The Intersection of Race and Gender: Examining the Politics of Identity in Women's Studies

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Abstract

Although race and gender are often treated as discrete dimensions of social identity, their conceptualization as intersecting categories has become central in some feminist critiques of existing theory. This study examined women's awareness of the intersection of race and gender in relation to attitudes regarding two issues manifesting identity politics in women's studies: (a) the marginalization of women of colour and (b) proposals for separate women of colour studies programmes. Identity and attitude measures were completed by 110 students enrolled in a women's studies programme. The results of a structural equation model lend support to our hypotheses that attitudes toward a separate women of colour studies programme would be determined by an awareness of the race/gender intersection, and by a perception that women of colour are marginalized in existing programmes. Responses to issues regarding race and gender in women's studies are discussed.

Résumé

Bien que la race et le sexe soient souvent considérés comme des dimensions discrètes de l'identité sociale, leur conceptualisation en tant que catégories entrecroisées occupe une place importante dans certaines critiques féministes des théories actuelles. La présente étude examine la relation entre la conscience qu'ont les femmes du croisement de la race et du sexe et les comportements relatifs à deux des problèmes de politiques d'identité relevés à l'intérieur des études sur les femmes : a) la marginalisation des femmes de couleur et b) des propositions de programmes d'études distincts pour les femmes de couleur. Des mesures d'identité et de comportement ont été effectuées grâce à la participation de cent dix étudiantes inscrites à un programme d'études pour les femmes. Les résultats d'un modèle d'équation structurelle appuient notre hypothèse stipulant que des comportements favorisant un programme d'études distinct pour les femmes de couleur seraient déterminés par une conscience du croisement de la race et du sexe, et par une perception de la marginalisation des femmes de couleur dans les programmes actuels. Les réponses aux questions concernant la race et le sexe dans les études pour les femmes sont présentement à l'étude.

Discourse surrounding the production of knowledge in the social sciences is increasingly characterized by the vocabulary of identity and power. Sampson (1993) has referred to the set of concerns voiced by disadvantaged social groups as reflecting an *identity politics*. One manifestation of this politics is the criticism that psychological knowledge "implicitly represents a particular point of view, that of currently dominant social groups" (Sampson, 1993, p. 1221). Sampson linked this critical perspective to the emergence of several social movements, including feminism and (in the United States) the African-American movement.

Psychology's responses to the challenges described by Sampson (1993) are evident primarily in the increasing presence of feminist critiques of traditional theory and research. The existence of a distinctive psychology of women became evident in the 1970s, with the establishment of Division 35 of the American Psychological Association (APA) in 1973, and its journal, the *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, in 1976 (see Denmark & Fernandez, 1993). In the Canadian Psychological Association, the origins of the Section on Women and Psychology (SWAP) date to 1976, when the Interest Group on Women and Psychology was formed (Pyke, 1992). While the extent of influence of the psychology of women on mainstream psychology is unclear, there are arguments for its maintenance as a *separate* subdiscipline (see Kahn & Jean, 1983; Walsh, 1985).

Whereas the psychology of women has argued that much existing psychological research reflects a male point of view, the criticism that this bias is also implicitly *White* highlights an even more persistent neglect. Graham (1992), for example, found that research on African

Americans in six APA journals actually declined from 1970 to 1989 (the overall figure was 3.6%). This lack of representation extends to the psychology of women (Reid & Kelly, 1994). One study reported that 18 of 28 psychology of women textbooks contained little or no mention of African-American women, while Asian, Native American, and Hispanic women received even less attention (Brown, Goodwin, Hall, & Jackson-Lowman, 1985). An examination of studies published in the *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science* also indicates that there is relatively little research on non-Whites in the Canadian context. From 1990 to 1995, for example, we found only six articles (out of a total of 216) with a substantive focus on non-White populations.

In feminist scholarship, the politics of gender and race[1] are particularly salient, as evinced by the prominent (and problematic) status achieved by the notion of "difference" (e.g., Crosby, 1992; Griscom, 1992; Maynard, 1994). While these concerns tend to occupy the margins of mainstream psychology, they frequently inspire debate in women's studies programmes. The present study, therefore, examined issues of identity politics within the context of women's studies, with a focus on the representation and inclusion of women of colour.

Viewing the psychology of women as a manifestation of identity politics yields a number of issues that parallel our concerns in this paper. One issue concerns the ideologies of separation versus integration (Kahn & Jean, 1983); a current controversy in women's studies surrounds the possibility of separate programmes in women of colour studies. Second, whereas both the psychology of women and women's studies are founded on a politics of *gender* identity, some recent perspectives in these disciplines highlight the importance of recognizing multiple contributions to social identity. A central notion in this paper, then, is how aspects of identity, such as race and gender, intersect to inform experience.

THE INTERSECTION OF RACE AND GENDER
The interaction between race and gender has received scant attention in psychology. Just as sexism and racism have been investigated primarily as separate processes (Reid, 1988; Smith & Stewart, 1983), gender and race tend to be regarded as discrete components of identity (Spelman, 1988). Research in the tradition of social

1 We recognize that "race" is a problematic term, in view of its contested meanings and often ambiguous usage in psychology (e.g., see Yee, Fairchild, Weizmann, & Wyatt, 1993) and elsewhere. In this paper, we regard race as a social and political construct that can be relevant to self-identity and to the apprehension of social issues. Furthermore, while we employ descriptive terms such as "White women" and "women of colour," we recognize that these groups are more heterogeneous than these labels imply.

identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), for example, focuses on the subjective salience of *particular* social categories to explain intergroup behaviour (Condor, 1989). This, as Condor (1989) has pointed out, leads researchers to frame questions along these lines: "When does a black British woman feel strongly 'British' as opposed to 'black' or 'female'...?" (Oakes & Turner, 1986, p. 323). According to this framework, a woman might subjectively identify with Blacks on one occasion and with women on another, but this "either-or" dichotomy obscures the possibility that identity can be contingent on the simultaneous intersection of these categories.

In contrast to most social-psychological treatments of identity, some feminist writers (e.g., hooks, 1981; Spelman, 1988), have asserted that race and gender intersect to inform experience. This can occur in various ways. For example, the experience of social disadvantage is contingent on multiple category memberships, so that a Black woman's perception of discrimination can be qualitatively different from that of a White woman or that of a Black man. More broadly, according to Essed (1994), various aspects of social location (including race, gender, and social class) lead to identification with "ideas, beliefs, goals or opinions embedded in different, maybe even conflicting, ideological systems" (p. 100). Responses to the recent murder trial of O.J. Simpson are illustrative of this. A Black woman, for instance, might identify simultaneously with the female victim of domestic abuse, and with the Black male defendant, who was perceived by many as disadvantaged in a discriminatory justice system.

THE TREATMENT OF RACE IN WOMEN'S STUDIES
Contemporary women's studies programmes have been criticized for their marginal treatment of women of colour (Higginbotham, 1990; hooks, 1984; Hull & Smith, 1982; Lorde, 1984). Higginbotham (1990) suggests that such marginalization is typically expressed in two forms: women of colour are introduced as mere tangents to a generic White womanhood, or they are introduced as "exceptional" models for admiration. In either case, theories, paradigms, and dominant discourse tend to centre on White women, whose social realities are positioned as if they represented the "totality of women's worlds" (Reid, 1993, p. 135).

Higginbotham (1990) and other critics agree that the marginalization of women of colour in women's studies programmes is rooted in the discipline's almost exclusive focus on gender relations as a source of oppression. That is, women's studies (like the psychology of women), tends to treat gender as the dominant categorization for addressing women's lives, while subordinating the category of race. Again, this critique centres on the notion

that gender and race are intersecting, rather than discrete, aspects of identity.

Proposals or the creation of separate programmes in women of co our studies are one manifestation of the emergent identity politics (Doan, 1992; Goodstein & Gyant, 1990; Higginbotham, 1990; Hull & Smith, 1982). Although separatist ideologies have received some attention in the context of sociopolitical attitudes (e.g., the Québec nationalist movement; Guimond & Dubé-Simard, 1983), there has been little empirical examination of the political dimensions of racial consciousness (Watts, 1992). Thus, in the present study, we treated separatist attitudes as a criterion measure. A central aim of this study was to link attitudes toward the politics of race in women's studies to women's awareness of their own positions with respect to the complex intersection of race and gender.

THE PRESENT STUDY

We operationalized two variables that were expected to relate to issues of identity politics within Women's Studies: (a) the awareness of the intersection of race and gender; and (b) the privilege perceived to be associated with own-group racial membership. We begin with the premise that the intersection of race and gender contributes to the experience and identities of all women. Whereas this assertion applies most obviously to women of colour, it is equally important to acknowledge that Whiteness informs experience (Griscom, 1992; McIntosh, 1990; Reid & Kelly, 1994). What might differentiate White women from women of colour, however, is the *awareness* of this intersection. Awareness of the race/gender intersection was defined in this study as the extent to which women are cognizant of the ways in which race shapes the experience of being a woman. White women, who are less distinctive in the Canadian context than women in visible minority groups (and who may not even subjectively identify with a racial category), are likely to be less aware of the intersection between race and gender than non-White women (cf. Garza & Herringer, 1987; McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978).

McIntosh (1990) has invoked the notion of *privilege* in order to render White experience more visible. In the present study, privilege was operationalized in terms of the representation and inclusion of one's race in scholarly and media portrayals of women. We expected that White women would report this type of privilege to a greater extent than non-White women. In general, it was predicted that women experiencing greater privilege would be less likely to be aware of the intersection between race and gender. It was also hypothesized that lower levels of race privilege would be associated with a perception that women of colour are marginalized in women's studies.

Of particular interest in this study were the relationships between women's cognizance of the race/gender intersection and attitudes regarding two central issues confronting women's studies programmes: (a) the marginalization of women of colour; and (b) the proposed creation of separate programmes in women of colour studies. It was expected that the perceived marginalization of women of colour in existing programmes would be associated with more favourable attitudes toward a separate programme devoted to women of colour. Second, it is likely that women who are more cognizant of the intersection between race and gender will be more responsive to issues of identity politics in women's studies; we expected that this would be reflected in a perception that women of colour are marginalized in existing programmes and in more favourable attitudes toward the notion of a separate programme. We conceptualized these relationships in a structural equation model in which the awareness of the race/gender intersection both directly and indirectly influences separatist attitudes regarding women of colour studies.

METHOD
Respondents

Participants were 110 female university students, ranging from first-year undergraduates to graduate students (mean age = 23.70). Among those who indicated a racial group membership, 41 were White women and 21 were women of colour (East Indian, $n = 10$; Black, $n = 8$; West Indian, $n = 1$; East Asian, $n = 1$; and bi-racial, $n = 1$). Forty-five women (41% of the sample) indicated that they were not a member of a particular racial group and 3 women provided no response to this question. Of the 45 women who did not identify with a racial group, 21 indicated ethnic- or cultural-group membership.[2]

Forty-four percent of the women identified themselves as feminist ($n = 49$), 32% as non-traditional women ($n = 35$), 10% as womanist ($n = 11$) and 7% as traditional women ($n = 8$).[3] Two women indicated that they identified with none of the categories, and five respondents provided no response. The option of "womanist" was provided because it is a self-identification sometimes preferred by feminists of colour. Five non-White respon-

2 Of the cultural or ethnic group memberships that were indicated, the most frequent was Italian. A variety of other memberships were identified, including French-Canadian, Jewish, Greek, Japanese, Korean, Black, and White-Anglo Saxon Protestant (none of these women identified themselves as belonging to a racial group).

3 These categories were not defined for respondents; self-identification, then, was based on personal interpretation of their meanings.

dents identified themselves this way; it was also chosen, however, by four White respondents and one respondent who did not indicate a racial-group membership.

Procedure

Respondents were recruited from undergraduate women's studies courses at York University, as well as from student clubs. The research instrument was presented in the form of a questionnaire package. The face sheet of this package was an informed consent form, stating that the purpose of the research project was to explore their experiences as women and to assess their beliefs about a number of issues pertaining to women's studies. Participants were notified that the research results would be available to anyone interested in this information.

Following the assessment of self-identification with respect to racial group and gender-related ideology was a series of items in a fixed, random order, most of which were developed for the purpose of this study to measure the variables of interest. All responses were made on a 6-point Likert scale where 1 was defined as "strongly disagree" and 6 was defined as "strongly agree." The measures are presented in the Appendix.

The remaining portion of the research instrument contained an open-ended question that tapped respondents' attitudes toward a proposal to create a separate programme in women of colour studies.

Primary Measures

Race privilege through representation. Six items adapted from McIntosh (1990) assessed the extent to which the respondent agreed that her racial group was included in portrayals of women (e.g., in magazines and books, and on television). Responses were totalled such that a high score was indicative of a greater degree of privilege through representation ($\alpha = 0.95$).

Awareness of race/gender intersection. An 8-item measure (4 positive, 4 negative) tapped the extent to which the respondent was cognizant of the influence of race on her experience as a woman. A high score on this measure was indicative of a greater awareness of the intersection of race and gender ($\alpha = 0.87$).

Perception of marginalization. An 8-item measure (4 positive, 4 negative) reflected perceptions regarding the inclusion of the perspectives of non-White women, and of race-relevant issues, in the women's studies curriculum. A high score indicated a perception that women of colour are marginalized in current women's studies programmes ($\alpha = 0.85$).

Attitude toward separate women of colour studies programmes. Three items were combined such that a high score was indicative of a more favourable attitude toward proposals to create programmes in women of colour

studies that would exist separately from current women's studies ($\alpha = 0.85$). One item referred specifically to the women's studies programme at York University.

RESULTS

Results are presented in three sections: (a) contrasts involving relationships between the primary measures and racial-group identification and gender-related ideology; (b) the evaluation of a structural equation model linking the measures; and (c) a summary of qualitative responses to the possibility of separate programmes in women of colour studies.

Categorical Analyses of Primary Measures

Racial-group identification. A series of ANOVAs on the primary measures was conducted, where racial-group identification was treated as the between-subjects factor. Participants were classified as White, non-White, or non-identified (i.e., those who indicated that they did not belong to a racial group). A summary of these results is presented in Table 1, where it can be seen that self-identification was associated with all four primary measures. Given the a priori hypotheses, t tests were used to compare the mean responses of White and non-White women. The Tukey-Kramer procedure, which is appropriate for comparisons between groups with unequal ns, was employed to evaluate the significance of pairwise differences involving the non-identified respondents. White respondents scored significantly higher on the measure assessing race privilege than both non-White and non-identified respondents; the race-derived privilege indicated by non-White participants was substantially lower than for either of the other groups.[4]

As expected, White respondents were less aware of the intersection between race and gender than were non-White respondents. Women who were not identified with a racial group also were less aware of the race/gender intersection than non-White women, but they did not differ significantly from White respondents on this measure. Non-White participants perceived that women of colour are marginalized in current women's studies programmes to a greater extent than either White or non-identified respondents. Finally, non-White women had more favourable attitudes toward separate women of colour studies programmes than non-identified women, but did not differ significantly from White women.

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4 As Table 1 indicates, there is a heterogeneity of variance problem for the race privilege scores. The F_{max} statistic (maximum variance/minimum variance) in this case is equal to 8.51. As a cautionary measure, Keppel (1991) recommends using a more conservative alpha level. In the present case, however, this is not a problem given that $p < .001$.

TABLE 1
Analysis of Primary Measures by Racial Group Identification

Measure	Self-Identification			
	White	Non-White	Non-identified	F
Race privilege	33.68$_a$	14.14$_b$	28.05$_c$	60.37**
	(3.18)	(9.28)	(7.53)	
Race/gender intersection	35.00$_a$	39.79$_b$	31.10$_a$	6.69**
	(9.30)	(7.57)	(8.56)	
Women of colour marginalization	26.10$_a$	32.10$_b$	25.21$_a$	5.67**
	(7.80)	(9.41)	(6.87)	
Separate Women of Colour Studies	12.34$_{ab}$	14.52$_a$	11.43$_b$	4.45*
	(4.20)	(3.63)	(3.69)	

Note. Means that do not share a subscript differ significantly from each other at $p < .05$. Standard deviations are enclosed in parentheses.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Because women who did not identify with a racial group represented an ambiguous category in the context of these analyses, t tests were conducted to compare the responses of participants who indicated ethnic- or cultural-group membership to those who did not. Results indicated that women who did not indicate an ethnic- or cultural-group membership reported a higher level of race privilege ($M = 30.38$) than women who did ($M = 23.81$), $t(43) = 2.81$, $p < .01$ (two-tailed). These subcategories did not differ with respect to awareness of the race/gender intersection, perception of marginalization, or separatist attitude.

Gender-related ideology. A series of one-way ANOVAs was executed to assess the relationship between self-classified gender-related ideology (traditional/ non-traditional/feminist/womanist) on the primary measures. Significant effects were found for awareness of the race/gender intersection, $F(3,99) = 5.90$, $p < .001$, perception of marginalization, $F(3,99) = 3.80$, $p < .02$, and separatist attitudes, $F(3,99) = 4.47$, $p < .01$.[5] Race privilege did not differ reliably among the groups.

Pairwise comparisons using the Tukey-Kramer procedure ($\alpha = .05$) indicated that feminist ($M = 36.14$) and womanist ($M = 37.45$) respondents were more aware of the race/gender intersection than traditional ($M = 23.13$) respondents, whereas non-traditional women ($M = 32.29$) did not differ significantly from the other

groups. Women of colour were perceived to be marginalized by respondents who identified themselves as womanist ($M = 32.91$) to a greater extent than by those who were feminist ($M = 24.78$). Perceptions of marginalization by traditional ($M = 24.00$) and non-traditional ($M = 27.89$) women did not differ reliably from any other category. The notion of a separate programme in women of colour studies was endorsed by womanist ($M = 14.36$) participants to a greater extent than traditional ($M = 8.13$) or non-traditional ($M = 12.03$) women. Feminist women ($M = 12.76$) expressed a more separatist attitude than traditional women, but did not differ significantly from non-traditional or womanist respondents on this variable.

Causal Modelling Analysis

In order to examine the relationships among the measures, a structural equation model was tested using LISREL 7 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1989). This procedure permitted an assessment of the integrity of the measures, as well as an evaluation of the degree to which the observed relations among variables fit the hypothesized network of causal relationships. The 25 items were treated as observed indicators of latent constructs (the four primary variables) and the variance-covariance matrix of the items served as the input matrix. Because of missing data, the analysis was based on 101 women. One latent variable was treated as exogenous (race privilege) and the remaining three were considered endogenous (awareness of the race/gender intersection, perception of the marginalization of women of colour, and attitudes toward a separate women of colour studies). We hypothesized that race privilege would have a direct negative effect on both awareness of race/gender intersection and

5 Because of the large discrepancies between the sample sizes in these analyses, tests for heterogeneity of variance were conducted. Only the race/gender intersection scores presented a potential problem. Given the level of significance ($p < .001$) and the relatively minor extent of heterogeneity ($F_{max.} = 3.20$), however, the reliability of the results was not threatened.
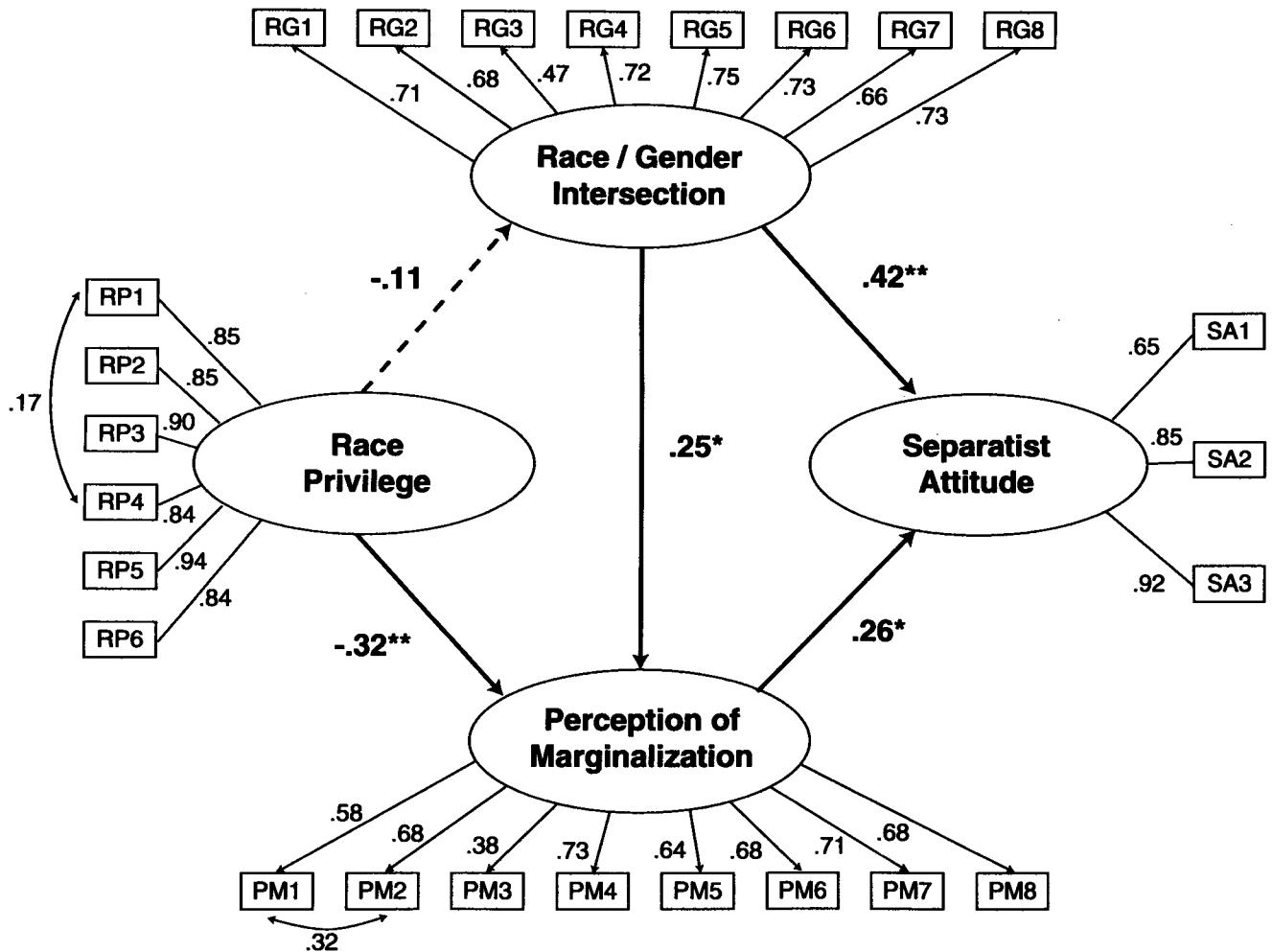
Figure 1. Final estimates for the measurement and structural equation models.

attitudes toward marginalization; in turn, it was predicted that these two variables would determine attitudes toward a programme in women of colour studies. We also hypothesized a causal link between awareness of race/gender intersection and attitudes toward the marginalization of women of colour. Thus, the model depicts awareness of race/gender intersection as both directly and indirectly linked to attitudes toward a women of colour studies programme.

The initial model yielded a χ^2 of 432.70 with 270 df ($p < .001$), with a goodness-of-fit index (GFI) of .76, an adjusted goodness-of-fit index (AGFI) of .71, and a root-mean-square residual of .20. Modification indices (employed on two successive models) suggested allowing for correlated measurement error between items 1 and 2 of the perception of marginalization scale and (secondly) between items 1 and 4 of the race privilege scale. Both of these correlations were significant. After these minor modifications, the fit of the final model was indicated by $\chi^2(268) = 375.39$, $p < .001$, with a GFI of .78 and an AGFI of

.73 (root-mean-square residual = .19). Although the significance of the χ^2 statistic suggests that the model does not completely account for the covariance matrix, Byrne (1989) suggests that if the ratio of χ^2 to degrees of freedom is less than 2.0, the model provides an adequate fit. The χ^2/df ratio of our final model was equal to 1.40. In addition, all remaining modification indices suggested a χ^2 change of 10.00 or less.

The final estimates for the measurement and structural models are presented in Figure 1. All items loaded significantly on the constructs they were assumed to reflect. It can be seen that all the hypothesized paths were significant, with the exception of the linkage between race privilege and awareness of the race/gender intersection.

Analysis of Qualitative Responses

In an open-ended written format, participants responded to the question, "What are your responses to the proposed creation of a Women of Colour Studies programme

TABLE 2
Responses to a Proposal for a Separate Programme in Women of Colour Studies

Theme	Frequency
Unfavourable responses	
Women of Colour Studies should be incorporated into existing Women Studies	23
A separate programme would reify further division among women and/or in society	21
The programme would exclude or alienate White women	18
Women's Studies should be broadened to included the experiences of all women	11
The programme may further marginalize Women of Colour	10
Favourable responses	
The programme would educate people about the experiences of Women of Colour	21
Women of Colour have not been fairly represented within existing Women's Studies	14
A programme is needed to properly address the specific issues/concerns of Women of Colour	11
The programme would give Coloured women a "voice"	8
The racial diversity at York warrants such a programme	7

here at York?." This question was answered by 96 participants. A number of themes that were easily categorized as either favourable or unfavourable responses to a separate programme are listed in Table 2. The unfavourable theme most frequently cited was that courses on women of colour should be incorporated into the existing women's studies programme, thus intimating that the primary objection was not to a focus on women of colour per se, but to the "segregation" of such a programme from existing women's studies. The second most frequently cited unfavourable theme was the belief that a separate programme would reify further divisions among women or in society. Some women also suggested that a women of colour studies programme would alienate or exclude White women. The three most frequently occurring favourable themes were the beliefs that a women of colour studies programme would educate people about the experiences of women of colour, that women of colour have not been fairly represented within existing women's studies programmes, and that a programme is needed to properly address the specific issues or concerns of women of colour.

DISCUSSION

Theory and research on women have typically focused on the explication of women's essential experience of gender, as if this social category was the single most important status characteristic shaping women's lives (Reid, 1993). While this focus has provided the foundation of feminist politics, its reliance on a single dimension of social identity risks marginalizing those women whose experiences are not described by a generic (implicitly White) model of womanhood. A new set of identity politics requires a revised conception of social identity that centres on the intersections of multiple category memberships such as race and gender (e.g., Spelman, 1988). This study examined responses to issues of identity politics in women's studies, with a particular focus on the awareness of the intersection of race and gender.

Race, Gender, and Identity in Women's Studies
Results indicated that subjective membership in a racial group defined unique positions with respect to several variables. For example, as predicted, women of colour were more aware of the influence of race in shaping their gender-related identities and experiences than White women, for whom the contribution of race is presumably less visible. The measure of race privilege also reliably differentiated between respondents; that is, White women indicated the most privilege, and non-White women the least. Non-White women, to a greater extent than either White or non-identified women, perceived that women of colour are marginalized in women's studies programmes. It is notable, however, that although non-White women had generally positive attitudes toward a separate women of colour studies programme (a mean response of 14.52 as compared to a maximum of 18.00), they did not differ significantly on this measure from White women.

Although each group is more heterogeneous than simple racial categorization implies, the cultural composition of the "non-identified" category (and the psychological significance of this non-identification) is particularly ambiguous. One result worth noting is that members of this category indicated greater race-derived privilege than women of colour, but significantly less than White women. Furthermore, within the non-identified category, women who indicated an ethnic- or cultural-group membership reported lower levels of race privilege than women who did not. This suggests that some members of cultural minorities, who did not identify with a racial group, perceived that their social groups were not well-represented in portrayals of women. On the other hand, non-identified women did not differ from White women on awareness of the race/gender intersection or attitudes toward the marginalization of women of colour in Women's Studies.

The responses of the relatively large non-identified group are intriguing and warrant further investigation.

For example, the similarity between the mean scores of this group and the White women suggests the likelihood the most of the former group were also White, but individuals for whom race carried little meaning in terms of self-definition. It is also possible, however, that some individuals chose not to identify themselves in terms of race, despite recognizing that others might categorize them as members of a particular racial group. This might reflect a resistance to being classified in racial terms by the researchers, or a remonstration against the general notion that racial categories are important human characteristics.

Although we lacked the statistical power necessary to assess relationships among the measures within self-identified racial categories, we tested a structural equation model for the entire sample. The model provided a good fit of the data, and, with one exception, the predicted causal links were consistent with the observed relationships. The results supported the prediction that awareness of the race/gender intersection leads both to a perception that women of colour are marginalized in existing programmes and to support for a separate programme in women of colour studies. The attitude toward marginalization also positively predicted separatist inclinations. Contrary to our hypothesis, the path linking race privilege to awareness of the race/gender intersection was not significant. The exogenous privilege variable did, however, negatively predict the perception of the marginalization of women of colour and thus was linked indirectly to separatist attitudes.

At this point, a number of caveats bear consideration. It should be emphasized that although the model was consistent with a pattern of hypothesized causal linkages between the variables, the results are correlational in nature and do not necessarily indicate cause-and-effect relationships. For example, a number of variables not included in the model could alter the obtained findings. The most obvious unexamined variable in the present context was that of racial identification. Thus, a shortcoming of this study is that we were unable to assess the validity of the model within different self-identified subgroups (e.g., White and non-White), for whom issues of identity politics may carry various meanings. For example, it is possible that awareness of the race/gender intersection is a more important determinant of subsequent attitudes for visible minority women than for White women. Similarly, with respect to gender-related ideology, women who identified themselves as feminist or womanist were most aware of the race/gender intersection, and womanist respondents were particularly likely to perceive that women of colour are marginalized in women's studies. The womanist category is itself worthy of future study, as it is unclear at present how it can be distinguished from a feminist self-categorization,

or how it was interpreted, given that it was chosen almost equally by non-White and White respondents.

Whereas it is unsurprising that the recognition of the marginalization of women of colour in women's studies is a significant attitudinal precursor of supporting a separate programme devoted to women of colour, the role of the race/gender intersection deserves further examination. In theories of intergroup relations (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979), social identity can be seen as a social-psychological mediator of attitudes toward social change. This relationship has been investigated in the context of feminist attitudes. Gurin and Markus (1989) found, for example, that the cognitive centrality of being a woman was positively associated with feminist political consciousness in non-traditional women. Social change strategies in connection with racial identity have received less attention, and future research might investigate how the development of racial identification relates to the awareness of the race/gender intersection and to subsequent political beliefs. For example, Watts (1992) found that respondents who were more Black-identified preferred collective responses to social change. Furthermore, intergroup theories must come to terms with multiple levels of social categorization and intersecting identities when predicting social change strategies.

Our results indicate that the intersection of race and gender is not merely a matter for theoretical grappling, but is instrumental in shaping attitudes (e.g., toward marginalization) and political motivations. Future work might address the *nature* of this intersection (e.g., Essed, 1994) and the ways that White women (and men) can be encouraged to recognize that their identity is coloured by racial-group membership. A focus on race-derived privilege would seem to be an effective route to this awareness (McIntosh, 1990), and it is noteworthy that our model provided support for this link. If White women and men can acknowledge their race-derived privilege, thus rendering their racial membership "visible," then they might also recognize the role of race in informing their identity and experience as women and men.

Responding to Identity Politics

The prevailing notion that gender and racial identity are discrete aspects of the self motivates additive (or subtractive) attempts to view them in combination (Smith & Stewart, 1983; Spelman, 1988). For example, the discrimination faced by Black women may be construed as a cumulative product of being Black and being a woman (i.e., the notion of "double jeopardy"). This same paradigm might encourage an "add-on" approach to the inclusion of women of colour in the women's studies curriculum (e.g., a "special topics" approach to the subject matter). Thus, seemingly well-intentioned attempts at inclusion can result in accommodative, rather

than transformative changes in the discipline (Sampson, 1993). On the other hand, the option of a separate programme in women of colour studies, while embodying the acknowledgement that women of colour are subject to a qualitatively different set of experiences, holds less potential for the transformation of the existing discipline. Moreover, as Carby (1987) has argued, an autonomous programme in women of colour studies is liable to fall "on the periphery of the already marginalized...a very precarious and dangerous position from which to assert total independence" (p. 11). Some of these issues were evident in the themes gleaned from the qualitative responses to the issue of a separate programme in women of colour studies. For example, while favourable responses centred on the remediation of the current lack of representation and voice of women of colour, common unfavourable themes focused on issues of division and exclusion.

One key to the resolution of the paradoxes of identity politics might lie in a re-conceptualization of personhood to reflect the complex contributions of social location to identity and experience. This requires the recognition that identity cannot be neatly divided into a "woman" part and a "White" (or "Black") part (Spelman, 1988) and a corresponding examination of implicit assumptions surrounding these categories. Finally, whereas this paper has dealt with issues specific to women's studies, we believe that they are illustrative of broader questions relating to social identities and social change. In psychology in particular, the waxing of identity politics will demand increasing attention to these issues in theory and research.

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APPENDIX

Primary Measures

Race privilege

1. I can open up most women's magazines and easily find images of women who share my race.

2. When I am told about women's history, I am usually shown that women of my race made it what it is.

3. When most feminist scholars use the term "we" in reference to women, I can be pretty sure that "we" includes women of my race.

4. I can turn on the television and see women of my race widely represented.

5. I can feel confident that most women's organizations will represent the particular interests of women who share my race.

6. I can easily find women of my race widely represented in most women's anthologies.

Awareness of race/gender intersection

1. My present perspective as a woman would not be the same, had I been born of a different race.

2. My race has no significant influence on my experience as a woman.

3. Your personal outlook as a woman will vary depending upon your race.

4. My race affects the way in which I think about being a woman.

5. My perspective as a woman is not shaped by my race.

6. My race informs my perceptions about being a woman.

7. My race does not affect the extent to which sexism is an oppressive force in my life as a woman.

8. My race is not a factor that affects my life as a woman.

Attitude toward the marginalization of coloured women

1. The perspectives of women of Colour are often introduced as an important part of the core knowledge covered in Women's Studies courses.

2. Issues affecting women of Colour are effectively incorporated into Women's Studies.

3. In Women's Studies, the experiences of women of Colour are often portrayed simply as a variation to an assumed white female norm.

4. The perspectives of women of Colour are usually included in Women's studies courses.

5. In Women's Studies courses, issues of race and racism are often marginalized.

6. Women's Studies sufficiently satisfies its mandate for

multi-racial inclusion.

7. Women's Studies does not begin to adequately address how issues of race and racism affect the lives of women.

8. The analytical framework of Women's Studies often alienates the perspectives of women of Colour.

Attitude toward separate Women of Colour Studies programmes

1. A programme in Women of Colour Studies that exists separately from current Women's Studies would be valuable for critically examining women's lives.

2. I believe that a separate Women of Colour Studies programme should be created at York.

3. Programmes in Women of Colour Studies that are separate from current Women's Studies should be developed at large Canadian universities.