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**Women's Social Identity as Women:
New Conceptualizations**

by

Sherry M. Bergeron

**A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through Psychology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the
University of Windsor**

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Abstract

Originating from the intention to disentangle identification with women from identification with feminists, this work presented a dual-continuum approach to study of women's social identity. From the premise that women's social identity is complex, and indefinable along a single political pole, in this study I examined various aspects of women's social identity in a diverse sample of 1239 Canadian and American women. Pulling together the strands identified in previous research, cluster analysis was used to generate various profiles of women's identification with women, and to identify subgroups of women for whom social identity was differentially experienced or perceived. Six distinct profiles emerged from the cluster analytic procedure.

Relationships between the six identified profiles and political (i.e., collective action, traditionalism, gender discrimination, perceived treatment as a female, men's sexism, and stability of gender relations), general (i.e., life satisfaction, personal self-esteem, personal and sociopolitical efficacy, and belief in a just world) and demographic (i.e., age, education, income, and sexual identity) measures were also explored. The results appear to strongly support this dual-continuum conceptualization of women's social identity. Profiles that represented the extreme ends of the identity and the consciousness continuums (i.e., feminist, traditional, and antiwomen profiles) were more clearly defined and readily interpretable than were clusters positioned along the less differentiated points (i.e., interpersonal hostility and nonaligned profiles). As expected, the profiles exhibited diverse relationships to the political factors included in this study, and displayed different patterns of association with other, more general, life factors.

Overall, this dual-continuum approach to understanding women's social identity as multifaceted appears to have potential from both a practical and a theoretical standpoint. The findings validate the contention that social identity as women not only means something different across women, but that conceptualizing identity as varying

along both an identity and a consciousness continuum, holds promise to increase our understanding. Results are discussed from the perspective that it is only through a richer understanding of the diversity of women's identification with women that we can begin to move toward understanding the commitment to acting for gender equality.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Despite the strides toward equality made in recent decades (Cowan, Neighbors, DeLaMoreaus, & Behnke, 1998) gender differences in status and power continue to exist (Cameron & Lalonde, 2001). Women's lives are still affected by discrimination (Cowan et al., 1998; Heaven, 1999; Stewart, Vasser, Sanchez, & David, 2000). Gender inequality, workplace harassment, and the assaults on our bodies that happen both overtly (sexual/domestic violence) and covertly (beauty/appearance standards) persist.

In North American culture we are seldom encouraged to recognize, let alone to challenge, group-based deprivation including the subordinate status of women (Gurin, 1985). And when we do notice or challenge the status quo, the social backlash is often pervasive and diverse. Discrimination becomes more subtle, and structural or systemic inequalities become blurred by the ideology of individual meritocracy. Slightly modified versions of old problems may appear as new problems, or as progress myths demonstrate, as no longer problems at all. Progress myths (i.e., the notion that society has changed and that women have already gained equal rights) foster an "if it ain't broke, don't fix it" mindset and imply that there is no longer a need for women to join together to work toward change because change is no longer necessary. That is to say, women can achieve the same level of power and status as men if they work for it, as men do. If society is founded on an ideology of meritocracy and cultural beliefs in a just world, then it stands to reason that we get what we earn, or what we are worth (Gurin, 1985). If structural barriers are hidden by rhetoric and an ideology designed to obscure their relevance, they fade into the background escaping notice.

To continue moving toward equality, we must expose the systemic bias that has moved underground, reject the notion that change is no longer necessary, and recognize that although women have made strides toward equality it has, on so many levels, not

been realized. In a personalized review of a quarter of a century of feminist psychology, Rhoda Unger (1998) suggests that the personal is political ideal and the concomitant sense of common fate that sustained much of the second wave women's movement has worn thin under the pressures of individualism. It is critical, she argues, to move back toward collective thinking and reignite the fire that results in the creation of collective action initiatives.

Women working together as a means to some end (collective action) is an important mechanism of social change (Cowan et al., 1998) – a central goal of feminist psychology (Breinlinger & Kelly, 1994). Changing women's position relative to men implies, as Glynis Breakwell (1979) suggests in the context of marginal groups, that the structure upon which power is allocated must be changed. Having power is a prerequisite to effecting change and collective action is one route to gaining power (Breakwell, 1979). At the heart of collective action lies a united front, or a collective identity. Therefore, if gender equality is the goal, we need to understand the dynamics of collective identity formation in women. To do this we must examine the nature of women's relationships with women, exploring factors that infuse a sense of connection and cohesion with women and encourage women to work collectively toward social change. We must also, however, identify both those factors that draw women together on other less political grounds, as well as those factors that discourage the development of identification with women (Cowan et al., 1998).

In their work on "women's hostility toward women" Cowan and her colleagues (1998) take as a given that a lack of a positive identification by women with their gender group results in the creation of barriers between women. These barriers, they suggest, may disrupt joint effort toward attaining equality and can result in women working against other women, competing, rather than collaborating. In addition to hostility toward, and competition with women, some women may not see their gender as a marginalized

identity. That is, they may view their gender and the effect that gender has on their lives with indifference. Reflecting on the ideal of collective identity as women, Unger (1998) underlines to whose advantage (and disadvantage) the breakdown of marginalized group identity works. If we are to work toward social change, Unger suggests, we need to think about ourselves in collective ways. A collective gender identity provides women with a perspective from which to understand women's position in society (Gurin & Markus, 1989). If we do not see our social realities as linked and create distance between ourselves and other women we will, undoubtedly, foster continued divisiveness. This will ideologically constrain collective action potential and aid in the maintenance of the status quo.

Essential to the understanding of the range of women's relationships with women is the concept of women's identification with women, or their social identity as women. What factors influence women's level of identification with women as a group? How do women perceive the role of other women in their lives? Outside of gender in the intergroup context (i.e., comparisons of women and men), and as one explanation for discrimination, little research has focused on women's identification with women (Brown & Williams, 1984), and the research that does exist has tended to place identification in a peripheral rather than a central role. Moreover, in most cases identification has been, either implicitly or explicitly, linked to a particular political perspective, and has seldom been investigated as an end unto itself or as something that may exist without political motivations. And although ultimately, my goal is to identify what underlies the formation of bonds from which collective identity grows and collective action initiatives are born, it is important not to overlook other aspects of women's social identity that may serve different, perhaps less political, goals along the way.

The present study was designed as an attempt to gain a more nuanced understanding of women's social identity. Grounded in the assumption that social

identity may operate both inside and outside of any given political frameworks or objectives, this project explored both positive and negative (including hostility toward women) identification with women, as well as a lack of identification with women.

To discover the range of potential expressions of women's social identity as women – that is, different profiles of women's social identity – a statistical procedure that does not, by definition, impose standards of linearity would be of potential benefit. Since the philosophical underpinnings of this line of inquiry into women's social identity rests firmly on discovering natural expressions of women's identification with women, imposing a pre-defined grouping strategy would be counter to the objective of this research. Rather, more philosophically suited, is a strategy that allows the groups to emerge naturally from the data. To meet this end, this study employed cluster analytic procedures, in the hope of uncovering new conceptualizations that are better able to represent the diversity of women's social identity.

This chapter unfolds in four sections. First, to situate the reader, I provide a brief review of the terminology used in the social identity research followed by an overview of the theoretical approaches to this area of study. Next, I review the literature that has influenced the conceptualization of women's social identity, and trace the development of this body of work. Finally, integrating the research and pulling together the gaps identified in the conceptualizing of women's social identity I introduce this research project highlighting the areas this study explored. Having laid the foundation, the following chapter outlines the methodological and statistical procedures used in this exploration of women's social identity. The third chapter describes and presents the results of the analyses. Following the results section, a discussion of the study's findings and their implications are presented. Finally, in the last chapter, a synthesis and conclusion are presented.

The Social Identity of Women

Nomenclature: Getting on the Same Page

Social identity, group identity, gender identity, collective identity, group consciousness, feminist consciousness, and collective self-esteem are just a sampling of the terms used in the research examining women's level of identification with women as a group. The conceptualizations of each of these terms vary both within and across academic disciplines as well as across studies. Therefore, before moving forward, clarification of the terminology is necessary.

The term "social identity" has recently been described by Brewer (2001) as "conceptual anarchy" (p. 116). It is a concept, she suggests, that runs the gamut of human science disciplines with each discipline molding it to its own theoretical or ideological prescriptions. Assuming that underlying all views of social identity is the idea that one's sense of self stems, at least in part, from groups to which one belongs, Brewer (2001) outlined four broad ways that the social identity concept has been used in the social science literature. This taxonomy is useful to familiarize the reader with the notion of social identity generally, and to circumscribe both the breadth and the slant of this research on women's social identity.

Brewer (2001) proposed that there are four types of social identities: person-based, relational, group-based, and collective identities. Three of the four types are relevant to this review. Relational social identities, aspects of the self derived through interpersonal relationships with others, are determined by the roles we play in interactions (e.g., parent-child, lawyer-client). Since this research focuses on women's social identity generally, and not in a role-determined way, only the remaining three types of social identity will be considered here. The first type, person-based social identities, derive from feeling that a particular group is a part of the self and who you are results from the "shared socialization experiences that [group] ... membership implies"

(Brewer, 2001, p. 117). Conversely, group-based social identities derive from feeling that you are part of a group and result from “common ties to a shared category membership” (p. 119). Finally, collective identities represent what a given group identity means to the individuals who comprise the group. It is similar to group-based identities in that there is a focus on commonalities shared by group members, but also represents a value-added perspective, that is, it incorporates “an active process of shaping and forging an image of what the group stands for and how it wishes to be viewed by others...[along with] the norms, values, and ideologies that such an identification entails” (p.119). It is the feeling of common ties with a group (group-based identity), and the shared meaning that can accompany group membership (collective identity), rather than the sense of self that derives from socialization (person-based identity) that is of particular interest in this study.

Like social identity research in general (Brewer, 2001), research on women’s identification with women does not use terminology consistently across studies. Terms are often conflated and readers are left to draw their own semantic conclusions. Although often blurred, an important distinction must be made between the terms identification and consciousness (Gurin & Townsend, 1986). *Identification*, as defined by Gurin, Miller, and Gurin, (1980), “refers to the awareness of having ideas, feelings, and interests similar to others who share the same stratum characteristics” (p. 30). *Group identity*, therefore, is an awareness of belonging to a particular group along with the associated feelings about being a member (Gurin & Townsend, 1986). Taken one step further, *gender identity* in the context of social identity research on women, is a group identity tailored to reflect “an internal representation of belonging to the social category, women” (Gurin & Markus, 1989, p. 153). *Consciousness*, on the other hand, is defined as “a set of political beliefs and action orientations arising out of th[e] awareness of similarity” (Gurin et al., 1980, p. 30). And *group consciousness*, is group-specific

ideology regarding beliefs about how one's group is viewed in society (Gurin & Townsend, 1986) that often includes a tendency toward collective action (Buschman & Lenart, 1996; Cole, Zucker, & Ostrove, 1998; Cook, 1989). This distinction between identity and consciousness is reflected in the difference between group identity and collective identity outlined by Brewer (2001), with group identity restricted to commonalities shared by group members that operates outside of any imposed or mutually understood value, and collective identity taking on a value-added dimension that may (or may not) be expressed politically. Group consciousness thus includes the politicization of a group identity that is implicitly oriented toward collective action as a means toward some end (Cook, 1989) and *gender consciousness* as that politicization oriented toward beliefs about one's gender group.

Perhaps because of the politicized component of the term consciousness, as research on women's social identity progressed, the definition of gender consciousness shifted toward conflation with the term feminist consciousness. *Feminist consciousness* is gender consciousness as women infused with a specific political (feminist) orientation (Duncan, 1999). Klatch (2001) suggests that some authors use the terms feminist and group consciousness to mean the same thing when they are focusing on women, whereas Klatch, like Cook (1989) views the former as a subset of the latter. That is, gender consciousness is a broader term than feminist consciousness encompassing all women who identify as women and work toward women-oriented goals regardless of political direction (e.g., acting for traditional goals is as politicized an activity as is action toward goals defined as feminist). Moreover, gender consciousness exists outside of the labeling process, to also include women who do not identify as or with feminists, and thus is more inclusive¹.

Further conceptual confusion is added by the different terminology used from one side of the Atlantic to the other (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). European psychologists'

use of the term *social identity*, Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) suggest, is similar to American psychologists' use of the term *collective identity*. Also, in some circles, the value-added dimension of collective identity is referred to separately, as *collective self-esteem*.

In summary, given that this research focuses exclusively on women, unless otherwise specified, all general terms (e.g., gender/group/social/collective identity/consciousness) will refer to women. To reflect a politicized distinction, gender consciousness will refer to a politicized identity as a woman irrespective of the political slant whereas feminist consciousness will refer to a politicized identity that is aligned with feminist ideologies. Except where a distinction is necessary for clarity, the term social identity will refer to women's level of identification with women as described by Brewer's group-based social identity, and the term collective identity will be reserved for referring to the value-added dimension of identity.

Theoretical Approaches to Exploring the Social Identity of Women

In our understanding of ourselves and our interactions with others, we often see ourselves as defined by group characteristics that are relevant to our lives (Heaven, 1999). Some group identities are more enduring (e.g., gender, race) than others (e.g., student) and thus may exert widespread influence (Sherman, Hamilton, & Lewis, 1999; White, Russo, & Travis, 2001). In addition, we are members of many different groups (e.g., women, lesbians, mothers) that can be grouped (women/men) and regrouped (heterosexuals/homosexuals) in different ways as most group identities shift into and out of focus depending on circumstances (Millsted & Frith, 2003). Social circumstances or conditions may lead us to evaluate our group's status, most often by comparing our group to some other relevant group (Millsted & Frith, 2003). Sometimes these social comparisons lead us to conclude that our group is treated unfairly or is, in some way, considered of inferior status.

Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1978) allows for theorizing about responses to perceived inequalities between groups at both the individual and group level, and therefore, it figures prominently in the research on women's social identity. Much of the SIT research on women, however, has used intact occupational groups (e.g., nurses), or role-identified groups (e.g., mothers), or has focused on the dynamics of intergroup behaviour (women vs. men) by examining ingroup bias or outgroup discrimination/derogation. Except where findings are generalizable to the broader group "women" these studies will not be reviewed here.

A brief (and simplified) overview of SIT as it has been used in research on women's social identity is provided to familiarize the reader with the theory's central tenets. Born out of postwar European social psychology (Abrams & Hogg, 1999), SIT offers a "compromise" between individual-level and group-level approaches to the concept of social identity and thus has been credited with allowing for "a more *social*, social psychology" (Breinlinger & Kelly, 1994, p.1). A core assumption of this theory is that people want to feel good about themselves and about the groups that they belong to – that is, they strive toward achieving a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Awareness and evaluation of group membership forms the basis of the social identity process in that there must be awareness that one belongs to a particular group, then, through social comparison, evaluation of group status occurs. This evaluation results in a negative social identity (i.e., a status differential exists between your group and the comparison group with your group comparing unfavourably) or a positive social identity (i.e., no status differential exists or your group compares favourably to the comparison group). Assessment of the legitimacy and the stability of group status follows from the formation of a negative social identity. If group differences are deemed illegitimate and/or unstable and group members can see alternatives to the existing arrangements, attempts for social change will ensue. Social change strategies are grouped into either

individual or group strategies, and may challenge status indirectly through *social creativity* measures (e.g., create a new dimension of comparison, change the value of the current comparative dimension, or change the comparison group) or directly through *social competition*.

Most research on women's social identity has incorporated a SIT perspective. Some authors have focused specifically on the social change strategies used by women, while others have sought to assess feelings of legitimacy about women's status, attitudes or feelings toward their gender group, feelings of common ties with women, or the salience of gender in one's life. Research on social identity as women that has not used SIT (or some offshoot of it) has been largely atheoretical or limited in scope.

Conceptualizing Women's Social identity

From the outset, research on women's social identity was almost exclusively positioned as an inquiry with political overtones. Underlying most perspectives was the assumption that a change in women's status was necessary. Following naturally from the tenets of SIT this progression is understandable. Operating from this premise however, presumes, among other things, women's recognition of their inferior social status relative to men and does not leave theoretical room for alternative political or apolitical expressions of social identity. This is evident in early conceptualizations of women's social identity.

Identity and social change. Williams and Giles (1978) provided the first theoretical application of SIT to women as a group. If we are to understand women's status in society, they suggested, we must consider the link between the individual and society. At the time of their writing, consideration of women's status in society had only been dealt with in descriptive, rather than predictive, ways (Williams & Giles, 1978). To address this concern, the authors, focusing on the strategies for social change outlined in SIT, positioned women into the social identity research, thus shifting the focus from

describing the social situation of women (e.g., sex-role mandates, etc.) to predicting women's responses to status inequality by examining the social climate and the actions of women and women's groups.

One set of hypothesized reactions to the perception of group inequality outlined in SIT is utilization of strategies aimed at social change. In earlier decades when it was more common for middle and upper class women to be exclusively homemakers, the social status of the husband was extended to the wife. Many women therefore focused on their husband's, rather than on their own, status as a personal goal (Williams & Giles, 1978). This, Williams and Giles suggest, led to intragroup (e.g., comparing oneself to other women) rather than to intergroup (e.g., comparing women to men) comparisons and therefore inhibited the perception of gender inequalities and kept the deployment of social change strategies at bay.

At the time of Williams and Giles' (1978) analysis, women, particularly those in middle and upper classes, were again beginning to move out of the home to work and as a result, the authors suggest, women began to want individual status, not by-association status. Focusing on the social change strategies outlined in SIT, the authors interpreted responses to status inequality by examining the social climate and the actions of women and women's groups in the 1970s. Assimilation, the first strategy, involves trying to get on equal ground with the dominant group (e.g., equal legal rights, equality in employment, and political parity). This, they offer, happened on many fronts. It did not solve the problems with discrimination however, but rather, it had the adverse effect of moving discrimination against women underground. For example, while women were entering the workforce in increasing numbers they were entering either into female-type occupations or the influx of women into an occupation moved the status of the occupation downward to reflect the gender shift. So, rather than buying into society on men's terms, women began to use *social creativity* strategies to gain status. For

example, similar to the “Black is beautiful” slogan used in the civil rights movement, women began to redefine the meaning of their gender, putting a positive spin onto negatively viewed characteristics. Citing examples such as exposing the gendered nature of language (e.g., generic ‘he’), changing dress codes (e.g., trading in skirts for pants), and accentuating women’s sexual advantage (e.g., the ability to have multiple orgasms) women, they suggest, devalued some measures, injected new meaning into others, and asserted the superiority of yet some others.

Critiques of this work point out that Williams and Giles’ theoretical approach assumes that being a woman means the same thing to all women (Skevington & Baker, 1989) and that diversity among women must be acknowledged theoretically. Similarly, Breakwell (1979) argues that there is no unifying concept of womanhood and although gender ties women together on one level with one frame of reference, there are many smaller divisions, or subgroups that exist within the gender category. The implicit framing of women’s social identity as revolving around a shared feminist consciousness that, by definition, implies the necessity of social change remains a point of contention.

Unfortunately, social identity as women is often confounded with social identity as feminists because adherence to feminist ideology is often used as the indicator of the former as well as the latter (Cameron & Lalonde, 2001; Condor, 1989). The assumption, Cameron and Lalonde (2001) suggest, is that feminist women will identify more strongly with their gender group than will those women who are not feminist. And although some studies have found evidence for this assumption (Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995), others have not (Henderson-King & Stewart, 1994). So, what does social identity as women mean to women, and how has it been measured?

Dominating the research in the 1980s, and, one could argue, forming a template for future researchers of women’s social identity, early work by Gurin, and various colleagues (Gurin, 1985; Gurin, Miller, & Gurin, 1980; Gurin & Townsend, 1986),

explored women's social identity empirically. This body of research, although not explicitly tied to feminism initially, continues to link women's social identity with a feminist ideology.

For example, Gurin, Miller and Gurin (1980) examined women's identification with women and their level of group consciousness using data from the United States 1972 Institute for Social Research National Election Studies (NES). The authors identified four variables of interest to their study: identification, power discontent, rejection of legitimacy, and collectivist orientation. Because several of the studies of women's social identity used the NES data, or its measures, a detailed description of the measures in this initial study follows.

Identification with women was measured by providing a list of 16 groups (e.g., whites, blacks, women, etc.) and asking participants first, "which of these groups do you feel particularly close to – people who are most like you in their ideas and interests and feelings about things?" (p. 31), then to select from those that they indicated the one group to which they felt the closest. Group consciousness was operationalized as a combination of power discontent and rejection of the legitimacy of the current status quo. Power discontent, designed to access individuals' beliefs about the current level of power of their group, was measured by asking participants to rate whether each of the groups listed had "too much influence, just about the right amount, or too little influence." If the participants rated their own group as having too little influence it was coded as discontent. Rejection of legitimacy of one's group status was measured by providing a series of forced choice questions each with two alternatives; one that placed the blame for status differentials on structural factors (e.g., discrimination) and the other that blamed individual factors (e.g., motivation). If structural factors were chosen the participant was coded as rejecting the legitimacy of their group's status. Collectivist orientation tapped the belief that people should work together, rather than as individuals,

for social change. Asking participants the extent to which (measured on a 7-point scale) they believed that people in their felt-closest-to group should “organize as a group” or “work as individuals” provided this collectivism rating.

Examining both prevalence and the relationships between identity and consciousness, the findings indicated that neither identification with women nor gender consciousness was widespread among the sample. Identification with women and gender consciousness was present to some extent for some women, but the rates were lower than expected (lower, actually, than identification of Black people with their ethnic group and older people with their age group). In fact, of the women who belonged to only one of the listed groups ($n = 647$) only 12% indicated that they felt closest to women. Membership in multiple categories further decreased the percentage of women who reported feeling closest to women. For example, none of the older Black women reported that they felt closest to women, and only 3% of older women (who were not Black or working class) reported feeling closest to women. The link between identification and the gender consciousness variables was also weak. Of those women who identified most closely with their gender group ($n = 111$) only half (49%) felt that women had too little power, and only 19% rated collective action at the extreme pole, with the majority (59%) selecting from the midpoint to the extreme individual pole of the collectivism item.

Given that the data were from an early (1972) sample, data from later years may show an increase in identification reflecting the changing social climate. However, a follow-up study in 1985, using data from the 1972, 1976, and the 1983 NES, again indicated that women exhibited low levels of identification and group consciousness (Gurin, 1985). The trend across the three time frames continued to reflect that women identified with their gender group much less frequently than did members of groups defined by race, age, or class. Only on the perceptions of the legitimacy of the causes of

gender disparity did women's level of group consciousness surpass those of race, age, and class categories. Some measures of group consciousness (identification, power discontent, and rejection of legitimacy) did, however, increase over time. This trend was particularly clear from the 1972 to the 1976 data for single, employed, college educated women under 30 years old. It is important to note that in this study the author acknowledges that the operationalization of collective orientation assumes the position that social change is necessary and/or desirable. This, she suggests, makes the inquiry implicitly, if not explicitly, feminist. So too, I would add, does the conceptualization of power discontent and rejection of legitimacy. These factors, however, do not decrease the value of the research: They only restrict it to one aspect of group consciousness – feminist.

Identification as multifaceted. Social identity and group consciousness are both multifaceted concepts, but whereas consciousness is consistently viewed as multidimensional, identification typically is not (Gurin & Townsend, 1986). Addressing this concern, the authors treat both sides of the equation as multidimensional, extending the identification measure to include three properties of gender identity (perceived similarities, cognitive centrality of gender, and a sense of common fate with women). Identification was measured as it was in their previous studies but it was now referred to as "perceived similarities." A cognitive measure of centrality of gender assessed the amount of time spent thinking about "being a woman." A feeling of common fate was determined by agreement with the opinion that what happens to women as a group has an influence on one's own life as a woman. Group consciousness measures were similar to those outlined in the previous studies (power discontent, rejection of legitimacy, and collective orientation).

Telephone interviews were conducted in 1979 ($N = 214$) and 1983 ($N = 715$), thus enabling cross-validation of the results. Correlations among the identity measures

in 1979 showed that perceived similarity ($r = .20$) and gender centrality ($r = .28$) were significantly associated with sense of common fate but were not related to each other ($r = .06$). All of the identity variables predicted power discontent both in isolation and together as a set. This remained true even after controlling for the effects of age, education, and employment. A sense of common fate, however, was the most important predictor of the remaining consciousness variables (i.e., rejection of legitimacy and collective orientation). Cross-validation revealed that the importance of a sense of common fate was unchanged from 1979 to 1983. Notably, the effect of gender centrality increased across time, whereas the effect of perceived similarity, aside from its moderate influence on power discontent, was negligible (Gurin & Townsend, 1986). Overall, Gurin and Townsend suggest, a sense of common fate made the most valuable contribution to the prediction of group consciousness.

These findings highlight the importance of considering the multidimensionality of social identity. That some identity dimensions were correlated with each other while others were not and that some exerted more influence on particular aspects of consciousness than others reinforces that the relationships are complex and that we need to consider the ideology that underpins our measurement dimensions.

Research on women's social identity that utilizes the NES is obviously restricted by the general nature of the measures included in the surveys. A single identity measure that asks women which group they feel closest to is, at best, deficient. Studies using this as a sole indicator of identification or those who have overgeneralized the meaning of such a measure have not gone without criticism. Although Gurin and Townsend (1986) did expand their measurement of the identity concept, problems remain. Cook (1989), for example, has criticized the linking of this identification measure to the measure of group consciousness. Particularly important, she suggests, is maintenance of the separation of the terms gender consciousness and feminist consciousness. Gender

consciousness encompasses not only those women whose consciousness is politicized in a feminist direction, but also those women who may have other, perhaps more traditional beliefs. Addressing this conflation, Cook (1989) measures feminist consciousness using the feelings thermometer (assessing feelings toward the women's movement anchored by [0 - 100] cool to warm) and the rejection of legitimacy of gender roles items (used by Gurin, 1985) included in the NES data for 1972, 1976, 1980, 1984. A factor analysis including measures of power discontent, rejection of legitimacy, collectivist orientation, and the feelings thermometer revealed a single factor solution with all measures loading highly (.70 to .73). When the identification measure (closeness) was added to the analyses, a single factor still emerged but closeness loaded comparatively lower (.46) than all of the other measures (.69 to .72). Cook warns against such an inclusion if trying to determine feminist consciousness because the basis for women's closeness in the identification measure is not, by definition, political. Women may report feeling close to women without feminist ideology being the catalyst of that closeness. This important distinction has yet to be empirically evaluated.

The link between identity and consciousness. Although most of the research either continues to conflate social identity and feminist consciousness, or shifts its focus to feminist consciousness completely, new conceptions of the link between identity and consciousness are evident in the evolving literature. Some of this work offers insight into the more broadly defined issue of social identity, outside of political interests. Gurin and Markus (1989), for example, assess the effect of social identity on information processing to determine if identity works as a self-schema, thus filtering our experiences and expectations. In addition to this new line of inquiry, they also examine the effect of social identity on cognitions with political ramifications (e.g., collective discontent, rejection of legitimacy). This expands exploration of the link between social identity and gender (feminist) consciousness by underlining the relationship between gender

consciousness and responses to perceived illegitimate group status outlined in SIT.

For classification purposes, Gurin and Markus (1989) retain the gender centrality and sense of common fate identity measures from Gurin and Townsend (1986) and add a measure to differentiate between women endorsing traditional and nontraditional gender role orientations. Agreeing with the statements that working mothers of preschool children were less likely to form secure bonds with their children than were mothers who did not work, and that young children are negatively affected if a mother works, as well as indicating an intention not to work when their children were young, placed women in the traditional category. Women were categorized as nontraditional if they disagreed with these statements. As in her previous studies, gender consciousness was defined as a feeling of collective (power) discontent, rejection of the legitimacy of group status, and support for social change using collective action. Undergraduate women ($N = 146$) indicated whether gender-identified phrases (e.g., feel close to women) presented one at a time on a computer screen, were characteristic of themselves, and provided a rating of the confidence with which they made the judgment. Women who scored higher on centrality and common fate items endorsed significantly more gender-identified phrases and were more certain of their judgments than were those women who scored lower and thus, the authors conclude, may have more readily available access to their gender-related schema.

Some differences were also found among women categorized based on gender role-orientation. Although one identity measure (a sense of common fate) did not differentiate between traditional and nontraditional women, the other identity measure (how central gender was in these women's lives), and all three of the consciousness variables did. A sense of common fate, though less frequent in the traditional women, did not interact with role-orientation despite its relationship to collective discontent, legitimacy, and advocacy of collective action. On the consciousness measures,

however, traditional women were less likely to report that they felt as though women as a group had too little power, and were less likely to blame women's position in society on structural (rather than individual) factors than were nontraditional women. Further, the more time women spent thinking about being a woman (i.e., higher levels of gender centrality) the more exaggerated these differences between centrality and each of the measures of consciousness became. For nontraditional women, scores were also exaggerated with increased centrality but they went in the opposite direction. That is, higher levels of gender centrality were associated with an increased likelihood of reporting that they felt as though women had too little power, and to increases in the likelihood of attributing women's position in society to structural factors. Additionally, in nontraditional women both sense of common fate and centrality of gender were positively related to all consciousness measures as well as to each other. For traditional women, however, both identity measures were positively related to each other but exerted differential effects on the consciousness variables with a sense of common fate supporting feminist consciousness and centrality detracting from it.

It is important to note though, that category placement of traditional/nontraditional status based on item responses, not on self-identification, may have influenced the results. Recent research by Cameron and Lalonde (2001) finds that sex role ideology and identification with gender group was only significantly related for women who self-identified as feminist, not for those who self-identified as traditional or even nontraditional. If participants are placed into categories based on item responses, how does one distinguish between women who would self-identify as feminist and women who would self-identify as nontraditional? In addition, within a student population, restricted role-orientations, compared to the general population, may exist. Extension of this research on role-orientation to a diverse population would add depth to these findings.

Other researchers have made the shift to examining feminist identity/consciousness explicitly. Henderson-King and Stewart (1994), for example, examined the link between women's identification (with women and with feminists) and feminist consciousness. Because women are socialized into a heterosexualized "male-centered" society, and are taught and expected to focus their energies on relationships with men, identification with women is often appropriated (Henderson-King & Stewart, 1994). Variation in levels of identification, they suggest, may exist based on degree of interaction with men. Women who do not interact with men in intimate ways, or who do so to a minimal extent, may have stronger social identities as women. This could result in differential identification levels for lesbian and heterosexual women. Their study, however, was not stratified by sexual orientation and this idea remains to be verified empirically. In their sample of young (mean age = 19.7) female university students ($N = 234$) Henderson-King and Stewart (1994) used a modified version of the identity measure outlined by Gurin and colleagues (1980). Adding feminists to the list of groups, the authors asked participants to indicate which groups they belonged to, and, of those indicated, to rate on a 5-point scale (with *not at all* to *very much* as anchors) the extent to which they identified with each of the groups. Feelings toward women and feminists were measured using feeling thermometers with a score of 0 anchored by *cool* and a score of 100 anchored by *warm*. Feminist consciousness measures included the NES variables power discontent and rejection of legitimacy, the Gurin and Townsend (1986) measure of common fate, an author-developed sensitivity to sexism scale, and assessment of the stage of feminist identity development (using Rickard's 1989 Feminist Identity Scale [FIS] scale).

Most women in their sample identified with women ($M = 4.4$ out of 5), but not with feminists (1.4 out of 5). Feelings about women (86.5) and about feminists (61.7) showed a similar disparity. Further, women highly identified with feminists all reported being

highly identified with women (100%), but women highly identified with women were not equally as likely to identify with feminists (only 12%). Identification with, and feelings toward feminists were significantly associated with all feminist consciousness measures, whereas identification with, and feelings toward women were significantly associated with fewer consciousness measures, and when relationships did exist, they were weaker than those with feminists. A feminist social identity was more predictive of levels of power discontent, sensitivity to sexism, and all but the final stage (synthesis) of the FIS than was social identity as a woman. Feelings toward feminists/women results reflected a similar trend with feelings toward feminists significantly related to all consciousness measures and feelings toward women showing fewer and weaker associations with consciousness measures. Correlations for feelings toward feminists and feelings toward women were significantly different across all consciousness measures. This is not surprising, however, given that all consciousness measures were feminist. That most of the women in Henderson-King and Stewart's (1994) study were strongly identified as women but not as feminists emphasizes the necessity to develop new measures that increase our ability to tease out critical factors of identification that are not, by definition, tied to a specific political ideology. There are other ideologies around which some women will rally, that are different from, or that even may run counter to, feminist ideologies or identities. The willingness to call oneself a feminist, in itself suggests a presence of group consciousness even without knowledge of the specific ideology adhered to (Griffin, 1989). Identification with women, however, does not allow one to predict adherence to any one set of political ideologies (Henderson-King & Stewart, 1994). In fact, as Cook (1989) contends, even what being a woman means varies across women. And, failing to tap the nature of the basis for women's identification with women, she warns, precludes one from grouping high identifiers together on any assumed ideological preference.

Recent research by the same authors adds strength to this contention.

Examining the effect of women's studies courses on feminist consciousness, Henderson-King and Stewart (1999) report that although taking a women's studies course did increase women's level of feminist consciousness and result in more positive attitudes toward feminists overall, their attitudes toward the broader group, women, did not change. That the increase in positive ratings of feminists in the post women's studies class was not accompanied by an increase in the ratings of women in general hints at the necessity to maintain clear distinctions when interested in explaining women's social identity. The lack of extension in positive evaluation to the general group women, may, as the authors suggest, be a result of increasing women's understanding of women as a heterogeneous rather than a homogeneous group. So women may be making their circles of group inclusion smaller, rather than larger, as would seem more consistent with the ideology that underpins feminism. On the face of it, this fracturing appears almost counterproductive and would have implications that require exploration. It may be, however, that there was just more room for an increase in positive evaluation for feminists than for women more generally. In other words, it may be that participants did not see women any less positively but they did see feminists less negatively. A closer examination of the reported results supports this interpretation as pre-post scores went from 70.6 to 77.1 for feelings toward feminists, and from 85.7 to 88.8 for feelings toward women.

Together these studies identify several avenues for researchers to pursue. At a very basic level, as Henderson-King and Stewart (1999) acknowledge, the generalizability of the study is limited due to the composition of the sample, and the inclusion of more age, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation diversity would be a valuable addition to the research. Additionally, a follow-up on the suggestion that identification with women may vary based on degree of intimate involvement with men

also warrants consideration.

The ties that bind (or not). Not identifying with feminists, Smith (1999) suggests, may not necessarily translate into a lack of identification with women. In her study of female university students ($N = 232$) Smith positioned participants on a 5-point continuum (i.e., *strongly feminist to strongly antifeminist*), then, using the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), assessed four aspects of collective identity. The CSES consists of the Identity (importance of group membership to one's sense of self), Membership (one's sense of worthiness as a group member), Private (self-evaluation of the group), and the Public (perceived others evaluation of the group) subscales designed to measure how people feel about the social groups to which they belong (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Feminists and antifeminists both had higher overall levels of collective gender self-esteem than those women who rated themselves in the center of the continuum (i.e., "mixed"). Further, there were no differences across the three groups on the identity subscale, thus suggesting that being a woman was an equally important part of identity regardless of orientation toward feminism. The remaining three subscales (Membership, Private, and Public) showed a different pattern of results. Women at the extremes (feminists and antifeminists) scored higher on the Membership subscale suggesting that feminists and antifeminists both felt like more worthy members of their gender group, than did women who were mixed. Feminists evaluated being a woman more positively (Private) than either antifeminists or mixed, and antifeminists felt that others evaluated women more positively (Public) than did feminists and mixed. The authors speculate that feminists' higher Private and lower Public scores may mean that feminists "value women and value themselves as women, even though the culture may not" (p. 290). This "sense of sisterhood," she suggests, may unite feminist women in a belief in the shared oppression of women, whereas a perception of oppression of women may be lacking in antifeminist women, thus not

creating a sense of sisterhood. Intuitively, this seems reasonable. A measure of sisterhood or even a measure of common fate as included in earlier studies could help to clarify this relationship.

Further evidence exists for the importance of the concept of identity as set out in the CSES. Carpenter and Johnson, (2001) integrated the developmental perspective of Henderson-King and Stewart (1997) and the collective identity perspective of Smith (1999). The authors explored the relationship between the stages of feminist identity development, as measured by the Feminist Identity Development Scale (Bargad & Hyde, 1991), and collective self-esteem (Luhtanen and Crocker, 1992) in a sample of 122 female university students. The results revealed that the Embeddedness stage (the stage proposed to represent the point in feminist identity development at which women enmesh themselves in women's culture) was associated with the greatest number of CSES subscales. This finding dovetails with the conclusion by Henderson-King and Stewart (1997) that this stage best captures women's cohesion with their gender group. Furthermore, the Identity subscale was independently related to the Embeddedness stage, suggesting that immersion in women's culture may be applicable to women's social identity more generally in addition to women's feminist identity.

Burn, Aboud, and Moyles (2000), also used the CSES but related the subscale scores to support for feminism (as measured by the Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Scale; Morgan, 1996) and feminist self-identification rather than to stage of feminist identity development. Using a sample of 276 female university students, the authors report that of the total CSES score and the four subscale scores, only Membership, or feeling like you were a worthy member of your gender group was significantly associated with both support for feminism and feminist self-identification. This was largely because Membership was the only CSES subscale significantly related to feminist self-identification. The Private subscale was not associated with either

feminist identification or support for feminism. Seeing gender as a core part of your self (Identity), believing that women are devalued in society (Public), and higher total CSES scores were associated with support for feminism but not with feminist identification. It is important here to note that Identity was not related to feminist self-identification. The authors speculate that this may be a reflection of feminists' view of "themselves as fighting against the notion that gender should dictate one's identity" (p. 1087). I, on the other hand, submit that this finding strengthens the contention that identification as a woman and identification as a feminist do not run parallel courses. After all, to accept that feminists are suppressing the relevance of gender in one's life flies in the face of the sisterhood view of group solidarity and the fight for equality. And, although some may argue that gender should not matter, few, I contend, would argue that it doesn't.

Standing in stark contrast to the research reviewed above, and making room conceptually for access to apolitical and antifeminist orientations as well as feminist orientations, work by Cowan and her colleagues (1998) ushered in an important shift in the conceptualization of social identity. To begin understanding women's social identity, we must explore both factors that encourage, and that impede, the development of a positive social identity (Cowan et al., 1998). Women's hostility toward women, Cowan and her colleagues (1998) suggest, may block the formation of a positive social identity, get in the way of women working together, and ultimately obstruct progress toward equality by placing barriers between women and impeding collective action initiatives.

In a series of three studies on female university students, Cowan et al., (1998) explored a range of potential correlates of women's hostility toward women. Summarizing the implications of their findings, the authors suggest that hostility toward women, as measured by the Hostility Toward Women Scale (HTW; Check, et al., 1985 as cited in Cowan et al., 1998) may preclude identification with women and may negatively influence collective, as well as personal, self-esteem. Feeling good about

yourself, they suggest, may underlie the ability to identify with your gender group; thus, a sense of empowerment may feed women's social identity, and foster the willingness to engage in collective action. In a counterintuitive finding, individualist/collectivist orientation, attitude toward feminism, and feminist identification were not related to women's hostility toward women. Moreover, individualism was more strongly related to attitude toward feminism ($r = .36, p < .001$) and feminist self-identification ($r = .21, p < .001$) than was collectivism ($r = -.12, p < .03$) and ($r = -.09, p > .05$) respectively, thus casting doubt on early studies that used endorsement of collectivism as a primary group consciousness outcome measure. The authors, however, are careful to clarify that hostility toward women, as measured in their study, cannot be equated with the feminist/antifeminist dichotomy. That is, the concept of HTW does not directly correspond to one's orientation toward feminism with high levels of HTW related to antifeminism and low levels related to profeminism. Rather, the authors suggest, our social identity as women is more likely to be anchored by weak/absent to strong gender social identity than it is to be anchored by strong negative to strong positive gender social identity.

Hostility toward women also had a negative effect on several areas of women's lives both through its negative associations with happiness, life satisfaction, and level of intimacy with partners, and through its positive associations with acceptance of interpersonal violence, and emotional dependence on, and hostility toward, men (Cowan et al., 1998). This study points to many areas that are ripe for exploration. It shows that not only are there political implications of women's relationships and identification with women, but other more personal implications as well. Replication with a more diverse sample would add greatly to our understanding of women's social identity.

As well as women's level of hostility toward women, other, more general attitudes toward women may also influence social identity. For example, recent research by

Cameron and Lalonde (2001) explored the relationship between social identity and gender-related ideology. Dividing female undergraduates ($N = 171$) into traditional, nontraditional, and feminist categories based on self-identification, the authors found that nontraditional and feminist identified women had more positive attitudes toward women as measured by Spence and Helmrich's (1978) Attitude Toward Women Scale, and a higher social identity score (ingroup ties, cognitive centrality, and ingroup affect) than did traditional women. As was the case in Smith (1999), feminist women perceived women as significantly more disadvantaged than did either traditional or nontraditional women. There were no significant differences across the groups on ingroup ties or ingroup affect, but the cognitive centrality of gender increased significantly at each step across the groups, with nontraditional women scoring higher than traditional women and feminist women scoring higher than nontraditional women. The authors report large differences across the groups in the amount of variance in attitude toward women explained by the identification variables with more than 30% of the variance explained for the feminist women, less than 20% and less than 10% for the nontraditional and traditional groups respectively. This finding strengthens the contention that what drives social identity as women may be different across women and that the items used in the research to date have failed to tap into aspects of identity that more accurately represent that of traditional women.

Identity to action. What fosters women's willingness to go beyond mere identification to participate in collective action initiatives? Researchers have looked at different aspects of social identity as potential contributors to participation (Cole et al., 1998; Duncan, 1999; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995). Kelly and Breinlinger (1995), for example, considered level of participation in collective action as a function of level of identification. Among their list of potential predictors of participation in collective action initiatives were; level of gender identification, feelings of relative deprivation, sense of

efficacy, collective orientation (both general and gender-specific), and a single item measuring identification as an activist. Collective action was measured as series of four types of participation (participation in women's groups, collective protest, informal participation, and individual protest). This study is notable in that it is one of the few studies since the work of Gurin and her colleagues (1980, 1985, 1986) that did not use a sample derived completely from a university population, but rather it drew its participants from community women's groups with goals of social change (e.g., political and issue-oriented groups) and matched that sample with women in postgraduate courses. The sample was primarily White (90%), professionals (68%), with an average age of 34 to 44 years. Results indicated that identification with women was the only variable to significantly predict each of the four types of participation in collective action. And, in each case the amount of variance explained by identification was higher than for any of the other predictors. The single activist identification item that asked women to rate on a five-point scale whether they were "someone who is actively involved in promoting women's issues" (p.48) was found to be the most important predictor of rates of actual participation in collective action, and second only to identification of rates of reported likelihood of future participation. Thus, the authors concluded, identification emerged as a major player in the prediction of collective action. Moreover, the predictive ability of relative deprivation, efficacy, and collectivism all differed based on level of identification suggesting that identification may play a moderating role in the translation of attitudes to action. Unfortunately, although four of the five items in the identity scale did not have political connotations (e.g., "I feel strong ties with other women"), one of the items ("I am a feminist") did. This may have confounded the results and thus, without replication eliminating the one feminist item, restricts the claims that can be made of identity outside of political orientation.

Whereas Kelly and Breinlinger (1995) looked at level of identity, Foster (1999) examined content of identity, asking whether social identity based on stereotypes versus social identity based on shared experiences is more likely to lead to collective action. Identity based on stereotypes, she suggests, focuses on traits that are considered to be intrinsic to women (e.g., nurturing), while identity based on shared experiences is a function of external factors that characterize women's social realities (e.g., discrimination). Using a sample of 140 undergraduate women, the author found that identity grounded in a sense of shared experiences was more likely to lead to collective action than was identity based on stereotypes. However, it is also important to note that the women in this sample tended, overall, to have more salient identities based on experiences than those based on stereotypes (Foster, 1999). To ensure that it was the type of identity salience rather than the amount of identity salience that was responsible for the greater association with collective action, the author conducted a second study that kept the level of identity salience consistent across both types. Although the author expected that social identity based on stereotypes would lead to greater endorsement of individual responses to discrimination and identity based on shared experiences would lead to greater endorsement of collective responses to discrimination, the findings suggest that experience-based identity results in higher levels of both individual and collective response and stereotype-based identity results in a higher frequency of non-response, or inaction. This suggests an apparent acceptance of the status quo (Foster, 1999). It may be, Foster suggests, that a social identity based on experiences allows one to more readily view the social system as having substantial impact on one's life, and thus, increases the likelihood that one would try to make changes in the system.

The Current Study

Attending to the multidimensionality of social identity is an important next-step in the research (Cameron & Lalonde, 2001), and although a number of studies have

explored different aspects of women's social identity, relatively few have done so outside of a political framework. One of the main points identified in this literature review is the need to unambiguously articulate our position on women's social identity, and clearly circumscribe what falls inside and outside the lines we have drawn. Unquestionably, the category "women" is large and although it is important to discover generalizable properties of women's social identity, gradations across subgroups obviously exist. There are undoubtedly subgroups of women that are bound by factors that seem likely to influence gender identity as a whole. Feminists are one such subgroup. It is short-sighted, however, to focus solely on this one aspect of women's social identity even if our goal is to understand what inspires a commitment (or even a willingness) to fight for women's issues and gender equality.

The focus of the current study was to explicitly acknowledge that not only does political ideology offer avenues other than feminism with which to align oneself, but research on women's social identity also has implications that are not necessarily political. So although identification based on feminist political alignment is important information -- perhaps the most important -- if our concern is centered on policy advocacy and social action, a sense of connectedness with women can be valued in its own right for the depth and the richness that it adds to women's lives. This aspect of identity operates outside of politics. From the premise that women's social identity is complex, and indefinable along a single political pole, in this study I examined various aspects of social identity in a diverse sample of women. The main purpose of this study was twofold: (a) to disentangle identification with women from identification as a feminist or adherence to feminist ideologies, and (b) to examine how level of identification with women influences other aspects of women's lives. Pulling together the strands identified in previous research, this study used cluster analysis to generate various profiles of women's identification with women, and to identify subgroups of women for whom social

identity is differentially experienced or perceived. A number of factors have emerged from the existing literature as potentially relevant contributors to women's social identity.

Based on this literature the following factors were considered in this study:

- group identity
- strength of identity
- ingroup ties
- ingroup affect
- a sense of common fate
- cognitive centrality of gender
- shared experiences
- hostility toward women
- a sense of sisterhood
- collective self-esteem

In addition to these identity measures, I also included several previously used consciousness measures. Among them are:

- power discontent
- perceived status stability
- feminist self-identification
- gender-role orientation
- activist identification
- collectivism
- participation in collective action

Further, to address the gaps outlined in the review, many measures previously unused in the context of women's social identity were also included. Among the identity facets covered by these measures are:

- a sense of community

- behavioural involvement with women versus men
- degree of comfort with women
- identification with a psychological group

Finally, to access additional aspects of consciousness, including both feminist, and antifeminist/traditional orientations, the following measures were also included:

- contemporary gender discrimination
- stigma consciousness
- adherence to traditional values
- moral traditionalism

Using cluster analysis, I attempted to identify categories that allowed for meaningful distinctions in the expressions or perceptions of women's social identity. Interpretation of the existing literature would suggest that at the very least we may expect to find five broadly defined groups or clusters of women that vary along both identity and consciousness facets. For example, women may highly identify with their gender group, or may not identify with women at all. This lack of identification may, as noted by Cowan et al., (1998) manifest as hostility or as indifference. Moreover, high levels of identification with women may be accompanied by various levels of group consciousness ranging from weak/absent to strong, and potentially aligned to either feminist or traditional ideology (see Table 1). These anticipated clusters may or may not manifest in the data, and other unanticipated clusters may also be revealed. Given the nature of this study, I did not speculate beyond these basic distinctions inferred from the existing literature. Rather, I aimed simply to access a broader range of factors that may differentially contribute to diverse expressions of women's social identity as women.

Following the derivation of clusters, some attempt to establish the validity of the clustering solution was necessary. After all, what is the sense in grouping, or developing profiles of people if the profiles do not mean anything? One way to attempt to validate

Table 1

Potential Range of Expressions of Identification with Women and Consciousness

		Identification		
		Negative	Indifferent	Positive
Consciousness	Feminist		See self as not affected by gender (but other women need help)	Feminist
	Absent/Gender non-specific	HTW (interpersonal) Women as competition/enemy	Gender not important/ Justice perspective irrespective of gender	Affiliative or apolitical
	Traditional	(antifeminist) (antiwomen)	Meritocracy	Traditional or antifeminist (REAL women)

the clustering solution derived from the analysis is to establish the criterion (or predictive) validity of the clusters themselves (Hair & Black, 2000). To accomplish this, factors (other than those included among the cluster variables), that can be expected either theoretically, or practically, to differ across clusters are selected and cross-cluster differences are evaluated.

In this study, as part of the validation process, I explored the relationships between the identified clusters and both demographic,

- age
- education
- income
- sexual orientation

and general,

- life satisfaction
- personal self-esteem
- personal and sociopolitical efficacy
- belief in a just world
- personal justice orientation
- belief in the idea of meritocracy
- time spent with women

measures (for a summary of all of the measures included in this exploratory study, see Appendix A). This phase of the research addressed both the validation issue as well as the second goal of this study, which was to explore the influence of social identity as women on other areas of women's lives.

Primary among this part of the analysis is the ability to test the contention by Henderson-King and Stewart (1994) that women's level of identification with women may vary with the degree and type of contact they have with men. That is, the authors contend, "the extent to which lesbians are able to create lives outside a culture of heterosexuality, the weaker the impact [of sexism and heterosexism] will be" (p.507). Their logic was that women may have lower levels of group consciousness than do members of other oppressed groups (i.e., racial groups), simply by virtue of the fact that they engage in intimate relationships with men (the target outgroup), because interaction with men may inhibit the development of identification with women. To test this contention this study was stratified by sexual orientation and cross-cluster differences were explored. In addition, one may question the role of interaction with men in general (including outside of intimate relationships). Even in early work by Gurin and colleagues (1980) the quantity and quality of inter-group exposure ("between-strata contact" as articulated in their work) was hypothesized as likely to affect "consciousness-fostering"

conditions and thus result in differential levels of both identification and consciousness. In fact, they used this logic to argue that levels of consciousness among Blacks should surpass those of other oppressed groups (i.e., women, old people, and blue collar workers) because segregation based on race exists at a different level than that for other groups. That is, the racial category subsumes the other categories included in their research (for example, a person can be Black, and a woman, and old). To address this quantity/exposure issue, a second measure designed to assess the amount of time women spend with other women (vs. men) in work and personal environments, was also included. This allowed me to extend the analysis to women who may work in male-dominated versus female-dominated workplaces, or whose friendship bases and leisure or recreational time are focused primarily on women rather than men.

Other demographic variables included in this study (i.e., age, education, and income) all have the potential to influence women's level of identification with women or related concepts. The link between education and feminism, for example, has long been noted in the literature (Cook, 1989). For instance, education was the variable most significantly associated with feminist consciousness across four time frames of the NES (1972, 1976, 1980, 1984) reported on by Cook (1989). And although weaker, age, income, and occupation (i.e., professionals) were also associated with higher levels of feminist consciousness (Cook, 1989). Gurin's (1985) analysis of the NES data from the seventies revealed that both age and education were also significantly associated with women's level of identification with women. It is, however, important to note that although age has been consistently associated with feminist beliefs (Cook, 1989) the pattern, or the relationship between age and feminism, has changed as decades have progressed (i.e., in the seventies younger women tended to report feminist attitudes more often than older women did, whereas the opposite pattern is noted in current times). Given the contemporary concern that young women appear not to exhibit high

levels of feminist consciousness, or to find the concept of feminism as particularly relevant to them (Liss, Crawford, & Popp, 2004) it is of particular interest to examine this pattern of results. Moreover, the relationship between these demographics and social identity as women is less clear than that for feminist consciousness. Therefore, exploring these factors can help move us toward the goal of disentangling identification with feminism/feminists and identification with women. In summary, depending how the clusters fall out of the data, these demographic variables may prove useful as cross-cluster differentiators.

Research suggests that other general factors should also allow for cross-cluster differentiation. Life satisfaction and personal self-esteem, for example, are both factors that are prominent in studies of interpersonal relationships but recent research by Cowan and her colleagues (1998) extends these concepts to women's social identity as women. Dissatisfaction with oneself, they suggest, may extend to negative evaluations of one's group and may also impact on one's level of personal self-esteem. In fact, in their study of women's hostility toward women, Cowan and colleagues (1998) report that personal self-esteem was more predictive of women's level of hostility toward women than was collective self-esteem. Life satisfaction was also found to negatively correlate with women's level of hostility toward women. It seems reasonable, then, to expect that both life satisfaction and personal self-esteem could conceivably vary across different profiles of women based on social identity. The personal self-esteem link is important both to validate previous research (Cowan et al., 1998) as well as to allow for testing one of the primary contentions in SIT – that is, the role of positive group membership in positive evaluation of oneself or self-esteem (Tajfel, 1978).

Personal self-esteem is also tied to the concept of self-efficacy (Cowan et al., 1998). Feeling efficacious, and good about yourself as a woman, the authors suggest, should result in more favourable attitudes toward or opinions of, other women. This

contention was supported in their research as women who demonstrated higher levels of both self-esteem and self-efficacy reported lower levels of hostility toward other women. A sense of personal efficacy has also been linked to women's level of participation in collective action initiatives (Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995). Additionally, in their study of political activists and nonactivists from the 1960s, Cole and her colleagues (1998) report that those who engaged in political activism had higher levels of feminist consciousness, higher levels of endorsement of collectivism, and a stronger sense of sociopolitical efficacy.

Finally, the concepts of belief in a just world and in the ideology of individual meritocracy have been loosely (i.e., non-empirically) tied to research on women's social identity (Gurin, 1985). Underlying the initial operationalizations of social identity as women and gender consciousness, Cook (1989) suggested, is a presumed fundamental sense of justice. This sense of justice, or belief in a just world, coexists with the prevailing Western ideology of an individual meritocracy-based social system (Foster, Matheson, & Poole, 1994). If one believes firmly in the idea of a meritocracy, then failure to achieve goals would be seen as an individual problem and not as a societal or structural problem (Foster et al., 1994). This, the authors suggested, may lead to a sense of personal control (and therefore, responsibility) and may result in an individual taking personal action to address their shortcomings. This personal action is all well and good provided it *is* an individual and not a structural or systemic problem. However, if it is not an individual problem this action works only to further engrain the current status quo, and thus acts as a significant barrier to change.

In Rowland's (1986) view, antifeminists are more likely to see their own success as attributable to their own work, and their failure as attributable to personal fault than are feminists. In essence, this would result in one's status being attributable to hard work and worthiness or a lack thereof. Thoughts of underlying structural or systemic barriers --

or broad-stroke oppression, are missing from this attribution process (Rowland, 1986). This belief in meritocracy is inherently linked to the concept of group identification and belief in collective action. If social mobility, or one's social standing is attributed solely to individual factors, then it would make no sense for one to react collectively because there would be nothing to react to. As noted by Foster (1999), "if the individual rather than the system is viewed as the source of the problem, responding to systemic discrimination may be unlikely" (p. 184). To extend this analysis, belief in a just world and the ideology of an individual meritocracy, coupled with a failure to perceive the existence of discrimination in contemporary society, would shape a formidable foundation for the fostering and acceptance of progress myths regarding women's status in society. Inclusion of measures to tap each of these aspects allows for the exploration of these links among women. As Liss and her colleagues (2004) conclude, one potential (and, as yet unexplored) aspect of the noted lack of participation in collective action among women today may be the lack of a perceived reason to act. So as it stands, our culture is, as Foster and colleagues (1994) suggest, "influenced by an individualistic, liberal ideology in which individual effort is the measure of merit, despite the fact that systemic barriers often render effort useless" (p.753).

We must also acknowledge, however, that in addition to a belief in a just world as conceptualized in traditional just world scales (i.e., Dalbert, 1999), a presumed fundamental sense of justice may manifest itself as a personal orientation that may not be related to a preexisting belief that the world is just. For example, some people may have a strong personal sense of justice, or of justice in their own lives, but may not see the world as just. Traditional scales would not allow for exposure of this position. In addition, perceiving the world (or social circumstance) in terms of whether or not it is just, may not factor prominently into some people's evaluative processes at all. These varying conceptualizations of a sense of justice, and where one falls along the different

areas in justice orientation, can also reasonably be expected to relate to evaluation of social status and to one's judgments.

In summary, these proposed constructs appear to exhibit considerable face validity, and, in some cases, research support. Given the preceding rationale, measures of each of these factors were included in the validation stage of this research project.

Methodological contributions. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, if what we are interested in discovering is the range of potential expressions of women's social identity as women, the use of a statistical procedure that does not, by definition, impose standards of linearity would be of potential benefit. This goal, to seek to identify subgroups of women for whom social identity is differentially experienced, lends itself naturally to cluster analytic procedures. Whereas the majority of studies on women's social identity have used descriptive (e.g., frequencies), predictive (e.g., multiple regression), or group difference (e.g., ANOVA) statistical procedures to explore differences in level of identification across women, cluster analysis provides a nonlinear alternative to these standard approaches to data analysis (Hulme & Agrawal, 2004) and thus, could contribute considerably to the conceptualizations of women's social identity. Exploratory cluster analysis allows the data to unfold in such a way as to reveal "previously unnoticed" relationships (Beckstead, 2002). Uncovering the underlying structure of the data may allow researchers to move from imposition of theory on ill or undefined groups to more sure-footed theoretical endeavors.

CHAPTER II

Method

Participants

Women 18 years of age or older were recruited to participate in this study. Seven respondents were younger than 18 years of age and were eliminated from the sample. Thirty-nine online submissions were either blank (e.g., the submit button was selected prior to survey completion), duplicated (e.g., identical submissions were received consecutively), or were only partially completed and were eliminated from the sample. Thus, the final sample consisted of 1239 women between the ages of 18 and 84 ($M = 33.4$ years, $SD = 11.9$ years). Recruitment procedures resulted in four categories of participants. Overall, the participants were women who completed either an online ($n = 1109$) or a hard copy version of the survey ($n = 130$), and were women who were recruited from either the general population ($n = 1119$) or from the University of Windsor, Department of Psychology Participant Pool ($n = 120$). Approximately half ($n = 67$) of the women recruited from the participant pool completed the electronic version of the survey and the remainder ($n = 53$) completed the hard copy version. Of the 137 hard copy survey packages distributed to the general population 77 were returned, for a response rate of 56.2%. Given the recruitment procedure, a comparable response rate calculation for the electronic version of the survey was not possible. Although no geographical restrictions were imposed on the sample, the majority of respondents were from Canada or the United States. Canadian women predominated in the sample; 764 respondents (61.7%) reported that they lived in Canada while 437 women (35.3%) listed the United States as their country of origin. Nine respondents (0.7%) indicated that they resided in both countries and the remaining 27 women (2.2%) did not provide their country of residence.

Participation in this study was voluntary. All participants were provided with an opportunity to enter their name in a lottery for a \$300.00 Canadian dollar cash prize. Participants were treated in accordance with the ethical standards of the Canadian Psychological Association and the American Psychological Association.

Procedure

Participants were recruited for this survey in a variety of ways including posting to listservs and email groups, links from websites, personal communication, newsletters, posters, and announcements to women's groups and organizations. All recruitment information contained the electronic address of the survey website, as well as the email address of the principal investigator and a contact phone number where requests for hard copies of the survey could be made. A web-based survey was utilized in order to maximize geographic accessibility to potential participants. However, to avoid limiting the sample to those women who had access to a computer and the internet, hard copies of the survey were also available upon request. Distribution of survey information to women who lacked access to the internet was achieved through advertisements, group-based announcements, and personal communication strategies. In addition to broad ranged recruitment strategies, targeted recruitment strategies and purposive sampling were used to access subgroups of women for whom a unique perspective may be expected to emerge. For example, listserv moderators, web-mistresses, and editors of newsletters for occupations where gender disparities may exist (i.e., nurses, factory workers, women in nontraditional jobs, etc.) were approached to request permission to post information about the study.

Further, given that much of the research on women's social identity has focused on university women, a sample of female university students ($n = 120$) randomly selected from the participant pool at the University of Windsor was also included among the participants. From the list of prospective participants, a randomization procedure was

performed that assigned students to either the hard copy or the electronic copy of the survey. At the time of contact, each student was directed to their predetermined mode of participation. This procedure also allowed tests of equality of administrative methods (i.e., electronic versus hard-copy survey administration).

Potential participants were told that the study was an examination of women's social attitudes and their perceptions of the role of their relationships with women on their lives. If the women agreed to participate, they continued on to the web-based survey, or in the case of hard copy surveys, they were mailed or given a questionnaire package. The questionnaire package included a cover letter stating the purpose of the study (see Appendix B), a letter of information (or informed consent form in the electronic version; see Appendix C for a sample of both), and the survey booklet (see Appendix D). The informed consent form preceded the questionnaire on the website and acceptance was required prior to the presentation of the survey. In the case of the hard copy surveys, completion and return of the questionnaire constituted consent to participate in the study. Participants were also provided with instructions for obtaining additional copies of the survey to distribute to any other women that they knew of who were also interested in participating in the study. Scales and subscales related to identity, consciousness, and general measures (presented in an alternating format) followed the demographic survey items and were presented in the same order to all participants. Materials appeared on the website in an identical order to the hard copy questionnaire.

Women selected from the participant pool were instructed to provide their student number and instructor information if bonus marks for participation were requested. Student participants could have one bonus mark applied to the course of their choice. In the administration of the hard copy version of the survey, the students provided this information on a separate sheet of paper available at the administration site. Upon

recruitment, the students who participated in the electronic version were instructed to contact the principal researcher in the manner set out on the survey website.

All participants were able to enter a lottery for \$300.00 Canadian dollars. Participants who chose to enter the draw provided the researcher with their name and contact information in the manner set out in their corresponding version of the survey. Following completion of the data collection phase, a winner was randomly selected from among the entries. The winner was contacted by the researcher and agreed to have their name posted on the survey results web page. A money order was mailed to the winner at the address provided to the researcher.

Measures

Demographic and descriptive information. A demographic questionnaire designed specifically for this study requested information about age, occupation, residence, race/ethnicity, level of education, and income (personal and household). Additional information was also requested on the participants living arrangements, sexual identity, feminist identity, relationship status, duration, and satisfaction, and gender pattern of lifetime sexual partners (see Appendix E).

Social identity measures. A variety of measures was used to capture different aspects of women's social identity (see Appendix F for a list of the social identity items by scale with corresponding alpha reliability statistics). Cameron's 3-factor model (Cameron, 2004) is a 12 item measure of social identity intended to be modifiable to different group identities. In this study the term *women* was used. This scale is composed of three subscales (each containing 4 items) including: Ingroup Ties (perceived similarities or bonds with other women and a sense of fitting in), Ingroup Affect (how positive a woman feels about being a woman), and Centrality (time spent thinking about being a woman). Participants indicated on a 6-point Likert-type scale, with *strongly disagree* and *strongly agree* as anchors, their level of agreement with each of

the statements. For each subscale, higher scores indicated a stronger social identity. The gender-derived social identity version of the scale demonstrated good internal reliability both as a total scale ($\alpha = .84$) and as subscales ($\alpha = .73, .77, .74$) for Ingroup ties, Centrality, and Ingroup affect respectively.

Closely related to Cameron's 3-factor model of social identity scale is the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). This 16-item measure includes the Membership (one's sense of being a worthy group member), Public (perceptions of how the group is viewed by others), Private (personal perceptions of the group), and Identity (the importance of the group to one's sense of self) subscales comprised of 4 items each. Though originally measured on a 7-point scale, in this study, to make a more direct comparison to Cameron's three-factor model, a 6-point Likert-type scale, with *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* as anchors, was used. Higher scores indicated a stronger sense of collective self-esteem. This widely used scale has demonstrated good reliability (Cronbach alpha's for total scale and each of the subscales range from a low of .71 to a high of .88; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Two other aspects of women's social identity (shared experiences and shared characteristics) have been discussed in the literature. The Identification with a Psychological Group Scale (IDPG; Mael & Tetrick, 1992) taps into both of these components of identity from a perceptual rather than an affective standpoint. This 10 item scale, designed to measure organizational identification, is composed of a 6 item subscale measuring perceptions of Shared Experiences (SE) and a 4 item subscale measuring perceptions of Shared Characteristics (SC) with a given group. Although not constructed for this purpose, this scale is intuitively appealing as a measure of women's social identity. In this study a 5-point Likert-type response format ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* was used, with higher scores indicating a higher level of

group identification. Author reported internal reliability for each of the subscales is adequate ($\alpha = .81$ and $.66$ for SE and SC respectively; Mael & Tetrick, 1992).

A primary focus in this study was to identify aspects of women's social identity that may meet goals that are not, by definition, political. Although not previously used in research in this area, the Relational Health Indices (RHI) Community Scale (Liang et al., 2002) may be well suited to meet this end. This measure assesses three different types of relationships (a relationship with a peer, a mentor, and with a community). Only the community aspect is relevant to this study and so, only this scale was used. The Community scale of the RHI is comprised of 14 items rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale with (1) *never*, (2) *seldom*, (3) *sometimes*, (4) *often*, and (5) *always* response options. Higher scores indicate a greater sense of community. Embedded in these items are three subscales, including: Empowerment/zest (positive effects of interaction with the members of the target community), Engagement (involvement with and commitment to the target community), and Authenticity (feeling able to be yourself in the target community). In this study, the target community was *women*. The total scale and Empowerment, Engagement, and Authenticity subscales all demonstrated adequate to high reliability (Cronbach alpha's = $.90$ and $.87$, $.86$, $.75$ respectively; Liang et al., 2002).

Although the Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Scale (LFAIS; Morgan, 1996) is a measure of feminist ideology, one of the subscales (i.e., Sisterhood) may well tap elements of women's social identity that exist outside of a political context. This 10 item subscale, is measured on a 6-point Likert-type scale with *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree* as options. Higher scores indicate a stronger sense of sisterhood. Although this subscale demonstrated low reliability in the initial test construction ($\alpha = .45$, and $.59$), the items present a face validity that may be better suited to access the type of information sought in this study. One item, "women really cannot trust most other women with their boyfriends or husbands" was reworded to "women really cannot trust most other women

with their romantic partners (e.g., boyfriends, husbands, same-sex partners)" to remove the heterosexist assumption. The sense of common fate item prominent in early research (Gurin & Townsend, 1986) is incorporated as an item in the LFAIS sisterhood subscale and thus will be available for single item comparative purposes. Reliability of this scale was tested prior to use in subsequent analyses.

The measure of cognitive centrality of gender, as used in Gurin and Townsend (1986) was also included in this study. However, it was modified to remedy the multiple-barreled nature of the item in its original form. That is, where the original measure asked how often participants "thought about being a woman and *what they have in common with men and women*" (emphasis added, p. 142), it was separated into two separate questions: one asked "approximately how much time do you spend thinking about being a woman?" and a second asked "approximately how much time do you spend thinking about what you have in common with women?" Both items were measured on a 9-point Likert scale with (1) *hardly ever*, and (9) *very frequently*, providing the anchors. The amount of time spent thinking about commonalities with men was dropped from the analysis.

The Social Identity-Specific Collectivism scale (SISCOL; Reid & Deaux, 2004) offers two new conceptual aspects of social identity. This scale, designed to be modifiable for different group identities, was adapted to fit the group *women* in this study. Two of the six subscales were used. The Comfort with the Collective (CC) subscale is comprised of 6 items measuring feelings of being comfortable with the target group (e.g., I feel uneasy with other women), and exhibits good internal reliability ($\alpha = .79$). The Behavioral Involvement (BI) subscale contains 6 items, and accesses information about how involved one is with a target group (e.g., I prefer to spend my free time with other women). One item (I live close to other women) was removed from this subscale because it did not make sense for this conceptual group. This subscale, in its original

form, also had good reliability ($\alpha = .79$). All items were measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale with *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* anchoring the points. Higher scores indicate a greater level of comfort and behavioural involvement with members of their gender group. Reliability of this modified subscale was tested prior to use in subsequent analyses.

Additionally, the closeness item (e.g., the group listing and identification procedure) as outlined in Gurin and colleague's (1980) original research was also included in this study. And, following the example of Henderson-King and Stewart (1994), strength of identification was modified to a 5-point Likert-type scale (with *not at all* to *very much* as anchors) rather than simply choosing the one group from those listed to which the participant felt closest. As these are single item measures reliability information is not available.

Finally, as done in Cowan et al., (1998) the Hostility Toward Women scale (Check, Malamuth, Elias, & Barton, 1985) as modified by Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995), was also included. This modified version contains 10 items (the original had 30 items), measured on a 5-point, rather than a true/false, response format, and has demonstrated acceptable internal reliability ($\alpha = .83$; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1995).

Gendered political items. Several measures assessing different potential political expressions of women's social identity were incorporated into this study (see Appendix G for a list of these items by scale with corresponding alpha reliability statistics). Among the single item measures were: (a) feminist self-identification (*To what extent do you consider yourself a feminist?*), rated on a 9-point continuum with *not at all* to *very much* anchoring the points, (b) activist self-identification (*To what extent do you consider yourself someone who is actively involved in promoting women's issues?*; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995) rated on a 9-point continuum with *not at all* to *very much* anchoring the points, (c) individualism/collectivism (*To what extent do you feel women should work*

together as a group or as individuals for social change?) rated on a 9-point continuum with *as an individual* to *together as a group* anchoring the points, and (d) traditionalism or gender role-orientation (*To what extent would you describe yourself as a traditional or a nontraditional woman?*) rated on a 9-point continuum with *traditional* to *nontraditional* anchoring the points. In addition, participants were also asked to choose from among a series of seven statements that progress from being representative of an antifeminist perspective to being representative of a feminist activist perspective, one statement that best described themselves in relation to their feelings or beliefs about feminism (Myaskovsky & Wittig, 1997).

To access information about level of participation in feminist activities or behaviours, a Collective Action Scale (CAS), combining the items used by Foster and Matheson (1995) and Kelly and Breinlinger (1995) was used. The final scale asked participants to indicate on a 5-point response format, ranging from (0) *never* to (4) *always*, how often they participated in each of the 15 actions listed. Total CAS scores could range from 0 to 60. Reliability of the expanded version of this scale was tested prior to use in primary analyses.

Four measures were used to obtain information on participant's attitudes or beliefs about women's position in society. First, the Contemporary Gender Discrimination Scale (CGDS; Rosell & Hartman, 2001), a 7 item measure using a 6-point Likert-type response format ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*, assessed participant's beliefs about whether women continue to be discriminated against in contemporary society. Higher scores indicated a stronger belief that gender discrimination continues to exist. The authors report acceptable internal reliability ($\alpha = .74$) and a single factor loading for this scale. Similarly, the Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (SCQ; Pinel, 1999) measures women's level of awareness of discrimination against women, or stigma attached to gender. This 10 item measure is

scored on a 7-point Likert-type scale with response options ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Total scores could range from 10-70, with higher scores indicating a greater stigma consciousness. This scale demonstrates acceptable internal reliability ($\alpha = .74$; Pinel, 1999).

Additionally, the concepts of Stability of Gender Relations (Henderson-King & Stewart, 1994) and Power Discontent (Gurin et al., 1980) were also included. Stability included the two items used by Henderson-King and Stewart (1994). These items are scored on a 6-point Likert-type scale with response options that ranged from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Reliability information was not available and so was established prior to use. Power discontent was measured as it was originally in Gurin et al., (1980).

Further, in order to tap into items that would have the potential to reflect an ultra traditional perspective, rather than a feminist or antifeminist perspective specifically, I visited the REAL Women of Canada website (<http://www.realwomensca.com/index.html>). REAL Women of Canada, representing themselves as "Canada's alternative women's movement," summarize their group as "a non-partisan, non-denominational organization of independent women...[who] represent a broad spectrum of Canadian women who, until our formation, did not have a public forum in which to express their views" (<http://www.realwomensca.com/about.htm>). Their motto, "women's rights but not at the expense of human rights," captivates the core perspective underlying this group's explicated objectives, as illustrated in the following quote:

Our view is that the family, which is now undergoing serious strain, is the most important unit in Canadian society. We believe that the fragmentation of the Canadian family is on[e] of the major causes of disorder in society today (<http://www.realwomensca.com/about.htm>).

From this site, I extracted three statements that appeared consistently throughout the text. Using these statements, I created the following corresponding questionnaire items: (1) The *natural family* is the fundamental unit of our society, (2) Maintaining *family values* is more important than the rights of women, and (3) Preservation of *traditional values* is very important. All items were measured using a 5-point Likert-type response format with response options ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*, and higher scores indicating more traditional values. Reliability was established prior to use in any analyses.

A related measure of Moral Traditionalism was also included. Duncan (1999), used four items included in the 1992 NES, designed to access information about the participants' level of traditionalism (e.g., this country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties). These items were replicated in this study, and were measured on a 6-point Likert-type scale with *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* providing the anchors. Although Duncan reports that the internal reliability of these items was in the low range ($\alpha = .50$) they do provide a concept against which the items derived from the REAL women website can be compared. Internal reliability was established prior to inclusion in subsequent analyses.

General items. Making a decision to act or not to act in any given situation may, at least in part, be due to one's sense of both personal and (for broader issues) sociopolitical efficacy. The Spheres of Control Scale (SOC; Paulhus, 1983) is composed of three subscales that access different domains in our lives. Two of the domains (personal efficacy and sociopolitical control) can reasonably be seen as having the potential to influence women's social identity and thus were retained for use in this study. Both the Personal and Sociopolitical subscales contain 10 items and are measured on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. The author reports that the internal reliability of each of the subscales ranged

from .75 to .80 with higher scores indicating a greater sense of efficacy or control (Paulhus, 1983). This scale presents items in an ideologically neutral tone (e.g., “my major accomplishments are entirely due to my hard work and ability” [Personal]; and “the average citizen can have an influence on government decisions [sociopolitical]) and thus should be able to assess beliefs about personal efficacy and sociopolitical control across the political spectrum. See Appendix H for a list of all general items by scale with corresponding alpha reliability statistics.

Another general factor that may influence attitudes and feelings is a belief that the world is a just place. The Belief in a Just World Scale (BJW; Dalbert, 1999) measures two separate aspects of this perspective. The first, assesses the belief that a person's own experience is just, and a second taps into a more broad belief system that views the world, generally, as just. Both the General (6 items) and the Personal scales (7 items) are measured on a 6-point Likert-type scale with *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* anchoring the points, and higher scores indicating a stronger belief in a just world. Cronbach alphas ranged from .68 to .78 for the General scale and from .82 to .87 for the Personal scale (Dalbert, 1999). In addition to a belief in a just world as conceptualized in the BJW scale, some people may have a strong personal sense of justice that the BJW scale may not capture. That is, we may have a clear sense of justice in our own lives (sector/group-specific or not), but not see the world as a just place. A search of the literature did not yield any measures that reflected the idea of a personal sense of justice that did not confound with a commitment to personal activism. So using the same 6-point Likert-type scale as the BJW, I created the following four items designed to tap into this personal justice orientation: (1) I have a strong personal sense of justice, (2) I often evaluate social circumstances in terms of whether they are just, (3) I have passionate opinions about what I believe is just, and (4) I am bothered by the amount of injustice in

the world. These items were tested for internal reliability prior to use in subsequent analyses.

Additionally, belief in a meritocracy may also be an important factor. To access information on this idea, the single item, as used in Cowan et al., (1998) was replicated here. This item asked participants to rate on a 6-point Likert-type scale with *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* providing the anchors, their attitude toward the statement, *most women have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life*.

To provide a measure of individual self-esteem the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965) was used. This 10 item measure of global personal self-esteem is well-validated and widely used. Scored on a 4-point Likert-type scale with *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* as anchors, higher scores reflect higher levels of personal self-esteem.

Two separate measures of life satisfaction were also used. The first, expanded on the single item measure in Cowan et al., (1998) that asked about satisfaction with "life as a whole," to include satisfaction with relationships with friends, family, coworkers, and employment. Response options for these life sector satisfaction items ranged from *completely unsatisfied* to *completely satisfied* on a 6-point scale. Because of the additions to this measure, internal reliability was tested prior to use in any analyses. The second, the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffen, 1985), provided an indicator of general life satisfaction and perceived quality of life. This five item measure is scored on a 7-point Likert-type scale with *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* anchoring the points, and has demonstrated good internal reliability ($\alpha = .87$). For both satisfaction scales, higher values are associated with a greater level of satisfaction.

Finally, this study followed up on the idea expressed by Henderson-King and Stewart (1994), that women's variations in level of identification with women may exist based on the degree and type of contact they have with men. Four items were designed

to assess the relative gendered breakdown of time women spend with women versus men in work and personal environments. Each item required that participants selected from a 10-point scale with points at 10 percent intervals ranging from 0% to 100%, the gendered breakdown of their interactions. For all questions, women formed the frame of reference (e.g., thinking about your closest friends, what percent are women?) but degree of interaction with men was naturally derivable from the responses as the question anchors represented a male/female continuum. That is, if women reported that 10% of their closest friends were women then 90% were men, whereas selecting 100% (or *all women*) suggested that they had no close friends that were men. Reliability of this measure was assessed prior to inclusion in the analyses.

CHAPTER III

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Data Screening

All analyses were performed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 13.0. Standard data screening and descriptive analytic procedures were performed on all demographic and scaled variables.

Reliability Analyses

Reliability analyses for all scales and subscales were performed prior to using them in subsequent analyses. All but four measures (Gendered-Time, Identification with a Psychological Group Shared Characteristics subscale, Relational Health Indices Authenticity subscale, and Spheres of Control Personal subscale) demonstrated moderate to high Cronbach alphas (.70 to .94; see Table 2). The Cronbach alpha of the Gendered Time scale increased from .58 to .71 with the removal of a single item that assessed the gender balance of co-workers. This modified scale was used in all subsequent analyses. Removal of a single item from the Identification with a Psychological Group Shared Characteristics subscale ($\alpha = .57$) and the Relational Health Indices Authenticity subscale ($\alpha = .55$) increased the alpha levels of these scales to .68 and .62 respectively. Removal of a single item from the Spheres of Control Personal subscale ($\alpha = .63$) did not result in a meaningful increase in the alpha, and thus the scale was not modified. Both author-generated scales, the REAL traditionalism scale ($\alpha = .89$) and the Personal Justice Orientation scale ($\alpha = .81$) demonstrated moderate to high reliability and thus were included in the analyses as planned. Moreover, the REAL traditionalism scale was highly positively correlated ($r = .73, p < .001$) with the Moral Traditionalism scale suggesting high convergent validity. The Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Scale and the Moral Traditionalism Scale although demonstrating low

Table 2

Scale Descriptive Statistics and Cronbach Alphas

Scale	Possible range	Actual range	Mean (SD)	Published α	Current α
Cameron's Social Identity Scale					
Total scale (12 items)	12 – 72	23 – 72	55.7 (8.1)	.84	.83
Ingroup ties (4 items)	4 – 24	4 – 24	17.7 (4.1)	.73	.88
Ingroup affect (4 items)	4 – 24	5 – 24	20.7 (2.9)	.74	.84
Centrality (4 items)	4 – 24	4 – 24	17.2 (4.2)	.77	.82
Collective Self-Esteem Scale					
Total scale (16 items)	16 – 96	34 – 96	74.7 (8.5)	.71 - .88	.81
Membership (4 items)	4 – 24	4 – 24	19.5 (9.1)	.71 - .88	.77
Public (4 items)	4 – 24	4 – 24	16.3 (3.3)	.71 - .88	.77
Private (4 items)	4 – 24	7 – 25	21.0 (2.6)	.71 - .88	.76
Identity (4 items)	4 – 24	5 – 24	17.9 (3.8)	.71 - .88	.76

Scale	Possible range	Actual range	Mean (SD)	Published α	Current α
Cognitive centrality (2 items)	2 – 18	2 – 18	8.6 (3.9)		.80
Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Sisterhood subscale (10 items)	10 – 60	20 – 60	42.6 (6.2)	.45 - .59	.73
Hostility Toward Women Scale (10 items)	10 – 60	10 – 60	30.1 (9.7)	.83	.87
Identification with a Psychological Group Scale					
Total scale (10 items)	10 – 50	13 – 47	32.1 (5.1)		.73
Shared experiences (6 items)	6 – 30	7 – 30	19.8 (4.0)	.81	.77
Shared characteristics (4 items) modified (3 items)	4 – 20	4 – 19	12.3 (2.4)	.66	.68
Relational Health Indices Community Scale					
Total scale (14 items)	0 – 56	6 – 49	31.3 (7.6)	.90	.87
Empowerment (5 items)	0 – 20	0 – 20	11.2 (3.8)	.87	.87
Engagement (5 items)	0 – 20	2 – 20	12.3 (3.2)	.86	.82
Authenticity (4 items) modified (3 items)	0 – 12	0 – 11	5.3 (2.0)	.75	.62

Scale	Possible range	Actual range	Mean (SD)	Published α	Current α
Social Identity-Specific Collectivism Scale					
Total scale (12 items)	12 – 60	13 – 55	38.0 (7.3)		.87
Comfort with the collective (6 items)	6 – 30	6 – 30	22.6 (5.2)	.79	.92
Behavioural involvement (5 items)	5 – 25	5 – 25	15.4 (3.6)	.79	.80
Collective Action Scale (15 items) modified/combined	0 – 60	0 – 58	21.4 (12.4)		.94
Contemporary Gender Discrimination Scale (7 items)	7 – 42	9 – 42	32.4 (5.8)	.74	.89
Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (10 items)	10 – 70	17 – 70	46.6 (9.6)	.74	.85
Stability of gender relations (2 items)	2 – 12	2 – 12	5.5 (2.0)		.70
REAL Women of Canada (3 items)	3 – 15	3 – 15	7.4 (3.4)		.89
Moral Traditionalism (4 items)	4 – 24	4 – 24	10.3 (4.3)	.50	.79
Spheres of Control Scale					
Total scale (20 items)	20 – 140	60 – 134	96.0 (11.4)		.74
Personal efficacy (10 items)	10 – 70	27 – 70	52.5 (6.3)	.75- .80	.63

Scale	Possible range	Actual range	Mean (SD)	Published α	Current α
Sociopolitical control (10 items)	10 – 70	18 – 70	43.3 (8.6)	.75- .80	.80
Belief in a Just World Scale					
Total (13 items)	13 – 78	15 – 74	47.1 (9.1)		.87
General (6 items)	6 – 36	6 – 33	18.7 (5.2)	.68 - .78	.80
Personal (7 items)	7 – 42	7 – 42	28.4 (5.7)	.82 - .87	.89
Personal Justice Orientation (4 items: author generated)	4 – 24	4 – 24	19.6 (3.1)		.81
Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (10 items)	4 – 40	13 – 40	32.6 (5.1)		.90
Life Sector Satisfaction (5 items: author generated, modified 3 items)	3 – 18	3 – 18	12.8 (2.3)		.71
Satisfaction with Life Scale (5 items)	5 – 35	5 – 35	23.7 (6.8)	.87	.90
Gendered Time (4 items: author generated, modified 3 items)	0 – 30	2 – 30	19.5 (5.1)		.71

reliability as originally reported by the authors of those scales, show acceptable alpha levels (.73 and .79 respectively) in the present study and were therefore retained for use in the primary analyses.

Sample Description

Of the 1239 participants, 764 were from Canada and 437 were from the United States. Within the Canadian sample every province was represented but the majority of the participants indicated they were from Ontario (74.5%). The northern and western provinces and territories (Alberta, British Columbia, Northwest Territories, Yukon and Nunavut) accounted for an additional 16%, the prairie and central provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Quebec) accounted for 4.5%, and the eastern provinces (New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island) for 5.1%. Within the American sample there was also a diverse representation of states with women from all demographic regions (i.e., Northeast, Midwest, South, and West) participating. Participants from the Southern region comprised the majority of the sample (34.7%) with the Northeastern, Midwestern, and Western regions contributing 19.7%, 22.2%, and 23.3% respectively. Geographic representations by province and state are provided in Appendix I.

The majority ($n = 1025$, 82.7%) of the participants were White. Black ($n = 52$), Latin/South American ($n = 26$), East Asian/Chinese/Japanese ($n = 32$), South Asian/Indian/Pakistani ($n = 22$), Aboriginal/First Nations ($n = 15$), Arab ($n = 10$), and bi/multiracial ($n = 46$) women accounted for 4.2%, 2.1%, 2.6%, 1.8%, 1.2%, 0.8%, and 3.7% respectively. In total, 16.4% of the sample indicated that they were women of colour or were bi/multiracial. Eleven women (0.9%) chose "other" as a racial category or did not indicate their ethnicity. Table 3 provides a breakdown of ethnicity by population source (general or participant pool) and survey administration format (electronic or hard copy).

Table 3

Demographic and Descriptive Information by Survey Format and Participant Pool Status

	Total (N = 1239)	Electronic (N = 1109)		Hard copy (N = 130)	
		General (n = 1042)	PP (n = 67)	General (n = 77)	PP (n = 53)
Age M (SD)	33.5 (11.9)	34.0 (11.6)	22.8 (5.7)	42.1 (13.2)	23.6 (7.6)
Race % White/ European	82.7	83.7	74.6	87.0	67.9
Education % Highest completed = high school	43.2	39.0	76.1	45.5	81.1
Education % Highest completed = college/university	35.1	36.7	20.9	39.0	17.0
Education % Highest completed = Masters degree	13.9	15.3	3.0	13.0	1.9
Education % Highest completed = Doctoral/ Prof.	7.8	9.1	0	2.6	0
Personal income % < 30,000	60.8	58.6	94.0	39.7	94.3
Personal income % 30,000 – 59,999	24.5	26.1	4.5	35.6	3.8
Personal income % 60,000 – 90,000	11.6	12.0	1.5	23.3	1.9
Personal income % > 90,000	2.8	3.3	0	1.4	0
Sexual identity % heterosexual	79.3	79.6	86.6	85.3	94.2

PP = Participant pool

The highest level of education completed was high school for 43.2% of the sample, a college or university degree for 35.1%, a Masters degree for 13.9% of the sample, with the remaining 7.8% holding Doctoral or Professional degrees. Personal income ranged from the majority (60.8%) having reported earning less than 30,000 dollars annually, 24.5% earned from 30,000 to 60,000 dollars, 11.6% reported income as between 60,000 to 90,000 dollars, and the remaining 2.8% reported annual incomes of more than 90,000 dollars (see Table 3 for dispersion across population source and survey format).

Most women (79.3%) self-identified as heterosexual. An additional 17.1% self-identified as lesbian ($n = 120$), gay ($n = 6$), or bisexual ($n = 86$), with the remaining 1.5% ($n = 19$) indicating that they were unsure. Twenty-five women did not provide a response to this item. Examination of gender history of sexual experiences indicated that the majority (72.6%) of women ($n = 899$) reported that their sexual experiences were exclusively with men. Fifty-three women reported that their sexual experiences were exclusively with women (4.3%), or initially with men but now exclusively with women ($n = 77$, 6.2%). Women who indicated that their experiences were with both men and women ($n = 139$, 11.3%) reported that pattern originally ($n = 89$), or reported that their experiences were initially with men but now with both men and women ($n = 44$) or were initially with women but were currently with both sexes ($n = 6$). Fifty women (4.1%) reported another pattern of sexual experience.

Approximately half (49%) of the respondents self-identified as feminist. One third (31.9%) of the women indicated that they were not a feminist and the remaining 226 women (18.2%) indicated that they were unsure.

Primary Analyses

Although not susceptible to some of the typical assumptions of many multivariate statistical techniques (i.e., normality, linearity, homoscedasticity), cluster analysis does

require that the researcher attend to issues of multicollinearity. Therefore, given the intended similarity and overlapping nature of many of the social identity items included in this study, preliminary correlational and exploratory factor analyses were conducted to determine the best way to proceed with the cluster analysis. It was expected that, in some cases, collapsing across variables would be necessary. Following these preliminary analyses, the cluster variables were selected and the cluster analysis was performed.

Relationships Among Cluster and Feminism Variables

To examine the relationships among the different variables Pearson product moment correlations were used.

Feminism measures. All measures that directly assessed feminist self-identification or feminist action were analyzed as a separate group. Correlational analyses were performed on these six measures of feminism (feminist self-identification tri-report, position on feminist statements, 9-point feminist continuum, 9-point feminist activism, level of identification with feminists, and the Collective Action Scale). All inter-correlations were significant at $p < .001$. Correlations ranged from a high of $r = .81$, for the correlation between the feminist continuum item and position on the feminist 7-statement item, to a low of $r = .46$, between the 9-point feminist activism item and level of identification with feminists (see Table 4). In all cases correlations were in the expected direction. A higher feminism score on any one of the feminism variables was associated with higher feminism scores on each of the other feminism measures.

Social identity measures. Correlational analyses were performed on the total scores for all social identity measures. All but one pair of correlations were significant at the $p < .001$ level (see Table 5). Correlations ranged from a high of $r = .75$, between the Relational Health Index (RHI) scale and the Social Identity-Specific Collectivism Scale

Table 4

Intercorrelations between Feminist Measures

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Feminist 7- statement	--	.78**	.81**	.61**	.67**	.65**
2. Feminist tri-report		--	.73**	.50**	.49**	.52**
3. Feminist 9- point			--	.62**	.62**	.53**
4. Feminist active				--	.46**	.78**
5. Identification with feminists					--	.54**
6. Collective Action Scale						--

** $p < .001$ (2-tailed).

Table 5

Intercorrelations between Social Identity Measures

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Cameron scale	--	-.15**	-.52**	.49**	.42**	.67**	.59**	.73**	.66**	.60**
2. Stability of gender relations		--	.16**	-.06*	-.14**	-.16**	-.21**	-.10**	-.12**	-.10**
3. Hostility toward women scale			--	-.30**	-.11**	-.60**	-.52**	-.45**	-.58**	-.42**
4. Identification with a psychological group scale				--	.39**	.50**	.53**	.34**	.44**	.47**
5. Cognitive centrality					--	.30**	.36**	.23**	.21**	.27**
6. Relational health indices						--	.64**	.59**	.75**	.59**
7. Liberal feminist attitude sisterhood subscale							--	.47**	.61**	.51**
8. Collective self-esteem scale								--	.53**	.50**
9. Social identity specific collectivism scale									--	.58**
10. Level of id with women										--

** $p < .001$ (2-tailed).

* $p < .05$ (2-tailed).

(SISCol), to a low of $r = -.06$ ($p < .05$), between the Identification with a Psychological Group Scale (IPG) and stability of gender relations. In all cases, the direction of the relationship between each pair of variables was in the expected direction.

Relationships Among Political and Validation Measures

In addition to examining the relationships between the feminist and the social identity measures, bivariate correlation analyses were also performed on the gendered political items (including the feminist items) and the general validation measures. These analyses allow for some insight into the inter-relationships across variables.

Gendered political measures. Correlational analyses were performed on the total scores for all gendered political measures. All bivariate correlations were significant at the $p < .001$ level. Outside of the high range of correlations already identified in the feminist measures section, the correlations ranged from a high of $r = .73$, between the REAL Traditionalism scale (REAL) and the Moral Traditionalism scale, to a low of $r = .16$, between the Influence of Women (Power Discontent) scale and the Collectivism item (see Table 6). In all cases, the direction of the relationship between each pair of variables was in the expected direction.

General validation measures. Unlike the social identity and the gendered political measures not all general validation measures were expected to be correlated with each other. Rather the idea was to tap into distinct areas of life (e.g., self-esteem, self-efficacy, belief in a just world, life satisfaction) that may reasonably be assumed to have some relationship with women's social identity as women. Correlational analyses were performed on the total scores for all general life measures. As expected, many of the bivariate correlations were not significant at the $p < .05$ level. Overall, the correlations ranged from a high of $r = .59$ ($p < .001$), between the Life Sector Satisfaction scale and the Satisfaction with Life scale, to a low of $r = .003$ ($p > .05$), between Belief in a Just World personal and Sociopolitical Efficacy (see Table 7).

Table 6

Intercorrelations between Gendered Political Measures

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Feminist tri-report	--	.50**	.73**	.34**	.38**	.78**	.52**	-.24**	.26**	-.38**	.46**	-.49**	.34**
2. Feminist active		--	.62**	.46**	.31**	.61**	.78**	-.18**	.20**	-.25**	.41**	-.37**	.31**
3. Feminist 9-point			--	.43**	.40**	.81**	.53**	-.26**	.24**	-.38**	.47**	-.48**	.39**
4. Collectivism				--	.20**	.39**	.41**	-.16**	.16**	-.20**	.32**	-.23**	.21**
5. Traditionalism					--	.44**	.29**	-.29**	.18**	-.47**	.34**	-.56**	.25**
6. Feminist statement - 7						--	.65**	-.33**	.32**	-.46**	.56**	-.58**	.43**
7. Collective action scale							--	-.21**	.26**	-.28**	.49**	-.42**	.37**
8. Stability of gender relations								--	-.16**	.34**	-.27**	.37**	-.19**
9. Influence of women									--	-.17**	.34**	-.27**	.25**
10. Moral traditionalism										--	-.34**	.73**	-.20**
11. Contemporary gender discrimination scale											--	-.49**	.58**
12. REAL traditionalism												--	-.34**
13. Stigma consciousness													--

** $p < .001$ (2-tailed).

Table 7

Intercorrelations between General Validation Measures

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Spheres of Control Personal	--	.14**	.09**	.17**	.43**	.26**	-.02	.20**	.01	.11**
2. Spheres of Control Sociopolitical		--	-.18**	.003	.18**	.14**	.09**	.08**	-.23**	.33**
3. Belief in a Just World General			--	.40**	.07*	.16**	-.14**	.15**	.34**	-.32**
4. Belief in a Just World Personal				--	.27**	.47**	-.03	.37**	.20**	-.09**
5. Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale					--	.57**	.01	.48**	-.07*	.10**
6. Satisfaction with Life						--	-.02	.59**	.01	.04
7. Gendered time							--	.09**	-.21**	.13**
8. Life sector satisfaction								--	-.002	-.01
9. Meritocracy									--	-.26
10. Personal Justice Orientation										--

** $p < .01$ level (2-tailed).

* $p < .05$ level (2-tailed).

Factor Analysis

The primary goal of factor analysis in this context is to select the variables to be used in the cluster analysis. The choice of the *cluster variates*, or “the set of variables representing the characteristics used to compare objects” (Hair & Black, 2000, p. 147) is of primary importance when planning a cluster analysis. It is considered a best practice to utilize factor analysis to aid in the choice of variables intended for use in a cluster analytic procedure (Henry, Tolman, & Gorman-Smith, 2005). The variable choice, Henry and colleagues suggest, should be guided by an initial pooling of variables that appear, both intuitively and theoretically, to relate in different ways to the topic of interest thereby maximizing the potential of extracting dimensions on which differential expression will rest. Careful attention must also be given to avoid unnecessary redundancy in variable choice (Henry et al., 2005). Therefore, thorough exploration of the potential cluster variables through the use of factor analytic techniques is a solid foundation for subsequent cluster analysis.

Factor analysis examines the configuration of the variables across cases and evaluates the underlying structure of the data. One goal of factor analysis is to reduce the number of items into a smaller pool of factors. Sample size is not a barrier as this sample far exceeds the suggested minimum sample size of approximately 300 participants and approximately five to ten observations per variable. Initial screening of the item pool did not indicate that any items were correlated to the extent ($r > .90$) that would warrant concern about multicollinearity.

The scores of the 1239 participants on all of the social identity items were subjected to Principle Axis Factoring (PAF) with varimax rotation. With psychological data of this nature PAF is a superior factoring method to Principle Components Analysis (PCA) because the communalities (i.e., the proportion of variance that is shared – or in common with other variables) placed along the diagonal of the matrix used to conduct

the factor analysis are estimated from the data rather than assigned the value of one as is the case with PCA. This allows for representation more reflective of the actual data. With factor analysis one must also make a choice between orthogonal (uncorrelated) and oblique (correlated) rotation. Since the purpose of this factor analysis is to yield factor scores for subsequent use in a cluster analysis orthogonal rotation is recommended (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Varimax rotation was chosen because this procedure extracts factors that are orthogonal, or uncorrelated, and maximizes the variance of each of the factors.

When using a factor analytic procedure, it is also important to decide upon a cutoff point (i.e., factor loading score) for item retention. The higher the factor loading, the more an item is considered to load purely on that factor (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). The typical cutoff for item retention when using orthogonal rotation is a factor loading of .32 or greater. Due to the large sample and the desire to generate pure, and maximally non-overlapping factors, a more stringent retention criteria was applied for this study. All items that did not demonstrate factor loadings of .45 or greater were excluded from the item pool. An item loading of .45 is associated with the explanation of 20% of the variance in that factor. Moreover, items must have loaded purely on a single factor to be retained.

The final factor solution revealed 8 factors with an eigenvalue of ≥ 1 (see Table 8 for the factor solution by item). The model accounted for 51.63% of the variance. As the Barlett's method of assessing the fit of the factor solution is too sensitive to large sample sizes to be effective in this study, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy was used to evaluate the solution. The KMO is a ratio of the squared correlation between variables to the squared partial correlation between variables. Scores can range from 0 to 1. As the value approaches 1, the pattern of correlations between the variables becomes increasingly tight indicating that the factor solution is a

Table 8

Eight-Factor Solution for Social Identity Items

Item #	Item	Load	Scale
Factor 1	Attitudes toward women (11.58% of variance accounted for) α .87		
htw6	When it really comes down to it, a lot of women are deceitful	-.78	7-pt
htw5	It is generally safer not to trust women too much	-.76	7-pt
htw8	I am sure I get a raw deal from the other women in my life	-.67	7-pt
lfais7	One should never trust a woman's account of another woman (R)	.65	6-pt
lfais6	Women really cannot trust other women with their romantic partners (e.g., boyfriends, husbands, same-sex partners) (R)	.64	6-pt
rhi9	There is a lot of backbiting and gossip among women (R)	.63	5-pt
htw7	I am easily angered by other women	-.63	7-pt
rhi10	Women are very competitive with each other (R)	.62	5-pt
htw4	I think that most women would lie to get ahead	-.62	7-pt
siscol5	Working with other women is usually more trouble than it's worth (R)	.55	5-pt
htw9	Sometimes other women bother me by just being around	-.54	7-pt
htw1	I feel that many times women flirt with men just to tease them or hurt them	-.49	7-pt
htw2	I believe that most women tell the truth (R)	-.48	7-pt
htw10	Other women are responsible for most of my troubles	-.46	7-pt
Factor 2	Ingroup ties (10.78% of variance accounted for) α .92		
siscol1	I do not fit in well with other women (R)	.78	5-pt
siscol2	When I'm with other women I feel like an outsider (R)	.78	5-pt
siscol3	I feel uneasy with other women (R)	.71	5-pt
cam3	I find it difficult to form a bond with other women (R)	.69	6-pt
siscol6	Even though I'm a woman, I do not feel particularly connected to other women (R)	.68	5-pt
cam4	I don't feel a sense of being connected to other women (R)	.68	6-pt
cam1	I have a lot in common with other women	.64	6-pt
siscol4	As a woman, I feel isolated (R)	.61	5-pt

cam2	I feel strong ties to other women	.55	6-pt
ipg8	I don't act like a typical woman (R)	.49	5-pt
ipg6	I act like most women to a great extent	.48	5-pt
Factor 3	Centrality of gender (7.40% of variance accounted for) α .85		
cam8	The fact that I am a woman rarely enters my mind (R)	.79	6-pt
central 1	Approximately how much time do you spend thinking about being a woman	.75	9-pt
cam5	I often think about the fact that I am a woman	.68	6-pt
cam6	Overall, being a woman has very little to do with how I feel about myself (R)	.67	6-pt
cam7	In general, being a woman is an important part of my self-image	.62	6-pt
central 2	Approximately how much time do you spend thinking about what you have in common with women	.55	9-pt
cses8	Being a woman is an important reflection of who I am	.49	6-pt
cses9	Being a woman is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am (R)	.48	6-pt
Factor 4	Affect (5.71% of variance accounted for) α .87		
cam9	In general, I am glad to be a woman	.75	6-pt
cam11	I don't feel good about being a woman (R)	.74	6-pt
cam10	I often regret that I am a woman (R)	.73	6-pt
cses11	I feel good about being a woman	.67	6-pt
cam12	Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a woman	.60	6-pt
Factor 5	Behavioural involvement (5.05% of variance accounted for) α .81		
siscol8	I generally like women more than men	.68	5-pt
siscol11	It is more important that I establish good relationships with women than with men	.67	5-pt
siscol10	I am more likely to help a woman than I am to help a man	.58	5-pt
siscol7	I prefer to spend my free time with other women	.57	5-pt
siscol9	My most rewarding friendships are with other women	.56	5-pt
lfais9	Women have a bond with one another that is stronger than women's bond with men	.52	6-pt
Factor 6	Empowerment (4.21% of variance accounted for) α .87		
rhi12	My connections with women are so inspiring that they motivate me to pursue relationships with others	.65	5-pt

rhi11	I have a greater sense of self-worth through my connection with women	.64	5-pt
rhi2	I feel better about myself after my interactions with women	.56	5-pt
rhi6	I feel mobilized to personal action after meetings with women	.55	5-pt
rhi13	Women have shaped my identity in many ways	.46	5-pt
Factor 7	Perceived public attitudes (3.59% of variance accounted for) α .77		
cses7	In general others respect women	.76	6-pt
cses12	In general, others think that women are unworthy (R)	.68	6-pt
cses2	Overall, women are considered good by others	.57	6-pt
cses4	Most people consider women, on the average, to be more ineffective than men (R)	.57	6-pt
Factor 8	Shared experiences (3.30% of variance accounted for) α .75		
ipg5	When someone praises women, it feels like a personal compliment	.71	5-pt
ipg4	Women's successes are my successes	.65	5-pt
ipg3	When I talk about women, I usually say "we" instead of "they"	.47	5-pt
ipg1	When someone criticizes women it feels like a personal insult	.45	5-pt

good fit with the data (Field, 2005). A KMO value of greater than .60 is desired. Values between .80 and .90 are considered great, and values greater than .90 are considered superb. This solution generated a KMO value of .94, and so this factor solution was retained.

Factor 1 consisted of 14 items best described as measuring *women's negative attitudes toward women*. All but one of the Hostility Toward Women items, as well as selected items from the LFAIS, the SISCol, and the RHI were retained in this factor. Generally, this factor targeted feelings about women as deceitful, untrustworthy, or gossipy or as being bothered or annoyed by women. Factor 2 included 11 items and was labeled *ingroup ties*. This factor combined items from Cameron's ingroup ties subscale, the SISCol comfort with the collective subscale, and the shared characteristics subscale from the IPG scale. Items that loaded highly on this factor tapped into feelings of fitting in or feeling connected to other women. For Factor 3, eight items emphasized the idea of the *cognitive centrality of gender*. This factor included items that reflect the amount of time one spends thinking about being a woman, or how central gender is to one's sense of self. Factor 4, labeled *affect*, included all of the Cameron ingroup affect subscale items plus one item from the CSES Private subscale. These items expose one's feelings about being a woman. Five items from the SISCol behavioural involvement subscale and one item from the LFAIS comprise Factor 5. This factor, labeled *behavioural involvement*, centered on the affiliative role of women in one's life, or the desire to spend time with other women. A *sense of empowerment* is captured in Factor 6. Five items from the RHI empowerment subscale comprise this factor. All items suggest a sense of relationships with women providing an important source of one's sense of self. Factor 7, labeled *public*, consisted of the CSES Public subscale items. These four items evaluate women's perceptions of how women as a group are viewed by others and by society. Finally, Factor 8 tapped into the idea of a sense of *shared experiences with women*. This

factor encompassed the feeling of being personally influenced by one's sense of being a part of the group women.

Following interpretation of the factors and ensuring that the items loaded onto factors in a way that makes sense, factor scores were calculated for use in the cluster analysis. A number of methods are available to calculate factor scores. Method choice is directed by the intended use of the scores. In this case, the Anderson-Rubin method was selected because this procedure is recommended when uncorrelated factor scores are needed for subsequent use as either independent or dependent variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

In order to produce a tight set of variables to test (and supplement) interpretation of the cluster analysis, additional factor analyses were conducted on the gendered political items and on the general items. As was the case for the social identity items, the same procedure was followed for each of these analyses, with the exception that the inclusion criterion was relaxed to .40 to more closely approximate standard procedures and allow for some variability. In both cases, initial screening of the bivariate correlations alleviated any concerns about multicollinearity. For the gendered political items the final factor solution revealed 6 factors with an eigen value of 1 or greater (see Table 9 for the factor solution by item). The model accounted for 57.64% of the variance and generated a KMO value of .95, and so this factor solution was retained. The factors were interpretable as representing collective action orientation, traditionalism, perceived discrimination against women, stigma consciousness, men's sexism, and stability of gender relations. For the general items, a 7 factor solution was generated (see Table 10 for the factor solution by item). The model accounted for 50.34% of the variance and exhibited a KMO value of .91 and so was also retained. The general factors reflected their original scale concepts and the factor analysis primarily resulted in decreasing the item pool by eliminating items that either did not load highly on a single factor or that

Table 9

Six-Factor Solution for Gendered Political Items

Item #	Item	Load	Scale
Factor 1	Collective action (22.09% of variance account for)		
cas10	Spend time working for a women's issue or campaign, e.g. fundraising	.86	5-pt
cas6	Belong to an organization or group that deals with women's issues	.84	5-pt
cas11	Raise women's issues in groups or organizations	.82	5-pt
cas7	Attend women's meetings, talks, or workshops	.82	5-pt
cas2	Volunteer for groups aimed to help women	.81	5-pt
cas9	Act as a spokesperson for a particular women's issue	.81	5-pt
cas13	Attend demonstrations, protests or rallies about women's issues	.76	5-pt
cas14	Contact a government representative or the media (e.g. radio, TV, newspaper) regarding a women's issue	.73	5-pt
Feminist active	To what extent do you consider yourself someone who is actively involved in promoting women's issues?	.72	9-pt
cas8	Sign a petition regarding a women's issue	.69	5-pt
cas5	Donate money to women's events or organizations aimed at women's issues	.68	5-pt
cas1	Discuss women's issues with friends or colleagues	.58	5-pt
cas12	Read articles, journals or watch films about women's issues	.57	5-pt
cas15	Break the law for a political purpose (e.g., block the road with a street demonstration)	.51	5-pt

Factor 2	Traditionalism (11.67% of variance account for)		
moral3	The <i>newer lifestyles</i> are contributing to the breakdown of society	.81	6-pt
moral4	This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties	.81	6-pt
REAL women3	Preservation of <i>traditional values</i> is very important	.79	5-pt
REAL women1	The <i>natural family</i> is the fundamental unit of our society	.73	5-pt
REAL women2	Maintaining <i>family values</i> is more important than the rights of women	.68	5-pt
moral2	We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own (R)	.53	6-pt
Traditionalism	To what extent would you describe yourself as a traditional or a non-traditional woman?	-.51	9-pt
moral1	The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behaviour to those changes (R)	.49	6-pt
Factor 3	Perceived discrimination (11.07% of variance account for)		
cgds2	The women's movement served its purpose, but discrimination against women is no longer a problem (R)	.76	6-pt
cgds5	Society no longer treats women as inferior to men (R)	.70	6-pt
cgds4	Although it is more subtle than it used to be, women still experience discrimination	.69	6-pt
cgds6	Any discrimination that still exists today will be gone within 5-10 years (R)	.64	6-pt
cgds7	Discrimination toward women is extensive and continues to be a widespread	.63	6-pt
cgds3	Women still need to work harder than men to achieve the same things	.61	6-pt
cgds1	Although women were typically denied jobs 50 years ago, it rarely happens today (R)	.60	6-pt
Factor 4	Stigma consciousness (5.67% of variance account for)		

scq7	My being female does not influence how people act with me (R)	.81	7-pt
scq5	My being female does not influence how men act with me (R)	.74	7-pt
scq6	I almost never think about the fact that I am female when I interact with men (R)	.68	7-pt
Factor 5	Men's sexism (4.22% of variance account for)		
scq10	Most men have a problem viewing women as equals	.73	7-pt
scq8	Most men have a lot more sexist thoughts than they actually express	.69	7-pt
scq9	I often think that men are unfairly accused of being sexist (R)	.49	7-pt
Factor 6	Stability (2.93% of variance account for)		
stable1	In the future the relationship between men and women could be quite different from what it is now	.68	6-pt
stable2	When it comes to sex-roles and the relationship between men and women, things will always be pretty much the way they are now	.65	6-pt

Table 10

Seven-Factor Solution for General Items

Item #	Item	load	score
Factor 1	Self-esteem		
rses6	I take a positive attitude toward myself	.75	4-pt
rses10	At times, I think I am no good at all	.72	4-pt
rses3	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	.70	4-pt
rses9	I certainly feel useless on the whole	.70	4-pt
rses7	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	.68	4-pt
rses8	I wish I could have more respect for myself	.67	4-pt
rses5	I feel that I do not have much to be proud of	.57	4-pt
Factor 2	Belief in a just world: personal		
bjwper4	Overall, events in my life are just	.80	6-pt
bjwper6	I believe that most of the things that happen in my life are fair	.78	6-pt
bjwper3	I believe that I usually get what I deserve	.76	6-pt
bjwper7	I think that important decisions that are made concerning me are usually just	.74	6-pt
bjwper2	I am usually treated fairly	.69	6-pt
bjwper1	I believe that, by and large, I deserve what happens to me	.61	6-pt
bjwper5	In my life injustice is the exception rather than the rule	.50	6-pt
Factor 3	Satisfaction with life		
swl3	I am satisfied with my life	.80	7-pt
swl1	In most ways my life is close to ideal	.77	7-pt
swl2	The conditions of my life are excellent	.77	7-pt
swl4	So far I have gotten the important things I want in life	.68	7-pt
satsect1	How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your <i>life as a whole</i>	.57	6-pt
swl5	If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing	.53	7-pt

Factor 4	Belief in a just world: general		
bjwgen3	I am confident that justice always prevails over injustice	.76	6-pt
bjwgen4	I am convinced that in the long run people will be compensated for injustices	.67	6-pt
bjwgen2	I believe that, by and large, people get what they deserve	.65	6-pt
bjwgen5	I firmly believe that injustices in all areas of life (e.g., professional, family, politics) are the exception rather than the rule	.58	6-pt
bjwgen1	I think basically the world is a just place	.47	6-pt
bjwgen6	I think people try to be fair when making important decisions	.43	6-pt
Factor 5	Sociopolitical control		
scs12	The average citizen can have an influence on government decisions	.68	7-pt
scs11	By taking an active part in political and social affairs we can control world events	.60	7-pt
scs18	When I look at it carefully I realize that it is impossible to have an important influence over what big businesses do (R)	.59	7-pt
scs19	I prefer to concentrate my energy on other things rather than on solving the world's problems (R)	.55	7-pt
scs17	There is nothing we, as consumers, can do to keep the cost of living from getting higher (R)	.55	7-pt
scs14	Bad economic conditions are caused by world events that are beyond our control (R)	.51	7-pt
scs15	With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption	.47	7-pt
Factor 6	Personal justice orientation		
perjus2	I often evaluate social circumstances in terms of whether they are just	.74	6-pt
perjus4	I have strong opinions about what I believe is just	.72	6-pt
perjus3	I am bothered by the amount of injustice in the world	.64	6-pt
perjus1	I have a strong sense of personal justice	.64	6-pt
Factor 7	Personal efficacy		
scs5	My major accomplishments are entirely due to my hard work and ability	.65	7-pt
scs1	When I get what I want it is usually because I work hard for it	.62	7-pt
scs2	When I make plans I am almost certain to make them work	.58	7-pt
scs4	I can learn almost anything if I put my mind to it	.46	7-pt

loaded on multiple factors. The seven factors represented personal self-esteem, a belief in a just world from a personal perspective, satisfaction with life, a belief in a just world from a general perspective, a sense of sociopolitical control, a personal justice orientation, and a sense of personal control or efficacy.

Equality of Administrative Format

Before proceeding to the cluster analysis one final set of analyses was performed to determine whether differences in administrative format (i.e., electronic vs. hard copy) could be said to account for differences in the dependent variables. As part of this research a subsample of participants was recruited from the University of Windsor psychology participant pool. Participants were randomly assigned to complete either a hard copy or an electronic version of the survey. In part, this was built into the research design to allow for a formal testing of the influence of administrative method on outcome. Although inclusion of as diverse a sample as possible is desirable in cluster analytic research, and integration of participant pool respondents into the general sample and potential cross-format differences would not negatively influence the cluster analysis, it is important to this project to isolate the participant pool sample and assess group differences by administrative method. With an increasing trend toward online data collection this will offer an opportunity to, all else being equal, test the effects of method of survey administration on survey results.

A series of chi square analyses revealed that no significant between-group differences existed for the hard copy and the electronic versions on age, ethnicity (% white), personal and household income, sexual identification, or feminist self-identification. Independent sample t-tests were also conducted on all social identity factors and no significant by-format differences emerged within the participant pool sample.

Cluster Analysis

Cluster analysis works in such a way as to group objects together based on a given set of criteria (Hair & Black, 2000). The goal is to find a mathematical representation of the observations that result in maximal within-cluster homogeneity and between-cluster heterogeneity. That is, cases within each cluster should exhibit greater similarity to each other than they do to cases grouped in other clusters. Most often what one expects (or hopes) to find is key variables that vary consistently across the different groups of cases, or clusters. However, unlike other multivariate statistical techniques, cluster analytic procedures do not involve empirical estimation of the variables in the predictive process, rather, they use the variables as stipulated by the investigator. How we define what goes into the analysis is therefore a very important preliminary step. Whereas factor analysis evaluates the structure of the variables, cluster analysis examines the structure of the cases themselves. The process is designed to determine where each case falls out relative to the others with respect to the given criteria as identified by the researcher.

Generally, clustering procedures are separated into hierarchal and non-hierarchal categories. Hierarchal procedures, though cumbersome analytically, are useful if one is interested in revealing an underlying or nested structure that exists within the data (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Each case begins representing its own cluster and through a series of iterations cases are grouped together successively based on the linkage method that the researcher has chosen (Lingras & Huang, 2005). Non-hierarchal clustering techniques (e.g., K-means) do not incorporate nested structure into the analysis (Norusis, 1993) and the researcher must supply the program with the number of clusters that they want as a final outcome of the clustering procedure. In the K-means procedure cluster centers can be either randomly assigned by the computer statistical process, or assigned by the researcher, to represent the centroid (a value that

represents the mean of each cluster on a given variable) of a cluster (Lingras & Huang, 2005). Once the centroids are defined the cases are categorized into clusters based on their distance from the centroid. The new clusters are then used to calculate new centroids. This process continues until the computer has generated the most stable solution (Lingras & Huang, 2005).

Henry and colleagues (2005) suggest that when clustering variables with no certain advance knowledge of how many clusters to expect, it is advisable to use hierarchal clustering first to get an idea of the number of clusters that fall naturally out of the data, and then to follow this procedure with a non-hierarchal procedure and compare the results. This was the approach used for this study.

Following a decision to use a hierarchal clustering procedure, other decisions must be made. For example, a researcher must decide the linkage method that they will use to group the cases together. There are several methods to choose from, each with their own advantages and disadvantages. For this analysis, Ward's linkage method was chosen. Ward's is a linkage method that groups case observations into the same clusters based on the degree of similarity. In this method the statistical goal is to minimize the within-cluster sum of squares when the clusters are joined together (Norusis, 1993). This method tends to create clusters that produce minimum within-cluster differences and maximum between cluster differences, and therefore was well suited for this analysis.

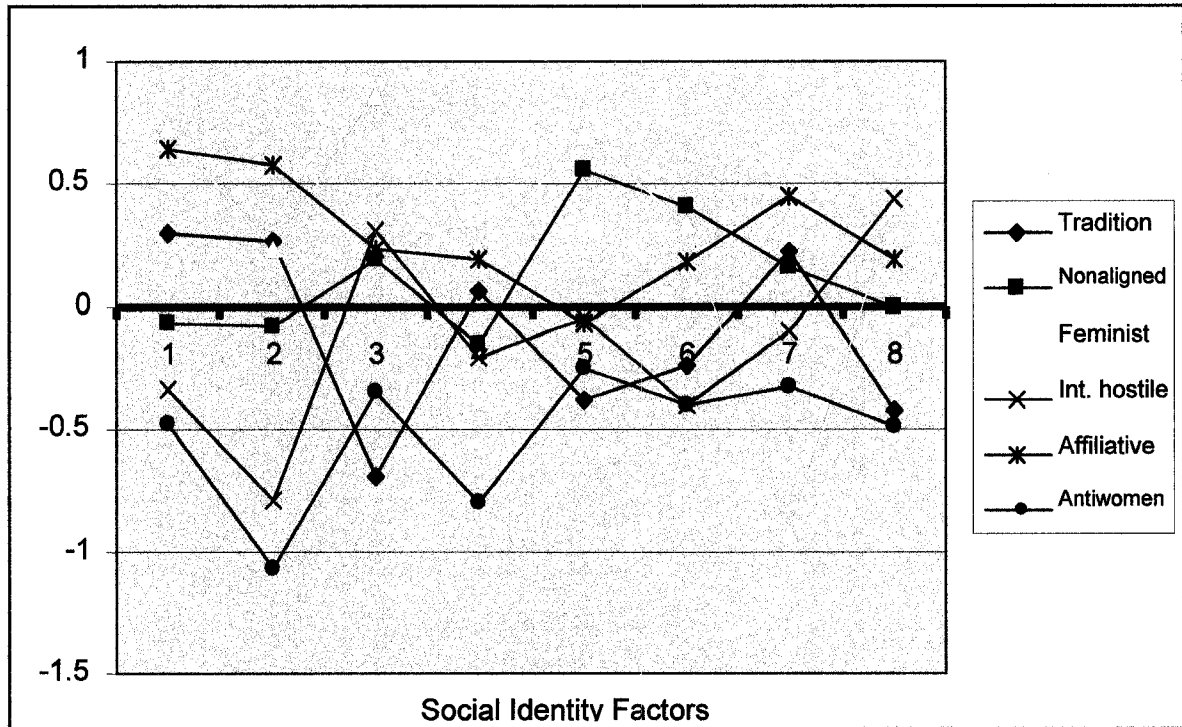
A second decision that must be made is the distance measure that will be used to aid the partitioning of cases into clusters. The squared Euclidian distance is the method often chosen when Ward's linkage procedures are used. In the squared Euclidian distance procedure the sum of the squared differences between the cases on each variable are computed and the square root of that sum is used as the final distance measure.

Using SPSS an initial agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis using Ward's procedure was performed. Factor scores provided an individual's score on a corresponding subset of variables. These scores were used to generate the initial cluster analysis. Although the determination of the number of clusters that best fit the data is a very subjective exercise, a number of procedures can aid the process. Examination of the agglomerative schedule, but more definitively, the dendrogram suggested that a six-cluster solution best fit the data. Adequate representation of cases was exhibited across the clusters.

Once the best fitting clustering solution was determined, verification of the six-clusters was sought using the k-means clustering procedure. A K-means cluster analysis, forcing 6 factors, yielded similar results to that of the hierarchical procedure. Comparisons of pattern of dispersion of the eight social identity factors across the clusters and of the frequency of membership in each cluster reflected similar patterns emerged in both the hierarchical and the non-hierarchical procedures and thus a six-cluster solution was accepted. Assignment of cluster membership is based on 6 clusters.

For a solution to be meaningful, significant cross-cluster differences on the cluster variates should emerge from data. So a further check of the clustering solution is to test for these differences. To do this a one-way between-cluster analysis of variance (ANOVA) using cluster membership as the factoring variable and computed scores on the eight social identity factors as the outcome variable was conducted. For all six clusters, F was significant at $p < .001$. The cluster patterns on the social identity factors are displayed in Figure 1. For ease of representation and to aid conceptual clarity, the data displayed in the graphs were transformed to represent a standardized format that ranged from negative one to positive one. This graphical representation is most suitable to allow the reader to visualize both the valence and the strength of the relationship between the social identity factors and the six clusters. For greater clarification,

Figure 1. Six-factor cluster solution illustrated as standardized positive to negative 1 range.



1 = Attitudes toward women

2 = Ingroup ties

3 = Centrality of gender

4 = Affect

5 = Time with women

6 = Sense of empowerment

7 = Perceived public attitude toward women

8 = Shared experiences

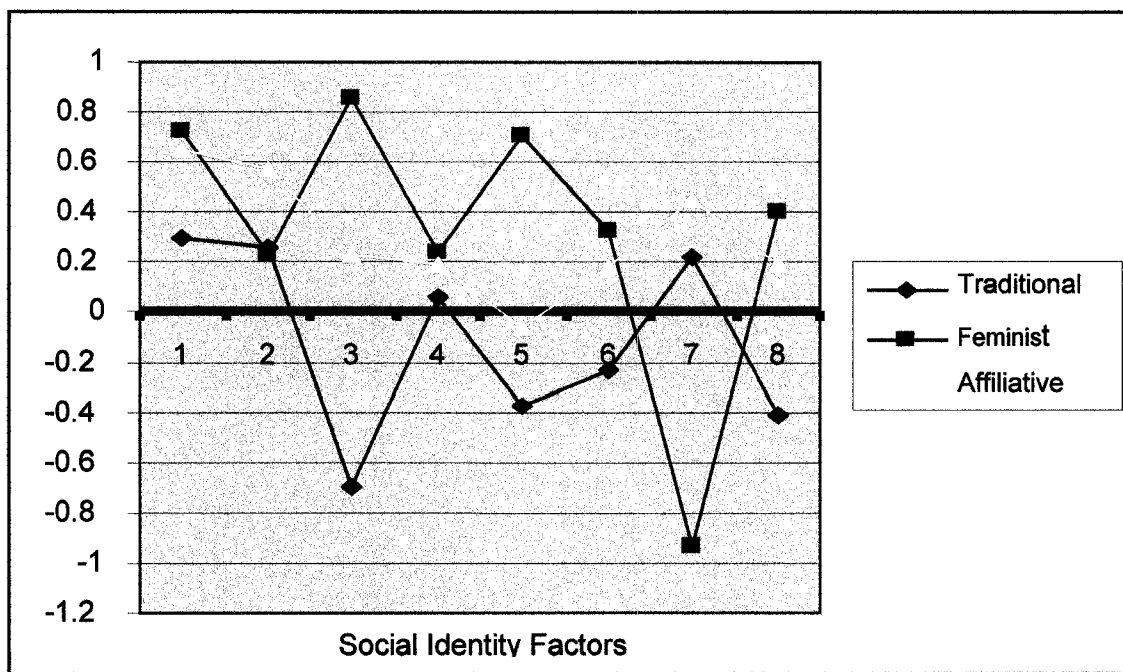
Figure 2 depicts the three clusters defined by overall positive attitudes toward women and Figure 3 depicts the three clusters defined by overall negative attitudes toward women.

Cluster Descriptions

To capitalize on the benefits of scaling the social identity variables to represent a negative one to positive one range, the patterns as reflected in the Figures 1, 2, and 3, will be used for cluster interpretation. This method was chosen over the method that would present mean values to facilitate understanding of the different expressions of women's social identity relative to each other, while still considering the valence. Further, interpretation of the clusters is aided by examining the patterns of expression across the social identity variables as framed by the negative attitudes toward women factor (as this accounts for the most variance in distribution).

Three clusters (1, 3, and 5) fell into the positive attitudes toward women range. As initially conceptualized using the identity and consciousness continuums presented in table format in the introduction (see Table 1), three clusters representing positive attitudes toward women were expected to emerge. These clusters also all reflected a positive sense of ingroup ties and positive affect, or feelings about being a woman. Although initially clusters 3 and 5 both seem to represent a pattern that would fit a Feminist orientation (that is high positive attitudes toward women, strong ingroup ties, and a sense of empowerment from women) important differences exist. Cluster 3 women ($n = 122$) report the most positive attitudes toward women, and the highest degree of cognitive centrality of gender, behavioural involvement with women, sense of empowerment from women and a sense of shared experiences with women. In cluster 3 the cognitive centrality of gender is significantly ($p < .001$) higher than that of women in cluster 5. This would be expected among feminist women. Moreover, cluster 3 women

Figure 2. Clusters framed in a positive attitude toward women.



1 = Attitudes toward women

2 = Ingroup ties

3 = Centrality of gender

4 = Affect

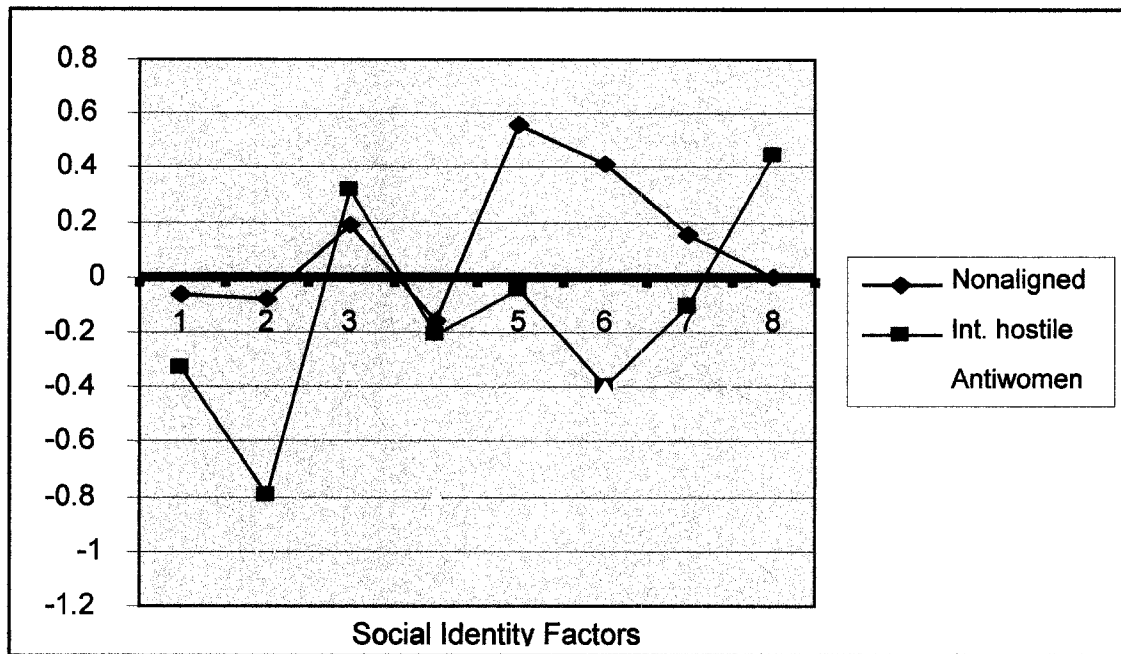
5 = Time with women

6 = Sense of empowerment

7 = Perceived public attitude toward women

8 = Shared experiences

Figure 3. Clusters framed in a negative attitude toward women.



1 = Attitudes toward women

2 = Ingroup ties

3 = Centrality of gender

4 = Affect

5 = Time with women

6 = Sense of empowerment

7 = Perceived public attitude toward women

8 = Shared experiences

clearly diverge from the rest on their perceptions of how society views women. A negative public perception score indicates a belief that women are not viewed as equally respected and as equally effective as are men. This is consistent with a feminist orientation where women are central in our lives but with a recognition that society does not always view women in positive ways. It seems clear that this pattern of results reflect what would be expected by women in a group that could best be described as Feminists. So while cluster 5 reveals a pattern, that in many ways, appears similar to cluster 3, the key divergences offer a somewhat different interpretation of this cluster. That cluster 3 and cluster 5 women both report high positive attitudes toward women, and similar levels of affect regarding one's sense of oneself as a woman, but cluster 5 women lack the centrality component and appear to lack a political orientation toward society's view of women suggests that this group of women may be best described as the Affiliative group. Admittedly however, this finding is somewhat muddled by the lower level of reported behavioural involvement with women. It was expected that some women may lie at the positive end of the identity continuum in a central position that would intersect with the indifferent or nongendered point along the consciousness continuum. Further analysis on the political items should help to clarify this cluster designation.

The final cluster that exhibits a positive attitude toward women is cluster 1 (n = 222). Close examination of this pattern of results suggests that this cluster may best represent Traditional women. Traditional women were expected to reflect a positive identity with women and a political or consciousness orientation that was antifeminist or right wing. If family values are seen as more important than women's rights we would expect that the cognitive centrality of gender would be low. We would also expect lower levels of empowerment and a sense that society views women positively, rather than negatively. Women in this cluster, although reporting positive attitudes toward women, exhibited levels that were less positive than those women in clusters 3 and 5. They also

showed much lower levels of cognitive centrality of gender, behavioural involvement with women, feelings of a sense of being empowered by other women, and a sense of shared experiences as women. This pattern of results supports the interpretation of this group as traditional women. To re-ground these cluster interpretations in the data see Table 11 for mean cross-cluster scores on all social identity factors.

Among the three clusters that fell into the negative range on attitudes toward women, a divergent pattern of results also exists. Cluster 6 clearly represents a negative profile across all 8 social identity factors. Consistent with the initial potential range of expressions of women's social identity outlined in the introduction, this cluster of women appears to represent the antiwomen/antifeminist perspective. Women in this group ($n = 77$) had the most negative attitudes toward women, and felt least tied to women and most discontent with being a woman. Additionally, they indicated that they felt neither a sense of empowerment from nor a sense of shared experiences with other women.

Clusters 2 and 4 are a bit more difficult to interpret. In cluster 4, the negative attitude toward women and lack of ingroup ties along with a noted lack of behavioural involvement and sense of empowerment relative to the more neutral attitudes toward women and ingroup ties and a higher level of behavioural involvement and sense of empowerment in cluster 2, suggests that cluster 4 may fit with the interpersonal hostility toward women mentioned in the introduction. That is cluster 4 women appear to exhibit a negative identification with women accompanied by a lack of political or consciousness direction, whereas cluster 2 women appear more likely to fall into an indifferent, or middle of the road, level on both the identity and the consciousness dimension while still reporting behavioural involvement with women and an ability to experience empowerment by the group but lacking an enduring sense of connection through a sense of shared experiences. Further clarity should be provided by examination of cluster differences at the next stage of analysis. These preliminary interpretations

Table 11

Mean Cross-Cluster Scores on Social Identity Factors

Cluster (n)	Social identity factor 1*	Social identity factor 2*	Social identity factor 3*	Social identity factor 4*	Social identity factor 5*	Social identity factor 6*	Social identity factor 7*	Social identity factor 8*
	Attitudes toward women	Ingroup ties	Centrality of gender	Affect	Time with women	Sense of empowerment	Perceived public attitude toward women	Shared experiences
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
1 (n = 222)	39.87 (8.28)	43.45 (5.73)	28.02 (5.99)	26.02 (2.86)	16.78 (2.83)	9.58 (3.01)	17.70 (2.45)	11.69 (2.66)
2 (n = 181)	43.20 (8.30)	42.52 (5.60)	36.95 (7.37)	25.58 (2.40)	21.30 (3.58)	12.93 (2.28)	16.50 (3.05)	14.13 (2.14)
3 (n = 122)	31.40 (6.75)	47.52 (5.36)	45.68 (4.40)	27.30 (3.03)	23.76 (3.71)	15.02 (2.32)	13.11 (3.32)	16.60 (1.94)
4 (n = 67)	49.57 (8.51)	34.10 (6.42)	36.61 (5.75)	24.46 (3.92)	17.87 (3.42)	9.00 (1.78)	15.06 (3.33)	14.42 (2.05)
5 (n = 172)	32.69 (6.73)	49.82 (4.12)	37.80 (5.60)	27.66 (2.04)	19.70 (3.14)	13.41 (2.30)	18.23 (2.50)	14.81 (1.93)
6 (n = 77)	54.86 (8.15)	29.01 (6.05)	28.86 (7.65)	21.64 (4.54)	15.87 (3.40)	6.94 (2.64)	14.62 (2.87)	10.90 (2.71)
Total (N = 841)	40.04 (10.57)	43.08 (8.14)	35.27 (8.58)	25.92 (3.38)	19.37 (4.18)	11.59 (3.58)	16.39 (3.34)	13.71 (2.91)

should, if valid, yield differing patterns of results on the political measures incorporated in this study. Examination of group differences on the political items is presented next. In addition to between group differences on political items it was also a goal of this study to explore the effect of women's patterns of identification with women on other, more general life factors. As well as the measures included as general factors a number of demographic factors will also be explored (e.g., education, income, and sexual orientation).

External Validation of Clustering Solution

Gendered political factors. Theorizing about identity expression along two continuums – one, representing the level of identification with women, and the other representing consciousness or political orientation – requires that the cluster solution be externally validated using political factors. Based on this continuum approach to the exploration of women's social identity one would expect cross-cluster differences on many of the political factors. In fact, to support the interpretation of the clusters many of the differences should be in a predictable direction.

To test for cross-cluster differences a one-way ANOVA with cluster membership as the factoring variable and the 6 political scales as the outcome variables was conducted. Significant differences ($p < .001$) emerged on all scales. Following this initial confirmation of differential dispersion patterns across cluster, post hoc analyses were necessary to determine the source of the between-group differences. In all cases the assumption of homogeneity of variance was not met and so Tamhane's T2 post hoc test statistic was used. Results are presented in Table 12.

Consistent with the suggestions in Table 1, cluster patterns reflected clear and significant differences along both the identification and the consciousness continuums. Three of the four corners in Table 1 (representing the defined extremes -- one corner was left undefined), were reflected in the political factors. Cluster 3 stands out as the

Table 12

Mean Cross-Cluster Scores on Gendered Political Factors

Factor	Cluster Membership					
	Traditional	Nonaligned	Feminist	Interpersonal hostility	Affiliative	Antiwomen
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Collective action scale*	14.83 ^a (9.33)	21.88 ^b (10.87)	33.01 (11.83)	18.66 ^{a,b} (11.01)	21.66 ^b (10.91)	14.07 ^a (10.21)
Traditionalism*	24.53 ^a (8.15)	22.51 ^{a,b} (9.03)	15.48 (4.76)	22.02 ^{a,c} (8.32)	21.34 ^{b,c} (8.65)	22.15 ^{a,b} (7.88)
Gender discrimination*	30.20 ^a (5.08)	32.63 ^b (5.55)	38.40 (3.15)	32.71 ^b (5.93)	32.96 ^b (5.32)	31.99 ^{a,b} (5.66)
Treatment as female*	13.07 (3.69)	15.58 ^a (3.06)	17.98 (2.63)	15.55 ^a (3.07)	14.83 ^a (3.45)	14.97 ^a (3.79)
Men's sexism*	12.42 ^a (3.14)	13.77 ^{b,c} (3.21)	16.50 (2.76)	14.44 ^{b,c} (3.40)	13.03 ^{a,c} (2.89)	14.31 ^b (3.07)
Stability*	5.87 ^a (2.06)	5.26 ^b (1.91)	4.50 (1.92)	5.43 ^{a,b} (1.97)	5.25 ^b (1.89)	6.00 ^{a,b} (2.03)

Note. Means in the same row that share the same superscript do not significantly differ at $p < .05$

* Overall F statistic indicates a significant between-group difference at $p < .001$

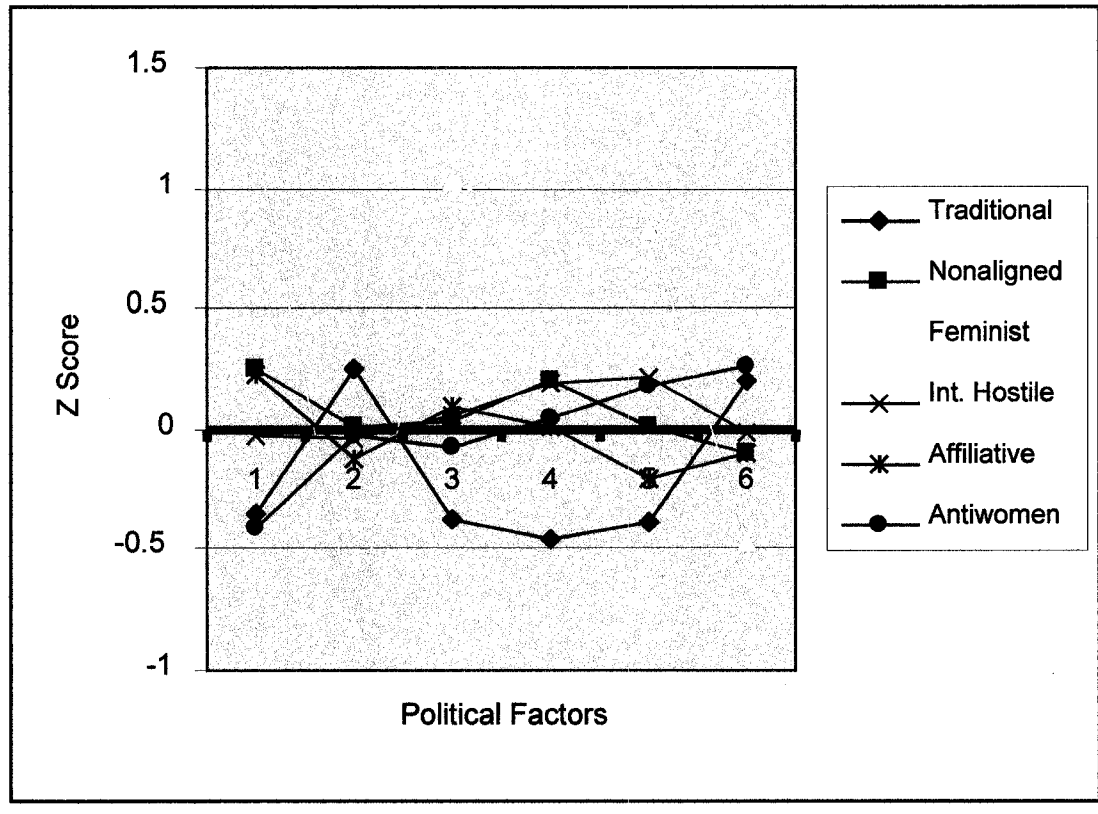
Bold = significantly different from all other groups

most clearly defined and readily interpretable of the clusters. On each of the political factors cluster 3 women scored in the more feminist direction. In each case the differences between cluster 3 and each of the other clusters were statistically significant ($p < .05$). The interpretation of this group of women as Feminists, is supported as these women scored substantially higher than all other groups on participation in collective action, and beliefs that discrimination against women continues to exist, that they receive differential treatment based on gender, that men continue to be sexist, and that gender relations are not stable (for a graphical representation of cross-cluster differences, expressed as Z scores, on the gendered political items see Figure 4. For a graphical representation of cluster profiles separately by political factor see Figure 5). Taken together this pattern of results illustrates the idea that change was viewed as not only necessary but also possible.

The second most clearly illustrated pattern was for women in cluster 1, or the Traditionalist group. Consistent with a traditionalism interpretation, cluster 1 women scored low on collective action, perception of contemporary discrimination against women, and beliefs about men's sexism. Of all of the clusters, this group was also significantly ($p < .01$) less likely to report that they were treated differently because they were women. In addition, cluster 1 women reported the highest overall traditionalism score (though not significantly different from the three clusters [2, 4, 6] that were positioned in the negative attitudes toward women frame). Finally, Traditional women also expressed a belief that gender relations were stable.

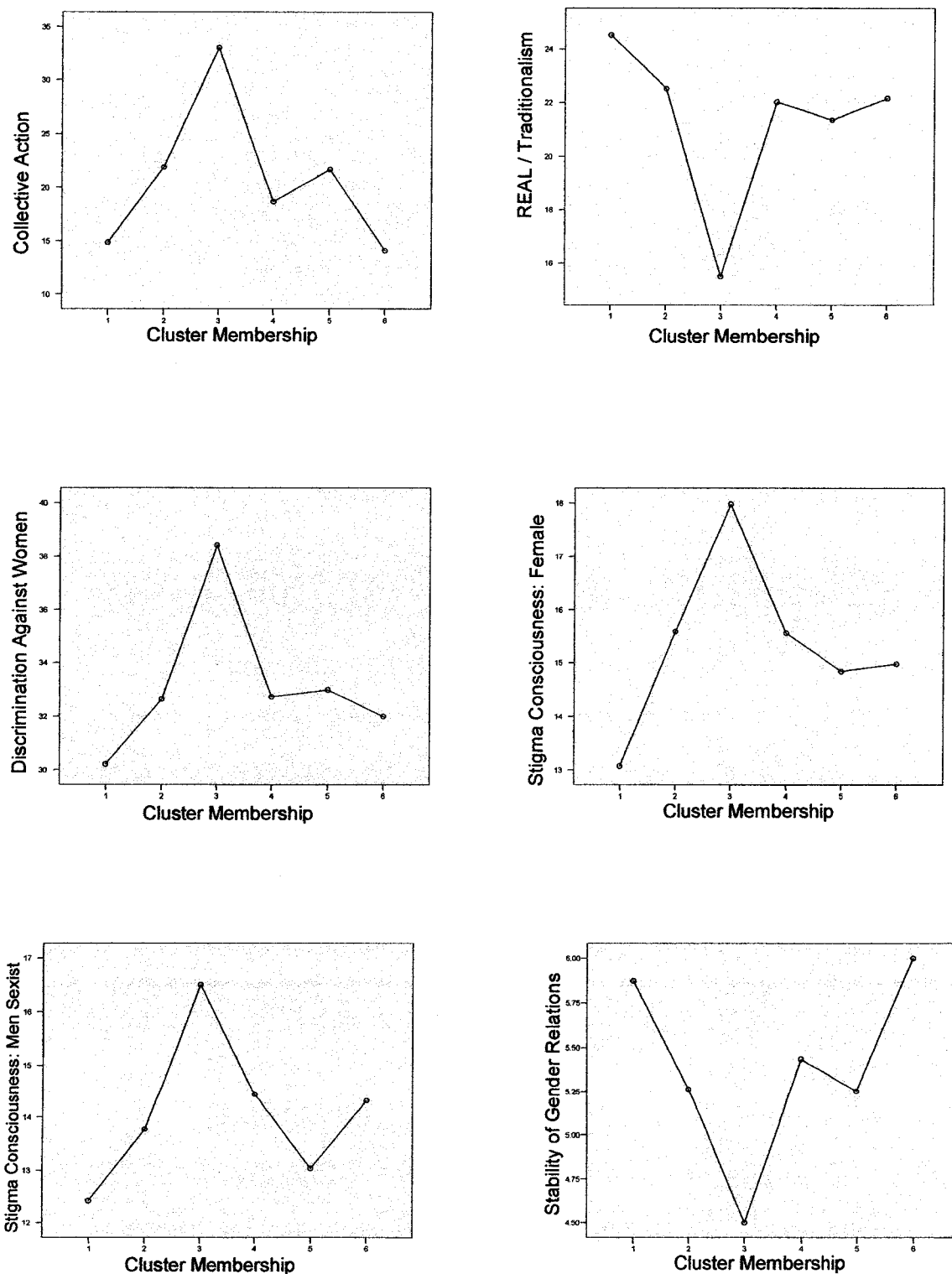
The last cluster that is positioned at an extreme end of the consciousness and the identity continuums is the antiwomen/antifeminist cluster, or cluster 6. Cluster 6 is similar to the traditional cluster on all political measures with the exception of beliefs about being treated differently because of their gender and beliefs about men's level of sexism. Women in this group perceived their treatment to be more affected by their

Figure 4. Graphical representation of cross-cluster differences on the gendered political items.



- 1 = Collective action
- 2 = Traditionalism
- 3 = Perceived gender discrimination
- 4 = Treatment as a woman
- 5 = Men's sexism
- 6 = Stability of gender relations

Figure 5. Cluster profiles by gendered political factors.



gender and believed that men were more sexist than did the traditional women. Coupled with the scores on the social identity factors, this cluster appears to represent a more broadly negative orientation.

Not surprisingly, the clusters that were positioned in the nongendered or politically indifferent categories failed to show extreme patterns on political variables. Cluster 5, the affiliative women, did not significantly differ from cluster 2, on any of the six political factors. Both of these clusters displayed scores that settled in-between the extremes anchored by the feminist and the traditional and antiwomen clusters. But where the affiliative women were significantly less traditional than the antiwomen and the traditional groups, cluster 2 women were not. Also, the affiliative women, while not significantly differing from cluster 2 on their perceptions of men's sexism were also not significantly different from the traditional women who reported the most positive of all clusters.

The fourth cluster, interpreted as representing an interpersonal hostility toward women but lacking a political valence, also displays a considerable amount of overlap with clusters 2 and 5. However, these women exhibit a pattern of dispersion across the six political factors that mimics the pattern exhibited by women in the antiwomen cluster, though appearing overall as a slightly watered down, or less extreme version.

General life factors. One of the goals of this research was to explore the impact of women's level of identification with women on women's lives more generally. To do this, a number of general life factors were selected to be used as validation variables. To test for cross-cluster differences a one-way ANOVA with cluster membership as the factoring variable and the 7 general scales as the outcome variables was conducted. Significant differences ($p < .001$) emerged on 6 of the seven factors (see Table 13 for results). The seventh factor, personal efficacy or control, did not reveal significant ($p >$

Table 13

Mean Cross-Cluster Scores on General Life Factors

Factor	Cluster Membership					
	Traditional	Nonaligned	Feminist	Interpersonal hostility	Affiliative	Antiwomen
	Mean* (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Self-esteem*	22.57 ^a (3.94)	21.63 ^a (3.76)	22.57 ^a (3.84)	21.27 ^{a,b} (3.49)	23.89 (3.31)	19.41 ^b (4.56)
Belief in a just world: personal*	29.64 ^a (4.80)	28.40 ^{a,b} (5.25)	25.73 ^c (5.97)	26.94 ^{b,c} (6.25)	30.51 ^a (4.81)	25.85 ^c (5.44)
Satisfaction with life*	28.39 ^a (7.02)	28.13 ^a (6.83)	28.93 ^{a,b} (7.05)	25.48 ^{a,c} (7.94)	30.76 ^b (5.92)	23.05 ^c (8.01)
Belief in a just world: general*	19.66 ^a (4.49)	18.95 ^a (5.12)	14.73 (5.07)	18.71 ^a (5.17)	18.41 ^a (5.08)	17.87 ^a (4.77)
Spheres of control: sociopolitical*	30.21 ^a (6.11)	31.56 ^{a,b} (6.08)	35.08 ^c (6.61)	31.10 ^{a,d} (6.11)	33.30 ^{b,c,d} (6.25)	30.12 ^a (7.15)
Personal justice orientation*	18.50 ^a (3.10)	20.03 ^b (2.51)	22.02 (2.16)	19.75 ^b (2.73)	20.40 ^b (2.65)	19.23 ^{a,b} (2.97)
Spheres of control: personal	23.19 (2.97)	23.15 (2.92)	22.59 (2.92)	22.93 (3.09)	23.50 (2.80)	22.91 (3.15)

Note. Means in the same row that share the same superscript do not significantly differ at $p < .05$

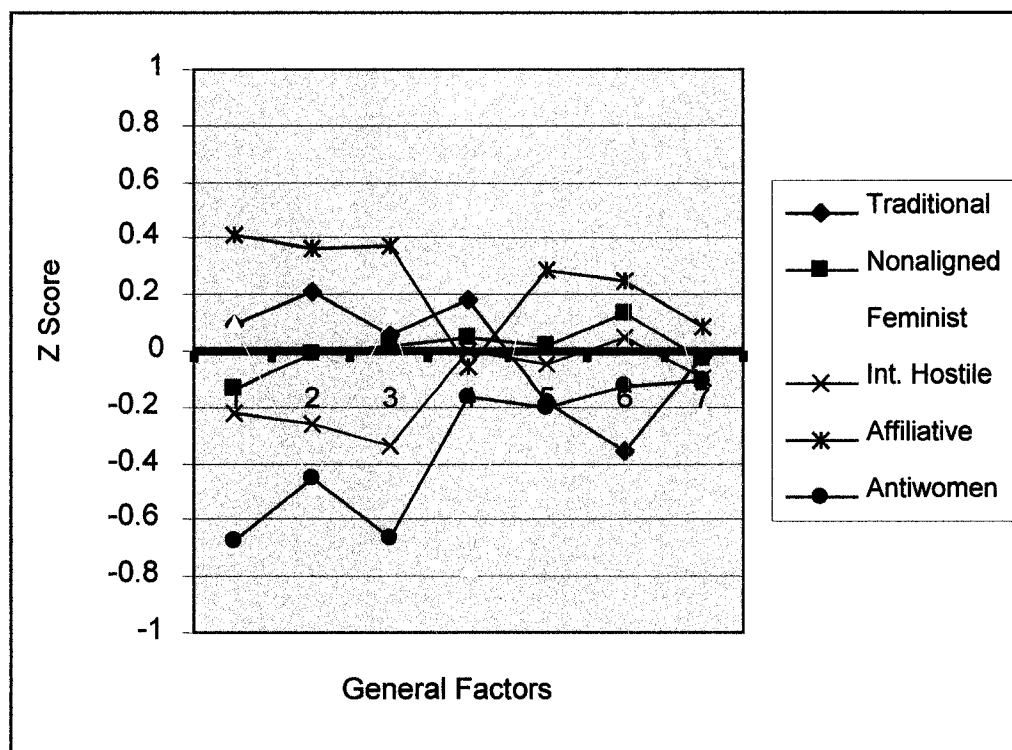
* Overall F statistic indicates a significant between-group difference at $p < .001$; **Bold** = significantly different from all groups

.05) cross-cluster differences and so will not be interpreted further. Post hoc analyses were necessary to determine the source of the between-group differences on the remaining six scales. In all cases the assumption of homogeneity of variance was not met and so Tamhane's T2 post hoc test statistic was used.

Exploration of cross-cluster differences on general life factors is both important and interesting. Understanding the relationships between women's social identity and various life factors can both aid in the interpretation of the profiles, and provide insight into the effect that identification with women has in women's life. Of all of the cluster profiles, cluster 3, the Feminist women, again exhibit the most visually distinct pattern (for a graphical representation of cross-cluster differences, expressed as Z scores, on the general life items, and a graphical representation of cluster profiles separately by general factor see Figures 6 and 7 respectively). Feminist women were significantly less likely to endorse beliefs in a just world, and were significantly more likely to indicate that they had a strong sense of personal justice than all of the other clusters ($p < .001$). This group also scored highest on feelings of sociopolitical control, though they did not significantly differ from affiliative women (cluster 5), and, along with the antiwomen group (cluster 6) feminist women reported the lowest overall belief in a just world on a personal level.

Cluster 5 and cluster 6 women present the next most distinct profiles on the general items. In fact, to some extent the patterns appear to almost contrast each other on the more personal of the general factors. The affiliative women (cluster 5) demonstrate the highest overall scores on self-esteem, a personal belief in a just world, and life satisfaction while the antiwomen group (cluster 6) demonstrate the lowest level of self-esteem and life satisfaction, and the second lowest rating of a personal belief in a just world (less than .5 away from the feminist group who reported the lowest overall score). Among the general items that reflect a more general position (i.e., general belief

Figure 6. Graphical representation of cross-cluster differences on the general life items.



1 = Self-esteem

2 = Belief in a just world: general

3 = Satisfaction with life

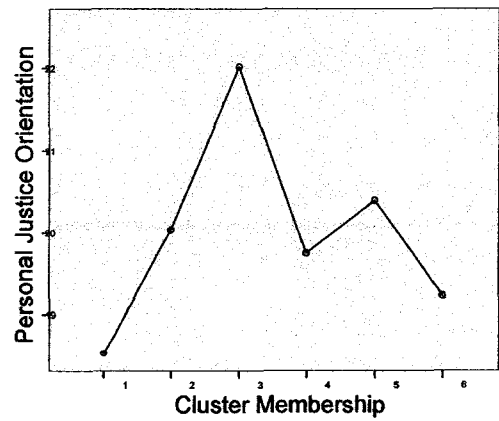
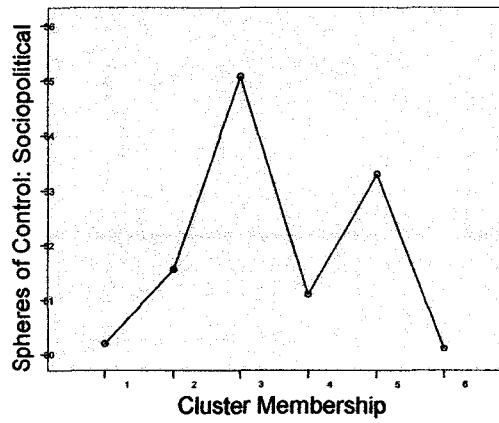
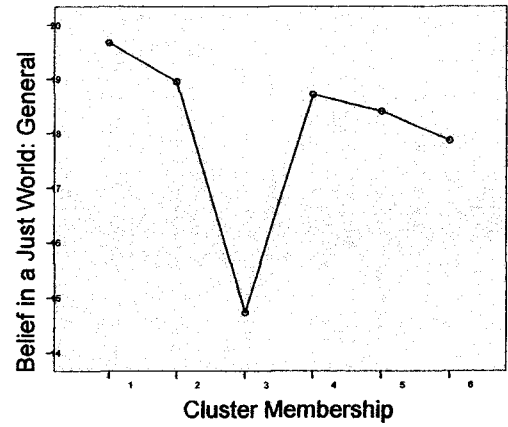
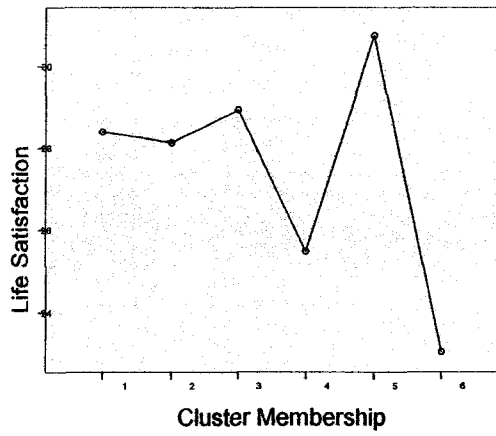
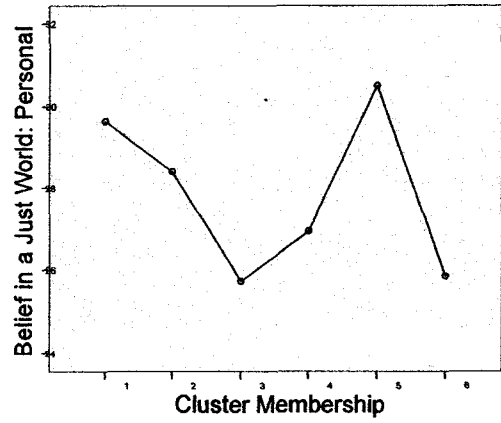
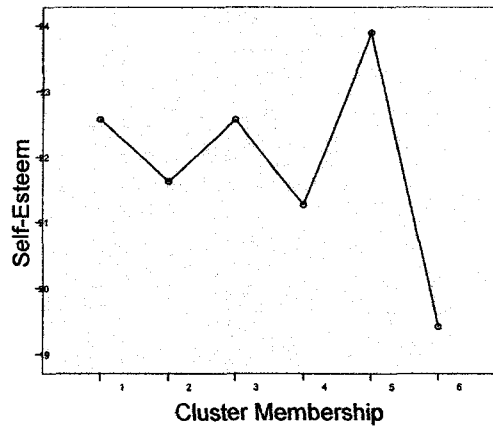
4 = Belief in a just world: personal

5 = Sociopolitical control

6 = Personal justice orientation

7 = Personal control

Figure 7. Cluster profiles by general life items.



in a just world, sense of sociopolitical control, and a personal justice orientation) the two groups only significantly differed on sociopolitical control with affiliative women indicating a stronger sense of control than the antiwomen group.

Though not significantly different from all of the other clusters, the traditional women (cluster 1) exhibit the highest overall general belief in a just world and the lowest overall personal justice orientation, the opposite pattern from feminists. Their level of personal self-esteem and satisfaction with life paralleled that of feminist women while their sense of sociopolitical control paralleled that of the antiwomen group. Finally, as was the case with the other items, clusters 2 and 4 showed a considerable degree of overlap with scores on self-esteem, general belief in a just world, sense of sociopolitical control, and personal justice orientation closely mimicking each other. It was only on personal belief in a just world and satisfaction with life that the two groups somewhat diverged (with the interpersonal hostility toward women group – cluster 4 – exhibiting lower levels of each) but the divergence did not reach statistical significance.

The three single-cluster unique differences (presented in bold in Table 13) were higher levels of self-esteem among the affiliative women, and the lowest general belief in a just world and highest level of personal justice orientation among the feminist women. Overall however, as depicted in Figure 7, distinct profiles emerged across the 6 general life factors despite the considerable overlap.

Additional Analyses

Demographic differences across clusters. For descriptive purposes, following the derivation of clusters cross-cluster demographic differences and similarities were explored. Among the demographic characteristics chosen for exploration were: age, level of education, personal income, and sexual orientation. Analysis of variance was used for continuous outcome measures of age, education, and income and chi square analysis was used for the categorical outcome measure of sexual orientation.

Separate one-way ANOVAs were performed to test for cross-cluster differences on age, education, and personal income. For each of the variables significant cross-cluster differences emerged (age, $F(5, 833) = 4.63, p < .001$; education, $F(5, 835) = 14.13, p < .001$; income, $F(5, 832) = 3.14, p < .01$). The assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated for age and so the Scheffe post hoc test statistic was used to determine where the differences lie. Only one significant cross-cluster difference emerged. Women in the Feminist group were more likely to be older than women in the interpersonal hostility group ($M = 37.82$ yrs, $SD = 11.84$ yrs; and $M = 30.46$ yrs, $SD = 10.77$ yrs respectively). The remaining clusters did not significantly differ from each other. Figure 8 illustrates the age dispersion across clusters. Level of education and personal income both failed to meet the homogeneity of variance assumption and so Tamhane's post hoc analyses were used to examine between-cluster differences. Because both variables were scaled to four levels graphical representation illustrates the cross-cluster patterns nicely (see Figure 9). On level of education, women in the feminist and the affiliative groups reported being significantly ($p < .001$) more educated than women in any of the other groups. Level of personal income reflected a similar pattern, with women in the interpersonal hostility toward women group reporting earning significantly less than both the feminist and the affiliative women ($p < .05$). No other significant between-group differences emerged.

Using Chi square analysis, between-group differences in representation of sexual orientation categories was tested. Sexual orientation was found to be differentially distributed across clusters, $X^2(15, N = 841) = 79.32, p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .18$. The percentages of each category across the groups are illustrated in Table 14. The percent of heterosexual women was highest among cluster 1, or the traditional women (90.8%) and lowest among the feminist women (55.8%). Women who identified as lesbian were

Figure 8. Cross-cluster differences on age.

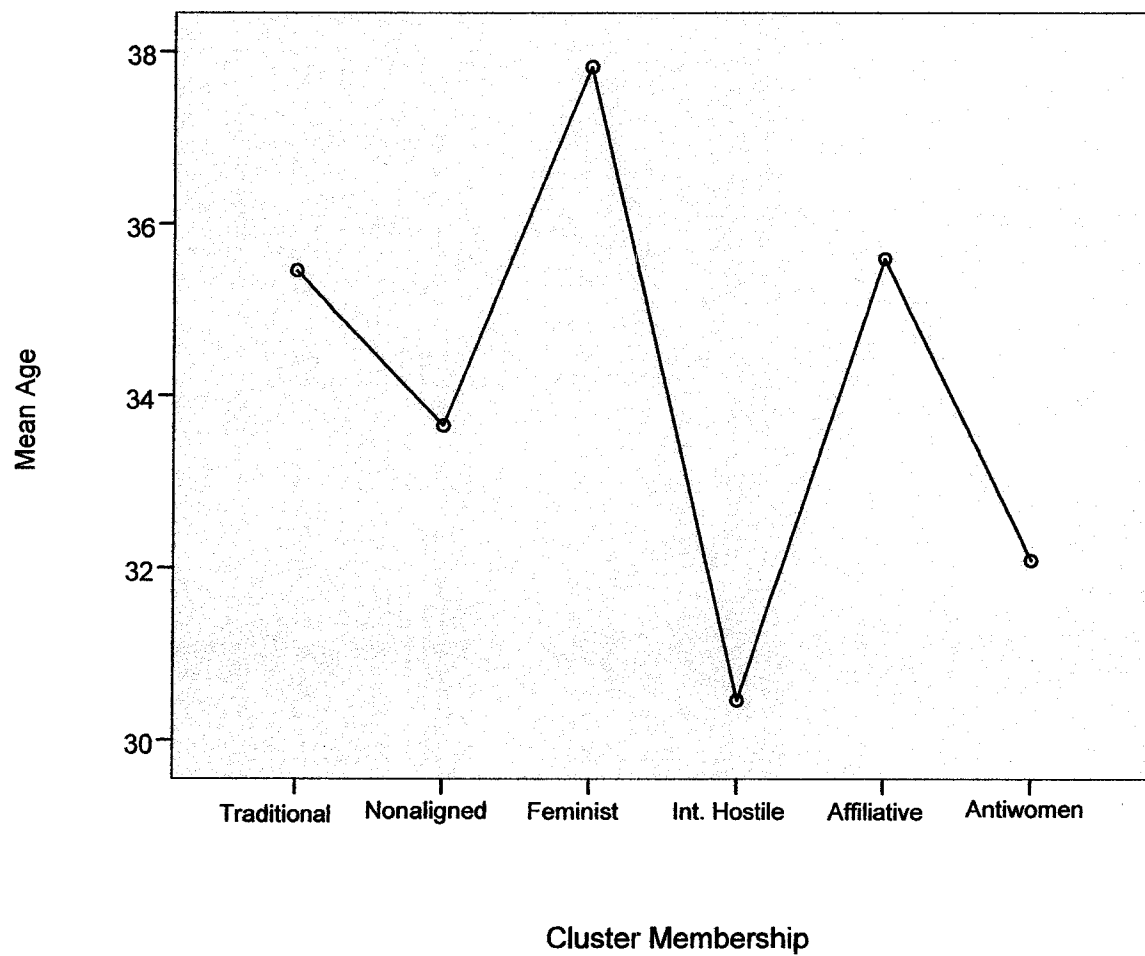


Figure 9. Cross-cluster comparison of level of education and personal income.

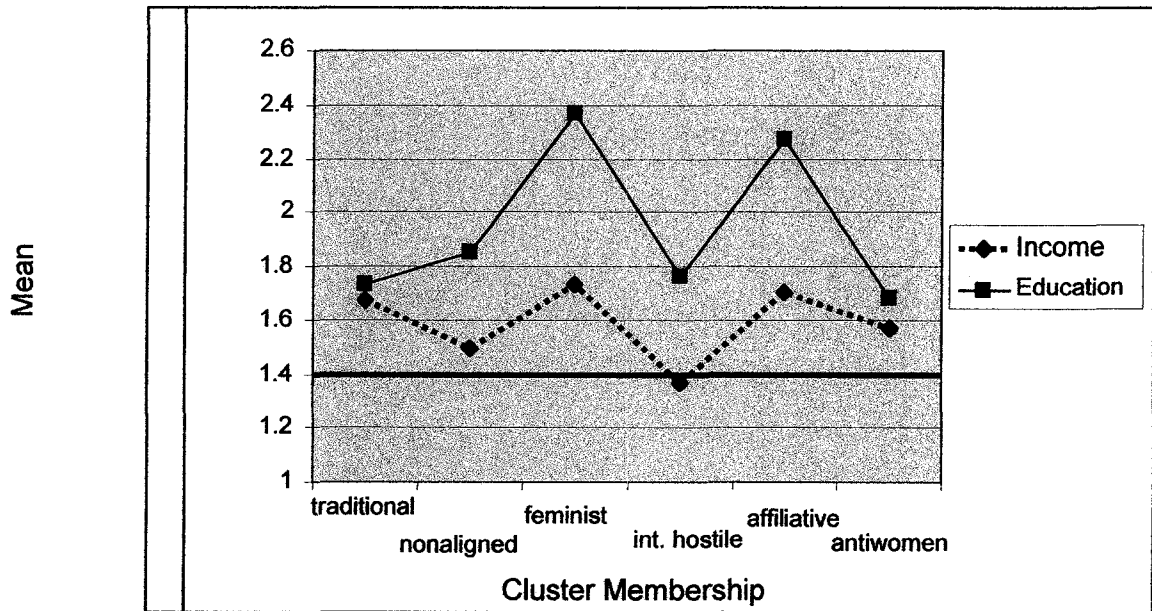


Table 14

Representation of Sexual Orientation Across Clusters

Sexual orientation	Division	Cluster Membership						Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
lesbian	Count	10	26	35	5	13	5	94
	% within sexual orientation	10.6%	27.7%	37.2%	5.3%	13.8%	5.3%	100.0%
	% within cluster	4.6%	14.4%	29.2%	7.5%	7.7%	6.7%	11.4%
bisexual	Count	9	11	15	6	5	13	59
	% within sexual orientation	15.3%	18.6%	25.4%	10.2%	8.5%	22.0%	100.0%
	% within cluster	4.1%	6.1%	12.5%	9.0%	3.0%	17.3%	7.1%
heterosexual	Count	197	138	67	55	146	55	658
	% within sexual orientation	29.9%	21.0%	10.2%	8.4%	22.2%	8.4%	100.0%
	% within cluster	90.8%	76.7%	55.8%	82.1%	86.9%	73.3%	79.6%
not sure	Count	1	5	3	1	4	2	16
	% within sexual orientation	6.3%	31.3%	18.8%	6.3%	25.0%	12.5%	100.0%
	% within cluster	.5%	2.8%	2.5%	1.5%	2.4%	2.7%	1.9%
Total	Count	217	180	120	67	168	75	827
	% within sexual orientation	26.2%	21.8%	14.5%	8.1%	20.3%	9.1%	100.0%
	% within cluster	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

most represented in the feminist group (29.2%) and least represented in the traditional group (4.6%).

Predictors of collective action. Research and theorizing have linked several identity concepts (i.e., self-reported identification with women, degree of power discontent, a sense of common fate, endorsement of individual meritocracy, and collectivism) that can be viewed as working together to create a path to collective action. It seems reasonable to expect that if this were the case then these factors would not only significantly predict women's levels of participation in collective action initiatives but would also vary across clusters in a pattern that reflects the clusters location along the identity and consciousness continuums. To test these assumptions, initial analyses assessing cross-cluster differences on these variables were followed by a test of their predictive ability using multiple regression analyses.

One-way ANOVAs were used to assess cross-cluster differences. Level of identification with women ($F[5, 813], = 86.33$), power discontent ($F[5, 806], = 12.81$), sense of common fate ($F[5, 832] = 43.69$), belief in individual meritocracy ($F[5, 832] = 24.03$), and collectivism ($F[5, 670] = 19.94$) all revealed significant group differences at the $p < .001$ level. Levene's test statistic indicated significant divergence from homogeneity of variance for all factors and so Tamhane's T2 post hoc test statistic was used to assess different patterns across the six clusters. Consistent with expectations, feminist and affiliative women reported the highest level of identification with women and the antifeminist/antiwomen reported levels of identification that were significantly lower than all other clusters. The feminist women also reported the significantly highest level of power discontent and sense of common fate, and the lowest level of endorsement of beliefs in an individual meritocracy. Finally, though not significantly different from the

affiliative women, feminist women scored the highest on collectivism and the antifeminist women scored lowest. Cluster means and standard deviations are reported in Table 15.

To further explore these factors and their influence on collective action a regression analysis was performed using the scores on the five single item measures as predictors and the total Collective Action Scale scores as the criterion. Table 16 displays the results. R for the regression was significantly different from zero ($p < .001$) accounting for 32% of the variance in self-reported levels of participation in collective action. All factors contributed uniquely and significantly to the prediction of collective action (sr^2 ranged from .01 for power discontent to .05 for collectivism). Higher levels of identification with women, power discontent, sense of common fate, and collectivism, and lower levels of belief in an individual meritocracy were associated with increased participation in collective action initiatives.

In addition to identifying with women, feeling discontented with women's level of power, and seeing our social realities as linked, I suggested in the introduction that belief in a just world (along with a belief in individual meritocracy), and the perception of the necessity for and possibility of social change, also may contribute to participation in collective action. To test this more extensive hypothesis four variables were added to the factor list and an additional multiple regression analysis was performed. The general Belief in a Just World (BJW) scale, the Personal Justice Orientation scale (PJO), the Contemporary Gender Discrimination Scale (CGDS), and the Stability of Gender Relations scale were used to tap into these aspects of women's perceptions.

A multiple regression analysis was performed using the scores on the five single item measures and total scores from the BJW scale, the PJO, the CGDS, and the Stability scale as predictors and the total CAS scores as the criterion. This model significantly differed from zero ($p < .001$) and accounted for 40% of the variance in self-reported levels of participation in collective action (see Table 17). The inclusion of these

Table 15

Mean Cross-Cluster Scores on Identification with Women, Power Discontent, Sense of Common Fate, Individual Meritocracy, and Collectivism

Factor	Cluster Membership					
	Traditional	Nonaligned	Feminist	Interpersonal hostility	Affiliative	Antiwomen
	Mean* (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Identification with women*	2.98 ^a (.74)	3.39 ^c (.67)	3.84 ^b (.45)	2.86 ^a (.80)	3.68 ^{bc} (.50)	2.13 (.95)
Power discontent*	2.20 ^a (.44)	2.26 ^{ab} (.49)	2.63 (.52)	2.32 ^{acd} (.53)	2.36 ^{bcd} (.48)	2.31 ^{ad} (.52)
Common fate*	3.72 ^a (1.15)	4.49 ^b (.87)	5.15 (.70)	4.32 ^{bc} (1.00)	4.66 ^b (.77)	3.91 ^{ac} (1.22)
Individual meritocracy*	2.59 ^a (1.18)	2.42 ^a (1.16)	1.39 (.82)	2.48 ^{ab} (1.21)	2.05 ^b (1.10)	2.73 ^a (1.17)
Collectivism*	5.34 ^a (1.89)	6.11 ^b (1.73)	7.09 ^c (1.43)	5.61 ^{ab} (1.68)	6.50 ^{bc} (1.53)	4.80 ^a (1.97)

Note. Means in the same row that share the same superscript do not significantly differ at $p < .05$

* Overall F statistic indicates a significant between-group difference at $p < .001$; **Bold** = significantly different from all groups

Table 16

Standard Multiple Regression of Single Identity Items on Participation in Collective Action

<u>Predictors</u>	<i>B</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>sr</i> ²
Level of identification with women	1.67	.40	.01**
Power discontent	2.69	.67	.01**
Sense of common fate	2.28	.32	.04**
Belief in individual meritocracy	-1.92	.29	.03**
Collectivism	1.59	.19	.05**

$R^2=.32$, Adjusted $R^2=.32$, $R=.57^{**}$

** $p < .001$

Table 17

*Standard Multiple Regression of Single Identity Items and Political Scales on
Participation in Collective Action*

<u>Predictors</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>β</u>	<u>sr^2</u>
Level of identification with women	1.53	.11	.01***
Power discontent	.81	.03	.00
Sense of common fate	1.31	.12	.01***
Belief in individual meritocracy	-.79	-.08	.00**
Collectivism	1.28	.20	.03***
Belief in a just world	-.16	-.07	.00*
Contemporary gender discrimination	.40	.19	.02***
Stability of gender relations	-.16	-.03	.00
Personal justice orientation	.77	.19	.03***

$R^2=.40$, Adjusted $R^2=.40$, $R=.63^{**}$

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

additional factors resulted in significant overlap with power discontent and its unique contribution to the prediction of collective action was eliminated. Stability also did not uniquely contribute to the prediction of collective action. For the remaining factors higher levels of identification with women, sense of common fate, collectivism, personal justice orientation, and beliefs that gender discrimination continues to exist, and lower levels of belief in an individual meritocracy and belief in a just world were associated with increased participation in collective action initiatives. To control for the effects of age and education, this regression analysis was rerun as a hierarchical regression analysis with age and education entered on the first step and the remaining variables entered on the second step. In isolation, age and education significantly accounted for 12% of the variance ($p < .001$) in collective action. Together, the entire model accounted for 42% of the variance. As Table 18 illustrates, the pattern of results across the remaining factors was similar to that when not controlling for age and education with the exception that belief in a just world moved from marginally significant to marginally non-significant ($p = .08$).

Sexual orientation, gendered time, and identification with women. A final remaining contention that requires examination is the idea that women who do not interact with men in intimate ways, or who do so to a minimal extent, may have stronger social identities as women than do women who have more extensive contact. That this statement itself is warranted, and that this may result in differential levels of identification for lesbian and heterosexual women is worthy of investigation. To test this idea three additional analyses were run.

First, to test whether the degree of interaction with men is related to level of identification with women, a regression analysis was conducted. The gendered time scale that incorporated women's estimates of the gendered breakdown of their friend, leisure time, and organizational circles was used as the predictor variable, and the single

Table 18

Standard Multiple Regression of Single Identity Items and Political Scales Controlling for the Effects of Age and Education on Participation in Collective Action

Predictors	B	β	sr^2	R^2	R	$R^2\Delta$
Step 1				.12***	.34	
Age	.22	.22	.04**			
Education	1.46	.20	.05**			
Step 2				.42***	.65	.31
Age	.16	.15	.02***			
Education	.28	.04	.00			
Level of identification with women	1.21	.09	.01***			
Power discontent	.58	.02	.00			
Sense of common fate	1.45	.13	.01***			
Belief in individual meritocracy	-.74	-.08	.00**			
Collectivism	1.30	.20	.03***			
Belief in a just world	-.12	-.05	.00			
Contemporary gender discrimination	.38	.18	.02***			
Stability of gender relations	-.12	-.05	.00			
Personal justice orientation	.63	.16	.02***			

** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$

item level of identification with women was used as the criterion. The analysis indicated a significant association between the two variables with gendered time accounting for 15% of the variance in women's identification with women ($p < .001$). Higher levels of interaction with women were associated with higher levels of self-reported identification with women. Second, a one-way ANOVA was conducted to assess differential levels of identification with women and gendered time across sexual orientation categories. Significant cross-orientation differences emerged on both gendered time ($F[3,949] = 31.81, p < .001$) and identification with women ($F[3, 1160] = 6.09, p < .001$). Post hoc analyses showed that lesbian women reported spending significantly more time with other women than did heterosexual or bisexual women (see Figure 10 for graphical representation of mean gendered time across orientation). Similarly, lesbian women reported higher levels of identification with women than did heterosexual and bisexual women (see Figure 11).

Figure 10. Mean gendered time by sexual orientation.

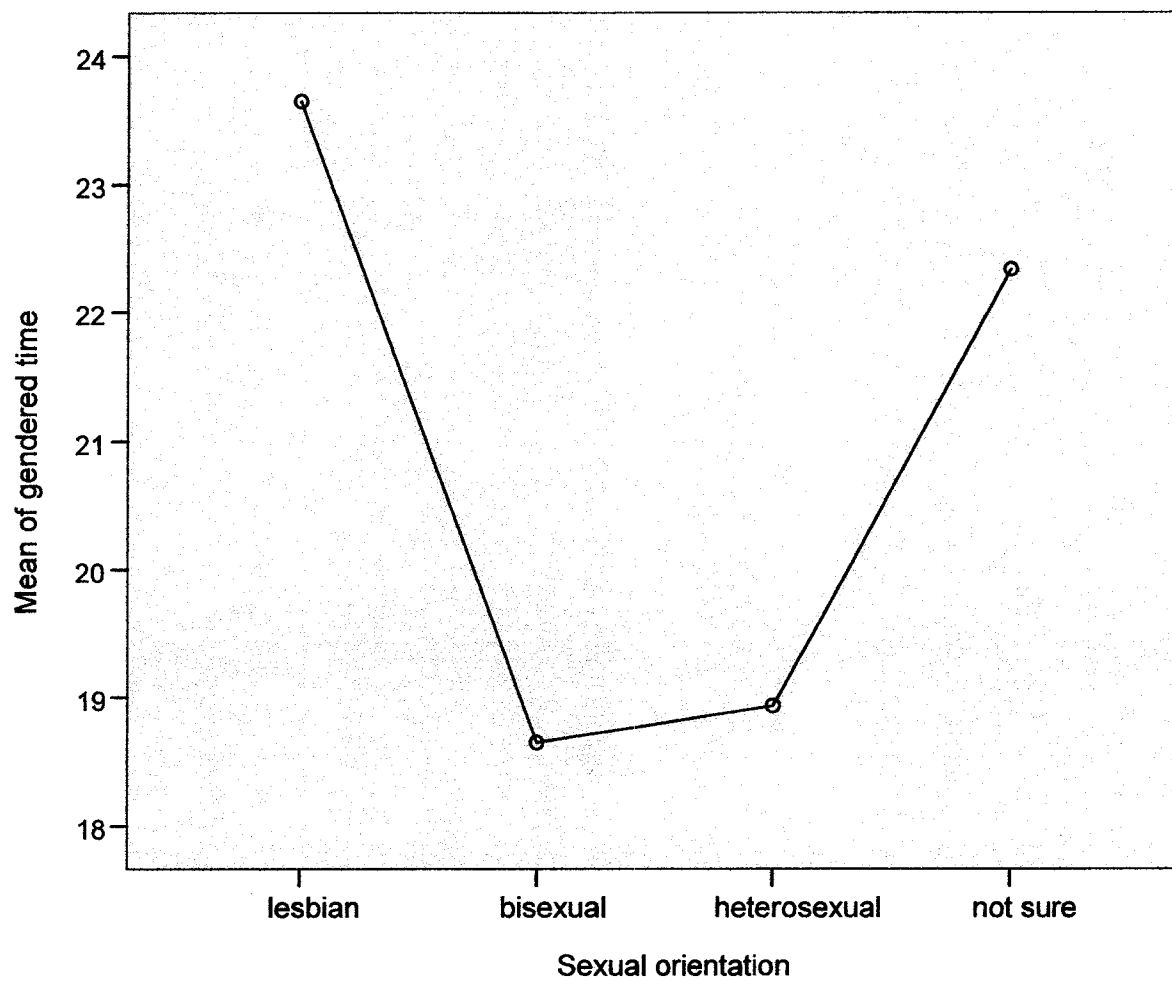
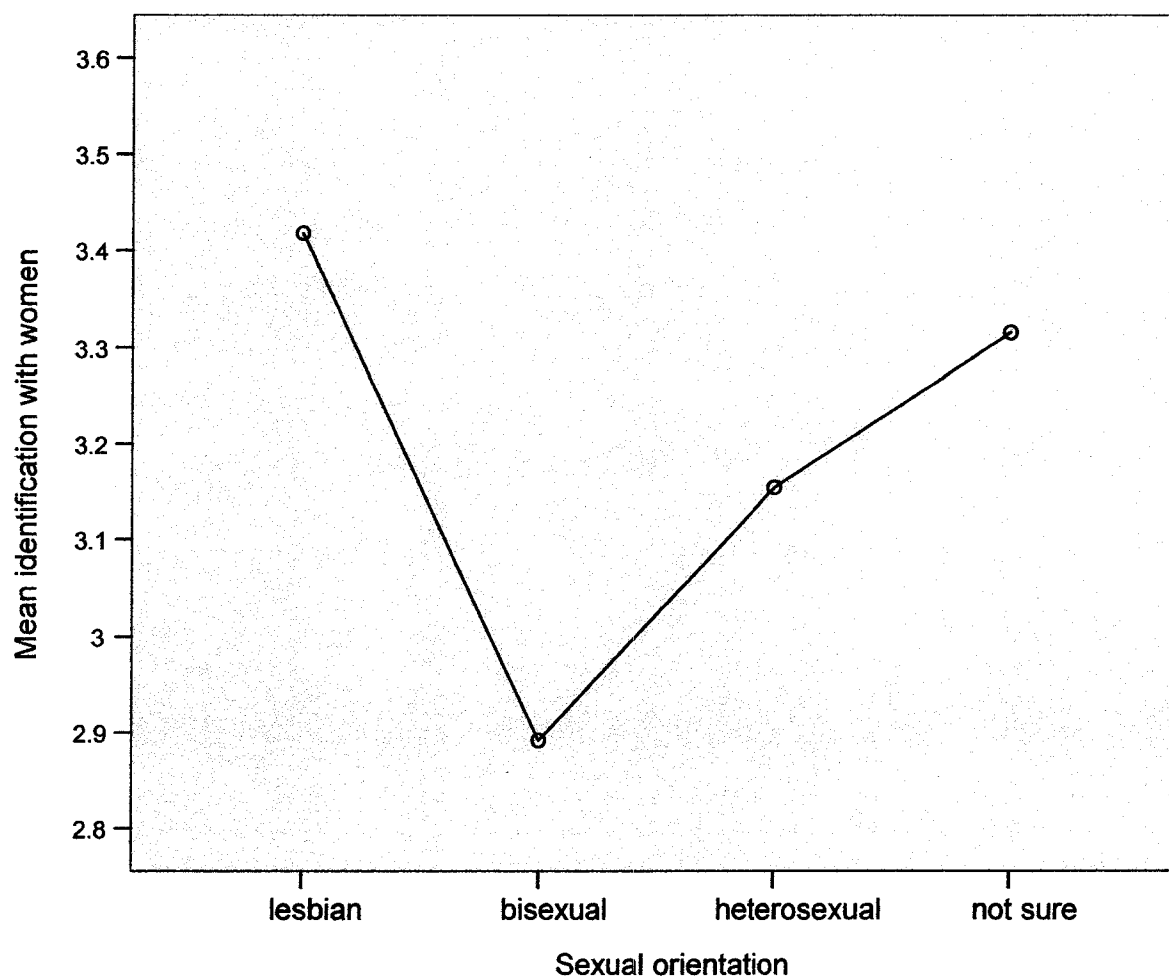


Figure 11. Mean level of identification with women by sexual orientation.



CHAPTER IV

Discussion

The primary objective of this study was to examine different expressions of women's social identity as women in an attempt to disentangle identification with women from identification with feminists or adherence to feminist ideology and to explore how identification with women influences other aspects of our lives. Trying to do justice to the complexities of women's lives, this study acknowledged that not only does political ideology offer avenues other than feminism with which to align oneself, but research on women's social identity also has implications that are not necessarily political. Toward that end, cluster analysis was used to reveal possible patterns in the expression of theoretically diverse aspects of social identity. The rationale behind this approach to the classification of women's social identity was not to force women into stiff and inflexible categories, but to allow for natural variations along several dimensions of social identity.

Interpretation of the existing literature suggested that we may expect to find five broadly defined groups or clusters of women that vary along both identity and consciousness continuums. That is, I anticipated feminist, affiliative, and traditional groupings representing a strong positive identification with women and spanning the consciousness range from feminist to traditional political orientation. I also expected a global antiwomen and an interpersonal hostility toward women grouping representing a negative identification with women and a traditional and indifferent or nongendered political orientation respectively. The results of this cluster analysis appear to strongly support this dual-continuum conceptualization of women's social identity. Six different patterns of expression emerged. Clusters that represented the extreme ends of the identity and the consciousness continuums (i.e., feminist, traditional, and antiwomen profiles) were more clearly defined and readily interpretable than were clusters positioned along the less differentiated points (i.e., interpersonal hostility and nonaligned

profiles). As expected, the clusters exhibited diverse relationships to the political factors included in this study, and displayed different patterns of association with other, more general, life factors. Overall, this dual-continuum approach to understanding women's social identity as multifaceted appears to have potential from both a practical and a theoretical standpoint. The findings validate the contention that social identity as women not only means something different across women, but that conceptualizing identity as varying along both an identity and a consciousness continuum, holds promise to increase our understanding. Thus, movement toward a central goal of this study – to tease apart identification with women from identification with feminists – was accomplished.

In addition to the primary objectives, this study also explored (a) the relationship between identification with women, time spent with women, and sexual orientation, and (b) whether a series of factors (e.g., identification with women, a sense of common fate, one's personal beliefs about society as a meritocracy and the world as just, and the necessity for social change) would act as predictors of collective action. In both areas the results were consistent with expectations. How much time women reported spending with women (rather than men) was positively associated with level of identification with women. Also, lesbian women reported significantly higher levels of both time spent with women and identification with women, than did heterosexual or bisexual women. Exploration of proposed predictors of collective action also yielded multiple significant predictors with models that ranged from predicting 32% to 42% of the variance in self-reported levels of participation in collective action behaviours.

In the sections that follow each major area of contribution is discussed with respect to women's social identity as women and, where applicable, how the findings relate both to participation in collective action initiatives and to women's lives more generally.

Dimensions of Social Identity: Grouping and Re-grouping

From the early work of Patricia Gurin and her colleagues in the 1980s, social identity was acknowledged as being multifaceted. Dimensions beyond a single item measuring self-reported level of identification with women began to appear and concepts such as a sense of ties to women or feelings of connectedness to women, and amount of time women spent thinking about being a woman were incorporated into the concept pool. With time, the range of proposed aspects of identity and subsequent measurement tools grew to include a diverse grouping of factors. Given this range of factors and my intended use of cluster analysis to explore women's social identity, factor analysis played a critical role in determining the dimensions that would produce the most comprehensive, distinct, and non-overlapping snapshot of identity facets. Separation of the concepts of identification with women from identification with feminists or with adherence to feminist ideology was also necessary (Cook, 1989). This need to attend to the complexity of the relationships between identity and consciousness called for consideration of the underlying ideology of our measurement dimensions and factor analysis was used to meet this end.

When one thinks of social identity, especially with respect to gender, many possible manifestations come to mind. From a research perspective, a range of dimensions (e.g., the cognitive centrality of gender, a sense of common fate with women, feelings of group cohesion or ingroup ties, positive feelings about being a woman, and a sense of shared characteristics and experiences with other women, etc.) has played a role in structuring conceptualizations of women's social identity as women. Much of the research has taken a narrow focus and has defined identity in limited ways within studies or in divergent ways across studies. This fracturing is evident across the existing theoretical and empirical work on social identity. Do the existing scales (called by many different names) really measure distinct facets of identity? Across all of the

measurement dimensions different labels may or may not tap into distinct aspects of identity.

From the nearly 20 variously labeled aspects of social identity, factor analysis elicited an eight-factor solution (i.e., attitudes toward women, ingroup ties, centrality of gender, affect about being a woman, time spent with women, a sense of empowerment from interactions with women, the perceived public attitude toward women, and shared experiences with women). Each factor addressed a distinct facet of identity. Many of the subscales and individual items were subsumed into overarching categories reflecting broader dimensions of identity. For example, the factor labeled *ingroup ties*, combined items from Cameron's *ingroup ties* subscale, Reid and Deaux's *comfort with the collective* subscale, and Mael and Tetrick's *shared characteristics* subscale. This type of regrouping forces acknowledgement of issues of nomenclature and redirects our attention to the potential underlying concept into which the grouped items tap. Curiously, some items or dimensions that appeared to have face validity were excluded during the factor analysis process. The items designed to measure sisterhood (e.g., when I talk to other women I frequently feel as if we have a lot in common just by being female), for example, as well as the emotional support function of our interactions and relationships with women (e.g., women provide me with emotional support), were missing from the final ensemble. Rather than concluding that these dimensions are not related to women's social identity, it is more likely that adequate scales were not included in this study. So while this study moved toward increasing the precision of our measurement dimensions, much work needs to be done in the area of scale development to provide a more comprehensive picture of the multifaceted nature of women's social identity as women.

Profiles, Politics, and Women's Lives

Membership in an objective demographic category (like women) does not necessarily translate to similar subjective experiences of group membership across individuals (Unger, 2000). Many factors may influence an individual's experience of gender and their social identity as a member of that demographic category. It is important to consider a range of dimensions and to look at social identity not simply as whether you have it or not (that is, a present versus absent approach) but as a dimension ranging in strength from weak to strong (Huddy, 2001). And if an understanding of commitment and willingness to engage in collective action as a means toward social change is the goal, then it is even more important to discover what factors facilitate movement in that direction (Huddy, 2001). As stated succinctly by Cameron and Lalonde (2001) "if social identity is to provide a relevant account of social change, then the 'content' of such identities must be regarded as a matter of some importance" (p. 74).

What factors influence women's level of identification with women as a group, and how does women's social identity influence other aspects of women's lives? Although no specific predictions were made with respect to the number of clusters, or profiles that would emerge from the data, expressions of women's social identity were expected to vary across both identity and consciousness continuums. This dual-continuum approach to conceptualizing women's social identity implies that some identity factors may be differentially experienced as one traverses not only the identity continuum but also the consciousness continuum. It makes sense that, for example, the cognitive centrality of being a woman would be higher for women who endorse a strong political orientation directed at improving women's status, or advancing women's issues, whereas a political orientation directed more toward other agendas (e.g., endorsement of family or traditional values, or an environmental protection agenda) would be less

centered on one's sense of being a woman. This differential in identity expressions across the consciousness continuum emerged clearly from the profile data.

A yielding of differing patterns of results on both the identity and the political measures incorporated in this study provided evidence of this differential expression. For example, as expected, three profiles fell into the positive identification range and across all three of these profiles the women reported positive attitudes toward women generally, strong feelings of ingroup ties, and positive affect, or feeling good about being a woman. Also consistent, however, is the noted divergence in other identity factors, such as cognitive centrality of gender, behavioural involvement with women, a perceived sense of empowerment through interactions with women, perceptions of society's view of women, and a sense of shared experiences with women. Significant cross-cluster differences also emerged on each of the political factors, thereby providing initial support for the varying role (or lack of) of political influence in women's identification with women.

Previous research has tended to confound identification with women and adherence to feminist ideologies. A dual-continuum approach – or the addition of a consciousness continuum to the conceptualization of women's social identity as women – has proven to be helpful to our ability to tease apart these two identities and to begin to understand the nature of the differential expressions of women's social identity. Cluster positioning at the extremes, or endpoints, of each continuum (i.e., feminist, traditional, and antiwomen/antifeminist profiles) were easily defined, but moderation along both the identity and the consciousness poles muddied the field when interpreting the clusters. For example, cluster 2 women were very difficult to place because they did not line up clearly with any intersection of the two continuums, therefore I labeled this cluster the nonaligned profile. Women exhibiting this profile did not significantly differ from women with an affiliative profile on any of the six political factors, but where the affiliative women demonstrated a strong identification with and connections to women

cluster 2 women did not. Given that this group did not align distinctively along either the identity or the conscious continuums, this label is descriptive. Politically, both groups of women displayed scores that settled in-between the extremes anchored by the feminist and the traditional and antiwomen profiles. This does make sense though, given that the scales used in this study were more focused toward the extremes. That the feminist women were most identifiable also makes sense given the feminist measures were more refined than the traditional measures. In short, it not surprising that the clusters positioned in the nongendered or politically indifferent categories failed to show distinct patterns on political variables.

In addition to exploring the interplay of identity and consciousness dimensions across the profiles, it was also a goal of this study to explore the effect of different expressions of social identity on other, more general life factors. Finding that different profiles were also associated with differences in factors such as self-esteem and satisfaction with life, hints at potential inroads to the fostering of women's sense of well-being. Most notably, the discovery that the affiliative profile related so strongly to positive outcomes, and that the antiwomen profile related so strongly to negative outcomes suggests this aspect of women's lives warrants much further investigation.

In the following section I explore the clusters more fully. To aid in the understanding of the different profiles uncovered in this study I address each cluster separately, drawing together the key components of identity and consciousness that come together to form unique patterns and illustrate differential expressions of women's social identity as women.

Cluster 1: Traditional women. Consistent with expectations, traditional women exhibited positive identification with women and a political or consciousness orientation that was antifeminist or right wing. Women in this cluster, although reporting overall positive attitudes toward women generally, did perceive other women less positively than

did the feminist and the affiliative women. Traditional women also spent less time thinking about gender and the effect that their gender has on their lives, than did any of the other profiles. At first glance, it may appear odd that despite a positive attitude toward, and identity with women, traditional women reported such relatively low levels of centrality of gender. However, focusing on the traditional orientation leads to a different interpretation. If, for example, family values are seen as paramount, these values, identities, or related concerns may supersede thoughts about gender. In this case, we may expect that thinking about gender might be displaced by thinking about other identities or issues that may ring more true or be perceived as more relevant to women with this perspective (e.g., thoughts about family or family values, identities as wives or mothers etc.). Since the focus of the study was on identification with women, I did not explore other identities in a way that would allow for the testing of this proposal. Future research on multiple or coexisting identities that incorporated a consciousness continuum could add to our depth of understanding.

Traditional women also spent less time interacting with other women, and felt more separate from – and less empowered by – their interactions with women than did the feminist and affiliative women. In fact, on each of these identity dimensions women in the traditional group exhibited scores that more closely approximated the scores of the profiles framed by a relatively negative attitude toward women (i.e., the nonaligned, interpersonal hostility, and the antiwomen profiles) than they did to the profiles framed by positive attitudes toward women. A critical stance toward gender relations in society also would not be expected in this group of politically conservative women. The finding that women from this cluster believe that society views women positively, rather than negatively, therefore, supports the interpretation of this profile as reflecting a traditional perspective. Moreover, this positive perspective on society's view of women also falls

into line with Smith's (1999) finding that antifeminist women believed that society held positive views toward women whereas feminist women did not hold this belief.

The pattern of results on the gendered political items is also consistent with a traditionalist interpretation. Traditional women did not believe that discrimination continues to be a problem in today's society, did not believe that they themselves were treated differently because they were women, did not believe that men were sexist, and, perhaps consequently, did not participate in collective action – at least as it was defined in this study. Women exhibiting this profile also reported higher levels of endorsement of traditional values than did women in any of the other clusters. These women did not foresee radical social change with respect to the relations between men and women, and believed that the status quo would (and perhaps, should) remain stable. More broadly speaking, this politically conservative group of predominately heterosexual women (91%) who reported among the highest levels of income across the profiles, not only believed that the world was already just, but, responded as though justice was not necessarily a personally relevant issue. This pattern is opposite from that demonstrated in the feminist profile. Not finding the concept of justice primary to their evaluation of the role of gender in their lives makes sense when superimposed on their view that women are respected and are not discriminated against in today's society and that their own gender has not resulted in negative consequences in their own lives. Also unsurprising is that this traditional group of women comprised the largest proportion of women who identified as heterosexual. Given that right wing perspectives are not conducive to openness about sexuality – especially when it deviates from the norm – sexual minority women are not likely to hold these views. Finally, as did women in the other profiles representing a positive identification with women (i.e., feminist and affiliative women), traditional women had high self-esteem and reported high levels of satisfaction with their lives.

Cluster 2: Nonaligned women. When initially confronted with the pattern of results exhibited by women in this cluster, I found it difficult to interpret and therefore, to place, within this dual-continuum framework. Looking for markedly divergent key areas upon which to stake the interpretation was the source of this difficulty. It was not until being struck with the obvious – that the nature of the dual-continuum framework, by definition would result in groupings that lacked extremes on the majority of dimensions used in this study – that this profile of women made sense. Nonaligned women reported scores that tended to fall into an indifferent, or middle of the road, level on both the identity and the consciousness dimensions, rather than to line up against the extremes. Thus, the label of nonaligned is fitting.

Although relatively this cluster of women reported attitudes toward other women that placed them (along with the interpersonal hostility and the antiwomen profiles) in the negative attitudes toward women frame, their scores were the least negative of the three profiles. Despite this somewhat negative attitude however, women with this profile reported spending time with other women and still expressed the ability to feel empowered by their interactions with women. What this profile lacked was an enduring sense of connection to women through a sense of shared experiences. It may be that in this case it is not hostility toward, or competition with women directly that influenced their attitudes, but rather that they may not see their gender as a marginalized identity around which to define their sense of self or to guide their interactions and experiences. That is, they may view their gender and the effect that gender has on their lives with indifference, and see connections across people without consideration of gender lines.

Politically, nonaligned women were very similar to the affiliative women. These two profiles did not display significant differences across any of the political factors included in this study. In both cases, as a dual-continuum approach would predict, the profiles demonstrated scores that settled in-between the extremes anchored by the

feminist and the traditional and antiwomen clusters (the three defined corners in Table 1 depicting potential expressions of women's social identity). One difference that did emerge on the general life measures though was the traditionalism scores, or endorsement of traditional values. That is, where the affiliative women were significantly less traditional than the antiwomen and the traditional groups, the nonaligned women were not.

Women exhibiting a nonaligned profile did, to a moderate extent, believe that discrimination against women continues to exist in today's society, that some men continued to be sexist or act in sexist ways, and that they themselves were sometimes treated differently based on their gender. This did not, however, motivate them to collective action. Overall, women in the nonaligned profile reported reasonably high levels of self-esteem and were generally satisfied with their lives.

Demographically, these women represented the second most diverse range of sexual identities of all the profiles with 14% of the group identifying as lesbians, 6% identifying as bisexual, and 77% as heterosexual. Nonaligned women reported lower levels of education than the feminist and the affiliative profiles but marginally higher levels than remaining groups.

Cluster 3: Feminist women. Based on prior research one expression of women's social identity was expected to reflect scores consistent with a feminist orientation. This emerged clearly from the data. Feminist women reported that they liked other women and felt both connected to them and empowered by their interactions and relationships with them. Of all the groups, women exhibiting the feminist profile felt most positively toward other women and toward the fact that they were women, reporting that they often thought about being a woman and about what gender means in their lives. Women in this group spent much of their time interacting with women and felt as though they shared many experiences with other women. One key separator of this profile from the

other profiles is the way that these women perceived society's view of women. Women in this group clearly felt that women, as a group, were not perceived by others as being as effective as men, and were also not as generally respected as were men. This recognition that society does not always view women in positive ways is consistent with a feminist perspective of women. In addition, this finding is consistent with that reported by Smith (1999) of a divergence of opinion on perceptions of society's view of women between antifeminists and feminists, with antifeminists believing that women were positively viewed and feminists believing that women were negatively viewed.

Politically, this profile stands out as the most clearly defined and readily interpretable of the clusters. On each of the political factors women in this group scored in the more feminist direction, and in each case the feminist women statistically differed from each of the remaining clusters. These women believe that discrimination against women continues to exist, that they themselves receive differential treatment because they are women and that men continue to be sexist. They also believe however, that social change is possible and, perhaps accordingly, report the highest levels of participation in collective action initiatives.

The ideological pathway to collective action outlined in the introduction, assumed not only the necessity of a perceived reason to act collectively toward some goal, and the actual possibility of social change, but also a fundamental or underlying belief that our society – as it is – is not just. Holding up this line of reasoning, and offering additional support for the interpretation of this profile as feminist, women in this group were the least likely of all the profiles to endorse beliefs in a just world. They were also most likely to indicate that they had a strong sense of personal justice, and believed that individuals have sociopolitical control within their environments, and the power to effect change.

Demographically, this profile was similar to the other profiles with a few exceptions. Women in this group were older on average than were women in cluster 4 (the interpersonal hostility group; $M = 38$ yrs, vs. 30 yrs. respectively). And, along with women in the affiliative group, feminist women were the most educated. The greatest range of sexual identity diversity was evident in this group with the percentage of heterosexual women being the lowest (56%) and the percentage of lesbian women being the highest (29%).

Cluster 4: Interpersonal hostility women. Women in the interpersonal hostility group expressed negative attitudes toward women and distanced themselves from women both in the sense of not feeling connected to other women and in not spending time with other women. When they did interact with women, the interactions did not leave this group with a sense of empowerment. Politically, this profile hovered close to the mid-range relative to the other clusters, failing to distinguish itself on any of the factors included in this study. Together, these findings suggest that this group fits with the interpersonal hostility toward women position outlined in Table 1 (potential expressions of women's social identity). That is, cluster 4 women appear to exhibit a negative identification with women accompanied by a lack of, or nongendered, political or consciousness direction.

Failing to positively identify with women, Gloria Cowan and her colleagues (1998) note, creates barriers between women and effectively suppresses the likelihood of the development of joint efforts directed toward attaining equality. This study provides evidence for this contention in that women in the interpersonal hostility profile demonstrated low levels of reporting of participation in collective action despite the acknowledgement that discrimination does exist and that they themselves were sometimes treated differently because they were women. One consequence of this lack of positive identification with women, Cowen et al., suggest, is that it can also create

circumstances where women are working against other women, competing, rather than collaborating. The interpersonal hostility cluster displayed the youngest average age of all of the clusters of women. And although competition between women can exist across the lifespan, this finding in itself suggests that, on average, women in this group may be at life stages where they find themselves competing more frequently with other women both for potential mates and in terms of competition in the job market and career advancement goals. Interpersonal hostility toward women, if severe enough, may also have worrisome implications for women's health-seeking behaviour. With exaggerated negative attitudes toward women, the sense of trust may be undermined and women falling into this category may resist going to women-headed or operated organizations (e.g., sexual assault crisis centers) or women-focused healthcare services (e.g., mammography clinics) for help. Before drawing any conclusions however, this contention would need to be tested in future research. In my theorizing about the potential expressions of women's social identity within a dual-continuum framework, I expected that two clusters representing a lack of positive identification or a negative identification with women would fall out of the data. In the interpersonal hostility profile the hostility directed toward women (unlike that of cluster 6 – the antiwomen profile) appears to lack a political valence, and so provides evidence for the nature of the hostility as interpersonal rather than as a politically motivated stance positioning oneself against feminists or against women. Women in the interpersonal hostility group exhibit a pattern of dispersion across the six political factors that mimics the pattern exhibited by women in the antiwomen cluster (cluster 6), but lacking the intensity and the political overtones.

On the general life dimensions women in the interpersonal hostility group displayed a considerable degree of overlap with women in the other mid-continuum profile (cluster 2: nonaligned women) with scores on self-esteem, general belief in a just

world, sense of sociopolitical control, and personal justice orientation nearly duplicating each other. It was only on personal belief in a just world and satisfaction with life that the two groups somewhat diverged with the interpersonal hostility toward women group (cluster 4) exhibiting lower levels of each.

Demographically, women in this youngest group reported the lowest level of income across all profiles. In addition, the interpersonal hostility profile comprised the second largest proportion of heterosexual identification (82% -- second only to the traditional group) with nearly equal representation of lesbian (8%) and bisexual (9%) women.

Cluster 5: Affiliative women. Like the feminist women, women exhibiting the affiliative profile had positive attitudes toward other women and felt good about being women. Women in this group also thought about the role of gender in their own lives but not to the same extent as did feminist women. Where the affiliative women depart most radically from the feminist women is in their perceptions of how society views women. Where feminist women felt as though society devalued women, affiliative women did not. In fact, affiliative women reported the most positive beliefs about the public perception of women of all of the clusters. Also, where I originally thought that the affiliative women spending less time with women than the feminist women muddied the interpretation of this group as affiliative, closer examination of the actual difference in the mean scores (20 vs. 24 for affiliative and feminist women respectively) on a factor that had an overall possible range of 6 – 31 suggests that in practical terms this difference may not be meaningful. Moreover, higher scores among the feminist group may also be, at least partially, attributable to time spent interacting with women in a political group context – something that may not occur at the same rate for affiliative women.

Politically, the affiliative women showed a lot of similarity to the nonaligned women (cluster 2). These two groups did not differ on any of the six gendered political

factors, with both clusters displaying scores that settled in-between the extremes anchored by the feminist and the traditional and antiwomen clusters. Affiliative women believed that discrimination against women still exists, that some men are still sexist, and that they were sometimes treated differently based on their gender. And also like the nonaligned women, these beliefs did not result in high levels of participation in collective action.

On the general items an interesting pattern of results emerged. Affiliative women reported the highest levels of self-esteem, the highest level of satisfaction with their lives, and believed that, at least with respect to their own treatment, the world was just. Aside from the illustration of this most positive outlook, what is interesting about these findings is that this pattern is nearly the direct opposite from the pattern illustrated by women in the antiwomen/antifeminist profile (cluster 6), who exhibited the most globally negative pattern.

Falling squarely in between the traditional and the feminist profiles on the identity continuum, the affiliative women appear to connect strongly with women, and to thrive from these apparent nonpolitically motivated connections. Although determining the nature of these connections beyond the identity dimensions included in this study is not possible, this finding does support the contention that for some women, social identity may operate outside of politics and a sense of connectedness with women can be valued in its own right for the depth and the richness that it adds to women's lives.

Recent work by Zucker (2004) supports the interpretation of affiliative women as representing a middle ground between feminist and traditional women, and complements the dual-continuum approach to understanding women's social identity presented here. In her work Zucker categorized women as either feminist, egalitarian, or nonfeminist, based on their acceptance or rejection of the feminist label and their reported adherence to *cardinal beliefs of feminists* (i.e., that girls/women have not been

treated as well as men in our society; that men and women should be paid equally for the same work; and that women's unpaid work should be more socially valued). Endorsement of the beliefs without self-labeling as a feminist resulted in categorization as *egalitarian*. Egalitarian women scored in between the scores of the feminists and the nonfeminists on measures of feminist consciousness. This was also the case for the affiliative women in this study. So, while the connections to women demonstrated by the affiliative group may well be apolitical, we must also acknowledge that failing to emerge as feminists also does not rule out the possibility that these women, who do report believing in collective action as a method of social change, align themselves with a different political agenda not included in this study.

There is a long-standing positive association between endorsement of liberal values and level of education. And, as was the case within the feminist profile, the affiliative profile also exhibited these comparatively high levels of education. When assessing income, the traditional women joined the feminist and affiliative women as the highest self-reported levels of income across the profiles. Although no measure of social class per se was included in this study, combining the average levels of both income and education across all of the clusters suggests that at least some of the variability is associated with these factors. Education and income however, were not included among the cluster variates and so this logical and empirically expected finding works to bolster the validity of the clustering solution from yet another angle. This is especially confirming when it is noted that the higher levels of income reported by women in the traditional cluster were not backed by a higher level of education as was the case in both the feminist and the affiliative profiles. This suggests that perhaps the economic privilege associated with traditional women may stem from advantages of their social positioning (e.g., family, associates etc.) rather than from academic achievement. Somewhat less variability in sexual identity was noted within the affiliative profile, as compared to the

other profiles. Next to the traditional women, women in this profile were the most homogeneous with 87% of the group reporting a heterosexual identity.

Cluster 6: Antiwomen women. Cluster 6 clearly represents a negative profile across all eight social identity factors. Consistent with the initial potential range of expressions of women's social identity outlined in Table 1 in the introduction, this cluster of women appears to embody the antiwomen/antifeminist perspective. Women in this group had the most negative attitudes toward women, and felt least tied to women as a group and most discontented with being a woman. Additionally, these women indicated that they felt neither a sense of empowerment from their interactions with women nor a sense of shared experiences with other women.

Politically, the antiwomen cluster is positioned at an extreme end of the consciousness (traditional or antifeminist) and the identity (negative identification with women) continuums. Women in this group are similar to the traditional women on all political measures with the exception of beliefs about being treated differently because of their gender and beliefs about men's level of sexism. Women fitting within the antiwomen profile perceived their treatment to be more affected by their gender and believed that men were more sexist than did the traditional women. They did not however, endorse collective action as a response to social or gender inequality. Coupled with the scores on the social identity factors, this profile appears to represent a broadly negative, perhaps even misanthropic, orientation.

This overall negative outlook may have influenced other factors measured in this study as this profile fares more poorly than any of the other profiles on general life items as well, including indicators of general well-being. The antiwomen women do not identify with other women, and demonstrate the lowest level of self-esteem and life satisfaction of all the profiles. These women also believe that they personally, are treated unfairly in this world.

Using Social Identity Theory to investigate women's hostility toward women, Gloria Cowan and her colleagues (1998) suggest that low levels of collective identity as women may underlie women's level of hostility toward women. Hostility toward women, they suggest, may be borne out of low collective identity which may lead to women seeing themselves as separate from other women thus "distancing themselves from that group" (p. 270). Or, alternatively they suggest, hostility toward women may prevent identification with the group. Either way, be it that a lack of identification with women leads to subsequent hostility toward women, or that preexisting hostility toward women blocks the identification process, taken together the pattern of results for women in the antiwomen profile appear to support the contention that collective identity as women and hostility toward women are linked. Moreover, it appears that the negative associations of hostility toward women have important implications for other aspects of women's lives.

Whether a broadly negative perspective with respect to gender and gender issues as is illustrated in this antiwomen profile, or a more circumscribed negative perspective as is the case for the interpersonal hostility profile, negative attitudes toward one's gender group, or the distancing of women from each other does serve some purpose – albeit not a desirable one. As succinctly put by Krueger and Stanke (2001) in reference to this pitting of women against each other and the posturing of other women as rivals, "Women divided and at each other's throat: the best strategy that patriarchy has ever invented..." (p. 60).

Women in this profile are on average second youngest of all of the profiles (with only the interpersonal hostility group being younger). The pattern of sexual identity also differs markedly within the antiwomen group. Although predominately heterosexual (73%), this group comprised, by far, the highest percentage of women who identify as bisexual (17.3%), and only the traditional profile had fewer lesbians (5%) than the antiwomen profile (7%). Women in this group were the least educated and, along with

the two clusters framed by a relatively negative attitude toward women (the nonaligned and the interpersonal hostility profiles), reported the lowest levels of income.

Practical and Theoretical Implications of a Dual-Continuum Approach to Understanding Women's Social Identity

Each of the major areas of evolution of research on women's social identity as women (identification as multifaceted, the linking of identity with consciousness, the ties that bind women together and the movement from identity to collective action) developed from the threads of the original work by Patricia Gurin and her colleagues, particularly with respect to the conceptualization of identity as multifaceted. The multifaceted nature of social identity and early acknowledgement of the confounding of identification with women and identification with, or as, a feminist did not, however, result in a corresponding empirical exploration of this issue. Both of these points were catalysts of my dual-continuum approach to understanding women's social identity as women.

In theory, a dual-continuum structure with opposing positions radiating out from indifferent center points on each of two continuums (an identity continuum: negative identity → indifferent → positive identity; and a consciousness continuum: feminist consciousness → apolitical/nongendered → traditional/antifeminist consciousness) results in a three by three table with nine potential expressions of women's social identity. In practice, I realize that these are artificially imposed divisions which are far more confining and rigid than our experiences would conform to, but however constrained, it does provide a jumping off point from which to expand our conceptualization of women's social identity. When speculating about how these expressions might manifest in women, I expected to find at least five broadly defined groups or clusters of women that varied along both identity and consciousness facets. This study provided evidence to support this way of conceptualizing women's social identity. Women did, for example, highly identify with their gender group while

simultaneously exhibiting a range of political expressions. As expected, the three areas that focused on positive identification with women appeared quite strongly in the data. The two expressions tied to negative identification with women also emerged. Differences in level of distinction were noted based on the intersection of the two continuums with locations on the tails (the three corners identified in Table 1 in this case) producing more distinct patterns on the identity and the political factors than intersections positioned in the nongendered or indifferent positions.

Two issues are worth exploring here. Given the nature of the measurement instruments included in this study I cannot make conclusions about participants' politics globally, or even within a fuller range of gendered politics, but only about their politics with respect to gender as framed from an antifeminist to a feminist perspective. That is to say that women who did not endorse the perspectives presented here may be politically aligned, and politically active, but in venues or on issues not explored in this study (e.g., right wing agendas). This work does allow for conclusions about endorsement of both traditional and feminist beliefs, but only allows for expression of collective action that would be considered feminist. Future research should include measures that reflect a broader range of actionable issues on which to base conclusions on participation in gender-based collective action. Movement toward a more comprehensive understanding of the range of gendered politics is a crucial next step in research on women's social identity as women. Second, expansion of the dimensions of political ideologies, while not the focus of this research, would also enrich this area of study. For example, identities other than gender may be more prominent for some women. Tapping more fully into individual tendencies toward endorsement of political agendas of any variety would also help inform this work. For example, some women may be committed to political perspectives regarding issues such as race, disability, or

environmental concerns, while others may not engage politically at all or their views may be definable only as context-driven or issue based.

Even given the practical and theoretical limitations, this dual-continuum approach to thinking about women's social identity holds promise. Although requiring that we remain mindful not to extend our conclusions about women's gendered consciousness (or political consciousness in general for that matter) beyond that which is justifiable given the measures included here, this approach provides a solid foundation for future research – particularly with respect to the disentangling of identification with women from identification with feminists.

Although this research was exploratory, rather than formally grounded in the testing of a particular theory of social identity, addressing briefly the aspects of this work that can speak at some level to prior theoretical work is prudent. Given that the primary theory referenced in the research on women's social identity is Social Identity Theory (SIT) I will focus my comments in this area.

A core assumption of SIT is that people want to feel good about who they are and about the groups to which they belong (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). By any one of several methods outlined in SIT people are believed to strive to achieve a positive social identity. A positive social identity is believed to have positive implications for people's lives. This theory provides useful grounding in the concept of levels of identification, but as pointed out by Hornsey and Hogg (2000) SIT has not incorporated the finer gradations that exist within social identity groups. As illustrated in this study, for example, women may identify at different levels across the identity continuum. So women may see themselves as women first and foremost, or they may make finer distinctions based on some other of their realities or identities (e.g., women of colour, feminist women, lesbian women, disabled women, mothers, etc.). Also problematic within the social identity work, as Condor (1989) suggested early on in the identity

research, is research that attempts to squeeze people into categories of “high” or “low” group identifiers. This conflicts with the premise that social identity is flexible rather than simply something that individuals “have” as a static reference point to self (Condor, 1989). So when addressing social identity, rather than focusing on *how much*, Condor argues, research should focus on “in what way it is manifested” (Condor, 1989, p.25). A dual-continuum approach to exploring women’s social identity as women, while not yet integrating the importance of context, does acknowledge and attempt to provide a framework for addressing these issues.

Flowing naturally from the tenets of SIT, much of the early work assumed the position that following recognition of women’s subordinate status a desire for social change was necessary. And while helpful in understanding the dynamics involved in moving an individual (and group) from identity to action, this assumption does not increase our understanding of identity that is not politically underscored. Acknowledgement that identity can serve purposes beyond driving a political agenda, and this subsequent attempt to create a structure that allows for exploring this contention, helps to round out our understanding of the complexity of social identity and of women’s lives.

Beyond the obvious political implications of research on women’s social identity, evidence from this study also supports the contention that social identity as women influences other areas of women’s lives. Different expressions of social identity were associated with differences across many of the general life factors and our relationships with (and to) women were shown to have the potential to shape our general sense of well-being.

Similar to the findings of Gloria Cowan and her colleagues (1998), for women in this study, a positive association was shown to exist between levels of identification with women and levels of both self-esteem and life satisfaction. That is, women who reported

more positive identification with women also reported higher overall levels of self-esteem and satisfaction with life. For example, the affiliative profile (partially defined by low levels of hostility toward, and high levels of positive attitudes toward, women) related strongly to positive outcome with respect to self-esteem and life satisfaction, whereas the antiwomen/antifeminist profile (partially defined by high levels of hostility toward, and high levels of negative attitudes toward, women) related strongly to negative outcome on these factors. Framed in a more overtly gendered consciousness perspective, Smith's (1999) work on women's collective self-esteem suggested that rather than a feminist identity exclusively, it was a clearly articulated political position regardless of the political direction (rather than the position itself; antifeminist/feminist in her study), that related to higher levels of collective self-esteem. Both feminist and antifeminist women in her study reported higher levels of gender collective self-esteem and felt like more *worthy* members of their gender group than did those women who did not align with either position but hovered in between. Depending on the interpretation of Smith's *antifeminist* position the findings of this study can either support or contradict this finding. If we equate the antifeminist position referred to in Smith with the traditional profile in this study then this study supports Smith's contention. However, if we equate Smith's antifeminist position with the antiwomen/antifeminist profile in this study, then this study does not support her findings. The question rests on the valance of the antifeminist position. As noted in this study, there are different expressions of an antifeminist political orientation. But, given the positive self-esteem and group membership outcome in Smith's antifeminist group, it seems likely that a traditional perspective was probably represented in her sample. Nonetheless, Smith's finding of lower levels of collective self-esteem among women who fell in the middle range of the feminist/antifeminist continuum (like the nonaligned women in this study) reinforces – albeit in an indirect way – the validity of the assertion that both gender identity and gendered consciousness

exist along a continuum. At the very least the finding of such clear links between women's social identity and general well-being measures in the most diametrically opposed profile positions uncovered in this study, suggests that this aspect of women's lives warrants much further investigation.

In a somewhat counterintuitive finding, one's sense of personal efficacy did not fluctuate significantly across the different profiles of women. Contrary to that reported in Cowan et al., (1998), this study did not find a link between personal efficacy and collective action, at least not in the context of cross-cluster differences. This is surprising given that reported levels of participation in collective action (a variable that has been previously linked with a sense of personal efficacy as well as sociopolitical efficacy), and levels of perceived sociopolitical control did reveal significant cross-cluster differences. A closer look at the scores on the personal efficacy measure suggests that rather than revealing a true lack of difference in personal efficacy this result may indicate problems with the scale itself. For example, the cross-clusters scores on this measure inched toward the maximum allowed range (with all clusters reporting scores at approximately 23 out of a possible 28) and exhibited much less cross-cluster variability than was evident on the equivalent sociopolitical control measure. Problems may have existed with this scale, or with item overlap as only 4 of the original 10 items survived the factor analysis process. Regardless of the source of inability to differentiate between clusters, for sure there is not enough evidence to change our thinking about the role of personal efficacy in collective action, and by extension, in different expressions of women's social identity as women.

Finally, although maybe not immediately apparent, this research may have implications for clinical psychologists. For clinicians working with women and with issues such as gender and feminist consciousness, information that allows for the framing of women's social identity as a positioning of women along an identity and a consciousness

continuum provides a context with which to aid understanding and guide approaches to the fostering of women's mental health. What is a clinician (particularly one that is not feminist or motivated to acknowledge a feminist perspective) to do when considering sociopolitical identities with the recognition that research has suggested both that feminist identity can foster a sense of well-being through helping women "make sense of the world" and, conversely, can result in women "feeling isolated and deviant" in a *postfeminist culture* (Fisher & Good, 2004, p. 437)? Practically speaking, inasmuch as our daily interactions influence our sense of well-being (Beals & Peplau, 2005), an identity that provokes hostile responses may result in feelings of psychological distress, but a sense of connectedness with women may promote a sense of well-being and may therefore provide a natural defense to this hostility. In addition, women's level of identification with women can, even outside of a political framework, affect women's overall sense of well-being. Take the low levels of self-esteem and life satisfaction demonstrated by the antiwomen/antifeminist and the interpersonal hostility profiles for example. Distancing yourself from your gender group appears, at least in the context of the data presented in this study, to negatively affect well-being. This finding is in line with that reported by Cowan et al., (1998). This dual-continuum approach to women's social identity provides a framework from which clinicians can explore these aspects of women's lives. Considering the different potential expressions of women's social identity, as well as the role of other factors (e.g., such as the association of hostility toward women and low levels of both self-esteem and life satisfaction) may help clinicians make sense of women's experiences and can point to paths to address these issues with their clients.

Exploring a Collective Action Agenda

The seventies witnessed a tremendous increase in the visible manifestations of women's collective action initiatives and organized movements in the fight for gender equality. Writing during this time, Breakwell (1979) warns of a potentially impending

group fragmentation as women move toward achieving equality and away from comparing women with men. It is the decreasing level of intergroup conflict, she suggests, that may result in this fracturing, especially within groups that encompass several other social categories (e.g., age, ethnicity, etc.) that offer alternative frames of reference or identities to which one may primarily align. And indeed, we have witnessed what seems to be an ever increasing epidemic of dispassionate observers of gender inequalities. It appears, as Unger (2000) states, that it is political consciousness, rather than demographic positioning (even within a marginalized or disadvantaged group), that influences the tendency toward social or political activism.

It was a desire to understand the differences in the recognition of the continued unequal status of women, and the subsequent willingness to fight for equality that was the catalyst of this research project. Since we cannot take as a given that members of marginalized or socially disadvantaged groups participate in collective action as a means toward achieving social equality, this work required stepping back from a feminist agenda and doing substantial groundwork on the nature of women's social identity as women.

What set of circumstances, or life experiences and perspectives must exist to best lay the foundation for the embracing of a feminist consciousness? Can the ideological pathway to a mindset that is receptive to integrating this consciousness, be traced? In short, what do we need to learn about women's social identity before becoming better able to foster a willingness to participate in collective action initiatives? Following the exploration of women's social identity, I considered various predictors of collective action both with respect to the profiles generated in this research and to the sample of women more generally. This discussion follows.

Cluster profiles and collective action. The act of framing women's social identity as existing at an intersection along both an identity and a consciousness continuum,

itself implies that the resulting profiles of women would display different relationships to political concepts. This emerged clearly from the data and while interesting by itself, a further test of the validity of the clustering solution that generated these profiles would come from the analyses of the relationships of the profiles with designated predictors of collective action. Given that the measure of collective action included in this study reflected a feminist agenda, the degree of participation in collective action should reflect the location of each individual cluster (or profile) along the two continuums.

The feminist and the affiliative women reported the highest levels of identification with women but, as is consistent with the theorizing, the feminist women exhibited the most discontent with women's level of social power, felt the strongest sense of common fate with women as a group, and opposed the notion that society (and so one's social standing), is based on an individual meritocracy. Both feminist and affiliative women felt a sense of common fate with other women and endorsed collective action as an effective means toward achieving social change. Conversely, the traditional women reported a lower overall level of identification with women, were satisfied with the amount of power women had in society, did not feel a sense of common fate with other women, and leaned heavily toward an individualism perspective both as a method of change and in the belief that our social system is meritocracy-based. Profiles falling along the negative identification range also displayed patterns supporting the dual-continuum perspective. Of all of the clusters, women in the antiwomen/antifeminist group reported the lowest level of identification with women, and did not significantly differ from the traditional group on any of the remaining indicators of collective action (i.e., power discontent, sense of common fate, belief in an individual meritocracy, and individualism rather than collectivism as a means toward social change). This pattern of results among the antifeminist profiles (including the traditional women) offers support for Rowland's (1986) claim that perceptions of inequality as resulting from gender-based oppression are not

part of the attribution process for antifeminist women. Finally, the interpersonal hostility group showed a pattern of scores that were very similar to the traditional women. In fact, it was only on their sense of common fate that they significantly differed at all.

Taken together these results lend credibility not only to the dual-continuum approach to understanding women's social identity as women, but also to the varying role of consciousness across the different expressions of women's social identity as women. That the feminist profile displayed the strongest associations with the predictors of collective action is not surprising. In fact, given that the majority of research has conflated identification with women and identification as a feminist suggests, even if only by virtue of the availability of measures, that clearer links to collective action would exist among the feminist women.

In addition to supporting the dual-continuum approach to understanding women's social identity, these findings also lend support to the proposed rationale underlying the ideological pathway to collective action discussed in the introduction. A brief review of this rationale is discussed in the following section on predictors of collective action.

Predictors of collective action. A series of factors is likely to contribute to women's willingness to participate in collective action initiatives. As outlined in the introduction, at the core, there must be a perception that change is necessary. Then, we must acknowledge the (often hidden) systemic factors that breed and sustain the social inequality and recognize that gender-based discrimination continues to exist despite the myths to the contrary. Feelings of connectedness with other women, and perceiving our social realities as linked, then contributes to the likeliness that one will act collectively toward an agenda of social change (Gurin & Markus, 1989). Failure to perceive discrimination in contemporary society or to see connections across women, accompanied by a belief in a just world and an ideology of individual meritocracy,

shapes a substantial barrier to change and prevents consideration of the broader social forces that influence the status quo.

Having outlined this proposed ideological pathway to feminist social action, I explored the role of the pivotal factors upon which participation in collective action was expected to rest. Because the goal of this analysis was to look at these factors as a set of underlying influences, the entire sample (irrespective of profile positioning) was included. The analysis proceeded in three steps. A basic regression model including only the five single item predictors was conducted first, followed by an expanded model including measures designed to tap into each of the proposed contributors of collective action. Finally, the expanded model was repeated controlling for the effects of age and level of education.

Initially, women's level of identification with women and their sense of common fate with women was explored along with the broader concepts of discontent with the amount of power women had socially, rejection of belief in individual meritocracy, and women's beliefs about the value of collectivism as a means toward social change. Even given that each of these factors was measured using a single item, together the group explained nearly one third of the variance in collective action scores. This was impressive. Moreover, each of these factors contributed uniquely to the prediction of participation in collective action in the expected direction, suggesting that distinct elements along the pathway had been captured. Collectivism and a sense of common fate with women were most important thus providing support for the claim that these dimensions are critical components underlying participation collective action initiatives (Unger, 1998). Rejecting the idea of an individual meritocracy followed closely behind.

In summary, women who identified more strongly with other women and felt as though their fate was connected to the fate of women in general, women who thought that women did not have enough power in our society, and women who did not buy into

the positioning of society as grounded in an individual meritocracy, along with an overarching endorsement of collectivism (rather than individualism) were the most likely to participate in collective action as a means toward social change.

To round out the analyses and allow for the testing of each of the proposed pathway elements, I added the concepts of belief in a just world, a belief that discrimination continues to exist, a belief that gender relations were not stable and therefore change was foreseeable, and one's personal justice orientation to the model. This model accounted for 40% of the variance in collective action scores. Remarkably, with only one exception, each of these additional factors contributed uniquely to the prediction of collective action. Only the belief in the stability of gender relations failed to add uniquely to the ability to predict collective action beyond that already accounted for in the other factors. However, adding these concepts did result in the absorption of any uniquely predicted variability accounted for by the idea of power discontent (or women's belief that women did not have enough social power). Of these nine total predictors collectivism held out as among the top two contributors to the prediction of collective action, contributing on a level equivalent to that of a strong personal justice orientation, with the belief that discrimination continues to exist in today's society coming next.

Although it may seem like too large and diverse a range of factors to allow for a concise and logical flow, the following statement summarizes the findings on predictors of collective action. Built on a foundation of a strong personal justice orientation, a perception that discrimination exists, and a belief in the power of collectivism, women who identified strongly with other women and believed that their fate was connected to the fate of women, and who also did not buy into the notions of a just world or an individual meritocracy-based social system were the most likely to participate in collective action as a means toward social change.

When taken together, these results provide support for many of the stops along the proposed ideological pathway to collective action previously outlined. It does appear that a collective gender identity gives women a perspective from which to understand women's position in society (Gurin & Markus, 1989). This in turn, lends further credence to the concern that not seeing our social realities as linked with other women will create distance between ourselves and our gender group and will foster divisiveness that will ideologically constrain collective action and aid in the maintenance of the status quo. Moreover, the recognition that gender-based discrimination is still a social reality allows for the perception that social change is necessary, and indicates a lack of acceptance of progress myths. A belief in a just world and an endorsement of the ideology of an individual meritocracy, were negatively associated with participation in collective action. And perhaps, as speculated, a perceived reason to act was missing from the perspectives of these women and thus collective action would not be considered necessary. These findings, in all of their intricacies, provide many threads from which theory can pull and offer a wealth of stimulants for future research. Equally important, this work points to several target constructs at which to aim our efforts at fostering women's willingness to participate in collective action initiatives.

Finally, to ground these findings into the bigger picture I ran one further analysis with the same predictors of collective action, but controlling for the effects of age and education. The link between age and education and participation in feminist collective action is commonly referred to in the literature, and has also been briefly addressed in this research. I turn to this discussion now.

Age, education, and collective action. Evaluation of attitudes toward feminists that hinge on gender role ideology or are strictly issue-focused must be approached with a mindfulness of the relevant social and historical contexts. When the research was conducted, brings with it relevant information on the social climate that must be

considered in the interpretive process. So, for example, we must recognize that although age (and education) have been reliably linked to feminist beliefs (Cook, 1989; Gurin, 1985), the nature of the relationship between age and feminism has changed over time (i.e., in the seventies younger women tended to report feminist attitudes more often than older women did, whereas the opposite pattern is noted in current times). Given the apparent apathy with which many young women regard the current status quo and the low rates of feminist identification among this group, it appears that for many young women the concept of feminism is not particularly relevant (Liss, Crawford, & Popp, 2004). Exploring the relationship of age and education to collective action, particularly within such a large and diverse a sample, can provide useful information that can inform our sense of how to most effectively encourage our younger (and future) generations of women. It therefore, was of interest to rerun the expanded model of predictors of collective action controlling for the effects of age and level of education.

When looking across the entire sample, in isolation, age and education significantly accounted for 12% of the variance in collective action. Together, the entire model accounted for 42% of the variance. Although this is a significant proportion of variability, this finding needs to be considered with respect to the parallel analysis that included the same predictors but without controlling for age and education. Exploring the changes in the unique contribution of each factor across these two models provides some insight into the role or the influence of age and education on collective action.

First, it is interesting to note, that age and education when entered without the other factors, uniquely contributed 4% and 5% to collective action respectively. However, in the model that included the other variables along with age and education, only age continued to act as a unique contributor. There is, I believe, enough empirical work to sway this interpretation away from speculation about a qualified relationship between education and collective action, toward speculation that the loss of the ability to uniquely

contribute is more likely related to the relationship between level of education and the other predictors included in the extended model. More simply stated, for women who participate in collective action, the education process itself may have contributed to exposing the systemic nature of discrimination against women, and therefore, because of overlap, the predictors absorb the variability originally attributable to education.

Among the original group of predictors, the only significant change in the unique contribution to the prediction of collective action was that a belief in a just world moved from marginally significant to marginally nonsignificant with the addition of age and education. This is impressive given the large role that these two variables had in isolation, and speaks to the distinct nature of the remaining predictors. For example, age and education did not decrease the role of the collectivism, the role of believing that gender-based discrimination continued to exist, or the importance of a personal commitment to justice. So while age and education is clearly important to consider when thinking about fostering a willingness to participate in collective action initiatives, the support for the proposed ideological pathway to collective action remains fairly intact.

Collective action and other than feminist agendas. In this exploration of women's social identity I examined the interplay of a range of dimensions of identity and consciousness, and the implications of conceptualizing women's position as an intersection in this dual-continuum space. The data provided a rich source of information useful not only for goals of advancing research and theory on women's social identity but also for women's lives more generally. Where the analyses fell short however, was in the ability to test whether women with a traditional orientation worked collectively toward social change as was the case for feminist women. That is, while I included measures assessing participation in feminist-defined behaviours, or collective action, I did not include equivalent measures that addressed behaviours directed at other political goals that reflect the agenda of more traditionally oriented women. Traditional women may be

politically active on issues such as, for example, the defense of marriage (as with REAL Women of Canada's recent and ongoing attempt to strike down same-sex marriage legislation in Canada), or other issues that they have framed as a women's agenda in their role of defenders of family values. Future research would benefit from inclusion of collective action behaviours that expanded the scope of political possibilities with a women-centered (though perhaps not feminist) agenda. Also, as also noted by Schreiber (2002), understanding the links between identity and consciousness requires a finer grained examination of the connections between identity and all types of political activism.

Sexual Identity, Gendered Time and Identification with Women

With few exceptions, research on women's social identity as women has (like psychology in general) largely ignored the role of sexual identity (McDermott, 2006). In 1994, Henderson-King and Stewart first suggested that variations in women's level of identification with women might exist based on the degree of interaction with men. This, they reasoned, would have implications in a sexual identity context such that a sexual identity that focuses on women, rather than on men, would result in decreased interaction with men (and increased interaction with women), and by extension may be associated with women's social identity as women. This contention had not been adequately explored in the research. As a supplement to the focus of this research, I included a rudimentary test of the premise that women who do not interact with men in intimate ways, or who do so to a minimal extent, may have stronger social identities as women than do women who have more extensive contact with men. The nature of this question was twofold. First, there was the pure interaction element. That is, the proportion of time women reported spending with women rather than with men. Then there was the sexual identity element. A stronger level of interdependence on men, as is implied by a heterosexual relationship, Henderson-King and Stewart (1994) propose,

may detract from (or in some cases, inhibit) identification with women. If this is true then the social identity implications for lesbians may be different from that of heterosexual women and may result in higher overall levels of identification with women in lesbian-identity women.

Initial results find support for both of these contentions. Across all women, irrespective of sexual identity, the more time spent with other women (as opposed to men) the stronger their reported level of identification with women. Looking at the amount of time women reported spending with women across sexual identity categories also revealed significant cross-orientation differences. Lesbian women reported spending significantly more time with other women than did heterosexual or bisexual women. Similarly, lesbian women reported higher levels of identification with women than did heterosexual and bisexual women. So while the initial data do suggest that there is a relationship between sexual identity and both time spent with women and identification with women, it does not immediately speak to how this information is helpful either to social identity research or to a collective action agenda. It does however, drive home (yet again) the need to move beyond the assumption of heterosexuality to include overt recognition of the diversity of sexual identity in our psychological research.

In the broader sense of understanding multiple identities, recent research by Fingerhut, Peplau, and Ghavami (2005) points to another angle from which to approach women's social identity that provides conceptual room for smaller divisions, or subgroups that exist within the gender category. At this stage of our investigation of women's social identity, what calls out most for attention from the results noted above is discovering the fine points about the interaction between identity as a woman and identity as a lesbian. Fingerhut and colleagues (2005) highlight the fact that lesbian women negotiate two social worlds – the heterosexual world and the lesbian world. Noting that prior research in this area has focused on lesbian identity without extending

to women's identification with the larger group, they propose a dual-identity framework of lesbian experience. Consisting of two continuums, one of mainstream (heterosexual) identity and one of sexual minority (lesbian) identity, their framework assigns a high/low ranking along each continuum and results in a 2 by 2 table (similar to that used in much of the bicultural identity research) yielding four possible identity positions (i.e., assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization). Although in this study their framing of mainstream heterosexual identity did not refer specifically to women as the broader group, but implied a heterosexual/sexual minority dichotomy rather than a heterosexual women/lesbian women dichotomy, it does provide some insight into the negotiation of these two worlds. Similar to the findings in this study, the authors report that although the two identities did not correlate with each other, high levels of identification in each case did correlate positively with satisfaction with life. Specifically, feeling included in, and connected with, both worlds was positively related to women's sense of well-being.

In the Fingerhut et al., study lesbian identity was situated against the heterosexual majority without restrictions on gender. Placing restrictions on gender, that is, shifting the comparison from sexual minority identity versus heterosexual identity, to lesbian identity versus identity as a woman, would be potentially informative to the objectives of this study. We need to learn more about how lesbian women see the relationship between their lesbian identity and their identity with the broader category, women. A closer look at the negotiation of these multiple identities and the diversity of these experiences and perceptions across women are sure to hold a wealth of interesting and informative data.

Web-based Surveys: A Brief Note on the Equality of Administrative Format

Access to computers and the internet has drastically increased in the recent decade. The majority of people in the United States (estimated at approximately 60%)

have access to the internet (Tourangeau, 2004). Moreover, accessible user interface and data transfer protocols have made the collection of survey data using the internet a feasible and efficient way to collect data (Birnbaum, 2004). Increases in the use of the internet to collect research data may present differences in several areas and may elicit different information through the introduction of bias and validity concerns. Although these potential methodological issues were not the focus of the current research, the research did present an ideal opportunity to test the differences in yield based on survey response, or administrative format. This survey included a subsample of participants that was randomly selected from the University of Windsor psychology participant pool. Random assignment of participants to either a hardcopy or electronic version allowed for the testing of an administrative format effect. It was encouraging to find that no significant between group differences were found on age, ethnicity (defined as the percent of White respondents), income level, sexual orientation, or feminist identification based on the survey format. That no significant differences were found on any of the outcome variables allows at least some level of confidence in inferring equality across administrative formats for our survey research.

Strengths, Limitations, and Future Research Directions

This dual-continuum approach to the examination of potential expressions of women's social identity as women has provided a more nuanced understanding of identity that will undoubtedly contribute to the perception of social identity as a concept with meaning in women's lives. It offers a rich source of information and many threads for further exploration. In large part, this is attributable to the methodology used in this study. Because I was seeking natural expressions of women's social identity rather than expressions that conformed to a pre-defined grouping strategy, I used cluster analysis to allow groupings to fall naturally from the data. Theoretically, it was possible that only two groups would emerge and the existing straightforward feminist/antifeminist dichotomy

would be validated as representing a realistic picture of the nature of women's social identity as women. However, as anticipated, this was not the case. A dual-continuum approach has moved the research forward as it has highlighted the fact that our social identity as women, especially when acknowledging the existence of a continuum of political consciousness, is complex and diverse.

Through the factor analysis, several scales tapping different social identity facets were regrouped into eight tightly conceptualized dimensions. And while further work is required both to refine, and to expand the range of dimensions of women's social identity, this preliminary work is valuable in that it allowed consideration of distinct components of identity that exhibited differential relationships across the identity profiles. However, many of the scales used in the research to date have failed to tap into aspects of identity that more accurately represent that of traditional women. Additionally, as previously discussed, new measures addressing the role of dimensions such as self-efficacy, or emotional support may well reveal relationships that would add depth to the motivational and tangible aspects of identity. Finally, that the clusters that fell along the middle of each of the continuums were not well differentiated, suggests that other factors, not considered in this study, may act as better differentiators of these various expressions of women's social identity as women.

One of the greatest objective sources of value of this research stems from the composition as well as the size of the sample itself. Most research on women's social identity to date, has used samples of university students. This places restrictions on age and education. The range of ages demonstrated in this study is diverse. Furthermore, in all but the Henderson-King and Stewart (1994) study there is no mention of the sexual identity of female research participants. While on average, it is reasonably safe to assume that most of the women were heterosexual, we are left with no information on women of other sexual identities and their patterns of identification with women. This

research moves the sample of women from the university or student pool to a more general population of women with a variety of educational, ethnic, sexual identity, and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Although this study provided many advantages over the majority of existing studies, especially with respect to the diversity of the participants and the range of demographics exhibited in the sample, some limitations must also be considered. Primary among them is the fact that the collective action items included in this study did not allow for the expression of participation in activities that were not feminist in nature. Essentially this meant that I could not make conclusions about participation in collective action among the traditional women. Increased understanding rests on the incorporation of items that reflect a broader range of actionable issues on which to form conclusions about gender-based collective action behaviour. Movement toward a more comprehensive understanding of the range of gendered politics is a crucial next step in the research on women's social identity.

Besides those already discussed, a few additional limitations existed. For example, although the sample did represent a range of ethnicities, the sample size associated with non-White women did not allow for cross-culture testing of the clustering solution. Future research would benefit from clustering procedures within given ethnic or cultural groups. This would potentially allow for the discernment of finer gradations in the expressions of women's social identity as women.

Finally, that this study was cross-sectional rather than longitudinal, puts brackets around the conclusions that we can draw about women's social identity – especially with respect to imposing a false static perspective when evolution over time is realistically more likely. Social identity, even as conceptualized early on in the identity research, is a flexible positioning that not only changes across time, but can shift from context to context. Ideally, longitudinal research on women's social identity will trace the paths and

circumstances that allow for the integration of social climate and result in a deeper understanding that can then be used to foster willingness to participate in collective action initiatives. Future research would benefit greatly by attending to these identity shifts especially with a focus on discovering the factors that motivated the shifts.

Conclusion

I am sisters with that woman, this woman, those women,
not because our provenances are the same, our
directions the same, our lives the same, our struggles the
same in all their particular and unequal complexities.
They are not. Some of us, in all our four truths and more,
have privileges and freedoms denied to most others, but
freedoms not shared are oppressions imposed, which
keep us apart.

Ailbhe Smyth (1997) p. 14-15.

The primary purpose of the present study was to explore new ways of thinking about women's social identity as women -- the undercurrent of the work was to inform a feminist consciousness-fostering research agenda. Originating from the intention to disentangle identification with women from identification with feminists, this work presented a dual-continuum approach to the study of women's social identity. Both theoretically and practically, the research has shown that this approach has the potential to increase our understanding of differential expressions of women's social identity. Moreover, it provides a solid foundation for future research as well as for future theory-building initiatives.

Stretching beyond the implications for social identity, the pattern of results demonstrated in the exploration of predictors of collective action lent credibility not only to the dual-continuum approach to women's social identity but also to the proposed ideological pathway to feminist collective action. The agenda-driven undercurrent of this

research was the desire to understand the differences in the recognition of the continued unequal status of women, and the subsequent willingness to engage in collective action initiatives. Theoretically, this work lays a foundation from which future research can discover the pivotal points that move women from dispassionate to passionate players in the fight for gender equality.

Endnotes

1. Because the focus of this research is to gain a clearer understanding of women's identification with women as a group, both as an end unto itself and ultimately to get insight into what fosters a willingness to participate in collective action initiatives (a goal with inherent inter-group implications), the concept of *identity* as considered in post-modern and identity politics discourses is outside of the purview of this paper.

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APPENDIX A**Table of All Study Measures**

	<i>Previously used items</i>		<i>Previously used items</i>		
Age*	Cameron 3-Factor Model	12	Feminist self-identification	1	Spheres of Control Scale 20
Occupation	Ingroup ties	4	Activist Identification	1	Personal efficacy 10
Residence	Centrality	4	Individualism/Collectivism	1	Sociopolitical efficacy 10
Race	Ingroup affect	4	Gender Role-Orientation	1	Belief in a Just World 13
Education*	Collective Self-Esteem Scale	16	Feminist 7-Statement	1	Personal 7
Personal income*	Membership	4	Collective Action Scale	15	General 6
Household income	Public	4	Perceived Status Stability	2	Personal Justice Orientation 4
Living arrangements	Private	4	Power Discontent	1	Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale 10
Sexual identity (self-id)*	Identity	4	Moral Traditionalism	4	Life-Sector Satisfaction 5
Feminist identity (self-id)	Cognitive Centrality	2			Satisfaction with Life Scale 5
Relationship status	Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology - Sisterhood	10			Gender Meritocracy 1
Relationship duration	Group Identity	1			Time Spent With Women 4
Relationship satisfaction	Strength of Identity	1			
Sexual history (exp)	Hostility Toward Women	10			

	<i>Previously unused items</i>		<i>Previously unused items</i>			
	Identification with a Psychological Group	10	Contemporary Gender Discrimination Scale	7		
	Shared experiences	6	Stigma Consciousness Scale	10		
	Shared characteristics	4	REAL Traditionalism	3		
	Relational Health Indices Community Subscale	14				
	Empowerment/Zest	5				
	Engagement	5				
	Authenticity	4				
	Social Identity-Specific Collectivism Scale	11				
	Comfort with collective	6				
	Behavioural involvement	5				

APPENDIX B

Cover Letter

APPENDIX C

Consent Form and Letter of Information

Consent Form Included on Web-Based Version of the Survey



CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Title of Study: Women's Social Identity

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Sherry Bergeron, from the Department of Psychology at the University of Windsor. The study will be used as the basis for Sherry Bergeron's doctoral dissertation. This research is being supervised by Dr. Charlene Senn, Professor, Department of Psychology.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Sherry Bergeron at 519-253-3000, ext. 2256 or Dr. Senn at 519-253-3000 ext. 2255.

- **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The purpose of this study is to learn about women's social identity and the perceived role of relationships with other women in their lives.

- **PROCEDURES**

Please read this consent form and decide whether you would like to participate in this study. To participate you are asked to do the following:

- If you wish to participate, click the "I Agree" button at the bottom of this page. This indicates your consent.
- Follow the instructions for completing the survey items as indicated at the beginning of each survey section.

It should take approximately 30-40 minutes to complete this survey. Following completion of the survey you will be provided with a web address where survey results will be available once the research is completed. For your convenience this address is also included under the "Feedback" section of this consent form.

- **POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS**

No potential risks or discomforts are anticipated to you through your participation in this study beyond those normally experienced in everyday interactions.

- **POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY**

Results from this survey will be used to help understand some of the unique aspects of women's relationships with women and the impact of those relationships on other areas of women's lives. Society may benefit from a greater understanding of the factors contributing to women's social identity as women.

- **PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION**

All participants are invited to enter their name in a lottery for a \$300.00 Canadian dollar cash prize. Following completion of the survey you will be provided with an area where you can choose to enter your contact information to be included in the lottery. This information will not be linked to your survey responses in any way.

Following completion of the data collection phase, a winner will be randomly selected from among the entries. The winner will be contacted by the researcher in the way you request when you provide your contact information. A money order for \$300.00 Canadian dollars will be mailed to the winner. The winner of the lottery will be posted to the survey results website. Consent of the winner will be sought prior to posting this information.

- **CONFIDENTIALITY**

Your answers to the survey are confidential and will be released only as summaries in which no individual's answers can be identified. No identifying information will be collected about the computer you are using, or the Internet service provider through which you are accessing this web site. Individual information will not be released to any third parties. Entry into the lottery is accomplished through a procedure that does not link your name or contact information with your answers on the survey.

- **PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL**

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may end your participation by either rerouting your web browser to another website or closing your web browser. You may also choose to skip any questions that you do not wish to answer, however, you are encouraged to answer as many items as possible for statistical purposes.

- **FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY**

It is anticipated that the findings of this study will be available by Fall 2005. A summary of the results will be posted on Dr. Senn's web page, located at the following address:

<http://www.uwindsor.ca/csenn>

- **SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA**

This data will be used by the researcher for subsequent publications but will not deviate from the purpose as described in this form.

- **RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS**

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Windsor Research Ethics Board. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact:

Research Ethics Coordinator
University of Windsor
Windsor, Ontario
N9B 3P4

Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3916
E-mail: lbunn@uwindsor.ca

- **SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT/LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE**

I understand the information provided for the study "Women's Social Identity" as described herein. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I may print out a copy of this form for future reference.

I Agree

I agree to participate (please select box and continue on to survey)

I Do Not Agree

I do not wish to participate (please select box and exit the survey)

- **SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR**

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

Sherry Bergeron
Signature of Investigator

Feb. 1, 2005

Date

Letter of Information Included in the Hard Copy Version the Survey



Title of Study: Women's Social Identity

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Sherry Bergeron, from the Department of Psychology at the University of Windsor. The study will be used as the basis for Sherry Bergeron's doctoral dissertation. This research is being supervised by Dr. Charlene Senn, Professor, Department of Psychology.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Sherry Bergeron at 519-253-3000, ext. 2256 or Dr. Senn at 519-253-3000 ext. 2255.

- **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The purpose of this study is to learn about women's social identity and the perceived role of relationships with other women in their lives.

- **PROCEDURES**

Please read this consent form and decide whether you would like to participate in this study. If

you volunteer to participate, please complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it to the researcher using the return envelope that is provided for you in this package. The return of a completed questionnaire constitutes your implied consent to participate in this study. It should take you approximately 30-40 minutes to complete this survey.

- **POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS**

No potential risks or discomforts are anticipated to you through your participation in this study beyond those normally experienced in everyday interactions.

- **POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY**

Results from this survey will be used to help understand some of the unique aspects of women's relationships with women and the impact of those relationships on other areas of women's lives. Society may benefit from a greater understanding of the factors contributing to women's social identity as women.

- **PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION**

All participants are invited to enter their name in a lottery for a \$300.00 Canadian dollar cash prize. To be entered in this draw please provide your contact information to the researcher. There are a number of options to complete this task. Please choose the one that works best for you. The options include:

1. Send your information to the researcher by way of traditional mail to:
Sherry Bergeron, University of Windsor
c/o Department of Psychology
401 Sunset Ave., Windsor, ON, N9B 3P4
2. Email your contact information to the researcher at bergero@uwindsor.ca
3. Leave a phone message with the contact information on the research advisor's lab answering machine at 519-253-3000, ext. 2256
4. Include your information in the space provided at the end of the survey. The information will be separated from the survey immediately upon receipt and will not be associated with the completed survey

Following completion of the data collection phase, a winner will be randomly selected from among the entries. The winner will be contacted by the researcher in the way you request when you provide your contact information. A money order for \$300.00 Canadian dollars will be mailed to the winner. The winner of the lottery will be posted to the survey results website. Consent of the winner will be sought prior to posting this information.

- **CONFIDENTIALITY**

Your answers to the survey are confidential and will be released only as summaries in which no individual's answers can be identified. Individual information will not be released to any third parties. If you choose to include your contact information on the last page of the survey, your information will be separated from the survey and will not be connected to your answers in any way.

- **PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL**

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also choose to skip any questions that you do not wish to answer, however, you are encouraged to answer as many items as possible for statistical purposes.

- **FEEDBACK OF THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY**

It is anticipated that the findings of this study will be available by Fall 2005. A summary of the results will be posted on Dr. Senn's web page, located at the following address:

<http://www.uwindsor.ca/csenn>

If you do not have access to a computer or the internet you may write the primary researcher to request a copy of the summary of results be mailed to you. You may write to her at the address indicated in the "Payment for Participation" section of this form.

- **SUBSEQUENT USE OF DATA**

This data will be used by the researcher for subsequent publications but will not deviate from the purpose as described in this form.

- **RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS**

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Windsor Research Ethics Board. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact:

Research Ethics Coordinator
University of Windsor
Windsor, Ontario
N9B 3P4

Telephone: 519-253-3000, ext. 3916
E-mail: lbunn@uwindsor.ca

- **SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR**

These are the terms under which I will conduct research.

Signature of Investigator

Date

APPENDIX D
Intact Survey Booklet Pages

For the following questions please write your answer in the space provided.

How old are you?
What is your current occupation?
In what province or state do you currently reside? → Country

For the following questions please **circle** the number that best matches your choice.

→To what racial or ethnic group do you belong? (If you are bi/multiracial please circle all that apply)

1 White/European	4 East Asian/Chinese/Japanese	7 Arab
2 Black/African/Caribbean	5 South Asian/Indian/Pakistani	8 Bi/Multiracial (please specify) _____
3 Latin/South American	6 Aboriginal/First Nations	9 Other (please specify) _____

→What is the highest level of education you completed?

1 Elementary school	5 College degree	9 Doctoral degree
2 Some high school	6 University degree	10 Professional degree
3 Completed high school	7 Some graduate school	
4 Some college / university	8 Master's degree	

→What is *your* annual income before taxes?

1 Under 14,999	3 30,000 to 44,999	5 60,000 to 74,999	7 90,000 to 100,000
2 15,000 to 29,999	4 45,000 to 59,999	6 75,000 to 89,999	8 Over 100,000

→What is your *household* annual income before taxes?

1 Under 14,999	3 30,000 to 44,999	5 60,000 to 74,999	7 90,000 to 100,000
2 15,000 to 29,999	4 45,000 to 59,999	6 75,000 to 89,999	8 Over 100,000

→What are your current living arrangements?

1 Living with parents/siblings	4 Living with male partner	7 Living with partner and dependent children
2 Living alone	5 Living with female partner	8 Living with adult child(ren)
3 Living with roommate(s) (nonsexual)	6 Living with dependent children	9 Other _____

→Are you 1 female 2 male

→Do you identify as 1 lesbian 2 gay 3 bisexual 4 heterosexual 5 not sure

→Do you consider yourself to be a feminist?..... 1 Yes 2 No 3 Not sure

→Are you currently involved in an intimate *committed* relationship?..... 1 Yes 2 No

→→If you are in a committed relationship how long have you been with your current partner? _____

→→If you are in a committed relationship how satisfied are you with that relationship?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Completely unsatisfied	Very unsatisfied	Unsatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	Completely satisfied

For the following questions please consider your overall attitudes or feelings. Please circle the response that best matches your choice.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree
I have a lot in common with other women	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I feel strong ties to other women	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I find it difficult to form a bond with other women	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I don't feel a sense of being connected to other women	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I often think about the fact that I am a woman	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Overall, being a woman has very little to do with how I feel about myself	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
In general, being a woman is an important part of my self-image	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
The fact that I am a woman rarely enters my mind	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
In general, I am glad to be a woman	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I often regret that I am a woman	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I don't feel good about being a woman	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a woman	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
In the future the relationship between men and women could be quite different from what it is now	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
When it comes to sex-roles and the relationship between men and women, things will always be pretty much the way they are now	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA

The following group of questions is about your life generally. Please circle the response that best matches your feelings.

Item	Completely unsatisfied	Very unsatisfied	Unsatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied	Completely satisfied
How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your <u>life as a whole</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6
How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your <u>relationships with friends</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6
How satisfied/dissatisfied are you with your <u>relationships with family</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6
If employed, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your <u>job</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6
If employed, how satisfied/dissatisfied are you with your <u>relationships with coworkers</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6

For the following questions please consider your overall attitudes or feelings. Please circle the response that best matches your choice.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree
I feel that many times women flirt with men just to tease them or hurt them	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
I believe that most women tell the truth	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
I usually find myself agreeing with other women	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
I think that most women would lie to get ahead	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
It is generally safer not to trust women too much	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
When it really comes down to it, a lot of women are deceitful	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
I am easily angered by other women	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
I am sure I get a raw deal from the other women in my life	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
Sometimes other women bother me by just being around	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
Other women are responsible for most of my troubles	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA

For the following questions please consider your overall attitudes or beliefs. Please circle the response that best matches your choice.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree
Although women were typically denied jobs 50 years ago, it rarely happens today	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
The women's movement served its purpose, but discrimination against women is no longer a problem	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Women still need to work harder than men to achieve the same things	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Although it is more subtle than it used to be, women still experience discrimination	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Society no longer treats women as inferior to men	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Any discrimination that still exists today will be gone within 5-10 years	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Discrimination toward women is extensive and continues to be a widespread	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Most women have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA

The following items ask about your opinions of yourself on the whole. Please circle the response that best matches your choice.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
I feel I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others	SD	D	A	SA
I feel that I have a number of good qualities	SD	D	A	SA
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	SD	D	A	SA
I am able to do things as well as most people	SD	D	A	SA
I feel that I do not have much to be proud of	SD	D	A	SA
I take a positive attitude toward myself	SD	D	A	SA
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	SD	D	A	SA
I wish I could have more respect for myself	SD	D	A	SA
I certainly feel useless on the whole	SD	D	A	SA
At times, I think I am no good at all	SD	D	A	SA

For the following questions consider your overall attitudes or feelings. Please circle the response that best matches your choice.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
When someone criticizes women it feels like a personal insult	SD	D	N	A	SA
I'm very interested in what others think about women	SD	D	N	A	SA
When I talk about women, I usually say "we" instead of "they"	SD	D	N	A	SA
Women's successes are my successes	SD	D	N	A	SA
When someone praises women, it feels like a personal compliment	SD	D	N	A	SA
I act like most women to a great extent	SD	D	N	A	SA
If a story in the media criticized women, I would feel embarrassed	SD	D	N	A	SA
I don't act like a typical woman	SD	D	N	A	SA
I have a number of qualities typical of women	SD	D	N	A	SA
The limitations associated with women apply to me also	SD	D	N	A	SA

Approximately how much time do you spend thinking about being a woman?

Hardly ever								Very frequently
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Approximately how much time do you spend thinking about what you have in common with women?

Hardly ever								Very frequently
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Please read the following statements and choose the ONE that best describes you (choose only ONE).

- 1 I do not consider myself a feminist at all and I believe that feminists are harmful to family life
- 2 I do not consider myself a feminist
- 3 I agree with **some** of the objectives of the feminist movement, but do not call myself a feminist
- 4 I agree with **most** of the objectives of the feminist movement, but do not call myself a feminist
- 5 I privately consider myself a feminist, but do not call myself a feminist around others
- 6 I call myself a feminist around others
- 7 I call myself a feminist around others and am currently active in the women's movement

For the following questions please consider your overall attitudes. Please circle the response that best matches your choice.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree
When I get what I want it is usually because I work hard for it	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
When I make plans I am almost certain to make them work	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
I prefer games involving some luck over games requiring pure skill	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
I can learn almost anything if I put my mind to it	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
My major accomplishments are entirely due to my hard work and ability	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
I usually don't set goals because I have a hard time following through on them	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
Competition discourages excellence	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
Often people get ahead just by being lucky	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
On any sort of exam or competition I like to know how well I do relative to everyone else	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
It is pointless to keep working on something that's too difficult for me	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
By taking an active part in political and social affairs we can control world events	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
The average citizen can have an influence on government decisions	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
Bad economic conditions are caused by world events that are beyond our control	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
One of the major reasons we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
There is nothing we, as consumers, can do to keep the cost of living from getting higher	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
When I look at it carefully I realize that it is impossible to have an important influence over what big businesses do	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
I prefer to concentrate my energy on other things rather than on solving the world's problems	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
In the long run we, the voters, are responsible for bad government on a national as well as a local level	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA

Next to each statement below, please indicate the number that best applies to your relationship with women as a group. Please circle the response that best matches your choice.

Item	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Always
I feel a sense of belonging to the community of women	0	1	2	3	4
I feel better about myself after my interactions with women	0	1	2	3	4
If women know something is bothering me, they ask me about it	0	1	2	3	4
Women are not free to just be themselves	0	1	2	3	4
I feel understood by women	0	1	2	3	4
I feel mobilized to personal action after meetings with women	0	1	2	3	4
There are parts of myself I feel I must hide from other women	0	1	2	3	4
It seems as if women really like me as a person	0	1	2	3	4
There is a lot of backbiting and gossip among women	0	1	2	3	4
Women are very competitive with each other	0	1	2	3	4
I have a greater sense of self-worth through my connection with women	0	1	2	3	4
My connections with women are so inspiring that they motivate me to pursue relationships with others	0	1	2	3	4
Women have shaped my identity in many ways	0	1	2	3	4
Women provide me with emotional support	0	1	2	3	4

Generally, how often do you participate in the following activities? Please circle the number that best matches your choice.

Item	Never	Seldom	Some-times	Often	Always
Discuss women's issues with friends or colleagues	0	1	2	3	4
Volunteer for groups aimed to help women	0	1	2	3	4
Make a conscious attempt to use non-sexist language	0	1	2	3	4
Correct other's use of sexist language	0	1	2	3	4
Donate money to women's events or organizations aimed at women's issues	0	1	2	3	4
Belong to an organization or group that deals with women's issues	0	1	2	3	4
Attend women's meetings, talks, or workshops	0	1	2	3	4
Sign a petition regarding a women's issue	0	1	2	3	4
Act as a spokesperson for a particular women's issue	0	1	2	3	4
Spend time working for a women's issue or campaign, e.g. fundraising	0	1	2	3	4
Raise women's issues in groups or organizations	0	1	2	3	4
Read articles, journals or watch films about women's issues	0	1	2	3	4
Attend demonstrations, protests or rallies about women's issues	0	1	2	3	4
Contact a government representative or the media (e.g. radio, TV, newspaper) regarding a women's issue	0	1	2	3	4
Break the law for a political purpose (e.g., block the road with a street demonstration)	0	1	2	3	4

→ For the following questions please consider your overall attitudes. Please circle the response that best matches your choice.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
I think basically the world is a just place	1	2	3	4	5	6
I believe that, by and large, people get what they deserve	1	2	3	4	5	6
I am confident that justice always prevails over injustice	1	2	3	4	5	6
I am convinced that in the long run people will be compensated for injustices	1	2	3	4	5	6
I firmly believe that injustices in all areas of life (e.g., professional, family, politics) are the exception rather than the rule	1	2	3	4	5	6
I think people try to be fair when making important decisions	1	2	3	4	5	6

► To what extent do you consider yourself a feminist?

Not at all								Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

► To what extent do you consider yourself someone who is actively involved in promoting women's issues?

Not at all								Very much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

► To what extent do you feel women should work together as a group or as individuals for social change?

As an individual								Together as a group
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

► To what extent would you describe yourself as a traditional or a non-traditional woman?

Traditional								Non-traditional
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

For the following questions please consider your overall attitudes or feelings. Please circle the response that best matches your choice.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree
What happens to women generally in this country will have something to do with what happens in my life	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Things that are true of my life as a woman are true for most women	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
When I hear about a woman who was raped, I think "that could have been me"	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
When I talk to other women I frequently feel as if we have a lot in common just by being female	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
As women, we particularly need to support legislation that helps other women	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Women really cannot trust other women with their romantic partners (e.g., boyfriends, husbands, same-sex partners)	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
One should never trust a woman's account of another woman	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
It is a shame when a woman neglects her female friends for her male friends	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Women have a bond with one another that is stronger than women's bond with men	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
The only thing that women have in common is the fact that they can give birth to children	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I have a strong personal sense of justice	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I often evaluate social circumstances in terms of whether they are just	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I am bothered by the amount of injustice in the world	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I have strong opinions about what I believe is just	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA

We are all members of different social groups or categories. Some groups refer to one's gender, race, or ethnicity. For the following statements please consider your gender group and respond with how you feel about being a member of the category "women" and circle the response that best matches your feelings.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree
I am a worthy member of my gender group	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Overall, women are considered good by others	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I feel I don't have much to offer women as a group	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Most people consider women, on the average, to be more ineffective than men	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I am a cooperative participant in my gender group	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Overall, I often feel that women are not worthwhile	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
In general, others respect women	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Being a woman is an important reflection of who I am	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
Being a woman is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I often feel I am a useless member of my gender group	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
I feel good about being a woman	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA
In general, others think that women are unworthy	SD	D	DS	AS	A	SA

The following items ask about your opinions of yourself on the whole. Please circle the number that best matches your choice.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Neutral	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
In most ways my life is close to ideal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The conditions of my life are excellent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am satisfied with my life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
So far I have gotten the important things I want in life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

For the following questions please consider your overall attitudes or feelings. Please circle the response that best matches your choice.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I do not fit in well with other women	SD	D	N	A	SA
When I'm with other women I feel like an outsider	SD	D	N	A	SA
I feel uneasy with other women	SD	D	N	A	SA
As a woman, I feel isolated	SD	D	N	A	SA
Working with other women is usually more trouble than it's worth	SD	D	N	A	SA
Even though I'm a woman, I do not feel particularly connected to other women	SD	D	N	A	SA
I prefer to spend my free time with other women	SD	D	N	A	SA
I generally like women more than men	SD	D	N	A	SA
My most rewarding friendships are with other women	SD	D	N	A	SA
I am more likely to help a woman than I am to help a man	SD	D	N	A	SA
It is more important that I establish good relationships with women than with men	SD	D	N	A	SA
The <i>natural family</i> is the fundamental unit of our society	SD	D	N	A	SA
Maintaining <i>family values</i> is more important than women's rights	SD	D	N	A	SA
Preservation of <i>traditional values</i> is very important	SD	D	N	A	SA

For the following questions please consider your overall attitudes or feelings. Please **circle** the response that best matches your choice.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree
Stereotypes about women have not affected me personally	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
I never worry that my behaviour will be viewed as stereotypically female	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
When interacting with men I feel like they interpret all of my behaviours in terms of the fact that I am a woman	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
Most men do not judge women on the basis of their gender	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
My being female does not influence how men act with me	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
I almost never think about the fact that I am female when I interact with men	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
My being female does not influence how people act with me	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
Most men have a lot more sexist thoughts than they actually express	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
I often think that men are unfairly accused of being sexist	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA
Most men have a problem viewing women as equals	SD	D	DS	N	AS	A	SA

▶ If employed, approximately what percent of your coworkers are women? Does not apply ...

All men					An even mix	All women				
0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

Thinking about your closest friends, what percent are women?

All men					An even mix	All women				
0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

Thinking about how you spend your leisure or recreational time, what percent is with women?

None of it					An even mix	All of it				
0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

Thinking about organizations or groups that you belong to, overall what percent of the members are women?

All men					An even mix	All women				
0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

→ We belong to many different groups of people. For example, we can belong to the group women, working class, etc. For this question, I ask you to think about the different groups that you belong to. **First**, from the list below please indicate (by checking the box in the first column) all of the groups you feel you belong to. If you do not belong to the listed group just leave it blank. **Second**, of those groups you indicated, rate on the 5-point scale the extent to which you identify with each group (from 0 = "Not at all" to 4 = "Very much"). **Third**, of those that you choose please indicate whether you feel that the group as a whole has 1 = "too much influence," 2 = "just about the right amount of influence," or 3 = "not enough influence" by circling the number that matches your choice in the section labeled STEP 3. You do not need to answer the influence section (step 3) for the groups you do not belong to.

STEP 1 ↓ Belong to?		STEP 2 → Identify with?					STEP 3 ↓ Influence?		
I belong to this group	How much do you identify with this group...	Not at all				Very much	Too much influence	Just right	Not enough influence
<input type="checkbox"/>	Women	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Men	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Blacks	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Whites	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Your racial/ethnic group (please specify) _____	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Working class	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Middle class	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Older people	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Sexual minorities (lesbian, gay or bisexual people)	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Feminists	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Your religious group (please specify) _____	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify)	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3

For the following questions please consider your overall attitudes. Please circle the response that best matches your choice.

Item	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
I believe that, by and large, I deserve what happens to me	1	2	3	4	5	6
I am usually treated fairly	1	2	3	4	5	6
I believe that I usually get what I deserve	1	2	3	4	5	6
Overall, events in my life are just	1	2	3	4	5	6
In my life injustice is the exception rather than the rule	1	2	3	4	5	6
I believe that most of the things that happen in my life are fair	1	2	3	4	5	6
I think that important decisions that are made concerning me are usually just	1	2	3	4	5	6
The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behaviour to those changes	1	2	3	4	5	6
We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own	1	2	3	4	5	6
The <i>newer lifestyles</i> are contributing to the breakdown of society	1	2	3	4	5	6
This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties	1	2	3	4	5	6

For the following question please choose the ONE response that best describes your experience.

→ Since you have been sexually active have your sexual experiences been (circle only **ONE** response)

Exclusively with women	5 At first only with men now only with women
Exclusively with men	6 At first only with women now with both men and women
With both men and women	7 At first only with men now with both men and women
At first only with women now only with men	8 Other _____

APPENDIX E

Demographics

For the following questions please write your answer in the space provided.

How old are you?
What is your current occupation?
In what province or state do you currently reside? → Country

For the following questions please circle the number that best matches your choice.

→ To what racial or ethnic group do you belong? (If you are bi/multiracial please circle all that apply)

1 White/European	4 East Asian/Chinese/Japanese	7 Arab
2 Black/African/Caribbean	5 South Asian/Indian/Pakistani	8 Bi/Multiracial (please specify) _____
3 Latin/South American	6 Aboriginal/First Nations	9 Other (please specify) _____

→ What is the **highest** level of education you completed?

1 Elementary school	5 College degree	9 Doctoral degree
2 Some high school	6 University degree	10 Professional degree
3 Completed high school	7 Some graduate school	
4 Some college / university	8 Master's degree	

→ What is **your** annual income before taxes?

1 Under 14,999	3 30,000 to 44,999	5 60,000 to 74,999	7 90,000 to 100,000
2 15,000 to 29,999	4 45,000 to 59,999	6 75,000 to 89,999	8 Over 100,000

→ What is your **household** annual income before taxes?

1 Under 14,999	3 30,000 to 44,999	5 60,000 to 74,999	7 90,000 to 100,000
2 15,000 to 29,999	4 45,000 to 59,999	6 75,000 to 89,999	8 Over 100,000

APPENDIX F

Social Identity Items by Scale

1. Cameron's 3-Factor Model of Social Identity (Cameron, 2004)

Total scale (12 items) $\alpha = .84$

Ingroup Ties (4 items) $\alpha = .73$

I have a lot in common with other women

I feel strong ties to other women

I find it difficult to form a bond with other women (R)

I don't feel a sense of being connected to other women (R)

Ingroup Affect (4 items) $\alpha = .74$

In general, I am glad to be a woman (also CSES #6)

I often regret that I am a woman (R) (also CSES #2)

I don't feel good about being a woman (R)

Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as a woman

Centrality (4 items) $\alpha = .77$

I often think about the fact that I am a woman (also in Gurin & Markus, 1989)

Overall, being a woman has very little to do with how I feel about myself (R) (also CSES #4)

In general, being a woman is an important part of my self-image (also CSES #16)

The fact that I am a woman rarely enters my mind (R)

2. Collective Self-Esteem Scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992)

Total scale (16 items) $\alpha = .71$ to $.88$ range for total scale and subscales

Membership (4 items)

I am a worthy member of my gender group

I feel I don't have much to offer women as a group (R)

I am a cooperative participant in my gender group

I often feel I am a useless member of my gender group (R)

Public (4 items)

Overall, women are considered good by others

Most people consider women, on the average, to be more ineffective than men (R)

In general, others respect women

In general, others think that women are unworthy (R)

Private (4 items)

I often regret that I am a woman (R)

In general, I am glad to be a woman

Overall, I often feel that women are not worthwhile (R)

I feel good about being a woman

Identity (4 items)

Overall, being a woman has very little to do with how I feel about myself (R)

Being a woman is an important reflection of who I am

Being a woman is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am (R)

In general, being a woman is an important part of my self-image

3. The Identification with a Psychological Group Scale (Mael & Tetrick, 1992)**Shared Experiences (6 items) $\alpha = .81$**

When someone criticizes women it feels like a personal insult

I'm very interested in what others think about women

When I talk about women, I usually say "we" instead of "they"

Women's successes are my successes

When someone praises women, it feels like a personal compliment

If a story in the media criticized women, I would feel embarrassed

Shared Characteristics (4 items) $\alpha = .66$

I act like most women to a great extent

I don't act like a typical woman (R)

I have a number of qualities typical of women

The limitations associated with women apply to me also

4. Relational Health Indices Community Scale (Liang et al., 2002)

Total scale (14 items) $\alpha = .90$

Empowerment (5 items) $\alpha = .87$

I feel better about myself after my interactions with women

I feel mobilized to personal action after meetings with women

I have a greater sense of self-worth through my connection with women

My connections with women are so inspiring that they motivate me to pursue relationships with others

Women have shaped my identity in many ways

Engagement (5 items) $\alpha = .86$

I feel a sense of belonging to the community of women

If women know something is bothering me, they ask me about it

I feel understood by women

It seems as if women really like me as a person

Women provide me with emotional support

Authenticity (4 items) $\alpha = .75$

Women are not free to just be themselves (R)

There are parts of myself I feel I must hide from other women (R)

There is a lot of backbiting and gossip among women (R)

Women are very competitive with each other (R)

5. Liberal Feminist Attitude and Ideology Scale (Morgan, 1996)

Sisterhood subscale (10 items) $\alpha = .45 - .59$

What happens to women generally in this country will have something to do with what happens in my life (also Gurin & Townsend, 1986 common fate item)

Things that are true of my life as a woman are true for most women

When I hear about a woman who was raped, I think "that could have been me"

When I talk to other women I frequently feel as if we have a lot in common just by being female

As women, we particularly need to support legislation that helps other women

Women really cannot trust other women with their romantic partners (e.g., boyfriends, husbands, same-sex partners) (R)

One should never trust a woman's account of another woman (R)

It is a shame when a woman neglects her female friends for her male friends

Women have a bond with one another that is stronger than women's bond with men The only thing that women have in common is the fact that they can give birth to children (R)

6. Cognitive Centrality of Gender (Gurin & Townsend, 1986)

Total scale (2 items) No reliability information

Approximately how much time do you spend thinking about being a woman

Approximately how much time do you spend thinking about what you have in common with women

7. The Social Identity-Specific Collectivism scale (Reid & Deaux, 2004)

Comfort with the Collective (6 items) $\alpha = .79$

I do not fit in well with other women (R)

When I'm with other women I feel like an outsider (R)

I feel uneasy with other women (R)

As a woman, I feel isolated (R)

Working with other women is usually more trouble than it's worth (R)

Even though I'm a woman, I do not feel particularly connected to other women
(R)

Behavioral Involvement (5 items) $\alpha = .79$

I prefer to spend my free time with other women

I generally like women more than men

My most rewarding friendships are with other women

I am more likely to help a woman than I am to help a man

It is more important that I establish good relationships with women than with men

8. Hostility Toward Women Scale (Check, et al., 1985) – Revised short form

Total scale (10 items) $\alpha = .83$

I feel that many times women flirt with men just to tease them or hurt them

I believe that most women tell the truth (R)

I usually find myself agreeing with other women (R)

I think that most women would lie to get ahead

It is generally safer not to trust women too much

When it really comes down to it, a lot of women are deceitful

I am easily angered by other women

I am sure I get a raw deal from the other women in my life

Sometimes other women bother me by just being around

Other women are responsible for most of my troubles

APPENDIX G

Gendered Consciousness Items by Scale

1. Feminist Statement (Myaskovsky & Wittig, 1997)

Total scale (1 item)

*Please read the following statements and choose the ONE that best describes you
(choose only ONE).*

I do not consider myself a feminist at all and I believe that feminists are harmful to family life

I do not consider myself a feminist

I agree with *some* of the objectives of the feminist movement, but do not call myself a feminist

I agree with *most* of the objectives of the feminist movement, but do not call myself a feminist

I privately consider myself a feminist, but do not call myself a feminist around others

I call myself a feminist around others

I call myself a feminist around others and am currently active in the women's movement

2. Collective Action Scale (Foster & Matheson, 1995)* and (Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995)**

Total scale (15 items) – combined scale so alpha undetermined

Discuss women's issues with friends or colleagues*

Volunteer for groups aimed to help women**

Make a conscious attempt to use non-sexist language**

Correct other's use of sexist language**

Donate money to women's events or organizations aimed at women's issues**

Belong to an organization or group that deals with women's issues**

Attend women's meetings, talks, or workshops*

Sign a petition regarding a women's issue*

Act as a spokesperson for a particular women's issue*

Spend time working for a women's issue or campaign, e.g. fundraising*

Raise women's issues in groups or organizations*

Read articles, journals or watch films about women's issues*

Attend demonstrations, protests or rallies about women's issues*

Contact a government representative or the media (e.g. radio, TV, newspaper) regarding a women's issue*

Break the law for a political purpose (e.g., block the road with a street demonstration)*

3. Contemporary Gender Discrimination Scale (Rosell & Hartman, 2001)

Total scale (7 items) $\alpha = .74$

Although women were typically denied jobs 50 years ago, it rarely happens today (R)

The women's movement served its purpose, but discrimination against women is no longer a problem (R)

Women still need to work harder than men to achieve the same things

Although it is more subtle than it used to be, women still experience discrimination

Society no longer treats women as inferior to men (R)

Any discrimination that still exists today will be gone within 5-10 years (R)

Discrimination toward women is extensive and continues to be a widespread

4. Stigma Consciousness Questionnaire (Pinel, 1999)

Total scale (10 items) $\alpha = .74$

Stereotypes about women have not affected me personally (R)

I never worry that my behaviour will be viewed as stereotypically female (R)

When interacting with men I feel like they interpret all of my behaviours in terms of the fact that I am a woman

Most men do not judge women on the basis of their gender (R)

My being female does not influence how men act with me (R)

I almost never think about the fact that I am female when I interact with men (R)

My being female does not influence how people act with me (R)

Most men have a lot more sexist thoughts than they actually express

I often think that men are unfairly accused of being sexist (R)

Most men have a problem viewing women as equals

5. Stability of Gender Relations (Henderson-King & Stewart, 1994)

Total scale (2 items) alpha unreported

In the future the relationship between men and women could be quite different from what it is now

When it comes to sex-roles and the relationship between men and women, things will always be pretty much the way they are now

6. REAL Women of Canada website (<http://www.realwomenca.com/index.html>)

Total scale (3 items) author-derived, alpha undetermined

The *natural family* is the fundamental unit of our society

Maintaining *family values* is more important than the rights of women

Preservation of *traditional values* is very important

7. Moral Traditionalism (Duncan, 1999)

Total scale (4 items) $\alpha = .50$

The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behaviour to those changes (R)

We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own (R)

The *newer lifestyles* are contributing to the breakdown of society

This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties

APPENDIX H
General Items by Scale

1. Spheres of Control Scale (Paulus, 1983)

Total scale (20 items)

Personal (10 items) α .75 to .80

When I get what I want it is usually because I work hard for it

When I make plans I am almost certain to make them work

I prefer games involving some luck over games requiring pure skill (R)

I can learn almost anything if I put my mind to it

My major accomplishments are entirely due to my hard work and ability

I usually don't set goals because I have a hard time following through on them

(R)

Competition discourages excellence (R)

Often people get ahead just by being lucky (R)

On any sort of exam or competition I like to know how well I do relative to everyone else

It is pointless to keep working on something that's too difficult for me (R)

Sociopolitical (10 items) α .75 to .80

By taking an active part in political and social affairs we can control world events

The average citizen can have an influence on government decisions

It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office

(R)

Bad economic conditions are caused by world events that are beyond our control

(R)

With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption

One of the major reasons we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics

There is nothing we, as consumers, can do to keep the cost of living from getting higher (R)

When I look at it carefully I realize that it is impossible to have an important influence over what big businesses do (R)

I prefer to concentrate my energy on other things rather than on solving the world's problems (R)

In the long run we, the voters, are responsible for bad government on a national as well as a local level

2. Belief in a Just World Scale (Dalbert, 1999)

Total scale (13 items)

General (6 items) $\alpha = .68$ to $.78$

I think basically the world is a just place

I believe that, by and large, people get what they deserve

I am confident that justice always prevails over injustice

I am convinced that in the long run people will be compensated for injustices

I firmly believe that injustices in all areas of life (e.g., professional, family, politics) are the exception rather than the rule

I think people try to be fair when making important decisions

Personal (7 items) $\alpha .82$ to $.87$

I believe that, by and large, I deserve what happens to me

I am usually treated fairly

I believe that I usually get what I deserve

Overall, events in my life are just

In my life injustice is the exception rather than the rule

I believe that most of the things that happen in my life are fair

I think that important decisions that are made concerning me are usually just

3. Personal Justice Orientation (developed for this study)

Total scale (4 items)

I have a strong personal sense of justice

I often evaluate social circumstances in terms of whether they are just

I am bothered by the amount of injustice in the world

I have strong opinions about what I believe is just

4. Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965)

Total scale (10 items)

I feel I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others

I feel that I have a number of good qualities

All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure (R)

I am able to do things as well as most people

I feel that I do not have much to be proud of (R)

I take a positive attitude toward myself

On the whole, I am satisfied with myself

I wish I could have more respect for myself (R)

I certainly feel useless on the whole (R)

At times, I think I am no good at all (R)

5. Life Sector Satisfaction (modified Cowan et al., 1998)

Total scale (5 items) alpha to be established prior to use

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your *life as a whole*

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your *relationships with friends*

How satisfied/dissatisfied are you with your *relationships with family*

If employed, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your *job*

If employed, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with your *relationships with coworkers*

6. Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al., 1985)

Total scale (5 items) $\alpha = .87$

In most ways my life is close to ideal

The conditions of my life are excellent

I am satisfied with my life

So far I have gotten the important things I want in life

If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing

7. Gendered Time (developed for this study)

Total scale (4 items)

If employed, approximately what percent of your coworkers are women?

Thinking about your closest friends, what percent are women?

Thinking about how you spend your leisure or recreational time, what percent is with women?

Thinking about organizations or groups that you belong to, overall what percent of the members are women?

APPENDIX I

Geographic Distribution by Province and State

Geographic Distribution by Province and State

Province	<i>n</i>	%
Alberta	41	5.4
British Columbia	74	9.7
Manitoba	15	2.0
New Brunswick	14	1.8
Newfoundland	3	.4
Northwest Territory	4	.5
Nova Scotia	19	2.5
Nunavut Territory	1	.1
Ontario	569	74.5
Prince Edward Island	3	.4
Quebec	4	.5
Saskatchewan	15	2.0
Yukon Territory	2	.3
Total	764	100.0

State	<i>n</i>	%	State	<i>n</i>	%
Alabama ³	2	.5	Missouri ²	13	3.0
Alaska ⁴	3	.7	Montana ⁴	5	1.1
Arizona ⁴	13	3.0	Nebraska ²	2	.5
Arkansas ³	1	.2	Nevada ⁴	4	.9
California ⁴	34	7.8	New Hampshire ¹	1	.2
Colorado ⁴	4	.9	New Jersey ¹	2	.5
Connecticut ¹	3	.7	New York ¹	20	4.6
D.C. ³	2	.5	North Carolina ³	7	1.6
Florida ³	55	12.6	North Dakota ²	9	2.1
Georgia ³	4	.9	Ohio ²	9	2.1
Hawaii ⁴	2	.5	Oklahoma ³	4	.9
Idaho ⁴	2	.5	Oregon ⁴	13	3.0
Illinois ²	16	3.7	Pennsylvania ¹	42	9.6
Indiana ²	6	1.4	South Carolina ³	7	1.6
Iowa ²	4	.9	South Dakota ²	2	.5
Kansas ²	3	.7	Tennessee ³	12	2.7
Kentucky ³	4	.9	Texas ³	21	4.8
Louisiana ³	1	.2	Utah ⁴	8	1.8
Maine ¹	1	.2	Vermont ¹	2	.5
Maryland ³	15	3.4	Virginia ³	14	3.2
Massachusetts ¹	15	3.4	Washington ⁴	12	2.7
Michigan ²	20	4.6	West Virginia ³	2	.5
Minnesota ²	10	2.3	Wisconsin ²	3	.7
Mississippi ³	1	.2	Wyoming ⁴	2	.5
			Total	437	100

Note. Regions were determined using U.S. Census Bureau divisions. 1 = Northeast, 2 = Midwest, 3 = South, 4 = West. Delaware, New Mexico, and Rhode Island were not represented.

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