UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DA PARAÍBA
CENTRO DE CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS, LETRAS E ARTES
DEPARTAMENTO DE PSICOLOGIA
PROGRAMA DE PÓS-GRADUAÇÃO EM PSICOLOGIA SOCIAL

ANA KAROLYNE FLORENCIO AMORIM

CHANGING THE RULES OF THE GAME: THE ROLE OF DISCRIMINATION, INTERSECTIONALITY AND SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION IN BLACK WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION

JOÃO PESSOA
MARÇO 2024

ANA KAROLYNE FLORENCIO AMORIM

CHANGING THE RULES OF THE GAME: THE ROLE OF DISCRIMINATION, INTERSECTIONALITY AND SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION IN BLACK WOMEN'S COLLECTIVE ACTION

Tese apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Social (PPGPS/UFPB), como requisito para obtenção do título de Doutora.

Orientador: Prof. Dr. Cicero Roberto Pereira.

JOÃO PESSOA
MARÇO 2024

Universidade Federal da Paraíba
Centro de Ciências Humanas Letras e Artes
Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Social

ATA DE DEFESA DE TESE

Aos vinte e oito dias do mês de março de dois mil e vinte e quatro, de modo remoto pelo Google Meet, reuniram-se em solenidade pública os membros da comissão designada pelo Colegiado do Programa de Pós-graduação em Psicologia Social (CCHLA/UFPB), para a defesa de Tese da aluna **ANA KAROLYNE FLORENCIO AMORIM**– mat. 20201014170 (orientanda, UFPB, CPF: 101.696.904-07). Foram componentes da banca examinadora: Prof. Dr. **CICERO ROBERTO PEREIRA** (UFPB, Orientador, CPF: 982.070.754-49), Prof.[a] Dr.[a] **ANA RAQUEL ROSAS TORRES** (UFPB, Membro Interno ao Programa, CPF: 267.442.364-15), Prof.[a] Dr.[a] **DALILA XAVIER DE FRANCA** (UFS, Membro Externo à Instituição, CPF: 424.940.284-34), Prof.[a] Dr.[a] **LUANA ELAYNE CUNHA DE SOUZA** (UNICEUB, Membro Externo à Instituição, CPF: 069.209.384-21) e Prof.[a] Dr.[a] **TÁTILA RAYANE DE SAMPAIO BRITO** (UnB, Membro Externo à Instituição, CPF: 048.392.603-54). Na cerimônia compareceram, além da examinada, alunos de pós-graduação, representantes dos corpos docente e discente da Universidade Federal da Paraíba e interessados em geral. Dando início aos trabalhos, o presidente da banca, Prof. Dr. **CICERO ROBERTO PEREIRA**, após declarar o objetivo da reunião, apresentou a examinada **ANA KAROLYNE FLORENCIO AMORIM** e, em seguida, concedeu-lhe a palavra para que discorresse sobre seu trabalho, intitulado: **"MUDANDO AS REGRAS DO JOGO: O PAPEL DA DISCRIMINAÇÃO, INTERSECCIONALIDADE E JUSTIFICAÇÃO DO SISTEMA NA AÇÃO COLETIVA DE MULHERES NEGRAS"**. Passando então ao aludido tema, a aluna foi, em seguida, arguida pelos examinadores na forma regimental. Ato contínuo, passou a comissão, em secreto, a proceder a avaliação e julgamento do trabalho, concluindo por atribuir-lhe o conceito de **"APROVADO"**, o qual foi proclamado pelo presidente da banca, logo que retornou ao recinto da solenidade pública. Nada mais havendo a tratar, eu, Júlio Rique Neto, Coordenador do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Social da UFPB, lavrei a presente ata, que depois de lida e aprovada por todos assino juntamente com os membros da banca. João Pessoa, 28 de março de 2024.

_____
Prof. Dr. **CICERO ROBERTO PEREIRA**

_____
Prof.[a] Dr.[a] **LUANA ELAYNE CUNHA DE SOUZA**

_____
Prof.[a] Dr.[a] **ANA RAQUEL ROSAS TORRES**

_____
Prof.[a] Dr.[a] **TÁTILA RAYANE DE SAMPAIO BRITO**

_____
Prof.[a] Dr.[a] **DALILA XAVIER DE FRANCA**

_____
Prof. Dr. **JULIO RIQUE NETO**
Coordenador do PPGPS

*"No level of individual self-actualization alone can sustain the marginalized and oppressed.
We must be linked to collective struggle, to communities of resistance that move us outward,
into the world."*
— *bell hooks*

Agradecimentos

Essa tese é dedicada à minha mãe, que foi meu primeiro exemplo do que é ser uma mulher

negra no Brasil e a todas as outras que precisaram encontrar meios de resistir.

Resumo

A ação coletiva das minorias é um fenômeno amplamente estudado na Psicologia Social. Fatores como ser vítima de discriminação, identificação grupal e justificação do sistema podem ser utilizados para compreender este fenômeno. Com base numa longa tradição de investigação em Psicologia Social sobre a resposta dos grupos desfavorecidos à discriminação social que enfrentam, examinamos as condições sob as quais as mulheres e as mulheres negras respondem à discriminação de gênero através do envolvimento em ações coletivas que desafiam a desigualdade de gênero e aquelas que motivam ações conservadoras, ações coletivas baseadas no status quo. Postulamos a hipótese principal de que as mulheres discriminadas se envolvem em ações coletivas para a mudança social (em oposição à ação conservadora) em função das diferenças de gênero individuais do endogrupo e criticando a hierarquia do sistema de gênero. Testamos essa hipótese em cinco estudos experimentais, resumidos em três artigos empíricos. No primeiro artigo analisamos a identificação intragrupal como fator moderador na relação entre discriminação e ação coletiva. Os resultados mostraram que a mera relevância da discriminação não foi suficiente para a ação coletiva (Estudo 1, N = 147). No Estudo 2 (N = 214), analisamos o papel moderador combinado da identificação do grupo e da justificação do sistema na ação coletiva e confirmamos que a influência da saliência da discriminação no envolvimento das mulheres na ação coletiva para a igualdade de gênero foi moderada pela identificação do grupo e pela justificação do sistema. No Estudo 3 (N = 205), focamos no conteúdo identitário e na justificação do sistema como moderadores da influência da discriminação na ação coletiva. Como previmos, as participantes na condição de discriminação indicaram uma maior intenção de se envolverem em ações coletivas pela igualdade, mas isto só ocorreu entre mulheres com elevada identificação de grupo e baixa justificação do sistema. No segundo artigo, conduzimos uma investigação experimental (Estudo 4, N=198) para abordar se a identidade racial e de gênero e a justificação do sistema desempenham um papel na ação coletiva das mulheres negras para reduzir as desigualdades sociais e na ação coletiva conservadora num contexto de discriminação interseccional racial e sexista. Os resultados mostraram que as mulheres negras em situação de discriminação racial eram mais propensas a pretender tomar medidas coletivas para reduzir as desigualdades sociais quando criticavam o sistema, e esse efeito também ocorreu entre as mulheres que mantêm baixa identificação de gênero. As mulheres negras com menor identificação racial eram mais propensas a responder à ação coletiva conservadora, e este efeito também ocorreu entre as mulheres com baixa justificação do sistema. No terceiro artigo (Estudo 5, N = 240), confirmamos que a ação coletiva das mulheres negras é causada pela discriminação real em situações de sexismo e racismo/sexismo, pela sua elevada satisfação com a identificação do grupo e pela baixa justificação do sistema. Resumindo, o padrão de resultados apoia a nossa hipótese principal de que as mulheres respondem com mais envolvimento na ação coletiva para promover a igualdade de gênero, condicionada às diferenças individuais na identificação do grupo e à sua motivação para justificar o sistema. Além disso, a mera relevância da discriminação interseccional contra as mulheres negras não é suficiente para motivá-las a tomar medidas coletivas em prol da igualdade ou para preservar o sistema. No entanto, a discriminação real de que foram vítimas tem um impacto direto na ação coletiva, em linha com as suas diferenças individuais em termos de identificação racial e de gênero e com a sua crítica às hierarquias do sistema.

Palavras- chave: ação coletiva, gênero, identidade social, justificação do sistema, discriminação.

Abstract

The collective action of minorities is a widely studied phenomenon in social psychology. Factors such as being a victim of discrimination, group identity and system justification can be used to understand this phenomenon. Drawing on a long tradition of social psychological research on the response of disadvantaged groups to societal discrimination they face, we examined the conditions under which women and Black women respond to gender discrimination by engaging in collective actions that challenge gender inequality and those that motivate conservative, status-based collective actions. We posited the main hypothesis that discriminated women engage in collective action for social change (as opposed to conservative action) as a function of individual differences in ingroup gender and criticizing the gender hierarchy of the system's gender. We tested this hypothesis in five experimental studies, which are summarized in three empirical articles. In the first article, we analyzed ingroup identification as a moderating factor in the relationship between discrimination and collective action. The results showed that the mere salience of discrimination was not sufficient for collective action (Study 1, N = 147). In Study 2 (N = 214), we analyzed the combined moderating role of ingroup identification and system justification in collective action and confirmed that the influence of discrimination salience on women's engagement in collective action for gender equality was moderated by group identification and system justification. In Study 3 (N = 205), we focused on identity content and system justification as moderators of the influence of discrimination on collective action. As we predicted, participants in the discrimination condition indicated a greater intention to engage in collective action for equality, but this only occurred among women high in group identification and low in system justification. In the second article, we conducted an experimental investigation (Study 4, N=198) to address the question of whether gender and racial identity and system justification play a role in Black women's collective action to reduce social inequalities and conservative collective action in a context of intersectional racial and sexist discrimination. The results showed that Black women in a situation of racial discrimination were more likely to intend to take collective action to reduce social inequalities when they were critical of the system, and this effect also occurred among women who maintain low gender identification. Black women who have lower racial identification were more likely to respond to conservative collective action, and this effect also occurred among women with low system justification. In the third article (Study 5, N = 240), we confirmed that Black women's collective action is caused by actual discrimination in situations of sexism and racism/sexism, their high satisfaction with group identification, and low system justification. To summarize, the pattern of results supports our main hypothesis that women respond with more engagement in collective action to promote gender equality, conditional on individual differences in group identification and their motivation to justify the system. Furthermore, the mere salience of intersectional discrimination against Black women is not enough to motivate them to take collective action for equality or to preserve the system. However, the actual discrimination they have been victimized by has a direct impact on collective action, in line with their individual differences in gender and racial identification and their critique of system hierarchies.

Keywords: collective action, gender, social identity, system justification, discrimination.

Introduction

On March 14, 2018, Marielle Franco, a sociologist, and city councilor from Rio de Janeiro, was murdered with four shots to the head along with her driver Anderson Pedro Gomes. This news mobilized Brazilian society, especially black women's movements, which demanded an effective response to bring justice for violence against women. Marielle Franco openly declared her identity: a black woman, single mother and bisexual. Her self-affirmation helped mobilize collective action to fight the injustices faced by the black population and women. Similar to her, many women use their multiple social identities to fight against social inequalities. This shows how awareness of social injustices, recognition of belonging and identification with groups that are disadvantaged by the system can influence collective action aimed at changing what is perceived as an illegitimate social reality. The psychosocial factors that determine the direction of change, whether to promote equality or to preserve injustice, remain an open question. For example, while some women, such as Marielle Franco, question the system responsible for social hierarchies and consciously act to reduce inequalities, other black women act as if they do not feel the need to change the status quo, as if the social hierarchy is just and legitimate. In this context, a first question arises: what role do identity factors play in motivating black women to engage in collective action when they realize that they are being discriminated against? This reveals a potential conflict between factors that aim for equality and those that support the maintenance of social hierarchies.

An initial theoretical approach to this question comes from theories of social psychology, particularly social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994). In general, these theories suggest that minority collective action is related to three key factors: the perception that the social group to which they belong is a victim of injustice (e.g., Jetten et al., 2001; DeBlaere et al., 2014); the degree of identification with their ingroup (Becker & Wagner, 2009; De Weerd, 1999; Kawakami &

Dion, 1993); and the perception of the legitimacy of social hierarchies (Osborne et al., 2019; Jost et al., 2017). Most studies have focused on analyzing each of these factors to motivate individuals' involvement in collective action (for a review, see Beck & Taush, 2015), leaving open the question of how the three factors are interrelated in this process (van Zomeren et al., 2018). We believe that focusing on the interaction between these three factors can significantly contribute to a better understanding of collective mobilizations aimed at changing or maintaining the social landscape, especially among Black women.

In this dissertation, we seek to understand how Black women react when the fact that they are discriminated against as Black women is highlighted. Is the awareness of being victims of discrimination enough to mobilize collective action to promote racial and gender equality? What role do group identity and the legitimacy of the system play in this mobilization? Our thesis is that awareness of being discriminated against as a Black woman is not enough to mobilize them to engage in collective action for social change. We propose that this engagement depends on a complex interplay between group identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Willey & Bikmen, 2012) and the motivation to justify the system as just, legitimate, and necessary (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Specifically, our central hypothesis is that racist and sexist discrimination motivates Black women to act collectively when they strongly identify with their group and do not legitimize the status quo. This hypothesis draws on social identity theory, previous studies on the salience of discrimination, and of system justification theory. We review previous studies that emphasize the importance of each of these factors in motivating minority group members to engage in actions that maintain or preserve the status quo. We also address the role of skin color and gender in Black women's mobilization.

Social Identity Theory: The Importance of Defining Oneself as a Group

As humans, we have a need to understand our social reality, and we do this by organizing the information we receive about that reality. For example, we categorize this

information with "labels"," i.e. names that we give to social groups, and thus give meaning to social reality as if there were reified and fundamentally different entities: our own group and the groups of others. These social categorizations constitute a self-reference system for the individual in which they create and define the place that each occupies in society (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This place arises from the results of the comparison process that we carry out between our abilities and opinions and those of others within our group (Festinger, 1954) and between our group and other people's groups (Tajfel, 1981). These are the characteristics of social comparison. Categorizing and comparing are the two fundamental processes for locating ourselves in the world and understanding the meaning and consequences of our social identity (Camino & Torres, 2013).

In this sense, Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) proposes that people define their social identity based on the recognition of belonging to a group and the affective charge of this belonging, an identity that serves as a reference for the formation of the self-concept, which is evaluated positively according to the social value of the ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), that is, how much the group to which we belong is valued more or less by society compared to other groups. The theory also predicts that people are motivated to promote a positive social identity that leads them to act in ways that positively differentiate their group from other groups. This implies actions that increase the distance between the ingroup and outgroups on a dimension of socially valued hierarchical social comparison (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, what happens if the social identity is not satisfactory? That is, when the results of the social comparison process show that the ingroup occupies a lower position compared to a relevant outgroup.

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), members of socially devalued groups actively try to maintain their positive self-concept by using at least one of three strategies: a) They try to leave the group when intergroup boundaries are permeable and allow for social mobility

(e.g., social promotion and advancement), (e.g., social advancement and "crossing over" into the affluent group); b) they can attempt to positively differentiate themselves from the ingroup by redefining or changing elements of the intergroup comparative situation in a process known as social creativity (e.g. by comparing their group with a less advantaged group: "They are poorer than us"); and c) they can act to reverse the social position of the group by changing the social reality through involvement in collective action (e.g. collective struggle for better salaries and equalization of group status). The nature of people's actions depends on a complex interplay between their perception of the social system and the historical-political characteristics of the context in which they were socialized (Tajfel, 1981). From this interplay, the theory has derived three types of behavioral patterns that members of socially disadvantaged groups exhibit: social mobility, social creativity, and social change.

These perceptions are located on a continuum of social beliefs: the social mobility belief system, which consists of the perception that the boundaries between comparison groups are malleable and can be easily crossed (Jackson et al., 1996); and the social change belief system, where group boundaries are stratified and there is no possibility of changing groups (Jetten et al., 2013). In the first belief system, individuals can act individually and change groups (strategy a). In the example of black women, they can undergo a process called "whitening" (Ribeiro, 2017) by adopting physical characteristics of white women (e.g. "straightening" their hair). In the second belief system, the behavior takes place at the group level (Tajfel, 1983; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Again, using the example of black women: They would stand up for the collective (strategy c). The first belief system thus leads to disidentification with the ingroup. On the other hand, collective action is a group-based action based on the belief that the status quo is not legitimate and the power relations between groups are illegitimate.

It is worth noting that Blanz et al. (1998) have formulated a complementary taxonomy in the context of dealing with an unsatisfactory social identity, which examines how individuals deal with negative social identities. In this framework, individuals can change their parameters for social comparison by comparing themselves to either the ingroup or the outgroup, and these changes can manifest themselves in behavior or cognition. For example, in the context of coping with a negative social identity, an individual might adopt a behavioral response by engaging in social or realistic competition with the goal of bringing about a change in the status of group relations. However, the feasibility of such behavioral or cognitive adjustments also depends on whether the individual sees the possibility of changing the parameters of group comparison (for a comprehensive review, see Blanz et al., 1998).

In the context of this thesis, we will focus on the strategies formulated by Tajfel (1983) - namely social mobility, social creativity and social change - and examine their interrelationship with the taxonomy developed by the authors mentioned above.

Strategies of Social Mobility

Social mobility consists of an individual strategy of leaving the former group or distancing oneself from it. This often implies upward social mobility, where one attempts to move from a lower status group to a higher status group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Previous studies show that this strategy is favored when the boundaries between groups are perceived as flexible (Wright et al., 1990) or when there is an opportunity to psychologically distance oneself from the disadvantaged ingroup (Jackson et al., 1996). Thus, social mobility may be related to the fact that when it is unsatisfying to participate in a socially devalued group, which reduces the affective burden of identifying with ingroup members, individuals attempt to gain access to groups with higher social value that they perceive as more attractive (Ellemers et al., 2002). Indeed, Jackson et al. (1996) have already shown that individuals perceive themselves as less similar to their group when there is significantly negative

information than when there is no such information, leading to subjective social mobility. Other studies have shown how important the perception that group boundaries are permeable is for social mobility (Ellemers et al., 1988; Wright et al., 1990).

Given this panorama, Blanz et al. (1998) identified this type of identity management as behavioral and involving the possibility of changing in-group comparison, leading to group switching. In this sense, social mobility strategies differ from social creativity strategies, as the former are associated with a type of behavioral response, whereas the latter are associated with a type of cognitive response.

Strategies of Social Creativity

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), social creativity goes beyond individual mobility strategies towards higher valued groups, as it involves a subjective redefinition of relevant aspects on the basis of which the ingroup and outgroup are compared. In this sense, it involves a reformulation of intergroup comparison and can be done in three ways: a) comparing the ingroup with the outgroup in a new dimension (e.g. "we are poor, but we are happy" (Bezouw et al., 2020); b) reinterpreting attributes previously ascribed negatively to the group into positive attributes (e.g., "Black is beautiful"); and c) avoiding the use of a high-status group as a comparative reference (e.g., "we are poor, but they are poorer than us" (Bezouw et al., 2020)).

Several studies demonstrate the occurrence of the effects of these strategies. For example, Becker (2012) has shown that members of socially devalued groups (women, immigrants or unemployed) participate less in collective action when using the three strategies of social creativity proposed by Tajfel and Turner (1979). Derks et al. (2007) have shown how social creativity can enhance group well-being and task performance by valorizing the positive attributes of the group. Owuamalan et al. (2017) also observed that emphasizing positive traits of women in one dimension (social creativity strategy) can lead to

better self-esteem of these women. In summary, social creativity can have a positive effect on intragroup well-being, but it can also be "harmful" if it obscures the need for collective action in favor of the group, with social creativity being an alternative to maintaining social stability (van Bezouw et al., 2020).

For the purposes of this thesis, we emphasize strategies of social change because we assume that Black women's group boundaries are not malleable and we are interested in understanding how they engage in collective action.

Strategies of Social Change

Strategies for social change are closely related to collective action. Collective action, in turn, is defined as any action by individuals as members of a group that prioritizes the collective (Weerd & Klandemans, 1999). There is an extensive literature on this construct, which shows that collective action is associated with a certain degree of group identification (Simon et al., 2008; Weerd & Klandermans, 1999; Kawakami & Dion, 1993). In this case, group identity becomes one of the determinants of collective action and helps individuals to manage their social identity. There are several theories or models in SIT literature that explain collective action and show its relationship to social identity.

The Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2008) proposes that social identity serves as a bridge between the group's perception of injustice and and group efficacy. This SIT-based premise states that a strengthened social identity increases the perception of injustice suffered by the group as well as the belief in the success of collective action (group efficacy). This model was confirmed in a meta-analysis conducted by van Zomeren et al. (2008) with 182 effects of the perception of injustice, effectiveness and identity in collective action. The results of this meta-analysis showed that affective injustice, i.e. the perception of injustice associated with emotions such as anger, and a politicized identity (e.g. participation in social movements) have a greater influence on collective action.

The authors also found evidence that identity predicts collective action in situations of structural disadvantage, such as disadvantage for the most persistent groups and incidental disadvantage. To summarize, the model suggests that groups are more likely to take collective action for social change when they perceive some injustice, identify with their group, and believe that collective action will be effective (group efficacy).

Another theory that aims to explain the collective response of groups is the theory of relative deprivation (Runciman, 1966). This theory assumes that individuals recognize inequalities in comparison to other individuals or groups and have the expectation that there are ways to achieve the desired equality. Thus, group members may experience a sense of symbolic inequality compared to the outgroup. Taking this sense of inequality into account, individuals are more likely to engage in social movements aimed at social change to restore intergroup equality, and identification with the group may play an important role in this process. In this vein, studies such as that of Kawakami and Dion (1993) have shown that minority group identity activation, along with perceptions of intergroup inequality, influences engagement in collective action and evokes feelings of relative disadvantage in the group context. In contrast, when activation occurs in personal identity rather than group identity and perceptions of inequality occur within the group, feelings of personal relative disadvantage emerge, leading to a lower propensity to engage in collective action.

In summary, the literature on collective action has emphasized the importance of group identity for collective action and the perception of intergroup context that includes perceptions of injustice or relative disadvantage. In the next section, we will discuss how discrimination are related to collective action.

Awareness of Discrimination and Collective Action

As already mentioned, collective action does not take place in a social vacuum, and it is important that individuals identify with their group and are aware that they will be

discriminated against as members of that group. For minorities, various situations can be perceived as discriminatory and marginalizing. For example, when a male applicant is given preference over a female applicant in a job advertisement due to stereotypes associated with motherhood. This is a form of discrimination that aims to exclude the minority at the expense of the majority (Jetten et al., 2013). But how can a woman who is discriminated against become aware of this exclusion and engage in collective action?

According to Jetten et al. (2013), a minority group will characterize a situation as discrimination if a) there is a perception that the exclusion is a consequence of their group membership (e.g., a woman is not hired because she is a woman); b) there is no plausible justification for the discrimination and group membership (e.g., it makes no sense not to select women just because they are women). Therefore, members of the minority must understand that the discrimination is based on their group and has no legitimate reason for its effects. This will make them realize that the discrimination they face is unjust. For this to happen, it is important that there is a perception that the discrimination is unjustified so that the group can respond to social change. This perception arises when discrimination is persistent and affects different areas of minorities' lives; when there is no opportunity for individual social mobility; when there is a belief that the status quo can be changed (Jetten et al., 2013).

Some studies provide evidence of the need for these measures. For example, Jetten et al. (2011) manipulated the persistence of discrimination through a text describing that discrimination against women is common and affects many areas of their lives. In the rare discrimination condition, the text stated that women currently suffer little discrimination. The legitimacy of gender discrimination was manipulated by false feedback from women from 10 different organizations. These false feedbacks were consistent with the legitimacy of discrimination (example: "It is not right for women to hold high management positions

because they have children") or illegitimacy (example: "It is not right for women to be excluded from high management positions just because they have children"). The results showed that women were less willing to take collective action in situations where discrimination was legitimized.

In another study by Hersby et al. (2011), which aimed to investigate whether women would combat gender discrimination through mentoring with collective change goals, of discrimination were manipulated with statistics on gender discrimination that repeatedly affected women (persistent discrimination condition) or that did not affect them often (infrequent discrimination condition). The legitimacy of discrimination was manipulated by presenting participants with a commentary from women who worked in different organizations about women not having the same opportunities as men. In these comments, the women stated that the discrimination was legitimate and understandable (legitimacy condition) or illegitimate and unfair (illegitimacy condition). The results showed that women in the illegitimate discrimination condition showed an intention to participate in collective mentoring when the discrimination was perceived to be persistent, compared to the condition when it was rare. In the condition of legitimate discrimination, the persistence of discrimination had no influence on engagement in mentoring. It follows from these results that women only engage in collective action when discrimination is perceived as persistent and unlawful. The perception of the legitimacy or illegitimacy of discrimination is crucial for collective action. This is related to the premises of SIT, which predict that action strategies related to social identity depend on the context of the perception of the legitimacy of the system or not (Jost et al., 2017).

System Justification and Collective Action

As discussed in the previous section, minority groups must perceive the discrimination they face is illegitimate to engage in collective action. In other words, the

degree to which minorities participate in collective action depends on their contextual

perceptions (for a review, see Jetten et al., 2013). This could explain why some groups

tolerate social injustice even in situations of inequality and do not fight for social change. Jost

et al. (2017) discuss how ideology plays an important role in making disadvantaged groups

conform, explain, justify and rationalize inequality as if they deserve it. In this sense, they

argue that ideologies of system justification serve people to justify things as they are and to

see them as fair and legitimate as well as natural and inevitable. The belief in legitimacy

therefore leads to the rationalization of the status quo and the internalization of inequality.

For this reason, minorities who see legitimacy in the system tend not to participate in

collective struggles.

In the context of collective action, the System Justification Model (Jost et al., 2017;

Osborne et al., 2019) predicts that people are motivated to justify the status quo for epistemic

(desire for structure and control), existential (desire for security) and relational (desire to

belong to others) reasons, and that this often occurs among members of socially

disadvantaged groups. In this case, it is predicted that the more these people are motivated to

justify their social disadvantage, the less willing they would be to engage in collective action

for social change and the more they would support "conservative" collective action. For

example, Osborne et al. (2019) have shown in a series of studies that perceptions of injustice,

group identification and "progressive" collective action are positively correlated in low-status

groups, as these groups may have a greater motivation to change the status quo. In addition,

system justification is negatively correlated with collective action aimed at change.

System justification has been examined in the context of gender to explain that some

women feel the need to justify the gender system due to epistemic motivations, such as

believing that the system is stable (Howard et al., 2022). In this sense, women may perceive

lower levels of gender discrimination as it relates to the need for stability and self-control in

their lives (Howard et al., 2022). This may explain how system justification can undermine women's collective actions as it can reduce the perception of the need for change. In this regard, Becker and Wright (2011) sought to understand the influence of hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, system justification, and perceptions of the benefits of being a woman on women's collective action. The results showed that women who were exposed to benevolent sexism increased justification of the system and the belief that women have advantages over men, resulting in less collective action compared to women in a control situation. The opposite was true when women were exposed to hostile sexism. This decreased system justification and increased awareness of being discriminated against as a woman, leading to more collective action. These findings demonstrate how system justification can affect women's collective action by placating perceptions of the impact that discrimination can have on their lives.

Although there is evidence of a relationship between system justification and women's collective action (Radke et al., 2016; Becker and Wright, 2011), little attention has been paid to the need to synthesize empirical evidence on this topic into a model that links awareness of gender discrimination, group identification, and system justification in Black women's collective action.

Social identity, intersectionality, and collective action

According to Willey and Bikmen (2012), social identity and intersectionality are concepts that aim to explain the effects of social categories on the behavior of individuals. They require people to recognize the diversity of oppression and privilege associated with them by creating an identity that corresponds to the intersection of these categories. Intersectionality, then, is the complex combination of privilege and disadvantage that encompasses the multiple social categories to which individuals belong (Willey & Bikmen, 2012).

This term was coined to explain the differential experiences between Black women and white women who, even when discriminated against, retain privilege, leading to differential experiences of discrimination between these groups (Willey & Bikmen, 2012; Davis, 2016). The weight of social categories also plays a role in these different experiences. When it comes to women, the representative category is the white woman (Cole, 2009). When it comes to Black people, the representative category may be Black men (Willey & Bikmen, 2012). This leads to a "symbolic" invisibility of Black women, resulting in greater experienced inequality (Goes & Nascimento, 2013; Lourenço, 2023).

This symbolic invisibility is perceived when considering the gap in social psychology in terms of experimental studies that emphasize the role of perceptions of this "compounded" discrimination in Black women's collective action and how their multiple social categories and perceptions of the legitimacy of the system affect this collective action. Studies of gendered collective action usually do not consider the complexity of identities and focus on women as a category without distinctions (Greenwood, 2008). For example, in a recent study of gendered collective action, Scheifele et al. (2021) acknowledged the gap in understanding social identity management strategies, including collective action in a gendered context, but the lack of positional characterization of women in the study (e.g., no representation of skin color of female participants) suggests a generalization of the category "woman". Understanding these particularities is necessary because experiences of discrimination, and consequently collective action, differ between Black and White women (Willey & Bikmen, 2012).

When we refer to studies on the effects of discrimination on mobilization for collective action among Black women, we observe models that focus only on the subjective experience of discrimination among Black women (Remedios, et al., 2020), or that observe the impact of collective action on the well-being of these women (DeBlaere et al., 2014;

Szymanski, 2016). To our knowledge, Curtin's (2015) study is unique in that it provides a more comprehensive overview of the role of Black women's intersectional consciousness in collective action participation. Intersectional consciousness refers to the recognition of multiple identities in the face of discrimination, as opposed to a singular consciousness that considers only one aspect of identity (Greenwood, 2008). In this study, the authors examined first correlationally and then longitudinally the relationship between intersectional consciousness and variables of status quo acceptance (system justification and social dominance), personality traits, pro-social attitudes (promoting diversity and wanting to end prejudice), and collective action attitudes. The results of the correlational studies showed a negative relationship between intersectional awareness and justification of the status quo and support for inequality, and a positive relationship between this awareness and collective action. In a longitudinal study, data were collected at the beginning and end of a semester at a college in the United States. The results showed an impact of intersectional awareness on pro-social attitudes and an activist orientation (collective action). However, these intentions did not change over time. Although these studies look at Black women's identity from an intersectional perspective, they do not address the impact of awareness of being discriminated against on women's intentions to engage in collective action.

In this sense, we focus on the awareness of discrimination among Black women and its impact on collective action. We propose a model in which this awareness influences collective action, and this influence is moderated by individual difference in identification of these women as women and the perception of the legitimacy of the system. Thus, we relate social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the collective action model (van Zomeren et al., 2008) in an intersectional perspective (Willey & Bikmen, 2012) and system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994), taking into account the double discrimination and double identity of Black women. With this in mind, this paper explores the following questions:

What specific roles do group identification and system justification play in the influence of discrimination consciousness (racist and sexist) on Black women's intention to engage in collective action? We hypothesize that discrimination consciousness influences collective action, such that this consciousness will make Black women more likely to engage in collective action; this influence is moderated by group identification and system justification, such that greater group identification and lower system justification lead to a greater propensity to engage in collective action; double discrimination leads to greater collective action to reduce social inequalities among Black women who have intersectional group identification and lower perceptions of system legitimacy.

To test our hypotheses, we developed five studies, which are summarized in three articles. In Article 1, we present how awareness of discrimination influences collective action and explored the moderating role of group identification and system justification. In Article 2, we seek to understand the role of racial and sexist consciousness in collective action to reduce social inequalities and in collective action. We also aim to observe how socio-positional variables such as religion and participation in social movements influence both Black women's collective actions. In Article 3, we manipulate awareness of racial and sexist discrimination using the Bimboola paradigm (Jetten et al., 2015; Sánchez-Rodríguez et al., 2019) and measure Black women's levels of system justification and group identification to understand their impact on the two forms of collective action from Article 2. Finally, the general discussion of the paper articulates the findings of all studies.

ARTIGO 1

From Gender Discrimination to Collective Action: The Moderating Role of Gender Identification and System Justification

Abstract

Women can respond to the discrimination they fall victim to by acting collectively when they value their gender identity and perceive the system that hierarchizes gender relations as illegitimate. We conducted three experimental studies to test the hypothesis that women act collectively as a function of their gender identification and individual differences in system justification. In Study 1 (N = 147), we analyzed women's gender identification as a moderating factor in the relationship between gender-based discrimination and collective action. The results showed that the mere salience of being discriminated may not be sufficient for collective action, even among women who have a stronger gender-based social identity. In Studies 2 (N = 214) and 3 (N = 205), we examined the moderating role of women's gender identification and system justification in collective action in response to experimentally manipulated discrimination salience. Results showed that participants reported more collective action in the discrimination condition (compared to the control condition), but this was only the case for women high in gender identification and low in system justification. Overall, the results are consistent with our prediction that not all women respond to gender discrimination of which they are victims. It is a more complex response that depends on the combination of two very difficult factors: Women who are critical of the societal system in which they live and at the same time have a strong sense of gendered social identity.

Keywords: social   identity,   collective   action,   gender,   system   justification.

From Gender Discrimination to Collective Action: The Moderating Role of

Gender Identification and System Justification

Women have been recognized as a minority group experiencing social inequality in

relation to men (International Labour Organization, 2023). According to the World Economic

Forum report (2022), only five countries are close to achieving equal pay for men and women

in the same roles. This implies that women are objectively discriminated against in the

economic domain, as well as in other organizing dimensions of social life (Swim et al.,

2001). Recognizing this discrimination can be one of the preconditions for mobilizing and

acting on behalf of their group. Recognizing the experience of being a victim of

discrimination is a process that can motivate a group-based identification response to promote

positive self-evaluation, even in socially disadvantaged situations (Brascombre et al., 1999).

This means that gender-based group identification can also be a crucial factor in women's

response to becoming aware that they are being discriminated against and responding with

behavioral action to redress gender-based social inequalities.

Such a response is reflected in their willingness to engage in collective action for

social change. It is expected that women who identify more with their gender will participate

more in collective action the more they see themselves as victims of discrimination (Garcia et

al., 2009). However, this equation is not entirely accurate, as gender relations occur in social

contexts where the hierarchical structure of social relations is strongly legitimized (Becker &

Wright, 2011). One possible effect that has not yet been explored is whether the

legitimization of the current unequal social system itself acts as a barrier to collective action

by women with stronger gender identities. In this research program, we shed light on this

question by proposing that women's willingness to engage in collective action depends on

both the strength of gender identification and the justification of the gender system (Jost et

al., 2017). Understanding the processes that promote or inhibit social change to challenge social hierarchies can be helpful in developing more effective strategies to address gender inequality.

Effects of Gender Identification and System Justification on Engagement in Collective Action

The theoretical framework of social identity assumes that the cognitive process of social categorization is the basis for the formation of social identity (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This complex construct, which encompasses both group membership and the positive affect that results from this membership, takes shape through deliberate intergroup social comparisons. Individuals driven by the desire for positive distinctiveness make these social comparisons to improve their self-concept. Consequently, the pursuit of social identity goes hand in hand with the overarching goal of enhancing self-esteem. The problem arises when individuals realize that they belong to a socially devalued group and are discriminated against because of their membership of this group.

Being a victim of discrimination has a direct negative impact on the self-concept of minority group members (Branscombe et al., 1999), but becoming aware that it is unfair can serve as a trigger for collective action (Foster & Matheson, 2019). Branscombe et al. (1999) demonstrated that the perception of discrimination directly influences minority ingroup identification and this attenuates the negative effects of discrimination on the well-being of minorities. Previous research on women's collective action has confirmed the role of gender identification. For example, Lis et al. (2004) demonstrated that when women identify as feminists, they may have a greater motivation for social change. Kelly and Breinliger (1995) found that greater participation in collective action by women is related to gender identity, perception of relative deprivation, perception of group efficacy, a collectivist orientation, and identification with feminism, with the latter being the most determining factor for

participation. In addition, research within the framework of the integrative Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al., 2008) has shown that perceiving such discrimination as persistent leads to a greater intention for collective action (Borders & Willey, 2020; Friedman & Leaper, 2010).

Although there is evidence that discrimination is related to women's motivation for collective action (see Jetten, 2013, for a review), less attention has been paid to the influence of discrimination on collective action among women with high (or low) ingroup gender identification. Indeed, the study of high (or low) identified women's responses to discrimination has long been an important topic. Becker and Wagner (2009), for example, argue that it is more important to examine whether women who identify strongly with gender can be motivated to act collectively according to internalized gender roles (whether progressive or traditional). It is argued that different contents of identification motivate collective action because the attenuating effect is caused by the legitimization of social hierarchies (see Costa-Lopes et al., 2013; Radke et al., 2016). Osborne et al. (2019), for example, found that if disadvantaged group members perceive their situation as unjust, this can motivate them to take collective action, as otherwise they will not be mobilised and therefore will not challenge the unequal system (e.g. Jost et al., 2017).

Factors such motivation to system justification can also be crucial to the process of managing gendered social identities. In this sense, the System Justification and Collective Action Model (Osborne et al., 2019) states that group identification and collective action to change the status quo are positively associated for low group status members, as in the case of women, while the belief that the system is just is negatively associated with collective action. For example, Becker and Wright (2011) pointed out that women who endorse benevolent sexism and believe that gender relations are equitable are less motivated to effect social change. On the other hand, women who are victims of hostile sexism are less likely to

perceive the social system in which they live as equitable and are more likely to engage in collective action. Howard et al. (2022) also investigated the extent to which women who perceive the system as just can act to maintain the status quo. However, how gender identification and justification motivation and social hierarchy interact to (dis)mobilize women to take collective action in response to perceptions of discrimination is an open question.

Building on these robust empirical foundations, our study addresses the nuanced dynamics of women's responses to gender discrimination. Building on previous research that has highlighted key factors, namely the cultivation of meaningful gender identification and the motivation to justify (or challenge) gendered social hierarchies, we hypothesize that there is a more complex interplay between these elements: awareness of being the target of gender discrimination, gender identification, and justification of the system. This interplay between these components leads us to propose the following new hypotheses to unravel this intricate phenomenon:

(a) It is hypothesized that women's intention to participate in collective action depends on the experience of discrimination, which is brought up in a socio-psychological context;

(b) Individual differences in gender identification are expected to amplify the effects of discrimination on collective action. In particular, when confronted with gender discrimination, women with a strong gender identification are expected to show a stronger intention to engage in collective action than women with a weaker gender identification;

c) Individual differences in the justification of the system are expected to act as a moderator and influence the reactive effect of discrimination on collective action. In particular, it is assumed that women with stronger gender identification and weaker justification of the system are more likely to take collective action to improve gender equality under conditions of discrimination.

Hypotheses "a" and "c" are based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), theoretical models such as SIMCA (van Zomeren et al., 2008), the system justification and collective action model (Osborne et al., 2019), and an extensive literature on the effects of discrimination on women's collective action (for a comprehensive review, see Jetten et al., 2013). Taken together, these theories suggest that experiences of discrimination and low levels of system justification serve as motivating factors for an increased intention to engage in collective action. Hypothesis "b" is consistent with previous studies that emphasize the influential role of gender group identification in collective action (Lis et al., 2004; Kelly & Breinliger, 1995).

In the following studies, we endeavor to seamlessly integrate the role of group identity and the justification of inequalities to unravel the intricate strategies that women employ to initiate social change. In doing so, we aim to contribute to the evolving discourse on the nuanced responses to gender discrimination within the larger framework of collective action.

Overview of the Studies

We conducted a research program to observe how women respond to the discrimination they face and how strongly they engage in collective action to challenge the status quo, reduce discrimination and promote gender equality.

First, we conducted a study in which we tested the hypothesis that the salience of gender discrimination promotes collective action, with gender identification moderating this process. We hypothesized that women for whom we highlighted gender discrimination would respond with a greater intention to engage in collective action. Based on previous research on gender identification and collective action, we also predicted that women's intention to act collectively in response to gender discrimination would depend on their individual differences in gender identification and system justification. Therefore, we analyzed identification with one's own group as a moderating factor for the relationship between

discrimination and the intention to act collectively (Study 1). We also analyzed the moderating role of ingroup identification and system justification in collective action (Study 2) and the role of identity content and system justification in collective action (Study 3).

Study 1

Previous studies have shown that the perception of being a victim of discrimination due to belonging to a group can motivate the desire for collective action to correct social hierarchies (Jetten et al., 2013; van Zomeren et al, 2008). For minority groups, the feeling of being discriminated against can evoke group identification motives that lead to collective action (Tajfel, 1981). This means that women who identify more with their gender (compared to women who identify less with their gender) are more likely to respond with collective action. Accordingly, we predict that individual differences in gender identification may act as a moderator of the influence of discrimination on women's motivation to act collectively, such that individuals who identify more with the ingroup have a greater intention to act collectively.

Method

Participants and Design

A total of 147 women (M age = 28.16; SD = 9.09) participated in the study. Most had incomplete undergraduate education (32%), self-identified as White (48.3%), were from a lower-middle-class background (45.6%) and did not have a religious affiliation (50.3%). Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: discrimination salience condition; control condition. A power analysis using WebPower (Zhang & Yuan, 2018) indicated that this sample is large enough to detect an effect size of $f = .23$ or greater with power = .80 and p = .05.

Procedures

We conducted this study on the Qualtrics platform. Through a Facebook advertisement, women were invited to participate in the study after agree to the informed consent form. Participants in the discrimination salience condition read the following text:

"As you may have noticed, women still face widespread discrimination in many important areas of life. It is very likely that someone has discriminated against you simply because you are a woman. Women still face discrimination and inequality in employment, wages, education, politics, courtrooms, and in everyday interpersonal interactions. They also earn less than men. Recent psychological research has shown that between 90% and 95% of men hold sexist attitudes and discriminate against women if given the opportunity. Men often rate women as incompetent, irrational, and weak. They are effectively socially more valued than women, and you must have felt this."

After reading the text, they responded to the following questions: "Can you think of a situation where there is discrimination against women? Please describe it"; "Think of a situation where you were discriminated against for being a woman. Describe it"; and "What did you feel in this situation where you were discriminated against?"

Women in the control condition did not have access to the text and proceeded directly to the measures.

Measures

Group Identification Measure: We measured group identification using the validated Brazilian version of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale, consisting of 16 items and forming 4 factors (Gouveia et al., 2018): Membership (e.g., "I am a worthy member of the group of women"; alpha = 0.70), Private Collective Self-Esteem (e.g., "I feel good about being a woman"; alpha = 0.65), Public Collective Self-Esteem (e.g., "Generally, other groups respect the group of women"; alpha = 0.60), and Identity ("Generally, being a woman is important to

my self-image"; alpha = 0.65). Participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement with each item using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree).

Collective Action Measure: To measure the intention for collective action, we used 10 items based on the Collective Behaviors Scale developed by Lis et al. (2004). We asked participants how willing they would be to participate in each of the 10 activities, with responses ranging from 1 (Not willing at all) to 4 (Very willing). The results of an exploratory factor analysis showed a single factor (eigenvalue = 6.15; loadings: 0.86 to 0.68) which measures participants' intention to engage in collective actions with high internal consistency (alpha = 0.93).

Results

Descriptive statistics and correlations between the variables can be seen in Table 1. The results demonstrated that gender identification is significantly related to collective action.

Table 1

Descriptors and correlations between variables

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5
1. Discrimination	0.38	0.48	-				
2. Afiliation	5.57	1.09	0.96	-			
3. PCS	5.29	0.89	0.59**	0.38**	-		
4. PuCS	3.04	1.02	-0.01	-0.01	-0.00	-	
5. Identity	5.47	1.06	0.05	0.60**	0.38**	-0.07	-
6. Collective Action	3.29	0.64	-0.03	0.39**	0.21**	-0.32**	0.45**

Notes: PCS = Private collective self-esteem; PuCS = Public Collective Self-Esteem.

We proceeded with the analyses testing the moderating role of each factor of the group identification by using using PROCESS (model 1; Hayes, 2013). The model had the discrimination salience manipulation as the independent variable and the group identification factors as moderators, with collective action as the dependent variable. The analyses showed a significant main effect only for affiliation and public group identification. The results indicate that higher group affiliation is associated with a greater intention for collective action ($b = 0.14$, SE $= 0.05$, $t = 2.50$, $p = 0.01$). On the other hand, higher public collective self-esteem resulted in a lower intention for action ($b = $ -0.21, SE $= 0.04$, $t = $ -4.54, $p < 0.001$). Of greater importance, we also found a significant interaction between discrimination and identity importance, demonstrating that this factor moderates the relationship between the perception of discrimination and collective action. The results regarding the main effects and interactions of the variables can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2

Regression analyzes of Discrimination in Collective Action considering the moderating effect of Ingroup Identification

	b	95%CI of b	se	t	P
Intercept	3.28**	(3.08; 3.32)	0.06	53.09	0.001
Discrimination	-0.22	(-0.46; 0.01)	0.10	-1.84	0.06
Afiliation	0.14*	(0.03; 0.25)	0.05	2.50	0.01
PCS	0.09	(-0.05; 0.24)	0.07	0.07	0.19
PuCS	-0.21**	(-0.30; -0.12)	0.04	-4.64	0.001
Identity	0.07	(-0.05; 0.20)	0.06	1.08	0.28
D x Afiliation	0.14	(-0.08; 0.37)	0.11	1.25	0.21
D x PCS	0.24	(0.07; 0,53)	0.15	1.59	0.11
D x PuCS	-0.14	(-0.32; 0.03)	0.09	-1.64	0.10
D x Identity	-0.30*	(-0.56; - 0.03)	0.13	-2.26	0.02

Note: D = Discrimination. Discrimination: -.5 = control; .5 = discrimination; PCS = Private collective self-esteem; PuCS = Public Collective Self-Esteem; b = Unstandardized regression coefficient; se= standard error; *p < .05; **p < .01.

When decomposing the interaction between the manipulation and the importance of identity, we found that, in women with high group identity (+1SD above the mean), collective action was lower in the discrimination salience condition ($M = 3.01$, $SE = 0.18$) than in the control condition ($M = 3.55$; $SE = 0.09$), b = -0.54, $SE = 0.20$, $t = -2.68$, 95% CI: -0.94; -0.14, $p < 0.01$. In women with low identity importance (-1SD below the mean), the discrimination manipulation did not significantly influence collective action, $b = 0.09$, SE = 0.16, $t = -0.57$, 95% CI [-0.23; 0.43], $p = 0.56$. These results can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Intention for collective action in relation to identification with the ingroup
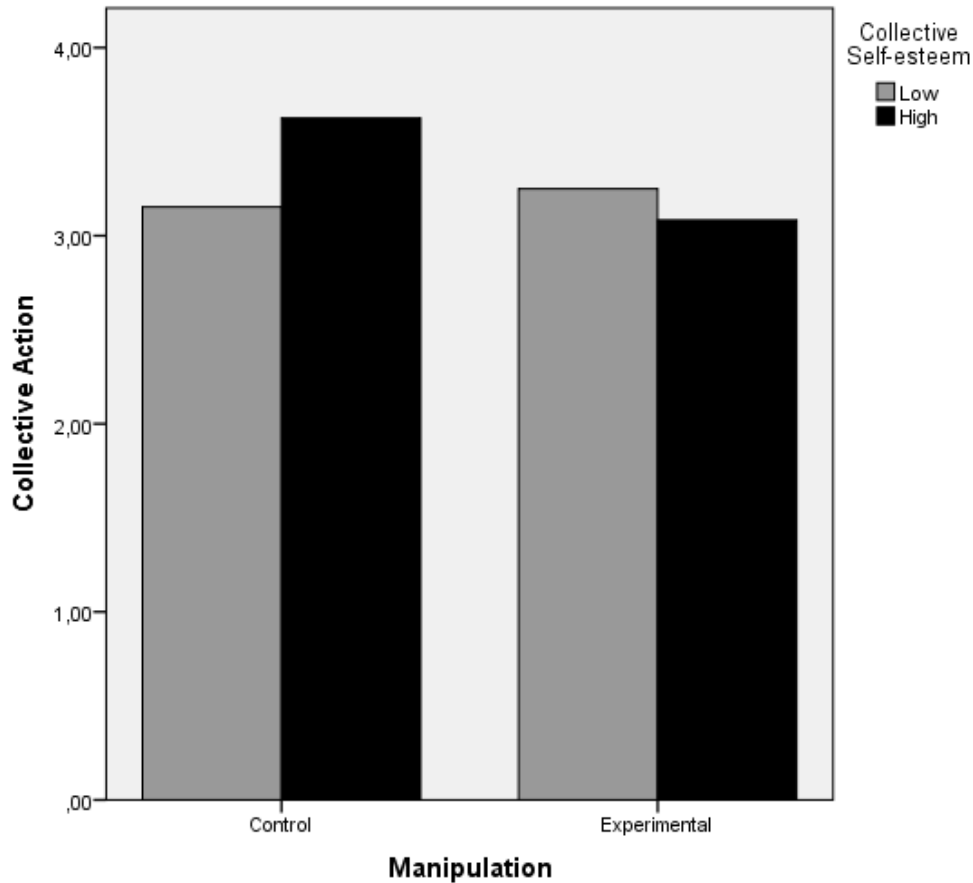
Discussion

The results showed a different pattern than our main prediction. Mere awareness of discrimination was not sufficient to motivate collective action, as the main effect of discrimination was not significant. Regarding the hypothesis that women with higher gender identification are more likely to take collective action when they feel discriminated against, the results showed that this tendency was greater in the control condition when discrimination was not emphasized. We can interpret this effect in two ways: First, our study focused only on gender identification, which is one aspect of the two social psychological factors that have been shown to be crucial for collective action in previous studies, while individual

differences in the acceptance of gender injustice were not taken into account (e.g., SIMCA, Zomeren et al., 2008). That is, if most participants support the current system of gender hierarchy and identify with their gender position, it is possible that they will affirm this system and be less motivated to engage in collective action aimed at changing this situation by promoting gender equality.

Indeed, previous research has suggested that research on collective action should consider ideological aspects such as individual differences in system justification in addition to factors such as group self-efficacy or emotions, as collective action also depends on social and ideological contexts (Jost et al., 2017; Osborne et al., 2019), as greater system justification among women may reduce their intention to support feminist action (Becker & Wright, 2011). Therefore, possible ideological factors such as individual differences in system justification may have contributed to less collective action even in the face of discrimination. We therefore explored this possibility in Study 2.

Study 2

The results of Study 1 provided the first evidence that the importance of gender discrimination influences women's willingness to engage in collective action for social change and affects their sense of subjective social mobility, with these effects moderated by individual differences in various factors of ingroup identification. For example, women who reported having stronger gender identification responded to the salience of gender discrimination in a way as if to confirm the gender hierarchy by being less motivated to engage in collective action. The unresolved question is whether this effect depends on individual differences in system justification, i.e., women's motivation to view the gender hierarchy as just, legitimate, and necessary. Study 2 therefore included a measure of system justification (Jost et al., 2017), which allowed us to test whether women's response to discrimination depends on individual differences in gender identification (as in Study 1) and

system justification - an innovative aspect in our research program. According to our primary predictions, women who identify more strongly with their gender group and justify the system less will respond to the highlighted gender discrimination with collective action. Those who justify the system more should show the same effect as in Study 1.

Method

Participants and Design

We defined the sample size using WebPower (Zhang & Yuan, 2018) by specifying a power of .90, effect size of $f = .25$ with $p = .05$, which indicated that we needed at least 205 participants. We conducted the study with 214 women (Mage = 28.99; SD = 9.67). The majority had completed postgraduate education (53%), identified as white (43.9%), were from the lower middle class (42.5%), and had no religion (39.3%). The participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: discrimination salience; control condition.

Procedures

We conducted this study on the Qualtrics platform. Through advertisements on Facebook and Instagram, women were invited to participate in the study after responding to the informed consent form. Participants in the discrimination salience condition read the same text and answered the same questions as in Study 1 after the text. Women in the control condition did not have access to the text and went directly to the measurements.

Measures

Group Identification Measure: We measured group identification using the Collective Self-Esteem Scale in the same way as in Study 1. The internal consistency of the scale was considered satisfactory (alpha = 0.77), as were the factors Affiliation (alpha = 0.57), Private Collective Self-Esteem (alpha = 0.70), Public Collective Self-Esteem (alpha = 0.66), and Identity Importance (alpha = 0.56).

Collective Action Measure*:* To measure the intention for collective action, we used the same 10 items based on the Collective Behavior Scale developed by Lis, Crawford, and Popp (2004) that we used in Study 1 (alpha = 0.88).

System Justification Measure*:* To measure system justification, we used the eight items from the gender-specific system justification scale (Jost & Kay, 2005; e.g., 'In families, the division of household tasks is as it should be,' 'Both men and women have fair access to wealth and happiness'). Participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement with each item on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The results of a factor analysis indicated the presence of a single factor explaining 37.68% of the variance (eigenvalue = 3.01; loadings: -0.62 to 0.76). The internal consistency of the measure was alpha = 0.44.

Results

Correlations between the variables demonstrated that private gender identification was positively correlated with system justification. Public gender identification was also positively correlated with system justification. These results can be better visualized in Table 4.

Table 4

Descriptives and correlations between variables

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Discrimination	0.47	0.50	-					
2. Collective Action	3.53	4.17	0.07	-				
3. SJ	1.80	0.69	0.03	-0.10	-			
4. Afiliation	5.80	0.93	0.11	0.12	0.03	-		
5. PCS	5.95	0.95	0.06	-0.01	0.18**	0.46**	-	
6. PuCS	3.26	1.11	-0.03	0.03	0.47**	0.16*	0.20**	-
7. Identity	5.70	0.91	0.08	0.06	0.06	0.40**	0.40**	-0.09

Note: Discrimination: -.5 = control; .5 = discrimination; SJ = System Justification; PCS= Private collective self-esteem; PuCS = Public Collective Self-Esteem; ** = $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

To test our hypothesis that the influence of mere salience of gender discrimination on collective action depends on its interaction with gender identification and system justification, we conducted a three-way interaction moderation analysis in PROCESS (Model 3; Hayes, 2013). The manipulated contextual salience of gender discrimination was the independent variable, group identification and system justification were entered as two moderators, and collective action was the dependent variable. The results showed a main effect of group affiliation on intention to act collectively, i.e. the more women perceive themselves as belonging to their group, the more intention they have to act collectively. There was also a marginal effect in the interaction between discrimination and affiliation and between discrimination and private gender identification.

Table 5

Regression analyzes of Discrimination in Collective Action considering the moderating effect of System Justification and Ingroup Identification.

Variables	B	95%IC	Se	t	p
Intercept	3.54**	(2.94;4.15)	0.30	11.57	0.001
Discrimination	0.59	(-0.61;1.80)	0.61	0.97	0.33
Afiliation	0.83*	(0.09;1.56)	0.37	2.21	0.02
PCS	-0.66	(-1.40;0.04)	0.36	-1.84	0.07
PuCS	0.45	(-0.13;1.03)	0.29	1.51	0.13
Identity	0.28	(-0.41; 0.99)	0.35	0.82	0.42
SJ	-0.67	(-1.78;0.42)	0.55	-1.21	0.22
D x Afiliation	1.27	(-0.19; 2.74)	0.70	1.71	0.08
D x PCS	-1.37	(-2.82; 0.07)	0.72	-1.87	0.06
D x PuCS	-1.04	(-3.23;1.14)	1.11	-0.94	0.34
D x Identity	0.41	(-0.99;- 1.82)	0.71	0.57	0.54
D x SJ	-1,04	(-3.22;1.14)	1.11	-0.94	0.34
SJ x Afiliation	-0.28	(-1.28;0.71)	0.50	-0.56	0.57

Continuação da tabela

Variables	B	95%IC	Se	t	P
SJ x PCS	0.09	(-1.03;1.22)	0.57	0.16	0.87
SJ x PuCS	-0.08	(-0.76;0.59)	0.34	-0.23	0.81
SJ x Identity	-0.23	(-1.17;0.70)	0.47	-0.48	0.62
D x SJ x Afiliation	-0.68	(-2.65;1.28)	0.99	-0.68	0.49
D x SJ x PCS	0.46	(-1.75;2.68)	1.12	0.40	0.68
D x SJ x PuCS	-0.01	(-0.76;0.59)	0.34	-0.23	0.81
D x SJ x Identity	-0.53	(-2.42;1.35)	0.95	-0.55	0.57

Note: Discrimination: -.5 = control; .5 = discrimination; PCS = Private collective self-esteem; PuCS = Public Collective Self-Esteem; SJ = System Justification;

Despite the marginally significant results, we decided to decompose the interactions between discrimination and affiliation, and discrimination and private collective self-esteem. In the condition of discrimination salience, women with and high group affiliation, women showed a higher intention for collective action (*M*=4.56, *SE*=0.55) than women in the control condition (*M*=3.49, *SE*=0.58). The same pattern was observed with higher private gender identification, in that women in the discrimination condition reported more intention to act collectively (*M*=3.60, *SE*=0.56) than in women in the control condition (*M*=3.36, *SE*=0.58).

Considering our main hypothesis, to better investigate the conditional effects, we analyzed the simple slopes representing the effect of discrimination on collective action in participants with low (vs. high) system justification and with low (vs. high) identification. Table 6 describes the estimated parameters, which showed that discrimination influenced collective action in participants with a strong gender affiliation and simultaneously lower system justification (Figure 4). In other situations, discrimination did not influence the participants' willingness to engage in collective actions.

Table 6

Conditional Effect of Discrimination on Collective Action, Moderated by System Justification and Affiliation

SJ	Afiliation	B	Se	T	p	95% IC
Low	Low	-0.15	1.31	-0.11	0.90	(-2.75;2.43)
Low	**High**	**2.87**	**1.19**	**2.40**	**0.01**	**(0.52;5.23)**
High	Low	-0.87	1.38	-0.62	0.53	(-3.59;1.85)
High	High	0.39	1.32	0.29	0.76	(-2.21;3.00)

Note: SJ = System Justification.

Figura 4

Collective Action means under the moderating effect of Afiliation and System Justification
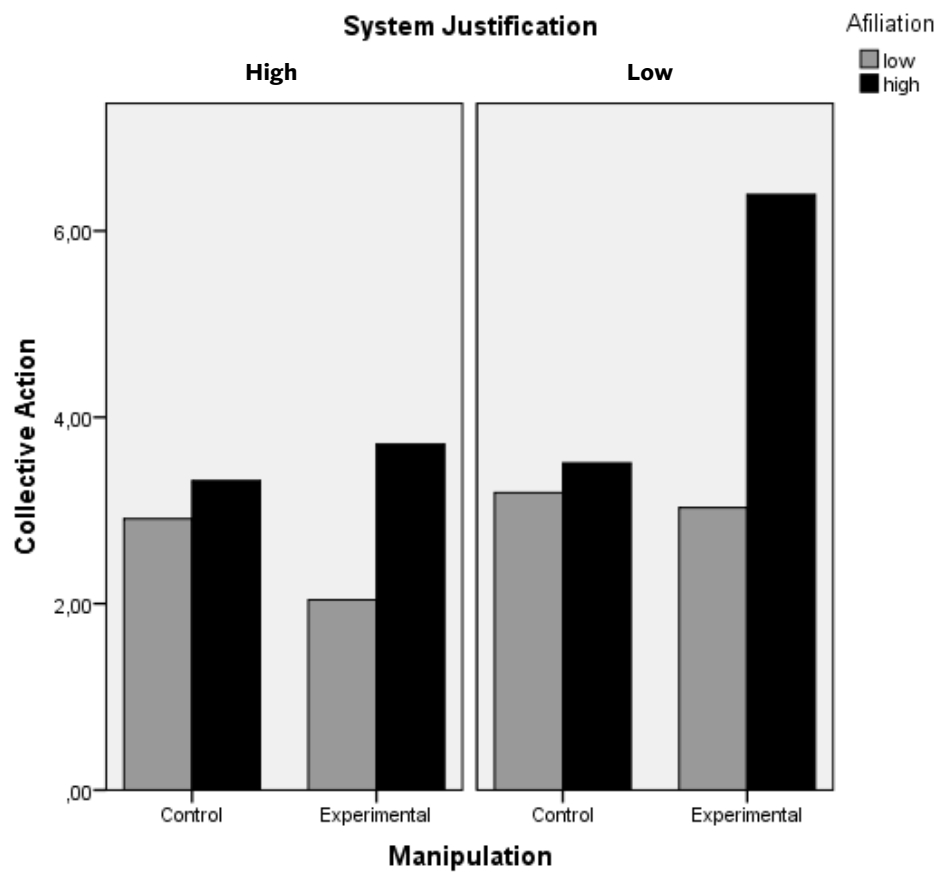
We also found that private gender identification, along with system justification, also contributed to collective action ($p < 0.05$), such that women expressed a greater intention to engage in collective action at lower levels of system justification and lower levels of private gender identification (Figure 5). The other main or interaction effects were not significant.

Table 7

Conditional Effect of Discrimination on Collective Action, moderated by System Justification and Private Collective Self-Esteem

SJ	PCS	B	SE	t	p	95% IC
Low	**Low**	**2.97**	**1.20**	**2.47**	**0.01**	**(0.60;5.34)**
Low	High	-0.00	1.24	-0.00	0.99	(-2.46;2.44)
High	Low	0.23	1.78	0.13	0.89	(-3.28;3.75)
High	High	-1.51	1.30	-1.16	0.24	(-4.08;1.05)

Note: PCS = Private collective self-esteem; SJ = System Justification.

Figure 5

Collective Action Averages under the moderating effect of Private Collective Self-Esteem and System Justification
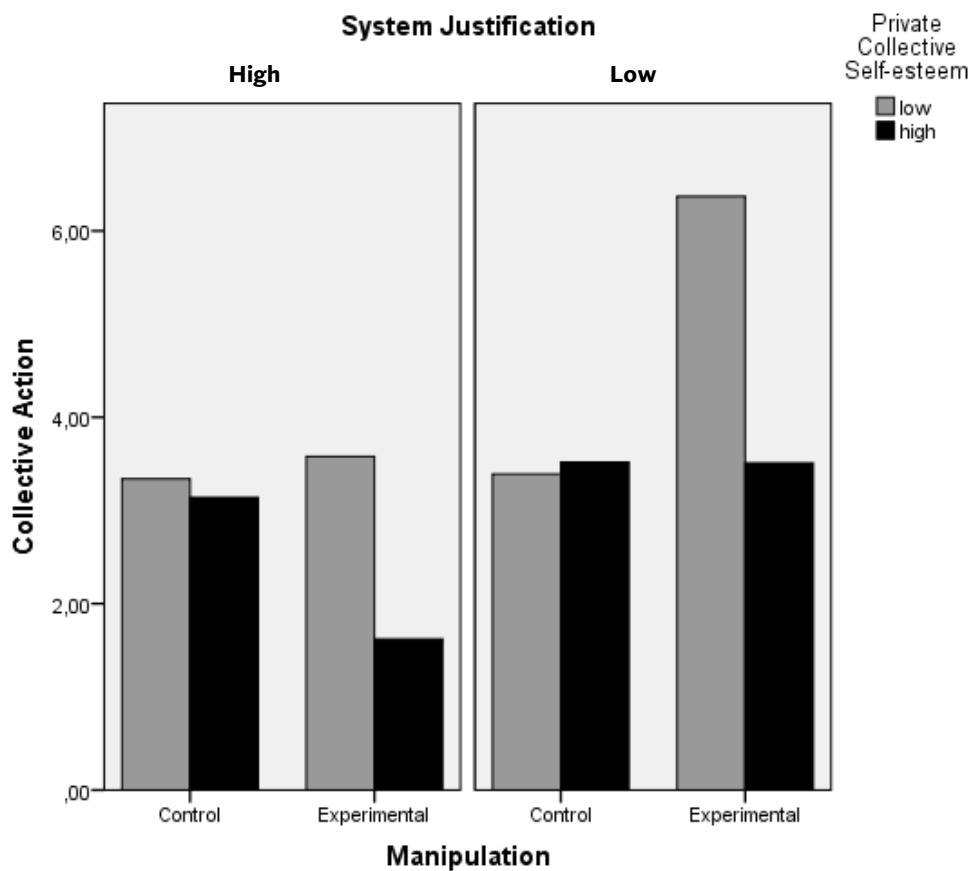
Although statistical significance was not observed in relation to public collective self-esteem and system justification ($p = 0.81$), the conditional effects demonstrated that lower levels of system justification and higher levels of public collective self-esteem lead to greater action intention collective, as can be demonstrated in the table below and in Figure 6.

Table 8

Conditional Effect of Discrimination on Collective Action, moderated by System Justification and Public Collective Self-Esteem.

SJ	PuCS	B	SE	t	P	95% IC
Low	Low	0.03	1.11	0.03	0.97	(-2.15;2.23)
Low	**High**	**2.90**	**1.32**	**1.97**	**0.04**	**(0.00;5.21)**
High	Low	-1.05	1.70	-0.61	0.53	(-4.04;2.30)
High	High	0.78	0.94	0.83	0.40	(-1.07;2.64)

Note: PuCS = Public Collective Self-Esteem. SJ = System Justification.

Figure 6

Collective Action Averages under the moderating effect of Public Collective Self-Esteem and System Justification.
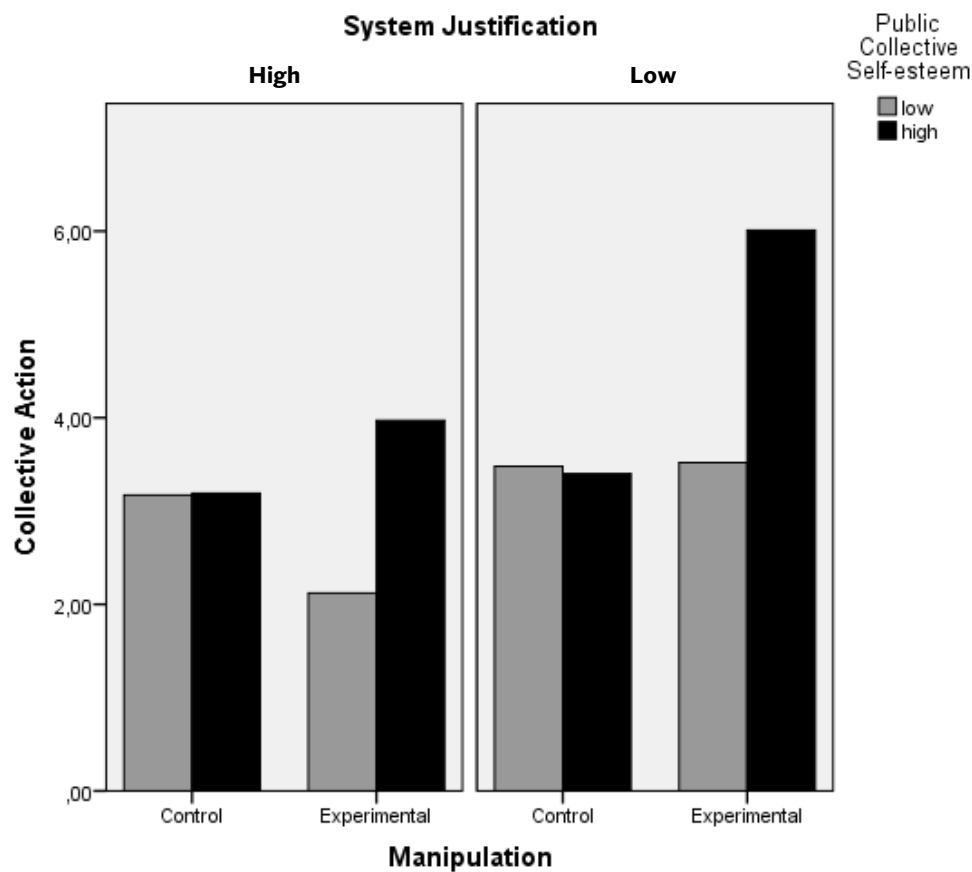
Regarding the identity factor and system justification as moderators in the model, there were no relevant conditional effects.

Discussion

This study was the first to examine women's responses to discrimination, taking into account their individual differences in gender identification and system justification. First, the affirmation effect we found in Study 1 was not found among women who identify more with their gender, which may be due to the fact that we controlled for system justification in the research design. Importantly, consistent with our main prediction, we found that women who

endorsed fewer system justification and were more gender-affiliated responded with more collective action in the discrimination condition than in the control condition. And the same reactive effect was also found in women with strong private gender identification. According to Luhtanen and Crocker (1992), affiliation and collective private ingroup identification are aspects of collective self-esteem that focus more on the evaluation of the ego that results from belonging to a valued social group, and thus are primarily related to individual aspects. Specifically, belonging is about the feeling of how good the individual is for the ingroup. Collective private self-esteem, on the other hand, corresponds to the individual's assessment of how good the social group in question is for society. In this sense, it is possible that the collective action was motivated by individualistic evaluations of being a woman. This is consistent with Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) findings that women evaluate their group more positively. In our study, this may have led to a greater willingness to act collectively in response to the manipulated discrimination salience. Nonetheless, the interaction effects, although marginally significant, show a pattern in which group identification is an important moderator of the intention to act collectively in situations of discrimination.

Although we did not find a significant three-way interaction between discrimination, group identification, and system justification, the simple slope effects showed evidence that the influence of discrimination salience on women's collective action may have been moderated by gender group identification and system justification. Specifically, the intention to engage in collective action was highest among participants in the discrimination condition who had a strong sense of belonging and higher collective public self-esteem, but only when they reported low system justification. Indeed, previous studies show the importance of the joint relationship between discrimination and the strength of group identification for collective action, and in particular, this may depend on how much these individuals perceive the social order as legitimate, as already shown by Jost et al. (2017). This opens up an

understanding that in addition to group identification and perceptions of discrimination, which are necessary for collective action, it is also necessary for minority groups to perceive the system as illegitimate, as already argued by Tajfel (1981). Considering these findings, we note that some measures may not have been sufficient to test our hypotheses, leaving some gaps. Therefore, we designed a new study with some modifications, which are described below.

Study 3

Considering the results from the previous study, we conducted this study, making some alterations to the measures. This time, we used a measure of group identification more specific to address gender identification. Similarly, we kept the discrimination manipulation as in the previous studies and the gender-specific system justification. Therefore, our main hypothesis in this study is that women with higher gender identification will tend to act more collectively in the discrimination condition than in the control condition, but only if they exhibit low levels of system justification.

Method

Participants and Design

We defined the sample size using Webpower (Zhang & Yuan, 2018) with a specified power of .90, an effect size of $f = .25$, and p = .05, which indicated a need for at least 205 participants. We conducted this study with 208 women (Mage = 28.99; SD = 9.67). The majority had incomplete undergraduate education (34.6%), identified themselves as White (51.4%), belonged to the lower middle class (42.3%), did not follow any religion (51%), and considered themselves left-leaning (72.6%). Once again, the participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: discrimination salience or control condition.

Procedures

The procedures for this study were similar to those in Studies 1 and 2.

Measures

Group Identification Measure. In this study, we measured group identification using Leach et al.'s (2008) Group Identification Scale, adapted to the Brazilian context by Souza et al. (2019). This scale consists of 14 items subdivided into 5 factors: Solidarity ("I feel connected to women") (alpha = 0.74), Satisfaction ("I am satisfied with being a woman") (alpha = 0.79), Centrality ("I often think about the fact that I am a woman") (alpha = 0.47), Individual Self-Stereotyping ("I have a lot in common with most women") (alpha = 0.80), and Endogroup Homogeneity ("Women have a lot in common") (alpha = 0.76). These factors can also be grouped into two main factors: Self-Investment, which combines the factors of Solidarity, Satisfaction, and Centrality (alpha = 0.70), and Self-Definition, which combines the factors of Individual Self-Stereotyping and Endogroup Homogeneity (alpha = 0.80). Each item corresponded to a scale ranging from 1 (Completely Disagree) to 7 (Completely Agree).

Measure of Collective Action. To measure the intention for collective action, we used the same 10 items as in Studies 1 and 2 (alpha = 0.93).

System Justification Measure. To measure system justification, we used the same System Justification Scale as in Study 2. The internal consistency of the measure was alpha = 0.46.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

We conducted descriptive statistics and correlation analyses of the main variables in this study, namely, discrimination, system justification, and the factors of the group identification scale (solidarity, centrality, self-stereotyping, endogroup homogeneity, and satisfaction). The correlations showed that system justification has a negative relationship with collective action. Solidarity and identity centrality have a positive relationship with

collective action and a negative relationship with system justification. Lastly, satisfaction has a positive relationship with both system justification and collective action. The results are presented in Table 10.

Table 10

Descriptives and correlations between variables.

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Discrimination	-	-	-							
2. CA	3.17	0.38	0.40	-						
3. SJ	1.69	0.59	0.03	-0.27**	-					
4. Solidarity	6.02	0.97	-0.01	0.29**	-0.20**	-				
5. Satisfaction	5.29	1.16	0.10	0.12	0.20**	0.12**	-			
6. Centrality	6.04	0.80	-0.03	0.18**	-0.12	0.29**	0.13	-		
7. Self-stereotypy	4.88	1.37	0.02	-0.04	0.05	0.24**	0.29**	0.12	-	
8. Homogeneity	4.85	1.20	-0.09	-0.03	0.05	0.08	0.15	0.09	0.64**	-

Note: CA = Collective Action; SJ = System Justification; M = Means; SD = Standard Deviation.

Main Analysis

To test our main hypothesis that discrimination salience influences collective intention in women with lower level of system justification and a stronger gender identification, we tested a three-way interaction moderation model (model 3, Hayes, 2013) with collective action as the dependent variable, discrimination salience as the independent variable, and system justification and gender identification (all factors) as moderators. Table 11 shows a significant main effect of system justification (b =-0.15, t = -2.60, p < 0.05), a significant effect of solidarity (b=0.16, t = 4.54, p <0.05), and an interaction between system justification and satisfaction (b=0.08, t = -1.95, p= 0.05).

Importantly for our hypothesis, we observed a significant three-way interaction between discrimination, system justification, and identity centrality (b=-0.27, t = -1.95, p =0.05).

Table 11

Regression analyzes of Discrimination in Collective Action under the moderating effect of System Justification and Identification

Variables	B	95%IC	Se	t	p
Intercept	3.14	(3.08;3.20)	0.03	98.51	0.00
Discrimination	0.09	(-0.03;0.22)	0.06	1.43	0.15
SJ	**-0.15**	**(-0.26; -0.04)**	**0.06**	**-2.60**	**0.01**
Centrality	-0.03	(-0.11;0.05)	0.04	-0.77	0.44
Solidarity	**0.16**	**(0.09;0.22)**	**0.03**	**4.54**	**0.00**
Satisfaction	-0.01	(-0.07;0.05)	0.03	-0.20	0.84
Self-stereotypy	-0.06	(-0.13;0.01)	0.04	-1.80	0.07
Homogeneity	0.05	(-0.02;0.12)	0.04	1.46	0.15
Discrimination x SJ	0.02	(-0.21;0.24)	0.11	0.15	0.88
D x Centrality	-0.01	(-0.17;0.15)	0.08	-0.12	0.90
D x Solidarity	-0.03	(-0.16;0.11)	0.07	-0.43	0.66
D x Satisfaction	0.01	(-0.11;0.13)	0.04	0.11	0.91
D x Self-stereotypy	-0.05	(-0.19;0.08)	0.07	-0.77	0.44

Variables	B	95%IC	Se	t	p
D x Homogeneity	-0.04	(-0.19;0.18)	0.07	-0.62	0.54
SJ x Centrality	-0.12	-0.26;0.02)	0.07	-1.75	0.90
SJ x Solidarity	0.08	-0.01;0.18)	0.05	1.68	0.10
SJ x Satisfaction	**-0.08**	**(-0.17;0.00)**	**0.04**	**-1.95**	**0.05**
SJ x Self-stereotypy	-0.08	(-0.19;0.02)	0.06	-1.53	0.13
SJ x Homogeneity	0.01	(-0.12;0.14)	0.07	0.16	0.87
D x SJ x Centrality	**-0.27**	**(-0.54;0.00)**	**0.14**	**-1.95**	**0.05**
D x SJ x Solidarity	0.01	(-0.18;0.20)	0.10	0.13	0.90
D x SJ x Satisfaction	0.00	(-0.17;0.16)	0.08	-0.06	0.95
D x SJ x Self-stereotypy	-0.14	(-0.36;0.08)	0.11	-1.27	0.21
D x SJ x Homogeneity	0.00	(-0.27;0.26)	0.13	-0.02	0.98

Note: SJ = System Justification; D = Discrimination.

To better interpret the three-way interaction, we examined the conditional effects of discrimination on collective action for participants with low (vs. high) system justification and low (vs. high) centrality of identification with the women's group. We found a marginally significant effect of discrimination manipulation. As predicted, participants with high gender identification centrality and low system justification expressed a greater intention to engage in collective actions in the discrimination condition compared to the nondiscrimination condition (Figure 6). The effect of discrimination salience was not significant in the other participant profiles (the simple effects can be found in Table 12).

Table 12

Conditional effect of Discrimination in Collective Action, moderated by System Justification and Centrality

Centrality	SJ	B	SE	T	P	95% IC
Low	Low	-0.05	0.13	-0.35	0.73	(-0.30;0.21)
Low	High	0.25	0.15	1.63	0.10	(-0.05;0.54)
High	**Low**	**0.21**	**0.11**	**1.87**	**0.06**	**(-0.01;0.43)**
High	High	-0.04	0.15	-0.30	0.76	(-0.34;0.25)

Figure 6

Collective Action Averages under the moderating effect of Centrality and System Justification.
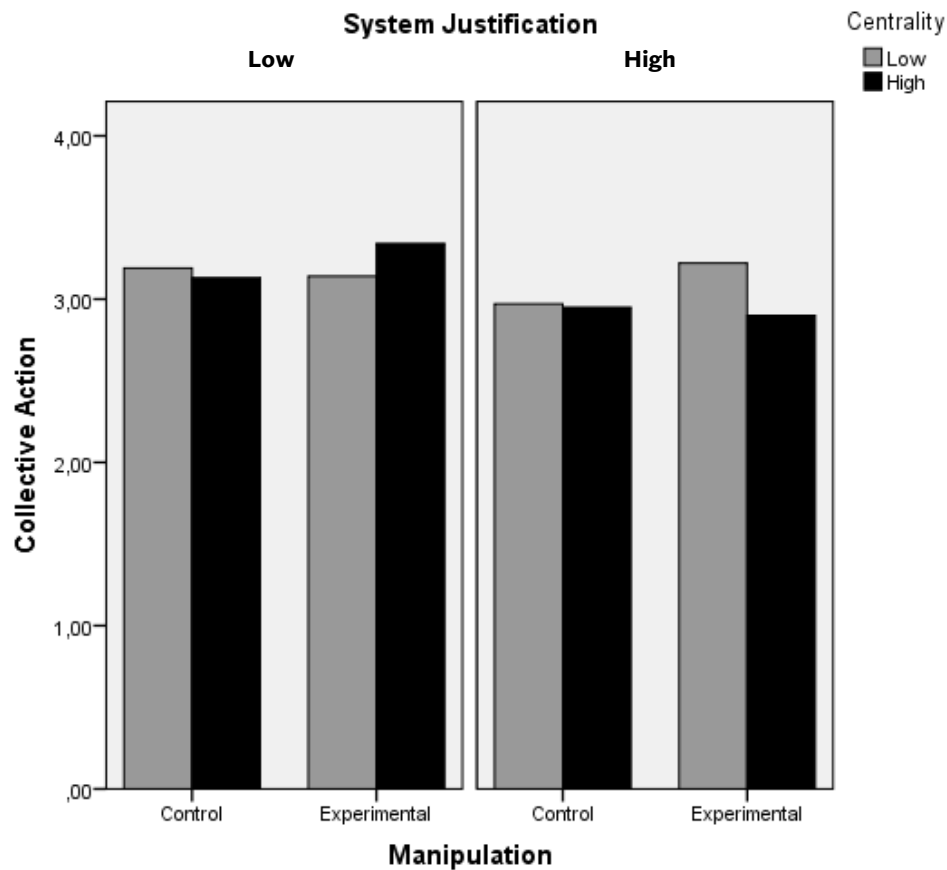
Discussion

Regarding group identification, it is important to highlight the content of group identification that occurred in this study. The centrality dimension, which moderated the relationship between discrimination and collective action, indicates that being a woman was a central element to the participants' selves. This dimension is also related to self-investment, or the extent to which this social identity is important compared to others (Ramos & Alves, 2011). In this sense, the results suggest that, in contexts where gender discrimination is emphasized, socially identifying with a group that is central in one's life is important for

taking collective action. Taking into account the role of system justification as the second moderator, the greater intention of more identified women to react to discrimination with collective action also depends on the legitimacy of the system. In this case, collective action as a reaction to discrimination in these women occurs if they also have low system justification. This pattern is consistent with Jost et al.'s (2017) Model of System Justification and Collective Action, which highlights the fundamental role of perceived injustice, system justification, and group identification in collective action. Osborne and Sibley (2013) also found evidence of the moderating role of system justification in the relationship between relative deprivation and collective mobilization, suggesting that there is a greater likelihood of the latter occurring when there is a low level of system justification.

General Discussion

This research program investigated whether the salience of gender discrimination influences women's intention to engage in collective action, taking into account the moderating effects of individual differences in gender identification and system justification. In terms of collective action, we found evidence that mere salience of discrimination is not sufficient for collective action (Study 1), because it depends on whether women have a stronger core gender identification (Study 3) and are simultaneously critical of the gender hierarchy, as reflected in their lower support for system justification (Studies 2 and 3). Thus, the pattern of our findings highlights the role of discrimination and its impact on collective action as well as the content of group identification and the legitimization of the status quo within the women's group. In this sense, women who feel discriminated against tend to act collectively depending on how central their identification is, i.e. the more important it is to identify with the women's group. In addition, they must believe that the system is unfair to their group in order to have the intention to act for the good of the group and seek progressive change.

Theoretical Implications

Regarding women's collective action, the results contribute to clarifying three specific aspects: the influence of discrimination on collective action in the context of women's mobilization for social change studies (Becker and Wright, 2011; DeBlaere et al., 2014; Radke et al, 2016; Vasquez, 2020; Nelson, 2008); the importance of the content of gender group identification for collective action (Becker and Wagner, 2009); and the investigation of the role of (lack of) system justification in engaging in collective action (Jost et al., 2017; Osborne et al., 2019). The results have implications for understanding the psychosocial factors associated with collective action and social change of women who are victims of gender discrimination.

The research on collective action emphasizes that minority groups need to perceive situations of injustice to trigger the intention of collective action (van Zomenren et al., 2008; Becker & Tausch, 2015). Previous studies on gender discrimination have mainly focused on the effect that this perception can provoke, either in its influence on group identity or psychological well-being (DeBlaere et al., 2014; Jetten et al., 2001; Schmitt et al., 2003; Kobrynowicz & Branscombre, 1997). Our results show that discrimination influences collective action and take a step further by revealing that this effect depends particularly on the degree of group identification and the degree to which they legitimize the system.

The results may provide valuable information for research on group identification in collective action by victims of discrimination. The effect of this identification in the context of collective social mobility is well documented (Simon et al., 2008; De Weerd, 1999; Kawakami & Dion, 1993). In our studies, we found the importance of both individual value dimensions in relation to the ingroup (the individual feeling of affiliation or the individual belief in how well the group is socially regarded) and more general dimensions, such as understanding oneself as a woman, which can be central to group identification. In this

context, the question arises as to why a certain type of group identification contributes to women who are victims of discrimination expressing a greater intention to participate in collective action than others.

The answer to this may lie in the importance of considering the content of gender identity, as mere group identification may not be sufficient to motivate women to engage in collective actions to combat gender inequalities. This possibility has already been addressed by Becker and Wagner (2009) and confirmed in our own studies. However, our research goes further by examining the impact of system justification on the part of these women in effecting collective action. Additionally, our results fill a gap in studies that investigate the effect of gender ingroup identification on collective action, without considering the salience of discrimination as a triggering variable for this process, whose impact on collective action is conditioned by ingroup identification.

In summary, as studies on women's collective action focus on the barriers for women to act collectively, such as believing in benevolent sexism (Becker and Wright, 2011; Radke et al., 2016), in the justification of the system (Howard et al., 2022), or how their own positive relationship with some men may decrease the intention for collective action (Vasquez et al., 2021), our studies add to the literature a model focused on the perception of discrimination as a driver for collective action. However, this collective action will only be better visualized when we analyze the individual differences in gender-based identification and motivation to system justification.

Limitations and Future Directions

While this research program provided experimental evidence that simply highlighting gender discrimination is not enough to mobilize women, and that its effectiveness depends on the complicated pattern of association between gender identification and system legitimations, our studies could have been more far-reaching if we had overcome some

limitations. First, of our studies was not to systematize only one measure for group identification, nor to measure other group identification contents related to collective action, such as politicized identity (Nelson, 2008). Aware that there are already studies that demonstrate that gender group-related identification can lead to collective action (Nelson et al, 2008), future studies could consider this type of identity, also considering the effect of system justification. The lack of other constructs related to collective action models such as emotions and group efficacy was also a limitation of our studies. Finally, another limitation was not considering the intersections of minority gender identities, for example, understanding if there are specificities in the collective action of black women. Future studies could investigate the role of belonging to more than one minority identity in collective action.

Conclusions

The results of our research program addressed the dynamics of collective action, considering the salience of discrimination as an important variable preceding the process, the content of gender identification, and individual differences in system justification as moderators of intention to participate in collective action. As shown, the effect of the salience of discrimination in collective action occurred only for women with higher group identification and lower system justification. These results are important because a general model may not capture the specificities of minorities in collective action. Considering that our society is dynamic, and each group has its own ideological perception of the system and is affected differently by social inequalities through an intersectional bias, it is important to observe groups' reactions in the face of this reality and focus on them and the social phenomena to understand their specificities. In this way, we can make a theoretical contribution and look for practices that reduce the social inequality of minority groups through social change.

ARTIGO 2

Being a Black woman: the role of discrimination, dual identification, and system justification in collective action

Abstract

Despite progress in gender equality, black women are still disadvantaged compared to other social groups. To understand how these women respond to situations of discrimination to which they are victimized, we conducted a study (n = 198) to test whether discrimination motivated by their intersectional belonging (racial and sexist) leads to greater collective action by Black women aimed at reducing social inequalities, and we exploit the role played by gender and racial identification, as well as their motivation for system justification. In addition, we tested how these women's conservative collective actions and sociodemographic variables (religion, participation in social movements, and social class) were related to the types of collective actions. Results showed that Black women were more likely to express an intention to act collectively to reduce inequality in a situation where racial discrimination was salient, although this effect was also found among women with lower gender identification and system justification. We also found evidence that religiously Protestant Black women were more likely to express an intention to participate in conservative collective action in a situation where racial discrimination was salient. We also find that Black women who are more active in social movements have the greatest intention to act collectively to reduce social inequalities, and that Black women from the lowest social class have less intention to engage in collective actions in the situation of sexist discrimination. In short, the findings emphasize women's different social affiliations to understand the different forms of collective action in this context, as well as group identification and system justification in collective action to redress social inequalities or maintain the conservative status quo.

Keywords: collective action, sexism, racism, social identity, system justification.

Introduction

Over the years, significant progress has been made in reducing gender inequalities between men and women, as the Global Gender Gap Report shows (2023). The impetus for these changes stems from the resilient response of marginalized social groups to pervasive inequalities (Thomas & Louis, 2013), particularly women organized in impactful social movements (Souto, 2021). Despite this progress, it is important to recognize that Black women within a specific subset of the female population continue to face significant barriers on their path to full equality (Davis, 2016). This observation suggests that belonging to two minority categories (being a woman and being Black) may exacerbate the target of intergroup inequalities (Cerezo & Ramirez, 2020; Remedios et al., 2020).

In this context, exploring the factors that either facilitate or hinder Black women's engagement in collective efforts to achieve equality is critical to a nuanced understanding of the persistence of social inequalities. While previous research emphasizes that experiences of gender discrimination influence women's collective action (Liss et al., 2004; Nelson et al., 2008), there is a gap in comprehensively examining the dynamics of belonging to a socially discriminated group with dual minority identities, as is the case with Black women.

Our main interest lies in deciphering how Black women respond to situations in which they are discriminated against based on their main sources of group-based identification (i.e., as a woman or as a Black woman) or based on the intersectionality of both (i.e., as a Black woman). We also want to examine how their gender and racial identification helps motivate them to take collective actions. The main objective is to analyze the moderating role of this dual identity in the impact of discrimination salience on collective action. In addition, we aim to understand how the motivation for justifying the system either mitigates or amplifies the effects of discrimination and identification on collective action.

Our central hypothesis is that women who identify strongly with their racial and gender identity and reject the current system of intergroup hierarchies will actively participate in collective actions to promote social change when discrimination (racial and sexist) comes to the fore. This examination of the nuanced responses of Black women in pursuit of social change is intended to enrich the understanding of intersectionality in relation to collective action. We anticipate that our study will provide valuable insights that will contribute to social change and justice more broadly.

Collective Action in the Social Identity Approach

Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) provides a comprehensive framework for understanding group relationships that encompasses cognitive, motivational, and societal factors. Our work places a particular emphasis on processes driven by social identity. This is defined as the awareness of belonging to a particular social group, combined with the social value and affective charge associated with that group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Camino & Torres, 2013). As Camino and Torres (2013) explain, social identity is based on processes of social categorization, social comparison, and positive distinctiveness.

Social categorization involves the cognitive organization of our social world into categories such as "us" versus "them" or "ingroups" versus "outgroups". This categorization forms the basis for the process of social comparison (Festinger, 1954), which leads individuals to compare their group with outgroups to promote positive distinctiveness. The theory states that individuals are motivated to positively differentiate their group, which leads to ingroup favoritism and discrimination against outgroups. This phenomenon is well documented in research (Ellemers et al., 2002; Hornsey, 2008). However, the consistency of this effect is mainly observed in groups with a higher social status (Amâncio, 1989; Ellemers et al., 1992).

Socially devalued groups, such as racial and gender minorities, may exhibit behaviors that appear to be aimed at favoring the outgroup over their ingroup (Santos & Pereira, 2021), which calls into question the assumed universality of the motivation for positive distinctiveness (Hornsey, 2008). Tajfel and Turner (1979) have proposed alternative strategies to address this dynamic, ranging from individual approaches to collective strategies. One individual strategy is social mobility, in which individuals identify with a less valued group but pretend to belong to a more valued group (Santos & Pereira, 2021). For example, individuals may change their appearance or behavior to conform to societal criteria to be classified in a group with higher social value. Social creativity involves the subjective redefinition of social comparison dimensions to stand out positively in certain social contexts. For example, women may creatively reinterpret traditional gender roles to stand out positively. The third strategy involves collective actions aimed at changing social relationships. Instead of pursuing individual strategies, individuals may engage in group actions that advocate for social change. The choice of strategy depends on how the individual perceives and legitimizes the social reality: If boundaries between groups are perceived as flexible and social hierarchies as legitimate, they may choose to disidentify through individual strategies such as social mobility (Jackson et al., 1996). When hierarchies are seen as legitimate but difficult to change, social creativity may be used (Derks et al., 2007; Bezouw, 2020). When boundaries between groups are seen as impermeable and hierarchies as illegitimate, individuals may choose collective action strategies to challenge and change social hierarchies (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Jetten, 2013).

In this article, we focus on understanding Black women's motivations to engage in collective actions and highlight the intricate interplay between racial and gendered social identification, discrimination, and collective action in this particular context.

Gender Discrimination, Racial Discrimination, and Collective Action

Collective action, defined as the coordinated efforts of individuals who share a common social identity to achieve a collective political goal (Becker & Tausch, 2015), represents a powerful force in societal change. This study addresses the intricate dynamics of collective action, focusing on the motivating factors and complexities involved, particularly in relation to women and specifically Black women.

The research underlines the positive correlation between collective action and increased group identification. Simon et al. (2008) shows that people with a strong group identity are more involved in social movements. Building on this, the relationship between the awareness of belonging to a discriminated group and the impetus for collective action has been extensively documented. Becker and Wright (2011), Freadman and Leaper (2010), Nelson et al. (2008) and Liss et al. (2004) highlight the increased intention to engage in collective action in response to experiences of discrimination, particularly among women. These studies highlight the importance of gender discrimination as a catalyst for collective mobilization.

The research extends to the nuanced field of Black women and emphasizes the central role of intersectional consciousness — the awareness of belonging to multiple social groups (e.g., woman and Black) simultaneously. The discussions emphasize the complexity of privilege and disadvantage emanating from intersecting racial and gender groups (Wiley & Bikmen, 2012). Curtin et al. (2015) demonstrate the positive correlation between Black women's awareness of intersectionality and their propensity for collective action. This sheds light on the unique challenges Black women face and the need to recognize the interplay between racial and gender identities.

A critical dimension to illuminate concerns the perpetuation of low social value in group memberships, which is seen because of an illegitimate social order. The prevailing literature highlights the coping strategies of social minorities in response to discrimination

(DeBlaere et al., 2013; Pereira, 2021), but overlooks the nuanced role of discrimination and social identity in Black women's collective action. Bridging this gap is essential for a holistic understanding of the multi-layered motivations underlying Black women's collective efforts. Furthermore, the role of system justification in collective actions — whether it is to reinforce the status quo or to seek societal change— - is an unexplored area. Existing evidence suggests that individuals prone to system justification exhibit lower motivation for collective action (Becker & Wright, 2011). However, this premise has yet to be explored in the intersectional context of racial and gendered identities.

This study moves beyond the realm of progressive collective actions for social change to examine the complicated interplay of factors in conservative collective actions. The study considers the central role of gender and racial discrimination, genderand racial identification and consciousness of belonging to multiple discriminated groups, and system justification in shaping conservative or progressive collective action. This comprehensive approach aims to decode the motivations and obstacles that influence Black women's collective action and contribute to a more nuanced understanding of their sociopolitical dynamics. The findings promise to enrich scholarly discourse and inform policy initiatives aimed at promoting inclusivity and dismantling entrenched inequalities.

Overview of the Present Study

The main purpose of this study is to examine the central role of gender and racial identification in Black women's intentions to participate in collective actions. Specifically, we aim to examine whether they intend to both advance equality and perpetuate existing inequalities, especially when faced with discrimination based on their gender, race, or the intersectionality of the two. Furthermore, our study examines the extent to which their motivation to legitimize the system of social inequalities influences their responses to collective actions.

In our experimental study, we had Black women read texts that addressed various forms of discrimination, including racism, sexism, and their intersections. Following this reading, participants were asked to express their intentions regarding participation in collective actions for social change and conservative collective actions. Our central hypothesis is that Black women who experience racial and sexist discrimination will have an increased intention to participate in collective actions for social change. At the same time, they are expected to show lower intention for conservative collective actions, especially when characterized by strong racial and gender identification and lower system justification.

This hypothesis is rooted in social identity theory, which emphasizes the centrality of minority group identity in promoting action for social change. We emphasize the importance of perceptions of system legitimacy as highlighted in system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Consistent with these theories, minority groups that perceive the system as fair and legitimate show a lower propensity to actively pursue social change (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Osborne et al., 2017). Furthermore, we examine the nuanced influence of religious affiliation on the intention to engage in conservative collective actions, recognizing previous research findings that religion is a robust predictor of such actions (Lienesch, 1982). The study also examines the relationship between both forms of collective action and social class membership, drawing on the findings of previous studies (Caricati, 2017). In addition, we examine the impact of women's prior involvement in social movements, as we know that this is an important factor in collective action (Simon et al., 2008). Through this comprehensive investigation, we aim to unravel the complex dynamics underlying Black women's intentions for collective actions and contribute to a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted factors that shape their socio-political responses.

Method

Participants and Design

We determined the sample size in advance using WebPower (Zhang & Yuan, 2018). We specified a power of .80, a low effect size ($f = .20$, $p = .05$), indicating a need for at least 198 participants. The study included 198 Black women (mean age = 36.83; SD = 11.66). Most had an incomplete college degree (19.2%), were lower middle class (41.9%), reported no religious affiliation (39.4%), considered themselves left-wing (80.8%), and had participated in social movements, although they did not describe themselves as active at the time of the survey (39.9%). Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: salience of racial discrimination, salience of sexist discrimination, salience of racial and sexist discrimination, and a control condition.

Procedures

After obtaining ethical approval (CAAE: 43187121.0.0000.5188), we conducted this study on the Qualtrics platform. Through ads on Facebook and Instagram, women were invited to participate in the study after giving their consent. In each condition, participants read a text that manipulated the salience of discrimination. In the racial and sexist discrimination condition, they read:

"As you may have noticed, Black women are doubly discriminated against in many important areas of life. It is very likely that someone has discriminated against you because you are a Black woman. Black women face discrimination and inequality in employment, wages, education, politics, the courtroom and in their daily interactions." After reading the text, they answered the following questions:

"Can you think of a situation in which Black women are discriminated against?" "Please describe it"; "Think of a situation in which you were discriminated against because you are a Black woman. "Please describe it"; "How did you feel in this situation in which you were discriminated against?".

In the racial discrimination condition, the term "Black women" was replaced by "Black people", in the sexist discrimination condition by "women". Participants in the control

condition did not have access to the text and proceeded directly to the measurements of the study variables.

Measures
Measure of Collective Action for Social Inequality Reduction

To measure the intention for collective action towards social change, we used 10 items based on the Collective Behavior Scale developed by Lis et al. (2004). Participants were asked how willing they were to participate in each of the 10 activities, with responses ranging from 1 (not at all willing) to 4 (very willing). Principal axis factor analysis revealed a single factor (eigenvalue = 4.48; loadings: 0.40 to 0.78) that measured participants' intention to engage in collective actions with high internal consistency (alpha = 0.85).

Measure of Conservative Collective Action

Participants were presented with a list of six descriptors for conservative actions ("Participate in a demonstration against abortion"; "Participate in a demonstration against gender ideology"; "Participate in a demonstration in defense of the family"; "Campaign for a right-wing woman in elections"; "Vote for a right-wing candidate to have more women in politics"; "Campaign for a right-wing woman in elections"). The exploratory factor analysis revealed a single factor (eigenvalue = 3.80; loadings: 0.56 to 0.92) with high internal consistency that measures participants' intention to participate in conservative collective actions (alpha = 0.86).

Gender Group Identification Measure

We measured group identification using the Group Identification Scale by Leach et al. (2008), adapted to the Brazilian context by Souza et al. (2019). This scale consists of 14 items divided into five factors: Solidarity ("I feel connected to women") (alpha = 0.70), Satisfaction ("I am satisfied with being a woman") (alpha = 0.79), Centrality ("I often think about being a woman") (alpha = 0.61), Individual self-stereotyping ("I have a lot in common with most women") (alpha = 0.81), and ingroup homogeneity ("Women have a lot in

common") (alpha = 0.66). Each item corresponded to a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Measurement of racial group identification

We used the same group identification scale from Leach et al. (2008) validated by Ramos and Alves (2011), except that we replaced the word "woman" with "Black person" in the items (example: "I think Black people have a lot to be proud of"). The 14 items were also divided into 5 factors: Solidarity (alpha = 0.77), Satisfaction (alpha = 0.78), Centrality (alpha = 0.84), Individual Self-Stereotyping (alpha = 0.84), and End-Group ingroup homogeneity (alpha = 0.60). They corresponded to a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

System Justification Measure

To measure system justification, we used the six items of the System Justification Scale developed by Dantas and Pereira (2021) (examples: "Most things happen because they are best for society", "This is the best place in the world to live"). Participants responded on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). The internal consistency of the measurement was alpha = 0.88.

Sociodemographic Variables

To characterize the socio-demographics, we asked about age, education, social class, religion, political orientation, and participation in social movements. In terms of social class, women were asked whether they considered themselves lower class, lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class, or upper class. In terms of religion, we asked the women whether they were Protestant, Catholic, of a non-monotheistic religion (Umbanda, Candomblé), had no religion or were spiritualists. In terms of participation in social movements, we asked whether they had never participated, whether they had participated but were not currently active, whether they were currently participating and active, or whether they were currently participating and very active.

<div style="text-align: center;">**Results**</div>

Differences between Collective Actions

To understand the effects of each manipulated type of discrimination on progressive and conservative collective actions, we conducted a factorial ANOVA comparing the means of collective actions after the manipulations. The results showed no significant main effect of sexist discrimination, $F(1, 194) = 0.01$, $p = 0.97$, $\eta^2 = 0.00$, nor of racial discrimination, $F(1, 194) = 0.12$, $p = 0.72$, $\eta^2 = 0.00$. More importantly, there was a significant interaction effect between the discriminations, $F(1, 194) = 4.21$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$. Based on the means, significant differences were found between the types of actions in all conditions. When comparing the conditions with each other in terms of types of collective action, we found that the racist and sexist discrimination condition led to a marginally significant effect on conservative collective action compared to sexist discrimination, $F(1, 194) = 3.48$, $p = 0.06$, $\eta^2 = 0.01$. The mean values are shown in Table 1 and Figure 1.

Table 1

Differences between collective actions according to each condition

Condition	CARSI	CCA	b	p
Sexist Discrimination	3.47	1.67 [a]	1.79	0.00
Racist Discrimination	3.49	1.61	1.87	0.00
Racist and Sexist Discrimination	3.48	1.39 [b]	2.08	0.00
Control	3.36	1.55	1.81	0.00

Note: CARSI = Collective Action to Reduce Social Inequalities; CCA = Conservative Collective Action. b = difference between means; p = significance of the p-value. Different letters mean statistically different means between experimental conditions at p < .05 (LSD)

Figure 1

Means of intention to engage in collective actions in each experimental condition.
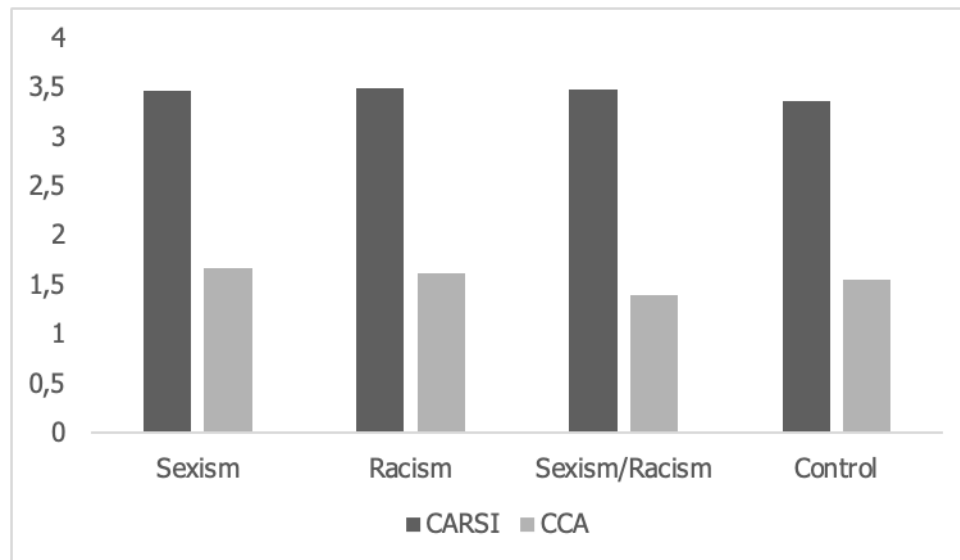
Note: CARSI = Collective Action to Reduce Social Inequalities; CCA = Conservative

Collective Action.

Collective Action for Reduction of Social Inequalities and Conservative Action

To analyze the effects of manipulaton on collective action to reduce social

inequalities, we conducted an ANOVA with discrimination conditions as independent

variables and collective action to reduce social inequalities as the dependent variable. We

observed no main effect of racial discrimination, $F(1,194) = 0.95$, $p = 0.33$, $\eta^2 = 0.00$, sexist

discrimination, $F(1,194) = 0.40$, $p = 0.52$, $\eta^2 = 0.00$, and racial and sexist discrimination,

$F(1,194) = 0.69$, $p = 0.40$, $\eta^2 = 0.00$.

The ANOVA, which only considered conservative collective action in relation to the

discrimination conditions, revealed neither a main effect of racial discrimination, $F(1, 194) =$

1.12, $p = 0.29$, $\eta^2 = 0.00$, nor of sexist discrimination, $F(1, 194) = 0.23$, $p = 0.63$, $\eta^2 = 0.00$,

with only a marginally significant effect of racist and sexist discrimination, F (1, 194) = 2.79, $p = 0.09$, $\eta^2 = 0.01$.

Religion and Collective Action for Reduction of Social Inequalities

To analyze the role of religion in collective action to reduce social inequalities, we conducted an ANOVA using discrimination manipulations and religion as independent variables and collective action to reduce social inequalities as the dependent variable. We observed no statistically significant main or interaction effects ($p > 0.05$).

Religion and Conservative Collective Action

Through an ANOVA using discrimination manipulations and religion as independent variables and conservative collective action as the dependent variable, we found a significant main effect of religion, F (1,178) = 11.70, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.20$, an interaction effect between the types of discrimination, F (1, 178) = 5.10, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$, and a marginally significant interaction effect between the racial discrimination condition and religion, F (1,178) = 2.30, $p = 0.06$, $\eta^2 = 0.04$.

In relation to religion, we found that Black Protestant women ($M = 2.75$, $SD = 0.21$) expressed a higher intention to engage in conservative collective action than Catholics ($M = 1.73$, $SD = 0.09$) ($b = 1.00$, $EP = 0.23$, $p < 0.001$), women of non-monotheistic religions ($M = 1.36$, $SD = 0.10$) ($b = 1.38$, $EP = 0.24$, $p < 0.001$), people with no religion ($M = 1.33$, $SD = 0.07$) ($b = 1.41$, $EP = 0.22$, $p < 0.001$) and spiritists ($M = 1.49$, $SD = 0.21$) ($b = 1.25$, $EP = 0.30$, $p < 0.001$).

When we decomposed the interaction between racial discrimination and religion, we found that under the condition of racial discrimination, the intention to engage in conservative collective action was higher among Protestants ($M = 3.23$, $SD = 0.35$) than among other religions such as Catholics ($M = 1.54$, $SD = 0.13$) ($b = 1.68$, $EP = 0.37$, $p < 0.001$), non-monotheistic religions ($M = 1.37$, $SD = 0.16$) ($b = 1.85$, $EP = 0.38$, $p < 0.001$),

people with no religion ($M = 1.27$, $SD = 0.11$) ($b=.1.96$, $EP = 0.36$, $p < 0.001$) and spiritists ($M = 1.45$, $SD = 0.35$) ($b=1.77$, $EP = 0.50$, $p < 0.001$). In the condition without racial discrimination, the mean value of conservative collective action is also higher for black Protestant women ($M = 2.62$, $SD = 0.24$) than for non-monotheistic religions ($M = 1.35$, $SD = 0.14$) ($b=0.90$, $EP = 0.28$, $p < 0.05$), non-religious ($M = 1.40$, $SD = 0.10$) ($b=.0.86$, $EP = 0.22$, $p < 0.001$) and spiritists ($M = 1.53$, $SD = 0.24$) ($b=0.72$, $EP = 0.34$, $p < 0.05$) and differ only from Catholics ($M = 1.94$, $SD = 0.12$) ($b=0.32$, $EP = 0.27$, $p = 0.24$). The mean values of conservative collective action according to religious affiliation under the condition of racial discrimination are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Conservative collective action means in relation to the racist discrimination condition.
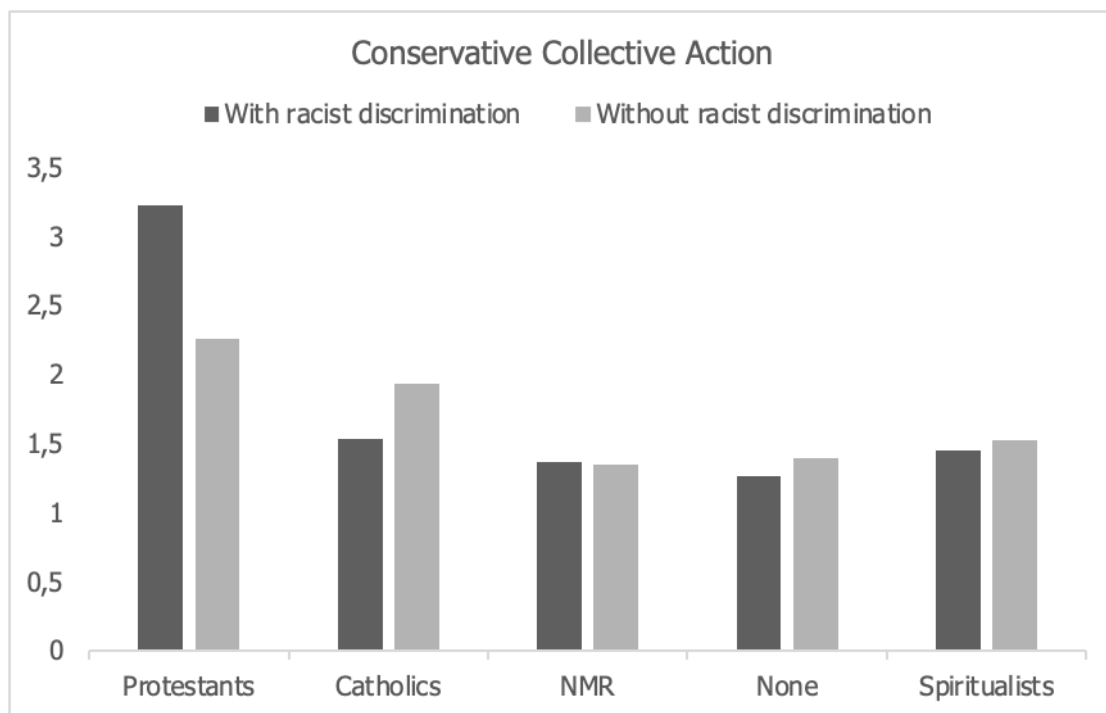
Note: NMR= non-monotheistic religions

Social Movements and Collective Action for the Reduction of Social Inequalities

To assess the impact of social movements on collective action to reduce social inequalities, we conducted an ANOVA using discrimination conditions as independent

variables, participation in social movements as a covariate, and collective action to reduce social inequalities as the dependent variable. The analysis revealed a significant effect of participation in social movements on collective action to reduce social inequalities, F (1,190) = 15.52, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.07$. Those who are currently active and very active in a social movement have a higher mean score for collective action to reduce social inequalities ($M =$ 3.69, $SD = 0.12$) than those who have never participated ($M = 3.22$, $SD = 0.06$) ($b = 0.47$, $EP = 0.13$, $p < 0.001$).

Social Movements and Conservative Collective Action

Conducting an ANOVA with discrimination conditions as independent variables, participation in social movements as a covariate, and conservative collective action as the dependent variable revealed non-significant main and interaction effects.

Social Class and Collective Action for the Reduction of Social Inequalities

Conducting an ANOVA with discrimination conditions as independent variables, social class as a covariate and collective action to reduce social inequalities as the dependent variable revealed non-significant main and interaction effects.

Social Class and Conservative Collective Action

When conducting a similar ANOVA to the one described in the previous section, except that the dependent variable was changed to conservative collective action, a significant interaction between the sexist discrimination condition and social class was observed, F (1,190) = 3.87, $p = 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$. Mean scores of conservative collective action for Black women in the lower social class (-1 SD) were lower in the sexist discrimination condition ($M = 1.42$, $SD = 0.10$) than in the condition in which sexist discrimination was not salient ($M = 1.67$, $SD = 0.10$) ($b = - 0.25$, $EP = 0.14$, $p = 0.08$).

Group Identification, System Justification, and Collective Action for the Reduction of Social Inequalities

To understand the moderating role of the centrality of gender and racial identity and system justification in the relationship between types of discrimination and collective action to reduce social inequalities, we conducted an ANCOVA. The dependent variable was collective action to reduce social inequalities, and the moderators were gender identity centrality, race identity centrality, and system justification, with type of discrimination as the independent variable.

The results showed significant main effects of system justification, F (1,170) = 4.86, p < 0.05, η^2 = 0.02, and gender identity centrality, F (1,170) = 7.21, p < 0.001, η^2 = 0.04. These effects suggest that lower system justification is associated with higher intention for collective action and higher gender identity centrality is associated with higher intention for collective action. We also observed a marginally significant interaction effect between discrimination, system justification, and gender identity centrality, F(1,170) = 2.30, p = 0.06, η^2 = 0.04.

When decomposing the interaction, we found that there were significant differences in women with higher system justification and lower gender identity centrality on collective measures of reducing social inequalities between the control condition (M = 2.63, SD = 0.18) and the racial discrimination condition (M = 3.57, SD = 0.23, b = -0.93, EP = 0.30, p < 0.05) and the racial and sexist discrimination condition (M = 3.50, SD = 3.50, b = - 0.87, EP = 0.33, p < 0.01). This means that there are more collective actions to reduce inequalities in the racist discrimination and racist and sexist discrimination conditions than in the control condition. These results are shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3

Collective action means to reduce inequalities in relation to conditions
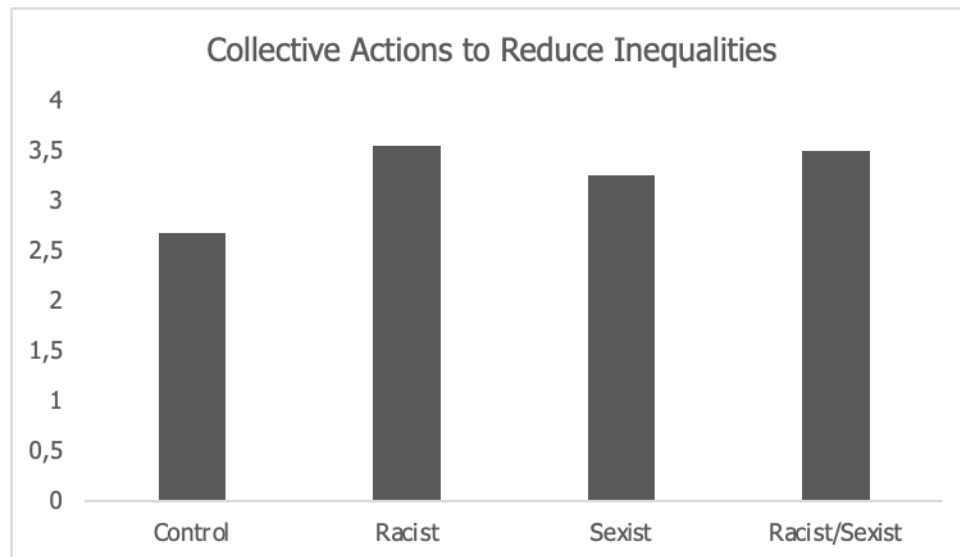
Collective Actions to Reduce Inequalities

Note: The covariates that appear in the model are evaluated at the following values: System Justification = 0.74, Gender Centrality = -0.99, Racial Centrality = 0.0049.

We also found a marginally significant effect between the control conditions (M = 3.52, SD = 0.11) and sexist discrimination (*M* = 3.85, *SD* = 0.15, *b* = 0.33, *EP* = 0.19, *p* = 0.09) for women with low system justification but high gender centrality. In the sexist discrimination condition, the intention to act collectively is greater than in the control condition.

Group Identification, System Justification, and Conservative Collective Action

We performed a similar ANCOVA as in the previous section, with conservative collective action as the dependent variable. We identified a main effect of system justification, $F(1,170) = 18.83$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.10$, and racial centrality, $F(1,170) = 5.51$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.03$. These effects suggest that higher system justification is associated with

greater conservative collective action and higher racial identification is associated with greater conservative collective action. We also found a significant interaction effect between discrimination, system justification, and racial centrality, $F_{(1,170)} = 3.37$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.08$.

The decomposition of the interaction showed that participants in the sexist discrimination condition showed a higher intention for conservative collective action ($M = 1.77$, $SD = 0.21$) than in the control condition ($M = 1.14$, $SD = 0.14$, $b = 0.62$, $EP = 0.25$, $p < 0.05$), for racial discrimination ($M = 1.00$, $SD = 0.29$, $b = 0.76$, $EP = 0.36$, $p < 0.05$) and for racial and sexist discrimination ($M = 1.06$, $SD = 0.20$, $b = 0.71$, $EP = 0.31$, $p < 0.05$). That is, Black women in low system justification and low racial centrality conditions showed a higher intention to engage in conservative collective action when faced with sexist discrimination than women in any of the other conditions. These mean scores are shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4

Means of conservative collective action in relation to conditions.
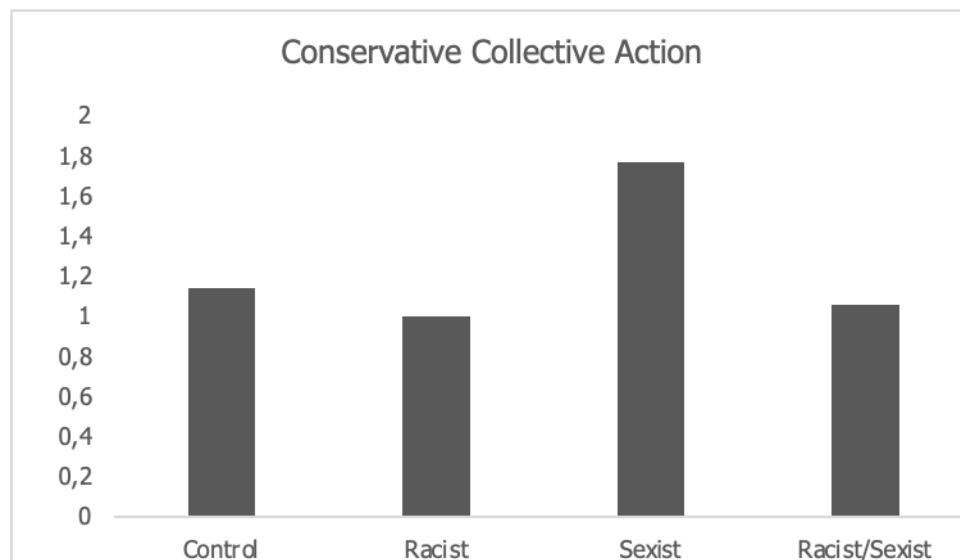
Note: The covariates that appear in the model are evaluated at the following values: System Justification = -0.74, Gender Centrality = 0.0076, Racial Centrality = -1.09

Discussion

This study explored the complex dynamics associated with Black women's responses to gender and racial discrimination. It included the dual identification of gender and race and the role that individual differences in group identification and system justification play on their involvement in conservative collective action or efforts to reduce social inequalities. In addition, we examined how factors such as religious affiliation, social class, and participation in social movements affect intentions to engage in both forms of collective action. Our findings revealed nuanced differences in Black women's engagement in collective action, particularly when it comes to the challenges they face as Black women, highlighting the profound implications of the "double discrimination" that accompanies intersectionality. We also found that social factors play a central role: Religious affiliation, involvement in social movements, and social class had a significant impact on the propensity for collective action. In the following sections, we provide a brief summary of our main findings and engage in a detailed discussion in which we make connections to the hypotheses we put forward and highlight the broader implications of our study.

The Role of Group Identification and System Justification in Collective Action

The results showed that Black women showed less intention to engage in conservative collective action when confronted with a "double" discriminatory situation (racist and sexist). We also found that Black women who justified the system less and identified more as a group had a greater intention to engage in collective action for social change and the reduction of inequalities. When analyzing the moderating effect of identity and system justification on the relationship between discrimination salience and collective action to reduce inequalities, we found that Black women who identified more strongly with this social category showed a greater intention for collective action under the condition of racial discrimination salience, and this effect persisted among those who justified the system more. These results can be

explained in two ways: first, by looking at the role of group identity (Becker & Wagner, 2009) and second, by looking at the degree of system justification (Jost et al., 2017).

In terms of group identity, we observed that women who identified more strongly as Black were more likely to express an intention to engage in collective action to reduce inequalities when faced with racial discrimination. In this sense, participants in the racial discrimination condition may have been acting in accordance with the need to defend their racial identity, but not necessarily their gender identity. This interpretation is consistent with findings from previous studies by Thompson (1999) showing that racial discrimination can emphasize the need to reinforce racial identity. In the case of Black women, there is also evidence that contextual factors, such as those related to racial discrimination, may heighten the importance of racial identity among these women (Thomas et al., 2013), which may contribute to their more positive attitudes toward collective action for social change.

Consistent with our hypothesis, we found evidence that lower system justification is associated with greater collective action for social change. These findings were similar to those of Osborne et al.'s (2018) studies, which found a negative relationship between system justification and collective action for social change. Indeed, Curtin et al. (2015) showed that women who are more critical of the social system in which they live are more likely to engage in progressive collective action.

In addition, we need to consider the effect, albeit marginally significant, of low system justification and high gender centrality, which led to greater intention for collective action among women in the sexist discrimination condition. In this case, the salience of sexist discrimination may have aroused women's need to defend their gender identity, which, together with low endorsement of system justification, may have facilitated the emergence of greater intention to act. These findings are consistent with the Integrated Model of Social Identity and Collective Action (van Zomeren et al., 2008) and the Model of Collective Action

and System Justification (Jost et al., 2017), according to which perceptions of injustice, strong group identification, and low system justification reflect a greater intention for collective action aimed at social change.

In terms of conservative collective action, we found evidence that Black women with low system justification and low racial centrality expressed greater intention for conservative collective action in the condition in which sexism was emphasized. Although it may seem contradictory that low system justification leads to conservative collective action, this pattern is not new, especially when observed among women with low group identification. Liekefett and Becker (2021), for example, have shown that low levels of system justification are related to conservative actions because people reject the current status quo and advocate for social change that increases inequality, precisely because of the inherent conservatism in their actions. In this sense, it is possible that some women have acted out of a belief that the Brazilian system is unjust because it is driven by gendered ideologies and communist ideas, and that this has led to conservative collective action aimed at traditionalism. This possibility is consistent with the rise of conservatism in Brazil in recent years, particularly after the coup that overthrew progressive President Dilma Rousseff in 2016, indicating dissatisfaction with Brazil and arguments for the restoration of a more traditional Brazil (Fowler, 2018). Thus, the belief among some women that Brazil is not equitable and threatens the historical hierarchies that favor economic and racial elites may reinforce conservative collective action. Considering that our scale of conservative collective action centers on anti-abortion issues and support for conservative candidates, this alternative explanation might make sense, as people might act to strengthen conservatism due to their resistance to changes introduced in recent decades to reduce gender inequality, which could pose a threat to more conservative agendas.

The Role of Social Affiliations

Protestant black women showed a higher intention to engage in conservative collective action when they witnessed racial discrimination. On the other hand, Black women who are more active in social movements show a greater intention to participate in collective actions aimed at reducing social inequalities. Social class also played an important role in the intention to act collectively. Lower class Black women indicated less intention to engage in conservative collective action related to sexist discrimination. These findings underscore the importance of paying attention to Black women's social position when participating in collective action. In addition to variables directly related to collective action, such as group identification, the profile of Black women provides insight into the types of actions in which they might participate. As for religion, it is inextricably linked to conservative collective action by women seeking to preserve traditional gender roles (Schreiber, 2002; Youssef, 2022).

Participation in social movements was also related to engagement in collective action, confirming previous studies on this topic (e.g., Simon et al., 2008). In our study, Black women showed a higher intention to engage in collective action for social change and a lower intention for conservative collective action. This suggests that the social movements they intend to participate in may be feminist movements aimed at reducing gender inequality.

Social class is also an indicator of engagement in collective action (Caricati, 2017). In our study, lower social class of Black women was associated with lower intentions for conservative collective action. This finding may be attributed to the fact that greater class consciousness may lead to a belief that status deserves to be changed, which in turn leads to lower participation in conservative collective action (Liekefett & Becker, 2022).

Theoretical Implications

The results of our study may have important theoretical implications for the study of Black women's collective action, as they highlight the salience of discrimination, the role of

group identity, and system justification. Despite the growing interest in studies of women's collective action (Scheifele et al., 2020; Becker & Wright, 2011; Becker & Wagner, 2009), we observe a specific gap regarding the role of discrimination salience in Black women's collective action. While some studies have looked at the effects of discrimination on the subjective well-being of this group (DeBlaere et al., 2014; Szymanski et al., 2015), there is still a lack of research directly related to Black women's collective action. Understanding how different forms of discrimination can lead to collective action is crucial to understanding Black women's responses and motivations in different situations, thus contributing to the theoretical advancement of social psychology and providing practical insights.

Another important theoretical implication concerns the role of system justification, particularly in the context of collective action for change or conservation (Jost et al., 2017). Various links between system justification and collective action can be found in the literature, e.g. that individuals with high levels of system justification are less likely to engage in collective action (Osborne et al., 2018). However, there is also the role of system justification as a motivator for collective action (Cichocka et al., 2018). Our findings provide an understanding of unexpected findings, such as that low system justification is related to conservative collective action, as described by Liekefett and Becker (2021). This finding provides a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted role of system justification, which can be associated with both conservative and progressive demands and motivate collective action for social change in very specific situations.

The most important aspect of our study is its contribution to an unprecedented understanding of Black women's collective action in defining their identity. Studies of gendered collective action in social psychology often overlook the diversity of Black women's identifications, focus exclusively on gender identity (Scheifele et al., 2020; Becker & Wagner, 2009), or neglect the predictive role of the dual discrimination they face. By

bridging this gap, our study provides a more comprehensive and representative understanding of Black women's collective agency, paving the way for future research that is more inclusive and broad in scope.

Limitations and Future Directions

Despite the theoretical contributions of our study, it has some limitations. One concerns the manipulation of discrimination salience. It might be necessary to use more than one text to emphasize discrimination against women. Therefore, future studies should use manipulations with more realistic paradigms, such as the bimboola paradigm (Jetten et al., 2015), which simulates inequality situations in a playful way, as has been shown in some studies on minority responses to discrimination (Willis et al., 2022).

Another limitation of the study is related to the identity scales. Using only one scale to measure racial and gender identity or presenting the identity scale in the context of the discrimination condition (e.g., the gender identity scale in the sexist discrimination condition) might be more effective in understanding the impact of Black women's identities on collective action. Since collective action is fundamentally a political phenomenon related to ideology (Jost et al., 2017), not considering Black women's political ideologies was a limitation. Therefore, studies that observe the political spectrum of these women can provide a more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. Another limitation is that women's intersectional consciousness was not measured. This awareness has been shown to predict the collective action of Black women. Future studies can therefore add this variable to understand its effect in a context of discrimination salience.

Conclusions

The results of our study make a significant contribution to a better understanding of Black women's collective action. By looking at different forms of collective action beyond those aimed solely at changing the status quo, we significantly broaden the scope of

understanding in this context. Our findings highlight the crucial nuances that influence Black women's engagement in collective action. These include their responses to discriminatory situations, their religious affiliation, their positioning within hierarchies of social relations, their involvement in social movements, and most importantly, their group identification based on gender, race, or both. In addition, their understanding of the social system plays a crucial role in shaping their responses to identified inequalities.

It is imperative to adopt an intersectional approach to better understand this complicated and multi-layered phenomenon. As our study shows, women do not form a homogenous group, but their experiences are shaped by the confluence of different identities in different social contexts. Consequently, our study underscores the importance of carefully considering these intersections when examining the collective agency of Black women. This approach contributes significantly to capturing the richness and diversity of their experiences and motivations, thus providing a more accurate and meaningful insight into their collective action. Furthermore, this intersectional perspective is crucial for guiding future research and interventions aimed at promoting equality and social justice.

ARTIGO 3

Changing the Rules of the Game: The Role of Discrimination, Intersectionality and System Justification in Black Women's Collective Action

Abstract

This study examines the intersection of racial and gender discrimination and its effects on the reactive behavior of Black women who face discrimination. Specifically, it experimentally examines how actual discrimination, gender identification, and support for system justification influence the behavior of Black women who are motivated to engage in collective action, individual social mobility, and adherence to the current status quo. Using the Bimboola paradigm, the study manipulates scenarios of racial, gender, or combined discrimination among 240 Black women to understand the factors that either promote or inhibit these three behaviors in the face of discrimination. The results suggest that discrimination has a direct effect on social change decisions, such that Black women acted consistently with collective social change motives and this effect occurred among those who identified more with the gender ingroup and endorsed less system justification. The study highlights the importance of group identification and system justification in shaping responses to discrimination and shows that high ingroup identification and a critical view of the system increase motivation for social change, especially in the face of sexism or intersectional racial and gender discrimination. This research contributes to our understanding of the dynamics between discrimination, identity, and activism and offers insights into the ways in which Black women cope with and resist systemic inequalities.

Keywords: Discrimination; Intersectionality; System justification; Black women's collective action.

Introduction

"I am no longer accepting the things I cannot change. I am changing the things I

cannot accept."- Angela Y. Davis

Within the complex tapestry of historical context, Black people have endured an extensive history of discrimination, culminating in persistent inequalities that continue to echo through modern society. Nowhere are these disparities more pronounced than in the wage gap that disproportionately affects Black people, and even more so, Black women. (Bleiweis et al., 2021). In fact, situated at the complex intersection of racial and gender discrimination, Black women navigate a web of inequalities that pervade every aspect of life (Willem & Bikmen, 2012). Yet, in the spirit of Angela Y. Davis's powerful declaration, Black women have risen not to accept, but to challenge and change these disparities, demonstrating an unwavering commitment to collective action (Leath et al., 2022; Ross, 2022). That is, informed by an acute consciousness of the discrimination they endure, these women have forged solidarity to author a new narrative of empowerment. This prompts a critical question: how can Black women carve out paths to exert collective agency and, in turn, reshape their lived experiences while addressing systemic disparities?

We believe that the first crucial step is to raise awareness of the discrimination they face. Recognizing these injustices not only awakens the will to act together but is also a catalyst for mobilization. This assertion is supported by numerous studies (Deblaere et al, 2013; Jetten et al, 2013; Kobrynowics & Branscombe, 1997). However, the pathway to collective action goes beyond the mere perception of discrimination; it involves a conscious identification with both the gender and racial dimensions (Shaheed et al., 2022; Szymanski & Lewis, 2015; White, 2006), coupled with beliefs about the legitimacy of the existing system (Curtin et al., 2015). In this context, there is a clear gap in existing explanations of how Black

women who are discriminated against can effectively unite to act and change their reality. This article seeks to address this gap by experimentally examining the interplay between objective discrimination, perceptions of the system's fairness, and gendered and racialized ingroup identification. It aims to show how these factors interact to either promote or hinder Black women's motivation for collective action to promote equality.

Ingroup Identification and Collective Action of Black Women

The seminal work of Tajfel and Turner (1979) has greatly expanded our understanding of how individuals navigate complicated social scenarios, driven by their social identity. A central aspect of their contribution lies in addressing the challenges faced by members of minority groups when their identities are not recognized as "good identities" Tajfel and Turner (1979) proposed three strategies to deal with this dilemma: social mobility, social creativity and social change. This article focuses specifically on exploring the last strategy and examines the central role that black women play in this transformation process.

Existing studies on this topic emphasize that Black women have been at the forefront of social change initiatives with an Afrocentric approach, from the 17th-century slave rebellion in the southern United States to contemporary movements advocating for Black freedom (Ross et al., 2022). Black women's awareness of the injustices they face, both in society at large and in their communities, is a compelling motivator for collective action. Consequently, Black women around the world actively participate in various forms of collective action. Numerous authors have highlighted their significant presence in movements aimed at social change based on humanistic ideals and progress within Black communities (Leath et al., 2022; Ross, 2022; Thomas, 2004). Their contributions range from signing petitions to participating in substantive discussions about their realities to advocating for causes via social media platforms (Ross, 2022).

In the broader literature on collective action, recognition of injustice or discrimination emerges as a key catalyst for collective mobilization, as research shows (van Zomeren et al., 2008). While Black women are known for their active participation in collective action, there is a recognizable gap in examining the specific role of discrimination in this context. Much of the existing research focuses primarily on understanding how perceptions of discrimination can lead to psychological distress, while also examining mediating or moderating factors in the relationship between perceived discrimination and distress (Deblaere et al., 2014; Szymanski & Lewis, 2015). Some studies even focus on a "pure" analysis of the perception of discrimination among Black women (Fattore et al., 2020; Remedios et al., 2020).

Among the studies looking at the relationship between perceived discrimination and Black women's activism, the work of Ross et al. (2022) is noteworthy. The study of 107 participants examined the relationship between activism, perceived racism, psychological empowerment, and spirituality and revealed a positive and statistically significant correlation between activism, perceived racism, and psychological empowerment. However, it is important to note that while this finding is relevant, the study does not establish a clear causal relationship between discrimination and activism. This limitation arises from the fact that the study assesses perceptions of discrimination rather than manipulating specific situations of discrimination.

Group identity, i.e. a person's awareness of belonging to a particular group, proves to be a crucial factor influencing collective action, as various studies have shown (White, 2006; Szymanski & Lewis, 2015). Another important element in this process is system justification with literature exploring how this variable can influence collective action (Osborne et al., 2018; Jost et al., 2017). Therefore, it is imperative to give more comprehensive and coordinated attention to experimental studies that analyze the effects of discrimination on Black women's collective action. This research should incorporate identity-related variables

and ideological considerations such as system justification. In the following sections, these variables are examined in detail in the context of Black women's collective action studies.

Intersectionality, System Justification, and Collective Action

The crucial role of social identity in collective action raises an important question: How should the social identities of groups that span multiple categories, such as Black women who navigate the complex intersections of gender and race, be treated? Willem and Bikmen (2012) emphasize the importance of incorporating the concept of intersectionality into the discussion of social identity, which they view as the interconnectedness of different social categories that a person represents. This interconnectedness leads to a perception of multiple social locations, resulting in unique experiences of privilege and disadvantage that must be considered in collective action.

In studies examining Black women's collective action, consideration of intersectionality, or the interplay between gender and racial identities, has been a central theme. For example, in a study of 100 self-identifying African American men and women, White (2006) discovered that a strong racial and gender identity along with an enhanced gender identity can predict feminist activism. In a qualitative study involving interviews with 65 Black female students, Leath et al. (2022) emphasized the importance of a strengthened identity as a Black woman in motivating participation in collective action. When examining intersectionality, Curtin et al. (2015) showed that intersectional awareness, i.e. the perception of belonging to more than one social category, correlates positively with social change and negatively with the belief in systemic justice.

While the literature emphasizes how heightened racial and gender identity can influence collective action and how perceptions of system legitimacy can hinder intentions to instigate social change, there is a tendency to overlook the entire pathway from the experience of discrimination to collective action and how other variables can influence this

pathway (Fattore et al., 2020). Much of this research relies on correlational studies, which limits the ability to infer causal relationships for collective action (Shaheed et al., 2022; Ross et al., 2022; White, 2006). To address this gap, we believe that the objective manipulation of discrimination can provide insight into the specific types of discrimination (whether racial, gender-based, or both) that can spur collective action among Black women. Understanding these causal factors is critical to guiding more targeted interventions in Black women's collective action.

With this in mind, we developed an experimental study that utilizes the Bimboola paradigm (Jetten et al., 2015) to manipulate actual discrimination. Our study aims to measure Black women's gender and racial group identification, system justification, and collective action motivations. We hypothesize that actual racial and gender discrimination will elicit greater motivation for social change through collective actions. Furthermore, we hypothesize that the influence of discrimination on motivation for social change will be moderated by ingroup identification (both gender and racial) and system justification. Specifically, we predict that Black women with high ingroup identification and critical attitudes toward the system will show greater motivation for social change through a collective action when they are in a situation where they are objectively discriminated against.

Method

Participants and Design

We predetermined the sample size using WebPower (Zhang & Yuan, 2018). We specified power = .80, low effect size (f = .20 and p = .05), which indicated that 198 or more participants were necessary. We applied this study to 240 Black women (M_{age} = 32.56; SD = 9.89). Most had completed postgraduate education (28.4%), were from lower-middle-class backgrounds (40.7%), had no religious affiliation (38.5%), identified as left-leaning (69.7%), and had previously participated in social movements but did not consider themselves active at

the time of the study (37.6%). Participants were randomly allocated to one of four conditions: the salience of racial discrimination, the salience of sexist discrimination, the salience of both racial and sexist discrimination, and the control condition. Dataset and supplementary materials can be found in the Open Science Framework: https://osf.io/d7fmk/?view_only=069545cf64804ac39feaea603a135fe7

Procedures

After obtaining approval from the Ethics Committee (CAAE: 43187121.0.0000.5188), we conducted this study on the Qualtrics platform. Through advertisements on Facebook and Instagram, women were invited to participate in the study after providing informed consent and agreeing to participate voluntarily. Next, all participants began by responding to sociodemographic measures, measures of system justification, and group identity measures. Next, we introduced participants to the procedures of the Bimboola paradigm (Jetten et al., 2015), used to represent a society in which participants were to engage in a game representing social life in Bimboola.

The manipulation of discrimination and the measurement of dependent variables occurred in five phases. First, in the discrimination conditions, participants were presented with a text informing them that they would be participating in a new society called Bimboola. In the racial and sexist discrimination condition, they read:

> In this study, you will become a citizen of Bimboola. You will start a new life there and become a member of the Bimboolan society. Bimboola is like any other society. The Bimboolan society consists of various groups that differ from each other. The following ladder represents groups with different levels of importance in Bimboola. The group at the top of the ladder is the one in the best position, it is the most valued. The group at

the bottom of the ladder is the one in the worst position, it is the

least valued in Bimboola. The things you may have to start life

in Bimboola will depend on which group you are assigned to.

After the text, the Bimboola environment displayed an image that hierarchized social

groups in Bimboolan society where a social ladder placed men at the top and women at the

bottom (Figure 1).

Figure 1

Representation of social hierarchy in Bimboola
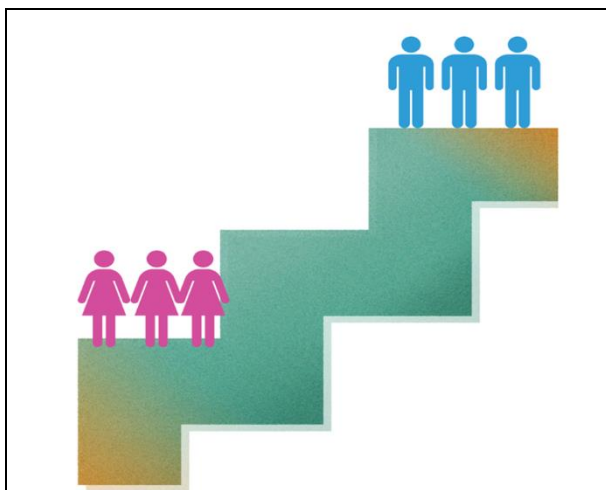
Next, participants read the following text:

Let's start your life in Bimboola! Next, you'll be able to choose

a house to live in, a car, and a job. If you are a woman (vs.

Black person, vs. Black woman vs. control, depending on the

type of discrimination highlighted), you are at the bottom of the

ladder. The options for the group of Black women are the

options ranked with 1 or 2 stars. The others will not be

available for your group.

In the second phase, participants were instructed to choose a house to live in from

among four alternatives. In the third phase, they were instructed to choose a car. In the fourth

phase, it was time to choose a job. The houses, cars, and professions were rated in stars, with less valued items receiving 1 star and more valued items receiving 5 stars (see Figures 2, 3, and 4). Finally, in the fifth phase, we presented a set of questions for measuring the dependent variables.

Figure 2

Houses presented to participants
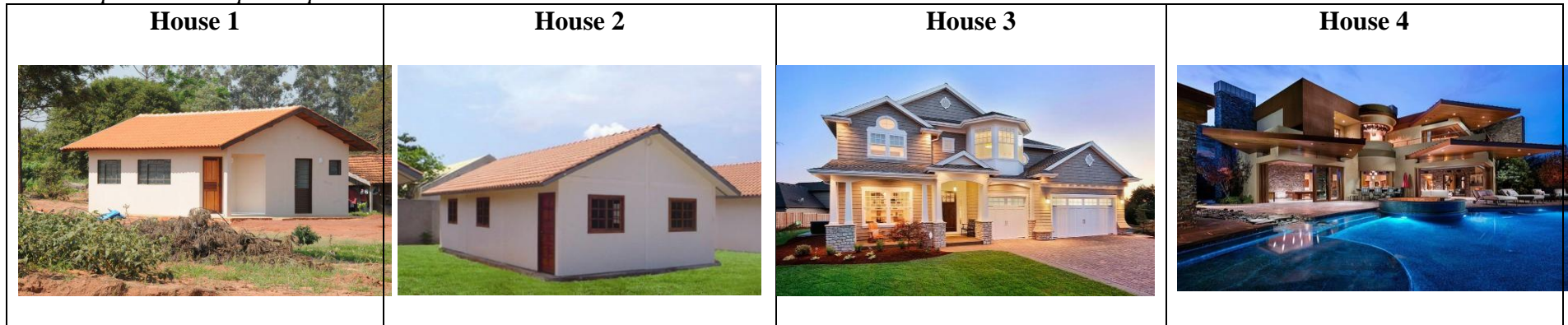
House 1	House 2	House 3	House 4

Note. Participants were given the following instructions: for being a woman (vs. a Black person vs. a Black woman), you may only choose between houses 1 or 2. The other two options were blocked by the system so they could not be selected. In the control condition, all houses were available for selection following the instruction "Please look at each of the houses. Then you should choose one to live in Bimboola."

Figure 3

Cars presented to participants

Car 1	Car 2	Car 3	Car 4

Note. Participants were given the following instructions: for being a woman (vs. a Black person vs. a Black woman), you may only choose between cars 1 or 2. The other two options were blocked by the system so they could not be selected. In the control condition, all cars were available for selection following the instruction "Please look at each of the cars. Then you should choose one to live in Bimboola."

Figure 4

Professions presented to participants

Profession 1	Profession 2	Profession 3	Profession 4

Note. Participants were given the following instructions: for being a woman (vs. a black person vs. a black woman), you may only choose between professions 1 or 2. The other two options were blocked by the system so they could not be selected. In the control condition, all professions were available for selection following the instruction "Please look at each of the professions. Then you should choose one to be yours in Bimboola."

In the control condition, the instructions did not highlight any gender, racial categorization, or social hierarchy in Bimboolan society, nor did they present the ladder of social ranking. Participants read the following instructions: "In this study, you will become a citizen of Bimboola. You will start a new life there and become a member of the Bimboolan society. Bimboola is like any other society" and saw Figure 5. Then, they were invited to choose their house, car, and profession without any limitations on these choices. In other words, they could choose any car, house, or job. After this phase, they responded to the dependent measures.

Figure 5

Representation of society without hierarchies in Bimboola

Measures

The following measures we used were administered before presenting participants to the "Bimboola" environment, i.e., they are pre-experimental manipulation measures.

Group Identification Measure. We assessed group identification using Leach et al.'s (2008) Group Identification Scale, validated for Portuguese by Ramos and Alves (2011). This scale consists of 14 items subdivided into five factors: Solidarity (e.g., "I feel connected with women") (alpha = 0.69), Satisfaction (e.g., "I am satisfied with being a woman") (alpha = 0.69), Centrality (e.g., "I often think about being a woman") (alpha = 0.54), Individual Self-stereotyping (e.g., "I have a lot in common with most women") (alpha = 0.80), and Ingroup

Homogeneity (e.g., "Women have a lot in common") (alpha = 0.67). Each item corresponded to a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

System Justification Measure. To measure system justification, we used the six items from the System Justification Scale developed by Dantas and Pereira (2021) (Examples: "Most things happen because they are best for society," "Here is the best place in the world to live"). Participants responded on a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree). The internal consistency of the measure was alpha = 0.76.

Sociodemographic Variables. To characterize sociodemographics, we used questions about age, education, social class, religion, political orientation, and participation in social movements. Regarding social class, we asked women to self-identify as lower class, lower-middle class, middle class, upper-middle class, or upper class. Regarding religion, we asked if the women were Evangelical/Protestant, Catholic, non-monotheistic (Umbanda, Candomblé), had no religion, or were Spiritist. Regarding participation in social movements, we asked if they had never participated, had previously participated but were not active at the time, participated and were active, or participated and were very active.

The following measures were used after participants were subjected to the experimental manipulation in the "Bimboola" environment.

Motivations to Continue in Bimboola. After participants completed choosing the house, car, and job, we presented them with three questions to assess different motivational strategies for survival in Bimboola. First, we asked "How much would you like to continue following the rules of the game," representing to what extent they wished to continue following life in Bimboola as it is. Then, we asked, "How much would you like to climb the social ladder in Bimboola by your own merits," representing a measure of motivation towards the possibility of social mobility; and finally, we indicated that "The rules of the game for you are unalterable. Therefore, how much would you like to associate with people like you,

trying to change the rules of the game for future players in Bimboola," which represents a measure of motivation for social change. The responses to each of the questions were given on a 4-point scale, ranging from 1 (Not at all) to 4 (Very much).

Results

Descriptive Analyses

First, we performed descriptive analyses of the study's variables, including means and standard deviations, and examined the relationships between participants' reactions to experimental manipulations (i.e., discriminatory conditions based on race, sex, and combinations thereof vs. control), and their motivations to continue in the game, possibility of social mobility, and for social change (see Table 1). Our analysis further encompassed several aspects of group identification: satisfaction, centrality, solidarity, individual self-stereotyping, ingroup homogeneity, and participants' system justification indicators (see Table 1).

The experimental manipulation showed a significant negative correlation with the willingness to continue in the game, underscoring the substantial deterrent effect of discriminatory conditions on participants' willingness to stay engaged. Moreover, we found a positive correlation between system justification and the decision to continue in the game. Aspirations for social change were negatively correlated with both the decision to continue in the game and system justification. Regarding group identification, solidarity exhibited moderate positive correlations with social change and individual self-stereotyping. This reflects a connection between a sense of community, personal identification with stereotypical traits, and a desire for social change. Furthermore, individual self-stereotyping was positively correlated with ingroup homogeneity, indicating a perception of group uniformity among those more closely aligned with stereotypical self-views. Centrality displayed a negative correlation with system justification but had mixed correlations with

other variables, notably a positive correlation with satisfaction. This suggests that a stronger sense of group importance might be linked to higher satisfaction levels within the group.

Motivations to Continue, Social Mobility, and Social Change

In our subsequent analysis, we delved into the motivations to continue in the game, possibility of social mobility, and for social change. This exploration was conducted in light of the experimental conditions and took into consideration the moderating role played gender identification and system justification. Detailed results are presented in Table 2, where we observed significant and marginal effects of experimental manipulation on these motivations. Consequently, we conducted further post-hoc analyses to elucidate these effects.

Motivation to Continue. We found significant differences between the control condition and each of the discriminatory manipulations (i.e., racist, sexist, and both racist and sexist combined) in terms of the decision to continue the game. Specifically, participants in each experimental condition responded with lower motivation to follow the current bimboola rule than participants in the control condition, with mean differences ranging from 1.83 to 1.86, all p < .001 (see Figure 6). No significant differences were found between the discriminating conditions themselves.

Motivation for Mobility. For social mobility, the post-hoc analysis revealed a significant difference only between the control and sexist conditions ($b = .506$, $SE = .193$, $t = 2.622$, $p = .046$), suggesting that participants in the sexist condition expressed stronger motivation to social mobility within the game than those in the control condition (see Figure 6). Other between condition differences did not reach statistical significance.

Motivation for Social Change. Post-hoc analyses showed that the experimental conditions significantly influenced participants' motivations for social change, with significant differences when comparing the control condition. Specifically, social change was significantly lower in the control condition compared to the racist condition, with a mean

difference of .644 (SE = .149, t = 4.322, p = .001). Similarly, motivations for social change in

the control condition were lower than in the gender condition, indicated by a mean difference

of .404 (SE = .144, t = 2.801, p = .028). The control condition also showed reduced

motivations for social change compared to the combined racist and gender conditions, with a

mean difference of .644 (SE = .147, t = 4.376, p = .001). Regarding the differences between

the discriminating conditions, we found no significant differences: the racial condition versus

the gender condition in mobilizing motivations for social change, with a mean difference of -

.240 (SE = .150, t = -1.629, p = .382); the difference between the racist condition and the

combined conditions was minimal, with a mean difference of -.007 (SE = .152, t = -.044, p =

1.000). The comparison between gender discrimination alone and the combined forms of

gender and racial discrimination shows a non-significant mean difference of .240 (SE = .147,

t = 1.644, p = .359). Although not statistically significant, this pattern of results suggests that

combined discrimination slightly alters motivations for social change compared to gender

discrimination alone (see Figure 6).

Table 1

Correlation among the Study's Variables

Variables	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Continue in the game	1.90	1.14	—								
2. Mobility in the game	3.29	1.01	.103	—							
3. Social Change in the game	3.51	.868	-.329**	.025	—						
4. Experimental Manipulation	—	—	-.562**	-.084	.272**	—					
5. Satisfaction	4.56	1.23	.076	.093	-.012	-.025	—				
6. Centrality	5.77	1.05	-.113	.076	.161*	-.032	.172*	—			
7. Solidarity	5.90	.981	-.138	-.001	.265**	.171*	.013	.430**	—		
8. Individual Self-stereotyping	4.45	1.38	-.036	.106	.138*	.113	.197**	.278**	.391**	—	
9. Ingroup Homogeneity	3.94	1.27	-.119	.121	.163**	.208**	.160*	.082	.260**	.557**	—
10. System Justification	1.58	.654	.260**	-.022	-.299**	-.063	.243**	-.330**	-.302**	.012	.048

Note. $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$. Manipulation is coded as $0 =$ control; $1 =$ discriminatory racist condition; $2 =$ discriminatory sexist condition; $3 =$ discriminatory racist and sexist condition.

Table 2

Analysis of Variances in Motivations to Continue, Mobility, and Social Change, while Controlling for Participants' Indicators of Group

Identification and System Justification

Variables	Continue in the Game					Mobility in the Game					Social Change in the Game				
	SS	*df*	F	*P*	n^2p	SS	*df*	F	*p*	n^2p	SS	*df*	F	*p*	n^2p
Manipulation	141.9	3	47.3	.001	.502	7.60	3	2.51	.059	.032	15.6	3	8.55	.001	.101
Satisfaction	.073	1	.073	.730	.001	.253	1	.250	.617	.001	.012	1	.019	.888	.000
Centrality	2.90	1	2.90	.031	.020	1.00	1	.998	.319	.004	.261	1	.427	.514	.002
Solidarity	.037	1	.037	.805	.000	.653	1	.647	.422	.003	2.23	1	3.66	.057	.016
Self-stereotyping	1.99	1	1.99	.073	.014	.046	1	.045	.831	.000	.223	1	.365	.546	.002
Homogeneity	.565	1	.565	.338	.004	3.06	1	3.04	.082	.013	1.22	1	1.99	.159	.009
System Justification	2.79	1	2.79	.034	.019	.097	1	.096	.757	.000	4.78	1	7.83	.006	.033

Note. SS = Sum of Squares.

Figure 6

Post-hoc Comparisons in Motivations to Continue, Social Mobility, and Social Change in

Bimboola
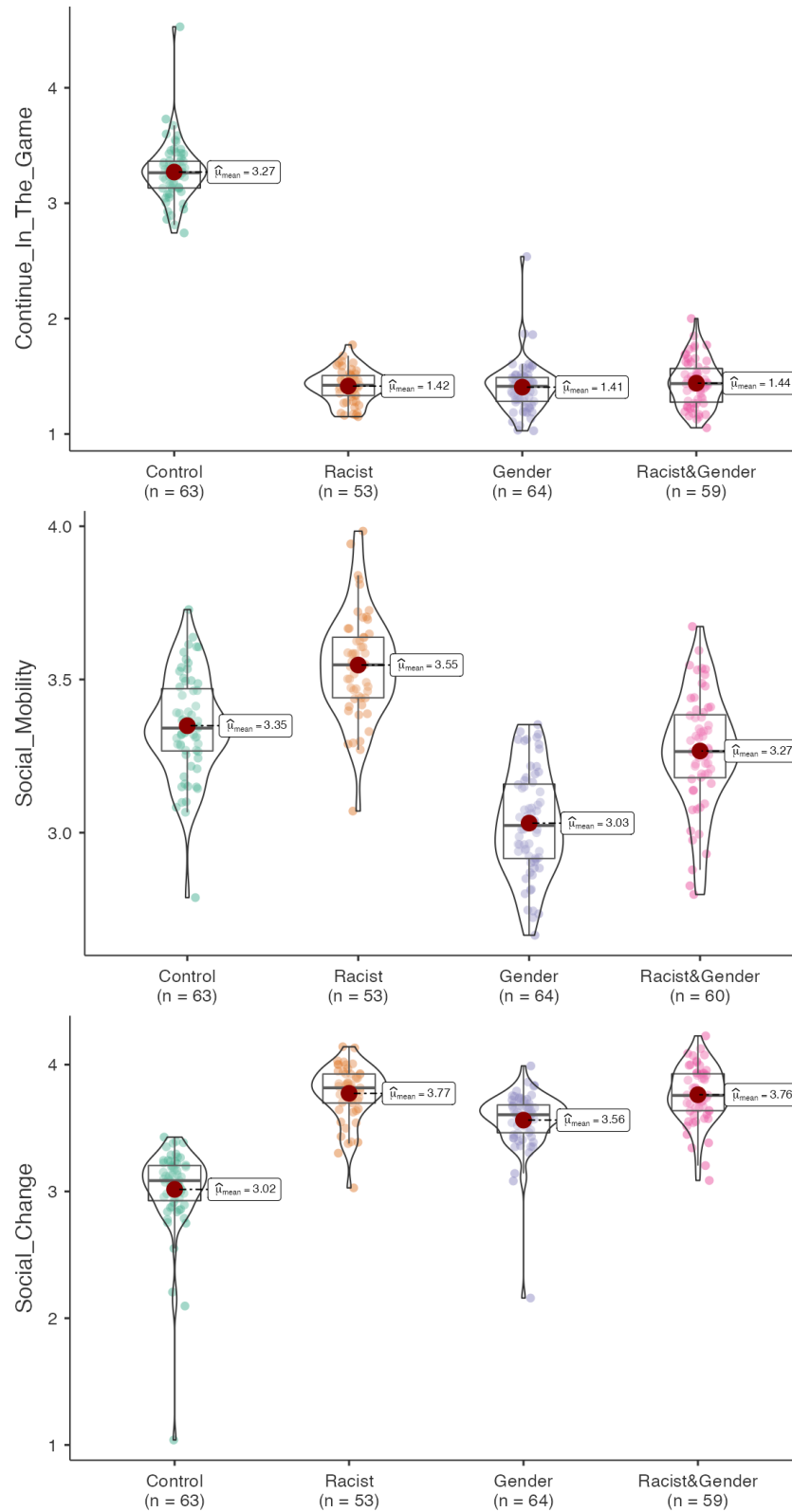
Group identification and System Justification on Women Reaction to Discrimination

We then examined the effects of discriminatory experimental conditions (versus control), group identification (measured through the satisfaction dimension), and system justification, as well as their interactions, in predicting participants' willingness to continue, pursue social mobility or social change in Bimboola (see Table 3). Our analysis focused on the satisfaction dimension of group identification, as it emerged as the strongest predictor of the dependent variables. Additional analyses on other dimensions of group identification are available on the OSF platform.

In terms of participants' willingness to continue playing Bimboola, significant main effects were observed for discrimination manipulation and system justification. Participants in the discriminatory conditions—racist ($b = -1.84$; $SE = .162$; $t = -11.35$, $p = .001$), sexist ($b = -1.79$; $SE = .153$; $t = -11.66$, $p = .001$), and both racist and sexist ($b = -1.81$; $SE = .148$; $t = -12.22$, $p = .001$)—demonstrated a markedly reduced willingness to continue compared to those in the control group. Additionally, there was a positive correlation between participants' endorsement of system justification and their willingness to continue in the game ($b = .227$; $SE = .071$; $t = 3.17$, $p = .002$). Interactions between the predictors did not alter this pattern; irrespective of group identification and system justification levels, those in the discriminatory conditions were less willing to continue in the game without changing its rules (see Figure 7).

When assessing the motivation for social mobility within Bimboola, a marginal effect of experimental manipulation was found. Specifically, no statistically significant differences were observed between participants in the control group and those in the racist or combined racist and sexist conditions. However, a significant difference emerged between the control and the sexist conditions alone ($b = -.423$; $SE = .195$; $t = -2.16$, $p = .032$); participants exposed to the sexist condition showed a notably reduced willingness to climb the social

ladder based on personal merit. This effect was qualified by a three-way interaction among the experimental conditions, group identification, and system justification. Specifically, the effect was most pronounced for participants with high ingroup identification and low system justification, indicating a decreased willingness to achieve social mobility under the sexist condition ($b = -.872$; $SE = .415$; $t = -2.10$, $p = .037$). These interactions are depicted in Figure 8.

Regarding motivation for social change, a significant main effect was found for the manipulation. Participants subjected to racist ($b = .749$; $SE = .163$; $t = 4.57$, $p = .001$), sexist ($b = .519$; $SE = .155$; $t = 3.34$, $p = .001$), or both racist and sexist ($b = .744$; $SE = .150$; $t = 4.96$, $p = .001$) conditions showed significantly increased motivation for social change compared to the control group. Conversely, support for system justification negatively predicted social change motivation ($b = -.199$; $SE = .072$; $t = -2.75$, $p = .006$). Importantly, as predicted, participants with high ingroup identification and low system justification demonstrated a stronger motivation for social change when confronted with sexist ($b = .688$; $SE = .331$; $t = 2.08$, $p = .039$) or both racist and sexist discrimination ($b = .863$; $SE = .342$; $t = 2.52$, $p = .012$), compared to the control. This pattern was similar for the racist condition, though not statistically significant ($b = .492$; $SE = .353$; $t = 1.39$, $p = .166$) (see Figure 9). The three-way interaction did not capture these nuances.

Table 3

Effects of Group Identification and System Justification on Participants' Motivations

Predictors	Continue in the Game					Social Mobility in the Game					Social Change in the Game				
	SS	*df*	F	*p*	n^2p	SS	*df*	F	*p*	n^2p	SS	*df*	F	*p*	n^2p
Discrimination Manipulation (DM)	132.18	3	71.80	.001	.491	6.34	3	2.13	.097	.028	19.68	3	10.46	.001	.123
Group Identification (GI-satisfaction)	.044	1	.071	.789	.000	.638	1	.643	.423	.003	.850	1	1.356	.246	.006
System Justification (SJ)	6.18	1	10.07	.002	.043	.929	1	.936	.334	.004	4.74	1	7.57	.006	.033
DM*GI-satisfaction	4.01	3	2.17	.092	.028	1.53	3	.516	.672	.007	1.71	3	.910	.437	.012
DM* SJ	4.95	3	2.68	.047	.035	2.34	3	.789	.501	.010	.716	3	.380	.767	.005
GI-satisfaction*SJ	.459	1	.748	.388	.003	.878	1	.885	.348	.004	.808	1	1.289	.257	.006
DM*GI-satisfaction*SJ	.531	3	.288	.834	.004	9.47	3	3.18	.025	.041	3.312	3	1.761	.156	.023

Note. SS = Sum of Squares.

Figure 7

Interaction Effects on Willingness to Continue in Bimboola Across Different Levels of
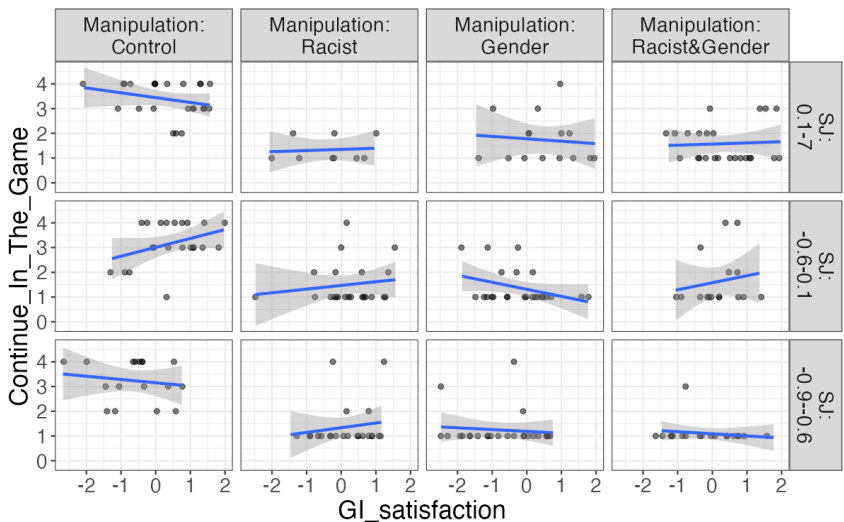
Group Identification and System Justification

Figure 8

Interaction Effects on Willingness to Pursue Social Mobility in Bimboola Across

Different Levels of Group Identification and System Justification
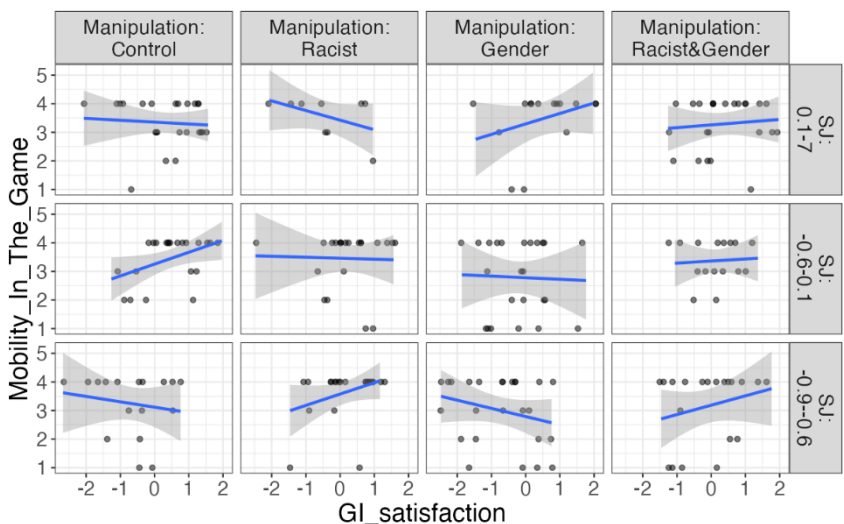
Figure 9

Interaction Effects on Willingness to Social Change in Bimboola Across Different

Levels of Group Identification and System Justification
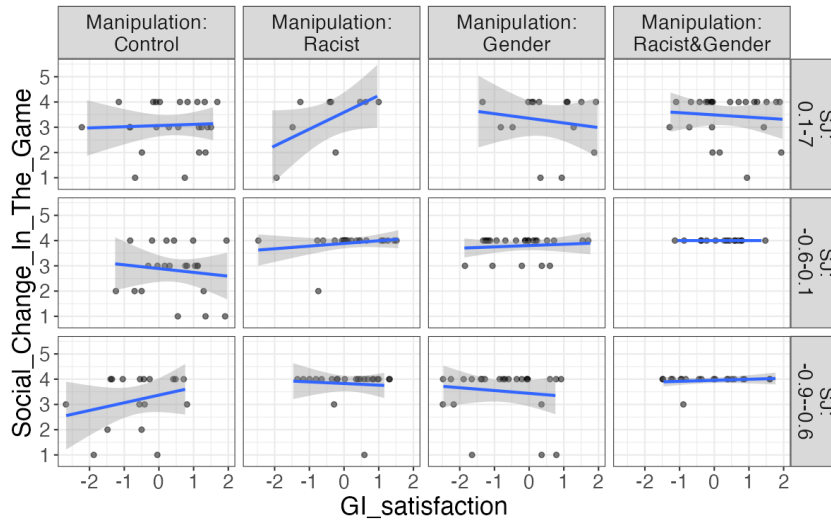
Discussion

The present research sheds new light on the mechanisms underlying Black

women's motivation for collective action in the face of discrimination. By employing

the innovative Bimboola paradigm to experimentally manipulate experiences of racial

and gender discrimination, our findings reveal a complex interplay between perceptions

of discrimination, ingroup identification, system justification, and the drive towards

social change. We observed that participants subjected to discriminatory conditions

exhibited a marked decrease in their willingness to continue within the system as it is,

alongside an increased motivation for social change, compared to those in the control

condition. This suggests that direct experiences of discrimination, whether based on

race, gender, or their intersection, serve as powerful catalysts for Black women to seek

transformative action.

Crucially, our results highlight the role of ingroup identification and system

justification in responding to discrimination. Black women with strong identification

with their group (either racial or gender) who are critical of the existing social order showed increased motivation for collective action aimed at social change.

The Role of Actual Discrimination in Collective Action

Previous theoretical frameworks and empirical findings on collective action have emphasized that when minorities are victims of discrimination, they often band together to address social inequalities (van Zomeren et al., 2018). In our study, we observed that Black women, when faced with actual discrimination, behaved in a manner consistent with the motivation to unequivocally challenge the status quo. These findings echo previous discoveries related to relative disadvantage and collective action, showing that actual disadvantage motivates members of minority groups to seek social change (Kawakami & Dion, 1993).

Indeed, the literature highlights the recognition by black women of the forms of discrimination they face (Fattore et al., 2020). In studies on discrimination and psychological well-being, it has been consistently shown that these experiences impact their mental well-being, with collective action often acting as a mediator in this process (Szymanski and Lewis, 2015; DeBlaere et al., 2014). Our study advances this understanding, suggesting that collective action not only mediates but can also emerge as a direct consequence of discrimination.

Furthermore, it is essential to understand not only that actual discrimination motivates black women, but also which specific types of discrimination enhance their engagement. In our research, we investigated various forms of objective discrimination and found that situations involving racist discrimination, especially when combined with sexism, tend to significantly influenced reactive behavior relatively to control situations or purely sexist discrimination. This suggests an intersectional understanding by black women, who recognize the complex impacts of racism and sexism in their

lives and seek to challenge these interconnected forms of oppression (Greenwood, 2008).

It is important to emphasize the different ways in which black women respond to actual discrimination. We observed a gradual withdrawal trend when they perceived discrimination. This suggests an intrinsic sensitivity to this perception, where Black women recognize and are negatively affected by the discrimination they face, as also demonstrated in previous studies (e.g., Fattore et al., 2020). As a result, they tend to quit the "game" immediately. However, whether they stay in the game and try to change the rules of the game depends on the interaction between their group identity and the degree of justification of the system.

Group Identity and System Justification in Collective Action

Several studies have highlighted the impact of black women's identity on their activist engagement, and our findings echo this trend in the literature. It is important to emphasize that it is not merely superficial identification with the group that drives collective action, but rather the degree of satisfaction with your identity. Our findings reveal that black women's identity needs to carry considerable weight in their lives, coupled with a strong sense of solidarity with the group, to trigger activism.

Indeed, Wiley and Bikmen (2012) underscored the importance of solidarity among black women for collective mobilization, as well as the centrality of racial and gender identity (White, 2006). As demonstrated in our results, the satisfaction factor was the most important for black women to decide to change the rules of the game. Nevertheless, this factor represents an affective component of group identity, characterized by specific emotions that emerge from group membership (Ramos & Alves, 2011). In this sense, this indicates that positive emotions about being a black woman are important for collectively engaging.

Furthermore, another crucial aspect for black women's collective action is the perception of the system as fair or unfair. Previous research has already evidenced a negative relationship between system justification and black women's activism (Curtin et al., 2015), and our results corroborate this finding. This reinforces our central hypothesis that the perception of discrimination is intrinsically linked to the degree of importance of group belonging and the evaluation of the system as unjust, especially when black women experience situations of sexist and/or sexist and racist discrimination.

It is important to highlight the effects of system justification and ingroup identity on strategies opposed to collective action, such as social mobility. As demonstrated, women with high group identification and less justification from the system are those who least opt for this type of strategy, demonstrating that group identification and the perception of illegitimacy of the system act in the identity management of minorities towards collectivity and change in the system.

In summary, our findings underscore the complexity of the interaction between identity, system perception, and collective mobilization among black women, emphasizing the need for integrated approaches to understand and promote activism within this group.

Theoretical Implications

Our results have significant theoretical implications, highlighting the interconnectedness between discrimination, group identity, and system justification in the dynamics of collective action among black women. The importance of integrating these variables into an explanatory model lies in the fact that, until now, the literature tended to address them in isolation. By recognizing the simultaneous influence of these

identity-related and system-legitimizing factors on the mobilization of black women, we can better understand the complexity of their resistance to discrimination.

Another relevant theoretical implication is the need to consider the dual categorical belonging of black women. While the literature on collective action often emphasizes only one dimension of belonging, such as race or gender, our study highlights the importance of recognizing the intersectionality of these identities. Understanding how these women perceive and experience discrimination, as well as how they act collectively, requires a holistic analysis that considers their identity as both women and black. Ignoring this intersectionality can obscure how discrimination affects specific minority groups.

Additionally, our study introduces a new theoretical contribution to the field by using an innovative experimental paradigm. To the best of our knowledge, no previous study had specifically investigated the impact of actual discrimination on the collective engagement of black women. Therefore, our results provide robust evidence of the effects of discrimination as an independent variable in social mobilization, thus expanding our understanding of the dynamics involved in collective action.

Limitations and Future Directions

Some limitations of our study warrant further discussion. Besides the issue of the measures used, such as the measure of group identity, which may not have captured all relevant aspects of black women's identity due to its multifaceted complexity, there are other limitations to consider. For example, we did not explore the role of intersectional consciousness, a construct widely recognized as crucial for understanding black women's engagement in collective action (Greenwood, 2008). The lack of inclusion of this variable in our model may have limited our complete understanding of the factors driving these women's activism.

Additionally, our study did not consider other intersections of black women's identity, such as LGBTQIA+ membership or social class. The inclusion of these dimensions in future studies may provide valuable insights into intersectional bias in collective action, enriching our understanding of black women's experiences and motivations.

Another potential limitation is related to the representativeness of the sample. Despite our efforts to ensure a diverse sample, there may be specific groups of black women whose experiences were not adequately represented in our research. Furthermore, the temporal context of the study may limit its applicability to different historical periods or cultural contexts. Considering temporality and cultural contextualization may be important to ensure the relevance and generalizability of the results.

Conclusions

The synthesis of results provided empirical evidence for our main hypothesis that actual discrimination plays a significant role in motivating collective action among Black women, contingent on individual differences in group identification and system justification. In addition to theoretical implications that contribute to the understanding of collective action motivated by a more gendered identification combined with an illegitimate view of social hierarchy that is associated with lower motivation for system justification. These findings are potentially relevant to the development and evaluation of practical interventions aimed at strengthening group identity and promoting critical evaluation of the system among Black women. These interventions have the potential to increase the engagement and effectiveness of collective action and ensure the right of Black women to voice their concerns and drive meaningful social change. By following

this path, we can promote a fairer and more equitable society for all Black women and other marginalized minorities.

General Discussion

In this dissertation, we present the results of a research program designed to empirically test our main hypothesis. It states that Black women's participation in collective action depends on whether they are victims of gender discrimination, whether they can identify with their group, and whether they can challenge the gender inequality system. To test this overarching hypothesis, we systematically introduced additional variables and specific nuances in several studies.

In the first article, we explored the broader landscape of collective action by examining the effects of discrimination salience, increased gender identification, and low system justification. However, this first study took a more general perspective and did not specify women's racial identification. The results of Study 1 showed that mere awareness of discrimination was not sufficient to motivate collective action. Instead, we found that identifying as a woman must play a central role in their lives for women to actively engage collectively. Furthermore, a lack of belief in the fairness of the system proved to be a crucial catalyst for collective action, as the subsequent studies (Studies 2 and 3) show.

In the second article, we extended our investigation of the central hypothesis by focusing exclusively on the Black women in the study sample. This allowed us to examine more closely the effects of socio-positional variables such as religion, social class and participation in social movements on collective action. We also distinguished between two forms of collective action: those aimed at reducing social inequalities and those aimed at maintaining the status quo. Our findings revealed nuanced relationships, showing that Black women of Protestant religion were more likely to engage in actions in support of the status quo. Conversely, active participation in social movements and belonging to a lower social class reduced motivation for conservative collective action.

These findings underscore the importance of considering the socio-positional profile of Black women when assessing their various forms of collective action.

By rigorously testing our primary hypothesis, we were able to recognize the nuanced role played by the salience of different forms of discrimination. We examined how combined identification with gender and racial categorization, in conjunction with the degree of the system, influences both forms of collective action. Our findings provide preliminary evidence that Black women with higher levels of group identification and lower levels of system justification are more likely to participate in collective action to reduce social inequalities. Importantly, their identification appears to reinforce collective action, particularly in situations of racial discrimination. This nuanced understanding contributes to the broader discourse on the factors that influence Black women's engagement in collective action and highlights the intricate interplay of identity and system beliefs in shaping their responses to social inequalities.

The last article concludes our study program by using a manipulation of objective discrimination demonstrating its direct effects on collective action, nor as the moderating effects of group identification and system justification. With this study, we were able to understand that objective discrimination leads black women to opt for social change. Furthermore, in situations of sexist discrimination and racist and sexist discrimination, those who have high satisfaction with their group identity and legitimize the system less opt for social change. On the other hand, this same pattern (high identification and less system justification) leads to less motivation for social mobility, demonstrating how minorities react in a discriminatory context.

Theoretical Implications

The Role of Discrimination in Collective Action Contexts

While established theoretical models of collective action (van Zomeren, 2008; Jost et al., 2017) emphasize the importance of perceived injustice, the literature shows inconsistent findings, especially regarding the impact of discrimination on women's collective action (Jetten et al., 2013). Notably, these studies often lack specificity in relation to the experiences of Black women.

It is important to emphasize our careful operationalization of the variable "salience of discrimination" while models of collective action typically include the variable "perceptions of injustice'," which may intersect with perceptions of discrimination, our approach was designed to test an objective understanding of experienced inequality. In Article 3, this was specifically addressed through a nuanced examination of discrimination, distinct from the broader concept of perceptions of injustice. This decision was supported by existing evidence that discrimination significantly influences women's collective action (Jetten et al., 2013).

As discussed in Article 3, our study provides compelling evidence that objective discrimination serves as a catalyst for collective action among Black women. Most importantly, our study program provides consistent findings demonstrating the pivotal role of discrimination in shaping collective action tendencies among Black women. Importantly, we manipulated this variable through a "real" situation in the Bimboola paradigm (used in Study 3), which adds a unique dimension to our empirical investigation.

The findings of Articles 1 and 2 provided preliminary evidence on the role of discrimination. Article 3, however, consolidates and extends these earlier findings and confirms that discrimination experienced by Black women does indeed prompt them to act collectively. This aligns with existing literature highlighting how Black women's historical discrimination drives collective action aimed at challenging and reshaping

racialized and gendered relationships (Shaheed et al., 2022; Ross et al., 2022).

Consequently, our research contributes to a broader understanding of the nuanced

dynamics underlying the relationship between discrimination and collective action,

particularly in the context of Black women's experiences.

Implications for Social Identity Theory

According to Brown (2000), social identity theory is one of the most influential

paradigms in social psychology on intergroup discrimination. Decades of research have

focused on various aspects such as in-group bias, in-group homogeneity, stereotyping,

intergroup attitude change, and reactions to inequalities in group status. Our studies

contribute to this rich theoretical landscape by addressing the intersection of identity

and perceptions of legitimacy of intergroup relations, particularly in the context of

Black women.

The importance of group identification to collective action, particularly as a

moderating variable in the relationship between discrimination and collective action,

has been highlighted in previous studies (Kawakami & Dion, 1993; Smith et al., 1994).

Extending this to Black women, existing evidence underscores the critical role of group

identity in shaping their responses to discrimination (White, 2006; Leath et al., 2022).

Our three articles described above consistently demonstrate the importance of

both gendered group identity (Studies 1, 2, and 3) and racial identity (Studies 4 and 5)

to women's collective engagement. Furthermore, the content of this identity, particularly

the importance attached to group identification, emerges as a key factor in collective

action (Article 1). Moreover, the type of identity, whether gender or racial, seems to

reinforce commitment in situations of racial or gender discrimination. A notable

innovation in our work is looking at identities in an intersectional way that recognizes

the influence of multiple identities. For Black women, sharing minority identities in

intersecting social categories amplifies their experience of inequality and leads to greater participation in collective action (Willey & Bikmen, 2005).

However, identity alone is not the only moderator in the relationship between discrimination and collective action. Tajfel (1981) emphasized socio-structural factors and highlighted perceptions of the legitimacy of the system as crucial to minority collective action. Jost (2017) emphasizes system justification of the system as a pivotal variable that influences collective actions aimed at changing or maintaining the status quo. In the context of women, Jetten et al. (2013) have shown that discrimination as illegitimate motivates more engagement. In our thesis, justification of the system is primarily consistent with the theory that lower belief in the fairness of the system correlates with greater commitment to bringing about change.

Our comprehensive findings underscore the continued relevance of social identity theory, particularly in illuminating the dynamics of managing minority identities in the context of Black women. By integrating the role of social identity in an intersectional manner and recognizing the influence of system legitimacy, our findings offer nuanced insights. This understanding of how Black women navigate the complexities of dual discrimination is critical and illuminates not only their objective experiences of structural inequality, but also the impact of consciousness and ideologies that can perpetuate perceptions of a just system.

Collective Action for Inequality Reduction and Collective Action for Status Quo Maintenance

Within the theoretical framework of collective action, a distinction is made between different types (e.g. between normative and non-normative collective action; Becker & Tausch, 2015). While the conventional focus is often on collective action aimed at social change, particularly in relation to minority groups, more recent

discussions by authors such as Jost et al. (2017) and Osborne (2018) emphasize the emergence of another dimension – collective action aimed at maintaining the status quo. It is important to recognize that people engaging in collective action not only seek to reduce inequalities, but may also emphasize differences between groups, including minorities.

In Article 2, our study comprehensively explored both forms of collective action, yielding important findings. Overall, Black women in our studies overwhelmingly tended to take actions aimed at reducing inequalities. However, when specific factors such as religion or social class were taken into account, differences in the direction of collective action emerged. In particular, affiliation with religions considered more "conservative" influenced the motivation to act in favor of maintaining the status quo, even in the face of explicit social inequality.

System justification emerges as a crucial factor contributing to collective action, regardless of whether it is aimed at reducing inequalities or maintaining them. As Jost (2017) points out, it is crucial to recognize which legitimizing factors are associated with both types of collective action. Our studies have shown that lower levels of system legitimacy may be correlated with conservative collective action. This result may seem counterintuitive at first glance, but Lieckefet and Becker (2022) explain that system justification operates in a nuanced way and plays an important role in either advocating for change or reinforcing the existing system.

Our work contributes to understanding how minorities take collective action to not only reduce but also maintain inequalities. This research underscores the complexity and multi-layered nature of our social reality and reflects the complex perspectives and motivations of the social actors involved in the phenomena studied by social psychology.

Limitations and Future Directions

While our thesis contributes to significant theoretical advancements, it is imperative to acknowledge several limitations within our studies. First and foremost, our use of the group identity measure warrants consideration. It was derived from a general measure of group identification and was only adapted for our specific studies. This adaptation may not fully capture the nuanced aspects of group identity among our participants.

Another limitation lies in our failure to consider other social categories that delineate distinct social identities. For instance, Black women who also experience discrimination based on their LGBTQIA+ identity may offer invaluable insights into collective action dynamics. Future research should strive to incorporate intersectional perspectives to provide a more comprehensive understanding of minority experiences.

Furthermore, our measures of collective action to address social inequalities or uphold the status quo in some studies may not have been sufficiently refined. Given the complexity and diversity of collective actions, particularly those aimed at maintaining inequalities, our measurements may not have captured the full spectrum of behaviors and motivations accurately.

Lastly, the absence of variables pertaining to political preferences or the degree of belief in group efficacy for collective action (group efficacy) represents another notable limitation. These variables could offer crucial insights into the factors influencing minority collective action efforts.

Moving forward, it is essential for future studies seeking to elucidate minority reactions to expand upon the model we have tested here. This expansion should encompass the inclusion of additional variables derived from collective action models, such as group efficacy, and explore alternative identity management strategies.

Embracing a more comprehensive approach will enhance our understanding of the intricate dynamics underlying collective action among marginalized groups.

Conclusions

The current research program, which focuses on the dynamics of collective action among Black women, provided illuminating insights into an old topic, namely the reactions of minorities to discrimination they face in society. By applying a social psychological approach to the intersectional effect of women's multiple categorical affiliations that influence their response to discrimination, we have illuminated the complexity of discrimination faced by these women. Our research has allowed us to explore the complexity of collective action by examining the interplay of discrimination, group identity and system justification. Until now, concrete answers to this question in an experimental context have been lacking. By conducting five experimental studies, summarized in three different articles, we were able to investigate this phenomenon in depth.

Our results show that the mere salience of being a victim of discrimination is not enough to motivate women to take collective action for social change, but that this depends on individual differences in gender identification and system justification. Importantly, while the mere salience of discrimination is not enough, the actual discrimination they face in a socio-psychologically simulated context effectively motivates them to behave in terms of social change. This is especially true for women with a strong group identification and a view of the system as illegitimate. Conversely, maintaining the status quo through collective action depends on variables such as religiosity, participation in social movements and increased justification of the status quo.

To summarize, our research makes an important contribution to social identity theory, the social identity model of collective action (SIMCA), and system justification theory. Furthermore, our findings can inform public policy aimed at preventing discrimination, particularly by raising awareness of the double discrimination faced by Black women. We recommend the implementation of practical policies that recognize and address the specific realities of these women and ensure legal and judicial support for free expression in the pursuit of social change.

We recognize that these analyzes not only enhance our academic understanding, but also have the potential to promote social justice for minorities. With this in mind, we emphasize the importance of social psychology intervening to challenge and change the systems that perpetuate inequalities, allowing minorities to break free from the constraints imposed by the unequal "social game".

References

Adra, A., Harb, C., Li, M., & Baumert, A. (2020). Predicting collective action
tendencies among Filipina domestic workers in Lebanon: Integrating the Social
Identity Model of Collective Action and the role of fear. *Group Processes &
Intergroup Relations, 23*(7), 967–978.
https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430219885180

Amâncio, L. (1989). Social differentiation between "dominant" and "dominated"
groups: Toward an integration of social stereotypes and social identity.
European Journal of Social Psychology, 19(1), 1–10.
https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420190102

Becker, J. C. (2012). The system-stabilizing role of identity management strategies:
Social creativity can undermine collective action for social change. *Journal of
Personality and Social Psychology, 103*(4), 647–662.
https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029240

Bleiweis, R., Frye, J., & Khattar, R. Women of Color and the Wage Gap. *American
Progress.* Retrieved from https://www.americanprogress.org/article/women-of-
color-and-the-wage-gap/

Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive
discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification
and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(1), 135–149.
https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.77.1.135

Braz, M. (2017). O golpe nas ilusões democráticas e a ascensão do conservadorismo
reacionário. *Serviço Social & Sociedade, (128),* 85–103.
https://doi.org/10.1590/0101-6628.095

Becker, J. C., & Tausch, N. (2015). A dynamic model of engagement in normative and non-normative collective action: Psychological antecedents, consequences, and barriers. *European Review of Social Psychology, 26*(1), 43–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2015.1094265

Becker, J. C., & Wagner, U. (2009). Doing gender differently—The interplay of strength of gender identification and content of gender identity in predicting women's endorsement of sexist beliefs. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 39*(4), 487–508. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.551

Becker, J. & Wright, S. (2011). Yet another dark side of chivalry: Benevolent sexism undermines and hostile sexism motivates collective action for social change. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 101. 62-77. 10.1037/a0022615.

Blanz, M., Mummendey, A., Mielke, R., & Klink, A. (1998). Responding to negative social identity: A taxonomy of identity management strategies. European Journal of Social Psychology, 28(5), 697–729. https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199809/10)28:5<697::AID-EJSP889>3.0.CO;2-#

Borders, A., & Wiley, S. (2020). Rumination about discrimination mediates the unique association between anger and collective action intentions. Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 23(7), 979–995. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430219875214

Camino, L., Torres, A.R.R., Lima, M. E. O., & Pereira, M. E. (2013). *Psicologia Social: Temas e Teorias.* Technopolitik.

Cakal, H., Hewstone, M., Schwär, G., & Heath, A. (2011). An investigation of the social identity model of collective action and the 'sedative' effect of intergroup contact among Black and White students in South Africa. *British Journal of*

Social Psychology, *50*(4), 606–627. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02075.x

Caricati, L. (2016). Testing the Status-Legitimacy Hypothesis: A Multilevel Modelling Approach to the Perception of Legitimacy in Income Distribution in 36 Nations. *The Journal of Social Psychology*. 157. 10.1080/00224545.2016.1242472.

Cichocka, A., Górska, P., Jost, J. T., Sutton, R. M., & Bilewicz, M. (2018). What inverted U can do for your country: A curvilinear relationship between confidence in the social system and political engagement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 115*(5), 883–902. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000168

Cerezo, A., & Ramirez, A. (2021). Perceived discrimination, alcohol use disorder and alcohol-related problems in sexual minority women of color. *Journal of Social Service Research, 47*(1), 33–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2019.1710657

Cole, E. R. (2009). Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist, 64*(3), 170–180. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014564

Cuddy, A., Glick, P., & Beninger, A. (2011). The dynamics of warmth and competence judgments, and their outcomes in organizations. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 31*. 73–98. 10.1016/j.riob.2011.10.004.

Curtin, N., Stewart, A. J., & Cole, E. R. (2015). Challenging the status quo: The role of intersectional awareness in activism for social change and pro-social intergroup attitudes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 39*(4), 512–529. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684315580439

Silva, W. A. D. & Pereira, C. R. (2021). Será que os brasileiros veem a forma em que as coisas estão como aquilo que realmente deve ser? Uma nova escala de justificativa do sistema. Dissertação de Mestrado. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Social, Universidade Federal da Paraíba, João Pessoa.

Davis, A. (2016). *Mulheres, raça e classe*. Candiani, R. H. (Trad.). São Paulo: Boitempo.

DeBlaere, C., Brewster, M. E., Bertsch, K. N., DeCarlo, A. L., Kegel, K. A., & Presseau, C. D. (2014). The protective power of collective action for sexual minority women of color: an investigation of multiple discrimination experiences and psychological distress. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 38*(1), 20–32. https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313493252

Derks, B., van Laar, C. & Ellemers, N. (2007). Social creativity strikes back: improving motivated performance of low status group members by valuing ingroup dimensions. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 37*(3), 470-493). https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.375

De Weerd, M., & Klandermans, B. (1999). Group identification and political protest: Farmers' protest in the Netherlands. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 29*(8), 1073–1095. https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-0992(199912)29:8<1073::AID-EJSP986>3.0.CO;2-K

Durrheim, K., Dixon, J., Tredoux, C., Eaton, L., Quayle, M., & Clack, B. (2011). Predicting support for racial transformation policies: Intergroup threat, racial prejudice, sense of group entitlement and strength of identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology. 41*. 23 - 41. 10.1002/ejsp.723.

Ellemers, N. (2018). Gender stereotypes. *Annual Review of Psychology, 69*, 275–298. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-122216-011719

Ellemers, N., Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (2002). Self and social identity. *Annual Review of Psychology, 53*(1), 161–186. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.53.100901.135228

Ellemers, N., Van Knippenberg, A., de Vries, N., & Wilke, H. (1988). Social identification and permeability of group boundaries. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 18*(6), 497–513. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420180604

Evans, P. C., & McConnell, A. R. (2003). Do Racial Minorities Respond in the Same Way to Mainstream Beauty Standards? Social Comparison Processes in Asian, Black, and White Women. *Self and Identity*, 2(2), 153–167. https://doi.org/10.1080/15298860309030

Fattore, G. L., Amorim, L. D., Marques dos Santos, L., dos Santos, D. N., & Barreto, M. L. (2020). Experiences of Discrimination and Skin Color Among Women in Urban Brazil: A Latent Class Analysis. *Journal of Black Psychology, 46*(2-3), 144-168. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798420928204

Felice, E. M. (2007). Transformação e "cura" através da experiência de ser mãe. *Psychê, 11*(21), 145-159.

Festinger, L. (1954). A theory of social comparison processes. Human Relations, 7, 117–140. https://doi.org/10.1177/001872675400700202

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived

status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*(6), 878–902. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878

Foster, M. D., & Matheson, K. (1998). Perceiving and Feeling Personal Discrimination: Motivation or Inhibition for Collective Action? Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 1(2), 165–174. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430298012004

Fórum Econômico Mundial (2022). *The Global Gender Gap Report*. World Economic Forum.

Fórum Econômico Mundial (2023). *The Global Gender Gap Report*. World Economic Forum.

Friedman, C., & Leaper, C. (2010). Sexual-Minority College Women's Experiences with Discrimination: Relations with Identity and Collective Action. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 34(2), 152–164. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2010.01558.x

Garcia, D. M., Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., & Ellemers, N. (2010). Women's reactions to ingroup members who protest discriminatory treatment: The importance of beliefs about inequality and response appropriateness. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 40(5), 733–745.

Greenwood, R. M. (2008). Intersectional political consciousness: Appreciation for intragroup differences and solidarity in diverse groups. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 32*(1), 36–47. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.2007.00405.x

Goes, E. F., & Nascimento, E. R. (2013). Mulheres negras e brancas e os níveis de acesso aos serviços preventivos de saúde: uma análise sobre as desigualdades. *Saúde Em Debate, 37*(99), 571–579.

Gouveia, V., Ribeiro, M. G., Rezende, A., Cavalcanti, T., Moizéis, H., & Grangeiro, A. (2018). Escala de autoestima coletiva: Evidências de validade fatorial e consistência interna. *Interação em Psicologia, 22*. 10.5380/psi.v22i2.54006.

Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach.* Guilford Press.

Heilman, M. (2012). Gender stereotypes and workplace bias. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 32*. 113–135. 10.1016/j.riob.2012.11.003.

Hersby, M. D., Jetten, J., Ryan, M. K., & Schmitt, M. T. (2011). Responding to group-based discrimination: The impact of social structure on willingness to engage in mentoring. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 14*(3), 319–335. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430210384417

Hornsey, M. J. (2008). Social identity theory and self-categorization theory: A historical review. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 2*(1), 204–222. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2007.00066.x

Howard, C., Sibley, C. G., & Osborne, D. (2022). When women support the status quo: Gender moderates the relationship between openness to experience and system-justifying beliefs. *Journal of Interpretation Research, 25*(4), 27–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/109258721802300103

Huddy, L., & Terkildsen, N. (1993). Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates. *American Journal of Political Science, 37*(1), 119–147. https://doi.org/10.2307/2111526

International Labour Organization. (2023). New data shine light on gender gaps in the labour Market. *ILO Brief,* 1-8.

Jackson, L. A., Sullivan, L. A., Harnish, R., & Hodge, C. N. (1996). Achieving positive
social identity: Social mobility, social creativity, and permeability of group
boundaries. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70(2), 241–254.
https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.2.241

Jetten, J., Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Spears, R. (2001). rebels with a cause:
group identification as a response to perceived discrimination from the
mainstream. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27*(9), 1204–1213.
https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167201279012

Jetten, J., Mols, F., & Postmes, T. (2015). Relative deprivation and relative wealth
enhances anti-immigrant sentiments: The v-curve re-examined. *PLoS ONE,
10*(10), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0139156

Jetten, J., Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Garza, A. A, & Mewse, A. J. (2011).
Group commitment in the face of discrimination: The role of legitimacy
appraisals. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 41*(1), 116–126.
https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.743

Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and
the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology,
33*(1), 1–27. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1994.tb01008.x

Jost, J. T., Becker, J., Osborne, D., & Badaan, V. (2017). Missing in (collective) action:
Ideology, system justification, and the motivational antecedents of two types of
protest behavior. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 26(2), 99–108.
https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417690633

Jost, J. T., & Kay, A. C. (2005). Exposure to benevolent sexism and complementary
gender stereotypes: consequences for specific and diffuse forms of system

justification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*(3), 498–509. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.3.498

Kawakami, K., & Dion, K. L. (1993). The impact of salient self-identities on relative deprivation and action intentions. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 23*(5), 525–540. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420230509

Kelly, C., & Breinlinger, S. (1995). Identity and injustice: Exploring women's participation in collective action. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 5(1), 41–57. https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2450050104

Kobrynowicz, D., & Branscombe, N. R. (1997). Who considers themselves victims of discrimination? Individual difference predictors of perceived gender discrimination in women and men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*(3), 347–363. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00118.x

Leach, C. W., Carraro, L., Garcia, R. L., & Kang, J. J. (2017). Morality stereotyping as a basis of women's in-group favoritism: An implicit approach. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 20*(2), 153–172. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430215603462

Leach, C., Ellemers, N., & Barreto, M. (2007). Group Virtue: The Importance of Morality (vs. Competence and Sociability) in the Positive Evaluation of In-Groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 93. 234-49. 10.1037/0022-3514.93.2.234.

Leach, C., Van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M., Pennekamp, S., Doosje, B., Ouwerkerk, J. & Spears, R. (2008). Group-Level Self-Definition and Self-Investment: A Hierarchical (Multicomponent) Model of In-Group Identification.

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95. 144-65. 10.1037/0022-3514.95.1.144.

Leath, S., Ball, P., Mims, L., Butler-Barnes, S., & Quiles, T. (2022). "They need to hear our voices": A multidimensional framework of Black college women's sociopolitical development and activism. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *48*(3-4), 392–427. https://doi.org/10.1177/00957984211016943

Liekefett, L., & Becker, J. (2022). Low system justification is associated with support for both progressive and reactionary social change. *European Journal of Social Psychology.* 52. 10.1002/ejsp.2883.

Lienesch, M. (1982). Right-Wing Religion: Christian Conservatism as a Political Movement. *Political Science Quarterly (97*), 3, 403–425. https://doi.org/10.2307/2149992

Lourenço, C. (2023). Uma sociedade desigual: reflexões a respeito de racismo e indicadores sociais no Brasil. *Serviço Social & Sociedade, 146*(1), 75–96. https://doi.org/10.1590/0101-6628.304

Lis, M., Crawford, M. & Popp, D. (2004). Predictors and Correlates of Collective Action. Sex Roles 50, 771–779. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:SERS.0000029096.90835.3f

Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 18*(3), 302–318. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167292183006

Mikołajczak, G., Becker, J. and Iyer, A. (2022) Women who challenge or defend the status quo: Ingroup identities as predictors of progressive and reactionary

collective action. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 52* (4). pp. 626-641. ISSN 0046-2772

Nelson, J. A., Liss, M., Erchull, M. J., Hurt, M. M., Ramsey, L. R., Turner, D. L., & Haines, M. E. (2008). Identity in action: Predictors of feminist self-identification and collective action. *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research, 58*(9-10), 721–728. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9384-0

Osborne, D., Jost, J. T., Becker, J. C., Badaan, V., & Sibley, C. G. (2019). Protesting to challenge or defend the system? A system justification perspective on collective action. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *49*(2), 244–269. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2522

Owuamalam, C. K., Paolini, S., & Rubin, M. (2017). Socially creative appraisals of rejection bolster ethnic migrants' subjective well-being. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 47*(7), 366–376. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12444

Radke, H., Hornsey, M. & Barlow, F. (2016). Barriers to women engaging in collective action to overcome sexism. *American Psychologist, 71*. 863-874. 10.1037/a0040345.

Remedios, J. D., Reiff, J. S., & Hinzman, L. (2020). An identity-threat perspective on discrimination attributions by women of color. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 11*(7), 889–898. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550620908175

Ribeiro, C. A. C. (2017). Contínuo racial, mobilidade social e "embranquecimento". *Revista Brasileira De Ciências Sociais, 32*(95), e329503. https://doi.org/10.17666/329503/2017

Ross, B. Z., DeShields, W., Edwards, C., & Livingston, J. N. (2022). Behind Black
Women's Passion: An Examination of Activism Among Black Women in
America. *Journal of Black Psychology, 48*(3-4), 428-447.
https://doi.org/10.1177/00957984221084779

Runciman, W. G. (1966). *Relative deprivation and social justice: A study of attitudes to
social inequality in twentieth-century England*. Berkeley: University of
California Press.

Sánchez-Rodríguez, Á., Willis, G. B., & Rodríguez-Bailón, R. (2019). Economic and
social distance: Perceived income inequality negatively predicts an
interdependent self-construal. *International Journal of Psychology, 54*, 117–125.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12437

Schreiber, R. (2002). Injecting a woman's voice: Conservative women's organizations,
gender consciousness, and the expression of women's policy preferences. *Sex
Roles: A Journal of Research, 47*(7-8), 331–342.
https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021479030885

Santos, M. F., & Pereira, C. R. (2021). The social psychology of a selective national
inferiority complex: Reconciling positive distinctiveness and system
justification. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 95*, 104118.

Scheifele, C., Ehrke, F., Viladot, M., Laar, C. & Steffens, M. (2021). Testing the Basic
Socio-Structural Assumptions of Social Identity Theory in the Gender Context:
Evidence from Correlational Studies on Women's Leadership. *European
Journal of Social Psychology. 51*. 10.1002/ejsp.2746.

Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., & Postmes, T. (2003). Women's emotional responses to the pervasiveness of gender discrimination. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 33*(3), 297–312. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.147

Shaheed, J., Cooper, S. M., McBride, M., & Burnett, M. (2022). Intersectional Activism Among Black Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer or Questioning Young Adults: The Roles of Intragroup Marginalization, Identity, and Community. *Journal of Black Psychology, 48*(3-4), 360-391. https://doi.org/10.1177/00957984211069058

Simon, B., Trötschel, R., & Dähne, D. (2008). Identity affirmation and social movement support. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 38*(6), 935–946. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.473

Souto, E. S. (2021). Gênero e ação coletiva: o lugar das mulheres nos movimentos urbanos contemporâneos. *Entheoria: Cadernos De Letras E Humanas, 5*(1), 86–104.

Souza, L. E. C. de ., Lima, T. J. S. de ., Maia, L. M., Fontenele, A. B. G., & Lins, S. L. B.. (2019). A hierarchical (multicomponent) model of in-group identification: adaptation of a measure to the Brazilian context. *Psicologia: Reflexão E Crítica, 32*, 19. https://doi.org/10.1186/s41155-019-0131-6

Swim, J. K., Hyers, L. L., Cohen, L. L., & Ferguson, M. J. (2001). Everyday sexism: Evidence for its incidence, nature, and psychological impact from three daily diary studies. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(1), 31–53. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00200

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Grupos humanos e categorias sociais*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-37). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Thomas, V. G. (2004). The Psychology of Black Women: Studying Women's Lives in Context. *Journal of Black Psychology, 30*(3), 286-306. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798404266044

Thomas, A. J., Hoxha, D., & Hacker, J. D. (2013). Contextual Influences on Gendered Racial Identity Development of African American Young Women. *Journal of Black Psychology, 39*(1), 88–101. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798412454679

Thomas, E. F., Louis W. R. (2013). Doing democracy: The social psychological mobilization and consequences of collective action. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 7, 173-200.

Thompson, V. L. S. (1999) Variables Affecting Racial-Identity Salience Among African Americans. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 139*(6), 748-761, DOI: 10.1080/00224549909598254

Torres, A. R. R., & Camino, L. (2013). *Grupos Sociais, relações intergrupais e identidade social.* In L. Camino, A. R. R. Torres, M. E. O. Lima, & M. E. Pereira (Eds.), Psicologia Social: Temas e teorias (2nd ed., pp. 515-540). Brasília: Techno Politik.

Uluğ, Ö., Chayinska, M. & Tropp, L. (2022). Does witnessing gender discrimination predict women's collective action intentions for gender justice? Examining the moderating role of perceived female support. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology. 33*. 10.1002/casp.2642.

van Bezouw, M., Toorn, J. & Becker, J. (2020). Social Creativity: Reviving a Social Identity Approach to Social Stability. *European Journal of Social Psychology. 51*. 10.1002/ejsp.2732.

van Zomeren, M., Kutlaca, M., & Turner-Zwinkels, F. (2018). Integrating who "we" are with what "we" (will not) stand for: A further extension of the Social Identity Model of Collective Action. *European Review of Social Psychology, 29*(1), 122–160. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2018.1479347

van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin, 134*(4), 504–535. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.504

Vázquez, A., López-Rodríguez, L., Gómez, Á., & Dovidio, J. F. (2021). Ambivalent effects of positive contact between women and men on collective actions for women's rights. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 47*(9), 1358–1373. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167220974162

Wright, S. C., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1990). Responding to membership in a disadvantaged group: From acceptance to collective protest. Journal of *Personality and Social Psychology, 58*(6), 994–1003. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.58.6.994

Willis, G.B., García-Sánchez, E., Sánchez-Rodríguez, Á., García-Castro, J. D., & Rodriguez-Bailón, R. (2022). The psychosocial effects of economic inequality depend on its perception. *Nat Rev Psychol 1*, 301–309. https://doi.org/10.1038/s44159-022-00044-0

Willey, S. & Bikmen, D. (2012). Building solidarity across difference: Social identity,
intersectionality, and collective action for social change. In S. Wiley, G.
Philogène, & T. A. Revenson (Eds.), *Social categories in everyday experience*
(pp. 189–204). American Psychological Association.
https://doi.org/10.1037/13488-010

White, A. M. (2006). Racial and Gender Attitudes as Predictors of Feminist Activism
Among Self-Identified African American Feminists. Journal of Black
Psychology, 32(4), 455-478. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798406292469

Youssef, M. (2022). Strategic Choices: How Conservative Women Activists Remained
Active throughout Tunisia's Democratic Transition. *Sociological Forum (37)*,3,
836-855. https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12828

Zhang, Z., & Yuan, K.-H. (2018). Practical Statistical Power Analysis Using Webpower
and R (Eds). Granger, IN: ISDSA Press.
https://webpower.psychstat.org/wiki/models/index

Appendices

Estudo 1
Manipulação

Por favor, leia o texto e responda as respostas à seguir. Não existem respostas certas ou erradas. Responda da forma mais sincera que puder.

Como você deve ter percebido, as mulheres ainda enfrentam discriminação generalizada em muitas áreas importantes da vida. É muito provável que alguém já tenha discriminado a você pelo simples fato de você ser uma mulher. As mulheres ainda enfrentam discriminação e desigualdade no emprego, salário, educação, política, sala de audiências e nas interações interpessoais cotidianas. Elas também ganham menos que os homens. Pesquisas psicológicas recentes mostraram que entre 90% e 95% dos homens mantêm atitudes sexistas e discriminam as mulheres se tiverem a oportunidade. Os homens geralmente classificam as mulheres como incompetentes, irracionais e fracas. Eles são, efetivamente, socialmente mais valorizados do que as mulheres e você já deve ter   sentido   isso.

Você consegue pensar em uma situação em que existe discriminação contra as mulheres? Por favor, descreva.

Pense em uma situação que você foi discriminada por ser mulher. Descreva.
_____

O que você sentiu nessa situação em que foi discriminada?
_____

Escala de Identificação Grupal

Todos somos membros de diferentes grupos ou categorias sociais. Nesta oportunidade, gostaríamos que você considerasse a sua pertença ao grupo das mulheres ao responder às afirmações a seguir. Por favor, leia cada afirmação e indique o quanto concorda com cada uma delas.

	Discordo Totalmente	Discordo	Discordo em partes	Indecisa	Concordo em partes	Concordo	Concordo Totalmente
Sou um membro digno do grupo das mulheres							
Geralmente me arrependo de fazer parte do grupo das mulheres.							
No geral, o grupo das mulheres é considerado como bom pelos outros.							
No geral, o grupo das mulheres tem muito pouco a ver com como me sinto sobre mim mesma.							
Sinto que não tenho muito a oferecer ao grupo das mulheres.							
No geral, sinto-me feliz por fazer parte do grupo das mulheres.							
A maioria das pessoas considera as mulheres, em média, mais ineficiente do que as pessoas de outros grupos.							
O grupo das mulheres é um reflexo importante de quem eu sou.							
Coopero participativamente com o grupo das mulheres.							
No geral, frequentemente sinto que participar do grupo das mulheres não vale a pena.							

Geralmente, os outros grupos respeitam o grupo das mulheres.							
O grupo das mulheres não é importante para o meu senso pessoal de que tipo de pessoa eu sou.							
Eu geralmente sinto que sou um membro inútil do grupo das mulheres.							
Sinto-me bem em ser mulher.							
No geral, os outros pensam que o grupo das mulheres não é digno.							
Geralmente, ser mulher é importante para a minha autoimagem.							

Escala de Ação Coletiva

Indique em que medida está disposta a participar das seguintes atividades:

	Nada disposta	Pouco disposta	Moderadamente disposta	Muito disposta
Participar de uma manifestação à favor das mulheres.				
Participar de uma petição online à favor das mulheres.				
Doar dinheiro para a causa das mulheres.				
Participar em alguma marcha pró-escolha.				
Participar de discussões sobre a causa das mulheres.				
Questão de verificação de atenção. Marque a opção "Pouco disposta".				
Votar em uma candidata mulher para que se tenha mais mulheres na política.				
Participar ativamente de um grupo sobre causa das mulheres.				
Falar sobre a causa das mulheres para outras mulheres.				
Discutir na inernet pela causa das mulheres.				
Fazer campanha para uma mulher nas eleições.				

Estudo 2
Manipulação

Por favor, leia o texto e responda as respostas à seguir. Não existem respostas certas ou erradas. Responda da forma mais sincera que puder.

Como você deve ter percebido, as mulheres ainda enfrentam discriminação generalizada em muitas áreas importantes da vida. É muito provável que alguém já tenha discriminado a você pelo simples fato de você ser uma mulher. As mulheres ainda enfrentam discriminação e desigualdade no emprego, salário, educação, política, sala de audiências e nas interações interpessoais cotidianas. Elas também ganham menos que os homens. Pesquisas psicológicas recentes mostraram que entre 90% e 95% dos homens mantêm atitudes sexistas e discriminam as mulheres se tiverem a oportunidade. Os homens geralmente classificam as mulheres como incompetentes, irracionais e fracas. Eles são, efetivamente, socialmente mais valorizados do que as mulheres e você já deve ter   sentido   isso.

Você consegue pensar em uma situação em que existe discriminação contra as mulheres? Por favor, descreva.

Pense em uma situação que você foi discriminada por ser mulher. Descreva.
_____

O que você sentiu nessa situação em que foi discriminada?
_____

Escala de Identificação Grupal

Todos somos membros de diferentes grupos ou categorias sociais. Nesta oportunidade, gostaríamos que você considerasse a sua pertença ao grupo das mulheres ao responder às afirmações a seguir. Por favor, leia cada afirmação e indique o quanto concorda com cada uma delas.

	Discordo Totalmente	Discordo	Discordo em partes	Indecisa	Concordo em partes	Concordo	Concordo Totalmente
Sou um membro digno do grupo das mulheres							
Geralmente me arrependo de fazer parte do grupo das mulheres.							
No geral, o grupo das mulheres é considerado como bom pelos outros.							
No geral, o grupo das mulheres tem muito pouco a ver com como me sinto sobre mim mesma.							
Sinto que não tenho muito a oferecer ao grupo das mulheres.							
No geral, sinto-me feliz por fazer parte do grupo das mulheres.							
A maioria das pessoas considera as mulheres, em média, mais ineficiente do que as pessoas de outros grupos.							
O grupo das mulheres é um reflexo importante de quem eu sou.							
Coopero participativamente com o grupo das mulheres.							
No geral, frequentemente sinto que participar do grupo das mulheres não vale a pena.							

Geralmente, os outros grupos respeitam o grupo das mulheres.							
O grupo das mulheres não é importante para o meu senso pessoal de que tipo de pessoa eu sou.							
Eu geralmente sinto que sou um membro inútil do grupo das mulheres.							
Sinto-me bem em ser mulher.							
No geral, os outros pensam que o grupo das mulheres não é digno.							
Geralmente, ser mulher é importante para a minha autoimagem.							

Escala de Ação Coletiva

Indique em que medida está disposta a participar das seguintes atividades:

	Nada disposta	Pouco disposta	Moderadamente disposta	Muito disposta
Participar de uma manifestação à favor das mulheres.				
Participar de uma petição online à favor das mulheres.				
Doar dinheiro para a causa das mulheres.				
Participar em alguma marcha pró-escolha.				
Participar de discussões sobre a causa das mulheres.				
Questão de verificação de atenção. Marque a opção "Pouco disposta".				
Votar em uma candidata mulher para que se tenha mais mulheres na política.				
Participar ativamente de um grupo sobre causa das mulheres.				
Falar sobre a causa das mulheres para outras mulheres.				
Discutir na inernet pela causa das mulheres.				
Fazer campanha para uma mulher nas eleições.				

Escala de Justificação do Sistema

Sobre as relações entre os homens e mulheres, indique o quanto concorda com cada frase abaixo.

	Discordo Totalmente	Discordo	Discordo em partes	Indecisa	Concordo em partes	Concordo	Concordo totalmente
De forma geral, as relações entre homens e mulheres são justas.							
Nas famílias, a divisão das tarefas domésticas é feita como deve ser.							
Os papéis de gênero precisam ser radicalmente reestruturados.							
O Brasil é melhor país do mundo para uma mulher viver.							
A divisão hierarquizada do trabalho entre homens e mulheres serve para o bem de toda a sociedade.							
Tanto os homens como as mulheres têm acesso de forma justa à riqueza e felicidade.							
O sexismo está piorando a cada ano.							
A sociedade está organizada de uma forma que homens e mulheres tem o que merecem.							

Estudo 3
Escala de Identificação Grupal

Todos somos membros de diferentes grupos ou categorias sociais. Nesta oportunidade, gostaríamos que você considerasse a sua pertença ao grupo das mulheres ao responder às afirmações a seguir. Por favor, leia cada afirmação e indique o quanto concorda com cada uma delas.

 Discordo Totalmente   Discordo   Discordo em partes   Indecisa
Concordo em partes   Concordo   Concordo totalmente

Eu me sinto vinculada com as mulheres.
Eu me sinto solidária com o grupo das mulheres.
Me sinto comprometida com o grupo das mulheres.
Sou satisfeita em ser mulher.
Acho que as mulheres têm muito do que se orgulhar.
É agradável ser mulher.
Ser mulher me dá um sentimento bom.
Muitas vezes penso no fato de que sou mulher.
O fato de eu ser mulher é uma parte importante pra minha identidade.
Ser mulher é importante para como me vejo.
Tenho muito em comum com a maioria das mulheres.
Sou semelhante à maioria das mulheres.
As mulheres tem muito em comum.
As mulheres são semelhantes umas às outras.

Manipulação

Como você deve ter percebido, as mulheres ainda enfrentam discriminação generalizada em muitas áreas importantes da vida. É muito provável que alguém já tenha discriminado a você pelo simples fato de você ser uma mulher. As mulheres ainda enfrentam discriminação e desigualdade no emprego, salário, educação, política, sala de audiências e nas interações interpessoais cotidianas. Elas também ganham menos que os homens. Pesquisas psicológicas recentes mostraram que entre 90% e 95% dos homens mantêm atitudes sexistas e discriminam as mulheres se tiverem a oportunidade. Os homens geralmente classificam as mulheres como incompetentes, irracionais e fracas. Eles são, efetivamente, socialmente mais valorizados do que as mulheres e você já deve ter sentido isso.

Você consegue pensar em uma situação em que existe discriminação contra as mulheres? Por favor, descreva.
_____

Pense em uma situação que você foi discriminada por ser mulher. Descreva.
_____

O que você sentiu nessa situação em que foi discriminada?
_____

Escala de Ação Coletiva

Indique em que medida está disposta a participar das seguintes atividades:

	Nada disposta	Pouco disposta	Moderadamente disposta	Muito disposta
Participar de uma manifestação à favor das mulheres				
Participar de uma petição online à favor das mulheres.				
Doar dinheiro para a causa das mulheres.				
Participar em alguma marcha pró-escolha.				
Participar de discussões sobre a causa das mulheres.				
Votar em uma candidata mulher para que se tenha mais mulheres na política.				
Participar ativamente de um grupo sobre causa das mulheres.				
Falar sobre a causa das mulheres para outras mulheres.				
Discutir na internet pela causa das mulheres.				
Fazer campanha para uma mulher nas eleições.				

Escala de Justificação do Sistema

Sobre as relações entre os homens e mulheres, indique o quanto concorda com cada frase abaixo.

	Discordo Totalmente	Discordo	Discordo em partes	Indecisa	Concordo em partes	Concordo	Concordo totalmente
De forma geral, as relações entre homens e mulheres são justas.							
Nas famílias, a divisão das tarefas domésticas é feita como deve ser.							
Os papéis de gênero precisam ser radicalmente reestruturados.							
O Brasil é melhor país do mundo para uma mulher viver.							
A divisão hierarquizada do trabalho entre homens e mulheres serve para o bem de toda a sociedade.							
Tanto os homens como as mulheres têm acesso de forma justa à riqueza e felicidade.							
O sexismo está piorando a cada ano.							
A sociedade está organizada de uma forma que homens e mulheres tem o que merecem.							

Estudo do Artigo 2

Manipulação Condição Discriminação Racista e Sexista

Como você deve ter percebido, as mulheres negras são duplamente discriminadas em muitas áreas importantes da vida. É muito provável que alguém já tenha discriminado você pelo fato de você ser uma mulher negra. As mulheres negras enfrentam discriminação e desigualdade no emprego, salário, educação, política, sala de audiências e nas interações interpessoais cotidianas.

Você consegue pensar em uma situação em que existe discriminação contra as mulheres negras? Por favor, descreva.

_____

Pense em uma situação que você foi discriminada por ser mulher negra. Descreva.

_____

O que você sentiu nessa situação em que foi discriminada?

_____

Manipulação Condição Discriminação Racista

Como você deve ter percebido, as pessoas negras ainda enfrentam discriminação em muitas áreas importantes da vida. É muito provável que alguém já tenha discriminado você pelo fato de você ser uma pessoa negra. As pessoas negras enfrentam discriminação e desigualdade no emprego, salário, educação, política, sala de audiências e nas interações interpessoais cotidianas.

Você consegue pensar em uma situação em que existe discriminação contra as pessoas negras? Por favor, descreva.

_____

Pense em uma situação que você foi discriminada por ser uma pessoa negra. Descreva.

_____

O que você sentiu nessa situação em que foi discriminada?

_____

Manipulação Condição Sexista

Como você deve ter percebido, as mulheres ainda enfrentam discriminação em muitas áreas importantes da vida. É muito provável que alguém já tenha discriminado você pelo fato de você ser uma mulher. As mulheres enfrentam discriminação e desigualdade no emprego, salário, educação, política, sala de audiências e nas interações interpessoais cotidianas.

Você consegue pensar em uma situação em que existe discriminação contra as mulheres? Por favor, descreva.

_____

Pense em uma situação que você foi discriminada por ser mulher. Descreva.
_____

O que você sentiu nessa situação em que foi discriminada?

Questões Sociodemográficas

Por fim, queremos saber mais sobre você.

Qual sua idade?

Qual sua escolaridade?
Ensino fundamental completo
Ensino médio incompleto
Ensino médio completo
Graduação incompleta
Graduação completa
Pós-graduação incompleta
Pós-graduação completa

Você atualmente é estudante universitária?
Sim
Não

Se sim, de qual instituição? (Se não for, apenas responda que não é)
_____

Qual sua classe social?
Baixa
Média-baixa
Média
Média-alta
Alta

Qual sua religião?
Católica
Evangélica
Espírita
Umbandista
Candomblecista
Outra
Nenhuma

Qual sua orientação política?
Extrema esquerda
Esquerda
Centro
Direita
Extrema direita

Você participa de algum movimento social?

Nunca participei
Já participei, mas não sou ativa no momento
Participo e sou ativa
Participo e sou muito ativa

Escala de Identificação Grupal de Gênero

Todos somos membros de diferentes grupos ou categorias sociais. Nesta oportunidade, gostaríamos que você respondesse como uma mulher ao responder. Por favor, leia cada afirmação e indique o quanto concorda com cada uma delas

Discordo Muito   Discordo   Tendo a discordar   Nem concordo nem discordo   Tendo a concordar   Concordo   Concordo Muito

Eu penso que as mulheres têm muito de que se orgulhar.

É agradável ser uma mulher.

Ser uma mulher dá-me uma sensação agradável.

Eu estou contente por ser uma mulher.

Eu penso muitas vezes no fato de que sou uma mulher.

O fato de que sou uma mulher é uma parte importante da minha identidade.

Ser uma mulher é uma parte importante de como eu me vejo.

Eu sinto uma ligação com as mulheres.

Eu sinto solidariedade para com as mulheres.

Eu sinto dedicação para com as mulheres.

Tenho muito em comum com a maioria das mulheres.

Sou parecida com à maioria das mulheres.

As mulheres têm muitos pontos em comum entre si.

As mulheres são muito parecidas

Escala de Identificação Grupal Racial

Todos somos membros de diferentes grupos ou categorias sociais. Nesta oportunidade, gostaríamos que você respondesse como uma pessoa negra ao responder. Por favor, leia cada afirmação e indique o quanto concorda com cada uma delas.

Discordo Muito   Discordo   Tendo a discordar   Nem concordo nem discordo   Tendo a concordar   Concordo   Concordo muito

Eu penso que as pessoas negras têm muito de que se orgulhar.
É agradável ser uma pessoa negra.
Ser uma pessoa negra dá-me uma sensação agradável.
Eu estou contente por ser uma pessoa negra.
Eu penso muitas vezes no fato de que sou uma pessoa negra.
O fato de que sou uma pessoa negra é uma parte importante da minha identidade.
Ser uma pessoa negra é uma parte importante de como eu me vejo a mim mesma.
Eu sinto uma ligação com as pessoas negras.
Eu sinto solidariedade para com as pessoas negras.
Eu sinto dedicação para com as pessoas negras.
Tenho muito em comum com a maioria das pessoas negras.
Sou parecida com à maioria das pessoas negras.
As pessoas negras têm muitos pontos em comum entre si.
As pessoas negras são muito parecidas.

# Escala de Justificação do Sistema

Sobre as relações sociais, indique o quanto concorda com cada frase abaixo.

	Discordo Muito	Discordo	Tendo a discordar	Nem concordo nem discordo	Tendo a concordar	Concordo	Concordo Muito
Pensando bem, a nossa sociedade é justa.							
De uma maneira geral, as coisas são como devem ser.							
Aqui é o melhor lugar do mundo para se viver.							
A maioria das coisas acontece por ser o melhor para a sociedade							
Todo mundo tem as mesmas oportunidades para buscar riqueza e felicidade.							
A sociedade está organizada para que as pessoas consigam o que merecem.							

Estudo do Artigo 3

Manipulação Condição Discriminação Racista e Sexista

Neste estudo, você se tornará uma cidadã de Bimboola. Você começará uma nova vida lá e se tornará um membro da sociedade bimbooleana. Bimboola é como qualquer outra sociedade. A sociedade bimbooleana consiste em vários grupos que diferem entre si. A escada a seguir representa grupos com diferentes níveis de importância em Bimboola. O grupo no topo da escada é o que está em melhor situação, é o mais valorizado. O grupo na parte inferior da escada é o que está em pior situação, é o menos valorizado em Bimboola. As coisas que você poderá ter para começar a vida em Bimboola dependerá de qual grupo você está designada.
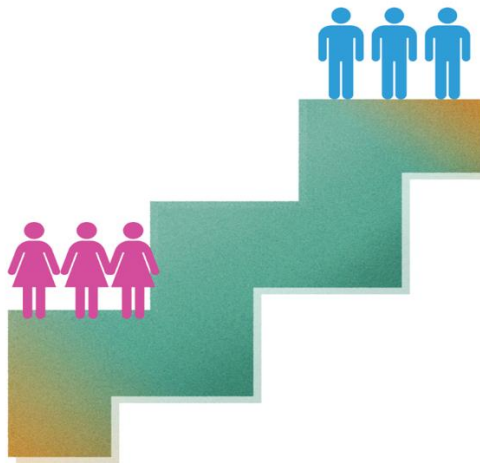
Vamos começar a sua vida em Bimboola! A seguir, você poderá escolher uma casa para morar, um carro e um emprego. Se você é uma mulher negra está na parte inferior da escada. As opções do grupo de mulheres negras são as opções ranqueadas com 1 ou 2 estrelas. As demais não estarão disponíveis para seu grupo.

Observe cada uma das casas. Depois deverá escolher uma para morar em Bimboola

Casa 1 - 1 estrela

Casa 2 - 2 estrelas

Casa 3 - 4 estrelas

Casa 4 - 5 estrelas

Qual casa você escolhe?
Casa 1
Casa 2
Casa 3 (disponível apenas para homens)
Casa 4 (disponível apenas para homens)

Observe cada um dos carros. Depois deverá escolher um para ser seu em Bimboola
 Carro 1 - 1 estrela

 Carro 2 - 2 estrelas

 Carro 3 - 3 estrelas

 Carro 4 - 4 estrelas

 Qual carro você escolhe?
Carro 1
Carro 2
Carro 3 (disponível apenas para homens)
Carro 4 (disponível apenas para homens)

Observe cada uma das profissões. Depois deverá escolher uma para ser a sua em Bimboola
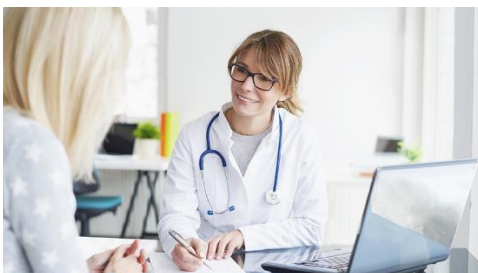
Auxiliar de serviços gerais - 1 estrela

Recepcionista - 2 estrelas

Engenheira - 4 estrelas

Médica - 5 estrelas

Qual profissão você escolhe?
Auxiliar de serviços gerais
Recepcionista
Engenheira (disponível apenas para homens)
Médica (disponível apenas para homens)

Manipulação da condição de discriminação racista

Neste estudo, você se tornará uma cidadã de Bimboola. Você começará uma nova vida lá e se tornará um membro da sociedade bimbooleana. Bimboola é como qualquer outra sociedade. A sociedade bimbooleana consiste em vários grupos que diferem em status e riqueza. A escada a seguir representa grupos com diferentes níveis de renda, educação e empregos em Bimboola. O grupo no topo da escada é o que está em melhor situação, tem mais dinheiro, mais educação, e melhores empregos, enquanto o grupo na parte inferior da escada é o pior, tem menos dinheiro, menos educação e piores empregos ou nenhum emprego. Quão boas são as coisas que você pode pagar para começar sua nova vida em Bimboola dependerá de qual grupo você está designado.

Vamos começar sua vida em Bimboola! A seguir, você poderá escolher uma casa para morar, um carro e um emprego. Se você é uma pessoa negra está na parte inferior da escada. As opções do grupo de pessoas negras são as opções ranqueadas com 1 ou 2 estrelas. As demais não estarão disponíveis para seu grupo.

Observe cada uma das casas. Depois deverá escolher uma para morar em Bimboola

Casa 1 - 1 estrela

Casa 2 - 2 estrelas

Casa 3 - 4 estrelas

Casa 4 - 5 estrelas

Qual casa você escolhe?
Casa 1
Casa 2
Casa 3 (disponível apenas para pessoas brancas)
Casa 4 (disponível apenas para pessoas brancas)

Observe cada um dos carros. Depois deverá escolher um para ser seu em Bimboola
Carro 1 - 1 estrela

Carro 2 - 2 estrelas

Carro 3 - 3 estrelas

Carro 4 - 4 estrelas

Qual carro você escolhe?
Carro 1
Carro 2
Carro 3 (disponível apenas para pessoas brancas)
Carro 4 (disponível apenas para pessoas brancas)

Observe cada uma das profissões. Depois deverá escolher uma para ser a sua em Bimboola

Auxiliar de serviços gerais - 1 estrela

Recepcionista - 2 estrelas

Engenheira - 4 estrelas

Médica - 5 estrelas

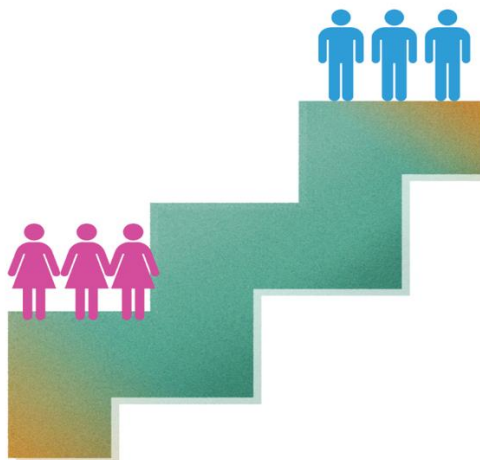Qual profissão você escolhe?
Auxiliar de serviços gerais
Recepcionista
Engenheira (disponível apenas para pessoas brancas)
Médica (disponível apenas para pessoas brancas)

Condição manipulação discrimição sexista

Neste estudo, você se tornará uma cidadã de Bimboola. Você começará uma nova vida lá e se tornará um membro da sociedade bimbooleana. Bimboola é como qualquer outra sociedade. A sociedade bimbooleana consiste em vários grupos que diferem em status e riqueza. A escada a seguir representa grupos com diferentes níveis de renda, educação e empregos em Bimboola. O grupo no topo da escada é o que está em melhor situação, tem mais dinheiro, mais educação, e melhores empregos, enquanto o grupo na parte inferior da escada é o pior, tem menos dinheiro, menos educação e piores empregos ou nenhum emprego. Quão boas são as coisas que você pode pagar para começar sua nova vida em Bimboola dependerá de qual grupo você está designado.

Vamos começar sua vida em Bimboola! A seguir, você poderá escolher uma casa para morar, um carro e um emprego. Se você é uma mulher está na parte inferior da escada. As opções do grupo de mulheres são as opções ranqueadas com 1 ou 2 estrelas. As demais não estarão disponíveis para seu grupo.

Observe cada uma das casas. Depois deverá escolher uma para morar em Bimboola

Casa 1 - 1 estrela

Casa 2 - 2 estrelas

Casa 3 - 4 estrelas

Casa 4 - 5 estrelas

Qual casa você escolhe?
Casa 1
Casa 2
Casa 3 (disponível apenas para homens)

Casa 4 (disponível apenas para homens)

Observe cada um dos carros. Depois deverá escolher um para ser seu em Bimboola
Carro 1 - 1 estrela

Carro 2 - 2 estrelas

Carro 3 - 3 estrelas

Carro 4 - 4 estrelas

Qual carro você escolhe?
Carro 1
Carro 2
Carro 3 (disponível apenas para homens)
Carro 4 (disponível apenas para homens)

Observe cada uma das profissões. Depois deverá escolher uma para ser a sua em Bimboola
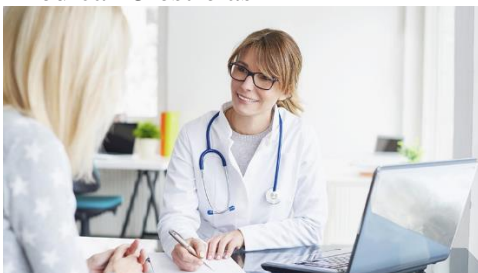
Auxiliar de serviços gerais - 1 estrela

Recepcionista - 2 estrelas

Engenheira - 4 estrelas

Médica - 5 estrelas

Qual profissão você escolhe?
Auxiliar de serviços gerais
Recepcionista
Engenheira (disponível apenas para homens)
Médica (disponível apenas para homens)

Neste estudo, você se tornará uma cidadã de Bimboola. Você começará uma nova vida lá e se tornará um membro da sociedade bimbooleana. Bimboola é como qualquer outra sociedade.

Vamos começar sua vida em Bimboola! A seguir, você poderá escolher uma casa para morar, um carro e um emprego.

Observe cada uma das casas. Depois deverá escolher uma para morar em Bimboola
Casa 1 - 1 estrela

Casa 2 - 2 estrelas

Casa 3 - 4 estrelas

Casa 4 - 5 estrelas

 Qual casa você escolhe?
Casa 1
Casa 2
Casa 3
Casa 4

Observe cada um dos carros. Depois deverá escolher um para ser seu em Bimboola
Carro 1 - 1 estrela

Carro 2 - 2 estrelas

Carro 3 - 3 estrelas

Carro 4 - 4 estrelas

Qual carro você escolhe?
Carro 1
Carro 2
Carro 3
Carro 4

Observe cada uma das profissões. Depois deverá escolher uma para ser a sua em Bimboola
Auxiliar de serviços gerais - 1 estrela

Recepcionista - 2 estrelas

Engenheira - 4 estrelas

Médica - 5 estrelas

Qual profissão você escolhe?
Auxiliar de serviços gerais
Recepcionista
Engenheira
Médica

Medidas dependentes

Em Bimboola você teve a oportunidade de escolher opções de moradia, carro e emprego para começar sua vida na sociedade. Sobre as condições e oportunidades que teve até agora na comunidade bimboleana, responda:

	Nada	Pouco	Médio	Muito
O quanto gostaria de continuar seguindo as regras atuais do jogo.				
O quanto gostaria de subir por méritos próprios na escala social de Bimboola.				
As regras atuais do jogo para você são inalteráveis. Assim, o quanto gostaria de se associar às pessoas como você, tentando mudar as regras do jogo para futuras jogadoras em Bimbola.				

Indique os próximos passos

Quer parar o jogo e ir para as questões finais
Quer continuar jogando Bimbola com as regras atuais

Escala de Identificação Grupal de Gênero e Racial

Todos somos membros de diferentes grupos ou categorias sociais. Nesta oportunidade, gostaríamos que você respondesse como uma mulher ao responder. Por favor, leia cada afirmação e indique o quanto concorda com cada uma delas

Discordo Muito   Discordo   Tendo a discordar   Nem concordo nem discordo   Tendo a concordar   Concordo   Concordo Muito

Eu penso que as mulheres negras têm muito de que se orgulhar.
É agradável ser uma mulher negra
Ser uma mulher negra dá-me uma sensação agradável.
Eu estou contente por ser uma mulher negra.
Eu penso muitas vezes no fato de que sou uma mulher negra.
O fato de que sou uma mulher negra é uma parte importante da minha identidade.
Ser uma mulher negra é uma parte importante de como eu me vejo.
Eu sinto uma ligação com as mulheres negras.
Eu sinto solidariedade para com as mulheres negras.
Eu sinto dedicação para com as mulheres negras.
Tenho muito em comum com a maioria das mulheres negras.
Sou parecida com à maioria das mulheres negras.
As mulheres negras têm muitos pontos em comum entre si.
As mulheres negras são muito parecidas

Escala de Justificação do Sistema

Sobre as relações sociais, indique o quanto concorda com cada frase abaixo.

	Discordo Muito	Discordo	Tendo a discordar	Nem concordo nem discordo	Tendo a concordar	Concordo	Concordo Muito
Pensando bem, a nossa sociedade é justa.							
De uma maneira geral, as coisas são como devem ser.							
Aqui é o melhor lugar do mundo para se viver.							
A maioria das coisas acontece por ser o melhor para a sociedade							
Todo mundo tem as mesmas oportunidades para buscar riqueza e felicidade.							
A sociedade está organizada para que as pessoas consigam o que merecem.							