

Intersections of Racial/Ethnic Identity and Gender Identity Among Women of Color

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For the communities  
who opened my eyes to the intersections

## Abstract

Little attention has been paid to the intersection of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity, resulting in the inadvertent exclusion in psychological research of women of color, a population with minority status in both groups. Extant research also neglects contextual complexities that may shape these women's experiences, including negotiating gender identity in the face of a patriarchal racial/ethnic group. Using both additive (quantitative) and intersectional (qualitative) approaches, the current study investigated how racial/ethnic identity and gender identity are related and their implications for psychosocial functioning. In Phase I (additive), it was expected that H1) among women of color, racial/ethnic identity and gender identity – both a) independently and b) additively – will be associated with psychosocial functioning (e.g., self-esteem, mental health, career, relationships). Additionally, it was expected that H2) women with strong gender and racial/ethnic identities will report the lowest levels of psychosocial functioning when also perceiving their racial/ethnic group as traditional and patriarchal. Only gender identity was significantly associated with increased self-esteem and better quality of relationships. In Phase II (intersectional), the study also examined RQ1) how a subset of these women of color perceive their gender and racial/ethnic identities, particularly when faced with patriarchal messages about women from their own racial/ethnic groups. Racial/ethnic, gender, and intersectional identities were all found to be low and not critical to women of color's core sense of self. Analyses also revealed potential explanations for these low identities, including lack of depth in content of identity and difficulty in articulating intersectional identity experiences. Combining these two data, Phase III (integrative; RQ2) explored ways in which women of color's

perceptions about racial/ethnic identity and gender identity (intersectional approach) explain or discount findings from an additive approach, particularly with respect to psychosocial functioning. Results highlighted the complexities of how constellations of racial/ethnic and gender identity strength (e.g., high racial/ethnic and gender identities, high racial/ethnic but low gender identities) are experienced by women of color. Moreover, it revealed how these women deal and adapt to the life challenges unique to the intersection of their racial/ethnic and gender identities.

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Although research on racial/ethnic identity and gender identity has grown substantially in recent years, little attention has been paid to the intersection of these two social identities. As a result, women of color—minorities in both groups—have been inadvertently excluded. Furthermore, extant research neglects contextual complexities that may shape these women's experiences, including having to negotiate gender identity in the face of a patriarchal racial/ethnic group. The present study investigated how racial/ethnic identity and gender identity are related and their implications for psychosocial functioning. Of particular interest is how a woman of color negotiates her identity as a woman when also strongly connected to a patriarchal racial/ethnic group.

According to Erikson (1968), individuals must define their identity in the face of both internal and external demands (*identity vs. identity confusion*). Inability to resolve this central tension holds negative implications not only for the self (Schwartz, Zamboanga, Weisskirch, & Rodriguez, 2009), but also for the ability to successfully face life challenges beyond adolescence. Cultural influences also complicate Erikson's proposed pathway toward a cohesive identity. Tajfel's (1981) social identity theory asserts that experiences associated with minority social identities are most influential on identity. Schachter (2005) adds that as a result of living in a dynamic culture, individuals need to shift their identity alongside varying contextual pressures. Taken together, the theories and work proposed by Tajfel, Schachter, and Erikson suggest that there are two aspects of the self that may be most important in shaping a woman of color's core sense of self – her race/ethnicity and gender.

For racial/ethnic minorities, racial/ethnic identity is considered a crucial component of the self-concept (Phinney, 1990) and is linked to positive psychosocial outcomes, such as self-esteem (e.g., Roberts et al., 1999). Gender identity, which may be particularly important for women, is also positively associated with psychosocial outcomes, such as psychological well-being (e.g., Saunders & Kashubeck-West, 2006). While valuable on their own, these lines of research have inadvertently neglected women of color, a group that sits at the very intersection of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity. On a broader level, by continuing to not explore these intersections, researchers risk perpetuation of the “intersectionality invisibility” of women of color (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008).

To study women of color’s experiences of multiple minority identities, extant research offers two analytical approaches. Traditional psychological models adopt an *additive* approach, which assumes that each marginalized social identity exists independent of one another. Foundational to this approach is that social inequality accrues with the addition of each minority identity (Bowleg, 2008). Extending this idea, positive outcomes independently associated to racial/ethnic identity and gender identity, such as self-esteem, also would accrue (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996; Saunders & Kashubeck-West, 2006). Thus, inherent in the additive approach is the use of quantitative data, which allows variables to be easily isolated and aggregated. In contrast, from a feminist-of-color perspective, multiple social identities are viewed through an *intersectional* lens. That is, the synergy between identities creates a unique social location occupied by the multiply-marginalized individual (Crenshaw, 1994). Accordingly, aggregating information drawn separately from racial/ethnic identity and gender identity

would not inform the experiences of women of color, particularly for those who perceive these identities as inseparable. Intersectionality emphasizes understanding the personal meaning behind identities, which is best captured in women's own words (i.e., qualitative data).

Importantly, intersectionality also calls for the consideration of contextual factors that may influence experiences with race/ethnicity and gender. For women of color, this layer of understanding is especially key in examining the influence of racial/ethnic group messages about gender roles and ideology. Such messages include women as weak and submissive yet hypersexualized and aggressive (e.g., Dion & Dion, 2001; hooks, 1981). Research suggests that women can respond to these messages in at least two ways. On one hand, they can choose to live by traditional gender role expectations, which may lead to self-loathing (Pyke & Johnson, 2003). On the other hand, those choosing to assert themselves against patriarchal gender roles may also experience conflict due to having a major part of their self – their gender identity – devalued by their racial/ethnic groups. Given the consequences of either decision, women of color may face uncertainty and distress in reconciling conflicting racial/ethnic and gender identities, which in turn has been found to be related to poorer mental health outcomes (e.g., Settles, Jellison, & Pratt-Hyatt, 2009). Moreover, per Erikson (1968), such distress may start to inhibit growth in other developmentally important areas of life, including establishing a career and forming intimate relationships. If integration of these identities is not attainable for women of color, it is important to consider the other adaptive ways their identity conflicts may be resolved (Schachter, 2004).

Taken together, experiences of women of color with respect to racial/ethnic identity and gender identity have not been adequately explored in psychology. The lack of research calls for further exploration that must account for the unique social location resulting from holding these minority identities. Furthermore, exploring the potential conflict of these identities also is urgent, as conflict may have serious consequences for psychosocial functioning. Locating the dearth of research on racial/ethnic and gender identities in a broader social context also reveals significant potential repercussions. By continuing to not explore the intersection of race/ethnicity and gender, women of color will remain marginalized, adding to an already long history of misrepresentation, marginalization, and disempowerment.

Although feminist-of-color scholars argue for the exclusive use of qualitative data for investigating the intersectional experiences of women of color, there currently exists no empirical support that indicates that the intersectional approach is indeed the more productive model. Thus, the present study used both additive and intersectional approaches in a mixed-methods design to examine racial/ethnic identity and gender identity among women of color (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011). Specifically, the study included three phases. In the first phase, the additive approach alone was used to examine survey data on the experiences with racial/ethnic and gender identities. Accordingly, Phase I addressed the following hypotheses:

**H1.** Among women of color, racial/ethnic identity and gender identity – both a) independently and b) together, additively – will be associated with psychosocial functioning.

**H2.** Following an additive approach, perceptions of a racial/ethnic group as traditional and patriarchal will moderate the relations between racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, and psychosocial functioning. Specifically, it is expected that women with strong racial/ethnic and gender identities will report the lowest levels of psychosocial functioning when they also perceive their racial/ethnic group as traditional and patriarchal.

Independently, in the second phase, an intersectional approach alone was used to explore interview data, which paralleled the Phase I survey data in terms of variables of interest. Phase II addressed the following research question:

**RQ1.** How do a subset of these women of color (representing all configurations of racial/ethnic and gender identities, e.g., strong racial/ethnic and gender identities; weak gender and strong racial/ethnic identities) perceive their racial/ethnic and gender identities, particularly when faced with patriarchal messages about women from their own racial/ethnic groups?

Finally, the third and last phase integrated the two data. In doing so, findings of Phase I and Phase II provided context for one another. The following research question was addressed:

**RQ2.** In what ways do women of color's perceptions about racial/ethnic identity and gender identity (intersectional approach) explain or discount findings from an additive approach, particularly with respect to psychosocial functioning?

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

### Identity Development among Women of Color

Developmental psychologist Erik Erikson (1968) suggested that identity formation is a key developmental task across the lifespan. In his theory of psychosocial development, Erikson proposed eight different life challenges or conflicts that individuals encounter as they move through life. By overcoming these challenges, they can achieve a “healthy” identity. The theory begins in infancy, during which the child must learn whom she or he can trust in the world (*trust vs. mistrust*), and ultimately ends with reflections and evaluations on the life lived (*integrity vs. despair*). In the span of life, Erikson (1968) identified late adolescence as perhaps the most crucial time for identity formation. During adolescence, individuals are confronted with the question of “Who am I?” and begin to gain the cognitive abilities and understanding needed to think more critically about identity. It is the first time that one becomes aware of the many forms of identity and the different roles occupied (e.g., vocational, within family). The challenge – *identity versus identity confusion* – is in reconciling these roles and other societal demands with the personal hopes and desires about the person she or he wishes to become. Erikson states that the ultimate resolution of this tension is in finding continuity and sameness across these disparate parts of the self.

In line with Erikson’s conceptual ideas about identity, identity formation has been found to have important implications for psychological functioning (e.g., Scales, Benson, Leffert, & Blyth, 2000; Syed & Azmitia, 2008). In general, individuals who have not yet achieved continuity and sameness in their identities tend to struggle across life domains. For example, Schwartz, Zamboanga, Weisskirch, and Rodriguez (2009) found that



current identity exploration (i.e., attempts to make sense of various aspects of identity) was associated with higher anxiety, higher depression, and lower psychological well-being. Additionally, Settles (2004) found that identity interference – conflict between salient parts of the self – was related to lower self-esteem and increased depression. Thus, continuity and sameness in identity seem to serve an adaptive purpose. It may be that a cohesive identity provides a “script” which is relied upon to interpret the world and to guide the self through life (Settles, 2004; Thoits, 1987). According to Erikson (1968), this sense of self also is necessary for other developmentally-relevant challenges, including establishing a vocational identity and creating and maintaining intimate relationships (the latter of which is represented by Erikson’s stage of *intimacy vs. isolation*).

Although Erikson (1968) is well-known for his theory on the development of identity at this personal level, he acknowledged that elements of the self are influenced by the culture and contexts in which people reside, as well as by the people with whom they associate. In fact, Erikson gained a greater understanding of identity development through fieldwork with youth of the Sioux and Yurok tribes in America. Erikson observed that these youth had to negotiate their identities as they were forced to participate in the American educational system, which presented ideas that contradicted foundational teachings from home. For these youth, the challenge to their identity was in making sense of and managing the demands from each of these cultures. The experience of these youth exemplifies that in addition to idiosyncratic influences, identity can be shaped by collective experiences, such as those that result from identifying as a member of a social group (e.g., race/ethnicity, gender, social class).

Current applications of Erikson's theory expand on the role of culture and context. Psychologists such as Elli Schachter (2005) emphasized identity as a product of the constant interaction between the individual and her or his social context. While Erikson acknowledged the general influence of culture, he viewed it as only relevant to the content of identity (i.e., what contextual factors influence identity). Furthermore, Erikson deemed his identity processes to be stable and universal, with continuity and sameness remaining the only healthy, desirable resolution of *identity versus identity confusion*. However, when individuals have to shift their identities in response to varying social contexts, stability in identity formation may not be constant or even attainable. Schachter (2005) adds that in fact, one might expect to find many healthy structures of identity, including ones in which elements of identity co-exist despite their dissimilarities. For example, Schachter (2004) found that for some, having a strong, conservative religious background but feeling empowered as a sexual being can create a "thrill of dissonance," in which excitement is gleaned from the challenge of managing these disparate parts of the self.

As asserted by Erikson (1968; Schachter, 2005), cultural influences on identity also include the social groups with whom people associate. Along these lines, social psychologist Henri Tajfel (1981) developed social identity theory, which posits that aspects of identity are derived from knowledge of membership in a particular group, as well as the emotional value and importance attributed to being part of that group. According to Tajfel, the formation of social identity occurs through three social psychological processes (Hurtado, 1997; Tajfel, 1981). First, through *social categorization*, the individual identifies with a social group. Social group membership

emphasizes a sense of “we-ness” rather than “me-ness” (Juang & Syed, 2008) and promotes the labeling of the group as the individual’s “in-group.” Social groups to which one does not belong then become “out-groups.” According to Tajfel (1981), another process critical to the development of social identities is *social comparison*. Through social comparison, the goal is to preserve the social identity. To this end, differences within the in-group are minimized whereas differences between the in-group and out-group are maximized. Also central to this component of the theory is that the individual’s social location – particularly as part of a marginalized and oppressed social group – is reflected in her or his social identity. Tajfel (1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) recognized that as members of social groups, individuals are subject to the power dynamics that organize these groups in society. The process of making sense of these external messages about their social group memberships is captured in an individual’s *psychological work* (Hurtado, 1997). Cognitively and emotionally, Tajfel posited that there is a universal need to achieve a positive sense of distinctiveness for not only the individual but also her or his social group. Thus, the major challenge is in establishing a positive sense of social identity when the corresponding social group is systematically marginalized or devalued in society. Tajfel further maintained that because of the difficulty in resolving this particular challenge, social identities tied to marginalized social groups become most salient to the individual. Furthermore, the salience of these social identities is heightened in situations in which that social group is considered the minority.

Although Erikson (1968), Schachter (2005), and Tajfel (1981) approached the study of identity in different ways, their theories together provide a more complete picture of identity development. From Tajfel’s perspective, identity is shaped through

connections and interactions with self-identified social groups. Moreover, self-concepts may be most strongly shaped by the most salient group memberships – those holding a minority status. Erikson adds that it is *how* the individual makes sense of this membership, as well as the degree of its personal importance, that are also critical to identity formation. In essence, addressing these issues moves the individual toward resolving Erikson's central developmental tension of *identity versus identity confusion*. Schachter asserts that the structure of that identity resolution will look different as one moves with and responds to various social contexts. Consensus across all three approaches indicates that it is the dynamic interaction between personal- and group-level factors that shape identity and also carry implications for one's general sense of self and how she or he relates to the world.

Applying these lessons from Erikson, Schachter, and Tajfel, there are two aspects of the self that may be most important in shaping a woman of color's identity – her race/ethnicity and her gender. Gianettoni and Roux (2010) argued that societal stratification is largely organized along the lines of race/ethnicity and gender. Stratification creates systems of hierarchies within each social category, with implications dependent on social standing. As Tajfel (1981) proposed, it is those minority group memberships that will be most salient to the individual. Tajfel argued that for minority group members, salience of the social group is furthered through internalization of majority members' denigrating messages about their group. Thus, for a woman of color, her racial/ethnic and gender identities are pulled to the forefront as she makes sense of these external pressures. How does a woman of color's social position as

doubly-marginalized affect her life? Gaining a stronger understanding of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity will be critical in efforts to answer this very question.

### **Racial/Ethnic Identity<sup>1</sup>**

Tajfel (1981) provided one of the first definitions of ethnic identity, simply describing it as the ethnic component of social identity. In early research on the topic, the focus was on the self-identification or self-labeling with the ethnic group. With the proliferation of research on ethnic identity over the last 20 years, that definition has expanded in a number of ways, particularly through the work of psychologist Jean Phinney. Recognizing that an ethnic label may take on different meanings for each individual, Phinney (1990) emphasized the subjective experience of ethnic identity, focusing largely on the commitment and sense of belonging to a self-identified ethnic group. Commitment and belongingness may manifest as feelings of cultural pride, upholding of traditions, values, and customs, and holding positive attitudes toward that ethnic group.

Phinney viewed ethnic identity as a product of both social and personal influences. Accordingly, Tajfel's social identity theory and Erikson's theory of identity development are both key in understanding Phinney's conceptualization of ethnic identity. From a social identity perspective, the self-concept relies critically on the sense of connection felt to the ethnic group, particularly how important membership in this group is to the sense of self. Phinney (1990) suggested that this experience may be particularly crucial for ethnic minorities because unique to their experience is their identity as an ethnic *minority* group member. Applying Tajfel's (1981) social identity

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<sup>1</sup> In discussing racial/ethnic identity, it is first important to acknowledge the components of this term – race and

theory, members are expected to strive for likeness with others in their ethnic group, which in turn informs their self-concept. Ethnic minorities engage in this process of attaining likeness to an ethnic group that also is considered of low status and regard by majority culture. These negative messages can then become internalized, potentially resulting in low self-regard and self-worth. Thus, ethnic identity may be key to shaping the core sense of self.

Phinney also believed that individual change was key to the formation of ethnic identity. Based in Erikson's theory of identity development, Phinney (1990) suggested that ethnic identity formation occurs through the processes of decision-making and self-exploration. Drawing from psychologist James Marcia's (1980) operationalization of Erikson's theory, Phinney (1989) expanded on two processes through which ethnic identity is developed. Through the process of *exploration*, ethnic minorities seek and engage in activities and events that immerse them into the ethnic culture. The process of immersion may manifest as gathering information about the culture through books and conversations, attending and participating in cultural programs, establishing friendships with same-ethnic peers, learning how to speak the ethnic language, and practicing its traditions and customs. Through the process of *commitment*, they solidify what it means to be a member of their ethnic group. A strong commitment to the group is exemplified by pride of the group, and finding within that group a general sense of connection and social support. It is through the interaction of these two processes that ethnic identity is established.

Ethnic identity has positive implications for a variety of psychosocial outcomes, including self-esteem, depression, and general well-being (e.g., Roberts et al., 1999; St.

Louis & Liem, 2005). A 2011 meta-analysis highlighted the salience of ethnic identity in the life experiences of people of color. Specifically, Smith and Silva (2011) sought to determine the magnitude of the association between ethnic identity and personal well-being, especially with respect to possible moderating variables. In their meta-analysis of 184 studies on people of color, Smith and Silva (2011) found a small but significant effect size of  $r = .17$  for the association between ethnic identity and personal well-being. A recent meta-analysis by Rivas-Drake and the Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century workgroup (2014) add further evidence for the impact on well-being. They found that how one feels about her or his ethnicity and race (*positive ethnic-racial affect*) was positively and significantly related to positive adjustment with a medium effect size ( $r = .26$ ). Together, the results suggest that racial/ethnic identity is important for well-being.

Regarding well-being, one major interest in the racial/ethnic identity literature is self-esteem. Self-esteem influences many parts of the self, including actions and reactions, values, goals, and on a more holistic level, ideas of who one is to become. For racially/ethnically-diverse groups, numerous studies have demonstrated that having a strong sense of ethnic identity is positively related to self-esteem (e.g., Parham & Helms, 1985; Phinney, 1991; Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey (1999) investigated relationships among perceptions of discrimination, ethnic group identification, and personal well-being (including self-esteem) among 139 African American adults. The authors reported a significant but moderate correlation between ethnic group identification and self-esteem ( $r = .20$ ). Umaña-Taylor and Shin (2007) explored elements of ethnic identity related to self-esteem in a large sample of ethnically-

diverse college students. Specifically, Umaña-Taylor and Shin investigated ethnic identity resolution (e.g., feeling resolved with what ethnicity means to the self), exploration (e.g., exploring issues related to ethnicity), and affirmation (e.g., feeling positively [or negatively] about one's ethnic group). They found that for different ethnic groups, ethnic identity resolution, affirmation, and exploration were significantly related to increased self-esteem, with variation by geographical location (California vs. Midwest). These studies suggest that racial/ethnic identity may be advantageous for self-esteem by reminding racial/ethnic minorities of their positive sense of self. Moreover, self-esteem provides stability as racial/ethnic minorities shape and shift those identities in a diverse world.

Additionally, other studies have proposed that racial/ethnic identity also may be useful for broader mental health symptoms. For example, among African American college students, Yip, Seaton, and Sellers (2006) found that those who have neither explored nor committed to a racial identity reported more depressive symptoms compared to those who have actively engaged in exploration and commitment to their racial identity. However, considering the literature as a whole, research has mixed conclusions about the relationship between racial/ethnic identity and mental health outcomes. In their meta-analysis, Smith and Silva (2011) found that effect sizes for correlations between ethnic identity and distress/mental health symptoms were half the magnitudes of correlations between ethnic identity and well-being. In Rivas-Drake et al. (2014), the magnitude of the association between positive ethnic-racial affect and negative adjustment (e.g., depressive symptoms, externalizing and internalizing behaviors) also was smaller compared to well-being ( $r = -.18$ ). Thus, racial/ethnic



identity may be more relevant to understanding positive experiences of well-being more so than it is for mental health illness.

Although correlations between racial/ethnic identity and various well-being outcomes are within the small to medium range according to both Smith and Silva (2011) and Rivas-Drake and colleagues (2014), the literature still suggests that personal connection to a racial/ethnic group and awareness of the shared experience may be particularly important across life domains. For example, research highlights racial/ethnic identity is potentially key when faced with racial/ethnic discrimination. For people of color, increased discrimination has been found to adversely affect both mental and physical health (Okazaki, 2009; Paradies, 2006; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). Scholars have offered racial/ethnic identity as a potential moderator of the association between perceived discrimination and psychological well-being, but its exact role remains unclear. On one side of the debate, researchers argue that racial/ethnic identity serves a protective factor against the negative impact of discrimination (e.g., Mossakowski, 2003). This idea suggests that a person with strong racial/ethnic identity understands that stereotypes are unfounded, and therefore, should not negatively influence her or his sense of self. On the other side, scholars contend that having a strong sense of racial/ethnic identity actually exacerbates the impact of discrimination (e.g., Branscombe et al., 1999; Greene, Way, & Pahl; 2006; McCoy & Major, 2003; Yoo & Lee, 2008). This research asserts that when racial/ethnic identity is central to the self, discrimination targeting one's racial/ethnic group will be particularly powerful as it promotes further internalization of those negative stereotypes. The inconsistencies in the literature may be attributed to the fact that mental and physical health also respond to

other factors beyond racial/ethnic identity, including other important social identities.

The present study moves forward the research on racial/ethnic identity by considering ways in which such complexities can be captured, particularly with respect to well-being and mental health.

### **Gender Identity**

Another potentially salient self-concept for a woman of color is her identity as a woman. Gender identity captures awareness, feelings for and importance placed on an identified gender category. Unlike racial/ethnic identity, gender identity literature is not dominated by one or two leading models but rather has been studied as a more general concept. Available research suggests that having a sense of a strong, positive female identity has positive implications for the self, including psychological well-being (e.g., Saunders & Kashubeck-West, 2006; Yakushko, 2007). Saunders and Kashubeck-West (2006) found that women in more advanced stages of feminist identity tended to report higher levels of psychological well-being; for example, the zero-order correlation between overall well-being and scores reflecting the development of a positive female identity was  $r = .23$ . A strong positive female identity also has been found to be associated with other important aspects of the self, including self-efficacy and self-reliance (Foss & Slaney, 1986; Liss, O'Conner, Morosky, & Crawford, 2001). Other broader well-being variables, such as satisfaction in life and self-esteem, also are correlated with gender identity and/or its components (e.g., pride, value; Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992; Schmitt, Branscombe, Kobrynowicz, & Owen, 2002). Beyond these broad markers, however, there exists very little research conducted on gender identity's direct impact on mental health. Among the few studies that are available, there appears to

be a weak direct correlation between gender identity and outcomes such as depression and anxiety (e.g., Schmitt et al., 2002).

Given the lack of evidence for gender identity's direct relationship with mental health outcomes, it may be more useful conceptually to consider the moderating role that gender identity plays when facing challenges to mental health. One common challenge for women is gender and/or sexist harassment and discrimination. Gender-based or sexist harassment and discrimination against women includes holding women to traditional gender role stereotypes, making demeaning and devaluing comments about being a woman, and sexual objectification. Research has established that gender discrimination and sexism are associated with negative mental health and well-being outcomes for women, including lower self-esteem and increased depression, anxiety, and general clinical symptoms (e.g., Buchanan, Bergman, Bruce, Woods, & Lichty, 2009; Fischer & Holz, 2007; Moradi & Subich, 2004; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001). In Schmitt et al. (2002), a sample of 423 undergraduate college students – both men and women – provided data on perceptions of gender-based discrimination, gender group identification (i.e., emotional attachment to one's gender group which was assessed by a scale developed for the study), and a number of psychological and well-being markers, including self-esteem, positive affect, life satisfaction, depression, and anxiety. In line with previous research, the authors found that, for women only, perceptions of gender-based discrimination were linked to harmful consequences ( $r = -.18$ ). Moreover, for women only, gender group identification partially buffered the negative effects of perceived gender discrimination on psychological outcomes. Thus, for women, having a

strong connection to women may serve a protective purpose similar to racial/ethnic identity in the face of negative messages about their gender group.

Although there is general agreement among researchers that gender identity has positive implications for general well-being and mental health, it also is possible that these findings do not apply across women. That is, this body of research is limited by its lack of consideration of potential racial/ethnic differences. For instance, the majority of research conducted on gender identity is with largely White samples. Thus, caution must be exercised when generalizing findings of positive associations to women of color. Scholars argue that one of the ways important racial/ethnic differences manifest is in conceptualizations of gender identity or womanhood. In other words, does being a “woman” carry the same meaning across racial/ethnic groups? Potential differences in conceptualizations of womanhood are reflected by the presence in the literature of two competing female identity models.

One prominent model is the feminist identity development model, proposed by Downing and Roush (1985). The model posits that there are five stages through which women move in their journey to discover and affirm their womanhood. A woman may start this journey with acceptance of traditional, societal beliefs of gender roles, thereby denying or lacking awareness of prejudice against women in a systemic context (Passive Acceptance). In her journey, a woman may encounter an event that prompts her to reconsider these beliefs (Revelation). In this stage, women come to terms with having held onto beliefs that devalue women, and consequently, may then view themselves as “bad” members of their gender group. Following this acknowledgment of systemic differences, a woman may move into the third stage, which is characterized by an

increased effort to relate to the subculture of women (Embeddedness-Emanation). This stage is followed by a focus on self-acceptance and moving beyond traditional gender role expectations (Synthesis). Finally, the model posits that an advanced feminist identity is signaled by a woman's pledge to take meaningful action toward achieving feminist goals (Active Commitment). Thus, a healthy and mature feminist identity is equated with taking social action. The feminist model has a relatively small base of empirical support (Fischer et al., 2000).

Although similar to the feminist identity model in its initial stages, Helms's womanist identity model (cited in Ossana et al., 1992) differs in that it proposes a trajectory that may or may not end in identification as a "feminist" or taking political action. Rather, the goal of affirming identity as a woman is to move from externally and socially defined definitions of womanhood toward acceptance of internal self-definitions (Moradi, 2005). The womanist identity model is based largely on Cross, Parham, and Helms' (1991) racial identity development model and mirrors its four stages of development. The first stage of the womanist identity model (Pre-Encounter) captures a woman as she unconsciously conforms to societal expectations of women. This stage presents a similar beginning to the journey to womanhood as is theorized in the feminist identity development model. During the second stage (Encounter), a woman begins to question these beliefs, which may also involve internal conflict. The third stage (Immersion-Emersion) is characterized by the rejection of patriarchal views and the idealization of other women who work on expanding the definition of womanhood. Finally, in the fourth stage (Internalization), women incorporate into their identities their own views of what it means to be a woman. Moreover, their standards for womanhood

are personally meaningful, and they are not bounded by external definitions of womanhood. Research suggests that the womanist (vs. feminist) identity model may resonate more with women of color (e.g., Boisnier, 2003). Indeed, Myaskovsky and Wittig (1997) found that Black women are not likely to self-identify as “feminist” and do not view political action as a necessary component of strong female identity.

Despite its conceptual relevance to a woman of color’s journey toward womanhood, the womanist identity development model is marred by important theoretical and methodological critiques. One major critique of the model is the assumption that development occurs through stages in a linear fashion. This conceptualization does not allow for the experience of women who may occupy two stages simultaneously (Moradi & Subich, 2002). Furthermore, a woman is likely to re-cycle through the stages, particularly as she encounters events and challenges that prompt movement within the model. On the methodological side, the sole measure of the womanist identity development model (Womanist Identity Attitudes Scale; Ossana et al., 1992) possesses weak internal consistency. Only the Immersion-Emersion scale has consistently demonstrated adequate reliability ( $\alpha$ 's = .60 to .82), with the remaining scales (i.e., Pre-encounter, Encounter, and Internalization) ranging in weak coefficient alpha estimates of .26 to .77 (Boisnier, 2003; Moradi, Yoder, & Berendsen, 2004; Ossana et al., 1992). In my pilot testing of this measure with 150 women of color and White women at the University of Minnesota, I found similarly poor internal consistency for the Pre-encounter, Encounter, and Internalization subscales ( $\alpha$ 's = .41 to .59); as expected; only the Immersion-Emersion scale demonstrated adequate reliability ( $\alpha$  = .80). Although extant research on the womanist identity model determined it to be empirically

unsupported, emphasis on its use by scholars of color serves as a reminder of the potential influence of race/ethnicity on the endorsement of gender identity.

Potential racial/ethnic differences in the conceptualization of womanhood, along with the lack of empirical support for the womanist model, suggest that it may be beneficial to move away from identity stage models for gender. Comparing the literature of gender identity to that of racial/ethnic identity, there also appears to be serious variability in the measurement of “gender identity,” which precludes confidently drawing any conclusions about the identity’s impact. What is useful from the identity models, however, is that certain aspects of gender identity may be critical to understanding the self. Specifically, gender centrality, the degree to which gender is central to one’s sense of self, may be most critical in understanding how gender group memberships influence the individual. In place of gender identity via the stage models, gender centrality may be a promising alternative. Thus, the study assessed both gender and racial/ethnic identity along the identity dimension of centrality.

#### **At the Intersections of Racial/Ethnic Identity & Gender Identity**

While the research presented greatly contributes to knowledge of the potential independent impact of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity, these two lines of research are largely isolated from one another. As a result, there is a relative lack of understanding related to the intersection of those identities. Specifically, there may be important ways in which experiences with racial/ethnic identity vary by gender, and vice versa. For instance, in many communities of color, there are different cultural expectations for women versus men. Stack and Burton (1993) identified women as “kin-keepers” of the family tasked with keeping the family connected and ensuring the

transmission of traditions from generation to generation. In the context of racial/ethnic minority families, women carry culture forward through participating in traditions, learning language and food customs, and observing gender dynamics within families, which usually place males at the head of the family. Although there exists little empirical evidence directly investigating this issue, extant research offers indirect support. Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, and Foust (2009) found that racially/ethnically-diverse boys and girls may be differentially attuned to their parents' racial/ethnic socialization strategies. Specifically, Hughes and colleagues found that girls were more sensitive to their mothers' messages about cultural socialization, which in turn was related to girls' reports of increased ethnic affirmation. This literature suggests that women of color's racial/ethnic identity and gender identity indeed inform one another, but in ways more complex than available research captures. Thus, the question remains: *how and in what ways do these identities relate to one another?* Moreover, what are the experiences of women of color, a group who sits at the intersection of these two marginalized social identities? The present study aimed to answer these questions.

### **Approaches to Understanding Multiple Minority Social Identities**

Activists, scholars, and feminists of color have long emphasized the importance of considering the experiences of multiply-marginalized individuals, particularly along the lines of race/ethnicity and gender. Among human rights movements organized along race/ethnicity and gender, humanities and legal studies scholars such as Kimberle Crenshaw (1994) highlighted the lack of attention paid to the variability within organizers' own movements. Thus, in their efforts to uplift their communities, they simultaneously continued to marginalize those already living on the outskirts. This



dynamic is evident in the struggles of Black women in the 1960s to 1970s. Crenshaw (1994) calls attention to the frustration that Black women experienced when attempting to find their place in the male-dominated movement for Black rights, as well as in the White-dominated women's movement. With both movements lacking this level of accountability in their political analysis and agendas, Black women and other individuals from multiple minority backgrounds (e.g., working-class communities of color) were gravely underserved (Cole, 2009).

### **The Additive Model**

It was not until the second and third waves of feminism in the 1970s and 1980s that activists and scholars called for movement beyond the issue of gender equality and toward addressing multiple systems of oppression. Driving this shift in feminism were feminists of color who demanded answers to the question, “*Which* women’s experiences?” (Shields, 2008; p. 302). Early scholars offered the additive model to account for the experiences of individuals with multiple marginalized identities. The additive model assumes that marginalized social identities exist independently from one another and moreover, are associated with distinctive forms of oppression. Accordingly, each identity has a separate and isolated impact on the individual, and when considered together, both contribute to a cumulative impact. In other words, social inequality accrues with the addition of each minority social identity (Bowleg, 2008).

An additive approach to multiple minority identities is best exemplified by the concept of double jeopardy. The term “double jeopardy” was first introduced in 1970 by Frances Beal, a Black feminist and peace activist (Beal, 2008). In her seminal work, “Double Jeopardy: To Be Black & Female,” Beal argued against the common

misconceptions of Black women in America, particularly those assuming that Black men and women carried the same burdens. Accordingly, Beal detailed the struggles of Black women as racial/ethnic and gender minorities in their fight for liberation. This essay inspired an energized dedication to the study of individuals with multiple marginalized identities, and to this day, the additive model remains the dominant approach to studying these layered experiences, particularly in the fields of economics and science.

For example, the additive approach has been of particular focus in labor studies. Following a double jeopardy or additive disadvantage approach, a number of studies found that women of color (particularly Black and Latina women) tend to reside at the bottom of the labor market in terms of wages and authority in the workplace (e.g., Browne, 1999; Browne & Misra, 2003). In Settles' (2006) study of Black women, participants reported direct discrimination based on an additive conceptualization of disadvantage. One woman in the study reported, "Some difficulties that I've experienced as a Black woman are that employers seem to think that a Black married male (family man) and the White woman (with less experience and education) should be paid a lot more money than me" (p. 595). Here, the woman's employer perpetuates the idea that multiple minority identities together correspond to little value. Another economic study by Spalter-Roth and Deitch (1999) provides evidence for the additive approach. The authors explored post-displacement outcomes for Whites and communities of color who had been let go from their jobs. Using data from the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Spalter-Roth and Deitch (1999) found that compared to White men, White women, and men of color, women of color reported the lowest level of re-employment

and were most likely to be re-employed in lower-level occupations compared to their previous jobs. Meanwhile, White men were most likely to be re-employed and were observed to experience the lowest rate of downward shift from pre- to post-displacement occupations. White women reported the second highest rates of re-employment and also reported a similar but relatively weaker rate of downward shift. Finally, men of color reported relatively more disadvantage compared to White women in terms of the downward shift but were able to find re-employment in the blue-collar sector. These findings from Spalter-Roth and Deitch (1999) provide clear evidence for the cumulative impact of marginalized identities.

In the fields of psychology, researchers have used the additive approach to understand how levels of stress and self-esteem shift when multiple, marginalized social categories are present. For example, in an examination of sexual and racial/ethnic harassment in the workplace, Berdahl and Moore (2006) found that working adults with multiple minority backgrounds experience the worse outcomes. Specifically, women of color reported more frequent and severe overall harassment compared to White males, men of color, and White females. Similar findings were reported by Buchanan et al. (2009) in a college student population. King (2003) adds evidence for implications on well-being (e.g., self-esteem, negative affect) through an examination of attributions for prejudice made by African American women. In this study, the authors asked each participant to imagine overhearing two White male classmates negatively evaluating her. Participants then had an opportunity to attribute their negative evaluation to a number of possible internal (e.g., personality, mood) and/or external factors (e.g., the two classmates' moods, prejudice against African Americans, prejudice against women,

prejudice against African American women). Participants who attributed the evaluation to racial/ethnic or racial/ethnic-gender prejudice were most likely to report the lowest levels of self-esteem and highest levels of stress. This study lends some evidence to the double jeopardy/additive conceptualization of identity experiences in that those who perceive themselves as subjected to racial/ethnic-gender prejudice reported more disadvantage (e.g., lower self-esteem) compared to those perceiving gender prejudice only. However, in King (2003), the double jeopardy hypothesis did not hold when comparing the impact of racial/ethnic prejudice alone to that of racial/ethnic-gender prejudice. The additive model also informs how to examine positive outcomes. That is, given the independent associations of well-being factors with racial/ethnic identity and gender identity, following an additive model, it may be expected that well-being also accrues with the presence of both social identities. This application of the additive model has not been previously tested in research. Therefore, the study examined the additive impact of gender and racial/ethnic identities on psychosocial functioning (“double protection”).

### **The Intersectional Model**

The use of the additive model, particularly in economics and psychology, began to address the neglect of multiply marginalized individuals in research. However, critics from humanities, legal studies, and feminist studies argued that by conceptualizing identities as separate and isolated, the additive model could not accommodate nor capture the experiences of those who experience their marginalized identities as inseparable and intertwined. In other words, it is not simply a matter of the amount of disadvantage one might encounter; it is also about *how* one experiences life in this unique social location.

Feminists of color in particular emphasized the lives of women of color who simultaneously must manage being minority members of their racial/ethnic and gender groups. Accordingly, these scholar-activists put forth the framework of intersectionality to better understand these experiences.

The coining of the term “intersectionality” is attributed to Kimberle Crenshaw, a legal scholar and critical race theorist. Crenshaw noted how the unique experiences of women of color as a double-minority were reflected in the neglect of this population in law, anti-discriminatory practices, and direct services. For example, Crenshaw (1991) identified a need for an intersectional perspective in gender-focused services for sexual discrimination, domestic violence, and rape. Such services were equipped only to address gender violence by the perpetrator, leaving unaddressed the additional burdens faced by women of color, such as racism, poverty, and high rates of unemployment.

Thus, from a feminist-of-color perspective, multiple social identities are viewed through an intersectional lens. Through this lens, a configuration of social identities is created through a synergistic process that accounts for the histories of oppression and powerlessness tied to an individual’s social groups (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1994). In other words, the resulting identity configuration represents the unique social location occupied by the doubly-marginalized person. The intersectional model also calls into question the essentialist views inherent in studies that focus on “gender-as-difference” and “race/ethnicity-as-difference.” That is, intersectionality improves upon single-variable studies by acknowledging the racial/ethnic variability within gender and gender variability within race/ethnicity. According to the framework of intersectionality, aggregating information drawn separately from racial/ethnic identity and gender identity

would not necessarily inform the experiences of “women of color,” particularly for those whom gender is inseparable from race/ethnicity, and vice versa. Rather, research must begin examining “woman of color” as its own unique entity.

Another foundational component of intersectionality is that intersectional identities are defined in relation to one another (Shields, 2008). Critical to this idea is that, because each social identity must be interpreted in the context of another social identity, identities cannot be “ranked” over one another in terms of disadvantage or social inequality. Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) note that when studying multiple marginalized identities, researchers can easily fall into the trap of trying to identify which social group suffers the most (in the “Oppression Olympics,” as Martinez, 1993, called it). Rather, the emphasis is on the qualitative experience of the social location created by the position as a minority in both social groups.

Furthermore, according to an intersectional framework, the “racial/ethnic-gender” identity is more than the sum of its parts; it cannot be broken down into the components of gender identity and racial/ethnic identity without an integral piece missing. As demonstrated by Bowleg (2008), when provided the open space, Black lesbian women made connections among their identities more freely, which were qualitatively different than the summation of individual experiences with race/ethnicity, gender, and sexuality. Moreover, women of color have resisted the researcher-imposed division of their racial/ethnic-gender identity. For example, in a study by Thomas, Hacker, and Hoxha (2011), researchers prompted discussions on experiences with race/ethnicity, and later, gender. However, African American women in the study responded to both prompts with stories about being “African American women,” indicating that they perceived their

experiences with race/ethnicity and gender as intertwined. Other studies have suggested that ignoring the intersectionality of race/ethnicity and gender would result in a grave misrepresentation of women of color's experiences. For instance, Fine and Weis (1998) examined the experiences of African American, Latina/o and White working class men and women with regards to the subject of domestic violence. Fine and Weis (1998) found that although occurrences of domestic violence tend to vary largely by gender (e.g., men as perpetrators and women as victims), race/ethnicity also plays an important role. For example, African American, Latina/o and White women varied in the way they coped with domestic violence. For instance, African American women reported refraining from involving police in domestic disputes because they perceived the police as unjust to their racial/ethnic communities as a whole. As African American-identified women, they were weary that the same neglect would occur. Additionally, whereas African American women reported holding their perpetrators as more responsible for their actions, Latina and White women were more likely to hold onto the idea of a cohesive family with the husband as the protector, despite the disputing evidence of domestic violence.

Although the research presented offers some empirical support for the model of intersectionality, few studies have directly examined intersectionality with respect to racial/ethnic and gender *identities*. Through my own research, I provided preliminary evidence in support of the intersectionality of these identities for women of color. In Juan, Syed, and Azmitia (manuscript in preparation), differences in the experiences with gender and race/ethnicity between women of color and White women were examined. Results suggested that when it comes to these experiences, racial/ethnic minority status does matter. Compared to White women, women of color were more likely to view their

gender and race/ethnicity as connected components of their selves and were more likely to deem that connection as meaningful. Moreover, women of color were more likely than White women to report experiences with gender that developed in a personal context (e.g., within families and within their identified racial/ethnic cultures). In another study, differences in constellations of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity between women of color compared to men of color were investigated (Juan & Syed, 2012). In a sample of 282 college students, three possible identity constellations were identified: a) low gender identity, moderate racial/ethnic identity, b) low racial/ethnic and gender identities, and c) high racial/ethnic and gender identities. As anticipated, these constellations differed by gender. Specifically, women of color were more likely than expected to report high racial/ethnic and gender identities, whereas men were more likely than expected to report low racial/ethnic and gender identities. Taken together, both of these studies reiterate the importance of considering the intersections of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity rather than each alone. In particular, these studies confirmed a central assumption of intersectionality – women of color indeed have unique experiences compared to those with whom they share either a racial/ethnic or gender minority identity (i.e., men of color and White women, respectively).

**Intersectionality as a psychological framework.** There is much to gain from the acknowledgment by intersectionality of the relation between race/ethnicity and gender, as well as the status and power differences between and within these social groups. In particular, for the field of psychology, intersectionality offers a new theoretical perspective on how social group memberships may influence the individual experience. However, it is important to note that the use of intersectionality in this way was not the



original intent of the framework. As Syed (2010b) points out, intersectionality “was not, and is not, a scientific theory used to generate predictions about human behavior or mental processes” (p. 61). That is, with its origins in feminist theory and legal studies, intersectionality was developed as an interpretive lens for understanding how system-level processes, such as racism and sexism, create oppression for multiply-marginalized communities. Moving to psychology, the focus then shifts to the individual experience of one’s social location as a multiple-minority group member (e.g., Hurtado, 2003; Syed, 2010b; Warner & Shields, 2013). In the present study, intersectionality was useful for understanding how a woman of color manages her racial/ethnic and gender identities, especially as each competes for her attention and resources.

**Cultural pressures and conflicting intersectional identities.** Intersectionality also informs efforts to understand how women of color react and respond to racial/ethnic group messages about gender roles and ideology while simultaneously negotiating what it means personally to be a woman. From an early age, women of color are implicitly and explicitly instructed on how to act, talk, and carry themselves in their racial/ethnic groups. Across various immigrant communities, parents frequently hold daughters to strict, conservative rules regarding their social life and romantic relationships, including postponing dating in favor of familial duties, deferring to men over women, and fulfilling the role of primary caretakers of domestic duties (e.g., Dion & Dion, 2001; Jambunathan & Counselman, 2002). Additionally, women of color must also negotiate their sense of self in the face of cultural stereotypes, including Asian women as hyperfeminine, passive, weak, and submissive, and African American women as hypersexualized, aggressive, and domineering (Espiritu, 1997; hooks, 1981). Applying social identity theory (Tajfel,

1981), women of color may internalize these negative messages about women, which then can adversely affect their sense of self-worth.

Women of color having to reconcile their identities as women within these racial/ethnic cultural constraints are faced with at least two decisions: living within and by these gender role expectations or choosing to defy or reject them. Research indicates that when pressured to conform to gender expectations in racial/ethnic settings, women of color may experience disgust and self-loathing. Pyke and Johnson (2003) identified this as a central theme in their interviews with Korean American and Vietnamese American women. One woman shared that, “With Korean adults, I act more shy and more timid.... I just sound like an idiot.... I’m like, ‘Why can’t you just make conversation like you normally do?’” (p. 42). There is a sense that this woman cannot truly be herself given the perceived gender role limitations set by her racial/ethnic group. Moreover, she may experience self-doubt and conflict due to having a major part of herself devalued by her racial/ethnic group. Women of color can also choose to defy these gender role expectations, but this decision comes with potentially serious consequences. For participants in Pyke and Johnson’s (2003) study, to endorse a more assertive style of femininity required a complete rejection of their racial/ethnic culture. Such a rejection is not without repercussions. For instance, an Asian American woman who creates an individual identity apart from her family – the epitome of her racial/ethnic group – may bring shame to herself and her family (Pyke & Johnson, 2003).

As a converse to patriarchal attitudes toward women in racial/ethnic groups, the study considered women of color who feel strongly connected to their racial/ethnic identity and who also perceive women as a whole as devaluing their racial/ethnic group.

Research on racial/ethnic identity highlights the potential influence of these perceptions on the sense of self. For example, Sellers and Shelton (2003) found that African Americans who perceived other racial/ethnic groups as viewing the African American community in a positive light were, in fact, more distressed when encountering perceived discrimination. Thus, conflict may be created for women of color who feel connected to other women in their life but discover that these same women devalue their racial/ethnic group.

Knowing that the decision to uphold racial/ethnic identity over gender identity (or vice versa) is tied to negative consequences may result in uncertainty of how women of color can integrate their racial/ethnic and gender identities. From an Eriksonian perspective, these dynamics prevent the woman of color from obtaining continuity and sameness in her identity, thereby creating general identity conflict or distress (Berman, Montgomery, & Kurtines, 2004). Excessive and prolonged uncertainty over identity-related issues, in turn, may disrupt normal development and can be problematic for psychosocial functioning (Schwartz et al., 2009). In her study of identities associated to being a woman and a scientist, Settles and colleagues (2009) found that interference or conflict between these two important identities is related to lower self-esteem and greater depression. Additionally, interference was associated with lower satisfaction in identifying as a woman and as a scientist two years later. Settles' findings highlight that unresolved conflict between identities is not only unsettling but also begins to undermine the personal importance of each individual identity. Furthermore, these results suggest that the positive additive implications for psychosocial functioning drawn from the racial/ethnic identity and gender identity literature may not apply to women of color.

Rather, feeling strongly connected to a racial/ethnic group that simultaneously devalues another important part of the self will likely create more complications for psychosocial functioning.

According to Erikson, the impact of identity conflict or distress can “spill over” into other developmentally-relevant life domains (Syed, 2010a). In *identity versus identity confusion*, there are two other key areas in which adolescents are negotiating their sense of self. Erikson (1968) highlighted that adolescents become increasingly focused on their vocational identities, with the goal of aligning their own professional goals with the wishes of their parents. In particular, challenges to the career-decision making process during this developmental time period may be best reflected in the concepts of career commitment and career reconsideration (E. Porfeli, personal communication, June 5, 2013). Additionally, adolescents start to create and maintain more intimate relationships as they advance toward the developmental tension of *intimacy versus isolation*. The presence of general identity conflict, particularly as driven by discordant racial/ethnic and gender identities, may hinder women of color from successfully forming their identities with respect to their career and relationships. All together, implications of identity conflict weigh heavily on women of color as they search for balance between their own personal needs and the expectations of their social groups. The present study examined psychosocial functioning among women of color who may experience conflict between their racial/ethnic and gender identities. Of particular interest are those who feel strongly about their identity as a woman but also are members of a racial/ethnic group perceived to be patriarchal.

For women of color, if continuity and sameness in identity is not available, it may be important to understand how other resolutions of identity conflict can impact her life. From interviews with individuals about their religious and sexual identities, Schachter (2004) distinguished four possible ways in which one might resolve these opposing identities. Schachter first found that participants eliminated conflict all together by either a) rejecting one identity in favor of the other (“choice or rejection”) or b) by synthesizing the conflicting identities as one (“assimilating or synthesizing”). In both cases, efforts to reconcile conflict resulted in “one” identity, as developmentally theorized by Erikson (1968). However, Schachter (2004) also found that participants resolved to maintain their multiple identities *and* their concomitant conflict. For example, others in Schachter’s sample reported c) viewing each identity as compartmentalized and non-overlapping (“confederacy of identifications”). In doing so, the participants maintained the essence of each identity, thereby still allowing for conflict between the identities. Individuals adopting this resolution often reported hopelessness of ever achieving reconciliation between identities. In contrast, others retaining both identities and their concomitant conflict found excitement, challenge, and more importantly, uniqueness, in d) managing their dissonant identities (“thrill of dissonance”). In addition to the configurations that emerged in Schachter (2004), there are likely more adaptive ways through which individuals manage conflicting yet intersecting identities. Schachter (2004)’s work offers alternative ways of viewing women of color’s identity resolutions for their potentially conflicting racial/ethnic and gender identities.

### **Methodological Considerations**

Before proceeding in the study of multiple minority social identities, a number of methodological issues must be first considered. The very nature of the additive model requires data that can be easily isolated and aggregated along the lines of the different, independent social identities. Accordingly, the additive approach generally lends itself well to the use of quantitative data. Use of these data implies several advantages. First, analysis of quantitative data produces findings that are conducive to interpretation across women of color. Additionally, it is more likely to be closer in representation to the population of women of color rather than data collected from a small-sized sample, as is common in qualitative data-heavy studies.

In contrast to the additive model, intersectionality relies heavily on the personal meaning derived from a particular identity or identity configuration; thus, use of qualitative data is the most compatible with this approach. Methodologies that rely on qualitative data, such as interviews, focus groups, narratives, and case studies, allow the individual to describe her experiences in her own words rather than through the limited language of a quantitative measure. The focus of qualitative data collection is on tending to what organically arises in the data provided by the participant rather than following the directions of a priori hypotheses (Shields, 2008). Doing so ensures that the researcher does not impose her or his own values and definitions on the participant. Consistent with feminist theory, qualitative methodology encourages empowerment and participation in research not simply as a participant but also as a constructor of the research phenomenon.

Although both models present productive ways to account for the experiences of individuals with multiple minority identities, each approach also has its limitations. As mentioned, a major shortcoming of the additive approach is its conceptualization of

marginalized identities as independent. In presenting identities as independent, researchers risk inaccurately capturing the experiences with race/ethnicity and gender among women of color. Bowleg (2008) encountered this challenge in her own work with Black lesbian women. She specifically draws attention to her realization: “Ask an additive question, get an additive answer.” That is, Bowleg (2008) found that prompting participants in her study of Black lesbian women with each of their identities (e.g., “What would you say about your life as a Black person?; Woman? Lesbian?; and Black lesbian woman?”) inadvertently encouraged participants to rank, and thus perceive their race/ethnicity, gender, and class as separate entities. Bowleg (2008) noted that most women followed suit and responded to the questions about each identity, but there also were women who challenged this division (e.g., per one participant, “Well, you probably could combine all those statements”). These challenges serve as important reminders of the power of researchers to direct study findings. Moving forward, Bowleg (2008) recommends that, “If a respondent asks an [interviewer] to disaggregate identities, it seems advisable for the interviewer not to do so, but to instead invite the interviewee to discuss her identities and experiences however they best resonate with her” (p. 315).

The intersectional approach also is not without its limitations, particularly given its emphasis on the use of qualitative data. Because the intersectional approach relies heavily on the personal construction of each multiply-marginalized identity, findings from qualitative analyses cannot be as easily generalized as is typically done with quantitative findings. Findings are bound to the study sample. For example, in the aforementioned Thomas et al. (2011) study, only 17 African American women participated in the focus groups, precluding generalization of findings to the larger

community. Another limitation of the intersectional approach is its reliance on interpretation of findings. Researchers make major decisions about the data, deciding on key issues such as what constitutes a theme, which themes are “prominent,” and what stories are deemed “significant.” The researcher’s own histories and biases also influence these decisions. Thus, given that analysis of data is heavily dependent on researchers’ interpretations, researchers must be upfront about their biases to prevent undue influence on the findings. However, this guideline assumes that researchers are aware of all potential ways they may affect data collection and analysis, which may not always be the case (Taylor, Gilligan, & Sullivan, 1996). For these reasons, implications drawn from qualitative studies must be interpreted with caution.

Feminists, particularly of color, have long argued that only the intersectional model (with its reliance on qualitative data) is the most effective means through which one can capture the true experiences of women of color. However, there currently exists no empirical evidence that one approach is more effective than the other. Additionally, rather than limit research to the use of one approach, there may be more to gain through the use of both additive and intersectional approaches. Indeed, Cuadraz and Uttal (1999), proponents of the intersectional model, concede that in order to understand the impact of intertwined identities, one must first grasp the additive potential of each identity. Additionally, the study of a topic as complex as intersecting identities requires a research design that mirrors its intricacy.

To this end, the present study implemented a mixed-method design. In mixed-method research design, both quantitative and qualitative data are collected either concurrently or sequentially. In addition to exploring and analyzing the phenomenon



using both methods, a mixed-methods design study uniquely offers insight from examining points of integration between the two data (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011). In the context of intersections of race/ethnicity and gender, general patterns of identity are examined through quantitative data and a contextual understanding of these experiences is gained from qualitative data. Additionally, by using both models (and their corresponding methodologies), one method can offset the weaknesses of the other method (Bryman, 2006). Indeed, a general comparison of the additive and intersectional models reveals that one model's weaknesses are the other's strengths. Finally, mixed-method designs allow for convergence, in which one method can answer research questions that either quantitative or qualitative methods alone cannot answer (Morgan, 1998). For example, if the additive model were to confirm that those with multiple minority identities indeed experience the worst outcomes (e.g., via double jeopardy), then it is through the intersectional approach that contexts in which those outcomes vary are identified. Thus, there is a strong argument for examining data through the lens of both models.

### CHAPTER THREE: STUDY PURPOSE, HYPOTHESES, AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Taken together, the research presented indicates that the experiences of women of color with respect to racial/ethnic identity and gender identity have not been adequately explored in psychology. Specifically, this lack of research calls for further exploration that must account for the unique social location resulting from holding these minority identities. Furthermore, exploring the potential conflict of these identities also is urgent, as conflict may have serious consequences for psychosocial functioning. Locating the dearth of research on racial/ethnic and gender identities in a broader social context also reveals potentially significant repercussions. By continuing to not explore the intersection of race/ethnicity and gender, researchers are at risk of perpetuating the “intersectionality invisibility” of women of color (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Doing so adds to an already long history of misrepresentation, marginalization, and disempowerment. Moreover, if the goal of psychology is to understand the human experience, then the field is hindered in its progress by reliance on these individual lines of research.

This present study on women of color serves as an example of how psychologists can begin to address these concerns by capturing the complex interplay between racial/ethnic and gender identities as well as their relationship to psychosocial functioning. A particular focus of the study is on how women of color manage these identities when connected to a racial/ethnic group she perceives as devaluing of women. To explore these questions, the study employed an explanatory sequential mixed-method design (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011). The first phase of the study involved collection of survey data to assess whether racial/ethnic identity and gender identity are related to

psychosocial functioning per the additive model. Additionally, relationships amongst these constructs were explored in the context of belonging to a patriarchal racial/ethnic group. In the second phase of the study, racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, and perceived cultural attitudes toward women were independently explored using the intersectional model, which relies on qualitative data only. Though many feminist scholars advocate for the intersectional approach over the additive approach (e.g., Collins, 1990), no existing empirical evidence identifies what an intersectional approach may or may not add to knowledge gained from an additive approach. Therefore, the study aimed to address the following hypotheses and research questions:

**H1.** Among women of color, racial/ethnic identity and gender identity – both a) independently and b) together, additively – will be associated with psychosocial functioning.

**H2.** Following an additive approach, perceptions of a racial/ethnic group as traditional and patriarchal will moderate the relations between racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, and psychosocial functioning. Specifically, it is expected that women with strong racial/ethnic and gender identities will report the lowest levels of psychosocial functioning when they also perceive their racial/ethnic group as traditional and patriarchal.

**RQ1.** How do a subset of these women of color (representing all configurations of racial/ethnic and gender identities, e.g., strong racial/ethnic and gender identities; weak gender and strong racial/ethnic identities) perceive their racial/ethnic and gender identities, particularly when faced with patriarchal messages about women from their own racial/ethnic groups?

**RQ2.** In what ways do women of color's perceptions about racial/ethnic identity and gender identity (intersectional approach) explain or discount findings from an additive approach, particularly with respect to psychosocial functioning?

## CHAPTER FOUR: OVERVIEW OF STUDY DESIGN

This study used a mixed methods design, in which the “mixing” of quantitative (QUAN) and qualitative (QUAL) data occurred at the levels of purposeful sampling, data analysis, and the interpretation of results, discussed later in detail in their respective sections. Specifically, the study employed an explanatory sequential mixed methods design, which is denoted by QUAN→QUAL. This notation represented two concepts: 1) quantitative and qualitative data were equally emphasized in the study, and 2) the collection of quantitative data preceded the collection of qualitative data (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2011). Additionally, the concurrent use of the two data addressed limitations often associated with use of either data as a single method; together, the two data provided a comprehensive analysis of the data (Bryman, 2006). For a graphical representation of the overall study design and procedures (based on Creswell, 2010), see Figure 1.

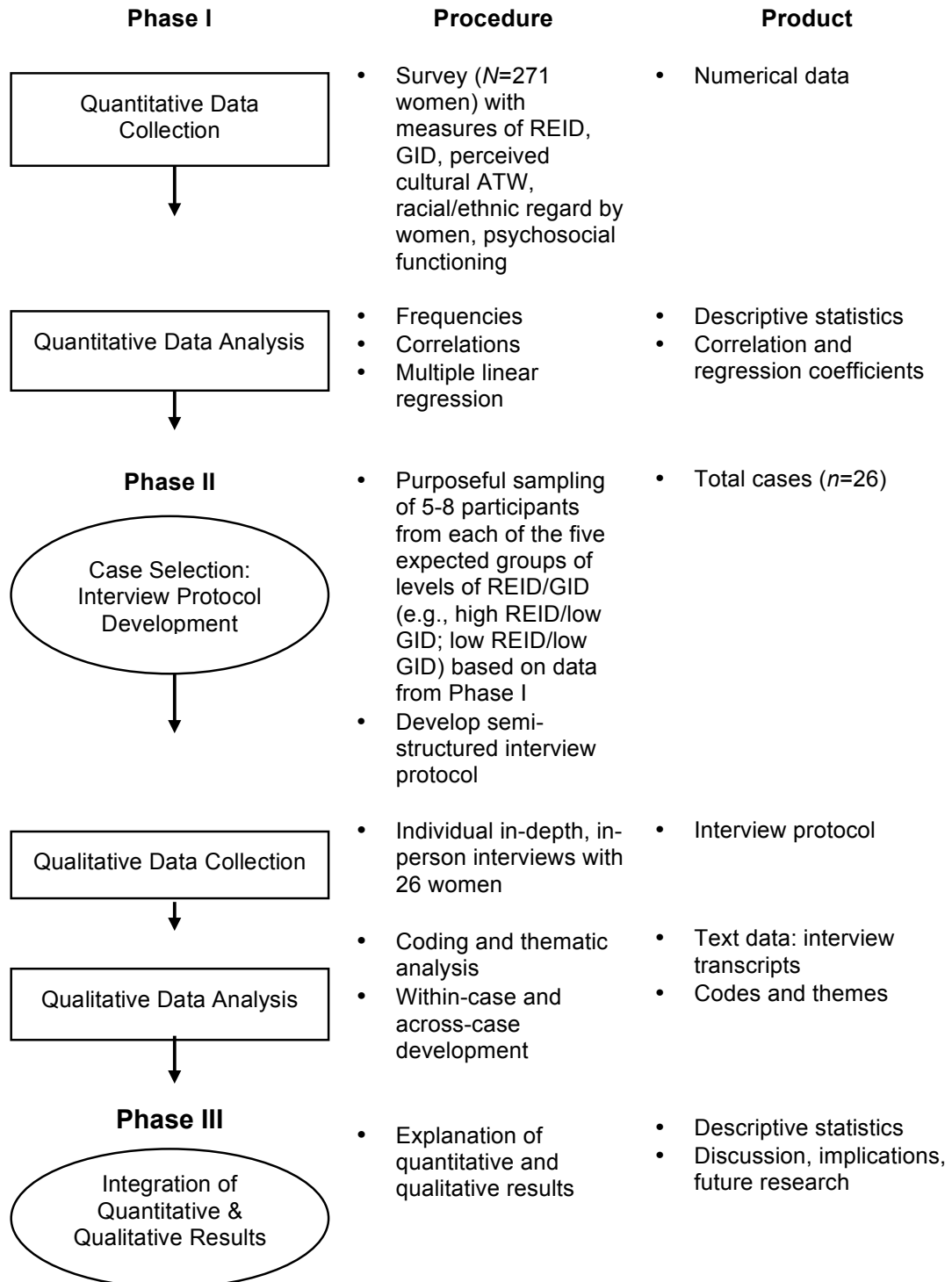
The study comprised three phases. The first two phases mirrored the division in extant literature regarding the study of multiple minority identities (i.e., additive vs. intersectional). Methodology in these phases were as follows:

**Phase I: Additive Approach.** The additive approach relied on the use of quantitative data only. Thus, survey data was collected and analyzed to examine the relations between racial/ethnic identity and gender identity in terms of psychosocial functioning.

**Phase II: Intersectional Approach.** Phase II represented the intersectional approach, in which racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, and their associated outcomes were independently studied through qualitative data. Individual interviews were

conducted, transcribed, and analyzed. It is important to note that this phase of the study focused strictly on qualitative (interview) data and did not analyze quantitative data from Phase I.

**Phase III: Integration.** Finally, a comparison of these independently conducted approaches was the focus of Phase III. Phase III integrated the two data, and by doing so, findings of Phase I and Phase II provided context for one another.



Note. REID = racial/ethnic identity, GID = gender identity, ATW = attitudes toward women.

Figure 1. Overall mixed methods study design and procedures.

## CHAPTER FIVE: PHASE I – THE ADDITIVE APPROACH

### Method

In this phase, the additive approach was used exclusively to understand the experiences of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity. Accordingly, these identities and their relations with psychosocial functioning are examined through quantitative data.

### Power Analysis

To determine a sufficient sample for this phase, a power analysis for a multiple regression was conducted in the G\*Power program. There exists no previous study with a three-way interaction using variables of interest to this study. Thus, I drew from related literature, specifically Yoo and Lee (2008), which found a three-way interaction of ethnic identity, cognitive restructuring, and perceived discrimination in predicting positive affect ( $\Delta R^2$  of .03, total  $R^2$  of .16). Based on specifications derived from these variables, the  $R^2$  effect size for the three-way interaction in this study was estimated to be between .02 and .04. Along with other standard specifications (alpha of .01 [adjusted for multiple tests], power of .8), the desired sample size for the present study was determined to be between 296 and 588 participants. Based on the range of estimates, the final recruitment sample of 271 participants likely led to a power between .40 and .75 for the three-way interaction.

### Recruitment

Participants were recruited through multiple outlets, including the Department of Psychology Research Experience Program at the University of Minnesota and in-person and email announcements to classes and student groups at universities and colleges in the Twin Cities Metro. Specifically, recruitment targeted classes and student groups with foci



related to race/ethnicity, culture, and/or women's issues. Additionally, flyers calling for women participants were also posted at the University of Minnesota, nearby universities and colleges, as well as local community spaces and cafés.

**Inclusion and exclusion criteria.** Attrition of participants is presented in Figure 2. In order to recruit for the target population of women of color, only individuals who self-identified as women and from minority racial/ethnic groups (including mixed) were eligible to participate. Additionally, given the developmental period of interest, only participants aged 18 to 30 were eligible for participation in the study. All individuals who did not meet these criteria were not eligible to participate.

To collect inclusion criteria information, individuals interested in participating in this study were first asked to complete the prescreening survey (see Appendix A). The survey included an open-ended question about racial/ethnic background, as well as multiple-choice questions about racial/ethnic identification, gender identification, status as a student, and name of university or college (if applicable). Of the 473 individuals who inquired about the study, a total of 309 met inclusion criteria and were invited to complete Phase I of the study.

From the 309 invited to complete Phase I of the study, a total of 275 completed the survey for an initial response rate of 89%. Four cases were later removed for the following reasons: a) declined to participate ( $n = 1$ ), b) provided survey data that contradicted initial prescreening data, thus indicating ineligibility ( $n = 1$ ), c) was a duplicate participant ( $n = 1$ ), and d) bypassed prescreening and provided survey data indicating ineligibility ( $n = 1$ ). The final response rate was 87.70%.

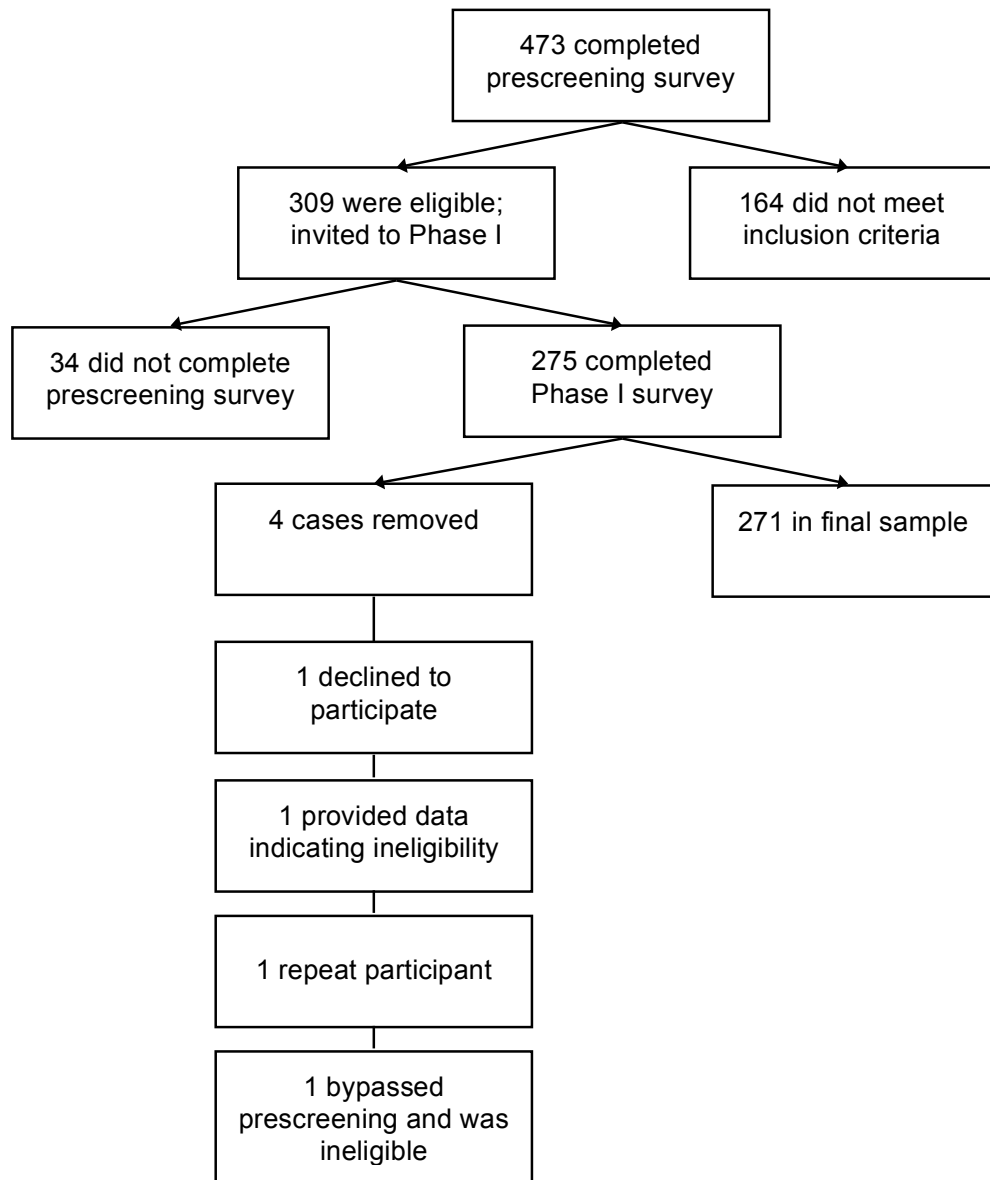


Figure 2. Attrition of participants.

## Final Sample

The final sample included 271 participants who identified as women from racial/ethnic minority backgrounds. All demographics in their entirety are presented in Table 1. The average age of participants was 20.35 years ( $SD = 2.13$ , range = 18 to 30 years). Nearly all of the sample (97%) identified as current undergraduate or graduate students, with the majority of the sample attending the University of Minnesota (90.04%). In terms of race/ethnicity, over half of the sample (57.20%) identified as Asian Americans. Similarly at the University of Minnesota, Asian Americans comprise half of the racial/ethnic minority student population (University of Minnesota Office of Institutional Research, 2014). The next three largest racial/ethnic groups were Black/African American (14.29%), Mixed with White heritage (12.92%), and Chicana/o or Latina/o American (5.17%). In contrast, the three largest racial/ethnic minority groups in the Twin Cities metro are Black/African American (7.6%), Asian Americans (6.1%), and Hispanic (5.5%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012).

Data regarding sexual orientation was collected via an open-ended question, then coded into categories. From these data, the majority identified as heterosexual or straight (75.65%), with the next two largest groups being those who identified as bisexual or bicurious (3.69%) and lesbian (1.85%). Approximately 15.13% of the sample provided responses not indicating any type of sexual orientation. For instance, 38 participants indicated that their sexual orientation was “female”; their sexual preference is unclear from this response. Additionally, three participants responded to this question with a general comment about sexual orientation, such as a definition (e.g., “A person’s sexual orientation is defined by the gender to which he or she is sexually attracted”). In terms of

socioeconomic status, most participants reported a middle class background (43.17%), with the next two largest groups being those who reported coming from upper-middle class (26.94%) and working class (23.35%) backgrounds.

### **Procedure**

Individuals identified as eligible for Phase I received an email with a website link to an online survey hosted by Google.com. Participants were instructed to complete the survey at their own pace and from the location of most convenience to them. Participants also were provided the option of visiting the research lab to complete a paper form of the survey, if desired. One participant indicated that she was unable to complete the survey online and accordingly was invited to the research lab in the Department of Psychology. Following her completion of the survey, I entered the participant's responses into the online survey database.

At the beginning of each survey administration the research team presented participants with a consent form detailing the two phases of the study, the first of which they were completing at that time (i.e., online survey). For the first phase of the study, the consent form indicated that the online survey was expected to take no longer than 30 minutes to complete. In addition to discussing confidentiality of survey responses, participants were instructed that they may skip any question on the survey that they felt was too sensitive. Finally, in order to invite eligible participants to the second phase of the study, the form also requested permission to contact them at a later date. All individuals indicated consent. For their time, participants chose between two forms of compensation: a) one (1) research participation point to apply toward Department of

Psychology course credit at the University of Minnesota,  $n = 91$ , or b) one \$5 gift card to Amazon.com,  $n = 180$ .

Table 1  
Summary of Demographics

Demographics	<i>n</i>	%
Gender		
Female	271	100.00
Race/Ethnicity		
Asian American	155	57.20
Black/African American	39	14.39
Mixed with White heritage	35	12.92
Chicana/o or Latina/o American	14	5.17
South Asian American	11	4.06
Middle Eastern American	8	2.95
Native American/American Indian	5	1.85
Mixed with both parents of color	4	1.48
Sexual orientation		
Heterosexual	205	75.65
Other comment	41	15.13
Bisexual or bi-curious	10	3.69
Lesbian	5	1.85
Pansexual	5	1.85
Other orientation	3	1.11
Queer	2	0.74
Socioeconomic status		
Poor	11	4.06
Working class	63	23.25
Middle class	117	43.17
Upper-middle class	73	26.94
Upper class/wealthy	5	1.85
Other	2	0.74
Student status/school		
Not a current student	12	4.43
University of Minnesota	244	90.04
Other local university or college	15	5.54
Year in school		
Not currently a student	12	4.43
First year undergraduate	56	20.66
Second year undergraduate	65	23.99
Third year undergraduate	64	23.62
Fourth year undergraduate	50	18.45
Fifth year undergraduate	15	5.54
Graduate or professional student	9	3.32
Born in the United States		
Yes	168	62.00
No	103	38.00

*Note.* Percentages may not total 100% in each demographic category due to rounding.

## Survey Measures

The survey contained the following measures and is available in its entirety in the Appendix B:

**Demographics.** Participants reported their gender and self-identified their racial/ethnic group, the latter in the form of an open-ended question. Additional demographics included age and other social identities, such as sexual orientation (also open-ended), social class, and immigration/generation status (of the participant and their parents). The open-ended responses to the race/ethnicity and sexual orientation questions were then coded into categories to provide an overview of the composition of the sample.

**Racial/ethnic identity (REID).** Racial/ethnic identity was measured through racial/ethnic identity centrality, which represents the degree to which one's racial/ethnic group is important or critical to the self. Racial/ethnic centrality was measured using the eight-item centrality subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997). A sample item included, "Being Black is an important reflection of who I am." For this study, the items were modified for use by other racial/ethnic groups (e.g., Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005). For example, the aforementioned item was modified into the following: "Being my race/ethnicity is an important reflection of who I am". Participants rated the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each item on a scale of one (*strongly disagree*) to seven (*strongly agree*). Scores were obtained by averaging ratings on all keyed items. Higher scores indicated greater importance of race/ethnicity to the self-concept. Sellers and colleagues (1997) demonstrated that the MIBI showed strong construct and predictive validity, as well as

strong reliability. The measure demonstrated strong internal reliability in this study ( $\alpha = .82$ )

**Gender identity (GID).** Similarly to racial/ethnic identity, gender identity was operationalized as gender identity centrality. Gender identity centrality represents the degree to which gender is important or critical to the sense of self. To this end, gender centrality also involved a modification of the eight-item centrality subscale of the MIBI (Sellers et al., 1997), with items referencing gender. A modified sample item included, “In general, being a woman is an important part of my self-image.” Participants rated the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each item on a scale of one (*strongly disagree*) to seven (*strongly agree*). Scores were obtained by averaging ratings on all keyed items. Higher scores indicated greater importance of gender to the participant’s self-concept. The MIBI modified for gender (e.g., woman centrality) has been used in previous research with promising results, demonstrating moderately high internal reliability ( $\alpha = .76$ ; Settles et al., 2009). The measure showed comparable internal reliability in this study ( $\alpha = .71$ ). A review of the literature found no validity data on the MIBI modified for gender identity.

To address common method variance (with racial/ethnic identity), the two measures of REID and GID were placed at the beginning and end of the online survey, respectively, with the majority of outcome measures administered between the two measures. Additionally, participants were prompted to identify their racial/ethnic and gender groups before completing their respective identity measures to reinforce centrality for that social identity.



**Perceived cultural attitudes toward women (PCATW).** Perceptions of culturally-endorsed attitudes toward women were assessed using a 15-item modified version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale developed by Spence and Helmrich (1972; 1978). The original 55-item Attitudes Toward Women scale is one of the most widely used measurements of gender attitudes (Beere, 1990) and has demonstrated both strong validity and reliability (e.g., Daugherty & Dambrot, 1986; Nelson, 1988). The 15-item version has been identified as an appropriate substitute for the original version, and it also has demonstrated high reliability (Daugherty & Dambrot, 1986).

In order to capture individuals' perceptions of their racial/ethnic group's attitudes about gender, instructions were altered. Participants were instructed to not answer about their own beliefs but rather about "your racial/ethnic group's general feeling about each statement." The PCATW was placed in a section of the survey focused on race/ethnicity, in which participants were prompted to name and describe their identified racial/ethnic group in an open-ended question before responding to the items. Additionally, each item of the PCATW began with a reference to the racial/ethnic group (e.g., "Other members of my racial/ethnic group tend to think [women should be concerned with their duties of childbearing and house tending rather than with desires for professional or business careers]"; original item indicated in brackets). Participants rated each item on a four-point scale, ranging from zero ([racial/ethnic group] *agrees strongly*) to three (*disagrees strongly*). Response options were presented in reverse order to correspond with the presentation of other survey measures in this study. For calculating scores, the original scoring scheme was retained (e.g., *disagrees strongly* = 3, *agrees strongly* = 0), with reverse coding occurring on the indicated items. A higher score indicated perception of

racial/ethnic group as endorsing pro-feminist, egalitarian attitudes, while a low score indicated perception of group as having traditional, patriarchal attitudes about women. In a 2011 pilot study for this dissertation, another version of the PCATW (25 items) demonstrated strong internal reliability in a sample of women of color and White women ( $\alpha = .93$ ). Furthermore, compared to White women, women of color perceived their racial/ethnic groups as more traditional and patriarchal ( $M$ 's = .88 vs. 1.05;  $p < .05$ ). In this study, the PCATW demonstrated adequate internal reliability ( $\alpha = .78$ ).

**Regard of racial/ethnic group by women in general.** Parallel to perceptions of racial/ethnic attitudes about gender in the PCATW, participants also were asked to think about how their racial/ethnic group is perceived by “women as a whole” or women across racial/ethnic groups. To measure regard of racial/ethnic group by women, a modified version of the Public Regard subscale from the MIBI was used (Sellers et al., 1997). An example of a modified item was, “Overall, my racial/ethnic group is considered good by women in general.” In order to emphasize a focus on their racial/ethnic group, participants were asked to “remind us again: with what racial/ethnic group do you identify?” prior to completing the Public Regard items. Participants then rated the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with each item on a scale of one (*strongly disagree*) to seven (*strongly agree*). Scores were obtained by averaging ratings on all keyed items. Higher scores indicated greater positive regard of their racial/ethnic group by women in general. In this study, this modified subscale demonstrated strong internal reliability ( $\alpha = .85$ ).

**Psychosocial functioning: Self-esteem, general mental health symptoms, identity distress, relationship quality, and career development and adjustment.** A number of indicators represented psychosocial functioning. *Self-esteem* is a positive or negative orientation toward the self. Participants' perceptions of self-esteem were measured using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE; Rosenberg, 1989). It is a 10-item measure that assesses attitudes of approval or disapproval toward the self. The RSE has also been shown to demonstrate strong validity and reliability (Rosenberg, 1989; Silber & Tippett, 1965) and is frequently used in research on both racial/ethnic identity and gender identity. An example of an item is, "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself." Participants rated each item on a scale of one (*strongly disagree*) to five (*strongly agree*), and negative items were reversed-coded. The average across items produced the final score, with higher scores indicating higher levels of self-esteem. The RSE has been found repeatedly to demonstrate strong internal reliability ( $\alpha = .87-.88$ ; Umaña-Taylor & Shin, 2007), as also was found in this study ( $\alpha = .88$ ).

*General mental health symptoms* were measured using the short version of the Depression, Anxiety, and Stress Scale (DASS-21) developed by Lovibond and Lovibond (1995). The measure comprised 21 items, which generated scores for three negative emotion symptom areas: depression, anxiety, and stress. The depression subscale assesses such symptoms as dysphoria, hopelessness, devaluation of life, and self-deprecation (e.g., "I couldn't seem to experience any positive feeling at all"). The anxiety subscale captures symptoms such as a situational anxiety and the subjective experience of anxiety (e.g., "I found myself in situations that made me so anxious I was most relieved when they ended"). The stress subscale assesses symptoms such as difficulty relaxing, irritability,

and agitation (e.g., “I found myself getting upset by quite trivial things”). Participants rated each statement for severity and frequency over the past week on a scale of zero (*Did not apply to me at all*) to three (*Applied to me very much, or more of the time*). Scores were summed within subscales, and higher scores indicated greater severity of depression, anxiety, and stress. In a non-clinical sample, Henry and Crawford (2005) found support for the DASS-21 as a general indicator of psychological distress. The DASS-21 has been found to possess adequate reliability and construct validity (e.g., Henry & Crawford, 2005). In this study, all three subscales demonstrated adequate to strong internal reliability (depression,  $\alpha = .81$ ; anxiety,  $\alpha = .78$ ; and stress,  $\alpha = .88$ ).

The Identity Distress Survey (IDS; Berman et al., 2004) measured *general identity distress* or distress associated with unresolved identity issues. Per Berman and colleagues (2004), the IDS is particularly useful for capturing difficulties in developing an identity and for exploring links between identity issues and other areas of psychological functioning. Items on the measure assessed distress with respect to a variety of identity domains: long-term goals, career choice, friendships, sexual orientation and behavior, religion, values and beliefs, and group loyalties. Participants rated each item/issue for the degree to which they felt recently upset by, distressed or worried about it. Responses were rated on a five-point scale, ranging from one (*none at all*) to five (*very severely*). A mean of scores was calculated across all identity issues, providing an indicator of general identity distress across the various life domains. Higher scores indicated higher levels of distress as a result of identity conflict. Following these ten items, participants were presented with one item assessing how long they have felt distressed over these issues “as a whole,” ranging from one (*never or less than a month*)

to five (*more than 12 months*). The IDS has demonstrated strong internal consistency and test-retest reliability ( $\alpha$ 's = .84 and .82, respectively; Berman et al., 2004).

Furthermore, Berman and colleagues (2004) demonstrated convergent validity with other measures of identity development. In this study, the IDS also demonstrated adequate internal reliability ( $\alpha = .74$ ).

To measure *the quality of significant relationships*, the Positive Relations with Others subscale from the Psychological Well-Being Scale was administered (Ryff, 1989). The subscale is intended to reflect the importance of trusting interpersonal relationships to the individual's development and maturity. Participants indicated the extent to which they agreed with each statement, using a six-point scale of one (*strongly disagree*) to six (*strongly agree*). A sample item reads, "Maintaining close relationships has been difficult and frustrating for me." Scores were reverse-coded as indicated, then summed across items. Higher scores suggest that the presence of warm, satisfying, and trusting interpersonal relationships. Additionally, higher scores are indicative of individuals who are capable of empathy and intimacy and who are willing to work on creating and maintaining healthy relationships. Low scores are suggestive of few, close relationships, as well as of difficulty being warm and open to others. Internal reliability for this subscale has been found previously to be strong ( $\alpha = .91$ ; Ryff, 1989). Similarly, this study also demonstrated strong internal reliability for this subscale ( $\alpha = .80$ ).

To assess the state of participants' *career decision-making and adjustment*, the subscales of Career Commitment and Career Reconsideration from the Vocational Identity Status Assessment (VISA) was administered (Porfeli, Lee, Vondracek, & Weigold, 2011). Career commitment captures not only deciding on a career but also

incorporating it into the sense of self. Accordingly, career commitment is measured through the subscales of commitment making and identification with a career commitment. *Commitment making* (CM; five items) represents the extent to which participants had committed to a chosen career or vocation. One sample item includes, “I know what kind of work is best for me.” Participants’ degree of identification with their chosen career was represented in the second subscale of *identification with a career* (CI). One sample item from this five-item subscale read, “I chose a career that will allow me to remain true to my values.” Participants rated their agreement with each statement, ranging from one (*strongly disagree*) to five (*strongly agree*). Subscales scores were averaged with higher scores indicating greater commitment and identification, respectively.

Career reconsideration captures the process of moving on from current career commitments and comparing and pursuing alternatives. The dimension of career reconsideration comprised two subscales. *Career self-doubt* (SD; five items) captures doubt, unease, and uncertainty about one’s current career choice, as well as about entering the work field. An item from this subscale reads, “When I tell other people about my career plans, I feel like I am being a little dishonest.” *Career commitment flexibility* (CF; five items) measures the degree to which one expects and is open to changes not only in their career choice but also in themselves. One sample item included, “What I look for in a job will change in the future.” Participants indicated their agreement with each statement using a five-point scale of one (*strongly disagree*) to five (*strongly agree*). Higher scores indicated greater self-doubt and greater flexibility.

In previous studies, the subscales demonstrated adequate internal consistency reliabilities, ranging from an alpha of .75 for commitment identification to an alpha of .84 for commitment making (Porfeli & Savickas, 2012). The subscales also produced adequate to strong internal reliability in this study: commitment making,  $\alpha = .83$ ; commitment identification,  $\alpha = .70$ ; commitment self-doubt,  $\alpha = .84$ ; and commitment flexibility,  $\alpha = .86$ .

### **Data Screening**

**Missing data.** Schlomer, Bauman, and Card (2010) emphasized the importance of reporting and analyzing missing data as without such, study findings cannot be accurately interpreted. To determine if the presence of missing data is problematic, Schlomer and colleagues (2010) recommended first investigating whether or not the data set has adequate statistical power to detect desired effects, then examining the “pattern of missingness” (p. 2). Regarding Scholmer et al.’s (2010) first recommendation, it was noted that with a final sample size of 271, the current study was underpowered for the planned analyses and therefore, retaining all cases was deemed necessary.

Per Scholmer et al.’s second recommendation (2010), patterns of missingness were determined following evaluation of relations between observed variables and missing values. For all variables in the study, dummy variables were created with two values: missing and nonmissing data. A total of two cases were identified as missing data in at least one of the predictor or outcome variables. Specifically, 1) one case was missing all items from the Identity Distress Survey, and 2) the second case was missing all items from the measure of regard of racial/ethnic group by women. These two cases did not differ from cases that were not missing data on any predictor or outcome

variables, and accordingly, the pattern of missing data in this dataset is considered Missing At Random (MAR). It is noted that the data also may be considered Not Missing At Random (NMAR), though as Scholmer et al. (2010) and Parent (2013) point out, such a conclusion can never be drawn with complete certainty as confirmation would require data that were not available. Missing data in this study were imputed on standardized scales through multiple imputation.

**Outliers.** The process of identifying outliers began with standardizing all predictor and outcome variables. All variables with  $z$ -scores greater than or equal to the absolute value of 4 were considered outliers (Field, 2009). This process resulted in five outliers on the stress outcome variable and one outlier on the identity distress outcome variable, with all outliers having  $z$ -scores ranging from 4.10 to 4.39. Primary analyses were conducted both with and without these cases to determine the impact of the outliers. There were no significant differences in findings when outliers were removed; thus, outliers were retained for final analyses.

## Results

### Overview of Analytic Strategy

Data were examined first for group differences that may influence the primary analyses. Then, to test the first two study hypotheses, the study employed multiple linear regression analyses (Aiken & West, 1991). To account for multiple tests, the significance level for these analyses was  $\alpha = .01$ .

### Preliminary Analyses

**Intercorrelations.** Correlations were conducted to examine relations among predictor and outcome variables. All correlations are presented in Table 2. Of note, the



predictor of racial/ethnic identity was found to have no significant associations with psychosocial functioning. Racial/ethnic identity was, however, associated with gender identity,  $r = .36$ . In addition to racial/ethnic identity, gender identity was associated with quality of significant relationships,  $r = .17$ . In terms of perceived cultural attitudes toward women, perceiving one's racial/ethnic group as more egalitarian and pro-feminist was related to more positive regard of one's racial/ethnic group by women in general,  $r = .18$ . More positive regard of racial/ethnic group by women was associated with more self-esteem,  $r = .22$ , less depression, anxiety and stress  $r$ 's =  $-.22$  to  $-.18$ , less identity distress,  $r = -.25$ , more positive relations,  $r = .27$ , stronger career commitment,  $r = .17$ , and less career self-doubt,  $r = -.18$ .

Table 2  
 Summary of Means, Standard Deviations, Reliability, and Intercorrelations among Predictor and Outcome Variables ( $N = 271$ )

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Racial/ethnic identity	4.69	1.08	<b>.82</b>													
2. Gender identity	4.83	.94	.36**	<b>.71</b>												
3. Perceived CATW	1.49	.45	.07	-.02	<b>.78</b>											
4. Regard of R/E group	4.85	1.06	.06	.06	.18**	<b>.85</b>										
5. Self-esteem	3.18	.52	.07	.18*	.12	.22**	<b>.88</b>									
6. Depression	.85	.57	-.04	-.07	-.05	-.22**	-.40**	<b>.81</b>								
7. Anxiety	.52	.54	-.04	-.05	-.06	-.18**	-.31**	.67**	<b>.78</b>							
8. Stress	.54	.57	-.03	-.10	-.13*	-.22**	-.61**	.67**	.58**	<b>.88</b>						
9. Identity distress	2.21	.64	-.04	-.08	-.13*	-.25**	-.43**	.46**	.39**	.47**	<b>.74</b>					
10. Positive relations	4.50	.81	.12	.17**	.10	.27**	.51**	-.33**	-.21**	-.44**	-.32**	<b>.80</b>				
11. Career CM	3.05	.86	-.06	-.06	.10	.17**	.27**	-.15*	-.17**	-.26**	-.15*	.18**	<b>.83</b>			
12. Career CI	3.88	.86	.12	.15*	.13*	.11	.24**	-.04	-.01	-.14*	-.09	.21**	.50**	<b>.70</b>		
13. Career SD	2.43	.92	.03	-.08	-.14*	-.18**	-.45**	.23**	.18**	.36**	.39**	-.30**	-.50**	-.46**	<b>.84</b>	
14. Career CF	3.25	.89	.03	.09	-.03	.03	-.06	.03	.04	.12	.13*	-.05	-.58**	-.33**	.43**	<b>.71</b>

*Note.* For mean values, scores for the Depression, Anxiety, Stress, and Positive Relations scales were averaged for the purposes of consistency with other values in this table but remained in total scores for analyses. Internal consistency correlations (ICC) are **bolded**. For correlations, \* denotes  $p < .05$ ; \*\* denotes  $p < .01$ . (Perceived) CATW = Cultural Attitudes Toward Women; R/E = racial/ethnic group; CM = Commitment Making; CI = Commitment Identification; SD = Self-Doubt; CF = Commitment Flexibility.

**Group differences.** Differences within groups of demographic categories were examined to identify variables that might influence the main analyses. Additionally, Box's test analyses were conducted to compare the covariance matrices of the groups, which is critical to regression analyses. Too many variables can affect the accuracy of the Box's test (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006), and thus, Box's tests analyses were first run with predictor variables only, then outcome variables in two groups by content. Also, only groups with more than 10 participants were included in analyses. Tables for significant mean differences are presented in Appendix C.

**Racial/ethnic group.** Five racial/ethnic groups were included in these analyses: Asian American ( $n = 155$ ), Black/African American ( $n = 39$ ), Mixed with White heritage ( $n = 35$ ), Chicana/o or Latina/o American ( $n = 14$ ), and South Asian American ( $n = 11$ ). There was a main effect of racial/ethnic group on racial/ethnic identity,  $F(4, 249) = 4.77$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .07$ , perceived cultural attitudes toward women,  $F(4, 249) = 4.98$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .07$ , and regard of racial/ethnic group by women,  $F(4, 249) = 6.89$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .11$ . Mean differences by group are presented in Table C1 (Appendix C). However, Box's analyses showed that there were no significant differences in the covariance matrices among racial/ethnic groups, which indicates that the covariance matrices among these groups are similar to one another. Thus, primary analyses proceeded without controlling for race/ethnicity.

Further analyses explored differences between Asian Americans and South Asian Americans ( $n = 165$ ) versus all other racial/ethnic groups ( $n = 106$ ). As presented in Table C2 (Appendix C), means for these two groups differed in terms of perceived cultural attitudes toward women,  $t(269) = 4.53$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = .54$ , regard of racial/ethnic

group by women,  $t(193.02) = -3.86, p < .001, d = -.51$ . Box's  $M$  tests demonstrated significant differences in covariance matrices comprising career commitment making, career commitment identification, career self-doubt, and career flexibility, Box's  $M = 32.98, p < .001$ . Box's tests for other variables were not significant. Thus, primary analyses initially proceeded with controlling for Asian Americans versus non-Asian Americans. However, controlling for Asian vs. non-Asian Americans did not produce different results.

Lastly, considering that over half of the sample comprised Asian Americans (including South Asian Americans), primary analyses were conducted with the Asian American sample only. Using the same significance criterion of alpha at the .01 level, results with the Asian American only sample did not differ from results from the all student sample. Thus, results using the entire sample of 271 participants are presented in final analyses.

**Socioeconomic status.** Four groups were examined for these analyses: poor ( $n = 11$ ), working class ( $n = 63$ ), middle class ( $n = 117$ ), and upper-middle class ( $n = 73$ ). There was no main effect of socioeconomic status on any predictor or outcome variable. Examining Box's test analyses, there were no significant differences comparing covariance matrices. Thus, there was no indication that socioeconomic status would influence the primary analyses.

**Sexual orientation.** For this set of analyses, participants were coded as heterosexual ( $n = 205$ ) and LGBTQ ( $n = 25$ ). Participants who did not provide any indicator of sexual orientation (i.e., "other comment" group) were excluded. There was no main effect of socioeconomic status on predictor and outcome variables. A Box's test

found no significant differences between matrices. Accordingly, preliminary analyses proceeded without controlling for sexual orientation.

**Generational status.** Generational status was determined using the locations of birth for the participant, her mother, and father, as well as year of immigration (i.e., individuals before the age of 12 at immigration were identified as “1.5” generation; Rumbaut, 2004) for all parties. Together, these data created four groups: international students and those who otherwise identified as non-immigrants ( $n = 14$ ), first-generation ( $n = 43$ ), 1.5 generation ( $n = 17$ ), second-generation ( $n = 158$ ), and third-generation and later ( $n = 39$ ). There was a main effect of generational status on perceived cultural attitudes toward women,  $F(4, 266) = 5.30, p < .001, \eta^2 = .06$ , regard of racial/ethnic group by women in general,  $F(4, 266) = 4.50, p = .002, \eta^2 = .07$ , and anxiety,  $F(4, 266) = 7.73, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$ . Group means are presented in Table C3 (Appendix C). Box’s tests for self-esteem, depression, anxiety, stress, identity distress, and quality of significant relationships also were significant, Box’s  $M = 421.11, p < .001$ . Box’s tests for other variables were not significant. Thus, generation status was initially controlled for in the primary analyses. However, results with this controlled variable did not differ compared to results without the control. Thus, final results presented in this study are without controls.

**Other demographic variables.** Both age and year in school were not significantly correlated with any of the predictor or outcome variables, and therefore were not controlled for in final analyses.

### **Assumptions of Multiple Regression**

The data were examined along assumptions for multiple linear regression analyses (Field, 2009). Assumptions of non-zero variance, no perfect multicollinearity, independence of errors, and independence of outcome variables were all satisfied. Histograms and Q-Q plots were generated to check for the normal distribution of errors and the homoscedasticity of predictors; no concerns were indicated. Additionally, skewness and kurtosis values were within the acceptable range.

### **Hypothesis 1**

According to the first study hypothesis, a) it was anticipated that racial/ethnic identity and gender identity would each have a positive main effect on psychosocial functioning (i.e., self-esteem, general mental health symptoms, identity distress, relationship quality, and career development and adjustment). Additionally, b) it was expected that the combination of both identities would have an additive impact on psychosocial functioning.

**a) Only gender identity independently predicted psychosocial functioning.** To test for hypothesized main effects, one multiple regression model (Model 1) was created with racial/ethnic identity (REID) in Step 1, followed by gender identity (GID) in Step 2, and their interaction term in Step 3. All of these variables were standardized according to standard practice (Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004). In total, there were 10 regression models, one for each of the psychosocial functioning variables.

In partial support of the Hypothesis 1, gender identity positively predicted self-esteem,  $B = .09$ ,  $sr^2 = .03$  (see Table 3), and positive relations,  $B = 1.11$ ,  $sr^2 = .02$  (see Table 4). It was not related to other psychosocial functioning outcomes (i.e., general

mental health, identity distress, and career decision-making). Racial/ethnic identity was not related to psychosocial functioning.

**b) Racial/ethnic identity and gender identity together did not additively predict psychosocial functioning.** The last step of the regression models examined the interaction between racial/ethnic identity and gender identity. There was no interaction between these two social identities at  $\alpha = .01$ .

## **Hypothesis 2**

The second hypothesis proposed that cultural attitudes toward women would moderate the relations among racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, and psychosocial functioning. Specifically, it was expected that women with high racial/ethnic and gender identities would report lower psychosocial functioning when also belonging to a racial/ethnic group they perceive to be patriarchal.

In Step 1 of Model 2, racial/ethnic identity was entered, followed by gender identity in Step 2. Step 3 included perceived cultural attitudes toward women (CATW) and regard of racial/ethnic group by women (regard); all predictor variables were standardized (Frazier et al., 2004; West, Aiken, & Krull, 1996). Step 4 included all possible two-variable product terms (i.e., REID  $\times$  GID, REID  $\times$  PCATW, GID  $\times$  PCATW, REID  $\times$  Regard, GID  $\times$  Regard, PCATW  $\times$  Regard), and Step 5 included all possible three-way product terms with the exception of the three-way interaction of interest (i.e., REID  $\times$  GID  $\times$  Regard, REID  $\times$  PCATW  $\times$  Regard, GID  $\times$  PCATW  $\times$  Regard). Terms in Steps 4 and 5 were entered to remove their influence on the final analysis. In the sixth and last step, the three-way interaction of interest (REID  $\times$  GID  $\times$

PCATW) was entered to test for the hypothesized moderator effect. A four-way interaction of all terms was not examined as it was not of focus in this study.

**Perceived cultural attitudes toward women did not moderate the relations between racial/ethnic identity and gender identity with respect to psychosocial functioning.** Results from the final step of these multiple regression analyses are presented in the rightmost columns of Tables 3 through 8. Contrary to Hypothesis 2, there was no significant interaction of racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, and perceived cultural attitudes toward women.

Although not among the hypothesized associations, regard of racial/ethnic group by women in general was found to positively predict the quality of positive relationships,  $B = 1.78$ ,  $sr^2 = .05$  (see Table 4), and negatively predict identity distress,  $B = -.13$ ,  $sr^2 = .04$  (see Table 5). Regard of racial/ethnic group by women was also negatively associated with depression, anxiety, and stress, though the final steps of these models were not significant at the  $\alpha = .01$  level (for details, see Tables 6, 7, and 8, respectively). Additionally, it was noted that in this level of analysis, for anxiety, there was an interaction of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity significant at the  $\alpha = .05$  level; however,  $\alpha = .01$  was the criterion used for these analyses.



Table 3  
Self-Esteem Regressed on Racial/Ethnic Identity, Gender Identity, and Their Interactions

Variable	Model 1				Model 2				
	Step 2	Step 3	Step 3	Step 6					
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>
Intercept	3.18**	.03		3.20**	.03		3.20**	.03	
<b>Racial/ethnic identity</b>	<b>.004</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>.002</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>
<b>Gender identity</b>	<b>.09**</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>.09**</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>.09**</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>.03</b>
PCATW							.07	.04	.01
Regard (of racial/ethnic group)							.08*	.03	.02
<b>Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity</b>				<b>-.05</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>-.06</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>.01</b>
Racial/ethnic identity × PCATW							-.03	.04	<.001
Gender identity × PCATW							.001	.04	<.001
Racial/ethnic identity × Regard							-.02	.04	<.001
Gender identity × Regard							.01	.03	<.001
PCATW × Regard							.01	.03	<.001
Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity × Regard							.09*	.04	.02
Racial/ethnic identity × PCATW × Regard							-.04	.04	<.001
Gender identity × PCATW × Regard							-.03	.03	<.001
<b>Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity × PCATW</b>							<b>-.05</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>.01</b>
<i>AR</i> <sup>2</sup>			.03**			.01			.008
Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>			.03			.03			.09
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>			.18*			.21**			.14**

Note. Terms relevant to hypotheses are **bolded**. PCATW = Perceived cultural attitudes toward women. \**p* < .05. \*\**p* < .01.

Table 4  
Positive Relations Regressed on Racial/Ethnic Identity, Gender Identity, and Their Interactions

Variable	Model 1				Model 2				
	Step 2		Step 3		Step 6				
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>
Intercept	40.34**	.44		40.34**	.47		40.24**	.46	
<b>Racial/ethnic identity</b>	<b>.45</b>	<b>.47</b>	<b>.003</b>	<b>.45</b>	<b>.47</b>	<b>.003</b>	<b>.53</b>	<b>.47</b>	<b>.004</b>
<b>Gender identity</b>	<b>1.11*</b>	<b>.47</b>	<b>.02</b>	<b>1.11*</b>	<b>.47</b>	<b>.02</b>	<b>1.05*</b>	<b>.46</b>	<b>.02</b>
PCATW							.27	.48	.001
Regard (of racial/ethnic group)							1.78**	.47	.05
<b>Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity</b>				<b>.002</b>	<b>.43</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>-.12</b>	<b>.42</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>
Racial/ethnic identity × PCATW							.84	.49	.01
Gender identity × PCATW							-.88	.50	.01
Racial/ethnic identity × Regard							.06	.52	<.001
Gender identity × Regard							.17	.48	<.001
PCATW × Regard							.20	.42	.001
Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity × Regard							.35	.52	.002
Racial/ethnic identity × PCATW × Regard							-.60	.50	.005
Gender identity × PCATW × Regard							-.40	.43	.003
<b>Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity × PCATW</b>							<b>.03</b>	<b>.44</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>
<i>AR</i> <sup>2</sup>		.02*							<.001
Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.03							.09
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.03*							.14**

Note. Terms relevant to hypotheses are **bolded**. PCATW = Perceived cultural attitudes toward women. \**p* < .05. \*\**p* < .01.

Table 5  
 Identity Distress Regressed on Racial/Ethnic Identity, Gender Identity, and Their Interactions

Variable	Model 1				Model 2				
	Step 2		Step 3		Step 6				
	B	SE	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	B	SE	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	B	SE	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>
Intercept	2.21**	.04		2.21**	.04		2.22**	.04	
Racial/ethnic identity	<b>-.004</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>-.04</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>
Gender identity	<b>-.05</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>-.05</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>-.05</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>.01</b>
PCATW							<b>-.06</b>	.04	.01
Regard (of racial/ethnic group)							<b>-.13**</b>	.04	.04
<b>Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity</b>				<b>-.01</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>
Racial/ethnic identity × PCATW							.03	.04	.002
Gender identity × PCATW							<b>-.01</b>	.04	<b>&lt;.001</b>
Racial/ethnic identity × Regard							.09	.05	.01
Gender identity × Regard							.04	.04	.002
PCATW × Regard							<b>-.09*</b>	.04	.02
Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity × Regard							<b>-.06</b>	.05	.01
Racial/ethnic identity × PCATW × Regard							<b>-.01</b>	.04	<b>&lt;.001</b>
Gender identity × PCATW × Regard							.02	.04	.001
<b>Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity × PCATW</b>							<b>-.01</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>
<i>AR</i> <sup>2</sup>		.01							<b>&lt;.001</b>
Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		<b>-.001</b>					<b>-.01</b>		.08
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.01					.01		.12**

Note. Terms relevant to hypotheses are **bolded**. PCATW = Perceived cultural attitudes toward women. \**p* < .05. \*\**p* < .01.

Table 6  
 Depression Regressed on Racial/Ethnic Identity, Gender Identity, and Their Interactions

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	Step 2		Step 3		Step 6			
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	$sr^2$	$sr^2$
Intercept	5.93**	.24	5.93**	.26	5.97**	.26		
<b>Racial/ethnic identity</b>	<b>-.05</b>	<b>.26</b>	<b>-.05</b>	<b>.26</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>.27</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>
<b>Gender identity</b>	<b>-.28</b>	<b>.26</b>	<b>-.28</b>	<b>.26</b>	<b>-.22</b>	<b>.26</b>	<b>.003</b>	<b>.003</b>
PCATW					.02	.27	<.001	.04
Regard (of racial/ethnic group)					-.91**	.27		
<b>Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity</b>			<b>-.003</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>.08</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>
Racial/ethnic identity × PCATW					.37	.28	.01	.01
Gender identity × PCATW					.17	.28	.001	.001
Racial/ethnic identity × Regard					-.04	.29	<.001	<.001
Gender identity × Regard					.04	.27	<.001	.01
PCATW × Regard					-.46	.24	.01	.01
Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity × Regard					.02	.30	<.001	<.001
Racial/ethnic identity × PCATW × Regard					-.03	.28	<.001	<.001
Gender identity × PCATW × Regard					-.26	.24	.004	.004
<b>Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity × PCATW</b>					<b>-.25</b>	<b>.25</b>	<b>.003</b>	<b>.003</b>
$AR^2$		.004		<.001		.003		.003
Adjusted $R^2$		-.002		-.006		.04		.04
$R^2$		.01		.01		.09*		.09*

Note. Terms relevant to hypotheses are **bolded**. PCATW = Perceived cultural attitudes toward women. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

Table 7  
Anxiety Regressed on Racial/Ethnic Identity, Gender Identity, and Their Interactions

Variable	Model 1				Model 2				
	Step 2		Step 3		Step 6				
	B	SE	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	B	SE	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	B	SE	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>
Intercept	3.66**	.23		3.51**	.24		3.52**	.24	
<b>Racial/ethnic identity</b>	<b>-.07</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>-.06</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>.03</b>	<b>.25</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>
<b>Gender identity</b>	<b>-.17</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>.002</b>	<b>-.17</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>.002</b>	<b>-.14</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>.001</b>
PCATW							-.12	.26	.001
Regard (of racial/ethnic group)							-.69**	.25	.03
<b>Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity</b>				<b>.43</b>	<b>.22</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>.49*</b>	<b>.22</b>	<b>.02</b>
Racial/ethnic identity × PCATW							.25	.26	.003
Gender identity × PCATW							.21	.26	.002
Racial/ethnic identity × Regard							-.29	.27	.004
Gender identity × Regard							.25	.25	.004
PCATW × Regard							-.28	.22	.01
Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity × Regard							.05	.28	<.001
Racial/ethnic identity × PCATW × Regard							-.16	.26	.001
Gender identity × PCATW × Regard							-.12	.23	.001
<b>Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity × PCATW</b>							<b>-.10</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>.001</b>
<i>AR</i> <sup>2</sup>		.002			.01			.001	
Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		-.004			.01			.03	
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>		.003			.02			.08	

Note. Terms relevant to hypotheses are **bolded**. PCATW = Perceived cultural attitudes toward women. \**p* < .05. \*\**p* < .01.

Table 8  
Stress Regressed on Racial/Ethnic Identity, Gender Identity, and Their Interactions

Variable	Model 1				Model 2				
	Step 2			Step 3			Step 6		
	B	SE	sr <sup>2</sup>	B	SE	sr <sup>2</sup>	B	SE	sr <sup>2</sup>
Intercept	3.76**	.24		3.68**	.26		3.71**	.26	
<b>Racial/ethnic identity</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>.26</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>.04</b>	<b>.26</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>.05</b>	<b>.26</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>
<b>Gender identity</b>	<b>-.40</b>	<b>.26</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>-.40</b>	<b>.26</b>	<b>.01</b>	<b>-.39</b>	<b>.26</b>	<b>.01</b>
PCATW							-.39	.27	.01
Regard (of racial/ethnic group)							-.70**	.26	.03
<b>Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity</b>				<b>.22</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>.003</b>	<b>.28</b>	<b>.24</b>	<b>.01</b>
Racial/ethnic identity × PCATW				.04	.27	<.001	.04	.27	<.001
Gender identity × PCATW				.20	.28	.002	.20	.28	.002
Racial/ethnic identity × Regard				.09	.29	<.001	.09	.29	<.001
Gender identity × Regard				.22	.27	.002	.22	.27	.002
PCATW × Regard				-.23	.23	.003	-.23	.23	.003
Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity × Regard				-.43	.29	.01	-.43	.29	.01
Racial/ethnic identity × PCATW × Regard				.23	.28	.003	.23	.28	.003
Gender identity × PCATW × Regard				-.02	.24	<.001	-.02	.24	<.001
<b>Racial/ethnic identity × gender identity × PCATW</b>				<b>-.02</b>	<b>.25</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>	<b>-.02</b>	<b>.25</b>	<b>&lt;.001</b>
AR <sup>2</sup>		.01			.003			<.001	
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>		.002			.002			.04	
R <sup>2</sup>		.01			.01			.09*	

Note. Terms relevant to hypotheses are **bolded**. PCATW = Perceived cultural attitudes toward women. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

## Discussion

In partial support of the first hypothesis, only gender identity was positively related to self-esteem and quality of positive relations, albeit with small effect sizes ( $sr^2 = .03$  and  $.02$ , respectively). Contrary to other expectations, racial/ethnic identity was not related to psychosocial functioning. Additionally, racial/ethnic identity and gender identity were not additively associated with psychosocial functioning. Contrary to the second hypothesis, there was no evidence for the moderation of perceived cultural attitudes toward women on the relations between racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, and psychosocial functioning. Unique findings from Phase I are discussed in more detail.

Taken together, the results offer preliminary support for the application of the additive model to experiences with race/ethnicity and gender. As conceptualized by the additive model, social identities are independent and mutually exclusive, with isolated implications for the individual. Indeed, gender identity was associated with self-esteem and quality of positive relations independent of racial/ethnic identity. Racial/ethnic identity was not independently associated with any psychosocial outcome. Thus, these findings suggest that these two identities have different and independent relations with psychosocial functioning, with gender identity being more critical for self-esteem and relationships with others.

The positive association between gender identity and self-esteem is consistent with previous research (e.g., Schmitt et al., 2002). When self-esteem is compromised for a woman of color, it may be important for her to first re-center and find grounding in her identity as a woman. The results also indicate that gender identity may be important for interpersonal relationships. This finding calls to mind work by Yoder, Perry, and Seal

(2007) who found that women with stronger (feminist) identities had higher expectations of relationships. Extending this research to this sample, women of color with strong gender identity may be able to assert their needs in the context of strengthening interpersonal relationships, which may then encourage them to feel more invested in these relationships. As gender identity also was related to self-esteem, women of color reporting strong gender identity also may feel comfortable in their own skin all together. In turn, they may be more apt to engage and share about themselves in their relationships, which may then allow for deeper, more meaningful connections. Together, these data extend research on the possible benefits of gender identity. Moreover, they extend these findings to include women of color, who previously had been minimally included in gender-focused studies (Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Importantly, however, the Phase I results did not examine how women of color construct their gender identity. That is, although the centrality of gender is evident, how gender is defined and experienced across women of color likely differs.

Despite the significant findings regarding gender identity, it is notable that the impact of both racial/ethnic identity and gender identity were relatively minimal to none. That is, gender identity was only significantly associated with 2 of the 10 psychosocial functioning outcomes. Moreover, racial/ethnic identity was not associated to any psychosocial outcome. These minimal findings may be partially attributed to the use of identity centrality as representing identity. Research shows that identity centrality as a construct is associated with general mental health and psychosocial outcomes, albeit relatively weakly (e.g., Rowley et al., 1998; Settles, 2004). Another important consideration is that inherent in the concept of identity centrality is a hierarchy or ranking



of identities. By assessing the centrality of an identity, it is implied that this one identity encompasses the individual's core sense of self. Moreover, shared variance between the two measures of identity also may have weakened their individual associations to the psychosocial outcomes.

Although not among hypothesized associations, analyses revealed a significant but small influence of regard of racial/ethnic group by diverse women (effect sizes ranging from .03 to .05). Specifically, increased positive regard of racial/ethnic group by women in general was associated with lower identity distress, warmer, more satisfying interpersonal relationships, and lower depression, anxiety, and stress. These findings echo research demonstrating that public regard of racial/ethnic group is related to less depression and less psychological distress (Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Settles, Navarrete, Pagano, Abdou, & Sidanius, 2010; Yip et al., 2006). Extending these findings for women of color, social rejection by women in general can have a negative impact on multiple aspects of well-being. When women of color perceive other women in their lives as holding positive judgments about their racial/ethnic groups, women of color may feel that an aspect of their self – their racial/ethnic identity – is also valued. Moreover, it may be that this perception of women as valuing one's racial/ethnic group promotes a sense of safety in those relationships, which in turn may lead to a deepening of trust. It must be noted, however, that the measurement of the regard scale also may explain these significant findings. That is, items for the scale of regard of racial/ethnic group by women reflected an affective tone, which may influence affect-related outcomes (e.g., self-esteem, depression, anxiety, stress). In other words, scores of regard of racial/ethnic group may be measuring some affect. In this way, the scale for regard of racial/ethnic

group by women contrasts its mirrored counterpart, perceived cultural attitudes toward women, which had minimal affective language.

Taken together, Phase I findings revolve around gender, with gender identity and racial/ethnic regard by women highlighted as significant influences on well-being. Thus, it appears that gender may hold more weight with women of color than does race/ethnicity. Moreover, when conflict arises between racial/ethnic and gender identities, women of color may default to resolving situations by first and foremost preserving their sense of womanhood.

## CHAPTER SIX: PHASE II – THE INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH

### Method

Phase II offers a different lens on the study of multiple social identities through the use of the intersectional approach, which relies only on qualitative data. Here, interview data were used exclusively to answer the first research question: How do women of color perceive their racial/ethnic and gender identities, particularly when faced with patriarchal messages about women from their own racial/ethnic groups?

### Recruitment

**Inclusion and exclusion criteria.** The goal of recruitment for Phase II was to create an interview sample representative of the Phase I sample. Accordingly, stratified purposeful sampling from Phase I participants was used to generate the Phase II sample (Sandelowski, 2000). Given the focus on racial/ethnic and gender identities in this study, this sampling technique was conducted to ensure representation of all constellations of high and low racial/ethnic identity (REID) and gender identity (GID), as was measured in the Phase I survey. Target constellation clusters included: a) high REID and GID, b) low REID and GID, c) high REID but low GID, and d) low REID but high GID. An additional cluster of e) moderate REID and GID was added to reflect “typical” or expected experiences with regards to race/ethnicity and gender. Individuals whose scores did not place them in these clusters were not invited to participate in Phase II. The desired sample for Phase II was 40 participants, which was approximately 10% of the median target sample per power analysis. Accordingly, I aimed to recruit eight participants per cluster.

Importantly, although recruitment depended on levels of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity as measured in Phase I (quantitative data), cluster membership itself was not of interest in Phase II as this phase focused exclusively on qualitative (interview) data. Thus, further details regarding development, recruitment, and characteristics of the interview clusters are not discussed here; rather, they are presented in Phase III in which integration of quantitative and qualitative data occurred.

### **Interview Sample**

The final sample comprised 26 women from racial/ethnic minority backgrounds. There were no significant differences between this interview sample and the remaining participants of Phase I ( $n = 245$ ) on any of the Phase I predictor or outcome variables. Thus, the interview group was deemed representative of the larger Phase I sample.

The average age of interviewees was 20.46 years ( $SD = 1.82$ , range = 18 to 26). The majority of the interview sample identified as current students at the University of Minnesota (92.31%;  $n = 24$ ). Comparing the interview sample with the larger sample, a similar proportion of participants indicated their race/ethnicity was Asian American (57.69%;  $n = 15$ ). Also of note, the two smallest racial/ethnic groups from Phase I were represented in Phase II by one individual from each group (i.e., Mixed with both parents of color and Native American/American Indian). With regards to sexual orientation, similar to the larger sample, the majority identified as heterosexual or straight (76.92%;  $n = 20$ ) with the remainder of participants identifying as pansexual (7.69%;  $n = 2$ ) or providing a response not indicative of any sexual orientation (15.38%;  $n = 4$ ). In terms of socioeconomic status, most participants reported a middle class background (57.69%;  $n = 15$ ), with the remainder coming from working class (23.08%;  $n = 6$ ) and upper-middle

class backgrounds (19.23%;  $n = 5$ ). Those coming from the lowest and highest income groups were not represented in the interviews. Additionally, the majority of the interview sample was born in the United States (73.08%;  $n = 19$ ).

### **Procedure**

Eligible participants were invited to interview within three months of participation in Phase I. In the email invitation, they were invited to participate in a 45- to 60-minute, audio-recorded, in-person interview conducted by one member of the research team, which included three female undergraduate research assistants and me. Interviewers, with the exception of me as principal investigator, were blind to the participant's Phase I responses so as to reduce bias during the interview. Once at the research lab, interviewers reviewed consent with the participant, and the interview commenced. Interviewers reminded participants that there were no "right" or "wrong" answers and that at any time participants could pass on any question. For their participation in this portion of the study, participants received a \$20 gift card to Amazon.com.

**Interview protocol.** Given the complexity of the topic of intersectionality, interviewers used a semi-structured interview approach (Reinharz & Davidman, 1992; Warner, 2008), which allowed for the use of a standard set of questions as well as prompts for clarification when appropriate (using leads such as "Tell me more about..." and "Walk me through this moment. What happened when..."). These prompts provided an opportunity not only for the participant to provide more thorough responses but also to confirm the participant's comprehension of the question. In line with intersectionality, interviewers also were instructed to be open to discussion of additional minority social

identities (e.g., low socioeconomic status, sexual minority identity) if introduced by the interviewee.

The list of interview questions, along with the protocol for administration, is available in Appendix D. To parallel measures in the additive model, all predictor and outcome variables from Phase I were represented by an individual question or set of questions in the Phase II interview protocol. Interview questions for psychosocial functioning outcomes focused on 1) general mental health, which was captured throughout the interviews by examining tension, emotional conflict, and problem resolution, 2) quality of significant relationships, and 3) career decision-making. In November 2011, I piloted these interview questions (with the exception of the questions for regard of racial/ethnic group by women in general, career decision-making, and relationship quality) in an interview study with nine women of color. Piloting highlighted issues in the wording and interpretation of the questions, which resulted in a revision of the protocol for the current study.

Regarding interview structure, Bowleg (2008) calls attention to the wording and ordering of questions, which can unduly influence how participants discuss their social identities. Interviews on multiple social identities are often designed without first considering the actual salience of the identities for that individual. To address this concern, the Phase II interviews began with an activity derived from the Twenty Statements Test (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954). Participants were asked to spontaneously complete five “I am” statements about themselves. According to Kuhn and McPartland (1954), the ordering of participants’ responses corresponds to the order of salience of self-descriptors, with the more spontaneous (i.e., first emergent) descriptors having more

personal importance. In the present study, the order of responses also determined administration of the interview questions (i.e., sets of questions about racial/ethnic, gender, and intersectional identities). For example, the first two responses for one participant was, “I am Hmong,” followed by “I am a daughter,” which led to her interview beginning with the set of racial/ethnic identity questions, followed by the gender identity questions. Seventeen of the 26 participants provided at least one racial/ethnic or gender descriptor during this exercise; no participant provided an intersectional descriptor as a response. When none of these three social categories was provided, interviews proceeded in the order presented in Appendix D, beginning with gender, race/ethnicity, and intersectionality. Following these sections on identities were questions regarding perceived cultural attitudes toward women, regard of racial/ethnic group by women in general, the state of their academic major or career plans, and the quality of their significant relationships. Following completion of each interview, the interviews were transcribed and coded, as discussed in the Coding of Data section.

**Research team.** Taylor and colleagues (1996) assert that interviews are not only dependent on the questions of the interviewer and the experiences of the interviewee, but they also are affected by the social location of both parties. That is, each contributes her or his own biases and worldviews to the interview dynamic. Importantly, at the core of the study of race/ethnicity and gender are power and privilege. Failure to address power and privilege can inadvertently silence discussions about race/ethnicity and gender (Taylor et al., 1996). Thus, in developing a research team for this study, recruiting diverse individuals was a high priority. The final research team comprised three research assistants and me, the principal investigator.

In the spirit of acknowledging researchers' contributions to both the interviewing and coding processes, I discuss members of the research team in detail. Starting with myself, I identify as Pilipina American, a term that emphasizes both my identity as a woman of Pilipina descent (denoted by the 'a' in Pilipina) and my identity as American-born. I also identify as heterosexual, in my early 30's, and from a fairly racially/ethnically diverse, middle-class neighborhood and city on the West Coast. Lastly, my self-identification as feminist, my background in community organizing around women's issues, and my interest in the topic of intersectionality both within and beyond the realm of research added biases to this project of which I had to remain constantly mindful. I conducted 12 of the 26 interviews.

The three research assistants were in their early 20's, and all identified strongly with their identities as women, though with some variation. One research team member graduated recently from the University of Minnesota and self-identified as White and female. She reported being raised in a predominantly White, upper-middle class neighborhood. She came to the research team with a passion for working with the Latino/a community, particularly around mental health of Latina women. Throughout the interview process, she remained aware of her privilege associated with being a racial/ethnic majority, which she acknowledged may have prevented her from fully understanding the experiences of the interviewees. Another team member was a fourth-year undergraduate student who identified as Yemeni Somali American. She also described herself as a heterosexual woman raised in a middle-class, predominantly White neighborhood. She noted that as a researcher, her biases may be directed more by gender than by race/ethnicity, stating that she is a feminist who was raised around strong women.



Each of these research assistants conducted four interviews. The last member of the research team was a third-year undergraduate student who identified as a White, lower-middle class, heterosexual woman. She indicated that she was the daughter of a working-class, single mother and came to the project with experience in working with Black women and children at a homeless shelter, as well as in canvassing for access to food and for the Human Rights Campaign. In addition to these community experiences, this research assistant acknowledged potential biases based on her educational specialization in gender and women's studies. She conducted 6 of the 26 interviews.

The three research assistants participated in a focused interview training, which consisted of learning basic interviewing skills, practice with peers of the interview protocol, observation of one interview conducted by me, and finally, administration of one interview under my direct supervision. Additionally, I randomly reviewed interviews conducted independently by the research assistants and addressed any procedural issues immediately and in weekly team meetings. As a team, the members also remained mindful of and addressed the influence of our worldviews and biases on the interviewing and coding processes. For example, with many of us identifying as feminists, team members were reminded to be open to definitions of womanhood that may not be considered political or socially active in nature. Team members were encouraged to focus on how the participants described their experiences with gender in their own words.

### **Thematic Analysis**

Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis was used to code the interview data. This approach allows for the identification and analysis of patterns or themes within data. Additionally, thematic analysis was designed to highlight meaning, understanding, and

personal experiences, which aligns with the intersectional approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). For these reasons, thematic analysis was chosen over other models. In line with thematic analysis, the coding team remained open to themes that emerged from the data, but were also guided by an interest in identifying experiences (e.g., conflict and corresponding emotions) that may be inherently intersectional and therefore not captured in findings from the quantitative data.

Thematic analysis involves six phases. The first step calls for the researcher to *familiarize her- or himself with the data*. This task involves active, repeated reading of the data. For the majority of our coding, the research team prioritized responses to the question, “What does it mean to personally identify as [racial/ethnic; gender; intersectional identity]?” as it focused on the personal meaning derived from holding each identity. Next, the team *generated initial codes* for the interviews, which consist of short phrases that represent the central idea in the selected interview phrase.

To find connections across these initial codes, the research team *searched for themes* with the goal of collating all relevant coded data phrases into identified categories. An example of a theme was the content of the intersectional racial/ethnic-gender identity. The next step involved a *reviewing of themes* or refinement of themes, which included breaking down or collapsing themes as needed. This level of coding also called for a return to raw data, such that themes were re-evaluated for fit with the data from which they were generated. In the next phase of thematic analysis, *defining and naming of themes*, the essence of the themes was identified and delineated from what it was not, at which point a draft of the coding manual was developed. These steps were necessary in preparation for the final step of thematic analysis, *producing the report*.

Following finalization of the coding manual, all four members of the research team coded and reviewed a random subset of interviews ( $n = 8$ ) to ensure understanding of the coding system. During weekly meetings, the team discussed any discrepancies in coding and resolved discrepancies through group discussion, primarily using my coding as the standard. The coding manual was then refined to reflect these revisions. Using the final version of the coding manual, the team members all coded an additional 11 interviews from which a subset was identified for reliability coding ( $n = 5$ ), and I coded the remaining seven interviews independently. From meetings, I learned that one research assistant in particular tended to assign codes discrepant from other members of the research team. Thus, I calculated reliability based on the average percent agreement amongst the two remaining research assistants and me. Interrater reliability results are discussed in detail in the following Coding of Data section.

### **Coding of Data**

All codes are presented in Table 9. Additionally, the coding manual in its entirety is available in Appendix E. Each interview received one code per thematic category. When interview responses fit more than one category within a code (e.g., describing both cultural and non-cultural aspects of race/ethnicity), the code that captured more than half of the response content was selected. If the response was deemed to equally represent both categories, the final code was based on the order of the codes as they appear in the manual, with codes of strongest study interest typically appearing first. There were a total of 15 thematic categories:

Table 9  
Phase II Interview Topics, Thematic Categories, and Codes

Topic and Thematic Category	Codes
Racial/Ethnic Identity	
Content	Cultural Non-cultural
Strength	Not at all A little bit A fair amount A lot
Gender identity	
Content	Biological/anatomical Common conceptions/stereotypes Representation Other
Strength	Not at all A little bit A fair amount A lot
Intersectional identity	
Content	Family Cultural Dating Non-intersectional Other
Strength	Not at all A little bit A fair amount A lot
Intersectionality in questions	No spillover Presence of spillover

Table 9 (continued)

Topic and Thematic Category	Codes
Perceived cultural attitudes toward women	
Content	Traditional/patriarchal Egalitarian Mixed
Participants' relationship to attitudes	Rejection Disengagement Ambivalence Acceptance/agreement Endorsement
Regard of racial/ethnic group by women in general	Generally negative Generally positive Neutral/unknown
Presence of tension	No tension A little A lot
Presence of emotional conflict	No emotional reaction A little A lot
Clarity/Resolution of tension and conflict	Generally unresolved Generally resolved
State of significant relationships	Generally unstable Generally stable
State of major/career decision-making	Generally unsettled Generally settled

**Racial/ethnic identity: Content and strength.** Content captured the subject or the “what” of her racial/ethnic identity; in other words, the code assessed how the participant constructs her race/ethnicity. There were two primary codes for this identity. *Cultural* responses discussed identity as following, practicing, or honoring traditions and customs of her racial/ethnic group. Such responses included discussion of cultural food, dress, expectations of social interaction, as well as a sense of community or belonging with her racial/ethnic group. All other responses were deemed *non-cultural*. Examples of these responses include defining racial/ethnic identity in terms of physical features (e.g., skin color, hair color, facial features) and racial/ethnic identity as a demographic label. Though our final analyses focused on this dichotomy, the team also made note of emergent microthemes. Responses that did not fit in the above codes were categorized as *other*. Interrater reliability for this thematic category was 80%.

Racial/ethnic identity strength captured the centrality or personal importance and relevance of the identity to the participant’s general sense of self. Personal importance and relevance were operationalized as the degree of impact that her racial/ethnic identity has had on her life in general. Coding for this category ranged from zero (*not at all*) to three (*a lot*). Interviews coded as representing “a lot” of racial/ethnic identity strength contained a clear response demonstrating that the identity is weaved into her sense of self (e.g., “It’s who I am”). For this thematic category, coder reliability was 80%.

**Gender identity: Content and strength.** The gender identity content code represented the participant’s experience of her gender identity. Participants who described their gender identity as based on biological or anatomical markers of being a woman (e.g., cisgender), or through description of such markers as physical body features

were categorized as *biological/anatomical*. Responses that discussed identity as maintaining appearance or exhibiting behaviors according to traditional feminine expectations were categorized under *common conceptions/stereotypes*. Such responses included discussions on make-up, fashion, emotionality, interactions with female versus male peers, and in general, “acting like a [woman, girl, etc.]” Other women discussed their identity as a form of *representation*. These women described their identity as serving a purpose to women as a whole, furthering women’s issues, or honoring the history of women. Responses that were not captured by these codes were categorized as *other*. Percent agreement for this category was 60%.

Similar to racial/ethnic identity, the strength of gender identity captured the centrality or personal importance and relevance of gender identity to the participant’s general sense of self. Codes also varied from zero (*not at all*) to three (*a lot*), with *a lot* also requiring a direct reference to identity centrality (e.g., “It’s affected me a lot”). For this thematic category, coder reliability was 80%.

**Intersectional identity: Content and strength.** Similar to the other identity content categories, the intersectionality content thematic category captured how the individual experiences the intersectional identity. Experiences of the intersectional identity in the context of *family* were represented, which included responses about the participant’s role in the family. Responses also were categorized as *cultural* when capturing experiences in which the participant linked her intersectional identity to following or preserving customs and traditions in her racial/ethnic group. Responses that spoke to the intersectional identity in the context of *dating* included discussions about feeling objectified or exoticized, as well as dating experiences as women of their

racial/ethnic groups. *Non-intersectional* responses included those 1) without substantial information on the intersectional identity (e.g., “I don’t know what to say”), 2) of denial of the intersectional identity, and 3) of focus on either race/ethnicity or gender despite being prompted for the intersectional racial/ethnic-gender identity. All other responses were categorized as *other*. Interrater reliability was determined to be 90%.

The strength of the intersectional identity was represented in an assessment of its personal importance to the participant. Coding also followed a zero (*not at all*) to three (*a lot*) scale, with *a lot* requiring a direct statement of the identity as linked to the self. Responses coded as *not at all* included those that discussed race/ethnicity and gender as separate, unrelated concepts as well as those that reported no intersectional identity. Percent agreement among raters was 60%.

**Intersectionality in race/ethnicity and gender questions.** Interviews also were evaluated for the spillover of gender and race/ethnicity. That is, the research team coded for any mention of personal experiences with gender when the participant was asked to reflect only on experiences with race/ethnicity, and vice versa. Spillover in either set of questions was coded as *presence of spillover* (one) or *no spillover* (zero). Percent agreement for this thematic category was 73.33%.

**Perceived cultural attitudes toward women: Content and participants’ relationship to attitudes.** This thematic category assessed the content of attitudes and beliefs about women held by the participant’s identified racial/ethnic group. Importantly, these attitudes and beliefs are subjective perceptions based on interpretations and opinions shared by the participant. Attitudes and beliefs were categorized as *traditional and patriarchal* when the participant discussed her racial/ethnic group as holding



generally traditional beliefs and attitudes about women. Such attitudes include promoting a gender hierarchy in which women are considered inferior and unequal to men, and expecting women to conform to stereotypes of upkeep, submissiveness, and care-taking. These attitudes also may emphasize men as breadwinners and as holding positions of power in the family. In contrast, responses deemed *egalitarian* showcased perceived equality between women and men in the racial/ethnic group. These responses emphasized that women and men are treated fairly, and power differentials are not of concern in this racial/ethnic community. All responses that did not fit into these categories were marked as *other*. Interrater reliability among these codes was 90%.

The research team also sought to capture the participant's personal reception of and reaction to these attitudes toward women espoused by her racial/ethnic group. The code captured how the participant lives her life with respect to these attitudes. Coding ranged from *rejection* to *endorsement* of cultural attitudes toward women. Those who expressed disagreement with or refused to abide by gender role expectations of her racial/ethnic group were categorized under *rejection*. Responses in which the participant spoke to having apathy or feeling unaffected by these racial/ethnic group attitudes spoke to a sense of *disengagement*. *Ambivalence* represented responses that evoked a sense of feeling pushed and pulled between traditional and egalitarian gender role expectations. Responses indicating *acceptance or agreement* with the group's attitudes toward women were from participants who discussed these attitudes in a matter-of-fact manner and/or expressed agreement with the beliefs and expectations of women in their group. Finally, participants who expressed complete agreement with the racial/ethnic attitudes toward

women, insofar as to promote or commit to upholding these attitudes or expectations, were coded under *endorsement*. Interrater reliability for this thematic category was 60%.

**Regard of racial/ethnic group by women in general.** This thematic category assessed the participant's perceptions of how women across racial/ethnic groups view the participant's racial/ethnic group. Responses ranged from these women having *generally negative* to having *generally positive* attitudes toward the participant's racial/ethnic group. Participants who indicated that they were unsure of other women's views of their racial/ethnic group or who perceived women as having generally neutral views about their group were categorized as *neutral/unknown*. For this thematic category, interrater reliability was 100%.

**General well-being.** I examined general well-being in terms of tension, emotional conflict, and resolution of tension/conflict.

**Presence of general tension.** "Tension" was defined as differences between the beliefs and attitudes of the participant with those of a social group of which she is member (e.g., family, peer, racial/ethnic, societal). This thematic category was designed to assess tension across all life domains (e.g., racial/ethnic or gender discrimination). Of particular interest was tension arising from differences in opinions and expectations about race/ethnicity and gender. Tension also included ongoing issues with settling career plans or conflict in important relationships. Codes for this thematic category varied on a three-point scale of *no tension* to *a lot* of tension, the latter of which captured those who emphasized or repeatedly mentioned the wide gap between their beliefs and beliefs of the people around them. For this thematic category, the percent agreement for reliability was 100%.

***Presence of general emotional conflict.*** Whereas “tension” was the objective acknowledgment of differences between the participant’s beliefs and attitudes versus those of others around her, “conflict” was considered the *subjective and emotional* experience of that tension. Similar to tension, emotional conflict was examined across issues in all life domains, though particular attention was paid to emotional conflict related to pressures to conform to racial/ethnic and gender roles and stereotypes. Coding for responses varied from *no emotional reaction* (zero) to *a lot* of emotional reaction (three), the latter marked by use of words with a strong negative valence (e.g., sick, hate, angry). Interrater reliability for this thematic category was 70%.

***Resolution of tension and conflict.*** This thematic category assessed the current status of the tension and emotional conflict reported by the participant. Interviews were marked as *generally unresolved* (zero) for participants who described tension and/or conflict as ongoing. Moreover, they may have indicated that tension and/or conflict feel unresolvable. In contrast, participants who described tension and/or conflict as minimal to non-existent, particularly following a resolution, were marked *generally resolved* (one). Reliability among coders was established at 70%.

***State of significant relationships.*** This thematic category captured the general state of the participant’s relationships of importance. Responses from participants who described their relationships as “not well” or who reported unresolved conflict in these relationships were categorized as *generally unstable* (zero). In contrast, responses from participants who spoke to feeling that they were in secure, reliable, and trustworthy relationships were deemed *generally stable* (one). Percent agreement among raters for this thematic category was 90%.

**State of major/career decision-making.** The research team also assessed the state of the participant's progress with respect to her major or career. Responses marked *generally unsettled* (zero) captured participants who reported feeling unsure of their major or career path or felt stuck at an obstacle (e.g., as indicated by "I don't know" or "I'm not sure"). Moreover, these participants spoke to a sense of unease or uncertainty with progress toward their goals (e.g., unsure of future job prospects). In contrast, responses marked *generally settled* (one) were from participants who spoke to feeling set on their chosen major or career. These participants spoke without hesitancy about next steps in their major/career journey. Interrater reliability for this thematic category was 100%.

## Results

### Overview of Analytic Strategy

The purpose of Phase II is to examine how women of color perceive and experience racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, and the intersection of these two identities. Specifically, I explored how women described their identities and the personal meaning behind them using thematic analysis of the interview data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). No quantitative data from Phase I were involved in these primary analyses. Rather, the focus was on finding general patterns with respect to racial/ethnic, gender, and intersectional identities, followed by exploration of these identities in the context of racial/ethnic attitudes toward women, well-being, relationships, and majors/careers.

### Preliminary Analyses

**Relations among variables.** Correlations were conducted to examine relations among all ordinal interview coding variables. All results, along with means and standard

deviations for these variables, are presented in Table F1 (Appendix F). There were a number of variables that were significantly related to one another. For example, racial/ethnic, gender, and intersectional identity strength were positively associated with one another,  $r$ 's ranging from .51 to .53, significant at the  $\alpha = .05$  level. The presence of tension was positively related to emotional conflict,  $r = .66$ . Emotional conflict was related to poorer relationships,  $r = -.46$ , but tension was unrelated to relationships, suggesting one possible context for distinction between tension and emotional conflict. Finally, feeling clear and resolved in life was related to better relationships,  $r = .50$ . Although there were a number of significant correlations, the magnitude of these correlations was in the low to moderate range. Additionally, the small sample size weakens the accuracy of these correlations.

### **Racial/Ethnic Identity**

To address the first research question, I first explored how women of color perceive and experience their individual identities, particularly the meanings associated with them.

**Content.** For nearly all of the subsample (21 of 26 women), racial/ethnic identity was coded as *cultural*, meaning that identities were defined by their group's customs and traditions. Notably, culture was discussed in one of two ways. A majority of responses about culture focused on observable, external markers of racial/ethnic culture. For example, when asked about the meaning of her identity, Sara,<sup>2</sup> a 19-year-old Asian American, simply responded, "I can't think of anything special – actually, just food." Relatively fewer women provided deeper insight into their *cultural* racial/ethnic identities

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<sup>2</sup> All names have been changed to preserve anonymity.

by defining them in terms of the internal experiences of customs and traditions. For example, when asked to reflect on the personal meaningfulness of her racial/ethnic identity, Arleen (age 23) drew on values from her Native American community:

[Identifying as Native American] means having a connection with life and the cycles of life, and seeing life in not just people, but the environment, and the land, and the animals and embracing cycles of change... and feeling connected to the past, the past still being alive and present.

For Arleen, being Native American means living in harmony with animals, with one's surroundings, and with one another. Compared to external, surface-level explanations of culture, Arleen draws from her internalized Native American values, particularly communality, to define her sense of self. In doing so, she provides a deeper, more meaningful and personal perspective on being Native American.

The remaining five participants provided *non-cultural* definitions of their racial/ethnic identity. Specifically, all five women focused on defining racial/ethnic identity as nothing more than a label.

**Strength.** Overall, the strength of racial/ethnic identity was low (*a little bit to a fair amount*). Strength appeared to be related to the use of external (vs. internal) markers of racial/ethnic identity. By externally locating racial/ethnic identity, women distance themselves from its personal importance, which then can weaken the identity's relevance to the self. For example, Shona, an African American woman, highlighted that there are other components to how she views herself. The 21-year-old asserted, "I won't define the things that I'm gonna do solely based on [my race/ethnicity]." Thus, relatively low racial/ethnic identity also may capture the experiences of those who emphasize

individuality or identities other than race/ethnicity as important in examining the self, thereby highlighting the need for an intersectional perspective.

### **Gender Identity**

**Content.** Responses of content ranged from superficial aspects of being a woman (e.g., *biological/anatomical*) to connecting identity to women's experiences in society (*representation*). On one end of the spectrum, four women described their gender identity as *biological/anatomical*, citing "reproductive organs" and visits to the gynecologist as what defined their sense of being a woman. Eleven interviewees defined their gender identity using *common conceptions/stereotypes*, including acting and appearing "feminine." In general, there was a pattern of distancing the self from stereotypes, as exemplified by Jean, a 19-year-old woman of Mixed with White heritage, who stated, "like a lot of what is expected of women... I don't follow those rules." For these women who defined their identity in terms of *biological/anatomical* terms or *common conceptions/stereotypes*, gender identity was relatively straightforward and one-dimensional. In contrast, five women provided more meaningful explanations of their identity by locating it in a broader, societal context (*representation*). Lara, a 23-year-old Pakistani American woman shared a somber perspective:

What does [being a woman] mean? I mean I think it's... it seems as if there's more to prove.... I guess your value, the way your value is judged, for a guy it would be judged based upon, um, his educational background. And then for a woman it is, her educational background is like a plus, like it's an addition.

By defining her gender identity as connected to the shared struggles of women, Lara demonstrates how personal identity can move beyond the self, highlighting the complexity of what it can mean to be a woman.

**Strength.** Although there was variation in content, I observed relatively low gender identity strength across the sample (*a little bit to a fair amount*). This low level of strength is driven by distancing from other women, as demonstrated by Ellen, a 19-year-old Asian American woman who criticizes women who identify as feminist:

I just feel like they are too much about their right[s] that they don't really stop and think how far we have come from being like very disadvantage[d] to now when we are getting more and more equal every day.

Ellen highlights another factor that likely drives low gender identity strength: the perception that women are now equal to men in today's society. This finding calls to mind results from my own pilot research, which also found women describing their gender as not "out of the norm" and therefore not necessitating special attention. Thus, based on these interviews, focusing on the experiences of women – including one's own identity as a woman – may not be important.

### **Intersectional Identity**

Findings regarding racial/ethnic identity and gender identity provided a working baseline for understanding intersectional identity. However, as anticipated by intersectionality scholars, I found that separate analyses of these two social identities were insufficient in fully capturing the intersectional identity. In this section, I highlight themes shared with racial/ethnic and gender identities, as well as themes unique to



intersectionality. In particular, the process of defining intersectional identity was distinctively challenging for women of color.

**Content.** Most definitions of intersectional identity echoed themes observed with either racial/ethnic identity or gender identity. Similar to racial/ethnic identity, three women used *cultural* experiences to define their intersectional identity. Within the *other* category, some women defined intersectional identity simply as a label, as was observed with racial/ethnic identity. Furthermore, these women provided no further meaning or insight beyond identification as “minorities.” For example, after asked about the personal meaning of her intersectional identity, Cheryl (age 21) remarked: “Korean woman? I think it’s like a minority of minority. (laughs) Uh...well...in terms of race I think, like, Asian, like they’re-they’re minority. I think women are minority.” Here, Cheryl speaks in general about the intersectional identity of “Korean woman” and does not at all personalize it. Similar to *representation* in gender identity content, another emergent theme in the *other* category captured those who perceived their intersectional identity as connected to purposes beyond themselves as individuals. Jean expanded upon this idea when reflecting on being a “multiracial woman”:

Like thinking in historical terms, women would stay and tell stories and pass, pass down the historical line. Um, so the fact that, that us women in that particular setting more so than the men were more interested in, um, like, keeping our history, keeping what’s important to us alive, I feel like I have an obligation to pass down something important.

For Jean, her identity as a multiracial woman means holding onto stories of cultural experiences to ensure their transmittance to the next generation. In this sense, her identity

is not just her personal experience but is also tied to the endurance of her racial/ethnic culture and community.

*Non-intersectional “intersectionality.”* Unique to intersectional identity content was a “non-answer”; that is, some women questioned whether or not race/ethnicity and gender were even linked (*non-intersectional*). For instance, using her self-identified descriptors for gender and for race/ethnicity, Lynn was asked to reflect on the personal meaning of being a “girl from China.” Immediately she asked for clarification: “Do you want me to emphasize, ‘I’m a girl’ or ‘I’m from China’?” Lynn conceptualizes race/ethnicity and gender as separate entities, which aligns with the additive framework. Others directly asserted that race/ethnicity and gender were not connected. Jennifer, a 26-year-old woman also of Chinese heritage, paused after asked about her intersectional identity, then concluded, “I think there is no relationship between Chinese and woman.”

Other *non-intersectional* definitions of intersectional identity included basing the identity on race/ethnicity only. For example, when asked about the meaning of her intersectional identity, Tori (age 18) laughed and explained, “It means being upset with any forms that don’t have the box ‘Mixed,’” referring back to her race/ethnicity only. No interviewee used only gender to explain the meaning of her intersectionality identity. Overall, directly tuning into intersectional experiences appears to be a difficult task for women of color.

**Strength.** In terms of identity strength, intersectional identity strength was lower compared to the strength for both racial/ethnic identity and gender identity (*a little bit to a fair amount*). This low level of strength is likely driven by an overall lack of consideration of intersectionality. For example, after Lynn considered her identity as a

“girl from China,” she laughed and responded, “This kind of thoughts really don’t occur to me,” suggesting a lack of salience of intersectionality.

The relatively low intersectional identity strength may be related to the unique challenges that arose for women when answering questions about this identity. There was an overall pattern of uncertainty with how to answer questions about the intersectional identity. First, the majority of women acknowledged difficulty in responding to these questions (e.g., “That’s a pretty hard question”). Second, there was a sense of confusion over how to describe the personal meaningfulness of this identity. When asked about the meaning of her intersectionality identity, Mai, a 20-year-old Asian American woman stated, “Um, I don’t know. I wouldn’t say that I’ve, um... I don’t know, I don’t think I’ve had, like, that experience yet.” Without a sense of what their intersectional identity is, these women may not be able to articulate how this identity has manifested in their lives, which may then present as lower intersectional identity strength.

**Indirect intersectionality.** Overall, participants had difficulty in responding to direct questioning about intersectional identity. However, discussing intersectionality was not an impossible task as there were a number of spontaneous mentions of intersectional identity in the interviews. That is, women of color with relatively strong intersectional identities were more likely to discuss experiences with race/ethnicity when prompted about gender only, and vice versa (*presence of spillover*). A closer look at the interviews revealed that this spillover occurred most often when participants discussed differential treatment by gender in their family groups. When asked what it means to be a woman, Nicole, a 20-year-old woman from a Mixed with White heritage background, stated, “Partly, it’s cultural, too,” then proceeded to reflect on family dynamics:

I just feel like my mom is like, really like—she'll do whatever my dad asks....

And even I think partially, like, with like the Asian—I have an older brother and I just remember him like ordering me around for like everything that I was doing as a kid, and it was just, like, expected.

Similarly, when asked about her gender identity, Tessa (age 18) detailed the gender role expectations espoused by her mother:

I played softball in high school, and [my mother] always was lecturing me about how, um, I shouldn't be doing it—doing that because um, it's only for the White people, and that a Hmong girl shouldn't be doing that. And that, um, I should go home and take care of um, the things at home, like cleaning the house, like doing the dishes.

These unprompted connections between race/ethnicity and gender throughout the interviews indicate that intersectionality is indeed experienced by these women.

Moreover, as observed with gender identity and in my previous pilot research, intersectional identities may be most salient in the family context.

### **Identity In the Context of Racial/Ethnic Attitudes Toward Women**

Another focus of this study was how women of color perceive their racial/ethnic and gender identities in the face of patriarchal views held by their racial/ethnic groups. To address this aspect of the research question, I first examined perceived attitudes toward women in women's own racial/ethnic groups, alongside their reaction toward and their reception of these attitudes.

Five women described their racial/ethnic groups as holding *egalitarian* attitudes toward women, whereas 10 interviewees indicated completely *traditional/patriarchal*

views in their groups. Among the 11 of 26 women remaining, there appeared to be a *mix* of patriarchal and egalitarian attitudes toward women. That is, while the women acknowledged the presence of patriarchal attitudes in their group, they also made note of shifts within their group toward gender equality. Further examination of these mixed views revealed a subtheme. Specifically, many attributed the presence of these mixed views to generational differences. For example, Serena (age 23) explained that in her community, “There are also first-generation Indian American that thinks there might be a separate, uh, expectation, or um, or a separate view of women in that community. Second generation... there is more expectation that men and women will achieve equally.” Here, Serena highlights her peers’ roles (as part of the “younger generation”) in moving toward an egalitarian stance on gender.

Calling attention to this shift in attitudes also seemed to instill a sense of hope for a racial/ethnic culture progressing toward gender equality. Tina (age 19) best exemplifies this sentiment. After acknowledging that women have long been considered subordinate in Hmong culture, she highlighted a growing sense of empowerment and self-advocacy in not only herself but also in her community:

In the Hmong community nowadays, um, the girls are actually um doing-doing better in terms of succeeding with their education, and so [my mom] said it’s not about the-the old times anymore. The, the women are still helping—the men as well—but you know, times are changing, and the girls are actually making the most out of their opportunities.

Overall, I found that women did not cite attitudes toward women in their racial/ethnic groups as strongly influential on their own racial/ethnic identity or gender

identity. Regardless of the type of attitudes toward women (i.e., patriarchal vs. egalitarian vs. mixed), the majority of women either *agreed* with their racial/ethnic group's attitudes or *disengaged* from these attitudes, both of which evoke a sense of passivity. More active responses were observed only in response to patriarchal attitudes, which women tended to resist and *reject*. For instance, after describing traditional expectations of women in Vietnamese culture, held by her father in particular, Sonia (age 21) exclaimed,

If you want me to cook, why should I cook for you? Why? Give me a reason why.... Yeah, I know how to do housework, I know how to do this-and-this, and this-and-that, and this-and-that. I choose not to, I'm like, 'Why should I do it?' You can do it yourself. If you want it vacuumed, well, why don't you vacuum yourself?

All together, regardless of the content of their racial/ethnic group's attitudes toward women, the women appear to have responded to these attitudes in ways that were most adaptive for them.

An ability to adapt to these racial/ethnic attitudes seemed to be reflected in the general well-being of the sample; that is, I observed relatively little tension and little emotional conflict across life domains. The sample varied in how settled they felt with their vocational/educational plans, with many of the women describing stalls in major/career progress (*unsettled*). Linda, a Mexican American woman, expressed a sense of uncertainty found in many women's responses: "I want to own my own business, um, that's my unrealistic American goal. At this point in my life, I have no money to start it, and no means, and I'm 20." Thus, career-related identities may be more salient than

race/ethnicity, gender, or their intersection as these women make steps toward the next period of their development.

Of interest to this study were tension and emotional conflict related to managing the intersections of racial/ethnic and gender identity, particularly when faced with patriarchal racial/ethnic attitudes toward women. Notably, only two women expressed emotional conflict associated with gendered expectations of their racial/ethnic group. For example, during her interview, Tessa was observed to be tearful as she discussed the pressure to be a “good” Hmong daughter for the sake of her mother’s reputation: “Cause they’re [i.e., relatives, community] always comparing us [daughters], so I guess it just makes my mom feel really, really bad ‘cause, um, she doesn’t want to be known as the lady who has like, like, bad daughters.” Interestingly, Tessa did not explicitly locate this tension in conflicts arising from the intersection of race/ethnicity and gender; however, her discussion of tension in this example indeed speaks to conflict experienced when facing the strict expectations woven into the fabric of Hmong culture. Thus, although rare in occurrence, it appears that difficulty with managing these identities can be powerful.

More common among the interviews were discussions of tension as a product of negotiating either gender role expectations or racial/ethnic identity issues – but not both. A lack of racial/ethnic identity provided tension for some women. After defining racial/ethnic identity in terms of language, Kay expressed difficulties with speaking Korean, concluding, “It makes me feel like not, not like I’m not worthy, but like, I shouldn’t identify myself as, like, fully Korean ‘cause the fact is, like, I’m not, and I can’t communicate in that way.” Only one woman, Serena, indicated tension due to racial/ethnic discrimination. Recalling her experience as a telemarketer, Serena shared,

“Just the fact that... my name can make someone treat me like I am not as deserving of this, of the opportunities this country offers just makes me absolutely angry.” On gender, other women expressed similar sentiments. For example, Sonia tearfully recalled the sexist attitudes of her father: “When I was about to go to college, [my father] said, ‘You will never succeed ‘cause you’re a female. And I was like, ‘What do you mean by that?’ That hurt.” Across all these examples, only one minority identity at a time appeared to be salient. These experiences speak to the potential applicability of an additive framework as the relationship of race/ethnicity and gender may be salient for these women.

### **Discussion**

In Phase II, the study used interview data to examine how women of color perceive their racial/ethnic, gender, and intersectional identities, particularly in the context of patriarchal views of women in their racial/ethnic group. Below, a few unique findings are discussed in more detail.

Overall, the strengths of both racial/ethnic identity and gender identity were relatively low for this group of women of color, suggesting that these two identities may not be critical to their core self. Moreover, the data suggest a lack of introspection into these social identities, and depth of introspection varied by how women of color constructed their racial/ethnic and gender identities. Those using external markers of identity (e.g., food, language, social categorical label) tended to broadly discuss their race/ethnicity or gender without a personal, psychological experience of the identity. In contrast, those drawing from internal experiences (e.g., pride, sense of community) spoke with more insight on the personal meaning of that identity.



At first glance, the results also suggest that intersectional identities may not be salient for women of color. However, there may be multiple factors that affect how intersectional identities were assessed in this study. First, among most women of color, there appeared to be general difficulty in articulating intersectional identity experiences. Specifically, most women of color in this study were halted by direct questioning about intersectionality, stating that they were either unsure about this identity or did not have this identity all together. Others responded with non-intersectional experiences, choosing to focus only on experiences with race/ethnicity despite prompts to consider both social identities. The difficulty in reflecting on intersectionality may be partially attributed to developmental differences. Research suggests that reflecting on the interplay of multiple social identities is a challenging task, with improved ability to reflect on these intersections developing over time (Azmitia, Syed, & Radmacher, 2008). With time, individuals become more cognitively sophisticated and can more easily engage in abstract thinking about identity.

It also may be that direct questioning of intersectional identity experiences may not be the most effective manner of assessment. Indeed, a closer examination of these interviews revealed spontaneous mentions of intersectional identity in which women talked about experiences of race/ethnicity and gender despite being asked about only one of these social identities. According to social identity theory, it may be that intersectional identity experiences of race/ethnicity and gender are so deeply embedded and normalized as part of daily life that this identity is not immediately salient.

Alternatively, it may be that the intersection of race/ethnicity and gender gain significance in certain social contexts (Hurtado & Gurin, 2004). Indeed, in this study, I

found that unprompted intersectional experiences most frequently emerged when women discussed their families. The family is the first “site” in which racial/ethnic and gender expectations and responsibilities are realized and performed (Epstein & Ward, 2011; Hughes et al., 2006; Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). Parents and other family members serve as the first models of gendered roles, expectations, and relationship dynamics. The family also is a microcosm of the larger racial/ethnic community, and women of color are first exposed to their community’s traditions and customs in this space.

Furthermore, research indicates that negotiating identity in the face of traditions, customs, and expectations is particularly salient and emotionally challenging for immigrant women (e.g., Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Xiong, Detzner, & Cleveland, 2004-2005). In this phase of the study, women who discussed intersectional experiences in their family displayed more emotional conflict and distress during their interviews. The emotionality behind developing and asserting independence as a woman may be tied to the perceived potential impact on the family (e.g., Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). In many immigrant families, the upholding of family values requires the maintenance of traditional gender role expectations. Foundational values in child-rearing, keeping the family together, and carrying family traditions forward all rely on the responsibilities of women (Dion & Dion, 2001). An added complication is that refusal to abide by familial gender expectations may present as defiance of the family, thereby risking shame not only of the woman but also of her family, as illustrated by Tessa’s worry that her mother would be known as the “lady who has bad daughters.” These intersectional experiences of race/ethnicity and gender present challenges unique to

women of color that could have repercussions on women's sense of belonging to the family. Thus, the decision to "leave" familial responsibilities behind in favor of more independence as a woman is not a decision to be made lightly. The pull between maintaining family traditions and developing as an individual can lead women to feel conflicted or trapped (e.g., Lee & Cochran, 1988).

One of the ways in which women of color may manage these pressures is to orient themselves to change in the future. This was observed in women of color's orientation toward their racial/ethnic group's attitudes toward women. The majority of participants acknowledged that to some degree, their racial/ethnic communities hold patriarchal views of women. However, most also viewed the younger generation of their racial/ethnic group as moving the community toward gender equality. The promise and orientation toward a future of gender equality may help to offset current negative repercussions of differential treatment by gender in one's racial/ethnic group, as it may be perceived as temporary. Moreover, as they are considered of equal standing in their racial/ethnic group, women's sense of belonging to their racial/ethnic community may be strengthened along with their strong identification as women. Shifting cognitive interpretations of patriarchal views in this manner also may be helpful when applied to the family; however, it may also be more challenging with the more personal, intimate nature of those relationships.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: PHASE III – INTEGRATION

### Method

The purpose of Phase III was to compare the additive and intersectional approaches, which were conducted independently of one another in Phases I and II, respectively. The research question of focus was, “In what ways do women of color’s perceptions about gender and racial/ethnic identities explain or discount findings from an additive approach, particularly with respect to psychosocial functioning?” Through mixing the data, findings of Phase I and II provided context for one another. Specifically I examined themes in interviews by cluster, which was derived from scores of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity.

### Recruitment

As introduced in Phase II, interviewees were recruited based on levels of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity as observed in Phase I survey data. Accordingly, stratified sampling based on these identities was used to create a representative subset of the larger Phase I sample (Sandelowski, 2000). Target interview clusters included: a) high REID and GID, b) low REID and GID, c) high REID but low GID, d) low REID but high GID, and e) moderate REID and GID; the latter was intended to reflect “typical” experiences with regards to race/ethnicity and gender. Cutoffs for high, moderate, and low levels of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity were determined using means and standard deviations observed in the literature; the final list of relevant articles is presented in Table G1 (Appendix G). Participants with scores in these cutoff zones were randomly invited to interview. Attrition of participants, along with final means and standard deviations for each cluster, is presented in Table 10.

**Sample**

This sample included the 26 women from Phase II, for whom both quantitative and qualitative data were available (for demographics of this group, please see the Method section of Phase II). As discussed, the sample was deemed representative of the larger Phase I sample. Notably, no participant met criteria for the high REID/low GID interview cluster. As suggested by my pilot research, the constellation of high REID/low GID may be more representative of men of color, and this pattern may partially explain why the grouping of high REID/low GID did not emerge from this sample of women of color.

Table 10  
 Characteristics of Interview Clusters

Interview Cluster	Eligible ( <i>n</i> )	Outcome ( <i>n</i> )		REID		GID	
		Lost to follow-up	Interviewed	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
High REID & GID	11	4	7	6.36 <sup>ab</sup>	.28	6.16 <sup>c</sup>	.63
Moderate REID & GID	40*	8	8	5.03 <sup>ab</sup>	.30	4.63 <sup>cd</sup>	.36
Low REID & GID	12	6	6	3.17 <sup>a</sup>	.64	3.13 <sup>cd</sup>	.34
High REID / Low GID	0	--	--	--	--	--	--
Low REID / High GID	11	6	5	3.25 <sup>b</sup>	.32	6.03 <sup>d</sup>	.60
	74	24	26				

*Note.* \* Twenty-four of these 40 participants were never invited to interview because recruitment for the target sample size for this cluster had been achieved by the time of their participation in Phase I. <sup>a, b, c, d</sup> denotes comparisons that significantly differed from one another at the  $\alpha = .05$  level.

## Results

### Overview of Analytic Strategy

The final research question called for an integration of quantitative (Phase I) and qualitative (Phase II) data. Thus, themes from the Phase II interviews were explored primarily with respect to interview cluster (based on Phase I data) and the Phase I survey scales. The purpose of the Phase III analyses was to characterize the interview clusters using both data in order to provide a comprehensive picture of the experiences of women of color.

### Preliminary Analysis

Perceived cultural attitudes, regard of racial/ethnic group by women, and psychosocial functioning by interview cluster were examined via one-way ANOVAs. There were no main effects by interview cluster on perceived cultural attitudes toward women or regard of racial/ethnic group by women in general. Additionally, there were no main effects by interview cluster on psychosocial functioning, including self-esteem, identity distress, depression, anxiety, stress, quality of significant relationships, and status of career/major. The lack of significant findings may be due to the small sample size of 26, with each cluster ranging from five to eight participants.

**Cluster differences.** Analyses were conducted to confirm intended differences between interview clusters. The four clusters significantly differed in REIDC and GIDC as expected by grouping (e.g., low < moderate < high; see Table 10). The interview groups did not differ in participant distribution across all demographic categories. Additionally, the four groups did not significantly differ on any of the predictor or outcome variables. Regarding correlations between quantitative and qualitative data,

there was overall convergence between the two data, with most correlations in the expected direction and of small to medium magnitude. Correlations among the identity variables were particularly strong (e.g., racial/ethnic identity [Phase I] and racial/ethnic identity strength [Phase II],  $r = .63$ ). Correlations among outcomes were similarly strong. These results are displayed in detail in Table H1 (Appendix H).

### **Interview Data by Interview Clusters**

All interview coding is presented by cluster in Table 11. Themes within the clusters are first discussed. A sample case is then presented to further illustrate the themes and highlight unique findings.



Table 11  
Frequencies of Coding by Interview Cluster ( $n = 26$ )

Coding	Interview Clusters				Total $n$
	High REID/GID ( $n = 7$ )	Moderate REID/GID ( $n = 8$ )	Low REID/GID ( $n = 6$ )	Low REID / High GID ( $n = 5$ )	
<b>Racial/ethnic identity</b>					
Content					
Cultural	7	7	3	4	21
Non-cultural	0	1	3	1	5
Strength					
Not at all	0	0	1	1	2
A little bit	0	4	4	3	11
A fair amount	3	3	0	1	7
A lot	4	1	1	0	6
<b>Gender identity</b>					
Content					
Biological/anatomical	0	0	5	1	6
Common conceptions/ Stereotypes	3	5	1	2	11
Representation	2	1	0	2	5
Other	2	2	0	0	4
Strength					
Not at all	0	2	3	1	6
A little bit	3	2	2	3	10
A fair amount	2	4	1	0	7
A lot	2	0	0	1	3
<b>Intersectional identity</b>					
Content					
Family	1	3	0	1	5
Cultural	2	0	0	1	3
Dating	1	0	0	1	2
Non-intersectional	1	2	3	0	6
Other	2	3	3	2	10
Strength					
Not at all	1	1	4	1	7
A little bit	2	3	2	4	11
A fair amount	2	2	0	0	4
A lot	2	2	0	0	4
<b>Intersectionality in questions</b>					
No spillover	4	5	4	5	18
Presence of spillover	3	3	2	0	8

Table 11 (continued)

Coding	Interview Clusters				Total <i>n</i>
	High REID/GID ( <i>n</i> = 7)	Moderate REID/GID ( <i>n</i> = 8)	Low REID/GID ( <i>n</i> = 6)	Low REID / High GID ( <i>n</i> = 5)	
<b>Racial/ethnic attitudes toward women</b>					
Content					
Traditional/patriarchal	2	4	3	1	10
Egalitarian	1	3	1	0	5
Mixed	4	1	2	4	11
Relationship to attitudes					
Rejection	1	1	3	1	6
Disengagement	0	1	2	2	5
Ambivalence	1	2	0	0	3
Acceptance/agreement	3	4	1	2	10
Endorsement	2	0	0	0	2
<b>Regard of racial/ethnic group by women</b>					
Generally negative	4	4	0	1	9
Generally positive	1	1	0	2	4
Neutral/unknown	2	3	6	2	13
<b>Presence of tension</b>					
No tension	0	1	0	1	2
A little	4	5	4	2	15
A lot	3	2	2	2	9
<b>Presence of emotional conflict</b>					
No emotional reaction	1	3	1	2	7
A little	5	4	5	2	16
A lot	1	1	0	1	3
<b>Resolution of tension/conflict</b>					
Generally unresolved	0	1	1	1	3
Generally resolved	7	7	5	4	23
<b>State of significant relationships</b>					
Generally unstable	2	1	3	3	9
Generally stable	5	7	3	2	17
<b>State of career decision-making</b>					
Generally unsettled	2	5	4	1	12
Generally settled	5	3	2	4	14

**High racial/ethnic identity (REID) and gender identity (GID),  $n = 7$ .**

Converging with the quantitative data, this cluster demonstrated both high racial/ethnic identity,  $Mdn = 3.00$ , range = 2-3, and high gender identity,  $Mdn = 2.00$ , range = 1-3, indicating that both identities are central to these women's sense of self. For racial/ethnic identity, all seven women exhibiting high REID and GID defined their identity in terms of *cultural* experiences. Moreover, most women drew from internal (vs. external) experiences, such as pride and communality, to define their racial/ethnic and gender identities. With both racial/ethnic identity and gender identity seen as central to the self, the intersectional identity created by these two groups was also high among these women,  $Mdn = 2.00$ , range = 0-3. Moreover, for most, intersectionality was discussed not only following direct questioning but also spontaneously throughout the interviews (*spillover*).

Overall, the women seemed to successfully integrate their racial/ethnic and gender identities. This was showcased not only by the high centrality of both identities but also in the women's general satisfaction with their racial/ethnic groups' attitudes toward women. In fact, the only two women in the sample who actively *endorsed* their racial/ethnic group's attitudes toward women (vs. simply *accepting* these attitudes) fell in this group. This sense of satisfaction was evident in other aspects of their lives, including with significant relationships and major/career planning. That is not to say that the women in this group were not without tension,  $Mdn = 1.00$ , range = 1-2, and emotional conflict,  $M = 1.00$ , range = 0-2. Indeed, a closer examination of tension and conflict revealed difficulty with managing identities when faced with racial/ethnic and gender discrimination. In spite of these challenges, all women indicated that there were no

unresolved matters in their lives, suggesting a capacity to move forward despite obstacles in life.

These patterns are evident in the case of Lara, a 23-year-old Pakistani American woman. She defined her racial/ethnic identity in terms of a sense of connection she feels to her *culture* and people. After discussing her upbringing in Pakistan, Lara reflected on the personal meaningfulness of her racial/ethnic identity now:

It's just who I am. You are kind of pulled into directions. And so if you're reading the news and something about Pakistan does come up, it is more emotional and everything.... And even though it's been years, um, since I've lived there, I still—it's still personal.

With similar depth, Lara defined her gender identity through a sense of connection with women as a whole (*representation*). Specifically, she linked her gender identity to the struggles of women in education. As seen in Phase II, she shared:

I think [being a woman means]... it seems as if there's more to prove.... I guess your value, the way your value is judged, for a guy it would be judged based upon, um, his educational background. And then for a woman it is, her educational background is like a plus, like it's an addition.

With these insights into her racial/ethnic and gender identities, Lara easily accessed intersectional experiences to define her identity as a “Pakistani woman.” Despite disagreements with her family's views about dating (i.e., dating only within the Pakistani community), Lara concluded that these views are forever tied to who she is:

For me, all of those experiences have made me who I am. The way I think has been shaped by all of those experiences, even though [gender expectations are]

changing so rapidly... [and] I have a hard time relating to [Pakistan], you do still do it. And so it's always going to be true regardless of how much time has passed because all of those traditions have been passed down and everything.

Although Lara demonstrated an overall stability in her sense of self, like others with strong racial/ethnic and gender identities, she also spoke about personal challenges, including negotiating how women are treated within the Pakistani community. Specifically, Lara spoke to two issues facing her female cousins in Pakistan. First, Lara made note of major safety concerns for women: "There's so much sexual frustration there that if you're a girl, and you go out, it just seems like you're 'asking for it' at that point." Lara also expressed anger with the marriage expectations to which women are held: "The age to get married is much younger for girls than it is for guys. So, all of the sudden you have like 40-year-old guys who think they can marry, like, 20-year-old girls. And so it's just completely...it's skewed." She concluded, "I don't think [these expectations are] healthy, I don't think it's a healthy burden to carry around" and ultimately *rejected* these expectations for herself.

Although Lara's rejection contrasts with the general satisfaction observed among other high REID/GID women, it also is in line with responses expected from this group. That is, as Lara has found grounding in who she is as a Pakistani woman as evidenced by her racial/ethnic, gender, and intersectional identities, she can firmly resist that which tries to shake that foundation. This resolution is suggestive of an ability to face tension and move forward; indeed, Lara stated, "It [is] hard but there isn't—for me personally, the best I can do is just, to, um, do the best we can." Having grounding in her identities

equipped Lara for facing life challenges, and in many ways, such challenges in turn reinforce and further strengthen her overall sense of self.

**Moderate REID and GID,  $n = 8$ .** The eight women in this cluster were identified in order to examine “typical” experiences with race/ethnicity and gender. There was convergence of quantitative and qualitative data showing expected levels of race/ethnic identity,  $Mdn = 1.50$ , range = 1-3, and gender identity,  $Mdn = 1.50$ , range = 0-2.

Although this group demonstrated moderate levels of both identities, it frequently echoed patterns consistent with the high REID/GID group. For instance, similar to those with high racial/ethnic and gender identities, most women defined racial/ethnic identity as rooted in the *cultural* traditions and customs of their racial/ethnic group. They also perceived intersectional identity as strong and central to their sense of self,  $Mdn = 1.50$ , range = 0-3. In terms of well-being, this group also appeared similar to those from the high REID/GID group. That is, with the exception of major/career decision-making, there were no other notable stresses in the moderate REID/GID group.

There were a few features that differed from the high REID/GID group as well. With both *traditional* and *egalitarian* attitudes toward women in their racial/ethnic groups, the majority of moderate REID/GID women were not as active in their appreciation of their racial/ethnic group’s gendered perspectives. That is, most simply *accepted* these attitudes, regardless of content. Additionally, not all aspects of life felt settled. In particular, this group was characterized by uncertainty regarding their academic majors and careers (*unsettled*). They actively explored academic or career options, but in turn, had to confront the unknown.

Similar to Lara in the high REID/GID group, Alma (age 21) demonstrated that race/ethnicity and gender were important aspects of the self. Additionally, Alma also drew from internal experiences to define these identities. According to Alma, her racial/ethnic identity as Puerto Rican is “more of a sense of different values.” Similarly, Alma found a sense of self-empowerment in her identity as a woman:

I think there's more of like a sense of freedom that women have compared to men, stereotypically. Like, I still feel guys have to be like the 'manly' guys, you know, and they can't have the same close relationships to their friends as women can. So, I think there's just a lot more, like, fr-free range.

With a strong sense of her racial/ethnic and gender identities, Alma also was able to articulate her intersectional identity as a “Hispanic woman”: “Cause all the Hispanic women that I see in my life are very strong... So I guess like when I identify with that, I have like an extra strength kind of like boosting myself.”

Across these identities, Alma showcased a relatively strong sense of her race/ethnicity, gender, and their intersection. However, it was noted that Alma hedged on identifying completely with these identities. For example, although she noted a transformation in how she identifies as Puerto Rican, she tempered it with qualifications:

Whereas before it was just something that like, 'Yeah, my parents are from Puerto Rico,' like, 'Sure, I'm Puerto Rican,' but like now – I guess, like, I [do] not necessarily, consciously try to fit myself into that culture but like it's—it's something that I am proud of.

In fact, later in the interview, Alma wrestled with her racial/ethnic identity strength again. She identified herself as in the “middle gray-area” with respect to this identity but also

acknowledged that she wants to “hold on to that culture.” Thus, though identity strength may look similar to levels observed with the high REID/GID group, active negotiation of identity may be a feature unique to the moderate REID/GID group.

Another feature unique to this group was uncertainty in academic major or career decision-making, which captured Alma’s own situation. When asked about her career plans, Alma was a bit disorganized, jumping from interests in television writing to economics to mathematics. She stated:

Well, like I-I know where I want to be, you know? Like, not necessarily, like in five years, in ten years, but like, I know the things that I want to do, like, you know? Like I have my dream list, but I don’t necessarily know what I will be doing.

Alma’s uncertainty about her professional future is typical among this age range and can leave many questions unanswered. Like with her racial/ethnic identity, she is engaged in active negotiation of her identity as a future professional. It is notable that with both race/ethnicity and career, Alma appears to move back and forth from full commitment to reconsideration.

**Low REID and GID,  $n = 6$ .** Overall, this group of six women was characterized by disengagement. As expected, there was general convergence of the two data, demonstrating low racial/ethnic identity,  $Mdn = 1.00$ , range = 0-3, and low gender identity,  $Mdn = .50$ , range = 0-2. In contrast to the high REID/GID group, women in this group defined their racial/ethnic and gender identities using external (vs. internal) information and showcased a personal disconnect from these identities. For example, half of the group provided *non-cultural* definitions of racial/ethnic identity, all of which



presented race/ethnicity as a label absent of a psychological experience. Similarly, all but one woman defined their gender identity using *biological/anatomical* information, also absent of any psychological experience. In general, they depersonalized and distanced themselves from their racial/ethnic and gender identities. With disengagement from both identities, intersectional identity also was expectedly low, *Mdn* = 0, range = 0-1, and there was *no spillover* of either social identity. Echoing the distancing seen with the individual social identities, most women defined their intersectional identity with *non-intersectional* experiences or as simply a label of identification (*other*). They perceived intersectional identity as an entity outside and separate from the self.

This general disconnect also was observed with racial/ethnic attitudes toward women. While the variability in the content of attitudes toward women was similar to that in other interview clusters, a unique feature of the low REID/GID group was a distancing from these attitudes all together. In fact, all but one woman either *rejected* or *disengaged* from their group's attitudes. Frequent replies to inquiries about the impact of their group's attitudes included "Not really" and brief explanations of *rejection* ("That's just what I think"). This distancing and lack of engagement was not only apparent with others' attitudes toward women but also with women's regard of their racial/ethnic group. That is, all women in this group indicated that they either *did not know* or did not have strong opinions (*neutral*) about how women viewed their racial/ethnic group.

Although the women distanced themselves from their racial/ethnic, gender, and intersectional identities, they seemed unable to avoid stresses in other areas of their life. All women indicated some degree of tension. Half of the group encountered instability in their significant relationships, and most women felt unsettled with their major or career.

A closer examination of struggles revealed tension in the contexts of career and general adjustment to school. However, despite these stresses, the majority of the group felt that there were no lingering, unresolved matters in their lives.

This general disengagement is illustrated by Cheryl (age 21). According to Cheryl, an important component of Korean identity is living in Korea. For herself, she concluded, “Whereas I like really care about Korea – at the same time, like, I don’t really like – I don’t, I don’t live there technically.” Using the external marker of residence, Cheryl determined that she could not have a strong Korean identity by nature of living in America. She was more certain of the lack of importance of gender in her life. After highlighting that gender is only salient when she uses the restroom, she added:

I mean, I know I am female but... I never say those kind of stuff [what it means to be a woman] ‘cause it’s kind of obvious. It’s not like a strong thing that I care of.  
I mean, I was just born as female.

Without a strong, internal sense of what it means to be Korean or a woman, Cheryl struggled to identify what it mean to be a “Korean woman,” her intersectional identity. After first requesting to skip these questions, she eventually defined this identity as “minority of minority,” without personalizing this meaning. To reiterate its insignificance, she added, “But it doesn’t mean anything to me.” In general, these identities have not warranted the time and thought from Cheryl as they are not important aspects of her life. Moreover, the attitudes toward women within the Korean community have had little impact on Cheryl. She acknowledged generational differences in how women are perceived and treated in the Korean community but asserted that she was exempt from these views, stating, “No, I just don’t do it [follow gendered expectations].”

Cheryl has placed distance between herself and her racial/ethnic, gender, and intersectional identities, as well as the gendered expectations in the Korean community. Although this distancing may have adaptive qualities for Cheryl, it also may have removed potential sources of support and strength during a critical time in her development. That is, like others in the low REID/GID group, career planning and relationships have challenged Cheryl. When asked about her career plans, Cheryl recalled a recent conversation with a graduating friend during which she realized, “I’m not ready, and I’m suppose to graduate this semester.” To add to the stress of determining her professional future, Cheryl’s parents also have pressured her to make movement. Additionally, she has come to realize that her parents may not be the outlet for sharing recent insights gained from her education. She stated, “I feel like they’re really closed, like, really they’re not like open-minded.” Later, Cheryl indicated that all these matters are “fine,” though the lack of resolution given the magnitude of these stressors suggested otherwise.

Notably, there was one individual in the low REID/GID (Lynn, age 21, Asian American) who, based on interview data, was deemed as having relatively stronger racial/ethnic identity (*a lot*) and gender identity (*a fair amount*) compared to other group members. An examination of her presentation in the interview may be telling. When first asked questions about her racial/ethnic and gender identities, Lynn demonstrated a pattern of initially stating that these identities had little impact on her. However, as the interview progressed, she noticeably opened up, moving from statements about gender such as “I don’t think that it affect me a lot” to ending with, “When you identify yourself as a girl, your, like, your behavior will change. My ways to behave, ways to get along

with other people, and ways to solve problems in my daily life – yes, that affect me a lot.” In this sense, Lynn appeared similar to the moderate REID/GID group, in that she may be in a current state of active negotiation of her identities. The case of Lynn serves as a reminder of the heterogeneity in these clusters, as well as the fluidity of identity. These identity clusters at best are snapshots of where these women of color are in their identity integration process.

Despite these differences, the common thread through the interviews of Cheryl, Lynn, and other women in the low REID/GID group is an overall sense of distancing. For Lynn, the degree to which she engages in distancing may be in flux as she sorts through life challenges. For individuals such as Cheryl, disengagement and avoidance may provide much needed space from pressures in her life.

**Low REID but high GID,  $n = 5$ .** This interview cluster of five women was the only group with discrepant levels of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity. There was general convergence of the two data, demonstrating that racial/ethnic identity strength was low like the low REID/GID group,  $Mdn = 1.00$ , range = 0-2. However, gender identity strength was similar to levels observed in the moderate REID/GID group,  $Mdn = 1.00$ , range = 0-1. Notably there was less distinction between these levels of REID and GID. Intersectional identity strength was low in this group,  $Mdn = 1.00$ , range = 0-1. Moreover, there was *no spillover* of intersectionality throughout the interviews, further indicating low salience of this identity.

Similar to the low REID/GID group, there was a sense of disengagement from their racial/ethnic group’s attitudes toward women. That is, most women either *accepted* or *disengaged* from these attitudes without much thought in the decision, as evidenced by

comments such as, “It’s just that’s just the way that it is.” This nonchalant attitude carried through to other aspects of these women’s lives, with the exception of significant relationships as most women indicated some degree of instability in these relationships. However, all but one indicated that all life matters were resolved.

These group characteristics can be seen in the interview with Kay, a 19-year-old Asian American woman. As seen with women in the high and moderate REID/GID groups, Kay drew from internal experiences of gender to define that identity. She asserted:

I feel like I am a strong woman, but I just feel like I have to prove it. And I don’t think guys have that same thing, and that’s how it’s affected me as a woman – is like I feel lesser, I guess, but I want to prove that I’m not.

Relating her own internal pursuit of equality to the struggle of women as a whole, Kay has found strength in asserting her identity as a woman. Moreover, she perceived herself as providing a corrective experience for those who have misconceptions about feminism:

Being a feminist just means like you want women to have equal rights. You want them to, you know, feel as safe as a man when they’re walking in the street. Or you want them to not be judged by their looks as much as they are or like be objectified and stuff. I think that’s like, I think most people are feminist nowadays, you know, people do want that. And I think they just misconstrue it, so I guess being a feminist for me is just wanting to like educate people on the fact that, like, ‘See? I’m a feminist. I’m not like crazy,’ you know. And I want just like the world to be fair, and I think a lot of people do, too.

Compared to gender, Kay was more conflicted about her identity as a racial/ethnic minority. Rather than turning to inward experiences, like other women in the low REID/GID group, Kay used an external marker – language – to define and measure the strength of her Korean identity. Given that she is not fluent in the language, Kay concluded that she cannot be “fully Korean”:

‘Cause I can’t speak Korean to [other Koreans], so that makes me feel like less because I can’t be with people of my ethnicity in the same way as they can....

Like, I want to say that I am Korean, but I feel like Koreans might not like see me as, as good of a Korean as them.

Moreover, Kay introduced her identification with America as a barrier to being “fully Korean”: “When I identify myself as Korean American, it’s a reminder to myself that... it’s okay that I’m not like hundred percent like Korean, and I am like an American. I was born here, you know. I’m a U.S. citizen.” Thus, Kay’s low racial/ethnic identity has resulted from not meeting the external markers she has determined make for a strong Korean identity.

In addition to having a low racial/ethnic identity, Kay identified other ways in which she has not aligned with Korean culture. Reflecting on the community as a whole, Kay shared:

In Korean culture, women are very like submissive, maybe not like this generation, but like my parents’ generation definitely.... And I, I hate it, like I’m not a fan. I’m not a submissive person. I’m very strong, like I’m kinda stubborn, and like I say what I’m thinking. So like I don’t like it.

Qualities of her identity as a woman – strong, feminist – seem to clash with how she views Koreans’ expectations of women, resulting in her rejection of the community’s patriarchal expectations of women. By not feeling valued as a woman in the Korean community, Kay has found more reason to remain distanced from her Korean identity.

However, Kay’s distancing from her Korean identity has not come without consequences. In addition to inner conflict about what it means to be Korean, Kay’s low racial/ethnic identity also has created trouble in her relationship with her parents: “It meant a lot to my parents if I was able to speak Korean to them.... it’s kinda sad ‘cause it has put a little rift between me and my parents a little bit.” Though Kay has found stability in her identity as a woman, she has still major personal challenges in her life related to her low racial/ethnic identity.

### **Discussion**

The integration of Phase I and Phase II data shed light as to how quantitative data and qualitative data could be used together to create a comprehensive picture of how women of color experience their racial/ethnic and gender identities, particularly in the context of messages about gender from their racial/ethnic group. Alone, these two data produced somewhat different pictures of the intersection of race/ethnicity and gender. Phase I indicated the additive nature of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity, as gender identity alone was related to self-esteem and the quality of positive relationships. Additionally, the intersection of the two identities was not found in the context of psychosocial functioning. In Phase II, gender identity was not as pronounced in terms of its impact on the general sense of self and psychosocial functioning. With respect to intersectional identity, Phase II revealed that women of color do discuss intersectional

identity but may have difficulty doing so when asked directly. Using Phase I to contextualize findings of Phase II and vice versa, the data converged, demonstrating that the additive and intersectional models can work in concert to provide a strikingly complex picture of the lives of women of color. Below, a few unique findings from this phase are discussed in detail.

Although levels of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity were distinguished as expected between the high REID/GID and moderate REID/GID groups, the two groups were similar in many ways. These groups were both defined by cultural racial/ethnic identities, relatively high intersectional identities, and relatively few psychosocial concerns. This suggests that high salience of these identities and their intersection may be the typical experience for women of color. While salience of identities in the high REID/GID group may be attributed to centrality of identity, salience in the moderate REID/GID may be due to the active negotiation of these identities, as illustrated by Alma. As women are in the midst of defining these identities and their personal importance, the identities may also be more easily activated by every day situations. Additionally, social identities may remain in the forefront as they influence other identity processes such as major or career decision-making, as has been found with racial/ethnic identity (e.g., Syed, 2010a).

In contrast to well-being in the high and moderate REID/GID groups, the low REID/GID group was characterized by overall disengagement: internally, these women disconnected themselves from all three social identities, and externally, they distanced themselves from others' opinions about race/ethnicity and gender. These women also demonstrated relatively more issues in psychosocial functioning, particularly with respect



to relationships and major/career plans. The experiences of this group map onto Erikson's *identity confusion*, in which individuals are unable to define their sense of self. This lack of integration has been found to be associated with poorer psychological functioning (e.g., Schwartz, 2001) and at its worst, severe identity distress (Berman & Weems, 2011).

Although sharing high gender identity with the high REID/GID group, the low REID/high GID group was more similar to the low REID/GID group in terms of low intersectional identity and a general sense of disengagement. Additionally, both groups indicated instability in significant relationships. Women's disengagement from racial/ethnic and gender identities may also be manifesting in their interpersonal interactions, which is likely detrimental to the health of these relationships. At the same time, the lack of commonalities between the low REID/high GID and high REID/GID groups suggest that in the context of low racial/ethnic identity, experiences related to high gender identity will be more salient and more representative of a woman of color's life. These experiences call for an intersectional lens, as gender identity is experienced differently dependent on the strength of racial/ethnic identity.

## CHAPTER EIGHT: GENERAL DISCUSSION

The current study expands research on racial/ethnic identity and gender identity by investigating how women of color experience these identities and their intersection. In particular, the study was interested in the intersectional negotiation of gender identity while a member of a racial/ethnic group that perceives women as secondary to men. With racial/ethnic attitudes toward women as a backdrop, the study was interested in the relationship between racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, and their intersection, particularly as they influence psychosocial functioning. I used two different lenses independent of one another to examine the intersection of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity: Phase I was grounded in the traditional, additive model, and Phase II followed the intersectional model promoted by feminist-of-color scholars. In the last phase of the study, I used the models together as a comprehensive approach to capturing the complexity of the experience of multiple social identities.

Alone, the two models captured different pictures of the experiences of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity. The additive approach in Phase I found gender identity as more important for women of color's self-esteem and relationships compared to racial/ethnic identity, though with a small effect. Intersectional identity was also found to be low. Moreover, racial/ethnic and gender identities remained unaffected by the attitudes toward women espoused by their racial/ethnic groups. Taking an intersectional approach in Phase II suggested that not only were racial/ethnic identity and intersectional identity low in strength, but gender identity also was not particularly important for women of color. This approach also identified potential explanations for these low

identities, including differences by content and the difficult task of articulating the intersections of identities.

In spite of variations in the individual approaches, when used together in Phase III, findings from the additive and intersectional approaches converged. That is, the broad brushstrokes of the additive approach provided the space in which to locate the fine details from the intersectional approach. Through this integrative approach, I found that women of color with relatively strong senses of both their racial/ethnic and gender identity were well-adjusted despite tension in their lives. On the opposite end, women with low racial/ethnic and gender identities displayed an overall disengagement from life, though disengagement was not without struggles in mental health, relationships, and career decision-making. Women of color with low racial/ethnic identities and high gender identities also were similarly disengaged from a number of aspects of life, particularly in the context of relationships. As evidenced by the converging of the two data, the use of both the additive and intersectional approaches is the method that best captures the experiences of women of color.

Looking across the three phases of study, themes emerged about the nature of racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, their intersection and impact of psychosocial functioning. They are discussed in detail below:

### **Identity Through An Integrative Approach**

In examining the interplay of multiple social identities, this study reinforced that openness to analytic perspectives is key in understanding a topic as complex as intersectionality. Had the study only relied on the additive approach, gender identity would have remained the sole important influence on the self-esteem and relationships of

women of color. Additionally, both identities would be seen as relatively low and unimportant for the core self. However, had the study only relied on the intersectional approach, both identities would have been seen as relatively unimportant. Through the integration of data in Phase III, the study highlighted ways in which both approaches can be used in concert to more comprehensively capture the experiences of racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, and their intersection as they pertain to psychosocial functioning. Additionally, the use of both approaches expanded definitions of intersectionality. That is, many women defined their intersectional identities using non-intersectional terms. However, these non-intersectional experiences may very well be how this intersectional identity is experienced for these women (Bowleg, 2008). Thus, researching how these identities are experienced independently and intersectionally are both important.

### **Intersectionality as a Psychological Framework**

The current study offers strong evidence for intersectionality as a useful psychological theory. The concept of intersectionality was developed to draw attention to the ways in which the social systems like race/ethnicity and gender interplay to create life circumstances. Expectedly, foundational writings on intersectionality take a more systems-focused perspective. However, intersectionality can be useful in understanding the *individual and personal* experiences of living within and being a part of these social systems, particularly as a multiply-marginalized individual.

Revisiting Erikson's (1968) *identity versus identity confusion*, intersectionality as a psychological framework provided insight into how the intersection of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity is related to psychosocial functioning for women of color.

Overall, there was relatively little impact on psychosocial functioning brought about by managing racial/ethnic identity and gender identity. Few women indicated competing pressures between their racial/ethnic community and women, and moreover, most expressed some degree of satisfaction with how women are treated within their racial/ethnic group. That is not to say that women of color were completely without identity-related conflicts. On the contrary, examination of data by interview cluster revealed that women with low racial/ethnic and gender identities indicated struggles in psychosocial functioning, particularly in relationships and career decision-making; as anticipated by Erikson (1968), struggles with identities indeed affected other developmentally-relevant areas. These findings suggest that, in the spirit of continuity and sameness, women of color have employed a range of adaptive strategies to manage such conflict and to keep negative repercussions on psychosocial functioning at bay.

One of these adaptive strategies for women of color is finding grounding in their sense of self. This was demonstrated by women with high racial/ethnic and gender identities, who also were more likely to have strong intersectional identities. Overall, this group presented as well-adjusted with few psychosocial concerns. Their ability to find grounding in their racial/ethnic, gender, and intersectional identities provided them with a stable sense of self that has stood firm in the face of life challenges. Thus, strengthening both identities – and in turn, strengthening the core self – remains one way to maintain a sense of continuity and sameness in identity integration.

Another way in which women resolved conflict between their racial/ethnic and gender identities was through shifting their mindset. I observed that women facing some degree of patriarchal views and treatment of women in their racial/ethnic groups were

also able to re-orient their mind to the promise of the future and impending gender equality in their communities. Rather than be bothered by restrictive views on women, many women of color considered the presence of these views as temporary and therefore, moved forward in their own lives.

This psychological framework also highlighted ways in which women of color currently manage their racial/ethnic identity and gender identity that may be adaptive, though for the time being. Specifically, among the low racial/ethnic and gender identities group, there was an overall sense of disengagement from identities and racial/ethnic and gender communities. Expectedly, they also demonstrated the most difficulty in terms of psychosocial functioning, particularly with respect to relationships and career decision-making. By disengaging from these pressures, these women have created some temporary relief from resolving their identity issues and other life demands. However, disengagement as a long-term strategy is not ideal, particularly because the inability to reconcile identity-related issues can lead to serious negative repercussions for mental health (Berman, et al., 2004).

As demonstrated, using intersectionality as a psychological framework can facilitate examination of how individuals resolve multiple minority identity-related issues. Importantly, this framework emphasized that individual issues, such as identity negotiation and integration, do not exist in a vacuum. Rather, these and other individual issues must be considered in relation to the larger social systems in which individuals are located. In the present study, these larger social systems included the family and racial/ethnic groups, but future research is recommended to expand into other systems that place racial/ethnic and gendered pressures on women of color, including in

workplace, health service, and educational institutions. Regardless of the level of system, using intersectionality as a psychological framework will help to organize and account for how women individually manage their internal identity experiences in the context of the complex pressures and circumstances that can arise with social contexts.

### **The Family Context**

Regarding important social contexts, the framework of intersectionality in this study also revealed the meaningfulness behind experiences of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity in the family. Although conflict between racial/ethnic identity and gender identity was relatively low, when it did arise, it almost always came up within the family context. Moreover, such discussions in the interviews were almost always accompanied by strong emotions.

In particular, it appears that experiences within immigrant families were most powerful. This is indirectly supported by preliminary analyses, which found that generational status influences experiences with racial/ethnic identity and gender identity via perceived cultural attitudes toward women, regard of racial/ethnic group by women, and anxiety. Although there were ultimately no differences in primary analyses when generational status was co-varied versus not, its impact was still apparent throughout the study. That is, conflicts between racial/ethnic identity and gender identity were most frequently in the context of managing immigrant family pressures. It is not uncommon for immigrant parents to bring with them traditional, gender hierarchical notions of family life (e.g., Dion & Dion, 2001; Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004; Xiong, Detzner, & Cleveland, 2004-2005). Immigrant parents are often centrally focused on preparing their daughters to be good wives who cook and manage the

households, and who also limit their social and romantic involvements (Moua & Lamborn, 2010; Raffaelli & Ontai, 2004). Daughters of later generations may not be as invested in these specific gender expectations and may respond with resistance. However, as observed with Tessa's personal struggles, a rejection of these restricting gender role expectations may bring about not only personal shame but shame also of the family.

Given these findings, future research might consider focusing specifically on the context of family when studying the intersections of racial/ethnic and gender identities among women of color. As indicated by the women in this study, the interpersonal relationships that seem to most frequently and powerfully prompt thoughts on intersectionality are those with parents. Shame complicates how women react to gender role expectations set by parents. Additionally, refusal to abide by traditional gender role expectations can be perceived as a rejection of the family all together (Pyke & Johnson, 2003). Future research is recommended to examine racial/ethnic identity and gender identity as they relate to conflict in the family and the quality of daughters' relationships with other family members, particularly their parents. The dynamics between identity and family may add another layer of understanding to the negative psychological impact of family conflict (e.g., Lee, Jung, Su, Train, & Bahrassa, 2009).

### **Lessons for the Study of Intersectionality**

In studying the intersectionality of racial/ethnic identity and gender identity, a few lessons emerged that may facilitate research in the future. Through the current study, I found that despite direct questioning of intersectionality as recommended by Bowleg (2008), women of color struggled with putting into words their intersectional experiences. Indeed, articulating the intricacies of an identity as complex as a



racial/ethnic-gender identity is a challenging task. As discussed, ease in discussing the intersections of identity develops over time, as found by Azmitia and colleagues (2008). Additionally, instead of direct and broad questioning, content-focused questioning may be more productive. Bowleg (2008) adds that focusing on meaningful constructs such as discrimination and stress can further facilitate reflections on intersectionality.

Another area highlighted by the study of intersectionality is the potential influence of social identities that were not a focus of this study. Although the research team and I provided spaces for other social identities to emerge, no woman diverged greatly from speaking on race/ethnicity and gender. However, it may be important to consider how other social identities may be unknowingly at play. This issue is particularly relevant to social class, which was not included in the study despite being a foundational component of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1994). Countless studies suggest that race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status are strongly linked in multiple contexts (e.g., Hayward, Crimmins, Miles, & Yang, 2000). Thus, future research may need to tease apart the unique contributions of racial/ethnic identity and social class identity.

Finally, executing an intersectional approach in its most literal sense requires consideration of all intersecting identities experienced. Stewart and McDermott (2004) acknowledge that this is a daunting task, which may be facilitated through consultation with neighboring disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, and law. To this list I add participants as critical consultants on intersectionality research. As participants are the experts on themselves, it is imperative that researchers find guidance on the salience of social identities from these partners in research.

### **Other Limitations & Future Directions**

In the spirit of contextualizing, the results of this study must be considered alongside other limitations. First, a number of sample issues are apparent. Given the number and complexity of analyses, a larger sample size to increase power would have been ideal. Such an increase would have allowed for more definitive conclusions about the associations between racial/ethnic, gender, and intersectional identities, particularly in the context of traditional, racial/ethnic attitudes toward women. Additionally, although representative of the larger sample, the 26 interviewed women and their experiences may not be representative of women of color in general. Rather, findings from these interviews provided a strong foundation for future research.

In addition to the sample, researchers may also have had an impact on this study. In particular, there is a possibility for researcher bias in the development of the coding system. Although feminist scholars advocate for owning this perspective, I attempted to address potential biases by drawing on theory-driven coding categories and reliability checks on coding. I also acknowledged that although thorough and intricate, the current coding system is not exhaustive in identifying all important elements of women's experiences with race/ethnicity and gender. In fact, as evidenced by emergent subthemes, I found that that the sample's identity experiences with race/ethnicity, gender, and their intersection were more complex than the coding system could capture. Future research might consider more nuanced qualitative data coding within a specific context. Such an approach will allow for thoroughness while facilitating women's reflections on intersectionality.

In understanding the relative lack of significant findings in Phase I (quantitative data), it may be important to revisit the measures used in the survey. As previously mentioned, extant literature has demonstrated that although identity centrality is related to psychosocial outcomes, its associations are relatively weak. As the measures of identity centrality were the foundation of the survey data, weakness in these measures may have had implications for the remaining analyses.

### **Conclusion**

Situating this research on a broader level, the present study reiterated the need for psychology as a field to investigate the balance between the personal and the societal – that is, to not only examine the individual experience but also the context and social systems within which one exists. A psychological framework of intersectionality helps psychologists to navigate the complex connections between the individual and social contexts. Furthermore, intersectionality can help to address gaps in extant psychological research, moving the discipline toward more inclusion and representation of women of color and other diverse groups.

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## **APPENDIX A: Prescreening Survey**

Thank you for your interest in the Experiences with Gender & Ethnicity Study!

The purpose of the study is to understand women's experiences with gender and race/ethnicity. We are interested in all types of experiences, both positive and negative, and we hope to use this information to enhance young women's lives.

This brief (one-minute) survey will help us determine your eligibility for the study. Please be aware that it is possible that you will not meet the criteria we are currently looking for, as we desire to have students who come from diverse backgrounds participate.

Your responses to this brief survey will be completely confidential and will not be used for any research purposes. You will also not receive compensation for this prescreening survey. Your data will simply be used to determine your eligibility for the study.

If you ARE eligible to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete an online survey. The survey will take approximately 30 minutes to complete and may be completed from your own home or at the UMN campus. For your participation, you will receive either one of the following of your choosing: either psychology course credits (UMN students only; 1 REP point) or a \$5 giftcard. Additionally, you will be entered into a raffle for one \$75 giftcard. You may also be invited to participate in a one-hour interview for which you would receive an additional \$20 giftcard.

To begin the pre-screening survey, click "Next"...

*The next screen shows the following open-ended and selection questions:*

Please answer all questions to the best of your ability.

**What is your age?**

- Under 18
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- Over 25

**What gender do you identify with?**

- Female
- Male
- Transgender
- Other (please specify)

**APPENDIX A (continued)****What is your ethnicity? You may choose more than one.**

- American Indian/Native American
- Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, and others
- Black or African American
- Filipino or Pacific Islander
- Indian, Pakistani, or other South Asian
- Latino or Hispanic, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
- Middle Eastern or Arabic
- White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
- Mixed; Parents are from two different groups

**Are you currently in college?**

- Yes
- No

**What is your email address? We need this only to contact you about participating. We will not disclose this with anyone.**

- [Open-ended response box available]

**Where did you hear about this study?**

- Research Experience Program (REP)
- Flyer at UMN
- Announcement in class – UMN
- Announcement in class – Other school
- Announcement in club/organization meeting – UMN
- Announcement in club/organization meeting – Other school
- Craigslist
- Facebook
- Friend
- Other

Thank you! We will be in touch within 48 hours regarding your eligibility to participate.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact the primary researcher, Mary Joyce Juan at [juanx006@umn.edu](mailto:juanx006@umn.edu).

Please click the “Done” button below to exit the survey.

**APPENDIX B:  
Phase I Survey**

*Please provide some information about yourself.*

What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_

If you are a college student, where do you current attend school?

\_\_\_\_\_ N/A – Not a current college student

\_\_\_\_\_ University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

\_\_\_\_\_ Other (please specify: \_\_\_\_\_)

If you are a college student, what year are you in school? Circle one of the following:

- First year undergrad
- Second year undergrad
- Third year undergrad
- Fourth year undergrad
- Fifth year undergrad
- Sixth year undergrad
- Seventh year or older undergrad
- Graduate student

How do you identify in terms of sexual orientation? \_\_\_\_\_

Were you born in the U.S.?      Circle: YES or NO

- If NO, country were you born in: \_\_\_\_\_
- Year of immigration: \_\_\_\_\_

Was your mother born in the U.S.?      Circle: YES or NO

- If NO, country were you born in: \_\_\_\_\_
- Year of her immigration: \_\_\_\_\_

Was your father born in the U.S.?      Circle: YES or NO

- If NO, country were you born in: \_\_\_\_\_
- Year of his immigration: \_\_\_\_\_

How would you describe your family's social class? Circle one of the following:

- Poor
- Working class
- Middle class
- Upper-middle class
- Upper class/wealthy

**APPENDIX B (continued)**

With what racial/ethnic group do you identify? \_\_\_\_\_

Describe your racial/ethnic group.

*We would like you to consider your RACIAL/ETHNIC group as identified in the previous question when responding to the following statements.*

*Indicate your level of agreement with each statement:*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Strongly disagree</i>			<i>Neutral</i>			<i>Strongly agree</i>

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Overall, being my race/ethnicity has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ In general, being my race/ethnicity is an important part of my self-image.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ My destiny is tied to the destiny of other members of my racial/ethnic group.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ Being my race/ethnicity is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ I have a strong sense of belonging to my racial/ethnic group.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ I have a strong attachment to other members of my racial/ethnic group.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ Being my race/ethnicity is an important reflection of who I am.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ Being my race/ethnicity is not a major factor in my social relationships.



**APPENDIX B (continued)**

***The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the roles of women in society, which different racial/ethnic group have.***

*You are asked to express your racial/ethnic group's general feeling about each statement by indicating whether your group AS A WHOLE (or what you perceive to be a "TYPICAL" member of your racial/ethnic group) agrees strongly, agrees mildly, disagrees mildly, or disagrees strongly. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions.*

*Do not answer how you personally feel; rather, answer how you think people from your racial/ethnic group generally feel.*

*Your racial/ethnic group as a whole...*

- | <b>3</b>                  | <b>2</b>         | <b>1</b>      | <b>0</b>               |
|---------------------------|------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| <i>Strongly disagrees</i> | <i>Disagrees</i> | <i>Agrees</i> | <i>Strongly agrees</i> |
| 1. _____                  |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 2. _____                  |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 3. _____                  |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 4. _____                  |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 5. _____                  |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 6. _____                  |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 7. _____                  |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 8. _____                  |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 9. _____                  |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 10. _____                 |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 11. _____                 |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 12. _____                 |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 13. _____                 |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 14. _____                 |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |
| 15. _____                 |                  |               |                        |
|                           |                  |               |                        |

**APPENDIX B (continued)**

***People can have positive and negative feelings about themselves.***

*Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by choosing one of the four response options. There are no right or wrong answers. If you have trouble choosing between the options, just choose the response that applies to how you usually feel.*

- |     | <b>1</b>                     | <b>2</b>        | <b>3</b>     | <b>4</b>  |
|-----|------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|---|
|     | <i>Strongly<br/>disagree</i> | <i>Disagree</i> | <i>Agree</i> | <i>Strongly agree</i>   |
| 1.  | _____                        |                 |              |   |
|     |                              |                 |              | I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others. |
| 2.  | _____                        |                 |              |   |
|     |                              |                 |              | I feel that I have a number of good qualities.                              |
| 3.  | _____                        |                 |              |   |
|     |                              |                 |              | All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.                      |
| 4.  | _____                        |                 |              |   |
|     |                              |                 |              | I am able to do things as well as most other people.                        |
| 5.  | _____                        |                 |              |   |
|     |                              |                 |              | I feel I do not have much to be proud of.                                   |
| 6.  | _____                        |                 |              |   |
|     |                              |                 |              | I take a positive attitude toward myself.                                   |
| 7.  | _____                        |                 |              |   |
|     |                              |                 |              | On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.                                   |
| 8.  | _____                        |                 |              |   |
|     |                              |                 |              | I wish I could have more respect for myself.                                |
| 9.  | _____                        |                 |              |   |
|     |                              |                 |              | I certainly feel useless at times.  |
| 10. | _____                        |                 |              |   |
|     |                              |                 |              | At times, I think I am no good at all.                                      |

## APPENDIX B (continued)

*Please read each statement and select how much the statement applied to you OVER THE PAST WEEK. There are no right or wrong answers. Do not spend too much time on any statement.*

Over the past week...

- | <b>0</b>                          | <b>1</b>   | <b>2</b>  | <b>3</b>  |
|-----------------------------------|--|---|---|
| <i>Did not apply to me at all</i> | <i>Applied to me to some degree, or some of the time</i>   | <i>Applied to me to a considerable degree, or a good part of time</i> | <i>Applied to me very much, or most of the time</i> |
| 1. ____                           | I found it hard to wind down   |   |   |
| 2. ____                           | I was aware of dryness of my mouth   |   |   |
| 3. ____                           | I couldn't seem to experience any positive feeling at all  |   |   |
| 4. ____                           | I experienced breathing difficulty (eg, excessively rapid breathing, breathlessness in the absence of physical exertion)           |   |   |
| 5. ____                           | I found it difficult to work up the initiative to do things  |   |   |
| 6. ____                           | I tended to over-react to situations   |   |   |
| 7. ____                           | I experienced trembling (eg, in the hands)   |   |   |
| 8. ____                           | I felt that I was using a lot of nervous energy  |   |   |
| 9. ____                           | I was worried about situations in which I might panic and make a fool of myself  |   |   |
| 10. ____                          | I felt that I had nothing to look forward to   |   |   |
| 11. ____                          | I found myself getting agitated  |   |   |
| 12. ____                          | I found it difficult to relax  |   |   |
| 13. ____                          | I felt down-hearted and blue   |   |   |
| 14. ____                          | I was intolerant of anything that kept me from getting on with what I was doing  |   |   |
| 15. ____                          | I felt I was close to panic  |   |   |
| 16. ____                          | I was unable to become enthusiastic about anything   |   |   |
| 17. ____                          | I felt I wasn't worth much as a person   |   |   |
| 18. ____                          | I felt that I was rather touchy  |   |   |
| 19. ____                          | I was aware of the action of my heart in the absence of physical exertion (eg, sense of heart rate increase, heart missing a beat) |   |   |
| 20. ____                          | I felt scared without any good reason  |   |   |
| 21. ____                          | I felt that life was meaningless   |   |   |

**APPENDIX B (continued)**

To what degree have you recently been upset, distressed, or worried over any of the following issues in your life? (Please select the appropriate response, using the following scale).

1	2	3	4	5
<i>None at all</i>	<i>Mildly</i>	<i>Moderately</i>	<i>Severely</i>	<i>Very Severely</i>

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Long term goals? (e.g., finding a good job, being in a romantic relationship, etc.)
2. \_\_\_\_\_ Career choice? (e.g., deciding on a trade or profession, etc.)
3. \_\_\_\_\_ Friendships? (e.g., experiencing a loss of friends, change in friends, etc.)
4. \_\_\_\_\_ Sexual orientation and behavior? (e.g., feeling confused about sexual preferences, intensity of sexual needs, etc.)
5. \_\_\_\_\_ Religion? (e.g., stopped believing, changed your belief in God/religion, etc.)
6. \_\_\_\_\_ Values or beliefs? (e.g., feeling confused about what is right or wrong, etc.)
7. \_\_\_\_\_ Group loyalties? (e.g., belonging to a club, school group, gang, etc.)
  
8. \_\_\_\_\_ Please rate your overall level of *discomfort* (how bad they made you feel) about all the above issues as a whole.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ Please rate how much uncertainty over these issues as a whole has interfered with your life (for example, stopped you from doing things you wanted to do, or being happy)

10. Using this rating scale...

Never or less than a month	1 to 3 months	3 to 6 months	6 to 12 months	More than 12 months
1	2	3	4	5

\_\_\_\_\_ How long (if at all) have you felt upset, distressed, or worried over these issues as a whole?

**APPENDIX B (continued)**

*To what extent do you agree with the following statements?*

- |  | <b>1</b>                     | <b>2</b>        | <b>3</b>                      | <b>4</b>     | <b>5</b>                  |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
|  | <i>Strongly<br/>disagree</i> | <i>Disagree</i> | <i>Agree and<br/>disagree</i> | <i>Agree</i> | <i>Strongly<br/>agree</i> |
| 1. _____   |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| I know what kind of work is best for me.   |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 2. _____   |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| No other career is as appealing to me as the one I expect to enter.                        |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 3. _____   |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| No one will change my mind about the career I have chosen.                                 |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 4. _____   |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| I have known for a long time what career is best for me.                                   |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 5. _____   |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| I have invested a lot of energy into preparing for my chosen career.                       |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 6. _____   |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| My career will help me satisfy deeply personal goals.                                      |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 7. _____   |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| Becoming a worker in my chosen career will allow me to become the person I dream<br>to be. |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 8. _____   |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| My family feels confident that I will enter my chosen career.                              |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 9. _____   |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| I chose a career that will allow me to remain true to my values.                           |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 10. _____  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| My career choice will permit me to have the kind of family life I wish to have.            |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 11. _____  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| My work interests are likely to change in the future.                                      |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 12. _____  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| I will probably change my career goals.  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 13. _____  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| What I look for in a job will change in the future.  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 14. _____  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| My career choice might turn out to be different than I expect.                             |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 15. _____  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| I need to learn a lot more before I can make a career choice.                              |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 16. _____  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| Thinking about choosing a career makes me feel uneasy.                                     |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 17. _____  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| People who really know me seem doubtful when I share my career plans with them.            |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 18. _____  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| When I tell other people about my career plans, I feel like I am being a little dishonest. |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 19. _____  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| I doubt I will find a career that suits me.  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| 20. _____  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |
| I may not be able to get the job I really want.  |                              |                 |                               |              |                           |

***Thinking about your current situation... to what extent do you agree with the following statements?***

***Right now I am...***

- |  | <b>1</b>                     | <b>2</b>     | <b>3</b>                      | <b>4</b>        | <b>5</b>                  |
|--|------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
|  | <i>Strongly<br/>disagree</i> | <i>Agree</i> | <i>Agree and<br/>disagree</i> | <i>Disagree</i> | <i>Strongly<br/>agree</i> |

**APPENDIX B (continued)**

1. \_\_\_\_\_ casually learning about careers that are unfamiliar to me in order to find a few to explore further.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ thinking about how I could fit into many different careers.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ trying to have many different experiences so that I can find several jobs that might suit me.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ learning about various jobs that I might like.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ keeping my options open as I learn about many different careers.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ identifying my strongest talents as I think about careers.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ learning what I can do to improve my chances of getting into my chosen career.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ learning as much as I can about the particular educational requirements of the career that interests me the most.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ trying to find people that share my career interests.
10. \_\_\_\_\_ thinking about all the aspects of working that are most important to me.

***The following set of statements deals with how you might feel about yourself and your life.***

*Please remember that there are neither right nor wrong answers. Circle the response that best describes the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.*

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<i>Strong disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree slightly</i>	<i>Agree slightly</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Strongly agree</i>

1. \_\_\_\_\_ Most people see me as loving and affectionate.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ Maintaining close relationships has been difficult and frustrating for me.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ I often feel lonely because I have few close friends with whom to share my concerns.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ I enjoy personal and mutual conversations with family members or friends.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ I don't have many people who want to listen when I need to talk.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ It seems to me that most other people have more friends than I do.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ I have not experienced many warm and trusting relationships with others.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ I know that I can trust my friends, and they know that they can trust me.

**APPENDIX B (continued)**

With what gender do you identify? Choose:

- Female
- Male
- Transgender
- Other (please specify:

\_\_\_\_\_)

***We would like you to consider your GENDER group as identified in the previous question when responding to the following statements.***

*Indicate your level of agreement with each statement:*

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>
<i>Strongly disagree</i>			<i>Neutral</i>			<i>Strongly agree</i>

1. \_\_\_\_ Overall, being a person of my gender has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
2. \_\_\_\_ In general, being a person of my gender is an important part of my self-image.
3. \_\_\_\_ My destiny is tied to the destiny of other members of my gender group.
4. \_\_\_\_ Being a person of my gender is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
5. \_\_\_\_ I have a strong sense of belonging to people of my gender group.
6. \_\_\_\_ I have a strong attachment to other members of my gender group.
7. \_\_\_\_ Being a person of my gender is an important reflection of who I am.
8. \_\_\_\_ Being a person of my gender is not a major factor in my social relationships.

Please remind us again: with what racial/ethnic group do you identify?

***We would like you to consider your RACIAL/ETHNIC group as identified in the previous question when responding to the following statements.***

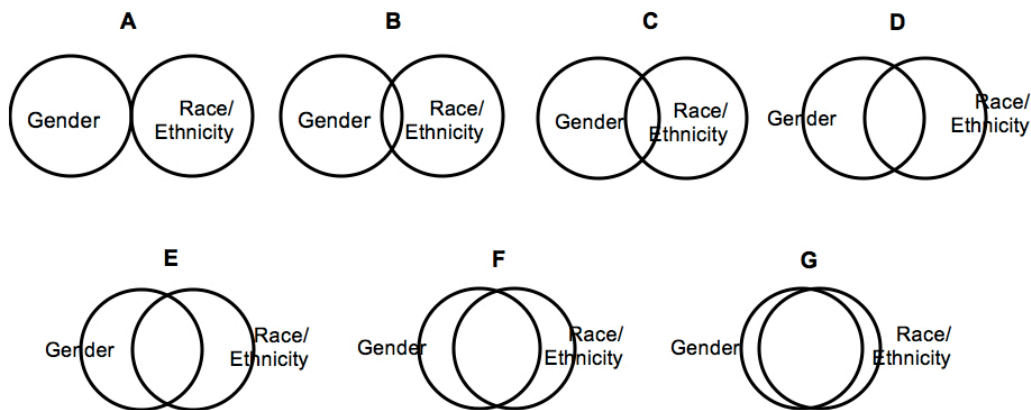
*In particular, we would like you to think about how your racial/ethnic group is perceived by women as a whole. In other words, consider how a “typical woman” would regard your racial/ethnic group.*

## APPENDIX B (continued)

- |                          |   |   |                |   |   |                       |
|--------------------------|---|---|----------------|---|---|-----------------------|
| 1                        | 2 | 3 | 4              | 5 | 6 | 7                     |
| <i>Strongly disagree</i> |   |   | <i>Neutral</i> |   |   | <i>Strongly agree</i> |
1. \_\_\_\_\_ Overall, my racial/ethnic group is considered good by women in general.
  2. \_\_\_\_\_ In general, women respect my racial/ethnic group.
  3. \_\_\_\_\_ Most women consider my racial/ethnic group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other racial/ethnic groups.
  4. \_\_\_\_\_ My racial/ethnic group is not respected by women as a whole.
  5. \_\_\_\_\_ In general, women view my racial/ethnic group in a positive manner.
  6. \_\_\_\_\_ Women in general view my racial/ethnic group as an asset.

***Please refer to the image below:***

*In this image are some pictures that show different forms of how your gender and your race/ethnicity are related for you. Please circle the configuration that best describes the relationship between gender and race/ethnicity in your life.*



***Thank you for your time.***

*For your participation, you will receive either a \$5 gift card to Amazon.com or 1 REP point (for UMN students only).*

*I would like to receive...*

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1 REP point  
 \_\_\_\_\_ \$5 Amazon.com gift card



**APPENDIX C:  
Phase I Preliminary Analyses**

Table C1  
Mean Differences by Race/Ethnicity for Racial/Ethnic Identity, Perceived Cultural Attitudes Toward Women, and Regard of Racial/Ethnic Group by Women

Race/ethnicity	REID	PCATW	Regard
Asian American	4.79 <sup>b</sup>	1.40 <sup>b</sup>	5.02 <sup>b</sup>
Black/African American	4.74 <sup>a</sup>	1.53	4.20 <sup>b</sup>
Mixed with White	3.95 <sup>ab</sup>	1.74 <sup>ab</sup>	4.89
Chicana/o or Latina/o American	4.47	1.55	4.54
South Asian	4.61	1.31 <sup>a</sup>	5.63
<i>Range of scores</i>	<i>1-7</i>	<i>0-3</i>	<i>1-7</i>

*Note.* REID = racial/ethnic identity, PCATW = perceived cultural attitudes toward women. <sup>a</sup> denotes comparisons within variable that significantly differed from one another at the  $\alpha = .05$  level, <sup>b</sup> at  $\alpha = .01$  level.

## APPENDIX C (continued)

Table C2  
 Mean Differences between Asian Americans vs. Non-Asian Americans for Perceived Cultural Attitudes Toward Women and Regard of Racial/Ethnic Group by Women

Racial/ethnic group	PCATW	Regard
Asian Americans/South Asians	1.64	5.05
Non-Asian	1.40	4.54
<i>Range of scores</i>	<i>0-3</i>	<i>1-7</i>

*Note.* PCATW = perceived cultural attitudes toward women. All comparisons within variable significantly differed from one another at the  $\alpha = .01$  level.

## APPENDIX C (continued)

Table C3  
 Mean Differences by Generational Status for Perceived Cultural Attitudes Toward Women, Regard of Racial/Ethnic Group by Women, and Anxiety

Generational status	PCATW	Regard	Anxiety
International students/ non-immigrants	1.62	5.19 <sup>c</sup>	5.50
First-generation	1.52	4.85	5.95 <sup>abc</sup>
1.5 generation	1.43	5.00	3.00 <sup>c</sup>
Second-generation	1.41 <sup>c</sup>	4.96 <sup>a</sup>	3.09 <sup>a</sup>
Third-generation and later	1.76 <sup>c</sup>	4.22 <sup>ac</sup>	3.02 <sup>b</sup>
<i>Range of scores</i>	<i>0-3</i>	<i>1-7</i>	<i>0-21</i>

Note. PCATW = perceived cultural attitudes toward women. <sup>a, b</sup> denotes comparisons that significantly differed from one another at the  $\alpha = .05$  level, <sup>c</sup> at  $\alpha = .01$  level.

**APPENDIX D:  
Phase II Interview Protocol and Instructions for Administration**

### **Consent & Overview**

INTERVIEWER: Hello, my name is [YOUR NAME], and I am an undergraduate RA for Mary Joyce Juan, the primary researcher of this project. Thank you for taking the time to come in today. Before we get started, I wanted to give you some time to read a consent form outlining what will be happening today. Please take your time to read through it, and let me know if you have any questions. I'll also review the form with you when you're done, but if you're ready to move forward, there's a spot on the back of the form for you to fill out. [DO NOT AUDIO RECORD UNTIL WRITTEN CONSENT IS OBTAINED] Any questions? Would you like a copy of the consent form? [IF YES, GIVE COPY OF CONSENT] Just to review one last time – today, you will be interviewed about your thoughts and life experiences related to gender and race/ethnicity. As mentioned in the consent, the interview will last approximately 60 minutes, and it will be audio-recorded. I also will be writing notes to help me remember to come back to topics as needed. There are no right or wrong answers – we're simply interested in hearing your story. Also, for your participation in the study, you will receive a \$20 gift card to Amazon.com, which we will send out by the end of the week.

NOTE: Number questions as you ask them (will help with transcription). [BEGIN RECORDING NOW: START WITH "TODAY'S DATE IS <DATE> AND THIS IS PARTICIPANT <STUDY ID#>"]

### **Demographics**

How old are you?

Now, thinking about yourself, I'd like you to complete these five sentences...

*NOTE: Show paper that shows five "I am \_\_\_\_" statements. The participant does not have to write on the paper and can say her answers aloud if she would like. If she chooses to write the responses, be sure to read the responses aloud so that they can be audio-recorded. The goal of this question is to elicit social categories/identities. Use this question as a guidance for which social category/identity to discuss first (i.e., first identity mentioned is the first identity to focus on). If identities of interest are not elicited, proceed to ask questions in the order they are presented.*

### **Notes**

**APPENDIX D (continued)****Gender identity**

Tell me about a time you felt particularly aware of being a woman.

*NOTE: Make note of when other social identities are brought into the picture.*

*PROBE – To elicit more from participant:*

*How old were you at the time of the event? Who were you with?*

*How did you react to the event? How did you resolve or otherwise make sense of the event?*

*What were you feeling at the time? How do you feel now?*

*How did this event affect your identity as a woman?*

→ What does it mean to you personally to identify as a woman?

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**Notes**

## APPENDIX D (continued)

**Racial/Ethnic identity****Notes**

*TRANSITION: I would like to shift now to your identity related to your race/ethnicity. You mentioned you identify as XXXXXX.*

Tell me about a time you felt particularly aware of being [race/ethnicity].

*NOTE: Make note of when other social identities are brought into the picture.*

*PROBE – To elicit more from participant:*

*How old were you at the time of the event? Who were you with?*

*How did you react to the event? How did you resolve or otherwise make sense of the event?*

*What were you feeling at the time? How do you feel now?*

*How did this event affect your identity as [race/ethnicity]?*

→ What does it mean to you personally to be [race/ethnicity]?

## APPENDIX D (continued)

**Intersectional identity****Notes**

*TRANSITIONS: You've told me about your experiences as a woman, and as a [race/ethnicity], but now I'm wondering if you could...*

Tell me about a time when you became particularly aware of being a [race/ethnicity] woman?

*PROBE:*

*How old were you at the time of the event? Who were you with?*

*How did you react to the event? How did you resolve or otherwise make sense of the event?*

*What were you feeling at the time? How do you feel now?*

*How did this event affect your identity as a [race/ethnicity] woman?*

→ What does it mean to you to personally identify as a [race/ethnicity] woman?

→ [If you sense you can ask this:] Do you ever feel that your identity as a woman and your identity as a [race/ethnic] come into conflict? If so, when? When does it not?

## APPENDIX D (continued)

**Perceived cultural attitudes toward women & public regard of race/ethnicity by women** **Notes**

How does a typical [member of racial/ethnic group] view women?

How does a typical [racial/ethnic group] male view women? How does a typical [racial/ethnic group] female view women?

*TRANSITIONS: How does this view differ from how a typical [racial/ethnic group] female views women?*

*NOTE: Alternatively, "How does this view [of typical member] change when considering just men's views: How about when considering just women's views?]*

How are women treated within your racial/ethnic group?  
(*Do you have any experiences being treated in that way?*)

What does your ethnic group expect of women?  
(*Do you have any experiences in which you were personally faced with those consequences?*)

What do women in general (or rephrase: "groups of women in your life") think about [racial/ethnic group]?



## APPENDIX D (continued)

**Outcomes**

Do you feel there are differences between your beliefs about being a woman versus [racial/ethnic group]'s beliefs about being a woman?

If so, what are those differences and how do you manage them for yourself?

*NOTE: Alternatively, if the participant's own views have been identified and ethnic group's views have been discussed, you can also point out the discrepancy. For example, "You mentioned earlier you feel XXXXX about being a woman, but I also hear that you believe your ethnic group feels XXXXX about women. What do you make of this? / How do you make sense of this?"*  
*How do women view your racial/ethnic group?*

Where are you in terms of choosing your major or career? Tell me more about this process.  
*(How are you feeling about setting your career plans?)*

Currently, what are the significant relationships in your life? How are those relationships going in general?  
 (Tell me more about these relationships.)

**Notes**

INTERVIEWER: That is the last of my questions. Is there anything that I haven't asked about that you would like to share?  
 Again, we appreciate you taking the time to come in. As I mentioned, you should be getting your gift card by the end of this week. If you do not receive it by this time, please email Mary Joyce at [juanx006@umn.edu](mailto:juanx006@umn.edu).

## APPENDIX E: Phase II Coding Manual

*This coding manual was created based on dissertation interview data collected starting the fall semester of 2012 to the summer of 2013 by Mary Joyce Juan, under the supervision of Dr. Moin Syed and Richard M. Lee at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. The manual also draws from “Manual for Coding College Major and Social Identity Pathways” produced by Dr. Syed and Dr. Margarita Azmitia in 2008. In the current dissertation study, women of color were asked to reflect on gender and race/ethnicity, as well as on experiences related to the psychosocial outcomes of interest (e.g., general mental health, identity distress, relationship quality, career indecision). Last revised 06/20/13.*

*Note: Use codes 98 for “don’t know’s” and 99 for missing/no relevant data available. Each participant is assigned one code for each of the 17 following categories:*

### ❖ **Identity salience (5 variables total; 0-3)**

This category captures the identities mentioned by the participant when completing the “I am” exercise at the beginning of the interview. There are five variables for this category for each of the “I am” statements. Code the identities in the order that they appear using the codes below and starting with the first variable.

*Example: “I am friendly”, “I am a woman”, “I am a student”, “I am Hmong” and “I am a daughter of Hmong immigrants” = the three codes would be: [0] [1] [0] [2] [3]*

- **(0) Other identity or descriptor provided.** Participant does not name gender, race/ethnicity, or intersectionality (e.g., woman of color, [racial/ethnic] women) when listing her five “I am” identities. “Other” identities may include college student, friend, and other social roles. Descriptors may include friendly, participant’s name, and so forth.
- **(1) Gender.** Participant lists a gender-related identity, including but not limited to woman, lady, girl, daughter, and sister. All nouns signifying gender are to be captured by this code.
- **(2) Race/ethnicity.** Participant lists a race/ethnicity-related identity, including but not limited to their specific racial/ethnic group, being a racial/ethnic minority and/or being a person of color.
- **(3) Intersectional.** Participant lists an identity representing the intersection of race/ethnicity and gender, including but not limited to being a woman of color, a racial/ethnic minority woman, or a woman from her specific racial/ethnic group. Note that “woman” may be replaced by other gender-related identities (e.g., lady, girl).

### ❖ **Racial/ethnic identity: Content (0-1)**

The category represents how the participant describes her racial/ethnic identity. In other words, this category aims to capture “what” is the participant’s racial/ethnic identity. If the participant identifies with multiple racial/ethnic groups (e.g., mixed), choose the group that seems most prominent in her life (e.g., if mixed, focus on if she reports feeling closer to one racial/ethnic group over the other). Should the participant mention one or more of the codes below, select the code that is most prominent in her interview. Should one or more codes be represented equally, select the cultural code. Coders are directed to use responses to the “what does it mean to personally identify as [race/ethnicity]” question for this code.

## APPENDIX E (continued)

- **(0) Non-cultural.** All responses that do not meet criteria for “cultural” code. This may include individuals who define their racial/ethnic identity in terms of physical features (e.g., skin color, hair color and texture, facial features), individuals who state that their race/ethnicity is simply a label (e.g., she is “not White” when asked about her racial/ethnic identity).
- **(1) Cultural.** The participant discusses her identity as following, practicing, and/or honoring traditions and customs of her racial/ethnic group. Such responses may include cultural food, dress, and ways of interacting. This category also captures responses that discuss a sense of community or belonging associated with her racial/ethnic group.

### ❖ **Racial/ethnic identity: Strength (0-3)**

This category is designed to capture the centrality or personal importance and relevance of the participant’s racial/ethnic identity to her general sense of self. Relevance in this sense is operationalized as the degree of impact or effect that her racial/ethnic identity has had on her life in general. If she identifies with multiple racial/ethnic groups, consider her wholly and use the group that seems most prominent in her life to assess strength. Use the entire interview to measure strength, though the coder is encouraged to pay attention to responses regarding the racial/ethnic identity questions, particularly the “personally identify” question.

- **(0) Not at all.** The participant denies, rejects, expresses apathy toward, or does not mention the impact, importance, or relevance of racial/ethnic identity in her life.
- **(1) A little bit.** The participant acknowledges that racial/ethnic identity does have an effect on her life experience but does not expand on this idea. The participant does not demonstrate a solid understanding of why her racial/ethnic identity is important or may have difficulty explaining it. Responses in this category are simple or surface-level and lack personal connection and/or meaning.
- **(2) A fair amount.** The participant views her racial/ethnic identity as important (i.e., more than a demographic category) and also provides some meaning or substance to the role it plays in her life. The participant may still have difficulty discussing the relevance of racial/ethnic identity to her life but is able to provide clear examples of how the identity affects her life.
- **(3) A lot.** Participant discusses the importance of racial/ethnic identity and *must name this identity as central to her sense of self and to her life*. She provides deeper insight into why this identity is relevant to her and may also do this repeatedly throughout the interview.

### ❖ **Gender identity: Content (0-4)**

The category represents how the participant describes her gender identity. In other words, this category aims to capture “what” is the participant’s gender identity. Should the participant mention one or more of the codes below, select the code that is most prominent in her interview. Should one or more codes be represented equally, select the code in the order presented (i.e., biological/anatomical trumps all codes).

## APPENDIX E (continued)

- **(0) Biological/Anatomical.** Participant states that her identity as a woman is based on biological or anatomical markers of being a woman (e.g., cisgender). Such markers may include physical body features or mentions of services related to women's health (e.g., gynecologist).
- **(1) Common conceptions or stereotypes.** The participant discusses her identity as maintaining her appearance and/or behavior according to traditional feminine expectations. She may discuss aspects such as make-up, fashion, interactions with female and male peers, and in general, "acting like a [woman, girl, etc.]"
- **(3) Representation.** The participant states that her identity as a woman is part of a greater purpose. She may discuss her identity as a means of representing women, tackling or furthering women's issues, and/or honoring the history of women. *Important in this code is that she locates her sense of gender identity in these larger groups/movements.*
- **(4) Other.** The participant describes her identity as a woman in a way that is not represented in the above codes. This may contain definitions of gender identity in the context of the family (e.g., daughter) or stating that her gender is simply a label. This code should be used sparingly.

### ❖ Gender identity: Strength (0-3)

This category is designed to capture the centrality or personal importance and relevance of the participant's gender identity to her general sense of self. Relevance in this sense is operationalized as the degree of impact or effect that her gender identity has had on her life in general. Use the entire interview to measure strength, though the coder is encouraged to pay attention to responses regarding the gender identity questions, particularly the "personally identify" question.

- **(0) Not at all.** The participant denies, rejects, expresses apathy toward, or does not mention the impact, importance, or relevance of gender identity in her life.
- **(1) A little bit.** The participant acknowledges that gender identity does have an effect on her life experience but does not expand on this idea. The participant does not demonstrate a solid understanding of why her gender identity is important or may have difficulty explaining it. Responses in this category are simple or surface-level and lack personal connection and/or meaning.
- **(2) A fair amount.** The participant views her gender identity as important (i.e., more than a demographic category) and also provides some meaning or substance to the role it plays in her life. The participant may still have difficulty discussing the relevance of gender identity to her life but is able to provide clear examples of how the identity affects her life.
- **(3) A lot.** Participant discusses the importance of gender identity and *must name this identity as central to her sense of self and to her life*. She provides deeper insight into why this identity is relevant to her and may also do this repeatedly throughout the interview.

## APPENDIX E (continued)

### ❖ Intersectional identity: Content (0-4)

In this category, descriptions of the participant's intersectional race/ethnicity-gender identity are captured. That is, this category aims to represent "what" is the participant's intersectional identity. Should the participant mention one or more of the codes below, select the code that is most prominent in her interview. Should one or more codes be represented equally, select the code that is listed first (with the exception of code 3, which should be used only in the cases described in the code).

- **(0) Family.** The participant's identity as a racial/ethnic minority woman is discussed as upholding her role in her family.
- **(1) Cultural.** The participant discusses her identity as linked to preserving the customs and traditions of her racial/ethnic group. Note that if this discussion focuses on within the family, code #0 should be assigned.
- **(2) Dating.** The participant discusses her identity primarily with regards to dating. She may discuss feeling objectified or exoticized by others because of her racial/ethnic identity. She may also discuss expectations of romantic relationships set for women of her racial/ethnic background.
- **(3) Non-intersectional.** The participant states that she does not have an intersectional identity or emphasizes one identity over the other to the point that the other identity seems negligible. Participants who answer this question only speaking to one identity (e.g., Chinese) would be captured by this code. This code also captures those who do not provide substantial information to identify the content of her intersectional identity. She may state that she does not know what to say about her intersectional identity.
- **(4) Other.** The participant describes her identity as a racial/ethnic minority woman in a way that is not represented in the above codes. This code should be used sparingly.

### ❖ Intersectional identity: Strength (0-3)

This category captures the centrality or personal importance and relevance of the participant's intersectional identity to her general sense of self. Relevance is operationalized as the degree of impact or effect that her intersectional identity has had on her life in general. Use the entire interview to measure strength, though the coder is encouraged to pay attention to responses regarding the intersectional identity questions, particularly the "personally identify" question.

- **(0) Not at all.** The participant denies, rejects, and/or provides no evidence for the impact, importance, or relevance of her intersectional identity in her life. She may also discuss her race/ethnicity or gender as *separate, unrelated* concepts. *Those who reported no intersectional identity would be captured with this code.*
- **(1) A little bit.** The participant acknowledges that her intersectional identity has an effect on her life experience but does not expand on this idea. The participant does not demonstrate a solid understanding of why her intersectional identity is important. She also may have difficulty explaining it. Additionally, although she may acknowledge their connection, she may discuss her race/ethnicity *as more important* than her gender, and vice versa. Responses in this category are simple or surface-level and lack personal connection and/or meaning.

## APPENDIX E (continued)

- **(2) A fair amount.** The participant views her intersectional identity as important (i.e., more than a demographic category) and also provides some meaning or substance to the role it plays in her life. The participant may still have difficulty discussing the relevance of her intersectional identity to her life but is able to provide clear examples of how the identity affects her life.
- **(3) A lot.** Participant discusses the importance of her intersectional identity and *must name this identity as central to her sense of self and to her life*. She provides deeper insight into why this identity is relevant to her and may also do this repeatedly throughout the interview. In general, these responses tend to be deeper and multi-dimensional. She may report that her intersectional identity has a greater impact on her life than her racial/ethnic or gender identity alone.

### ❖ Intersectionality in questions (0-1)

This category represents the spillover of gender and race/ethnicity. The participant makes any mention of her *personal* experiences with gender and/or her intersectional identity when asked specifically about *race/ethnicity* via the questions and prompts, “Tell me about a time you felt particularly aware of being [race/ethnicity]” and “What does it mean to you personally to be [race/ethnicity]?” The code should also be marked with mentions of race/ethnicity and intersectionality when asked about gender only via the related prompts.

- **(0) No spillover.** Participant discusses only experiences with race/ethnicity when asked race/ethnicity questions (and gender when asked about gender).
- **(1) Presence of spillover.** Participant discusses gender and/or intersectional experiences when asked race/ethnicity questions or race/ethnicity and/or intersectional experiences when asked gender questions.

### ❖ Racial/ethnic group attitudes toward women: Content (1-3)

Racial/ethnic groups can differ in the attitudes, beliefs, treatment, and expectations they have of women within their groups. Coding is meant to capture a general sense of these attitudes as perceived and/or reported by the participant. Attitudes may be associated to either her entire racial/ethnic group or with whom she perceives to be a typical member of her racial/ethnic group. With women from mixed racial/ethnic backgrounds, consider the group she highlights as having the most impact on her. If she equally discusses expectations from both groups, (and both groups differ in expectations), then code her as 3 (see below).

- **(1) Traditional, patriarchal.** The participant perceives her racial/ethnic group as holding generally traditional beliefs and attitudes about women. These attitudes include promoting a gender hierarchy in which women are considered inferior to men. The participant perceives of her racial/ethnic group as expecting women to conform to stereotypes of submissiveness, needing to keep up their appearance, and taking care of the children and the home. Conversely, these attitudes emphasize men as breadwinners and being in a position of power in the family.

## APPENDIX E (continued)

- **(2) Egalitarian.** These responses showcase perceived equality between women and men in the participant's racial/ethnic group. This participant emphasizes that women and men are treated fairly, and power differentials are not of concern in her racial/ethnic group. She may discuss how women are open to be whomever they please and are not restricted by their racial/ethnic group.
- **(3) Mixed views.** The participant perceives of her racial/ethnic group as holding both patriarchal and egalitarian attitudes about women.

### ❖ **Racial/ethnic group attitudes toward women: Participant's relationship to attitudes (0-4)**

This category captures the participant's personal reception of and reaction to the perceived attitudes of her racial/ethnic group. Since the participant may not explicitly speak to this topic, *consider whether or not she is living according to the perceived gender role expectations espoused by her racial/ethnic group.* In general, consider the impact the attitudes seem to have on the participant. It is important to also take into account the content of the attitudes, though content will not always dictate the type of relationship.

- **(0) Rejection.** The participant completely refutes and disagrees with the perceived attitudes about women espoused by her racial/ethnic group. She demonstrates and/or highlights that her own personal views about women do not match those of her racial/ethnic group.
- **(1) Disengagement.** The participant seems to be apathetic to or claims to be unaffected by the attitudes held by her racial/ethnic group. This code captures women who state that they do not care about the attitudes. They may state that the attitudes have no impact on their life.
- **(2) Ambivalence.** The participant seems to be pulled between both viewpoints. She may remark that she understands and at times, follows traditional gender roles but also can understand living or actually lives according to more egalitarian gender role expectations. Important in assigning this code is a sense that *the participant feels pushed and pulled in multiple directions.*
- **(3) Acceptance/agreement.** The participant discusses the attitudes in a matter-of-fact manner (e.g., "It is what it is"). She may also assert that each person in her racial/ethnic group is entitled to her or his own opinions. She may also agree with the views of her racial/ethnic group. For participants facing multiple group viewpoints, note that 'acceptance' differs from 'ambivalence' in that those who are accepting have found balance between the various viewpoints. They purposefully consider multiple viewpoints whereas those who are ambivalent may be 'forced' to consider those viewpoints.
- **(4) Endorsement.** The participant fully agrees with and explicitly supports her racial/ethnic group's attitudes toward women. Her own personal views about women match those of her racial/ethnic group and she may even go so far as to promote or to indicate that she plans to uphold these views in the future. It is likely that this code will appear infrequently.

## APPENDIX E (continued)

### ❖ **Regard of racial/ethnic group by women (0-2)**

This category focuses on the women (emphasis on across racial/ethnic groups) in the participant's life. Specifically, this category represents these women's views of the participant's identified racial/ethnic group, as perceived by the participant. If the participant only discusses women from a specific racial/ethnic group (vs. across racial/ethnic groups), make note of this with an asterisk (\*) on your coding sheet; however, proceed as usual with coding:

- **(0) Generally negative.** Participant perceives of women in her life as disliking or having negative attitudes toward the participant's racial/ethnic group. She may discuss examples or traditions/customs with which women in her life disagree, though elaboration is not required.
- **(1) Generally positive.** Participant perceives of women in her life as having generally positive attitudes toward her racial/ethnic group. Participant may provide stories of women in her life enjoying opportunities to explore her racial/ethnic group, though elaboration is not required.
- **(2) Neutral.** Participant perceives the women in her life as having neither positive or negative feelings toward her racial/ethnic group. This code also captures responses that emphasize women's respect of differences amongst racial/ethnic groups. Additionally, this code captures participants who do not know of others' views of her racial/ethnic group.

### ❖ **Presence of tension in general (0-2)**

This category represents the presence of tension in general in the participant's life. "Tension" is defined as differences between the beliefs and attitudes of the participant with those of a social group of which she is member (e.g., family, friends, racial/ethnic group, society). This category is intended to capture tension *across all life domains*, though it is noted that tension may most frequently appear with respect to balancing differences in opinions and expectations about gender and race/ethnicity.

- **(0) No tension.** The participant denies the presence of any tension in her life or states that her personal beliefs are aligned with the beliefs and attitudes of social groups around her. This code also captures interviews in which the participant does not mention tension.
- **(1) A little.** The participant acknowledges the presence of tension but may attempt to minimize it or brush it aside. This may be evidenced through rationalization (e.g., 'everyone is entitled to their own opinion,' 'the differences are not too wide').
- **(2) A lot.** The presence not only acknowledges the presence of tension but also emphasizes the wide gap between her beliefs and those of the people around her. In this code, responses highlight this contrast. Multiple examples of tension throughout the interview may also indicate this code, as this scenario would suggest that the individual is continually confronted with tension or challenges between her own beliefs and those of others.



## APPENDIX E (continued)

### ❖ Presence of emotional conflict in general (0-2)

This category assesses the participant's emotional reaction to tension or general conflict in her life. Consider "tension" as the objective acknowledgment that differences manifest between the participant's beliefs and attitudes versus those of others, whereas "conflict" is considered the *subjective and emotional* experience of that tension. Although emotional conflict may manifest in response to issues in *all life domains*, it is noted that it may be most present with respect to pressures to conform to gender roles/stereotypes. This may be especially prominent in responses discussing opposition to traditional, more conservative gender roles.

- **(0) No emotional reaction.** The participant does not perceive tension as creating any emotional conflict in her life. She does not perceive tension as problematic or views it as a minor problem. She may speak in a matter-of-fact manner and is absent of emotion.
- **(1) A little.** Participant acknowledges some degree of discomfort with tension in her life, primarily using words indicating such discomfort (e.g., weird, strange, funny). However, it does not appear that this discomfort has a significant impact on her life.
- **(2) A lot.** Participant repeatedly indicates a problem or dissatisfaction with tension in her life. These interviews contain many emotional words, particularly those of a strongly negative valence (e.g., sick, hate, frustrated, upset, angry). Additionally, the participant may indicate that the emotional turmoil has had a significant impact on her life.

### ❖ Clarity/resolution of tension and conflict (0-2)

This category captures the current state of the participant's tension and emotional conflict. Consider the interview wholly in coding this category

- **(0) Generally unresolved.** The participant indicates that tension and/or conflict are ongoing. She states or gives the impression that there is no resolution. Additionally, this code captures participants who perceive their tension and/or conflict as ultimately unsolvable.
- **(1) Generally resolved.** Participant reports that tension and/or conflict in her life feel resolved. She may discuss steps taken that resulted in the ending of tension and/or conflict.

**APPENDIX E (continued)****❖ Psychosocial functioning: State of significant relationships (0-1)**

This category captures the general state of the participant's relationships of importance. In general, this category aims to answer whether or not the relationships feel stable or not.

- **(0) Generally unstable.** The participant shares that these relationships are generally not going well. She may state that she has unresolved conflict with these people. In general, she cannot trust these people nor does she feel she can rely on them.
- **(1) Generally stable.** The participant reports that her relationships are generally going well. If the participant mentions conflict, she acknowledges that it does not significantly disrupt these relationships. She may discuss people in these relationships as trustworthy and as people on whom she can rely.

**❖ Psychosocial functioning: State of major/career decision-making (0-1)**

This category captures the general state of the participant's progress with regards to her major and/or career.

- **(0) Generally unsettled.** Participant states that she is unsure of her major/career path and may still be engaged in active exploration of options. She may also discuss barriers to her major/career – barriers at which she feels stuck or has had great difficulty overcoming. Although the participant may identify or have even declared her ideal major/career, there is a sense of unsettlement or unease of making her way toward it (e.g., concern about not being able to declare, concern about job prospects, future job is not final).
- **(1) Generally settled.** Participant shares that she is set on her chosen major/career. She discusses the effort she has put into her major/career and speaks without hesitancy about next steps in her major/career journey. These participants may speak excitedly about this topic.

**APPENDIX F:**  
**Phase II Preliminary Analyses**

Table F1  
Summary of Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations among Non-Categorical Interview Coding Categories ( $N = 26$ )

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Range</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Racial/ethnic identity strength	1.65	.94	0-3	--							
2. Gender identity strength	1.27	.96	0-3	.51**	--						
3. Intersectional identity strength	1.19	1.02	0-3	.53**	.52**	--					
4. Intersectionality with race/ethnicity or gender questions	.31	.47	0-1	.07	.08	.28	--				
5. Tension	1.27	.60	0-2	.31	.22	.04	.26	--			
6. Emotional conflict	.85	.61	0-2	.11	.28	.11	.17	.66**	--		
7. Clarity/resolution	.88	.33	0-1	.13	.23	.07	-.02	-.04	-.09	--	
8. Relationships	.65	.49	0-1	.25	.12	.06	-.22	-.22	-.46*	.50**	--
9. Career	.54	.51	0-1	.16	.18	.26	-.05	-.10	-.24	.39*	.14

*Note:* Intercorrelations are presented for all ordinal interview coding categories only. \* denotes  $p < .05$ , \*\* denotes  $p < .01$ .

**APPENDIX G:  
Phase III Interview Cluster Cut-off Scores**

**Table G1**  
Reliability, Mean Scores, and Standard Deviations of the MIBI Centrality Subscale for Race/Ethnicity and Modified for Gender Across Articles and Final Study Cut-off Scores

Article	Literature Search				Current Study				
	$\alpha$	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Low	Moderate	High
<i>REID</i>									
Rowley et al. (1998)	.73	176	4.82	1.04					
Sellers et al. (1997)	.77	474	5.23	1.08					
Sellers & Shelton (2003)	.75	349	4.95	1.04	4.95	1.06	$x \leq 3.89$	$4.42 \leq x \leq 5.48$	$x \geq 6.01$
Sellers et al. (1998)	.74	248	4.92	.94					
Yip (2005)	.85	62	4.84	.93					
<i>GID</i>									
Settles (2004)	.79	259	4.44	.95	4.46	.94	$x \leq 3.52$	$3.99 \leq x \leq 4.93$	$x \geq 5.40$
Settles et al. (2009)	.76-.77	337	4.47	.93					

*Note.* REID = racial/ethnic identity. GID = gender identity. *x* represents score on respective MIBI.

**APPENDIX H:**  
**Phase III Preliminary Analyses**

Table H1  
Correlations between Phase I Survey Scales (Quantitative) and Phase II Codings (Qualitative) ( $N = 26$ )

Phase I Survey Scales	Phase II Coding Variables									
	Racial/ ethnic identity strength	Gender identity strength	Intersect- ional identity strength	Intersect- ionality with questions	Tension	Emotional conflict	Clarity/ resolution	Quality of relation- ships	Career decision- making	
Racial/ethnic identity	.63**	.42*	.47*	.23	.09	.06	.23	.36	.13	
Gender identity	.33	.38	.29	-.06	.13	.07	.14	.03	.40*	
Perceived CATW	.02	.06	-.31	-.49*	.01	-.13	.39*	.43*	.07	
Regard of R/E group	.10	-.03	-.28	-.19	.18	.17	.01	-.04	.16	
Self-esteem	.33	.27	.19	-.20	.15	.02	.38	.42*	.43*	
Depression	-.09	.004	.11	-.08	-.12	-.13	.02	-.34	.28	
Anxiety	.06	.01	.27	.22	.06	-.08	-.19	-.42*	.24	
Stress	-.12	-.26	-.14	-.04	-.11	-.19	-.45*	-.40*	-.19	
Identity distress	-.40*	-.38	-.10	.39*	-.21	-.24	-.19	-.26	-.15	
Positive relations	.51**	.31	.46*	-.04	.21	-.03	.16	.31	.25	
Career CM	-.07	-.27	-.32	-.54**	-.05	-.20	.33	.15	.51**	
Career CI	-.01	-.17	-.10	-.36	-.06	.13	.02	.07	.27	
Career SD	-.20	.04	-.15	.20	.01	-.09	-.24	.02	-.33	
Career CF	-.11	.21	-.003	.29	.08	.09	-.35	-.08	-.45*	

Note. For mean values, scores for the Depression, Anxiety, Stress, and Positive Relations scales were averaged for the purposes of consistency with other values in this table but remained in total scores for analyses. Internal consistency correlations (ICC) are **bolded**. For correlations, \* denotes  $p < .05$ ; \*\* denotes  $p < .01$ . (Perceived) CATW = Cultural Attitudes Toward Women; R/E = racial/ethnic group; CM = Commitment Making; CI = Commitment Identification; SD = Self-Doubt; CF = Commitment Flexibility