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LINKED FATE AT THE INTERSECTION OF RACE, GENDER, AND ETHNICITY

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The standard models of American political behavior and attitudes include predictive variables like socioeconomic status, age, gender, and political ideology. Scholars of Black politics note that it is imperative that we also include factors that measure racial identity, group consciousness, and linked fate in order to develop a fully specified model of Black political behavior and attitudes. While many groups, especially underrepresented minority groups, may develop a sense of group consciousness (Conover 1984; Gurin 1985; Gurin et al. 1980; Miller et al. 1981), African Americans' sense of racial group consciousness stems from living in a racialized social system, or a society where they have been disadvantaged due to their racial group membership and identity while others, namely Whites, have been granted a plethora of advantages and benefits because of their race (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Dawson 1994; Gay and Tate 1998).

There are two important expectations that scholars of Black politics have noted over the years as they relate to racial group consciousness. The first is that we should expect Blacks in the United States to consider their racial group membership, identity, and status when making political decisions as long as these factors continue to constrain their life chances and opportunity structure (Dawson 1994). Second, scholars, like Arthur Miller, Patricia Gurin and their colleagues, expect group consciousness to be stable because group membership and identification are assumed to be stable, but they note that "a sense of group consciousness may also vary from individual to individual, over time, and across strata, depending on the existing social conditions" (Miller et al. 1981, 495).

These expectations are straightforward, but we must also be cognizant of complexity presented by the fact that people have multiple identities. An intersectional approach helps scholars to depict a more accurate portrait of the

ways in which various identities influence political attitudes and behaviors. As an analytical strategy,

intersectionality is based on the idea that more than one category should be analyzed, that categories matter equally and that the relationship between categories is an open empirical question, that members within a category are diverse, that analysis of the individual or a set of individuals is integrated with institutional analysis, and that empirical and theoretical claims are both possible and necessary.

(Dhamoon 2010, 231)

For example, scholars like Gay and Tate (1998) note that African American women are “doubly bound” and therefore equally and simultaneously consider their racial identity and gender identity when making political decisions: “race constructs the way Black women experience gender; gender constructs the way Black women experience race” (Mansbridge and Tate 1992, 488). Similarly, Wilcox (1990) points out that racial consciousness actually helps to foster a gender consciousness, and therefore the two are intrinsically bound together. However, other researchers have suggested that racial identity and group consciousness negate gender identity, and African American women’s racial group consciousness serves a stronger role in political decision making and behavior than gender consciousness due to the more extreme and historically overt nature of the racial inequality and the shared economic and political fates men and women share within a racial or ethnic group (Gurin 1985; Mansbridge and Tate 1992). These explorations offer a first step in questioning the stability of the racial group consciousness paradigm in the face of other intersecting identities like gender.

The intersection of race and gender (as well as class) have tended to be the major focus of analyses of intersectionality, but other identities including ethnicity and immigration status are becoming increasingly important to simultaneously consider as the ethnic diversity of Blacks, in particular, grows over time (Dhamoon 2010; Wadsworth 2011). Black immigrants are transforming the demographic make-up of the Black population and the American population, and Black immigrant women are specifically contributing to this transformation. In 2013, women made up a larger portion of the foreign-born Black population (Anderson 2015). A growing number of African immigrants are women, and immigrants from the Caribbean are more likely to be women (McCabe 2011; Ruiz et al. 2015; Thomas 2012). African women make up 46.4 percent of the immigrants from Africa, and 55 percent of the immigrants from the Caribbean are Black women (McCabe 2011; Thomas 2012). The Census Bureau estimates that foreign-born Blacks will make up 16.5 percent of the U.S. Black population by 2060, suggesting that the number of Black immigrant women will also continue to grow (Anderson 2015; Brown 2015).

We are concerned with the extent to which racial group consciousness will continue to explain the political behavior and attitudes of Blacks in the United States in the face of increasing growth and diversity – or more specifically, in the face of an increasing diversity of Black experiences with racism, ethnocentrism, sexism, and oppression that targets those who fall into multiple low-strata groups. Here, we ask a series of questions whose answers will help us to gain a better understanding of the extent to which, and the circumstances under which, racial group consciousness will continue to affect and homogenize Black political attitudes and behaviors: Considering that “Black” is not only a racial category, but also a pan-ethnic group, do African Americans and Black immigrants have similar levels of group consciousness? Considering the fact that racialized experiences and immigration are often gendered, is there a gender gap in racial group consciousness? Will racial group consciousness influence Black immigrants’ attitudes toward gender equality as we have seen it for African Americans?

Racial Group Consciousness

Racial group consciousness is “in-group identification *politicized* by a set of ideological beliefs about one’s group’s social standing, as well as the view that collective action is the best means by which the group can improve its status and realize its interests” (McClain et al. 2009, 476). While one’s identity may influence one’s political outlook, it is racial group consciousness that ultimately connects these two things together. There are several steps between being (involuntarily) ascribed a racial or ethnic identity and intentionally mobilizing that identity in politics. To begin, one must recognize a racial group membership, feel a psychological attachment to that group, perceive that one’s group status is unfairly placed at the low end of the status hierarchy, and finally, believe that the group should work collectively to improve that status (Gurin et al. 1980). Group consciousness has been the linchpin in explaining, understanding and predicting Black political behavior and attitudes (Allen et al. 1989; Chong and Rogers 2005a; Dawson 1994; McClain et al. 2009). This politicized identity stems from Black Americans’ historical and contemporary experiences within a racialized social system. Historically, Black Americans have been treated as group members rather than as individuals, and in turn, they consider the well-being of their group as a proxy for the well-being of the individual when making political decisions (Dawson 1994).

The political effects of group members having a sense of group consciousness are vast and consequential. Group consciousness “is a resource that generates political activity through an individual’s attachment to a group” (Sanchez 2006, 436) and, it “potentially heightens awareness of interest in politics, bolsters group pride and political efficacy, alters interpretations of group problems, and promotes support for collective action” (Chong and Rogers 2005b, 350).

Research has provided a great deal of empirical support for these claims, especially as they relate to Blacks' political policy preferences. For example, we tend to see that Black Americans are more liberal than most other racial groups on issues like social welfare, the size and role of the federal government, and affirmative action. Group consciousness helps us to understand that since Blacks are concerned with improving the status of the group, they are more likely to prefer policies that are aimed to support this effort; Blacks have tended to "support an activist welfare state as a form of racial redress" (Tate 2010, 5).²

Additionally, there is a nascent literature devoted to exploring the effects of pan-ethnic diversity on racial group consciousness (Greer 2013; Nunnally 2010; Rogers 2004, 2006; Smith 2014). The knowledge produced by this small set of scholars will help us to develop more accurate predictions about what we should expect for Black politics as ethnic diversity increases due to the influx of Black immigrants from Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. To begin, this literature reveals [that] the factors that have influenced African Americans to develop a sense of racial group consciousness also plague Black immigrants. Black immigrants are just as, and in some cases more likely, to face discrimination in housing and job markets, wage disparities, and negative health outcomes due to their racial group membership (Crowder 1999; Denton and Massey 1989; Kim and White 2010; Read and Emerson 2005; Ryan et al. 2006).

But again, we must realize that simply because a person is ascribed an identity and treated similarly to other group members, it does not necessarily follow that they will develop a sense of group consciousness. Research has shown that while some Black immigrants, especially those who are first generation, may distance themselves from African Americans, they are still likely to develop a sense of racial group consciousness. For example, Rogers (2006) finds that a great many of his Afro-Caribbean respondents have a shared sense of racial identity with African Americans, but he also predicts that his respondents' identities may not be politically mobilized in the same way as African Americans'. Smith (2013, 2014) asserts levels of group consciousness vary across ethnic group and across generational status and finds that second generation Black immigrants have higher levels of racial group consciousness than African Americans, on average. What's more, Smith (2013, 2014) as well as Austin et al. (2012), who focus on people of African descent in Miami-Dade County, Florida, find that African Americans' sense of group consciousness influences a wide array of political behaviors (rally attendance, contacting representatives, signing petitions, voting, volunteering, meeting representatives) and attitudes (including ostensibly non-racialized policies like abortion), while Black immigrants' group consciousness tends to be constrained to influence only overtly racialized public policies and traditional political behaviors like voting and rally attendance. Overall, while racial discrimination may serve to invoke a sense of racial group consciousness among Blacks, in general, the influence of group consciousness may not have similar effects across ethnic groups. We add an

additional layer of nuance in this chapter, considering whether gender serves as a modality through which political attitudes and policy preferences are viewed.

Gender and Group Consciousness

While the aforementioned bodies of literature have helped to fill a void in our knowledge about the extent to which a concept that was developed with a specific group in mind may extend to those with a different (or new) relationship with America's racial hierarchy, much of the analyses use a single-axis approach in order to determine the role of group consciousness across ethnic groups, political behaviors, and policy preferences. That is to say, that while public policies, in particular, are likely to influence individuals differently because of an individual's race, ethnicity, immigration status, and/or gender, research does not always disaggregate groups to get a more precise understanding of the effects of important independent variables. Needless to say, the literature that examines the interlocking oppression that Black women face provides a model and a solid rationale as to why researchers must consider the variation in experiences within a group (Collins 1986, 1990). At the most basic level, intersectionality helps us to "understand the differences between and among groups" (Jordan-Zachery 2007, 256). Black feminist ideology takes us one step further in understanding what intersectionality is, asserting that "race, class, gender and sexuality are codependent variables that cannot readily be separated and ranked in scholarship, in political practice, or in lived experience" (Ransby 2000, 1218).

Scholarship shows that Black men and Black women experience the racial implications of (public) policies quite differently in the United States. For example, Black men are much more likely than most other demographic groups to have experiences with the criminal justice and mass incarceration systems (Alexander 2010). Black men's wages typically lag behind that of White men, while Black male unemployment is more than twice as high as their White counterparts (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2014). Meanwhile, Black women similarly lag behind White women in terms of wages and outpace them in terms of unemployment, but scholars have also noted the "feminization of poverty" (Reingold and Smith 2012). Beth Reingold and Adrienne Smith note that "the poverty rate for women and girls (14.4%) was approximately 2% higher than for men and boys (12%), which translates into almost 4.5 million more females living in poverty" (2012, 133). Additionally, Evelyn Simien asserts, "Black women are doubly disadvantaged in the social, political and economic structure of the United States. African American women continue to lag behind on practically every measure of well-being – income, employment, education and social class" (Simien 2005, 532).

These gendered policy differences have also led scholars to consider other within group differences based on the intersections of race and gender. For example, some scholars have expected gender to potentially mitigate the effects

of linked fate; Black men and women, they contend, may differ on the extent to which they have a sense of racial group consciousness as well as how racial group consciousness may or may not be related to gender identity. Claudine Gay and Katherine Tate found a close and positive relationship between gender identification and racial identification among Black women; their analysis also revealed that Black women's racial identity was more likely to influence their political attitudes than their gender except in cases where their racial interests and gender interests were in conflict (Gay and Tate 1998). Similarly, Wilcox found that Black women's racial and gender consciousness were positively correlated (Wilcox 1996).

After noting that the traditional linked fate question was inadequate to gauge gender variation among Blacks, Simien analyzed Black men's and women's responses to two questions: "Do you think what happens to [Black men, Black women] in this country will have something to do with your life?" and for those who affirm the first question, "Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?" (2005, 538). Here, she seeks to develop a better measure of Black feminist consciousness. She found that while Black men were more likely to report having a sense of linked fate with other Black men in comparison to Black women, Black men and women reported similar levels of linked fate with Black women; in all, she found that Black men seemed to have greater sense of group consciousness than Black women (Simien 2005). Also within this research agenda, Simien and Clawson found that while Black feminist consciousness is highly related to racial identity among Black women and Black men, "black feminist consciousness is part and parcel of race consciousness for black women," but "black feminism is not as fully integrated into black men's racial belief system" (2004, 803). Finally, they found that while Black feminist consciousness increased support for abortion for men and women, race identification dampened this support among Black women (Simien and Clawson 2004).

Overall, what this literature reveals is that we have to be aware of and account for "the simultaneous and interactive effects of race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and national origin as categories of difference" (Simien and Hancock 2011, 185). Black men and Black women experience race differently due to gender. Taking this one step further, we should also expect racialized and gendered experiences to also be influenced by ethnicity and immigration status. As pan-ethnic diversity grows among Blacks in the United States, we must also keep in mind that ethnic identities are also one of the important identities that people of African descent must contend with in their day-to-day lives and consider in their political decision-making processes.

An Intersectional Approach

We take the notion and approach of intersectionality seriously in this chapter in efforts to develop a more accurate depiction of the role that racial group

consciousness may play in the face of the increasing diversity among Blacks. Kimberlé Crenshaw addresses the quandary that we face in a great deal of scholarship on identity politics; she notes, “The problem with identity politics is not that it fails to transcend difference, as some critics charge, but rather the opposite – that it frequently conflates or ignores intragroup differences” (1991, 1242). In efforts to unpack intragroup differences that arise because of race, gender, class, immigration status, and the like, she outlines three forms of intersectionality: structural, political, and representational. We center the concepts of structural and political intersectionality here to inform our theoretical and empirical expectations about the role racial group consciousness plays across gender and ethnic lines among Black people in the United States.

Structural intersectionality refers to “the ways in which the locality of women of color at the intersection of race and gender make our actual [experiences] and remedial reform qualitatively different than that of white women” (Crenshaw 1991, 1245). Structural inequality illuminates the idea that when women of color experience domestic violence, for example, they may have additional burdens such as poverty, childcare responsibilities or a lack of job skills that will exacerbate an already difficult set of circumstances. We can also foresee how immigration status or cultural norms may similarly intensify racialized or gendered experiences for women of color in comparison to men or White women. For example, Crenshaw (1991) provides an illustration of how an immigrant woman who fears deportation may shy away from reporting abuse to the police.

Crenshaw’s concept of political intersectionality helps us to realize how pan-ethnic, intragroup conflict might ensue. For the issue at hand, political intersectionality highlights the fact that immigrants of color are “situated in at least two subordinate groups that frequently pursue conflicting political agendas” (Crenshaw 1991, 1252). African Americans have historically been ambivalent about immigration and immigrants (Carter 2007; Diamond 1998; Smith 2014), and this ambivalence may be exacerbated when and if they consider the fact that an increasing number of immigrants are members of their racial group. Similarly, even though some “women’s interests” (i.e., abortion, gender wage gap) have an acute effect on Black women, it is unclear whether Black men will feel compelled to support these issues. Finally, given that Black immigrants may have a very different perspective on the roles of race and racism in America, it is unclear whether they will also view those policy domains that are racialized and gendered in the same way that African American men and women often do.

Theoretical and Empirical Expectations

Despite the vast variations in experiences with race and racism in the United States, we expect to find that African American men and women, as well as Black immigrant men and women, have a fairly high sense of racial group

consciousness. However, when we examine differences across gender, the extant literature leads us to predict that Black immigrant women may have lower levels of group consciousness than their co-ethnic male counterparts or African Americans. Mary Waters (1999, 2001) shows that Afro-Caribbean women and girls are more likely to hold onto and make salient their ethnic identity rather than their racial identity in comparison to Black immigrant men. What's more, we might also consider the fact that Black immigrant males are more likely to experience negative interpersonal interactions with police and other figures of authority. Among the unarmed Black men who have been killed by police in the United States, a number of them are Black immigrants. Amadou Diallo and Osumane Zongo are two examples.³ African American women, on the other hand, are more likely to be well aware and perhaps less (psychologically) insulated from the effects of racial discrimination (Smith 2014), and thus we may expect no gender difference in racial group consciousness among African Americans (but see Seaton et al. 2008).

***H1:** There will be a gender gap in group consciousness among Black immigrants, but this gap will not appear among African Americans.*

Second, considering the research that shows that Black women's racial identity and feminist consciousness are more tightly intertwined than Black men's, we expect that African American women's racial group consciousness will influence their attitudes towards gender equality. That is to say, we expect racial group consciousness to influence African American women's policy preferences on issues that encourage equality across gender while the same may not be the case for members of the other three groups in question.

***H2:** African American women's sense of racial group consciousness will influence their attitudes on policy domains that will especially affect them because of their gender, but we will not see the same effect for African American men or Black immigrant men or women.*

Methodological Approach, Data, and Measures

Research shows that negative, racialized experiences increase the chance that both Black Americans and Black immigrants will have a sense of racial group consciousness (Austin et al. 2012; Smith 2014), but extant research has generally taken a single-axis approach to discern the effects of group consciousness among members of this group. A single-axis approach simply controls for factors like

race, ethnicity, gender, and immigration status, ultimately implying that these identities are mutually exclusive (Reingold and Smith 2012). Another strategy within this approach is to interact gender and race to make conclusions about intersectional identities and experiences (Simien 2004).

Here, we employ a methodological approach that takes seriously the notion that race, gender, and ethnicity mutually reinforce each other to produce advantages for those who are in dominant groups while producing disadvantages for those who simultaneously fall into multiple subordinate groups. Rather than using dummy variables, which only tell us that groups have a different “starting point” (y-intercept), we adopt a method of *comparative relational analysis* (Masuoka and Junn 2013). This approach comports well with a theory of intersectionality because it requires us to examine each “multi-identified” group separately; in this case, we examine African American women, African American men, Afro-Caribbean women, and Afro-Caribbean men separately. A comparative relational analysis allows for the possibility that racial group consciousness will not only influence respondents across various groups differently, but also that racial group consciousness and any of the other independent and control variables may have a different effect entirely for each group (i.e., have a different slope).

We use the National Politics Study to test our hypotheses. The survey includes questions concerning participants’ voting preferences, attitudes toward policies such as immigration and social issues, general government support, party affiliation and opinions, racial consciousness, and acculturation. Data for the survey were collected through telephone interviews from September 2004 to February 2005. There were a total of 3,339 respondents, which consisted of 919 non-Hispanic Whites, 756 African Americans, 757 Hispanics, 503 Asians, and 404 Caribbean Blacks. The inclusion of Afro-Caribbean respondents makes the NPS a valuable source for investigating the extent to which, and the circumstances under which, immigrant and native-born Blacks’ behaviors will be driven by attachments to (un)shared identities. The gender diversity of the survey also makes it suitable for the current research. The survey includes 1,439 men and 1,900 women; African American and Afro-Caribbean women make up 25 and 14 percent of the sample, respectively, while African American men make up 20 percent of the sample and Afro-Caribbean men make up roughly 11 percent.

Independent Variables

We use two traditional measures of group consciousness, “linked fate” and “closeness”, to assess variation in racial group consciousness between Black immigrant women and Black immigrant men and African American men and African American women. Respondents are asked to indicate the extent to which they agree that the happenings of others in their racial group in the U.S.

will have an effect on their individual lives. The measure is coded such that one (1) indicates a “yes” response and zero otherwise. The closeness measure “emphasize[s] the facet of black identity that most closely resembles classic definitions of group identity” (Harris 1995, 228). Respondents indicated the extent to which they feel close to various racial groups, including their own, in ideas, interests, and feelings, on a scale from (1) *not close at all* to (4) *very close*.

Dependent Variable

In order to assess the influence of group consciousness on policies concerning gender, respondents were asked,

Recently there has been a lot of talk about women’s rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. Others feel that a woman’s place is in the home. Which is closer to the way you feel: men and women should have equal roles, or a woman’s place is in the home?

We coded the variable such that one (1) corresponds to those who were supportive of gender equality (men and women should have equal roles) or zero, otherwise.

Additionally, the research on political attitudes suggests a range of demographic and political factors that are likely to affect attitudes toward policies. Demographic factors such as education, age, sex, and income have been found to influence policy attitudes. As such, we have controlled for the following demographic factors: age, marital status, income, homeownership, and highest level of education. Marital status and homeownership are dichotomous variables coded one if the respondent is married or owns a home. We also control for generational status and citizenship using dichotomous variables, in which “1” indicates a respondent that is second generation (or beyond) or a U.S. citizen, respectively. Both variables have shown to be important factors in determining the policy attitudes of immigrant-replenished groups (Branton 2007). Logit models assess these variables’ effect on attitudes toward gender equality.

Descriptive Results: Group Consciousness

Table 3.1 summarizes the average levels of group consciousness and racial identification, comparing Black respondents across gender and ethnic lines. The descriptive findings offer limited support for our expectations concerning levels of group consciousness across ethnicity and gender. **Table 3.1** shows that in comparison to Black immigrants, African Americans, in general, feel closer to other Blacks. African American women have a higher sense of racial group closeness than Black immigrant women, and the same can be said for African

TABLE 3.1 Closeness and Linked Fate Across Ethnicity and Gender

	<i>Closeness</i>			<i>Linked Fate</i>		
	<i>All</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
African Americans	3.40 (0.03)*	3.39 (0.03)*	3.42 (0.04)*	0.70 (0.02)*	0.66 (0.02)*	0.75 (0.03)**
Black Immigrants	3.16 (0.04)	3.19 (0.05)	3.10 (0.07)	0.56 (0.03)	0.59 (0.03)	0.52 (0.04)

Notes

* Significantly different by ethnicity at $p < 0.01$.

** Significantly different by ethnicity and gender $p < 0.01$ (standard error).

American men in comparison to Afro-Caribbean men. We do not observe a gender gap in group consciousness among Black immigrants; instead, we find that Black immigrant men and women generally share similar levels of closeness to other Blacks.

Table 3.1 also shows that African Americans have a greater sense of linked fate in comparison to Black immigrants. However, the results reveal that the difference in linked fate across ethnic groups is largely driven by African American men, contrary to our expectation. The difference of means test reveals that African American men report feeling a greater sense of linked fate in comparison to the other three groups, including African American women. Black women do have a greater sense of group consciousness than Afro-Caribbean women. Finally, the results show that Black immigrant men and women are not significantly different from each other in their belief that their life chances are inexorably linked to other Blacks.

There is a gender gap in linked fate, but we actually see it occur among African Americans rather than Black immigrants. Extant literature suggests that Black immigrant men are more likely to have negative, interpersonal experiences due to racial discrimination, but we see that these experiences have not translated into a sense of group consciousness in the way that we have seen it for African American men.

Results: Policy Attitudes

The previous analysis shows that there are variations in racial group consciousness and identity across ethnic groups as well as within ethnic groups due to gender. Next, we discern the role that racial group consciousness has on policy attitudes, particularly as they concern gender equality. Table 3.2 includes tests on the effect of group consciousness on African American and Afro-Caribbean men and women's attitudes on gender equality. We include two models for Afro-Caribbean men and women; the first model is a "comparative model";

TABLE 3.2 Effect of Racial Identity on Gender Equality Attitudes by Gender

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Black Immigrant Female</i>		<i>African American Female</i>		<i>Black Immigrant Male</i>		<i>African American Male</i>	
	<i>Coefficient (Standard Error)</i>	<i>Coefficient (Standard Error)</i>	<i>Coefficient (Standard Error)</i>	<i>Coefficient (Standard Error)</i>	<i>Coefficient (Standard Error)</i>	<i>Coefficient (Standard Error)</i>	<i>Coefficient (Standard Error)</i>	
<i>Racial Identity</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		
Linked Fate	-0.3272 (0.679)	-0.4933 (0.702)	-0.5813 (0.591)	0.6111 (0.720)	0.4790 (0.778)	1.8962** (0.762)		
Closeness to Blacks	0.8835** (0.391)	1.1472** (0.446)	-0.2712 (0.337)	0.6012* (0.332)	0.8626** (0.370)	0.4147 (0.415)		
<i>Controls</i>								
Homeownership	0.5367 (0.675)	0.5658 (0.722)	0.1721 (0.555)	0.5499 (0.817)	1.0184 (0.912)	-0.2379 (0.749)		
Party Identification	-0.2692 (0.469)	-0.4016 (0.495)	-0.5417 (0.415)	0.2039 (0.572)	0.0735 (0.604)	-0.9071 (0.577)		
Ideology	-0.8826* (0.476)	-0.7844 (0.482)	-0.1732 (0.294)	-0.0885 (0.360)	-0.0725 (0.393)	0.0449 (0.429)		
Income (\$1,000s)	0.0250 (0.017)	0.0291 (0.018)	0.0059 (0.007)	0.0031 (0.007)	0.0006 (0.004)	0.0027 (0.004)		
Level of Education	-0.0993 (0.179)	-0.0836 (0.184)	0.1019 (0.128)	0.0112 (0.156)	-0.0428 (0.165)	0.2474 (0.191)		

Marital Status	0.1038 (0.792)	-0.1360 (0.833)	-0.7647 (0.527)	-0.4577 (0.754)	-0.7998 (0.871)	0.1501 (0.783)
Age	-0.0240 (0.021)	-0.0190 (0.022)	-0.0173 (0.017)	-0.0115 (0.027)	-0.0319 (0.032)	-0.0125 (0.023)
Generational Status		-0.8175 (0.829)			-1.0711 (0.930)	
Citizenship		-0.8350 (1.077)			0.2777 (0.967)	
Constant	2.5108 (2.583)	2.3486 (2.604)	5.3746*** (2.074)	-0.4144 (2.364)	-0.1770 (2.677)	1.7619 (2.657)
Observations	203	200	381	135	134	219
Log likelihood	-35.2572	-33.8658	-68.6191	-34.8250	-30.6478	-34.2435
DF	9,0000	11,0000	9,0000	9,0000	11,0000	9,0000
χ^2	20.6410	23.0553	7.7851	6.5906	9.8440	18.7569
R^2	0.2264	0.2539	0.0537	0.0864	0.1384	0.2150

Notes

Logit coefficients reported. Homeowner = 1, 2nd generation = 1, citizen = 1, married = 1.

* $p < 0.10$.

** $p < 0.05$.

*** $p < 0.01$.

this model exactly mirrors that of African Americans. The second model is a “full model,” and it includes “generational status” (1 = second generation) and “citizenship” (1 = citizen). These two variables do not have any variation among African Americans, but they are likely to provide additional information for Black immigrants.

As mentioned, the literature suggests that Black men and women have a sense of Black feminist consciousness, and that Black women’s racial and gender identities are more closely linked in comparison to men. Our data are limited because we do not have a specific measure of Black feminist consciousness, but we are able to determine whether racial group consciousness and identity influence attitudes about gender equality; additionally, we can get a sense of the differential effect that racial group identity has on Blacks across ethnic groups.

Similar to VanSickle-Ward and Pantoja (Chapter 6), we also find immigrant men and women to hold policy attitudes that differ from native-born men and women. This finding stands out in Table 3.2; racial identity has an effect on the way that respondents feel toward gender equality, but it is most pronounced among Black immigrants, men and women alike. What is interesting and counterintuitive is that closeness does not influence either African American women’s or men’s attitudes toward gender equality. This is especially fascinating because across all four groups, there is high support for women to have equal access to opportunities outside the home. There is not an issue of a ceiling effect, but rather, we see that racial identity and feminist attitudes are more closely linked for Black immigrants than African Americans.

The second point of interest in Table 3.2 is the result that suggests that having a sense of a linked fate to other Blacks increases the odds of African American men supporting gender equality, while it fails to have a significant effect on African American women’s support of gender equality. African American men who report having a sense of group consciousness are seven times more likely to support gender equality when compared to those who do not. Racial group consciousness seems to prime African American men to be more considerate of issues that affect women.

Contrary to our expectation, various dimensions of group consciousness influence attitudes on gender equality for all groups except African American women. We find that African American women are actually the *only* group in which group consciousness does not influence policy attitudes. Perhaps racial group consciousness is not the best measure to understand the role of African American women’s identities, particularly on gender issues, given the equal salience that African American women give to both their gender and racial identities.

Even when we look at the pseudo- R^2 (which we realize cannot be interpreted exactly like the R -squared of an OLS regression), we see that the variables do not explain African American women’s attitudes as well as they do for Black immigrants or African American men. It becomes apparent that the measures we have available to us do not do the explanatory work for African

American women as they do for the three groups. Here, Evelyn Simien's research becomes helpful to explain what we see, or rather don't see, here; she suggests that we may gain more leverage on understanding African American women's attitudes by more carefully and accurately measuring and accounting for Black feminist consciousness in addition to a more general racial group consciousness when examining African American women's attitudes. Nonetheless, the results reveal, at the very least, that there is a different link between racial group consciousness, racial identity, and feminism for African American and Afro-Caribbean men and women.

Implications and Conclusions

Race, gender, and class have been the dominant tripartite in intersectionality research. Here, we seek to contribute to this literature by considering the notion that ethnicity may also be an important identity to consider given the increasing ethnic diversity that the Black population is undergoing due to the immigration of Black immigrants from Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. We explored whether there was a gender gap in group consciousness across Black ethnic groups, and then ascertained the link between racial group consciousness and attitudes concerning gender equality. The analysis employed a method of comparative relational analysis (Masuoka and Junn 2013). Like Sriram (Chapter 8), we find ethnicity to be an important contributor to immigrant-replenished groups' identities and political behavior.

While past research literature offers a relatively strong finding that racial discrimination often invokes a sense of racial group consciousness in politics and political decisions among Blacks, we find that the levels and influence of group consciousness differ substantially across gender and ethnic groups. African Americans had a stronger sense of racial group consciousness than Black immigrants, but the results also exposed a gender gap in African Americans' sense of linked fate, where men had a greater sense of linked fate than women.

The results also illustrated the fact that group consciousness does not influence African Americans' and Black immigrants' attitudes in the same manner. Interestingly, we find greater evidence of group consciousness, particularly "closeness to African Americans," to be a predictor of Black immigrants' attitudes on gender equality when compared to the findings for African Americans. Black immigrants who feel closer to other Blacks held positive attitudes on gender equality, but the same could not be said for African Americans. Instead, we found that only one dimension of group consciousness, linked fate, influenced African American men's attitudes on gender equality. Meanwhile, the results here suggest that racial group consciousness, as measured here, did not influence African American women in any way. We posit above that a better measure, such as Simien and Clawson's (2004) "black feminist consciousness," might better assess African American women's policy attitudes on gender issues.

At the most basic level, these results reveal that ethnicity is an important category to consider more carefully when we discuss Black political attitudes, racial identity, and racial group consciousness. Second, literature shows that racial group consciousness is influenced by experiences and perception of racial discrimination; here, we found that African American men had very high levels of racial group consciousness. While an intersectional approach helps us to highlight the ways in which those who are in multiple minority, subordinate, or oppressed groups are similar, it also helps us to see the differential effect that racism, in this case, has on African American men in comparison to African American women or Black immigrants. While Black women do face unique challenges, we also see that Black women are more likely to attend college than Black men and have higher employment rates; what's more, Christina Greer (2013) suggests that Black immigrants tend to have an "elevated minority status"; so even though Black immigrant males are racialized as Black, they still manage to distance themselves from African American men in a way that is optimal for their life chances.

The third and final point of interest that should be highlighted is the notion that African American women's racial and gender identity may be linked in a way that is substantially different from African American men or Black immigrant women. We were able to see a clear link between racial group consciousness, racial identity, and attitudes about gender equality for all of the other groups, but the models did not help us to understand African American women's attitudes about gender equality by any means. It becomes more obvious, here, that scholars need to incorporate measures that more accurately describe and measure Black feminist group consciousness.

Notes

- 1 In this chapter, we use "African American" to describe Black people whose ancestors have been in the United States for several generations. We use "Black immigrant" to describe those who are categorized as Black in the U.S. but are first, 1.5, or second generation immigrants to the U.S. Finally, we use "Black" to describe all people who are categorized as Black despite their ethnicity.
- 2 Nonetheless, there have been major critiques of this theory and concept. Some scholars have questioned the ability of group consciousness and linked fate measures to transcend class and gender differences. As Price (2009) notes, focusing on "a shared fate does not explain intragroup differences"; we know very little about *why* some Blacks behave "out of sync" with other Blacks (5, 7). Cohen and Dawson (1993) and Marble (2000) also suggest that the social isolation and economic distress in poor Black communities can widen class divisions, reduce feelings of racial group solidarity, and weaken confidence in group consciousness's effectiveness (but see Tate 1993). Similarly, Simpson (1998) contends that integration with the majority population and generational status may also influence one's sense of group identity and the potential of link fate's effects on political behavior.
- 3 Amadou Diallo was an unarmed, 22-year-old Guinean immigrant who was shot and killed by four plain-clothed New York City Department (NYPD) police officers in

February of 1999. In an effort to show his identification, the police believed his wallet was a gun and shot at him 41 times; Diallo was struck by 19 bullets. Similarly, Ousamane Zongo, an unarmed Burkinabé man, was shot in the back and killed by a NYPD officer dressed as a postal worker, in May of 2003. These two cases were prominent in the news media, as they sparked protests against police brutality; more recently, the #BlackLivesMatter movement was sparked by the deaths of several unarmed Black people, mostly men, who have been shot and killed by the police, but it should be duly noted that Black women have also been shot and killed by the police and are vulnerable to police brutality, as well.

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