a good fit for all cases; the proposed factor structure was not confirmed, which could indicate an absence of feminist identity as a construct underlying the five factors I originally proposed. It is possible that the revised FIC was not able to capture feminist identity as a unique construct among the sample of all women. I can offer several explanations: the five factors might at best be correlated dimensions that are not explained by a single construct; measurement error could have impacted the findings (for example, the items I proposed to measure synthesis did not have

favorable results); and racial differences in the sample were too large. Furthermore, the structure that I determined from EFA may be sample specific, so there remains a need to clarify both measurement and theoretical issues associated with FID among WOC. Further exploration using EFA also resulted in items loading on different factors from what was expected for the entire data set. On a more positive note, findings suggest that even after my revisions to some of the items, passive acceptance retained its structure for both racial groups, and embeddedness-emanation emerged as a distinct factor for WOC. Also, the final scales for all cases, as well as the two racial groups, had good reliability ($\alpha > .85$). However, synthesis failed to manifest as a distinct construct, pointing to concerns with both the quality of revised items and its operational definition. It is important to note that the scale structure for White women mirrored that of the entire sample, possibly suggesting that the revised FIC and FID theory still apply mostly to White women. The following is a discussion of the similarities and differences found for the two racial groups on each of the originally proposed factors.

Passive acceptance. It appears that the revision of two items of this subscale to include the word "should" yielded favorable results for both groups of women. The results suggest that there is a clearly defined dimension measuring women's beliefs that they must adhere to traditional gender roles and that the current society is better off this way. The lack of difference for the two racial groups supports the notion that complying with one's gender role is important for some women, irrespective of racial identification and racial experiences. However, this does not by virtue indicate that women are in denial of sexism as defined by Downing and Roush (1985); they might perceive a variety of benefits to compliance such as interpersonal security, a preservation of traditional values or a belief that sexist attitudes or

behaviors are fair (e.g., Cross, Overall & Hammond, 2016; Overall, Sibley & Tan, 2011; Sibley, Overall & Duckitt, 2007). Especially for WOC, a better understanding of their gendered racial socialization process could help explain the beliefs they end up internalizing, with or without awareness of the process. It might be beneficial to use a qualitative or mixed-methods research design to understand the specific reasons why women might be intentional in their choices, and if these reasons are different based on racial identity.

Revelation. Theoretically, Downing & Roush (1985) meant revelation as a developmental stage to capture both the anger around recognition that one has experienced sexism and the guilt associated with having contributed to it, but it appears these two emotions were distinct aspects of the feminist identification process for White women. This is not only inconsistent with the original theory, but also past research in which these items have loaded on a single factor. It appears that for my sample of White women, anger and guilt form different dimensions of the feminist process. This might be a reflection of a change in the way revelation manifests for White women in the current sociopolitical climate, while a majority of items indicate a single dimension for WOC. There are two levels of comparison to be discussed, the first of which is the shift in White women's revelation process since the second-wave feminist movement. White women in today's climate are less likely to feel both anger and guilt as they recognize sexism. The second level of comparison is the difference in racial groups, which suggests that the revelation construct was better able to capture the experience of WOC. It is possible that for WOC, anger and guilt contribute to the same dimension due to the frequent, simultaneous, yet conflicting emotions experienced within the gendered racial socialization process, such as the higher frequency of sexist experiences in close relationships (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995), and workplace sexual

harassment (e.g., Berdahl & Moore, 2006). For example, it might be common for an ethnic minority woman attempting to challenge gender norms to feel angry due to the gendered racism she has experienced, and in quick succession, a reminder of her minority status, possible sense of powerlessness, and subsequent self-blame for not having challenged societal expectations.

The loading of Item R8 with active commitment for WOC is a slight deviation from the definition of this construct as per the original FID theory. Possibly, WOC's sensitivity towards sexist interactions with men might be associated with their commitment towards challenging sexismg. Ultimately, I dropped this item from the final scale due to poor statistical properties. However, this can be a worthwhile process variable to consider in future studies. White women had a slightly higher loading for the Item R1 ("My female friends are like me in that we are all angry at men and the ways we have been treated as women"). The wording of this item suggests that there is a component of shared experience ("my female friends are like me") and also the expression of a negative emotion towards a historically empowered gender group ("angry at men"). Women are generally less likely to express emotions, such as anger, due to fear of judgment (e.g., Brescoll, 2016), and this might be more salient for WOC due to the potential of further racial/ethnic stereotyping.

However, all these racial differences may be attributable to modifications made in the scale items. It would be worth further exploring the revelation process not only for the two racial groups, but various racial/ethnic groups among WOC through additional research.

Embeddedness-Emanation. As recommended by Moradi and Subich (2002), my revision of embeddedness-emanation items to reflect those used in the FIDS (Bargad & Hyde, 1991) fit well for both groups of women. It is possible that the differences in factor

loadings on two items (i.e., "Especially now, I feel that I derive strength from other women around me," and "I share most of my time with a few close women friends who share my feminist values") reflect the process or method through which the two groups feel a sense of connection with other women. It may be that WOC feel a greater sense of empowerment through engaging with feminist friends; on the other hand, White women might feel a sense of support without requiring them to engage with other feminist women. This finding is not surprising, because ethnic minority individuals have generally been found to more highly value kinships and social relationships (e.g., Lum, 1995), and utilize this as an avenue of positive coping in the light of discrimination (e.g., Lewis et al., 2013). In addition, considering that WOC have only more recently come to realize their feminist values, the process of immersion with other feminist women might be more significant for them.

Synthesis. The proposed revisions for items in the synthesis subscale did not lead to improvement in its psychometric properties for either group. The three items that suggested the positive self-concept associated with being a woman (Item SYN3), and being a woman who is not now bound by traditional gender roles (Items SYN4 and SYN5), did not seem to relate to one another strongly enough to form a distinct synthesis factor. It appears that the new item, Item SYN1, was not able to appropriately represent synthesis. Item SYN2 (egalitarian view of individuals) loaded with active commitment, offering some consistency with the suggestion that the two stages may be combined (e.g., Hyde, 2002; Bargad & Hyde, 1991). This would question the original theory that synthesis and active commitment are two mutually exclusive stages. Overall, even after the rewording of items, synthesis did not emerge as a distinct factor, perhaps indicating problems with its classification as a distinguishable stage (Hyde, 2002). Another reason may be that the items used in this study

did not adequately match the definition offered by Downing and Roush (1985). With consistent concerns having been raised with both the theoretical definition of synthesis (e.g., Hyde, 2002; Hansen, 2002); its measurement and lack of relationship with feminist identification (e.g., Erchull et al., 2009), the current results offer further evidence for these issues. SYN1 and SYN2 loaded similarly for both groups of women, such that SYN1 loaded with revelation items and SYN2 loaded with active commitment items with not much difference in the extent of loadings.

Active commitment. Based on the wording of items, it appeared that for WOC, there is a distinction between having thoughts about the importance of equal opportunity, and the motivation and behavioral commitment to participate in causes towards attaining equal opportunity. The difference between thoughts and behavior might be an important one for WOC in the light of contextual stressors. It is likely that due to lesser privilege, WOC need to be more cautious in their engagements so as not to further disadvantage their minority status. Generally, WOC report greater internal conflict while trying to resolve multiple facets of their identities, including traditional family values and individual belief systems (e.g., Sanchez-Hucles, Dryden & Winstead, 2012). Therefore, the assumption that active commitment beliefs will necessarily also be accompanied by actions may not hold true for WOC. Additional research exploring WOC's feminist experiences is recommended to lend greater support to this. Among White women, AC7 "I feel that I am a very powerful and effective spokesperson for the women's issues I am concerned with right now," was dropped due to a poor factor loading.the poor loading may have been due to a weak operationalization of active commitment among White women. While this could be a chance finding, it could also suggest varied meanings ascribed by White women to being an "effective spokesperson"

and being concerned with "women's issues." For example, this could be associated with a form of stereotype threat where white women may feel the pressure to be good representatives of their group. Finally, the greater loading for the item, "I care very deeply about men and women having equal opportunities in all respects," for White women suggests that it item might be a better measure of their experience.

Extended Limitations

I was unable to utilize a large enough sample for WOC and White women to do separate CFAs, as originally proposed. Even though I recruited women from different avenues, I did not foresee differences due to source. Hence, results were derived from a single data set, which limited the total sample size. This issue might have in turn impacted the findings on the revised FIC scale. In addition, the absence of replication of the originally proposed factors in my sample suggests that the revised scale needs to be further refined and may at best be used in an exploratory sense in future feminist research. Considering that feminism is a dynamic and contextually bound construct, it would also be desirable for future researchers interested in this area to utilize a single avenue of data collection unless analyzing source differences is the area of interest.

My findings are also limited in their generalizability to adult WOC, living in the United States, with access to a computer and internet. A majority of the sample identified as heterosexual, holding a Bachelor's degree and having full-time occupational status. A majority of them also identified as feminists, and hence a lack of diverse responses on that continuum. Although recruitment via MTurk helped me reach diverse WOC in large numbers, the study did not consider differences due to sexual orientation and gender identity, which are significant identity statuses, among others when conducting research consistent

with intersectional theory (Cole, 2009). Moreover, the language used in the FIC scale in a sense assumed that the women identified with hetero-normative relationships. Relevant modifications to the items and consideration of the relative salience of intersecting identities would be one suggestion to implement intersectional feminist research. Due to the quantitative SEM design utilized in this study, results can only be inferred by way of correlations or associations, and not causality as none of the variables were experimentally manipulated. Another limitation is the possibility of monomethod bias, which may have inflated the observed correlations.

The findings in the current state can only be applied to WOC as a group, with their ethnic minority status being a shared experience. But additional research is required to adequately capture feminist experiences for different racial/ethnic groups, which my study did not do. This is especially important due to the unique cultural histories associated with various racial/ethnic groups (e.g., Sanchez-Hucles et al., 2012).

In terms of research design, several improvements in this study can be considered moving forward. A qualitative research study with women belonging to different ethnic groups would help provide credence to the results obtained. This would also respect not only inter-ethnic but intra-ethnic differences, providing feminist psychology with a more accurate picture of what feminism actually means and how it manifests in the current sociopolitical context for WOC. A final recommendation would be to use a longitudinal research design to better study the dynamic definition of feminist, and the process behind feminist identity development among WOC.

APPENDIX I

Tables and Figures

Table 1

Demographic Data for All Cases Separated by Race

	All cases ($N = 400$)		Women of Color ($N = 236$)		White women ($N = 164$)	
Variable	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Gender identity						
Woman	398	99.5	235	99.6	163	99.4
Transgender woman	2	0.5	1	0.4	1	0.6
Highest Education						
Grade School	1	0.3	1	0.4	-	-
High School	92	23.0	45	19.1	47	28.7
GED	21	5.3	15	6.4	6	3.7
Associates Degree	75	18.8	45	19.1	30	18.3
Bachelor's Degree	161	40.3	96	40.7	65	39.6
Master's Degree	34	8.5	27	11.4	7	4.3
Doctoral Degree	13	3.3	7	3.0	6	3.7
Other	3	0.8	-	-	3	1.8
Race/ethnicity						
Asian or Asian American	40	10.0	40	16.9	-	-
Black or African American	119	29.8	119	50.4	-	-
Hispanic or Latino/Latina	37	9.3	37	15.7	-	-
Native American/American Indian	12	3.0	12	5.1	-	-
White/Caucasian/European American	163	40.8	-	-	163	99.4
Biracial	11	2.8	11	4.7	-	-
Multiracial	12	3.0	12	5.1	-	-
Other	6	1.5	5	2.1	1	0.6
Sexual Orientation						
Straight or heterosexual	331	82.8	200	84.7	131	79.9
Lesbian	19	4.8	11	4.7	8	4.9
Gay	1	0.3	1	0.4	-	-
Bisexual	40	10	21	8.9	19	11.6
Queer	2	0.5	2	0.8	-	-
Other	6	1.5	1	0.4	5	3

	All cases ($N = 400$)		Women of Color ($N = 236$)		White women ($N = 164$)	
Variable	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Missing	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.6
Occupational Status						
Full-time	243	60.8	153	64.8	90	54.9
Part-time	49	12.3	29	12.3	20	12.2
Retired	6	1.5	3	1.3	3	1.8
Student	20	5.0	7	3.0	13	7.9
Unemployed	40	10.0	21	8.9	19	11.6
Other	22	5.5	10	4.2	12	7.3
More than one category	19	4.8	13	5.5	6	3.7
Missing	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.6
Annual income						
Less than $10,000	51	12.8	29	12.3	22	13.4
$90,000 to $99,000	9	2.3	7	3	2	1.2
More than $100,000	17	4.3	7	3	10	6.1
$10,000 to $19,000	57	14.3	26	11	31	18.9
$20,000 to $29,000	53	13.3	36	15.3	17	10.4
$30,000 to $39,000	65	16.3	47	19.9	18	11
$40,000 to $49,000	48	12	26	11	22	13.4
$50,000 to $59,000	49	12.3	29	12.3	20	12.2
$60,000 to $69,000	23	5.8	13	5.5	10	6.1
$70,000 to $79,000	18	4.5	11	4.7	7	4.3
$80,000 to $89,000	10	2.5	5	2.1	5	3
Feminist identification						
Strongly disagree	15	3.8	5	2.1	10	6.1
Disagree	19	4.8	11	4.7	8	4.9
Neither agree nor disagree	63	15.8	44	18.6	19	11.6
Agree	174	43.5	100	42.4	74	45.1
Strongly agree	128	32	76	32.2	52	31.7
Missing	1	0.3	-	-	1	0.6

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics of all Variables for Women of Color (N = 236)

	M	*SD*	Minimum	Maximum	95% CI
Age	33.27	9.83	18.00	72.00	(32.00, 34.53)
Feminist Identification	3.98	0.94	1.00	5.00	(3.86, 4.10)
Passive Acceptance	2.55	0.89	1.00	4.71	(2.43, 2.66)
Revelation	3.01	0.78	1.00	5.00	(2.91, 3.11)
Embeddedness-Emanation	3.40	0.88	1.00	5.00	(3.29, 3.51)
Active Commitment-Cognition	3.93	0.76	1.00	5.00	(3.84, 4.03)
Active Commitment-Behavior	3.70	0.76	1.00	5.00	(3.61, 3.80)
Positive Relations	4.18	0.97	1.00	6.00	(4.06, 4.30)
Personal Growth	4.58	0.93	1.88	6.00	(4.46, 4.70)
Purpose in Life	4.32	0.95	2.11	6.00	(4.20, 4.45)
Perceived Stress	1.74	0.81	0.00	4.00	(1.63, 1.84)
Gendered Racism	2.39	0.99	1.00	5.90	(2.27, 2.52)

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics of all Variables for White Women (N = 164)

	M	*SD*	Minimum	Maximum	95% CI
Age	32.98	10.93	19.00	72.00	(31.29, 34.66)
Feminist Identification	3.92	1.09	1.00	5.00	(3.75, 4.09)
Passive Acceptance	2.37	0.89	1.00	4.86	(2.23, 2.51)
Revelation-Anger	2.56	0.81	1.00	4.60	(2.44, 2.69)
Revelation-Guilt	3.10	0.96	1.00	5.00	(2.95, 3.25)
Embeddedness-Emanation	3.31	0.81	1.00	5.00	(3.19, 3.44)
Active Commitment	3.82	0.66	1.63	5.00	(3.72, 3.93)
Positive Relations	4.34	1.04	2.00	6.00	(4.18, 4.50)
Personal Growth	4.72	0.90	2.50	6.00	(4.58, 4.85)
Purpose in Life	4.42	0.93	2.00	6.00	(4.27, 4.56)
Perceived Stress	1.76	0.77	0.00	3.40	(1.64, 1.88)

Table 4

Correlations and Variances of Variables used in the SEM analyses for WOC (N = 236)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Feminist Identification	-										
2. Passive Acceptance	-.26**	.86									
3. Revelation	.17**	.12	.79								
4. Embeddedness-Emanation	.27**	.00	.57**	.77							
5. Active Commitment - Cognition	.23**	-.26**	.25**	.42**	.74						
6. Active Commitment – Behavior	.39**	-.23**	.42**	.59**	.59**	.85					
7. Positive Relations	-.08	-.05	-.12	.16*	.26**	.31**	.85				
8. Personal Growth	-.04	-.29**	.00	.20**	.47**	.44**	.65**	.84			
9. Purpose in Life	-.12	-.18**	-.10	.14*	.28**	.31**	.68**	.76**	.84		
10. Perceived Stress	.16*	-.06	.24**	.04	-.01	-.03	-.67**	-.45**	-.60**	.90	
11. Gendered Racism	.20**	-.03	.25**	.18**	-.03	.16*	-.27**	-.16*	-.19**	.32**	.96

Note: Subscale reliabilities have been underlined and appear on the diagonal. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Table 5

Correlations and Variances of Variables for White women (N = 164)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Feminist Identification	-									
2. Passive Acceptance	-.45**	.86								
3. Revelation-Anger	.44**	-.13	.74							
4. Revelation-Guilt	.41**	-.18*	.54**	.77						
5. Embeddedness-Emanation	.47**	-.15	.56**	.53**	.77					
6. Active Commitment	.49**	-.44**	.24**	.32**	.47**	.83				
7. Positive Relations	-.03	-.11	-.02	-.02	.13	.16*	.89			
8. Personal Growth	.08	-.48**	-.09	.00	.10	.43**	.62**	.86		
9. Purpose in Life	-.10	-.19*	-.15	-.11	.05	.25**	.73**	.75**	.86	
10. Perceived Stress	.16*	.01	.10	.21**	.07	.02	-.52**	-.33**	-.49**	.89

Note: Subscale reliabilities have been underlined and appear on the diagonal. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Table 6

Factor loadings and communalities based on Maximum Likelihood Estimation with Promax rotation for 30 items from the revised Feminist Identity Composite scale (FIC) for all cases (N = 400)

	Factor[a]					
Item Stem	1	2	3	4	5	h^2
PA1 I should try my best to be a traditional woman.	0.11	**0.79**	-0.03	-0.01	0.09	.56
R1 My female friends are like me in that we are all angry at men and the ways we have been treated as women.	-0.09	-0.16	0.19	0.09	**0.50**	.47
EE1 Especially now, I feel that I derive strength from other women around me.	0.24	0.10	**0.56**	0.18	-0.25	.48
EE2 I share most of my time with a few close women friends who share my feminist values.	0.02	-0.02	**0.76**	-0.02	-0.01	.57
R2 I never realized until recently that I have experienced oppression and discrimination as a woman in this society.	-0.03	-0.15	0.09	**0.54**	0.09	.42
R3 I feel like I've been duped into believing society's perceptions of me as a woman.	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01	**0.66**	0.16	.54
R4 I feel angry when I think about the way I am treated by men and boys.	-0.18	0.22	0.19	0.26	**0.47**	.55

	Factor [a]					
Item Stem	1	2	3	4	5	h^2
R6 Gradually, I am beginning to see just how sexist society really is.	0.28	-0.04	-0.08	**0.60**	0.15	.59
R7 Regretfully, I can see ways in which I have perpetuated sexist attitudes in the past.	0.02	0.06	0.02	**0.56**	-0.06	.30
EE3 My social life is mainly with women these days, but there are a few men I wouldn't mind interacting with on a friendship basis.	-0.15	0.00	**0.59**	0.00	0.05	.33
EE4 Especially now, I would like to join a group pertaining to women such as women's studies, a women's center or a women's support group.	0.05	0.06	**0.62**	0.17	-0.01	.55
SYN1 All men hold biased views against women.	-0.12	-0.05	-0.02	0.01	**0.43**	.16
AC1 I choose my "causes" carefully to work for greater equality of all people.	**0.80**	-0.20	-0.11	0.07	-0.09	.46
AC2 I owe it not only to women but to all people to work for greater opportunity and equality for all.	**0.67**	0.12	-0.05	0.13	-0.15	.51
R8 In my interactions with men, I am always looking for ways I may be discriminated against because I am female.	-0.20	-0.18	0.30	-0.01	**0.45**	.45

Item Stem	Factor [a] 1	2	3	4	5	h^2
PA3 If I were married to a man and my husband was offered a job in another state, it would be my obligation to move in support of his career.	0.12	**0.66**	-0.16	0.02	0.08	.37
PA4 I think that men and women had it better in the 1950s when married women were housewives and their husbands supported them.	-0.06	**0.74**	-0.04	0.03	-0.01	.59
AC4 It is very satisfying to me to be able to use my talents and skills in my work in the women's movement.	**0.47**	0.11	0.29	-0.14	0.16	.56
AC5 I am willing to make certain sacrifices to effect change in this society in order to create a non-sexist, peaceful place where all people have equal opportunities.	**0.63**	0.06	0.12	0.00	0.01	.53
PA5 One thing I especially like about being a woman is that men will offer me their seat in a crowded place or open doors for me because I am a woman.	0.12	**0.62**	0.00	-0.01	0.02	.33

AC6 On some level, my motivation for almost every activity I engage in is my desire for an egalitarian world.	**0.34**	-0.11	0.23	-0.14	0.25	.34

	Factor [a]					
Item Stem	1	2	3	4	5	h^2
PA6 I don't see much point in questioning the general expectation that men should be masculine and women should be feminine.	-0.12	**0.61**	0.07	0.02	-0.06	.46
AC7 I feel that I am a very powerful and effective spokesperson for the women's issues I am concerned with right now.	0.33	-0.19	**0.34**	-0.13	0.16	.37
PA7 I think that most women should feel most fulfilled by being a wife and a mother.	0.00	**0.79**	0.08	0.02	-0.03	.63
AC8 I want to work to improve women's status.	**0.46**	0.17	0.29	-0.04	0.13	.60
AC9 I am very committed to a cause that I believe contributes to a more fair and just world for all people.	**0.78**	0.00	0.02	-0.07	0.00	.59

Note. 1 = Active Commitment 2 = Passive Acceptance 3 = Embeddedness-Emanation 4 = Revelation-Guilt 5 = Revelation-Anger. Bold faced coefficients are of those items retained for that factor. a. Factor correlations were as follows: r12 = .47, r13 = .50, r14 = .31, r15 = .34, r23 = -.02, r24 = .05, r25 = .02, r34 =.49, r35 = .67, r45 = .44

Table 7

Factor loadings based on Maximum Likelihood Estimation with Promax rotation for 30 items from the revised Feminist Identity Composite scale (FIC) for Women of Color (N = 236) and White women (N = 164)

	Women of Color					White women				
	Factor[a]					Factor[b]				
Item Stem	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
PA1 I should try my best to be a traditional woman.	**0.72**	0.01	-0.02	0.11	0.01	**0.85**	0.20	0.07	0.00	-0.06
R1 My female friends are like me in that we are all angry at men and the ways we have been treated as women.	-0.07	**0.47**	-0.22	0.22	0.12	-0.21	0.07	**0.69**	-0.02	0.01
EE1 Especially now, I feel that I derive strength from other women around me.	0.07	0.13	0.37	0.04	**0.39**	0.03	0.09	-0.19	0.17	**0.65**
EE2 I share most of my time with a few close women friends who share my feminist values.	-0.01	-0.07	0.16	0.10	**0.83**	-0.06	0.02	0.43	-0.16	**0.48**
R2 I never realized until recently that I have experienced oppression and discrimination as a woman in this society.	-0.19	**0.54**	0.06	-0.09	0.07	-0.14	-0.09	0.11	**0.54**	0.16
R3 I feel like I've been duped into believing society's perceptions of me as a woman.	-0.04	**0.81**	0.08	-0.09	-0.14	-0.06	-0.14	0.00	**0.74**	0.17
R4 I feel angry when I think about the way I am treated by men and boys.	0.24	**0.69**	-0.10	-0.01	0.11	0.25	-0.08	**0.68**	0.11	0.00
R5 Men receive many advantages in society and because of this are against	0.09	**0.48**	-0.12	0.41	-0.20	0.29	0.13	**0.60**	0.22	-0.13

equality for women.

Item Stem	Women of Color Factor[a]					White women Factor[b]				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
R6 Gradually, I am beginning to see just how sexist society really is.	-0.05	**0.63**	0.33	-0.05	0.01	-0.02	0.23	0.11	**0.65**	-0.05
R7 Regretfully, I can see ways in which I have perpetuated sexist attitudes in the past.	-0.04	**0.46**	0.26	-0.25	0.07	0.17	-0.09	-0.08	**0.59**	0.01
EE3 My social life is mainly with women these days, but there are a few men I wouldn't mind interacting with on a friendship basis.	0.07	0.08	0.01	0.04	**0.53**	-0.12	-0.18	0.37	-0.09	**0.39**
EE4 Especially now, I would like to join a group pertaining to women such as women's studies, a women's center or a women's support group.	0.09	0.25	0.10	0.13	**0.43**	-0.04	-0.03	0.12	0.18	**0.59**
REVSYN1 All men hold biased views against women.	-0.05	**0.32**	-0.21	0.16	-0.02	0.11	-0.16	**0.40**	-0.02	-0.11
AC1 I choose my "causes" carefully to work for greater equality of all people.	-0.09	-0.01	**0.63**	0.17	0.02	-0.28	**0.81**	-0.08	0.08	-0.08
AC2 I owe it not only to women but to all people to work for greater opportunity and equality for all.	0.07	-0.01	**0.64**	0.07	0.07	0.28	**0.57**	-0.02	0.02	-0.03
R8 In my interactions with men, I am always looking for ways I may be discriminated against because I am female.	-0.16	0.27	-0.37	**0.38**	0.13	-0.22	-0.10	**0.56**	0.07	0.10

SYN2 I now consciously try to view people as individuals rather than as members of their gender group.	-0.20	0.01	**0.62**	-0.11	0.11	0.08	**0.44**	-0.08	-0.08	0.06

	Women of Color					White women				
	Factor[a]					Factor[b]				
Item Stem	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
PA2 I think it's lucky that women aren't expected to do some of the more dangerous jobs that men are expected to do, like construction work or fire-fighting.	**0.70**	0.01	0.06	-0.05	0.04	**0.61**	-0.10	0.03	-0.07	0.06
AC3 I care very deeply about men and women having equal opportunities in all respects.	0.13	-0.01	**0.45**	0.27	-0.05	0.02	**0.85**	-0.01	-0.11	-0.15
PA3 If I were married to a man and my husband was offered a job in another state, it would be my obligation to move in support of his career.	**0.64**	0.01	0.16	-0.06	-0.11	**0.70**	0.10	0.03	0.07	-0.05
PA4 I think that men and women had it better in the 1950s when married women were housewives and their husbands supported them.	**0.73**	-0.01	-0.08	0.00	0.05	**0.75**	0.00	-0.04	0.06	-0.15
AC4 It is very satisfying to me to be able to use my talents and skills in my work in the women's movement.	0.07	-0.01	0.12	**0.64**	0.05	0.15	**0.46**	0.19	-0.15	0.34
AC5 I am willing to make certain sacrifices to effect change in this society in order to create a non-sexist, peaceful place where all people have equal opportunities.	0.04	-0.04	0.38	**0.53**	-0.05	0.13	**0.37**	-0.12	0.14	0.34

Item Stem	Women of Color					White women				
	Factor[a]					Factor[b]				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
PA5 One thing I especially like about being a woman is that men will offer me their seat in a crowded place or open doors for me because I am a woman.	**0.74**	0.07	0.26	0.09	-0.21	**0.57**	-0.06	0.14	-0.14	0.10
AC6 On some level, my motivation for almost every activity I engage in is my desire for an egalitarian world.	-0.06	0.03	0.07	**0.47**	0.17	-0.09	**0.34**	0.25	-0.08	0.14
PA6 I don't see much point in questioning the general expectation that men should be masculine and women should be feminine.	**0.57**	-0.04	-0.17	-0.01	0.08	**0.68**	0.01	-0.06	0.03	-0.04
AC7 I feel that I am a very powerful and effective spokesperson for the women's issues I am concerned with right now.	-0.17	-0.12	-0.04	**0.72**	0.16	-0.25	0.22	0.08	0.11	0.30
PA7 I think that most women should feel most fulfilled by being a wife and a mother.	**0.83**	-0.02	0.01	0.04	0.03	**0.75**	-0.05	-0.07	0.02	0.15
AC8 I want to work to improve women's status.	0.07	0.05	0.21	**0.67**	-0.08	0.28	0.12	0.02	0.07	**0.57**
AC9 I am very committed to a cause that I believe contributes to a more fair and just world for all people.	0.04	-0.08	0.43	**0.52**	-0.02	0.03	**0.65**	-0.15	-0.04	0.21

Note. For Women of Color: 1 = Passive Acceptance 2 = Revelation 3 = Active Commitment-Cognition 4 = Active Commitment-Behavior 5 = Embeddedness-Emanation. Bold faced coefficients are of those items retained for that factor. a. Factor correlations were as follows: r12 = -.12, r13 = .44, r14 = .23, r15 = -.21, r23 = .19, r24 = .48, r25 = .58, r34 =.45, r35 = .12, r45 = .46. For White women: 1 = Passive Acceptance 2 = Active Commitment 3 = Revelation-Anger 4 = Revelation-Guilt 5 = Embeddedness-Emanation. Italicized coefficients are of those items retained for that factor. b. Factor correlations were as follows: r12 = .51, r13 = .09, r14 = .26, r15 = .20, r23 = .20, r24 = .36, r25 = .49, r34 =.55, r35 = .54, r45 = .49

Table 8

Factor loadings based on Maximum Likelihood Estimation with Promax rotation for 29 items from the revised Feminist Identity Composite scale (FIC) for Women of Color (N = 236)

	Factor[a]				
Item Stem	1	2	3	4	5
PA1 I should try my best to be a traditional woman.	**0.73**	0.09	0.02	-0.01	0.02
R1 My female friends are like me in that we are all angry at men and the ways we have been treated as women.	-0.10	0.22	**0.49**	-0.25	0.15
EE1 Especially now, I feel that I derive strength from other women around me.	0.08	0.05	0.12	0.34	**0.38**
EE2 I share most of my time with a few close women friends who share my feminist values.	-0.02	0.10	-0.07	0.13	**0.83**
R2 I never realized until recently that I have experienced oppression and discrimination as a woman in this society.	-0.19	-0.06	**0.55**	0.02	0.06

R3 I feel like I've been duped into believing society's perceptions of me as a woman.	-0.04	-0.07	**0.82**	0.04	-0.15
R5 Men receive many advantages in society and because of this are against equality for women.	0.07	0.42	**0.49**	-0.17	-0.17

	Factor[a]				
Item Stem	1	2	3	4	5
R4 I feel angry when I think about the way I am treated by men and boys.	0.22	-0.01	**0.68**	-0.11	0.13
R6 Gradually, I am beginning to see just how sexist society really is.	-0.05	-0.03	**0.62**	0.30	0.01
R7 Regretfully, I can see ways in which I have perpetuated sexist attitudes in the past.	-0.03	-0.28	**0.44**	0.30	0.07
EE3 My social life is mainly with women these days, but there are a few men I wouldn't mind interacting with on a friendship basis.	0.06	0.04	0.08	-0.01	**0.53**
EE4 Especially now, I would like to join a group pertaining to women such as women's studies, a women's center or a women's support group.	0.08	0.13	0.25	0.09	**0.43**

SYN1 All men hold biased views against women.	-0.07	0.13	**0.33**	-0.20	0.00
AC1 I choose my "causes" carefully to work for greater equality of all people.	-0.08	0.15	-0.04	**0.65**	0.01
AC2 I owe it not only to women but to all people to work for greater opportunity and equality for all.	0.09	0.06	-0.03	**0.65**	0.05

	Factor[a]				
Item Stem	1	2	3	4	5
SYN2 I now consciously try to view people as individuals rather than as members of their gender group.	-0.18	-0.12	-0.02	**0.65**	0.09
PA2 I think it's lucky that women aren't expected to do some of the more dangerous jobs that men are expected to do, like construction work or fire-fighting.	**0.70**	-0.04	0.02	0.05	0.04
AC3 I care very deeply about men and women having equal opportunities in all respects.	0.14	0.28	-0.03	**0.41**	-0.06
PA3 If I were married to a man and my husband was offered a job in another state, it would be my obligation to move in support of his career.	**0.63**	-0.07	0.00	0.18	-0.10

PA4 I think that men and women had it better in the 1950s when married women were housewives and their husbands supported them.	**0.73**	-0.01	0.00	-0.07	0.06
AC4 It is very satisfying to me to be able to use my talents and skills in my work in the women's movement.	0.06	**0.70**	0.02	0.00	0.06

	Factor[a]				
Item Stem	1	2	3	4	5
AC5 I am willing to make certain sacrifices to effect change in this society in order to create a non-sexist, peaceful place where all people have equal opportunities.	0.04	**0.56**	-0.04	0.31	-0.05
PA5 One thing I especially like about being a woman is that men will offer me their seat in a crowded place or open doors for me because I am a woman.	**0.72**	0.12	0.07	0.22	-0.22
AC6 On some level, my motivation for almost every activity I engage in is my desire for an egalitarian world.	-0.08	**0.49**	0.05	0.01	0.18
PA6 I don't see much point in questioning the general expectation that men should be masculine and women should be feminine.	**0.58**	-0.03	-0.03	-0.15	0.08

AC7 I feel that I am a very powerful and effective spokesperson for the women's issues I am concerned with right now.	-0.19	**0.77**	-0.08	-0.15	0.17
PA7 I think that most women should feel most fulfilled by being a wife and a mother.	**0.83**	0.05	0.00	-0.01	0.03

	Factor[a]				
Item Stem	1	2	3	4	5
AC8 I want to work to improve women's status.	0.06	**0.70**	0.06	0.12	-0.07
AC9 I am very committed to a cause that I believe contributes to a more fair and just world for all people.	0.04	**0.55**	-0.07	0.35	-0.02

Note. 1 = Passive Acceptance 2 = Revelation 3 = Active Commitment-Cognition 4 = Active Commitment-Behavior 5 = Embeddedness-Emanation. Bold faced coefficients are of those items retained for that factor. a. Factor correlations were as follows: r12 = .31, r13 = -.09, r14 = .40, r15 = -.18, r23 = .45, r24 = .58, r25 = .43, r34 = .29, r35 = .56, r45 = .20

Table 9

Parameter Estimates of Model in Hypothesis 1

	Direct Path Coefficients				Covariances and Correlations		
Path	Unstandardized Estimate (*SE*)		Standardized Estimate	R^2	Variable	Unstandardized Estimate (*SE*)	*r*
FI→PA	-0.24***	(-0.06)	-.26	.07	e1↔e5	-0.09* (0.04)	-.14
FI→REV	0.14**	(-0.05)	.17	.03	e1↔e4	-0.14** (0.04)	-.22
FI→ EE	0.25***	(-0.06)	.27	.07	e1↔e3	0.06 (0.05)	.08
FI→ACC	0.19***	(-0.05)	.23	.05	e1↔e2	0.11** (0.04)	.18
FI→ACB	0.31***	(-0.05)	.39	.15	e3↔e4	0.36*** (0.05)	.55
					e3↔e5	0.24*** (0.04)	.39
					e4↔e5	0.29*** (0.04)	.56
					e2↔e4	0.12** (0.04)	.22
					e2↔e5	0.21*** (0.04)	.39
					e3↔e5	0.32*** (0.04)	.54

Variances		
Variable	Unstandardized Estimate (*SE*)	R^2
FI	0.89*** (0.08)	—
e1 (PA)	0.73*** (0.07)	—
e2 (REV)	0.58*** (0.05)	—
e3 (EE)	0.72*** (0.07)	__
e4 (ACC)	0.55*** (0.05)	__
e5 (ACB)	0.49*** (0.05)	__

Note: FI= Feminist Self-identification; PA = Passive Acceptance; REV = Revelation; EE = Embeddedness-Emanation; ACC = Active Commitment – Cognition; ACB = Active Commitment – Behavior. * = p<.05, ** = p < .01, *** = p < .001.

Table 10

Parameter Estimates of Model in Hypothesis 2a

	Direct Path Coefficients				Covariances and Correlations		
Path	Unstandardized Estimate (*SE*)		Standardized Estimate	R^2	Variable	Unstandardized Estimate (*SE*)	*r*
PA → PSS	-0.14*	(0.06)	-.16	—	PA↔EE	0.00 (0.05)	.00
REV→ PSS	0.37***	(0.07)	.35	—	ACC↔PA	-0.18*** (0.05)	-.26
ACC→ PSS	-0.02	(0.08)	-.02	—	ACB↔PA	-0.15*** (0.05)	-.23
ACB → PSS	-0.21*	(0.09)	-.20	—	REV↔EE	0.39*** (0.05)	.57
					REV↔ACC	0.15*** (0.04)	.25
					REV↔ACB	0.25*** (0.04)	.42
					ACB↔EE	0.39*** (0.05)	.59
					REV↔PA	0.08 (0.05)	.12
					ACC↔EE	0.28*** (0.05)	.42
					ACB↔ACC	0.34*** (0.04)	.59

Variances		
Variable	Unstandardized Estimate (*SE*)	R^2
PA	.78*** (0.07)	—
REV	.60*** (0.05)	—
EE	.78*** (0.07)	—
ACC	.58*** (0.05)	__
ACB	.58***(0.05)	__
e1 (PSS)	.59***(0.05)	__

Note: PA = Passive Acceptance; REV = Revelation; EE = Embeddedness-Emanation; ACC = Active Commitment – Cognition; ACB = Active Commitment – Behavior; PSS = Perceived Stress Scale. * = p<.05, ** = p < .01, *** = p < .001.

Table 11

Parameter Estimates of Model in Hypothesis 2b

	Direct Path Coefficients				Covariances and Correlations		
Path	Unstandardized Estimate (*SE*)		Standardized Estimate	R^2	Variable	Unstandardized Estimate (*SE*)	*r*
PA→PR	0.12	(0.07)	.11			-0.15***(0.05)	
				—	ACB↔PA		0.2
REV→PR	-0.41***	(0.08)	-.33			0.08 (0.05)	
				—	PA↔REV		0.1
ACC→PR	0.19*	(0.09)	.15	—	REV↔EE	0.39*** (0.05)	0.5
ACB→PR	0.49***	(0.10)	.39	—	EE↔ACC	0.28*** (0.05)	0.4
PA→PG	-0.19	(0.06)	-.11	—	ACB↔ACC	0.34*** (0.04)	0.5
REV→PG	-0.24**	(0.07)	-.20	—	PA↔ACC	-0.18*** (0.05)	-0.26
ACC→PG	0.37***	(0.08)	.30	—	PA↔EE	0.00 (0.05)	0.00
ACB→PG	0.40***	(0.09)	.33	—	REV↔ACC	0.15*** (0.04)	0.25
PA→PL	-0.04	(0.07)	-.03	—	ACB↔EE	0.39*** (0.05)	0.59
REV→PL	-0.33***	(0.08)	-.27	—	ACB↔REV	0.25*** (0.04)	0.42
ACC→PL	0.18	(0.09)	.14	—	e1↔e2	0.40*** (0.05)	0.60
ACB→PL	0.41***	(0.10)	.33	—	e2↔e3	0.48*** (0.05)	0.72
					e1↔e3	0.47*** (0.06)	0.62

Variances		
Variable	Unstandardized Estimate (*SE*)	R^2
PA	.78*** (0.07)	—
REV	.60*** (0.05)	—
EE	.78*** (0.07)	—
ACC	.58*** (0.05)	—
ACB	.58*** (0.05)	—
e1 (PR)	.76*** (0.07)	—
e2 (PG)	.59*** (0.06)	—
e3 (PL)	.75*** (0.07)	—

Note: PA = Passive Acceptance; REV = Revelation; EE = Embeddedness-Emanation; ACC = Active Commitment – Cognition; ACB = Active Commitment – Behavior; PR = Positive Relations; PG = Personal Growth; PL = Purpose in Life. * = $p < .05$ ** = $p < .01$ *** = $p < .001$

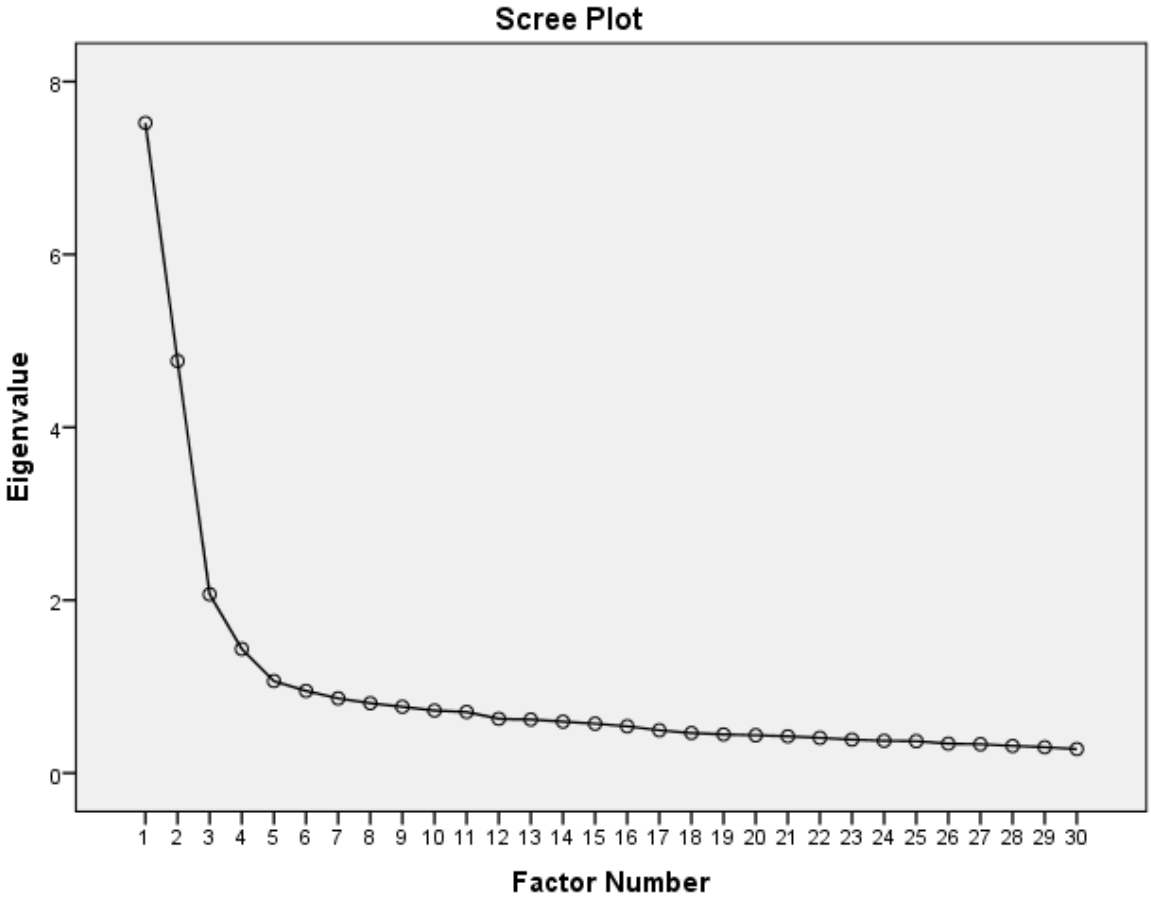

Figure 1. Scree plot of the final five factor EFA solution of the revised FIC for all women (*N* = 400)

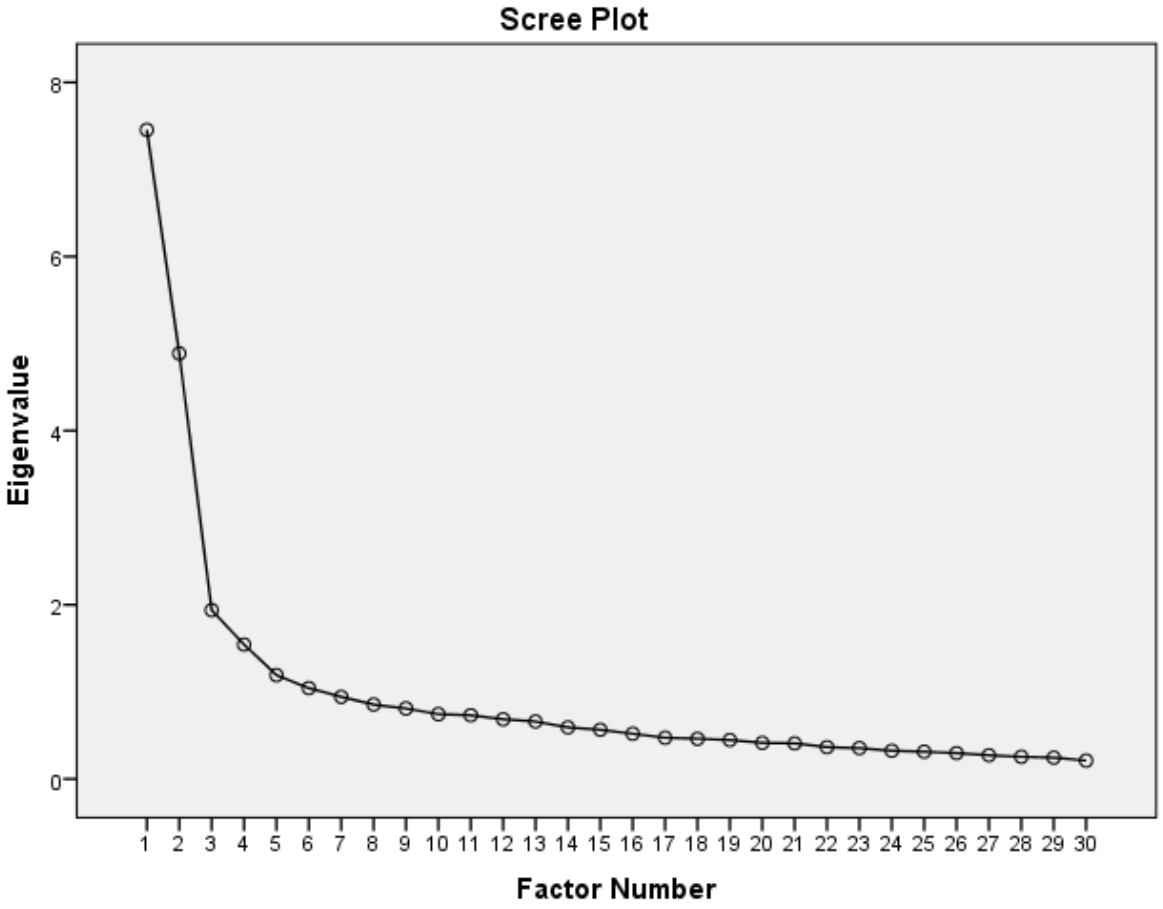

Figure 2. Scree plot of the five factor EFA solution of the revised 30 item FIC for Women of Color ($N = 236$)

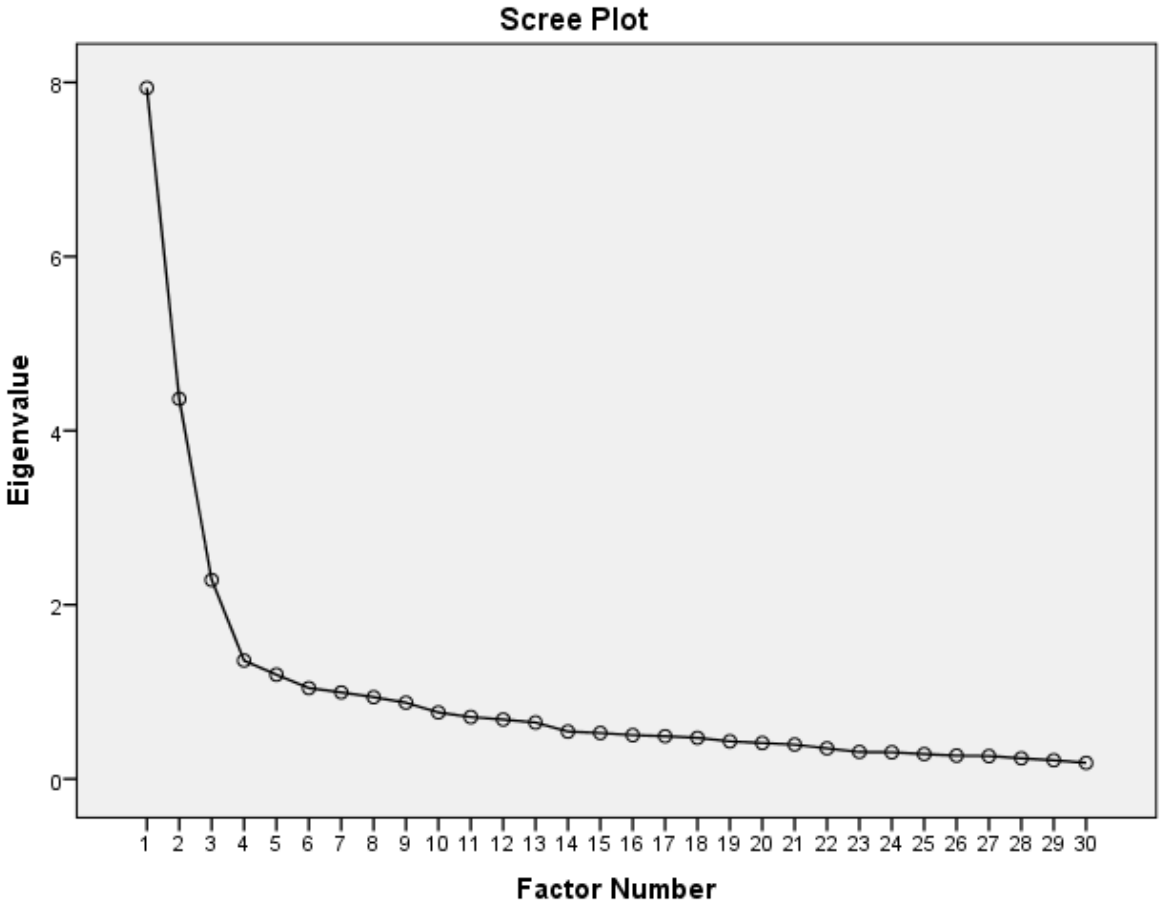

Figure 3. Scree plot of the five factor EFA solution of the revised 30 item FIC for White women (N = 164)

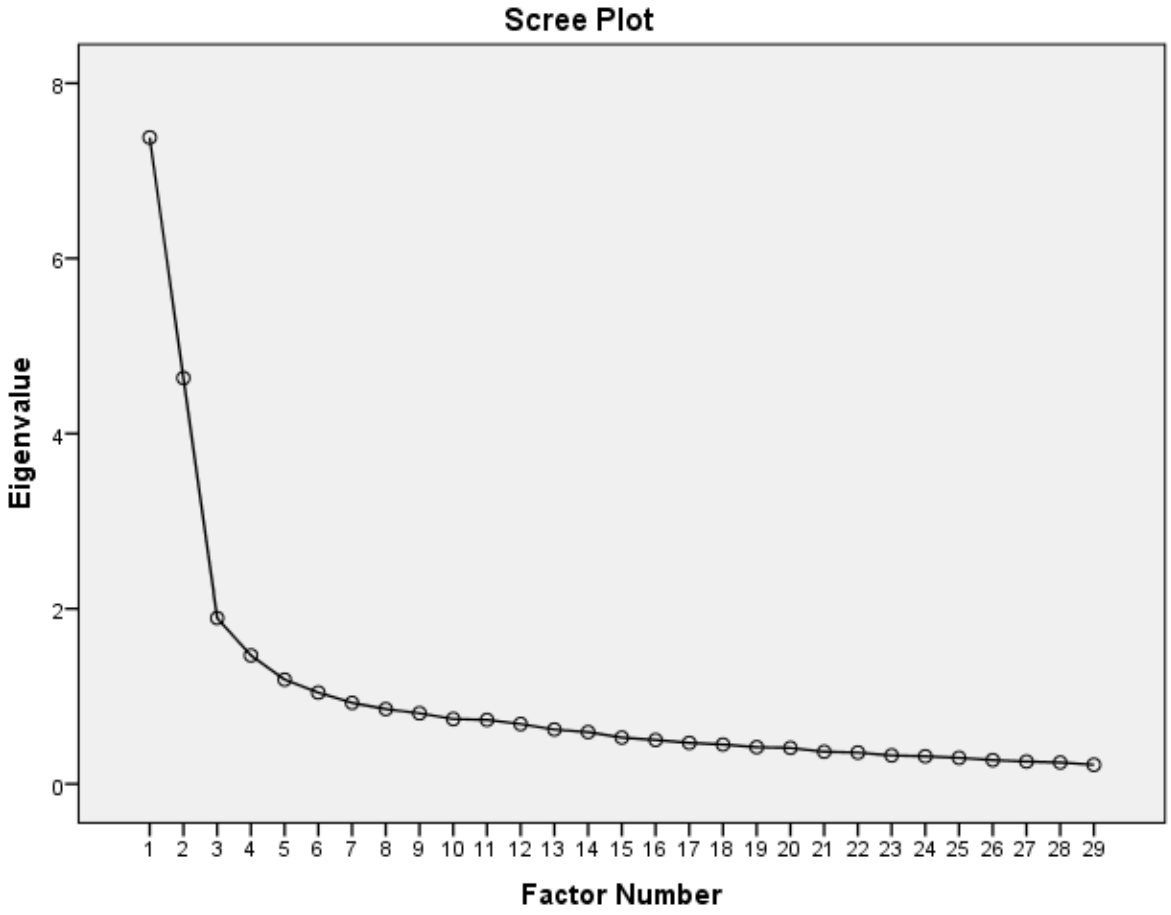

Figure 4. Scree plot of the final five factor EFA solution of the revised 29 item FIC for Women of Color ($N = 236$)

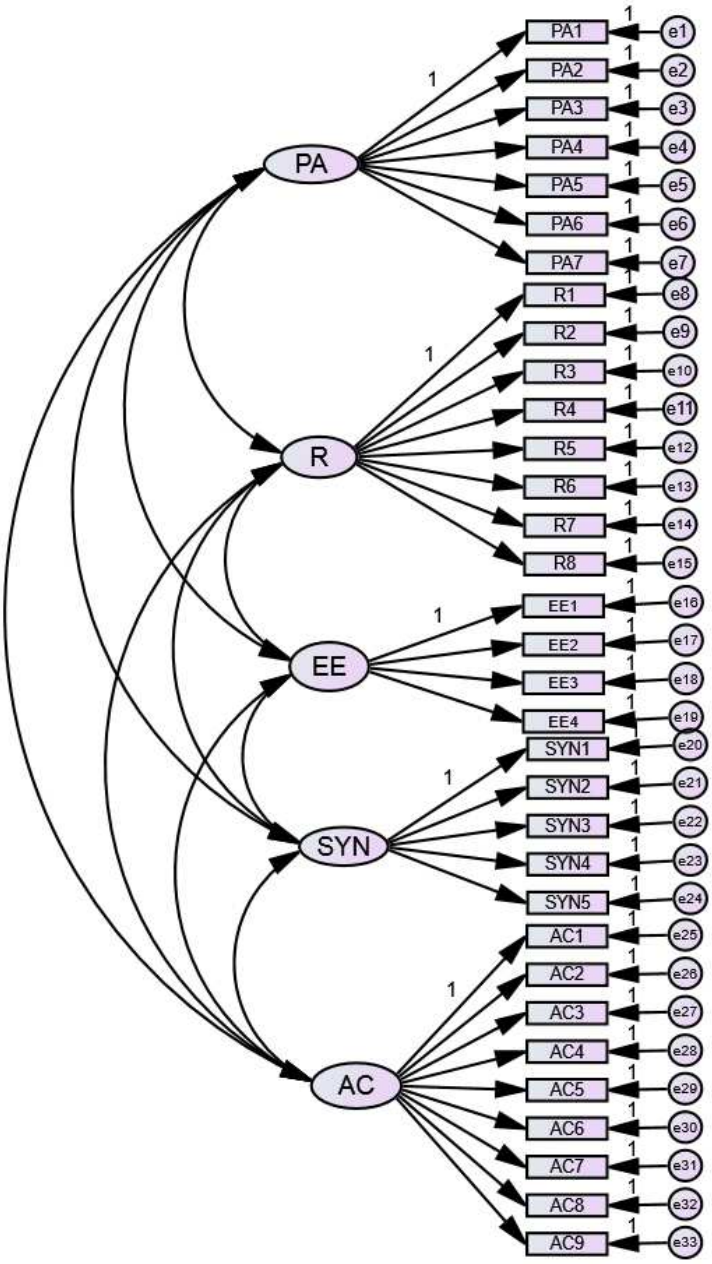

Figure 5. CFA model used to explore the FID model fit for all cases

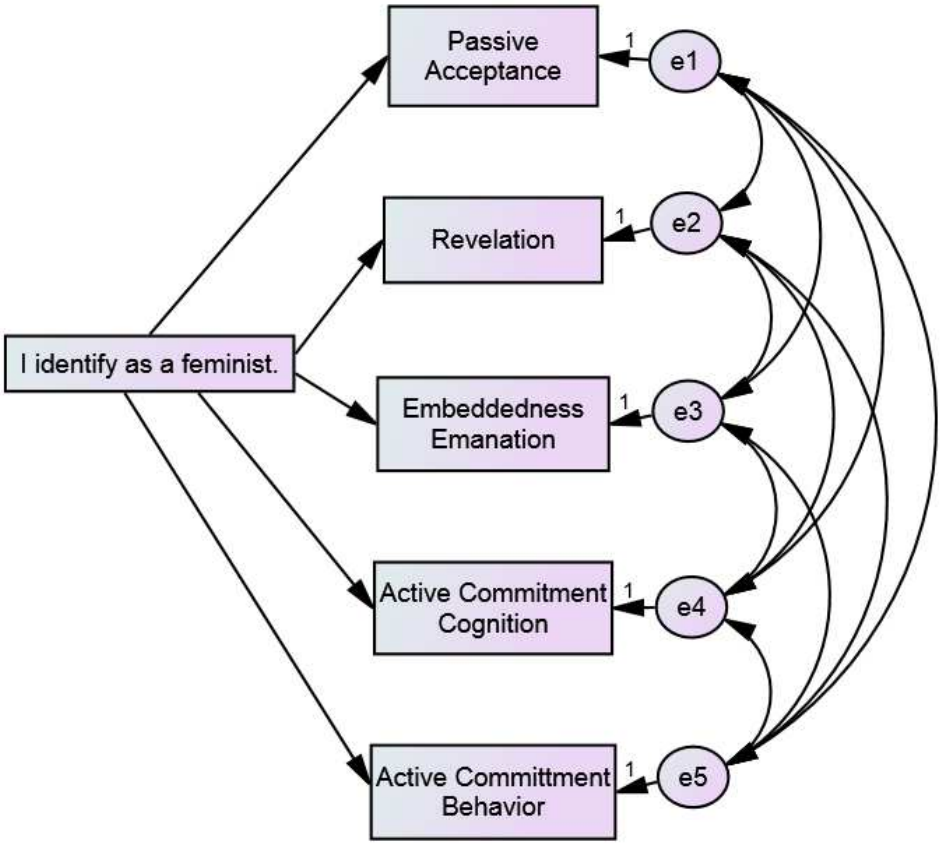

Figure 6. Retained model for the relationship between self-identifying as a feminist and Feminist Identity Dimensions (Hypothesis 1).

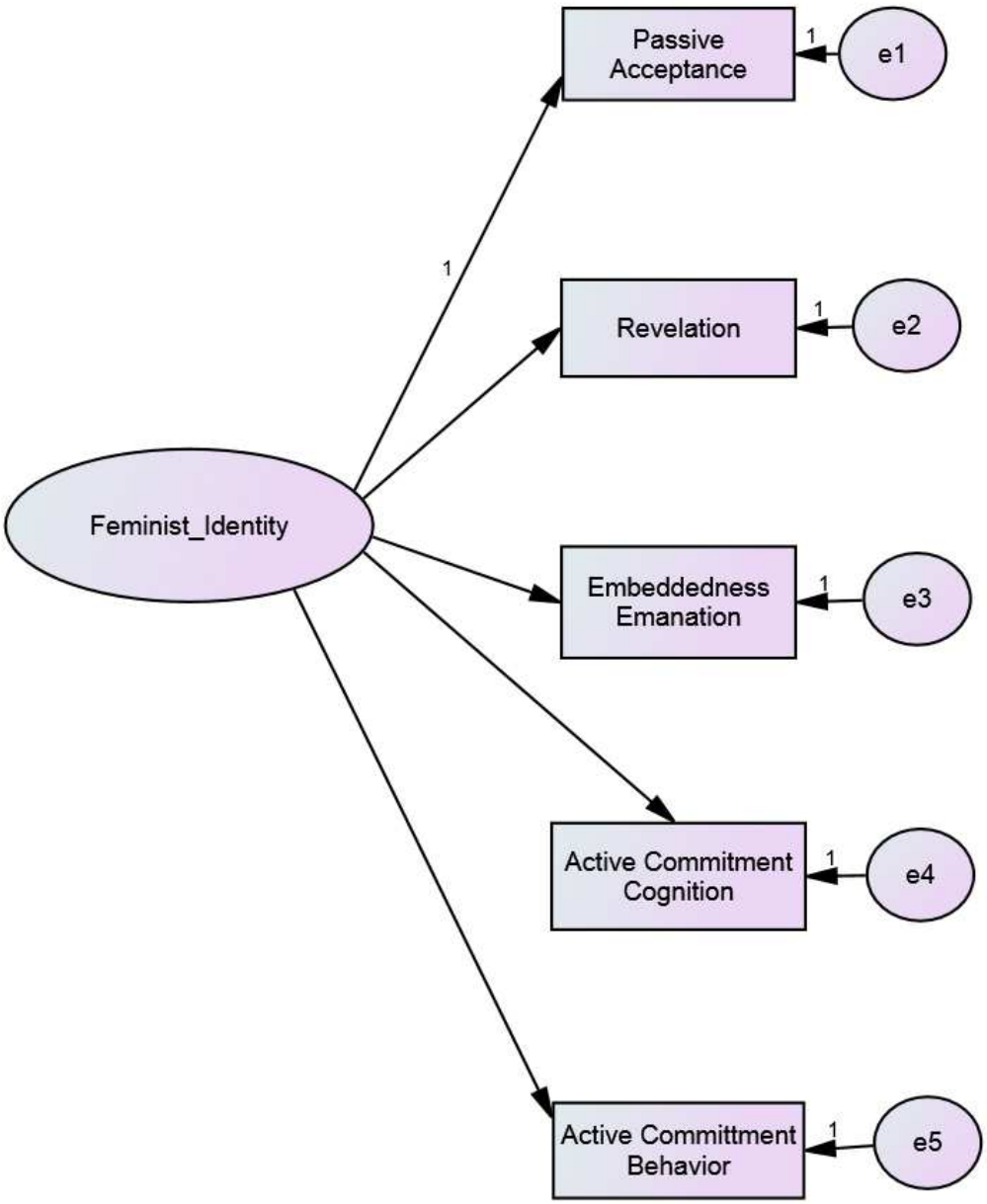

Figure 7. The measurement model for Feminist Identity Dimensions

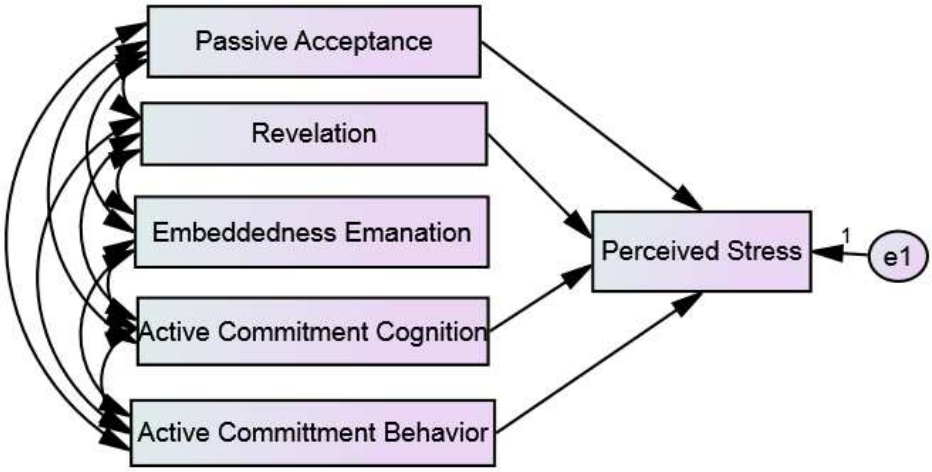

Figure 8. Retained model of the four dimensions of feminist identity with Perceived Stress (Hypothesis 2a).

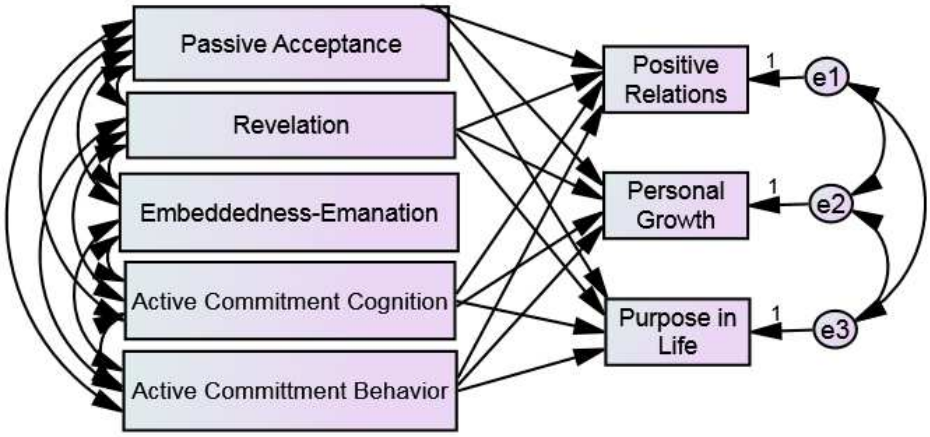

Figure 9. Retained model of the four dimensions of Feminist Identity with factors of Psychological Well-Being (Hypothesis 2b).

VITA

Richa Rajendra Khanna was born on November 17, 1986 in Mumbai, India. She was raised in Mumbai, but eventually went onto complete her educational milestones in different cities within India and also overseas. She obtained her Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology from Fergusson College, Pune in 2007. She completed her Master of Arts degree in Industrial Psychology from SNDT Women's University, Mumbai in 2009. Post graduation, Richa worked as a psychologist in Mumbai for 2.5 years during which she gained experience in behavioral training of corporate clients; and career counseling of students and young adults.

Richa began pursuing her doctoral degree in Counseling Psychology from the University of Missouri-Kansas City (UMKC) in 2012. She received her Master's Degree in Counseling and Guidance from UMKC in 2016 and gathered clinical experience from a diverse range of sites including a counseling center, community mental health clinic and two adult inpatient psychiatric hospitals. Her research interests include positive psychology, spirituality, and feminism among ethnic minority women. She is interested in continued clinical work with ethnic minority populations while incorporating principles from her broader interest areas listed; and internationalizing psychology. Richa is currently pursuing her pre-doctoral internship at the University of Delaware's Center for Counseling and Student Development.