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The Role of Ethgender Identity in the Relationship between Gendered Racism and Activism among Black Women

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THE ROLE OF ETHGENDER IDENTITY IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
GENDERED RACISM AND ACTIVISM
AMONG BLACK WOMEN

by

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ABSTRACT
THE ROLE OF ETHGENDER IDENTITY IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
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Black women face a unique intersectional form of discrimination, termed gendered racism (Essed, 1991). The purpose of this study was to determine whether experiences with gendered racism predict activism among Black women and to explore the roles of emotions and identity in this relationship. An online, national sample of 112 Black women provided self-reports of frequency of experiences with overt and covert forms of gendered racism and associated emotional responses, ethgender identity centrality, and activism. Results revealed that experiences with covert gendered racism predicted activism. Emotional responses to gendered racism were not found to predict activism. Ethgender identity was found to play a mediating role in the relationship between gendered racism and activism. Study limitations along with practical implications and directions for future research are discussed.

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Introduction

Experiencing discrimination is linked to negative mental health outcomes, including symptoms of anxiety, depression, interpersonal difficulties, and suicidal ideation among members of marginalized groups, such as Black women (Perry, Pullen, & Oser, 2012; Shorter-Gooden, 2004; Thomas, Witherspoon, & Speight, 2008). However, while some individuals may accept this fate and quietly endure discrimination and social injustice, many choose not to remain acquiescent. Some targets may be motivated by their experiences of discrimination to engage in activism and promote social change. The goal of this paper is to explore Black women's use of activism as a response to discrimination.

Activist involvement is positively correlated with experiences of racist and sexist events (Duncan, 1999; Liss, Crawford, & Popp, 2004; Mattis et al., 2004; Szymanski, 2012). This is likely because activism is viewed as a tool to promote equality (Szymanski, 2012). Some researchers also describe activism as a coping mechanism for disparate social and economic conditions (Szymanski & Lewis, 2016). Relative deprivation theory suggests that social comparison leads to feelings of injustice which leads to a desire for social change. As such, the more discrimination one experiences, the stronger her feelings of injustice and consequent desire for action. Some researchers thus believe that a desire for social change is strongest among people who have more than one marginalized identity (Walker & Pettigrew, 1984). This suggests that Black women are motivated to engage in activism because of additive experiences of sexism and racism.

Black women have been found to be more politically active than White women. For example, Cole and Sabik (2010) surveyed Black and White women who graduated college shortly following the women's liberation and Black power movements. In a longitudinal study, participants reported their political participation at three time points including their 20's, 40's, and 60's. The results indicated that Black women reported higher levels of political participation, such as involvement in protests and political campaigns, at all time points. The authors concluded that White women combatted sexism, while Black women combatted both sexism and racism. This interpretation takes the additive perspective, asserting that Black women experience distinct forms of discrimination associated with each marginalized identity they possess (DeBlaere et al., 2014). The assumption associated with this perspective is that individuals with multiple marginalized identities are able to discern which identity is the target of their discrimination experience. Some scholars have criticized the additive perspective for this assumption and argue that identification with more than one marginalized group constructs novel experiences, which are not divisible into the individual identities from which they are originally composed (Cole, 2009). This conceptualization has been termed the intersectionality perspective. Taking an intersectionality perspective, Black women's involvement in activism may not be because of the compounded experiences of sexism and racism, but rather their experience with intersectional gendered racism. Intersectionality theory would claim that there is no way to label discrimination against Black women as solely sexist or racist because the sexism and racism Black women experience are intertwined. This creates a different form of discrimination that may motivate Black women to respond.

Gendered Racism

Years of research have examined sexism and racism separately. For example, Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson (2001) explored the incidence and nature of sexism experienced by women using a two-week diary format. Participants reported four different types of incidents. Thirty-five percent of reported perceived sexist events included comments or behaviors that reflected or enforced traditional gender role prejudice and stereotyping, such as comments suggesting that domestic duties are "women's work" or that women cannot hold the same interests or abilities as men. Thirty-one percent involved demeaning and derogatory comments and behaviors, such as referring to a woman as "bitch," "chick," or "his woman." Twenty-three percent described sexual objectification including cat calls and unsolicited touch of a woman's body. Eleven percent were classified as "other." All participants reported an average of one instance of perceived sexism each day, making sexism a nearly universal experience for women.

Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, and Bylsma (2003) conducted a parallel study using daily diaries with Blacks to explore the incidence and nature of racism. Participants reported four different types of incidents. Thirty-six percent of recorded race-related incidents involved participants being stared at suspiciously or hostilely. Twenty-four percent included verbal expressions of racism including racial slurs, racial stereotypes, and interpersonally insensitive comments. Eighteen percent involved differential treatment during a service transaction. Fifteen percent of reported incidents consisted of miscellaneous interpersonal offenses including general rudeness, being mistaken for another Black person, and avoidance by Whites. Sixty-five percent of participants

reported at least one instance of perceived ethnic discrimination during the two-week study. Similarly, Donovan, Galban, Grace, Bennett, and Felicié (2012) found that 96% of Black college students endorsed experiencing racism at least a few times a year.

However, this singular approach that focuses on one aspect of identity is limited in contributing to our understanding of the intersectional Black woman experience. A Black woman is not Black in some situations and a woman in other situations; she is always both Black and a woman. Therefore, sexism and racism are conflated in all daily experiences of Black women so much so that they cannot be separated. For example, King (2003) conducted a study in which 112 Black college women listened to an audiotaped scenario and imagined two White male students making negative evaluations of them. Participants indicated whether they believed the evaluations to be rooted in sexism, racism, ethgender prejudice, or nonprejudiced attributions. Participants' responses revealed a high correlation among sexist, racist, and ethgender attributions, suggesting that Black women perceive prejudice as targeting both their gender and ethnicity. In other words, it is difficult for Black women to consider sexism and racism in isolation. Therefore, the intersectional understanding of gendered racism may provide a more meaningful contribution to Black women's experiences as it does not isolate the experiences of sexism and racism.

Essed (1991) coined the term gendered racism to describe "discrimination that encompasses ethnically ascribed understandings of masculinity and femininity, or gendered forms of ethnic discrimination" (p. 5). Essed interviewed 55 Black women to explore their experiences of racism. After analysing over 2000 experiences, Essed concluded that sexism and racism worked together to influence many of the experiences.

That is, many of the experiences described involved the simultaneous experience of both sexism and racism rooted in societal stereotypes of Black womanhood. For example, participants described being stereotyped as sexually promiscuous, caretakers, poor, and angry across a variety of settings. Therefore, gendered racism attempts to capture the complexity of oppression existing in a society where multiple groups are marginalized and susceptible to discrimination. It describes the discrimination one experiences due to combined gender and ethnic identity, known as *ethgender* (Martinez & Dukes, 1991) identity.

To date, there is little empirical research examining gendered racism. This is a major limitation considering that 91% of Black women endorse experiencing gendered racism at least occasionally during their lifetime (Thomas et al., 2008). However, Lewis, Mendenhall, Harwood, and Huntt (2016) marked progress toward an understanding of gendered racism, as experienced by Black women. They conducted two semi-structured focus groups with Black college women to reveal the nature of perceived gendered racial experiences. They found three core themes to describe the nature of gendered racism. First, they found that experiences of gendered racism projected stereotypes expecting Black women to be hypersexualized and act as an "angry Black woman." Second, they found gendered racism to include assumptions about Black women's communication styles and physical appearance and suggest that these are undesirable in the larger cultural society. For example, Black women were assumed to be loud and have "unprofessional" hairstyles. Finally, Lewis et al. found that gendered racial experiences left Black women feeling silenced and marginalized as they struggled for respect and felt

invisible in certain environments. Lewis and colleagues provided progress toward a foundational understanding of Black women's experiences of gendered racism.

Lewis, Mendenhall, Harwood, and Huntt (2013) also contributed to the understanding of how Black women cope with gendered racism. They conducted two focus groups including a total of 17 Black college women and revealed three commonly used types of coping strategies. Self-protective coping strategies involved nonconfrontational strategies used to minimize the stressful cumulative effects of experiencing gendered racism. This involved becoming desensitized to or escaping gendered racism, sometimes in the form of becoming a 'strong Black superwoman' not following ethgender stereotypes. Collective coping strategies involved leaning on social support to help validate and normalize emotional responses to gendered racism. Resistance coping strategies came in the form of rejecting Eurocentric beauty standards and using one's voice as power. These resistance coping strategies were described by participants as difficult to engage in because of the likely negative repercussions. Participants noted that they consciously "pick battles" so as to not come across as an 'angry Black woman' or too proud to be Black.

Research suggests that perceived gendered racism is associated with negative mental health outcomes. For example, Thomas and colleagues had 344 Black women complete measures assessing perceived gendered racism, coping, and psychological distress. They found a direct association between perceived gendered racism and psychological distress and noted that this relationship was partially mediated by avoidance coping strategies. Still, little is known about Black women's more active responses to gendered racism.

Activism as a Response to Gendered Racism

Research suggests that many Black women choose to actively respond to gendered racism (Lewis et al., 2013; Lykes, 1983; Shorter-Gooden, 2004). This may be because there are many perceived benefits associated with being involved in activism. For example, Grayman-Simpson (2012) asked 50 Black adults "What, if any, are the personal rewards/benefits associated with Black community involvement?" Participants noted gains across four domains: social, emotional, psychological, and spiritual. Social gains involved the ability to create or witness change in others, fulfilling familial obligations, supporting others with necessary resources, and experiencing hope that others will pay the help forward. Emotional gains were described as self-fulfilment and self-gratification that they are doing 'what's right.' Participants also described participation in activism as an important aspect of psychological wellness as it contributes to positive relationships with others. Finally, spiritual gains described by participants included assisting or being rewarded by a higher power. Activism is frequently described as an adaptive coping strategy for Black women experiencing gendered racism (Lewis et al., 2013; Thomas et al., 2008). It is described as a means of empowerment and promoting self-respect (Lewis et al., 2013; Shorter-Gooden, 2004).

Activism can include various behaviors. For example, activism can be political and include contacting politicians regarding specific issues, lobbying for particular candidates or voting. It can also penetrate the economic realm to include boycotts, strikes or preferentially supporting businesses or organizations. Activism at the community level may include joining community groups or organizations or mentoring others. Educational activism might include reading or teaching about social issues.

Activism has even evolved over the years to accommodate increased use of the internet and social media. Research examining activism, however, is typically narrowly defined (Liss et al., 2004, van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008; Yoder, Tobias, & Snell, 2011). It usually focuses on traditional forms of political activism including participation in rallies and writing letters to newspapers and politicians.

Different forms of gendered racism. While research (Duncan, 1999; Liss et al., 2004; Szymanski, 2012; Szymanski & Lewis, 2015) suggests that experiencing discrimination, generally, is linked to engagement in activism, some theories (Harrell, 2000) suggests that specific forms of discrimination are more strongly linked to activism. For example, Harrell (2000) suggested that experiencing overt and covert racism lead to different emotional responses and, thus, behavioral reactions. Overt racism refers to obvious forms of racism, such as using a racial slur, while covert racism is more subtle and concealed. Harrell argued that overt racism often yields an anger response, which may result in more active coping. Conversely, covert racism may yield feelings of confusion and result in rumination. As such, it can be concluded that overt forms of discrimination are associated with action, while experiences of subtle discrimination have no impact one's decision to engage in activism. However, research has not empirically examined whether overt discrimination is a better predictor of activism than covert discrimination.

Anger. Functionalist approaches to emotions might offer additional insight into the relationship between discrimination and activism. Functionalists suggest a link between emotions and behaviors such that emotions motivate particular action tendencies (Lazarus, 1991). For example, anger is experienced when one's goals are

thwarted, and motivates individuals to remove barriers that block goal attainment (Campos, Mumme, Kermoian, & Campos, 1994). If equality is the goal for Black women, gendered racism blocks that goal, making Black women angry and motivated to remove the blockade. Therefore, functionalists would argue that the activism displayed by Black women is driven by feelings of anger.

Similarly, the Anger Activism Model (Turner, 2007) suggests that anger may play a mediating role in the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism. The model posits that anger and self-efficacy motivate individuals to engage in activist behaviors. Specifically, Turner suggests that anger and self-efficacy mediate the relationship between attitudes and behaviors. Likewise, it may be possible that, for Black women, anger plays a mediating role in the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism.

In sum, activism can be used as a response to experiences of discrimination or the subsequent anger that arises. However, while research empirically investigating activism focuses on its use in relation to sexism or racism independently, no literature to date has explored the use of activist behaviors in response to the intersectional experience of gendered racism. Exploring whether a relationship exists between activism and gendered racism may provide more information about who gets involved and why.

Ethgender Identity

Intersectionality theory posits that identities are interdependent (Crenshaw, 1991). Therefore, both ethnic and gender identity are always components of identity that influence perceptions and experiences. Ethgender identity, also referred to as gendered racial identity, encompasses the intersection of ethnic and gender identity (Thomas,

Hacker, & Hoxha, 2011). For Black women, ethgender identity captures how identities of being both Black and woman intertwine in the construction of a sense of self.

Research that highlights the importance of ethnic and gender identity as separate constructs has contributed to researchers' understanding of identity development. However, this singular approach does not appreciate the complexity of identity development for individuals who view both as central to their self-concept. For Black women, ethnicity and gender simultaneously influence perceptions of the self (Settles, 2006). In fact, research suggests that ethgender identity has greater salience than singular ethnic and gender identities (Essed, 1991; Settles, 2006; Thomas et al., 2011). As such, it is important to consider the influence of ethgender identity on Black women's experiences.

Through focus groups including Black young women aged 15–22, Thomas et al. (2011) explored the development of ethgender identity among Black women. They found that the participants struggled to isolate their ethnic and gender identities. One participant noted "It's very hard to distinguish being a woman, and being Black, you are a Black woman, it's one. Like it's no, I'm a woman then I'm Black. It's not I'm Black then I'm a woman. I'm a Black woman." Another participant noted "all the stereotypes we have to face as Black women. We're loud, we're welfare queens. All we do is have kids, we can't take care of our kids, we mistreat our men." This highlights the importance of intersectional identities in Black women's understanding of the self. Additionally, the participants made note of childhood experiences that suggest an early awareness of gendered racism. These experiences often involved being compared to European standards of beauty and a drive to overcome negative stereotypes and images of Black

women. The results revealed the importance of ethgender identity to the development of Black women.

Jaramillo (2010) argues that ethgender identity can be understood in individualistic and collectivistic terms, with individualistic ethgender identity focusing on personal needs and collectivistic ethgender identity focusing on connection to the larger group of Black women. Through focus groups, Jaramillo found that Latina women who described collective ethgender identity were more likely to participate in political activism than those who described individualistic identity. The author concludes that collectivistic identity might lead to a sense of solidarity and mutual obligation that places the needs of the group over individual needs. Similarly, research and theory examining social movement participation highlight the importance of collective identification on participation (Simon et al., 1998). Therefore, when examining the role of ethgender identity in the relationship between gendered racism and activism, it is important to distinguish ethgender identity based on individualistic and collectivistic dimensions.

A key aspect of identity development is identity centrality (Brown, 1989; Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Ethgender identity centrality refers to the degree to which ethgender identity is important to one's self-concept (Leach et al., 2008). The specific role of ethgender identity centrality in the relationship between gendered racism and activism among Black women has yet to be empirically studied. Theories regarding the role of singular identity suggest a possible mediating and moderating influence of identity centrality in the relationship between oppression and activism. However, little is known about the specific role of ethgender identity centrality in activism.

The possible roles of ethgender identity. Both theory and research have explored the role of gender and ethnic identity on activism (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Cronin, Levin, Branscombe, van Laar, & Tropp, 2012; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995; Tajfel, 1974). This work will be described below and provides the basis for the possible moderating and mediating role of ethgender identity within the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism. A moderator is defined as "a variable that alters the direction or strength of the relationship between a predictor and an outcome" (Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004, p. 116). Essentially, a moderating effect is an interaction between the moderator and the predictor. Therefore, the effect of one variable depends on the level of another. In contrast, a mediator is "a variable that explains the relationship between a predictor and an outcome" (Frazier et al., 2004, p. 116). In other words, it is the mechanism through which a predictor influences an outcome variable. If the mediator is not present, the relationship between the predictor and outcome does not exist. More practically, a moderator address "when" or "for whom" a predictor is more strongly related to an outcome, while a mediator establishes "how" or "why" one variable predicts an outcome (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Both of these approaches will be used to explore the role of ethgender identity centrality in the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism among Black women.

Ethgender identity as a moderator. Identity centrality indicates how important one's group membership is to their self-concept. According to social identity theory, individuals naturally strive for a positive self-image (Tajfel, 1974). This is particularly relevant for members of marginalized groups that are devalued within society. Those

with high identity centrality may be more motivated to engage in activist behaviors that are intended to make the group appear more positive and valued. Alternatively, those with low identity centrality may not be motivated to engage in activism on behalf of the group because that group membership is not central to their identity; therefore, it is less important to them that the group be viewed positively. In other words, greater identity centrality as a Black woman may moderate the positive relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism.

Related literature can be found regarding relative deprivation theory, which has been used to describe the link between feelings of injustice and collective action (van Zomeren, 2008; Walker & Pettigrew, 1984). Relative deprivation theory suggests that feelings of unjust disadvantage, based on social comparisons, lead individuals to engage in movements and social change to correct that disadvantage. Support for this theory has been replicated many times. For example, Kelly and Breinlinger (1995) found that gender identity moderated the relationship between collective relative deprivation (feeling that one's group is deprived relative to other groups) and reported participation in political collective action. They devised a measure of social beliefs including scales capturing collective relative deprivation and gender identity. Six hundred ten women rated their agreement with statements such as "Women as a group deserve a better deal in society" and "In terms of power and status in society, women get a bad deal compared to men" to capture level of collective relative deprivation. Items assessing gender identity included "I identify strong with other women" and "I feel strong ties with other women." Kelly and Breinlinger found that these two measures interacted to influence reports of political

participation one year later, including participation in women's groups and collective protest.

Moreover, theory suggests that discrimination elicits feelings of relative deprivation. For example, Lewis (1977) suggests that both the Feminist and Black Power movements resulted from women and Blacks, respectively, recognizing their limited economic options and value within the larger society. Lewis argues that a certain level of awareness of one's relative deprivation is necessary to recognize one's disadvantage and be motivated to participate in social movement. Accordingly, the experience of discrimination would imply feelings of relative deprivation. This suggests that identity centrality should moderate the relationship between experiencing with discrimination and activism. Specifically, from this perspective, higher levels of ethgender identity centrality should strengthen the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism among Black women. Alternatively, a weak associated between experiences with gendered racism and activism is expected among those with low levels of ethgender identity centrality. This would echo the findings in studies examining relative deprivation theory that demonstrate a stronger association between feelings of relative deprivation and action (Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995). However, no research to date has examined the possible moderating effects of identity centrality in the relationship between experiences with discrimination and activism.

Ethgender identity as a mediator. In contrast, other theories suggest that ethgender identity should serve as a mediator between experiences with gendered racism and activism. The rejection-identification model posits that experiencing rejection due to discrimination threatens psychological well-being and encourages members of

marginalized groups to cope by identifying more strongly with other members of their group (Branscombe et al., 1999). In support of this model, Branscombe and colleagues found that experiencing discrimination had a direct negative effect on psychological well-being, but an indirect positive relationship with well-being through enhanced minority group identification. This relationship has been observed among women and Blacks (Branscombe et al., 1999; Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002).

Branscombe et al. (1999) extend the model by noting that members of marginalized groups can combat feelings of rejection by "increasing investment to their group" in order to feel like they belong (p. 137). This investment can come in the form of activism on behalf of one's group. To test this model, Cronin et al. (2012) conducted a longitudinal study with 252 Latino college students. Participants indicated levels of perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identification, well-being, and activism during their first and fourth years of college. The findings replicated those of Brasncombe et al. (1999) and revealed that experiencing discrimination had an indirect positive relationship with activism through enhanced minority group identification. Additionally, Cronin et al. found that the relationships between perceived discrimination during the first year and both well-being and activism during the fourth year were mediated sequentially by activism during the first year and ethnic identification during the fourth year. This suggests that ethgender identity is not a moderator but a mediator between gendered racism and activism.

No examination of the rejection-identification model has taken an intersectional approach. This is important because studies have highlighted the importance of ethgender identity to Black women noting that they seldom consider their ethnic or gender identity

in isolation (Thomas et al., 2011). Therefore, it can be beneficial for researchers to fully understand the impact of ethgender identity on behavior. Particularly, researchers may benefit from examining its influence on positive behaviors, such as activism, in effort to increase such behaviors.

The closest a study has come to examining the mediating role of ethgender identity in the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism comes from a study conducted by Szymanski and Lewis (2016). Szymanski and Lewis collected data from a sample of 212 Black college women and investigated the mediating role of ethgender identity in the relationship between gendered racism and the use of active coping strategies, including resistance and education/advocacy. They found that while experiences of gendered racism increased the use of active coping strategies, ethgender identity centrality did not mediate the relationship. Although resistance and education/advocacy can be forms of activism, the researchers did not explicitly examine activism; therefore, the findings provide limited information about activism. Moreover, the researchers utilized a measure of ethgender identity centrality that captured more individualistic, rather than collectivistic, identity. Research and theory suggest that collectivist identity mediates the relationship between discrimination and activism as it encourages individuals to consider their individual role in promoting group-level change (Jaramillo, 2010).

Purpose of the Study

There are several key features of the present study. First, the study focused on an "invisible" population that has been involved in activism and contributed to much social change. Black women have a history of engaging in activism; however, research rarely

focuses on the processes that motivate Black women, specifically, to action. Instead, Black women are outnumbered by White women in studies about women and feminist movements (Duncan, 1999; Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995; Liss et al., 2004), while they are overshadowed by Black men in studies about Blacks and Black activism (Grayman-Simpson, 2012; Szymanski & Lewis, 2015). Revealing the process behind activism for Black women can help researchers better understand a population that has been shown to have unique experiences yet is rarely the focus of studies.

Second, the present study takes an intersectional approach to understand the influence of multiple identities. By acknowledging that identities do not develop in isolation and using measures that appreciate intersectionality, the present study can nuance and improve understanding of activism among Black women.

Third, most studies that examine Black women and include a focus on gendered racism often highlight negative mental and physical health outcomes. However, proponents of positive psychology suggest that psychology's conceptualization of well-being as the absence of distress greatly limits our understanding of people's health (Ryff, 1989). In fact, some research suggests that ethnic identity is more strongly correlated with positive well-being than it is with psychological distress (Smith & Silva, 2011). As such, focusing on activism, a mechanism that has been linked to positive outcomes, enhances the scope of gendered racism research.

Finally, examining psychological processes through multiple models highlights the importance of considering the dynamic and multi-faceted ways that identity can influence behaviors. The findings will contribute to a more comprehensive and accurate model that will increase researchers understanding of activism among Black women.

Aims and hypotheses. There were three major aims of the present study. The first aim was to determine the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism. Based on previous findings suggesting a positive relationship between experiences with racism and activism (Livingston et al., 2017; Szymanski, 2012; Szymanski & Lewis, 2015), it was hypothesized that higher frequency of experiences with gendered racism would be associated with higher levels of activism among Black women. Furthermore, this study explored whether experiences with overt or covert gendered racism better predicts action. Based on theory suggesting that overt discrimination is more likely to lead to action than covert discrimination (Harrell, 2000), it was expected that experiences with overt gendered racism would be a stronger predictor of action. Specific hypotheses related to the first aim are as follows:

Aim 1: Determine the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism.

Hypothesis 1: Experiences with overt, but not covert, gendered racism will predict activism.

The second aim of the study was to determine the role of emotions in Black women's decision to engage in activism. Based on previous research suggesting that anger and activism may be positively correlated (Barrett & Swim, 1998), it was expected that anger would be positively correlated with activism. It was also hypothesized that anger would predict activism, as research suggests that feelings of anger lead to active forms of coping (Barrett, 1993). Finally, following the Anger Activism Model (Turner, 2007), it was hypothesized that anger would play a mediating role in the relationship

between experiences with gendered racism and activism. Specific hypotheses related to the second aim are as follows:

Aim 2: Explore the role of emotions in Black women's decision to engage in activism. Specifically, determine whether anger has a direct or indirect effect on activism.

        Hypothesis 2: Anger, but not hopelessness, will predict activism.

        Hypothesis 3: Anger will mediate the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism.

The third aim of the study was to determine whether ethgender identity plays a moderating or mediating role in the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism. Limited research has examined gendered racism as experienced by Black women and even less has explored the impact of ethgender identity. Therefore, the approach to this aim is exploratory. However, it is hypothesized that more collectivistic measures of ethgender identity will play a more significant role than individualistic ethgender identity.

Aim 3: Determine the role of ethgender identity in the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism.

        Hypothesis 4: Because this is an exploratory aim, no specific hypothesis is presented. The study will explore whether ethgender identity plays a mediating or a moderating role in the relationship between experiences gendered racism and activism.

Method

Recruitment

The present study collected data from a sample of Black women across the United States. A power analysis using G*Power 3.1 was conducted. For the mediation analysis, a medium effect size (.15), power of .80, and 3 predictors would require a minimum sample size of 77 participants. With a medium effect size, power of .80, and 8 predictors, it was determined that a minimum of 109 participants would be needed for the moderation analysis. Therefore, the researcher sought to recruit 125 participants to account for any missing data. An online crowdsourcing service (MTurk Prime) was used to collect data. MTurk allows anonymous workers to complete online surveys for monetary compensation. Research suggests that samples acquired through MTurk are more diverse than college samples and still produce reliable data (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011).

Participants

A national sample of 112 adult Black women participated in the present study. Participants could indicate more than one ethnicity. In addition to marking Black/African American, three participants marked White/European American, three participants marked Hispanic/Latina, and one participant marked Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander. Ages ranged from 20 to 68 years (M = 36.96, SD = 11.61). Majority (85.7%) of participants identified as heterosexual, while nine participants identified as bisexual, four identified as homosexual, and one marked that her sexual orientation was not listed. Seventy-five participants obtained a college degree. Seventy-two participants indicated an annual income of $20,000 to $50,000.

Measures

      Gendered racism. Gendered racism was assessed through two measures: The Revised Schedule of Sexist Events (Thomas et al., 2008) and the Gendered Racial Microaggression Scale (Lewis & Neville, 2015). The Revised Schedule of Sexist Events was used to capture experiences with overt gendered racism, while the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale was used to capture experiences with covert gendered racism.

      The Revised Schedule of Sexist Events was used by Thomas et al. (2008) to assess Black women's experiences with gendered racism. The measure originated from the Schedule of Sexist Events (Klonoff & Landrine, 1995); however, the Revised Schedule of Sexist Events was modified to specifically measure Black women's experiences with discrimination. The Revised Schedule of Sexist Events consists of 20 items that assess the frequency of discriminatory experiences due to one's status as a Black woman. Sample items of the Revised Schedule of Sexist Events include: "How many times have you been made fun of, pushed, shoved, hit, or threatened with harm because you are a Black woman?" and "How many times have you heard people making inappropriate or degrading jokes about Black women?" Participants used a Likert-type scale to rate frequency ranging from 1 (the event never happened) to 6 (the event happens almost all the time). For the current study, participants also indicated their emotional reactions to each item. Participants used a Likert-type scale to rate their anger ranging from 1 (not at all angry) to 6 (extremely angry) and their hopelessness ranging from 1 (not at all hopeless) to 6 (extremely hopeless). Mean scores were computed for each subscale with higher scores indicating higher frequency of experiences with gendered racism, higher levels of anger, and higher levels of hopelessness. Previous research

supports the validity of the Revised Schedule of Sexist Events (Williams, 2015). It has

been found to positively correlate with measures of race-related stress and sexism and not

correlate with measures of social desirability, demonstrating convergent and discriminant

validity, respectively. It has also been found to positively correlate with measures of

psychological distress, demonstrating criterion-related validity. Importantly, the measure

demonstrates incremental validity as the Revised Schedule of Sexist Events remains

significantly and positively related to depression and anxiety above and beyond what can

be accounted for by race-related stress and sexism. Reliability of the Revised Schedule of

Sexist Events has been acceptable with alpha reported to be .93 in samples of Black

women (Thomas et al., 2008; Williams, 2015). The Cronbach's alphas for the present

study were .96, .97, and .97 for the frequency, anger, and hopelessness scales,

respectively.

The Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale (Lewis & Neville, 2015) measures

subtle and everyday verbal and behavioral expressions of gendered racism toward Black

women within an interpersonal context. The Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale

assess Black women's experiences across four domains: assumptions of beauty and

objectification, silenced and marginalization, strong Black woman stereotype, and angry

Black woman stereotype. The Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale consists of 32

items. Sample items include: "Negative comments about my hair when natural," "My

comments have been ignored," "I have been told that I am too assertive," and "Someone

accused me of being angry when speaking calm." Participants used a Likert-type scale to

rate the frequency ranging from 0 (never) to 5 (once a week or more). For the current

study, participants also indicated their emotional reactions to each item. Participants used

a Likert-type scale to rate their anger ranging from 0 (not at all angry) to 5 (extremely angry) and their hopelessness ranging from 0 (not at all hopeless) to 5 (extremely hopeless). Mean scores were calculated for each scale, with higher scores indicating more frequent experiences with covert gendered racism, higher levels of anger, and higher levels of hopelessness. Previous research supports the validity of the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale (Jones, 2016; Lewis & Neville, 2015). Exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis provide support for the four factors (Lewis & Neville, 2015). The Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale has been found to positively correlate with measures of racism and sexism, suggesting convergent validity. It is also positively associated with measures of psychological distress, demonstrating criterion-related validity (Jones, 2016; Lewis & Neville, 2015). Though not specifically tested, the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale is conceptually unique as it was created from the intersectional perspective. Reliability of the Gendered Racial Microaggressions Scale in previous research has been acceptable, with alphas in each of the four domains reported to be between .74 and .88 and the Cronbach's alpha for the total scale reported to be .93 in samples of Black women (Lewis & Neville, 2015). The Cronbach's alpha for the present study were .95, .96, and .98 for the frequency, anger, and hopelessness scales, respectively.

Ethgender identity centrality. There are no current measures that capture ethgender identity centrality, specifically. For this study, ethgender identity centrality was assessed using two measures: The Centrality subscale of the In-Group Identification Scale (Leach et al., 2008) and a modified version of the Centrality scale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, &

Smith, 1997). The Centrality subscale of the In-Group Identification Scale was used to capture individualistic ethgender identity centrality, while the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity was used to capture collectivistic ethgender identity centrality.

The Centrality subscale of the In-Group Identification Scale was used by Szymanski and Lewis (2016) to measure ethgender identity centrality. This captured individualistic measure of ethgender identity centrality. The subscale consists of three items, including "I often think about the fact that I am a Black woman." Participants rated items on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating higher levels of ethgender identity centrality. Previous research reports evidence for validity and reliability of the Centrality subscale (Leach et al., 2008). Reliability has been acceptable with alpha reported to be .76 in a sample of Black women (Szymanski & Lewis, 2016). The Cronbach's alpha for the present study was .81.

Although the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity was originally developed to measure Black identity, the Centrality scale has been modified to measure centrality of other identities including woman and scientist (Settles, 2004). In this study, the Centrality scale was modified to specifically measure Black women's collectivistic ethgender identity centrality. The scale consists of 8 items. Sample items include: "I have a strong attachment to other Black women" and "My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black women." Participants rated items on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Mean scores were calculated (3 items are reverse scored), with higher scores indicating a stronger identity as a Black woman. Reliability for the

Centrality scale has been acceptable with alpha reported to range from .73 to .84 in

samples of Black women (Oney, Cole, & Sellers, 2011; Settles, Navarrete, Pagano,

Abdou, & Sidanius, 2010; Williams, 2015; Yap, Settles, & Pratt-Hyatt, 2011). The

Cronbach's alpha for the present study was .79.

Activism. Unfortunately, no measures capture activism specific to Black women.

Therefore, measures were modified to capture Black women's activism. Activism was

assessed through various measures: A modified version of the Activism Orientation Scale

(Corning & Myers, 2002), a modified version of the Involvement in Feminist Activities

Scale (Szymanski, 2004), and the Education/Advocacy and Resistance subscales of the

Coping with Discrimination Scale (Wei, Alvarez, Ku, Russell, & Bonett, 2010).

The Activism Orientation Scale (Corning & Myers, 2002) measures an

individual's propensity to engage in social action across a wide range of behaviors. In

order to capture Black women's activism, specifically, participants were asked "If you

find out about a problem affecting Black women, how willing would you be to do each of

the following to fix it?" and item wording was modified slightly to correspond. The

Activism Orientation Scale includes 38 items that capture activism across two broad

domains: conventional activism (e.g., "How likely is it that you will display a poster or

bumper sticker about the issue?") and high-risk activism (e.g., "How likely is it that you

will engage in an illegal act as part of a protest regarding the issue?"). Participants rated

the likelihood of their engagement in each behavior on a Likert-type scale ranging from 0

(extremely unlikely) to 3 (extremely likely). Scores were totaled with higher scores

indicating more propensity to engage in activist behaviors. Previous research supports the

validity of the scale demonstrating acceptable construct validity in the areas of

convergent, discriminant, and criterion validity (Corning & Myers, 2002). Reliability of the Activism Orientation Scale has been acceptable with reported alphas ranging from .87 to .97 in diverse samples (Corning & Myers, 2002; Ponterotto & Ruckdeschel, 2007). The Cronbach's alpha for the present study was .97.

The Involvement in Feminist Activities Scale (Szymanski, 2004) was originally developed to capture feminist activism. For the present study, each item in the scale was modified by changing the word "feminist" with "Black women." The Involvement in Feminist Activities Scale consists of 17 items. Sample items include, "I actively participate in organizational, political, social, community, and/or academic activities and events targeted toward Black women" and "I attend conferences/lecture/classes/training on Black women's issues." Participants rated each item on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (very untrue of me) to 7 (very true of me). Mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating more activism. Previous research supports the validity of the Involvement in Feminist Activities Scales demonstrating acceptable construct validity in the areas of convergent and discriminant validity as well as structural validity (Szymanski, 2004). Reliability of the scale has been acceptable with reported alpha of .94 in a sample of women. A modified version of the scale was used to capture Black activism in which the word "feminist" was replaced with "African American" (Szymanski, 2012). The reported alpha for the modified version was .95 in a sample of Blacks. The Cronbach's alpha for the present study was .97.

The Coping with Discrimination Scale (Wei et al., 2010) captures disengagement and engagement coping strategies used to deal with discrimination. The present study included the two engagement strategy subscales (Education/Advocacy and Resistance) to

capture activism against discrimination. Items were modified to target discrimination toward Black women, specifically. Each subscale consists of five items. Sample items from the Education/Advocacy subscale include, "I educate others about the negative impact of discrimination toward Black women" and "I help Black women to be better prepared to deal with discrimination." Sample items from the Resistance subscale include, "I directly challenge the person who offended me" and "I respond by attacking others' ignorant beliefs." Participants rated each item on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (never like me) to 6 (always like me). Mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating more activism. Previous research supports the validity of the Coping with Discrimination Scale demonstrating acceptable content, structural, and construct validity (Wei et al., 2010). Reliability of the scale has been acceptable with reported alphas of .87 and .71 for the Education/Advocacy and Resistance subscales, respective, in a sample of Black women (Szymanski & Lewis, 2016). The Cronbach's alphas were .87 and .61 for Education/Advocacy and Resistance, respectively.

Procedure

Black women were recruited to participate in the study through MTurk Prime. Recruitment occurred in December 2017. The survey included measures for the present study in addition to other measures exploring Black women's experiences, which were collected for exploratory purposes and will not be described in this study. Surveys were completed online at a time and location of the participant's choice. All measures were presented randomly via Qualtrics. Demographic items were completed after all measures. Participants were offered $1 for their participation.

Results

Data Cleaning

One hundred twenty-five Black women responded to survey questions. The mean completion time for the study was 42.28 minutes (SD = 51.64, Median = 34.45 minutes). Three participants were removed from the dataset due to unreasonably fast completion time (defined as less than one third of the median completion time). Four participants were removed because the MTurk gender consistency measure (provided by MTurk) indicated that across surveys, they did not consistently indicate their gender was female. Six participants were removed because they had excessive missing data. This resulted in the final reported sample of 112 participants.

Assumptions of the Analyses

Examination of the distributions revealed that two of the main variables (experiences with overt gendered racism and individualistic ethgender identity) had significant skew as defined by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007). Therefore, analyses utilized log transformations of skewed variables. For clarity in presentation, reported means and standard deviations are not transformed.

Most measures demonstrated acceptable reliability as recommended by Kline (2000). Therefore, all measures were analyzed as proposed. Means, standard deviations, reliabilities, skewness, and kurtosis are presented in Table 1.

Finally, multicollinearity was assessed. A correlational matrix (Table 2) revealed strong relationships between variables as defined by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007). Variance inflation factors (VIF) were assessed for all analyses, with no VIF exceeding 5, following recommendations of Jeeshim (2002). Additionally, condition index values

were examined and no values exceeded 30, following recommendations of Jeeshim

(2002).

Table 1: Means, Standard Deviations, Reliabilities, Skewness, and Kurtosis

Variable	Possible Range	Mean/*SD*	α	Skew Statistic/*SE*	Kurtosis Statistic/*SE*
1. Overt Gendered Racism	1 – 6	2.47/1.19	.96	1.09/.23	.59/.45
2. Overt Gendered Racism–Anger	1 – 6	3.00/1.17	.97	-.10/.23	-1.09/.46
3. Overt Gendered Racism–Hopelessness	1 – 6	2.34/1.11	.97	.39/.23	-.99/.46
4. Covert Gendered Racism	0 – 5	1.72/1.09	.95	.62/.23	-.34/.45
5. Covert Gendered Racism–Anger	0 – 5	1.67/0.97	.96	.03/.23	-.90/.45
6. Covert Gendered Racism–Hopelessness	0 – 5	1.16/1.04	.98	.53/.23	-.80/.45
7. Individualistic Ethgender Identity	1 – 7	5.79/1.25	.81	-1.48/.23	2.72/.45
8. Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	1 – 7	5.24/1.08	.79	-.59/.23	.73/.45
9. Activism Orientation Scale	0 – 114	52.29/27.54	.97	-.15/.23	-.58/.45
10. Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale	1 – 7	3.22/1.74	.97	.43/.23	-.92/.45
11. Education/Advocacy	1 – 6	3.71/1.36	.87	-.20/.23	-.66/.45
12. Resistance	1 – 6	2.82/0.82	.61	.11/.23	.35/.45

Table 2: Correlations among Study Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Overt Gendered Racism	–										
2. Overt Gendered Racism–Anger	.46**	–									
3. Overt Gendered Racism–Hopelessness	.42**	.63**	–								
4. Covert Gendered Racism	.59**	.30**	.37**	–							
5. Covert Gendered Racism–Anger	.15	.62**	.59**	.54**	–						
6. Covert Gendered Racism–Hopelessness	.15	.41**	.74**	.49**	.81**	–					
7. Individualistic Ethgender Identity	.28**	.18	.22*	.24*	.24*	.18	–				
8. Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	.21*	.24*	.10*	.23*	.28**	.12	.65**	–			
9. Activism Orientation Scale	.22*	.26**	.17**	.38**	.26**	.18	.32**	.39**	–		
10. Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale	.19*	.08	.10	.33**	.11	.10	.32**	.33**	.59**	–	
11. Education/Advocacy	.27**	.12	.15	.35**	.26**	.22*	.36**	.33**	.69**	.56**	–
12. Resistance	.06	.04	.10	.26**	.26*	.24**	.02	.03	.20*	.12	.28**

Note. * indicates p < .05, ** indicates p < .01.

Preliminary Analyses

All demographic variables were evaluated as potential confounds. Age was found to negatively correlate with experiences with covert gendered racism ($r = -.22$, $p = .02$) and hopelessness response to covert gendered racism ($r = -.20$, $p = .03$). Therefore, relevant analyses controlled for age effects. No other measured demographic variables were significantly related to any variables of interest.

Gendered Racism and Activism

Correlational analyses assessed the bivariate relationship between the experiences with gendered racism and activism. Separate analyses were conducted for each type of gendered racism (overt v. covert) across each measure of activism (i.e., Activism Orientation Scale, Involvement in Feminist Activities Scale, and Coping with Discrimination Scale Education/Advocacy and Resistance subscales). Pearson correlation and significance values are reported in Table 2. Regression coefficients and significance values are reported in Table 3.

Table 3. Regressions Predicting Activism Measures

Measures of Activism	Variables	β	t	R^2	F	df
Experiences with Gendered Racism						
Activism Orientation Scale	Overt Gendered Racism	.03	.25	.14	9.13**	2, 109
	Covert Gendered Racism	.36**	3.07			
Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale	Overt Gendered Racism	.01	.04	.11	6.63**	2, 109
	Covert Gendered Racism	.33**	2.73			
Education/Advocacy	Overt Gendered Racism	.13	1.07	.13	8.28**	2, 109
	Covert Gendered Racism	.27*	2.27			
Resistance	Overt Gendered Racism	-.13	-1.06	.08	4.44*	2, 109
	Covert Gendered Racism	.34*	2.80			
Emotional Responses						
Activism Orientation Scale	Total Anger	.34*	2.56	.10	5.96**	2, 109
	Total Hopelessness	-.04	-.27			
Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale	Total Anger	.07	.51	.02	1.00	2, 109
	Total Hopelessness	.07	.53			
Education/Advocacy	Total Anger	.14	1.04	.06	3.13*	2, 190
	Total Hopelessness	.11	.82			
Resistance	Total Anger	.07	.50	.04	2.39	2, 190
	Total Hopelessness	.15	1.11			

Note: β and t reflect values from the final regression equation.
 * indicates $p < .05$, ** indicates $p < .01$.

Paired sample *t*-test compared the frequency of experiences of overt and covert gendered racism. One point was added to covert gendered racism scores to set overt and covert responses to the same scale. Participants reported higher frequency of covert (v. overt) gendered racism, $t(111) = -2.48$, $p = .02$, Cohen's $d = 0.21$. Means and standard deviations are reported in Table 1. Experiences with overt gendered racism was positively correlated with three measures of activism (Activism Orientation Scale, $r = .26$, $p < .01$; Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale, $r = .22$, $p = .02$; Education/Advocacy, $r = .30$, $p < .01$). Experiences with overt gendered racism was not correlated with Resistance, $r = .09$, $p = .33$. Experiences with covert gendered racism was positively correlated with all four measures of activism (Activism Orientation Scale, $r = .38$, $p < .01$; Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale, $r = .33$, $p < .01$; Education/Advocacy, $r = .35$, $p < .01$; Resistance, $r = .26$, $p = .01$).

Multiple linear regression analysis assessed whether experiences with overt or covert gendered racism better predicted activism. Hypothesis 1 stated that experiences with overt gendered racism, but not covert gendered racism, would predict activism. Contrary to hypothesis, only experiences with covert gendered racism significantly predicted activism across all four measures of activism. The results of the regression using the Activism Orientation Scale were significant ($R^2 = .14$, $F(2,109) = 9.13$, $p < .01$) with experiences with covert gendered racism emerging as a significant predictor ($\beta = .36$, $p < .01$). Similarly, the results of the regression using the Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale were significant ($R^2 = .11$, $F(2,109) = 6.63$, $p < .01$) with experiences with covert gendered racism emerging as a significant predictor ($\beta = .33$, $p < .01$). Likewise, the results of the regression using the Education/Advocacy subscale were significant (R^2

= .13, $F(2,109) = 8.28$, $p < .01$) with experiences with covert gendered racism emerging as a significant predictor ($\beta = .27$, $p = .03$). Finally, the results of the regression using the Resistance subscale were significant ($R^2 = .08$, $F(2,109) = 4.44$, $p = .01$) with experiences with covert gendered racism emerging as a significant predictor ($\beta = .34$, $p = .01$). All regression coefficients and significance values are reported in Table 3.

Emotional Responses and Activism

Paired sample *t*-tests were used to compare anger and hopelessness responses to experiences with overt and covert gendered racism. Participants reported higher levels of anger (v. hopelessness) in response to overt, $t(107) = 6.91$, $p < .01$, Cohen's $d = 0.57$, and covert, $t(111) = 8.67$, $p < .01$, Cohen's $d = 0.51$, gendered racism. Additionally, after setting responses to the same scale, overt (v. covert) gendered racism yielded higher ratings of anger, $t(107) = 3.15$, $p < .01$, Cohen's $d = 0.27$, and hopelessness, $t(107) = 2.01$, $p = .05$, Cohen's $d = 0.14$. Means and standard deviations are reported in Table 1.

Total emotional responses (anger and hopelessness) were calculated across overt and covert measures of gendered racism by setting emotional responses to overt and covert gendered racism scores to the same scale (1 – 6) and then averaging both mean scores together. Total anger scores ranged from 1.02 – 4.54 (M = 2.81, SD = 0.97), while total hopelessness scores ranged from 1.00 – 4.26 (M = 2.23, SD = 1.00). Total anger and total hopelessness scores were strongly correlated, $r = .73$, $p < .01$.

Correlational analyses assessed the bivariate relationship between emotional responses to gendered racism and activism. Anger response was positively correlated with two measures of activism (Activism Orientation Scale, $r = .31$, $p < .01$; Education/Advocacy, $r = .22$, $p = .02$). Anger was not correlated with Involvement in

Feminist Activity Scale scores, $r = .12$, $p = .19$, or Resistance, $r = .18$, $p = .06$.

Hopelessness was positively correlated with three measures of activism (Activism

Orientation Scale, $r = .21$, $p = .03$; Education/Advocacy, $r = .21$, $p = .03$; Resistance, $r =$

.20, $p = .04$). Hopelessness was not correlated with Involvement in Feminist Activity

Scale scores, $r = .13$, $p = .19$.

Multiple linear regression analysis was used to test if emotional responses

significantly predicted activism. Hypothesis 2 stated that anger, but not hopelessness,

would predict activism. The results of the regression using the Activism Orientation

Scale were significant ($R^2 = .10$, $F(2,109) = 5.96$, $p < .01$) with anger emerging as a

significant predictor ($\beta = .34$, $p = .01$). The results of the regression using the

Education/Advocacy subscale were significant ($R^2 = .05$, $F(2,109) = 3.13$, $p = .05$);

however, no predictor was significant. All other regression analyses were not significant

(Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale, $R^2 = .02$, $F(2,109) = 1.00$, $p = .37$; Resistance,

$R^2 = .04$, $F(2,109) = 2.39$, $p = .10$). All regression coefficients and significance values are

reported in Table 3.

Hypothesis 3 stated that anger would mediate the relationship between

experiences with gendered racism and activism. The script version of the indirect macro

for mediation described by Preacher and Hayes (2008) was used to test this hypothesis.

As suggested by Preacher and Hayes, analysis used 1,000 bootstrap samples from the

dataset to compute 95% confidence interval (CI) for the hypothesized indirect relations.

If the 95% CI does not include 0, then the indirect link is statistically significant at the p

$< .05$. Separate analyses were conducted for each type of racism due to high collinearity

between experiences with overt and covert gendered racism. Likewise, separate analyses

were conducted for each of the four measures of activism. Therefore, a total of 8

mediation analyses were conducted. Age was included as a control variable; however, its

effects were nonsignificant. Therefore, it was removed from the final presented analyses.

Contrary to hypothesis, anger did not mediate the relationship between

experiences with gendered racism and activism. That is, anger responses to overt

gendered racism did not mediate the relationship between experiences with overt

gendered racism and activism using any of the four activism measures. Nor did anger

responses to covert gendered racism mediate the relationship between experiences with

covert gendered racism and activism using any of the activism measures. All indirect

effects are reported in Table 4.

Table 4. Mediation Analyses of Experiences with Gendered Racism Predicting Activism through Anger

	Measure of Activism	Indirect Effect	*SE*	Bootstrap 95% CI
Overt Gendered Racism	Activism Orientation Scale	10.09	8.00	-3.16, 29.90
	Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale	-0.36	0.47	-1.32, 0.67
	Education/Advocacy	-0.19	0.40	-1.00, 0.62
	Resistance	-0.09	0.28	-0.70, 0.47
Covert Gendered Racism	Activism Orientation Scale	1.08	1.57	-1.59, 4.50
	Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale	-0.08	0.09	-0.26, 0.10
	Education/Advocacy	0.07	0.08	-0.07, 0.25
	Resistance	0.07	0.05	-0.01, 0.20

Note. 1,000 bootstrap samples.
* indicates p < .05.

Moderation Analysis

Multiple linear regression analysis was used to assess if ethgender identity

moderated the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism. Prior

to analysis, scores for measures of experiences with overt and covert gendered racism and

ethgender identity were centered (i.e., put into deviation units by subtracting their sample

means to produce revised sample means of zero) to reduce multicollinearity between

interaction terms and predictor variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). The centered

scores were used to create the interaction terms. Main effects were entered at Step 1 and

interaction effects at Step 2. Evidence for a moderator effect is noted at Step 2 by a

statistically significant increment in R^2 and beta weight. Separate analyses were used for

each measure of activism. Age was included as a control variable; however, its effects

were nonsignificant. Therefore, it was removed from the final presented analyses.

The third aim of the study was to determine whether ethgender identity

(collectivistic v. individualistic) plays a moderating or a mediating role in the relationship

between experiences with gendered racism and activism. The results of the analysis using

the Activism Orientation Scale were significant, $R^2 = .29$, $F(8,103) = 5.22$, $p < .01$.

Experiences with covert gendered racism ($\beta = .36$, $p < .01$) and collectivistic ethgender

identity ($\beta = .23$, $p = .04$) emerged as significant predictors of activism. No interactions

were significant predictors of activism. The results of the analysis using the Involvement

in Feminist Activity Scale were significant, $R^2 = .25$, $F(8,103) = 4.19$, $p < .01$.

Experiences with covert gendered racism ($\beta = .30$, $p = .01$) and the interaction of covert

gendered racism and individualistic ethgender identity ($\beta = .39$, $p = .04$) emerged as

significant predictors of activism. The results of the analysis using the

Education/Advocacy subscale were significant, $R^2 = .24$, $F(8,103) = 4.00$, $p < .01$.

Experiences with covert gendered racism ($\beta = .25$, $p = .04$) and individualistic ethgender

identity ($\beta = -.23$, $p = .05$) emerged as significant predictors of activism. No interactions

were significant predictors of activism. The results of the analysis using the Resistance

subscale were not significant, $R^2 = .11$, $F(8,103) = 1.53$, $p = .16$. All regression

coefficients and significance values are reported in Table 5.

Table 5. Moderation Analysis of Variables of Interest Predicting Activism

| Measure of Activism	Step	Variables	β	t	R²	F	df
Activism Orientation Scale	1	Overt Gendered Racism	-.03	-.27	.25	8.69**	4, 107
		Covert Gendered Racism	.36**	3.15			
		Individualistic Ethgender Identity	-.11	-1.00			
		Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	.23*	2.06			
	2	Overt Gendered Racism × Individualistic Ethgender Identity	-.01	-.04	.29	5.22**	8, 103
		Covert Gendered Racism × Individualistic Ethgender Identity	.25	1.40			
		Overt Gendered Racism × Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	.01	.05			
		Covert Gendered Racism × Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	.05	.26			
Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale	1	Overt Gendered Racism	-.04	-.38	.19	6.19**	4, 107
		Covert Gendered Racism	.30*	2.53			
		Individualistic Ethgender Identity	-.14	-1.16			
		Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	.19	1.63			
	2	Overt Gendered Racism × Individualistic Ethgender Identity	-.03	-.21	.25	4.19**	8, 103
		Covert Gendered Racism × Individualistic Ethgender Identity	.39*	2.08			
		Overt Gendered Racism × Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	-.07	-.46			
		Covert Gendered Racism × Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	.36	1.90			
Education/Advocacy	1	Overt Gendered Racism	.05	.45	.23	7.86**	4, 107
		Covert Gendered Racism	.25*	2.09			
		Individualistic Ethgender Identity	-.23	-1.97			
		Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	.11	.95			
	2	Overt Gendered Racism × Individualistic Ethgender Identity	-.06	-.36	.24	4.00**	8, 103
		Covert Gendered Racism × Individualistic Ethgender Identity	.15	.83			
		Overt Gendered Racism × Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	-.07	-.45			
		Covert Gendered Racism × Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	.07	.38			
Resistance	1	Overt Gendered Racism	-.10	-.81	.07	2.50*	4, 107
		Covert Gendered Racism	.37*	2.95			
		Individualistic Ethgender Identity	.10	.80			
		Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	-.01	-.05			
	2	Overt Gendered Racism × Individualistic Ethgender Identity	.18	1.08	.11	1.53	8, 103
		Covert Gendered Racism × Individualistic Ethgender Identity	-.17	-.83			
		Overt Gendered Racism × Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	.10	.57			
		Covert Gendered Racism × Collectivistic Ethgender Identity	-.22	-1.08			

Note: β and t reflect values from the final regression equation.
* indicates p < .05

To interpret the statistically significant interaction of experiences with covert gendered racism and individualistic ethgender identity that emerged in the analysis using the Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale, regression lines for the full sample were

plotted using Aiken and West's (1991) procedure. Activism scores for experiences with

covert gendered racism one standard deviation below and above the mean and low

individualistic ethgender identity (one standard deviation below the mean) versus high

individualistic ethgender identity (one standard deviation above the mean) were plotted

on a graph (see Figure 1). Aiken and West's simple slope analysis showed that

experiences with covert gendered racism predicted activism for Black women with low

individualistic ethgender identity, $\beta = .12$, $t = 2.81$, $p < .01$, but not for Black women with

high individualistic ethgender identity, $\beta = .06$, $t = 1.80$, $p = .07$. This indicates that

covert gendered racism predicts activism for Black women with low levels of

individualistic ethgender identity but there is no relationship between experiences with

covert gendered racism and activism for those with high individualistic ethgender

identity.

Figure 1. Interaction of Experiences with Covert Gendered Racism and Individualistic Ethgender Identity on Activism using the Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale
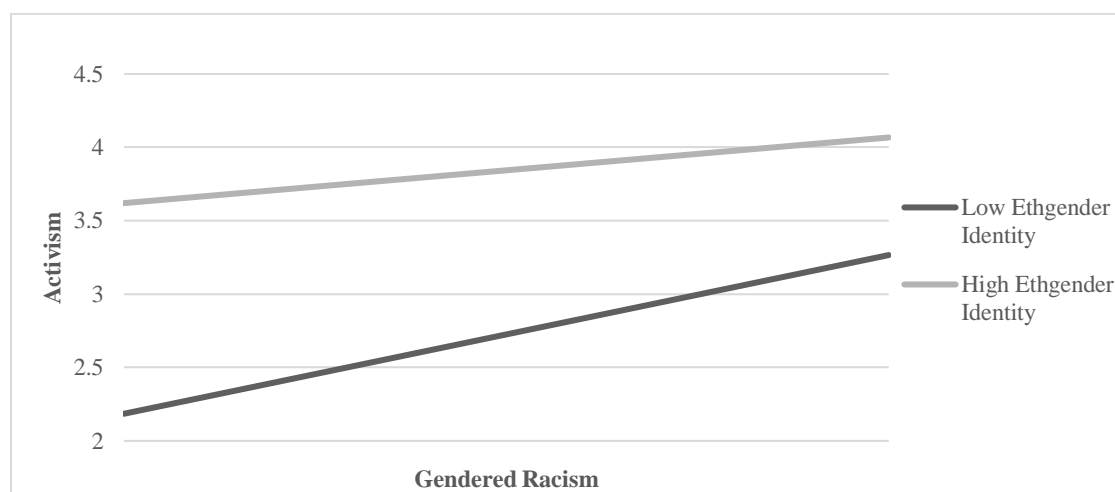
Mediation Analysis

To further address the third aim of the study, mediation analyses were conducted to determine whether ethgender identity mediated the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism. The script version of the indirect macro for mediation described by Preacher and Hayes (2008) was used to test this hypothesis. As suggested by Preacher and Hayes, analysis used 1,000 bootstrap samples from the dataset to compute 95% confidence interval (CI) for the hypothesized indirect relations. If the 95% CI does not include 0, then the indirect link is statistically significant at the $p < .05$. Separate analyses were conducted for each type of racism due to high collinearity between overt and covert gendered racism. Likewise, separate analyses were conducted for each of the four measures of activism. Therefore, a total of 8 mediation analyses were conducted. Age was included as a control variable; however, its effects were nonsignificant. Therefore, it was removed from the final presented analyses. All indirect effects are reported in Table 6.

Table 6. Mediation Analyses of Experiences with Gendered Racism Predicting Activism through Ethgender Identity

			Bootstrap		
	Measure of Activism	Ethgender Identity	Indirect Effect	*SE*	95% CI
Overt Gendered Racism	Activism Orientation Scale	Individualistic	5.05	6.03	-5.49, 19.07
		Collectivistic	8.85*	5.35	1.25, 23.85
	Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale	Individualistic	0.38	0.36	-0.15, 1.25
		Collectivistic	0.43*	0.29	0.02, 1.22
	Education/Advocacy	Individualistic	0.55*	0.31	0.11, 1.35
		Collectivistic	0.20	0.19	-0.08, 0.80
	Resistance	Individualistic	-0.15	0.17	-0.55, 0.15
		Collectivistic	0.07	0.12	-0.09, 0.40
Covert Gendered Racism	Activism Orientation Scale	Individualistic	0.70	0.97	-0.60, 3.45
		Collectivistic	1.52*	0.96	0.14, 4.08
	Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale	Individualistic	0.05	0.05	-0.02, 0.20
		Collectivistic	0.07*	0.05	0.01, 0.23
	Education/Advocacy	Individualistic	0.09*	0.05	0.01, 0.21
		Collectivistic	0.03	0.03	-0.02, 0.14
	Resistance	Individualistic	-0.03	0.03	-0.11, 0.01
		Collectivistic	0.01	0.02	-0.02, 0.07

Note. 1,000 bootstrap samples.
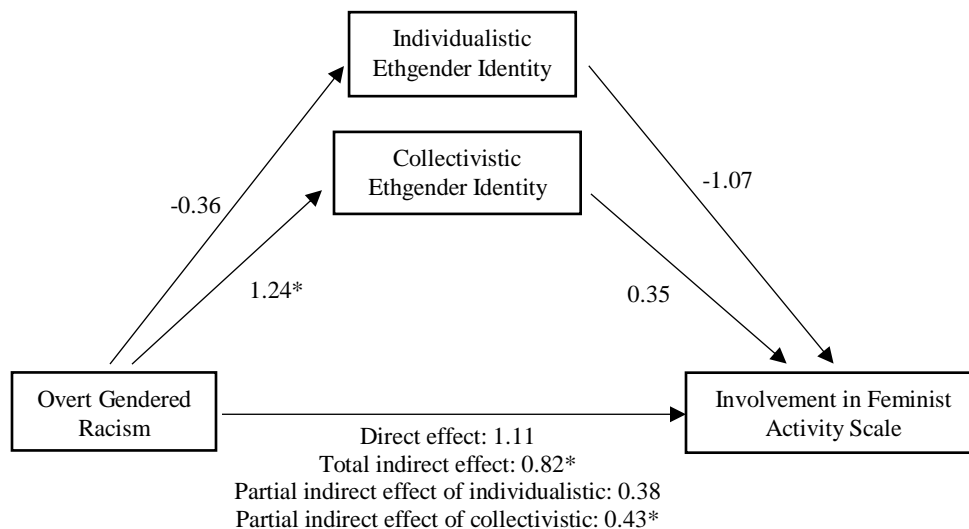** indicates p < .05.*

Three of the four mediation analyses assessing whether individualistic and/or collectivistic ethgender identity mediated the relationship between experiences with overt gendered racism and activism indicated mediation. The mediation model using the Activism Orientation Scale showed that collectivistic ethgender identity mediated the relationship between experiences with overt gendered racism and activism (unstandardized coefficients for indirect path = 8.85, *SE* = 5.35 and 95% CI = 1.25, 23.85). This model is represented in Figure 2. Likewise, the mediation model using the Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale showed that collectivistic ethgender identity mediated the relationship between experiences with overt gendered racism and activism (unstandardized coefficients for indirect path = 0.43, *SE* = 0.29 and 95% CI = 0.02, 1.22). This mediation model is represented in Figure 3. In contrast, the mediation model using the Education/Advocacy subscale showed that individualistic ethgender identity mediated the relationship between overt gendered racism and activism (unstandardized coefficients for indirect path = 0.55, *SE* = 0.31 and 95% CI = 0.11, 1.35). Figure 4 depicts this mediation model.

Figure 2. Mediation Model of Experiences with Overt Gendered Racism Predicting Activism using the Activism Orientation Scale
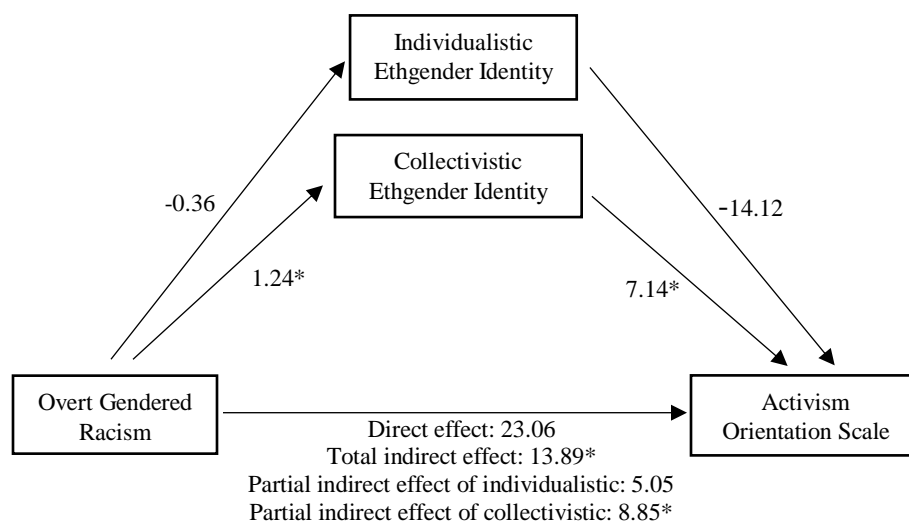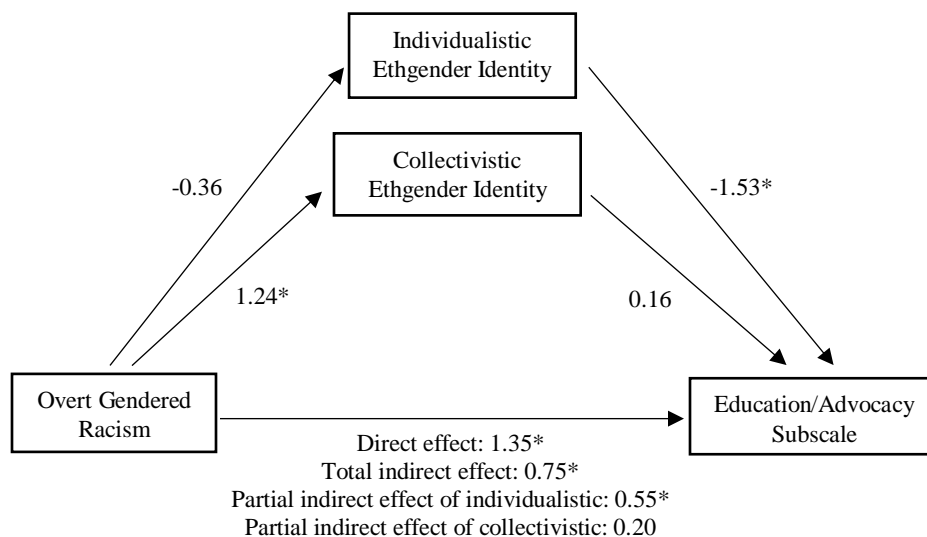
Figure 3. Mediation Model of Experiences with Overt Gendered Racism Predicting Activism using the Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale

Figure 4. Mediation Model of Experiences with Overt Gendered Racism Predicting Activism using the Education/Advocacy Subscale

Similarly, three of the four mediation analyses assessing whether individualistic and/or collectivistic ethgender identity mediated the relationship between the experiences with covert gendered racism and activism indicated mediation. The mediation model using the Activism Orientation Scale showed that collectivistic ethgender identity mediated the relationship between experiences with covert gendered racism and activism

(unstandardized coefficients for indirect path = 1.52, *SE* = 0.96 and 95% CI = 0.14, 4.08).

This model is represented in Figure 5. The mediation model using the Involvement in

Feminist Activity Scale showed that collectivistic ethgender identity mediated the

relationship between experiences with covert gendered racism and activism

(unstandardized coefficients for indirect path = 0.07, *SE* = 0.05 and 95% CI = 0.01, 0.23).

This mediation model is represented in Figure 6. In contrast, the mediation model using

the Education/Advocacy subscale showed that individualistic ethgender identity mediated

the relationship between experiences with covert gendered racism and activism

(unstandardized coefficients for indirect path = 0.09, *SE* = 0.05 and 95% CI = 0.01, 0.21).

Figure 7 depicts this mediation model.

Figure 5. Mediation Model of Experiences with Covert Gendered Racism Predicting Activism using the Activism Orientation Scale
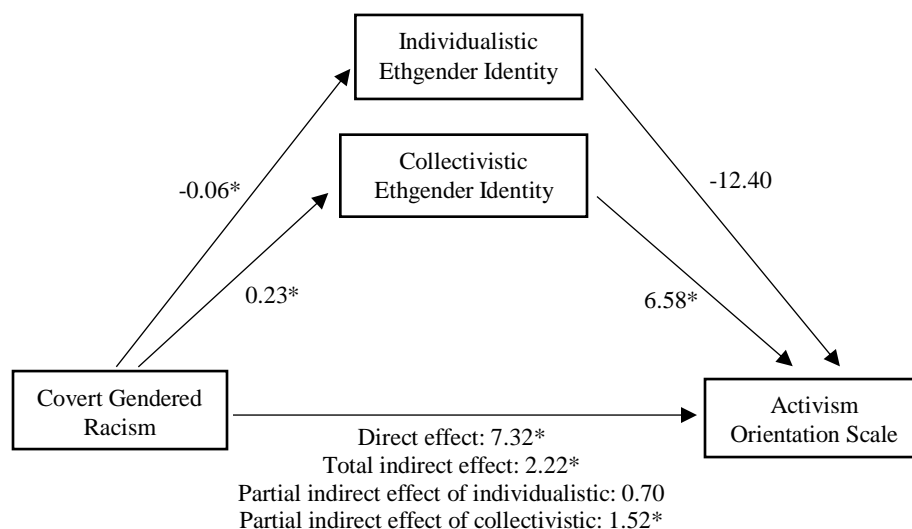
Figure 6. Mediation Model of Experiences with Covert Gendered Racism Predicting Activism using the Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale
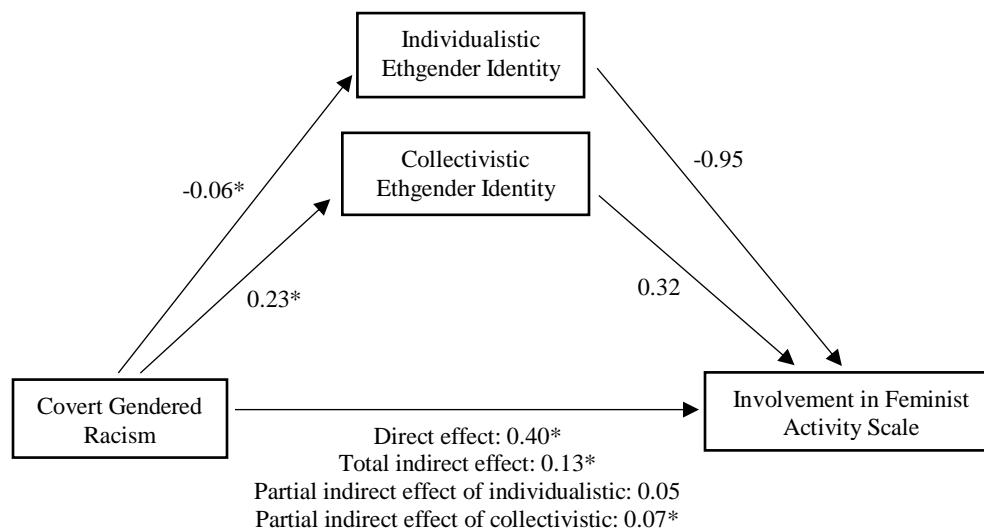
Figure 7. Mediation Model of Experiences with Covert Gendered Racism Predicting Activism using the Education/Advocacy Subscale
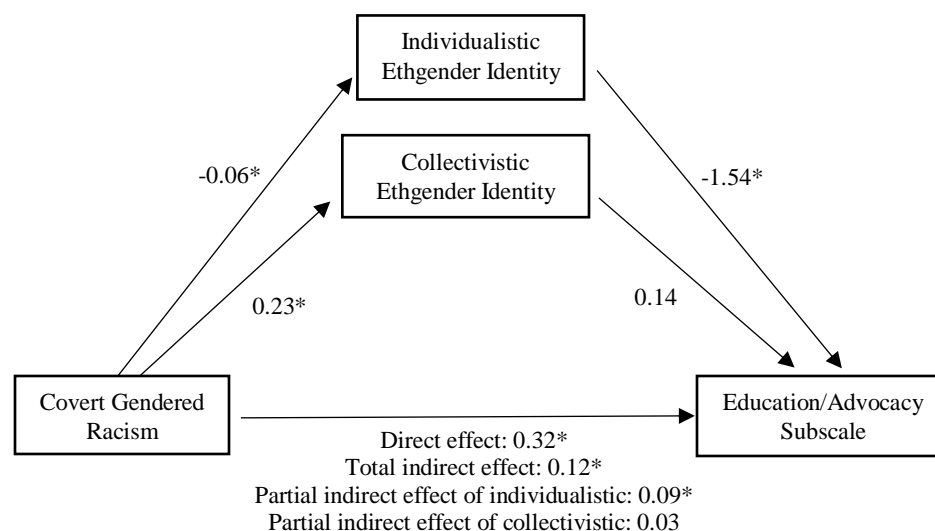
Supplemental Analyses

Multiple linear regression analysis was used to determine whether engagement in activism reduced emotional responses to gendered racism. One regression included all activism scales as predictors and total anger as the dependent variable. Another regression included all activism scales as predictors and total hopelessness as the

dependent variable. Age was included as a control variable; however, its effects were nonsignificant. Therefore, it was removed from the final presented analyses. Results of regression analyses are presented in Table 7. Results of the model examining the association between activism and anger was significant, $R^2 = .12$, $F(4,107) = 3.56$, $p = .01$. Activism measured using the Activism Orientation Scale emerged as the only significant predictor of anger. $\beta = .34$, $p = .01$. Results of the model examining the association between activism and hopelessness was not significant, $R^2 = .07$, $F(4,107) = 2.15$, $p = .08$.

Table 7. Regressions Predicting Emotional Responses

Measures of Activism	β	t	R^2	F	df
Total Anger					
Activism Orientation Scale	.34	2.57	.12	3.56**	4, 107
Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale	-.10	-.83			
Education/Advocacy	.01	.06			
Resistance	.12	1.25			
Total Hopelessness					
Activism Orientation Scale	.13	.93	.07	2.15	4, 107
Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale	-.02	-.19			
Education/Advocacy	.10	.71			
Resistance	.15	1.55			

Note: β and t reflect values from the final regression equation.
 ** indicates p < .01.

Discussion

Gendered Racism and Activism

In general, participants reported more experiences with covert, rather than overt, gendered racism. This is consistent with research and theory suggesting that modern discrimination takes a more covert form, while overt discrimination is becoming obsolete (Sue, 2010). Additionally, the findings of the present study suggest that Black women respond to covert, but not overt, gendered racism through activism. This suggests that it is the subtle and seemingly innocuous instances of gendered racism that lead Black women to engage in activism. This, coupled with findings suggesting that covert discrimination is common in everyday experiences, might help explain the resurgence of activism arising over the past few years. Researchers have revealed high levels of social and political activism and have likened this to the Civil Rights movement (Lee-Won, White, & Potocki, 2017; Livingston et al., 2017). It may be that the change in expression of discrimination (becoming more covert) has led to changing activists' efforts. Rather than combating blatant and overt discrimination, there is effort to reveal or uncover discrimination. For example, movements like the #SayHerName campaign, which seeks to raise awareness for Black female victims of anti-Black violence in the United States in an effort to change public perception that such crime targets Black men, involve efforts to reveal the effects of intersectionality. That is, the focus of current movements is to increase social consciousness to the discrimination faced by Black women. As such, the present findings reflect this change in activism as activism is predicted by experiences with covert gendered racial.

Emotional Responses and Activism

The shift in the use of activism to respond to covert gendered racism does not change the fact that overt gendered racism may yield strong emotional responses. In fact, the present findings suggest that Black women have stronger emotional responses to overt, rather than covert, gendered racism. This is consistent with findings suggesting that overt discrimination has a stronger negative impact on Black women's mental health than covert discrimination (Donovan et al., 2017).

While experiencing gendered racism results in feelings of anger, this anger does not appear to be a motivating factor in Black women's activism. Despite high correlation with activism, anger did not predict activism, nor did it mediate the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism. This would suggest that anger does not motivate Black women to engage in activism; however, the Anger Activism Model (Turner, 2007) highlights the importance of both anger and efficacy in determining one's willingness to commit to activist behaviors. Therefore, while experiences with gendered racism may lead to anger, Black women may not perceive their engagement in activism as a promising tactic to facilitate change.

It may also be that one engages in activism due to a sustained feeling of anger, rather than an immediate response to a particular situation. The present study assessed anger associated with experiences of gendered racism, which may be more of an immediate anger response. Therefore, it is possible that the participants' level of anger might quickly reduce or fade and lead to little behavior change. Perhaps, a cumulative or persistent feeling of anger is necessary to encourage activism.

Additionally, supplementary analyses revealed that activism did not serve to reduce the anger experienced in response to experiences with gendered racism. That is, while gendered racism may lead to feelings of anger, activism was not found to be an effective approach to manage that anger. This might suggest that activism may not be an adaptive display of anger, as suggested by functionalist approaches to emotion. This finding may echo the importance of perceived efficacy when engaging in activism. That is, if Black women do not perceive activism as efficacious, activism may not be an adaptive display of anger. It may also be that activism does not reduce the anger associated with experiences of gendered racism. Perhaps it reduces a more global feeling of anger.

Moderating v. Mediating Role of Ethgender Identity

Generally, the findings of the present study suggest that ethgender identity did not moderate the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism. This suggests that Black women engage in activism regardless of the strength of their identity as a Black woman. In other words, Black women engage in activism. The only finding revealing a moderating effect suggested that experiences with covert gendered racism was a predictor of activism among Black women with low ethgender identity. This might support the idea that activism is becoming more about uncovering covert discrimination as experiences with covert gendered racism predict activism among those with low ethgender identity. It may be that those with low ethgender identity are beginning to attribute discrimination to their intersectional identity. Therefore, those who might not normally engage in activism may be motivated by a new drive to uncover covert discrimination. On the other hand, Black women with high ethgender identity are likely

to engage in activism whether they experience high or low incidence of covert gendered racism.

The general findings of the present study suggest that ethgender identity mediated the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism. However, results did vary depending on the measure of activism. This suggests that each measure of activism may have captured a unique aspect of activism. For example, the Activism Orientation Scale appeared to capture attitudes toward activism, while the Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale and the Education/Advocacy and Resistance subscales appeared to capture actual behaviors of activism. Research has demonstrated discrepancies between attitudes and behaviors (van Zomeren et al., 2008). Similarly, the Activism Orientation Scale and Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale appeared to capture activism across domains, while the Education/Advocacy and Resistance subscales capture activism falling within those specific domains.

The specific findings of the present study include collectivistic ethgender identity mediating the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism when activism was measured using the Activism Orientation Scale and Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale. This suggests that a strong tie to the larger group of Black women is important when considering engaging in activism. This supports theory and findings suggesting that collectivistic identity mediates the relationship between discrimination and activism as it encourages individuals to consider their role in promoting group-level change (Jaramillo, 2010).

The present study found that individualistic ethgender identity played a mediating role in the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism when

activism was measured using the Education/Advocacy subscale. This finding is consistent with the rejection-identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999) and suggests that experiences with gendered racism intensify ethgender identity by making identity as a Black woman salient, which then encourages Black women to engage in educational activism on behalf of the group. This is because the feelings of rejection from one group elicit a longing to belong to another group (Black women).

Although the finding that ethgender identity plays a mediating role contradicts the findings of Szymanski and Lewis (2016) who found that individualistic ethgender identity did not mediate the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and Education/Advocacy, it may highlight an important difference. Szymanski and Lewis narrowly defined gendered racism with the Racialized Sexual Harassment Scale to capture the construct. Focus on sexual harassment neglects other expressions of gendered racism that do not fall under sexual harassment. It might be that ethgender identity mediates the relationship between experiences with gendered racism (broadly defined) and activism, but not sexual harassment and activism. This finding is also somewhat inconsistent with other findings of the present study, which suggest that collectivistic ethgender identity may play more of a mediating role than individualistic ethgender identity. It may be that this specific avenue of activism through education and advocacy may operate through an individualistic identity, while other avenues require a collectivistic identity. This finding may also demonstrate a difference in measures where the Activism Orientation Scale and Involvement in Feminist Activity Scale capture elements of collective action, which requires a collectivistic identity; whereas, the Education/Advocacy subscale captures activism within interpersonal encounters, which

may require an individualistic identity. It may be that, within the context of collective action, the needs of the group outweigh personal needs in order to reach group-level gains. Conversely, within interpersonal settings, individualistic identity might be important because personal needs may outweigh the needs of the larger group within that setting. Researchers may wish to further explore which forms of activism are related to collectivistic and individualistic identity.

Future Research Directions

The findings of the present study offer many avenues for future research. For example, the present study found that experiences with gendered racism predict involvement in activism. While the present study found ethgender identity to play a role in this relationship, there are likely other factors that contribute to activism. For instance, research suggests that many Black women respond to gendered racism by shifting, or changing how they look, feel, think, and act (Shorter-Gooden, 2004). Researchers may wish to explore whether shifting or related constructs, such as socialization, assimilation, or acculturation, might also influence the relationship between experiences with gendered racism and activism. Additionally, research suggests that efficacy may play a role in the relationship between discrimination and activism (Turner, 2007). As such, there are other factors within the gendered racism-activism relationship not specifically ethgender-related that researchers may wish to explore, such as self-efficacy, personality factors, resilience, locus of control, perceived social rewards, and religiosity.

A surprising finding in this study was that experiences with covert, but not overt, gendered racism predicted activism. Researchers can further explore this finding to understand what drives Black women to act against subtle forms of gendered racism, and

not blatant gendered racism. It may be that Black women feel more efficacious in changing unintentional gendered racism, rather than addressing intentional gendered racism. The present study found that overt gendered racism resulted in higher ratings of anger and hopelessness than did covert gendered racism. This might suggest that overt gendered racism might result in multiple intense emotions, which may get in the way of activism. This finding may also be a function of covert gendered racism being more prevalent than overt gendered racism. This is supported by the present finding of participants reporting higher incidence of experiencing covert (v. overt) gendered racism. It may also be that those who engage in activism are more attune to experiences of gendered racism and more likely to label negative outcomes as a function of gendered racism. Future researchers may wish to further explore activism as it relates to overt and covert gendered racism to better understand these findings.

Given that the findings in the present study addressing anger are inconsistent with previous research highlighting the importance of anger in facilitating activism, future researchers may wish to explore the role of anger closely following theory. For example, the Anger Activism Model (Turner, 2007) suggests that both anger and efficacy are necessary to lead to activism. Additionally, retroactive assessment of emotional responses to specific events may not be as accurate as present-moment reports. Diary entries that describe daily experiences and capture emotional responses may yield results that suggest a different pattern than found in the present study.

Finally, a logical follow-up study would explore the effects of activism on Black women's health. Some research on feminist activism might suggest a buffering effect against psychological distress (Szymanski & Owns, 2009) just as Black community

involvement is perceived to increase subjective well-being (Grayman-Simpson, 2012). Previous research has found that gendered racism is associated with increased psychological distress (Szymanski & Lewis, 2016; Thomas et al., 2008). Therefore, researchers may wish to explore whether activism may moderate some of the negative mental health outcomes associated with gendered racism. In addition to mental health, researchers may also explore how activism may affect physical health. Previous research suggests that experiences with racism increase negative physical health outcomes, such as hypertension, heart disease, diabetes, and substance use (Schneider, Tomaka, & Palacios, 2001; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). However, it is unknown whether activism may buffer against some of these physical health outcomes.

Limitations

The present study is not without its limitations. First, discrimination exists at multiple levels (Jones, 1997). It exists in interpersonal encounters at the individual level; it exists in policies and structures at the institutional level; and it exists in values and beliefs at the cultural level. The measures used to capture overt and covert gendered racism included items limited to the individual level. Unfortunately, there is no measure that adequately captures the pervasiveness of gendered racism across all three levels. Researchers may find it advantageous to develop such a measure of gendered racism. This will allow for a more comprehensive understanding of gendered racism. Such a measure may be useful in determining how the effects of gendered racism at one level may differ from the effects at another level. For example, previous findings (Szymanski & Lewis, 2015) suggest that Black activism in uniquely and significantly predicted by cultural racism, when racism at all three levels are examined. This might suggest that the

various levels of discrimination have unique effects and might elicit distinct behaviors. Exploring gendered racism at different levels may also reveal whether certain coping strategies are more effective for different levels of gendered racism. Given that the present study found that activism did not reduce anger, it may be that political activism may be an effective response to institutional racism, while self-segregation, education, and mentorship may be effective responses to cultural gendered racism.

Similarly, activism can take many forms. Most measures used to capture activism capture attitudes and behaviors related to political and social activism. However, activism against gendered racism can involve activities such as mentoring younger Black girls, buying Black Barbies for children, writing stories with Black women protagonists, and showcasing pictures of Black women within various environments. Because the measures of activism used in the present study were not specifically developed to capture activism against gendered racism, such activist behaviors were not considered. Relatedly, one of the measures of activism (the Resistance subscale) revealed low reliability. This might suggest that such a measure of activism is not appropriate for Black women.

Another limitation of the present study was the high collinearity between measures of interest. For example, the current study demonstrated high collinearity between the measures of overt and covert gendered racism. This might highlight the difficulty in determining what is 'subtle' versus what is 'obvious' when it comes to gendered racism. Certainly, gendered racism behaviors exist that some may categorize as covert, while other may categorize the same behaviors as overt. This marks a limitation in the microaggression literature. Similarly, the present study demonstrated high collinearity between the measures of individualistic and collectivistic ethgender identity. This may

have presented because the measures were not specifically created to measure these constructs; therefore, the measures may not appropriately distinguish between these two constructs.

Due to the correlational nature of the study, causality cannot be inferred. The present study cannot determine that discrimination causes changes in identity and activism. It could be that involvement in activism increases ethgender identity centrality, which makes Black women more aware of gendered racism and more likely to identify situations as including gendered racism.

Finally, conceptually, intersectionality goes beyond gender and ethnicity. Therefore, focus on ethgender identity ignores other very salient identities, such as age, sexuality, ability status, and all other identities that influence experiences and inform perception. This is an obstacle that presents whenever research takes a qualitative approach. Researchers must be cognizant of this limitation when interpreting results and should take appropriate measures to include intersectional methodology (see Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016 for recommendations).

Practical Implications

The findings of the current study present several important implications regarding research and clinical practice. First, this study has highlighted the importance of ethgender, an intersectional, identity to Black women. Much research examining Black women's experiences examines ethnic and gender identity as separate constructs despite qualitative research suggesting that the two are inseparable. For example, the rejection-identification model was developed to explain the mediating role of racial identity in the relationship between racism and well-being among Blacks. However, the findings of the

present study suggest that experiencing discrimination can enhance multiple intersectional identities that may be subject to oppression. As such, the present study provides further support for a movement toward integrating elements of gender identity into discussions of racial identity and vice versa (whether in a research or clinical setting). Such an intersectional lens may allow for a more comprehensive and accurate conceptualization of Black women's experiences.

Second, the findings of the present study can be connected to the 'angry Black woman' stereotype. This study demonstrates that everyday experiences can increase Black women's level of anger. As such, it contends that the 'angry Black woman' stereotype derives from and perpetuates gendered racism. Gendered racism gets Black women angry and then Black women are stereotyped as angry. And while Black women are being provoked to experience anger, they are also pressured to conceal this anger to avoid being label an 'angry Black woman' (Lewis et al., 2016). Both the anger elicited by experiences with gendered racism and the efforts to conceal strong emotions might contribute to the psychological distress associated with gendered racism (Thomas et al., 2008). When working with Black women, mental health professionals should remain mindful of the hesitance to share reactions that may provide support for the angry Black woman stereotype, which may include hesitance to share experiences of gendered racism. When such experiences are shared, it is important to provide validation, support, and empathy for their experiences.

Moreover, the findings of the present study suggest that involvement in activism does not decrease the anger brought on by experiences of gendered racism. Therefore, because activism does not function as an effective outlet for anger, there may be more

effective ways to cope with gendered racism. A potential behavior that may prove more effective might be self-segregation in which Black women surround themselves with other Black women. Postmes and Branscombe (2002) found that Blacks in racially segregated environments (consisting of majority Black) experienced feelings of acceptance and reported higher well-being than Blacks in desegregated environments. Therefore, if Black women seek support from other Black women, this may help to validate their experiences with gendered racism and limit their exposure to gendered racism. Relating these findings to the current study, although the study found that involvement in activism does not decrease anger, it may be that only certain types of activism are effective in managing anger. For example, forms of activism that involve congregating with other Black women may be more effective in reducing anger than activism completed independently.

Activism may also contribute to the burden of the "strong Black woman." The strong Black woman stereotype is a romanticized depiction of Black women being able to demonstrate physical and mental strength despite experiencing hardships, such as gendered racism. Although some Black women strive to achieve the strength and resilience of a strong Black woman who rarely needs assistance from others, research suggests that upholding the strong Black woman stereotype can come at the expense of one's health (Lewis et al., 2013). This can include taking on added responsibilities that can increase stress and limit self-care. It is unknown whether activism provides Black women with purpose and leaves them feeling fulfilled or if it adds an extra burden. As such, the task of activism might contribute to the perception of the 'strong Black woman," which has been linked to negative mental health outcomes (Lewis et al., 2013).

Mental health professionals should be mindful of the strong Black woman stereotype, which may lead some to conceal or minimize the stress associated with engaging in activism. Therefore, it is important to explore the function of activism for the individual to ensure that it is not completed due to purely obligation.

Finally, the findings of the present study suggest that ethgender identity may function as a mechanism to encourage activism. This finding might suggest that ethgender identity development may be necessary to promote effective coping strategies. It may be that high ethgender identity allows Black women to understand some of the distress they experience as a function of gendered racism, rather than a personal flaw. Practitioners may work to reframe the cause of gendered racism to the fault of the perpetrator. In other words, ethgender identity may function as a buffer to decrease internalization and self-blame coping strategies that may result as negative outcomes from experiencing gendered racism.

Moreover, mental health professionals should determine how central and salient ethgender identity is to Black women's lives. This can be useful in deciding how best to approach ethgender identity development. For example, a Black woman with low ethgender identity may benefit from increasing her overall awareness of her ethgender identity to understand that she is experiencing gendered racism, which might be negatively contributing to her distress. On the other hand, a Black woman with high ethgender identity may benefit from validation of her experiences with gendered racism and support to refrain from engaging in ineffective coping strategies that may negatively contribute to her distress. Research might suggest that "sister circles," or therapy groups comprised of Black women, may benefit Black women at various levels of ethgender

identity (Neal-Barnett et al., 2011). Still, it is unknown whether high ethgender identity centrality is always helpful. That is, there may be moments when having a strong sense of being a Black woman can have negative effects as one realizes she belongs to a group that is devalued and often invisible. Future researchers may wish to explore when ethgender identity may be helpful and unhelpful.

Conclusion

Black women face a unique, intersectional form of discrimination known as gendered racism (Essed, 1991; Lewis et al., 2016; Shorter-Gooden, 2004; Thomas et al., 2008). Taking an intersectional approach, the current research empirically explored the effects of gendered racism on activism among Black women. This program of research fills an important gap in the gendered racism literature by exploring the presence of more positive constructs that allow Black women to be resilient despite adversity. The findings suggest that experiences with gendered racism predicted activism among Black women and that ethgender identity mediated this relationship. This finding highlights the importance of an intersectional lens when researching and working with Black women. Additional findings suggest that gendered racism contributes to Black women's anger, which might present a fear of confirming the 'angry Black woman' stereotype. Similarly, some Black women might take on the responsibility of activism to portray the idealized 'strong Black woman.' Keeping in mind these stereotypes of Black women, it is important for others to check-in with Black women and to join through allyship in the fight for justice to eliminate gendered racism.

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