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TRANSFORMATIVE CONSCIOUSNESS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN RACIAL
OPPRESSION AND WHITE RACIAL PRIVILEGE: CONCEPTUALIZATION, SCALE
DEVELOPMENT AND TESTING

By

ALEXIS DIANE JEMAL

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Transformative Consciousness of African American Racial Oppression and White Racial

Privilege: Conceptualization, Scale Development and Testing

by ALEXIS DIANE JEMAL

Dissertation Director:

N. Andrew Peterson

Oppression has been identified as a fundamental cause of disease. Critical consciousness has been identified as an antidote to oppression. Although critical consciousness theory has been used to address inequality, very few scholars have attempted to operationalize and measure the construct. For the dissertation, the author developed and tested a scale of a new theoretical construct grounded in the critical consciousness literature. In response to the conceptual inconsistencies noted in the literature, the author developed a conceptual model of Transformative Consciousness, hypothesizing three dimensions: Awareness, Behavioral-Response, and Consequence. The author then developed a scale following the steps outlined in DeVellis (2003). To examine the psychometric qualities of the scale, the author conducted a content validity study in which experts evaluated the scale for representativeness, clarity, and factor structure. The author pilot tested the scale on small groups to identify wording issues and to receive suggestions for improving the scale. After the final revision of the scale, the author recruited a convenience sample of 348 respondents primarily through email solicitation. Because the conceptual model of Transformative Consciousness is theoretically based, the author used Confirmatory Factor Analysis to analyze the data and found the hypothesized three models to be a good fit to the data. The author also found evidence of construct validity and reliability.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere” (King, 1963).

Injustice is a broad term that encompasses unfair treatment, denial or violation of human rights and can be social, economic, environmental and political or some hybrid (Dylan & Coates, 2012; Rawls, 1971; Young, 2003). Systems of injustice are interacting, mutually constitutive and reinforcing such that injustice in one system threatens the health of other systems (Ferber, 2009). These unhealthy dynamics of inequality and inequity manifested in thoughts, attitudes, behaviors, decision making, and policies create a process that systematically produces outcomes that perpetuate injustice (Hill, 2003). To understand these processes and outcomes of injustice, one must explore disparities at the intersections of class, race, ethnicity, and gender at the local, regional, national, international and global levels on issues related to the just distributions of and access to resources, opportunity, and power (Hill, 2003). The wide distribution of processes, outcomes, and factors that are used to create and sustain injustice creates a web holding society within a pattern of human destruction (Freire, 1970). This labyrinth can seemingly benefit some groups and disadvantage others. In short, injustice affects everyone. However, because people are unaware of the interrelationships of systems, meaning how micro practices are reflective of macro socio-political processes and vice versa; and/or lack the capacity to actively combat injustice, many may unwittingly perpetuate injustice and its harmful effects. Thus, the fight for justice is one that encompasses perception and action: the perception that taking care of oneself necessitates taking care of others; and the action of actively producing systemic change that addresses power imbalances and the lack of access to resources at multiple levels and in multiple systems.

Problem Statement

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness” (U.S., 1776).

When deciphering the root of the word, “oppression,” Frye (2003) focused on the element of “press” and found that when something is pressed, it is “caught between or among forces and barriers which are so related to each other that jointly they restrain, restrict or prevent the thing’s motion or mobility” (p. 14). Thus, oppression within multiple systems or institutions is to mold, immobilize, and reduce (Frye, 2003), effectively removing one’s independence or freedom to advance and realize one’s full potential as an individual, family member, and contributor to society (Gee & Ford, 2011). Specifically, oppression denies members of oppressed groups from meeting their hierarchical needs (Maslow, 1943), attaining quality of life (Brown, 2003), enjoying their inalienable rights of “Life, Liberty, and Pursuit of Happiness” (U.S., 1776), and thus, relegates them to a dehumanized life experience (Freire, 1970). As such, oppression is a dehumanizing force for all involved; whether the dehumanizer or the dehumanized, the process of dehumanization creates a society of mutated beings (Freire, 1970). These ideas are easily demonstrated within the structure and institutions of American society. These systems - Education, Criminal Justice, Economic, Housing, Political, and Health –are interdependent, joined, and closely related forces, such that a person who occupies a substandard position in one system will likely be locked in an equivalent position in the other systems. In other words, oppressions are interlocking (McIntosh, 2014).

Racial oppression is pervasive in American society and remains a silent code that systematically slams and locks the doors of opportunity in the face of racial and ethnic minorities. For blacks/African Americans within the U.S., the process and outcomes of racial oppression are evident in each social institution. However, because racial oppression is a deeply ingrained process within our daily social reality, “it can be difficult to discern, like the water we swim in or

the air we breathe” (Speight, 2007, p. 126). Thus, evidence of disproportionality or disparity characterized by overrepresentation and/or underrepresentation is one way to identify the presence and impact of racial oppression (Bradley & Engen, 2016; Haight, Gibson, Kayama, Marshall, & Wilson, 2014). Overrepresentation occurs when the percentage of individuals with specific characteristics (e.g., race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, language background, gender, etc.) is higher than their proportion in the general population (NEA Education Policy and Practice Department, 2008). Underrepresentation is the opposite. Evidence of disproportionality exists in each major socio-political establishment in the U.S.

The education system in the United States systematically denies equal access and opportunity to persons of color, especially those who are poor (NASW, 2015). For more than four decades, the overrepresentation of African American students in special education classes has been evident (Blanchett; 2009; Gardner & Miranda, 2001) such that African-American children were 2.4 times more likely to be identified as having mental retardation than their white counterparts (Blanchett, 2006). High school and college graduation rates also paint a dismal picture of racial oppression within the education system. Nationwide, in the 2011-2012 school year, high school graduation rates for black, Hispanic, and white students were 68 percent, 76 percent, and 85 percent, respectively (National Center for Education Statistics, 2015). In addition to the overrepresentation of black students in special education and the disproportionate rate of high school graduation, black students are suspended and expelled at a rate three times greater than white students (Gibson et al., 2014; Haight et al., 2014; U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 2014). Research investigating these issues can also be a tool of oppression, further burying the systemic causes of education systems failing black students. For example, one study found that in subsequent analyses the racial gap was completely accounted for by a measure of the prior problem behavior of the student (Wright, Morgan, Coyne, Beaver, & Barnes, 2014). This study suggested that the use of suspensions by teachers and administrators

may not have been as racially biased as some scholars have argued (Wright, et al., 2014), completely ignoring the possibility that the identification of prior problem behavior itself can be racially biased, thus, integrally linking prior problem behavior and school suspension such that one is a proxy for the other. The systemic denial by those in power of patterns of discrimination by educational systems against students of color and their families or for affluent white individuals, such as legacy preferences (Larew, 2010), perpetuate power imbalances and differential access to resources. Similar disparities to suspension rates are illustrated by the overrepresentation of youth of color in the child welfare system (Boyd, 2014).

These oppressive processes and outcomes spread and infect other systemic processes and outcomes. For example, the issue of substandard education perpetuates the problem that in higher education, people of color are not proportionately represented at staff, student, faculty, or administrative levels (NASW, 2015). Furthermore, the evidence demonstrating how schools have failed this country's black sons and daughters has come to be associated with the overrepresentation of similar populations within the criminal justice system, known as the school-to-prison pipeline (Amurao, 2013). The effect of mass incarceration and the war on drugs disproportionately affects poor communities of color (Alexander, 2010; Smith & Jemal, 2015). Although African Americans/blacks are approximately 13% of the U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), they represent 59% of the prison population (U.S. Department of Justice, 2014).

Because African Americans are incarcerated at higher rates than whites, the impact of a criminal record on employment is confounded with race. Pager (2003) found that blacks without a criminal history were less likely than whites with a criminal history to be contacted for employment when all other variables were equal. Thus, even without the help of the criminal justice system, racism is rampant in hiring practices and employment. "For many members of oppressed racial and ethnic groups, there is always an economic depression. Often people of color are the last hired and the first fired" (NASW, 2015). In February 2014 the unemployment rate for

African Americans was 8.8 percent as compared to 3.9 percent for white Americans (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016). Women and men of color continue to be underrepresented in managerial and administrative positions (NASW, 2015). In addition to the role of racism in the employment sector that negatively affects economic mobility, racism also impacts who can and cannot obtain a loan. Studies on racial discrimination in mortgage lending have found that black borrowers are denied loans and pay higher interest rates than comparable white borrowers (Cheng, Lin, Liu, 2015; Kau, Kennan, Munneke, 2012). Moreover, people of color have been victims of predatory lending schemes in which banks and other financial companies target black investors for risky loans with higher interest rates (Cheng et al., 2015; Kau et al., 2012). With unequal access to economic resources, housing becomes an issue. Choices for location and cost of housing are limited for many people of color. Mortgage and financial institutions, landlords, and real estate agencies continue illegal discriminatory practices against African Americans, such as redlining, denying loans to eligible borrowers, and increasing rents for inadequate housing (Gonda, 2014; Reuben, 2010). These oppressive housing practices and potential solutions, such as public housing programs, are directly related to policies and political decision-making power.

Oppressed populations are disempowered and, through a process of marginalization and lack of representation, many African Americans are disenfranchised in the political process. People of color are grossly underrepresented in federal and local elective and appointed positions (NASW, 2015). Consequently, legislation affecting the masses is produced by non-representative political and legislative institutions (NASW, 2015). Prilleltensky's (2003) concept of psychopolitical validity emphasizes the need to consider both the political and the psychological nature of power in the study of wellness, oppression and liberation. The reduction of power inequalities and the increase in political action can promote health and wellness (Prilleltensky, 2008).

Inequalities within multiple systems intersect to impact health for non-white populations (Viruell-Fuentes, Miranda, & Abdulrahim, 2012). Income and education factors, which occur along racial and ethnic lines, are significant predictors of health status, the ability to obtain high-quality health, the use of preventive services, and longer life (Sambamoorthi & McAlpine, 2003). Racial and ethnic minorities experience disparities across a significant number of health status measures, indicators and outcomes from infant mortality to cancer (Gee et al., 2011). Public health research has established existing health disparities among racial/ethnic groups with African Americans and Latinos experiencing greater negative health consequences and less access to care than their White counterparts (Boardman & Alexander, 2011; Institute of Medicine, 2003; Jackson, Knight, Rafferty, 2010; Nelson, 2002; Schnittker, Massoglia, Uggens, 2011; Smedley, Stith, Nelson, 2009).

Specifically, African Americans are plagued by chronic health conditions from obesity to diabetes to heart disease (Jackson, Knight, Rafferty, 2010). Supporting the importance of race, blacks are more likely to have chronic illness or disability when controlling for age and income (Mead, Cartwright-Smith, Jones, Ramos, Woods, & Siegel, 2008). In 2003, the life expectancy of 78 years for whites was 5.3 years longer than the life expectancy for blacks (Harper, Lynch, Burris, Davey Smith, 2007; Mead et al., 2008; Lleras-Muney, 2004). Infant mortality rates for blacks, at 2.5 times greater than for whites, provide a bleak picture of health and well-being for blacks as they are the worst among all races or ethnicities (Mead et al., 2008; Murray & Bernfield, 1988). “Black women have a higher prevalence than white women for four related conditions—heart failure, coronary heart disease, hypertension, and stroke” (Mead et al., 2008, p. 21); whereas black men have higher prevalence than white men for same conditions except diabetes (Mead et al., 2008). Incidence and mortality rates for heart disease and cancers that are treatable are much higher for black men and women (James, Hartnett, & Kalsbeek, 1983; Mead et al., 2008). Specifically, blacks are more likely than non-Hispanic whites to suffer from and,

eventually succumb to colorectal, prostate, and cervical cancer (Mead et al., 2008). Although non-Hispanic white women have the highest incidence of breast cancer, black women have the highest mortality rate from this disease among all races and ethnicities (Jones et al., 2007; Mead et al., 2008).

These racial disparities in health are perpetuated by inadequate housing, poor access to nutrition, neighborhood segregation, community violence, lack of green space, neglect of public services such as sanitation, and other health hazards and environmental factors within communities, but they also result from failures within the health care system, such as problems accessing services and lower quality of care for minority populations (Mead et al., 2008). For example, the higher breast cancer mortality rate for black women may be linked in part to problems with access to quality health care (Elmore et al., 2005). For example, black and white women are equally likely to have had a mammogram; however, health care professionals are less likely to adequately communicate the screening results to their black patients, particularly if the mammogram results are abnormal (Jones et al., 2007). Furthermore, one of the most striking health disparities is the prevalence of AIDS. The case rate for black adults and adolescents is 10 times greater than for white adults and adolescents (Gebo et al., 2005). Yet black HIV patients are less likely to receive antiretroviral therapy, even after controlling for access to care (Gebo et al., 2005). Racial oppression clearly impacts the health of this population.

Moreover, toxic segregation, in which there is an apparent concentration of the worst toxic waste sites in African American and Latino areas, suggest a pattern of environmental racism in the making and implementing of environmental policy that has profound impact on health of residents (Maher, 1998; Mohai & Saha, 2007). These health inequalities are exceedingly evident in impoverished, African American urban communities, where the distress and marginalization is furthered compounded by prisoner reentry. As noted, African Americans are disproportionately represented in the prison system. The impact of incarceration on health - disease infested space,

lack of nutrition, asthma, diabetes, stress, violence, mental health challenges, substance use disorders, and HIV/AIDS - disproportionately affect black people in correctional settings (Freudenberg, 2011; Harawa & Adimora, 2008; Hatcher, Todson, Godette, & Richardson, 2009; Schnittker et al., 2011; Smith & Jemal, 2015).

Tools of oppression, such as discrimination “have received increasing recognition as one of the main mechanisms to explain racial and ethnic inequities in health in the U.S.” (Abdulrahim, James, Yamout, & Baker, 2012, p. 2116). Racist incidents such as discrimination and racial harassment lead to negative short- and long-term psychological and physical consequences (Borrell, Kiefe, Williams, Diez-Roux, & Gordon-Larsen, 2006; Carter, 2007; Speight, 2007). “The exponential growth in the number of empirical studies on discrimination and health over the last two decades has led to the publication of exhaustive reviews on the subject (Krieger, 1999; Paradies, 2006; Williams & Mohammed, 2009; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003)” (Abdulrahim et al., 2012, p. 2117). Specifically, oppression in its many forms and manifestations (e.g., racism, discrimination), has been identified as a chronic stressor or trauma (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005; Carter, 2007) that can greatly compromise psychological and physical health and wellbeing (Brown-Reid & Harrell, 2002; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Jackson et al., 1996) contributing to crime, substance use, and related health risk behaviors (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000; Franklin, Boyd-Franklin, & Kelly, 2006). “Racial/ethnic discrimination is a chronic stressor that arouses physiological responses such as anger, frustration, and helplessness. These stress responses, in turn, affect health directly through immune, neuroendocrine, and cardiovascular mechanisms, or indirectly through physiological coping mechanisms” (Abdulrahim et al., 2012, p. 2116).

These experiences of oppression are significant predictors of psychological distress (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005a). Oppressed individuals might turn to alcohol and other drugs to anesthetize the mind from the psychic pain of discrimination, oppression, poverty, and

hopelessness as a coping strategy. Substance use increases engagement in health risk behaviors such as prostitution, sharing needles, and unprotected sex, thereby exacerbating HIV/hepatitis C virus (HCV) risk (Arasteh & Des Jarlais, 2009; Des Jarlais, McCarty, Vega, & Bramson, 2013). These experiences with oppression-related stress and its consequences contribute to the growing disparity in health. Moreover, the societal and institutional racism that exists within the medical field leading to the consistent inferior treatment of people of color also contributes to health disparities (Holden et al., 2014).

The cyclical nature of the downward spiral of oppression indicates how oppression is both process and outcome (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998). As a process, oppression is the way in which disadvantage produced by institutions created by the dominant group is visited on individuals or a group of people deemed inferior based on some inherent characteristic (e.g., SES, sexuality, race, and gender) regardless of individual merit (Frye, 2003; Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998). The cyclical nature of oppression is manifested through the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of individuals and groups which are grounded and reinforced by societal and cultural norms, and codified in formal and informal laws and policies of our institutions. Oppression as an outcome is the actual disadvantage that results from these processes (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998). If all people are equal and treated equitably, then disproportionality along racial lines is due to systemic causes as opposed to individual-based factors. To assess and act on the individual level and not the systemic influences is one of the paramount tools of oppression and equates to structural violence that is condoned by the dominant culture (Blitz & Greene, 2007; Gilligan, 1996). These injurious outcomes of oppression – including, social and health inequalities (Braveman et al., 2011; Center for Disease Control and Prevention, 2011; Institute of Medicine, 2003; Watts, Griffith & Abdul-Adil, 1999), racial inequalities within the criminal justice system (Bales & Piquero, 2012; Crutchfield, Fernandes, & Martinez, 2010), adverse health outcomes (Bowen-Reid & Harrell, 2002; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996), multigenerational poverty (Leary,

2005), family disruption (Roberts, 2002), substance abuse (Mulia, Ye, Zeng, & Greenfield, 2008), antisocial behavior and violence (Franklin, Boyd-Franklin, & Kelly, 2006; Leary, 2005) - are forms of structural violence. Gilligan (1996) defines structural violence as “the increased rates of death and disability suffered by those who occupy the bottom rungs of society, as contrasted with the relatively lower death rates experienced by those who are above them” (p. 89). These causes of death are attributed to stress, shame, discrimination, and denigration that results from occupying a demeaned status in society (Gilligan, 2003; Murray, 2011). Members of oppressed groups are socialized to view themselves through a veil of hatred and inferiority so as not to see themselves as fully human and equal members of society (Friere, 1970; Murray, 2011; Speight, 2007; W. E. B. DuBois, 1903/1990). This deep sense of shame may be related to self-destructive behaviors and violence (Gilligan, 2003).

At first glance, it may not be easy to see how the outcome of violence is related to systemic inequity, but with deeper analysis and critical reflection the relationship between violence and oppression becomes readily apparent. First and foremost, the process of oppression is a series of violent acts perpetrated against a people (Fanon, 1965; Young, 1990). Second, violence results in a feeling of shame for the oppressed through the process of internalization of oppression (Gilligan, 2000; Longhofer, 2014; Speight, 2007; Watts-Jones, 2002). Images of inferiority from the dominant society are followed by experiences of shame and humiliation that erode identity and self-confidence (Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996). “Perhaps the original injury was the lack of critical consciousness preventing one from seeing the destructive social context and accept the dominant group’s exploitation as simply “the way things are” (Speight, 2007, p. 131). This acceptance and internalization maintains the vicious self-perpetuating cycle of oppression. “Oppression is a clever adversary wielding many effective weapons to harm its victims” (Speight, 2007, p. 131). These weapons are within systems and within the psyches of the masses. Once internalized, it is a formidable foe, requiring “battle on two fronts: The oppressor

within and the oppressor without” (Bulhan, 1985, p. 123). The cost of the battle for self-respect, dignity, and self-worth sustained within the context of inequality is usually paid for in the blood of the oppressed. Unless addressed, conditions and processes of racial oppression invariably lead to greater racial rivalry, in-group hostility and political, social, and economic oppression (NASW, 2015).

Dr. Martin Luther King (1958) recognized the interplay of social injustice processes and outcomes. He stated, “There must be a rhythmic alteration between attacking the causes and healing the effects” (p. 224). Such solutions may encompass a social justice orientation and an empowerment perspective. An empowering social justice perspective “emphasizes societal concerns, including issues of equity and justice, self-determination, interdependence, and social responsibility” (Thomas et al., 2014, p. 485). The vision of social justice seems to include full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet members’ hierarchical needs and is equitable, where all members are not only physically safe and secure but are also able to reap the fruit of their labor, be judged on individual merit, and reach their full potential. Social justice is a philosophical response to structural violence or the “physical and psychological harm that result from exploitive and unjust social, political, and economic systems” (Gilman, 1983, p. 8). Thus, a social justice framework is one that incorporates the social-ecological model in that there is a bi-directional relationship between the individual and the individuals’ context that includes establishing a healthy relationship with self, others, and community.

Critical Consciousness

The social condition of oppression (e.g., racism, classism, sexism) has been identified as a fundamental cause of disease (Link & Phelan, 1995; Williams, Yu, Jackson & Anderson, 1997) and critical consciousness (CC) has been characterized as an antidote to oppression (Watts et al., 1999; Windsor et al., 2014a; Windsor, et al., 2015b). Critical consciousness is a philosophical

construct coined by Freire (1970) and reinterpreted by many scholars to have various conceptualizations. One such understanding of critical consciousness is as a discovery of one's self as having been prevented from being fully human and perceiving one's self as a transformer of reality (Freire, 1970). Freire (1970) noted that oppression exists and is perpetuated within a culture with limited capacity for analysis and action, or in other words, oppression exists within a culture that lacks CC. From a CC perspective, oppression lies at the heart of most social problems (Freire, 1970; Mullaly, 2002; Windsor, et al., 2015). As an antidote to oppression, CC must address inequality which includes privilege in addition to oppression. Oppression and its counterpart, privilege, dictate life's circumstances and influence opportunities such as determining one's residence, education, economic resources, political power, and health (Gee, Ro, Sharif-Marco, & Chae, 2009). Some scholars have recognized the role of privilege in the maintenance of oppression and have noted that because privilege and oppression are mutually reinforcing, critical consciousness will not develop without engaging in difficult conversations and action that directly address privilege (Carolan, Burns-Jager, Bozek, & Chew, 2010; Watt, 2007; Watts et al., 2011). Thus, CC should address socio-ecosystemic inequity which is the presence of oppression *and/or* privilege.

In short, CC is the response to Dr. King's (1958) desire to find a rhythmic alternation between attacking the causes and healing the effects of injustice.

Critical consciousness allows young people who feel victimized to remove self-blame and heal from the trauma of poverty, racism, sexism, homophobia, and other forms of oppression. Healing can be described as psychological, emotional, and physical wellness. The healing process also leads to a spiritual development that provides youth with a sense of life purpose, empathy for the suffering of others, and optimism about social change. (Ginwright & James, 2002, p. 41)

Ginwright and James (2002) have noted that critical reflection on forms of internalized and external oppression supports the healing process from social oppression, dehumanization, and marginalization. Consequently, devoting time to the process of CC development, wherein

individuals become aware of oppression and its consequences, may attenuate negative outcomes (Goodman et al., 1998). As for attacking the causes, CC has also been found to be important in fostering institutional and/or community-level change, via community organizing (Diemer et al. 2014; Speer & Peterson, 2000) as well as through positive youth development and social action efforts (Berg, Coman, & Schensul, 2009; Ginwright & James, 2002). Critical consciousness can also stimulate collective or collaborative action to change the oppressive context that support health disparities through development of local leaders, changes in government policy, improvements in local resource management, and the creation of healthy peer norms (Hatcher et al., 2010). As a result of national attention focused on addressing and alleviating health inequalities, scholars are adopting new paradigms of research to develop culturally relevant theories of health and illness for sustainable change (Carlson, 2006; Windsor, et al., 2014a). In many contexts, “CC has been shown to be a central component of a marginalized group’s collective effort to produce sociopolitical change via transformative activism and civic engagement” (Diemer et al. 2014, p. 3).

Critical Consciousness has been used to inform health interventions and can lead to individual- and community-level change (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Wallerstein & Sanchez-Merki, 1994; Windsor, Jemal, & Benoit, 2014a) thereby addressing the multiple socio-ecological pathways to oppression (Prilleltensky, Nelson, & Peirson, 2001). “Scholars have considered CC in disparate contexts since its inception,” (Diemer et al. 2014, p. 2) such as among South African youth (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002) and low income and/or urban youth of color in the United States (Berg et al., 2009; Diemer, Kauffman, Koenig, Trahan, & Hsieh, 2006; Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998). Critical consciousness has been used in health interventions involving HIV (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002), domestic violence (Chronister & McWhirter, 2006), and substance use (Windsor et al., 2014a).

Accordingly, CC has been associated with a host of desirable individual-level outcomes among marginalized people, such as healthier sexual decision-making among South African youth of color (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002), mental health among urban adolescents (Zimmerman, Ramirez-Valles, & Maton, 1999), academic achievement and school engagement among urban African American youth (O'Connor, 1997), civic participation among poor and working-class youth of color (Diemer et al., 2010; Diemer & Li, 2011), positive career outcomes among female survivors of domestic violence (Chronister & McWhirter, 2006), future career planning among urban youth (Diemer, et al., 2006) and, when measured during adolescence, the attainment of higher-paying and more prestigious occupations in early adulthood (Diemer, 2009). Hatcher et al. (2010) noted that outcomes, such as reduction of intimate partner violence, unprotected sex among young women, and improved communication between parents and their children about sex, can be theoretically linked to critical consciousness. Thus, research seems to support a relationship between CC and positive outcomes and the reduction of outcomes associated with oppression. The important factor that critical consciousness seems to contribute is the awareness of systemic processes that impact people's lives.

The under-recognized role of systemic inequity in social problems (e.g., substance use, HIV/STI infection, incarceration) is both cause and effect of social injustice. The lack of CC creates the supportive environment for oppression to rampantly spread and infect systems from the individual to the macro levels. However, "the process whereby people achieve an illuminating awareness both of the socioeconomic and cultural circumstances that shape their lives and their capacity to transform that reality" (Freire, 1975, p. 800) is parallel with an empowerment process, an active, participatory process through which individuals and groups gain greater control over their identities and lives, protect human rights, and reduce social injustice (Maton, 2008; Peterson, 2014; Rappaport, 1981). Critical consciousness is an empowering, strengths-based, non-expert directed approach that fosters insight and active engagement in solutions to challenge

inequity (Baxamusa 2008; Peterson, 2014; Ozer, Newlan, Douglas, & Hubbard, 2013; Prati & Zani 2013; Zippay 1995). Major institutions, such as the World Health Organization and the United Nations, have recognized the importance of empowerment type constructs to challenge inequities underlying major social and health crises (Capone & Petrillo 2013; Fawcett et al. 2010; Peterson, 2014). Moreover, opportunities for self-determination and control over one's life contribute to health, wellness and quality of life (Prilleltensky et al., 2001). Unfortunately, existing critical consciousness theory and measures are fundamentally flawed and largely untested. Few context-specific, quantitative instruments have been developed and validated to measure critical consciousness among different populations. These issues cause concern over the future and utility of critical consciousness theory, research, and practice. As such, the importance of critical consciousness as a key phenomenon of interest may be minimized unless theoretical and empirical issues are addressed with greater precision.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this dissertation is to develop a reliable and valid scale of a new theoretical construct, Transformative Consciousness of Oppression and Privilege (COAP) for African American racial oppression and white racial privilege. This scale is grounded in the critical consciousness literature and can be used as an assessment to determine (a) the individual's or group's level of consciousness, (b) appropriate interactions or interventions that will facilitate development of consciousness, and (c) the effectiveness of such efforts (Alschuler, 1986).

Research Questions

Four main research questions guided this study:

1. Does the scale represent the content domains of the construct?
2. Does the hypothesized three factor model provide a good fit to the data from the sample of participants?

3. Is there evidence that the scale measures what it is intended to measure among a convenience sample?
4. Is there evidence of the scale's internal consistency among a convenience sample?

Research Design Overview

To accomplish study objectives, this study is organized into three main parts that form chapters three, four and five. In response to the literature review in Chapter two, Chapter three will develop the conceptual model of Transformative Consciousness of Oppression and Privilege. Chapter four will develop the Transformative Consciousness of Oppression and Privilege Scale (COAP) following the steps of scale development outlined in DeVellis (2003). Chapter five will test the scale's psychometric properties assessing reliability and factorial, convergent, divergent and nomological validity (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008).

Theoretical Framework

The new conceptual model is informed by critical consciousness theory, social-ecological systems theory, and system justification theory. Critical consciousness theory suggests that oppression is the underlying cause of most social problems and that oppression can only exist in a society that lacks critical consciousness (Wallerstein & Sanchez-Merki, 1994; Watts et al., 1999). Thus, the development of critical consciousness should reduce oppression. Bronfenbrenner's (1977) ecological systems theory explains the person in environment perspective with bi-directional influences between micro, mezzo, and macro processes. The basic proposition of System Justification Theory (SJT) is that people share thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that validate and reinforce existing social systems (Jost, Pelham, & Carvallo, 2002). These social systems can be oppressive or privileging depending on the group. These theories supported the initial development of Transformative Consciousness of SEI which seeks to assess a person's thought process regarding issues of privilege and oppression.

Significance of Study

According to some scholars, lack of CC leads to oppression and oppression leads to social problems. The development of CC would potentially address oppression and its consequences. Thus, it is particularly important for social workers to know what CC is and how it is measured. This study begins to address this gap by providing insight into key conceptual issues with critical consciousness and attempting to reconcile theoretical contradictions by formulating a conceptual model of a new construct grounded in the CC literature and then developing a scale for that construct as applied to African American racial oppression and white racial privilege. This reformulation includes the application of the ecological systems theory to privilege and oppression as well as clarifying the constructs of racial oppression and racial privilege. In addition to theory testing and examining the psychometric properties of the scale, this study introduces an innovative scaling method using a combination of vignettes, sentence completion and ranking to assess the construct.

In sum, the study provides insight into an individual's level of consciousness for African racial oppression and white racial privilege, providing direction for the development of a type of consciousness that allows people to view the systemic causes of injustice rather than solely focusing on individual factors. This study is a step in the direction toward creating a tool to assess level of consciousness and the effectiveness of consciousness-raising efforts that will be useful in the pursuit of eradicating oppression and the corresponding social problems. Specifically, this construct will inform social work practice in order to better achieve the field's mission of combatting racial systemic injustice.

CHAPTER 2: CRITICAL REVIEW OF CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS LITERATURE

Freire's goal was to foster liberation not by liberating the oppressed but by providing the tools for the oppressed to liberate themselves (Freire, 1970). For Freire, oppression amounted to a dehumanization process for both the oppressed and the oppressor. True liberation that came about from revolution is made possible by people regaining their humanity. To accomplish this humanization objective, Freire (1970) determined that it was necessary for people to think critically about oppressive realities and challenge inequitable social conditions. Freire (1970, 1973) introduced various terms and methods: critical consciousness, conscientização, dialogue, reflection, action, cultural circles, to name a few. Many scholars spanning the education, community psychology, public health, and social science fields have adopted, interpreted and expanded Freire's construct of critical consciousness (Thomas, 2014; Green, 2009) to include: awareness of inequity (Watts et al., 1999); a skill set to facilitate the deconstruction of experiences of inequity (Gay & Kirkland, 2003); and sociopolitical empathy "or the ability to understand others' perspectives or thoughts" (Thomas et al., 2014, p. 486). For example, Watt (2007, p. 15) notes that a person with CC is "aware of his/her own assumptions, biases, and values; possesses an understanding of the worldview of others; is informed about various cultural groups; and has acquired the skills to develop appropriate intervention strategies and techniques." As a result of CC's use in various contexts and fields of study, CC has grown into a construct with multiple definitions and methods of assessment. Despite a variety of definitions and methods of assessment, critical consciousness theory has been used in health research to address health disparities.

To date, there has been significant and innovative scholarship and reformulation of critical consciousness (Diemer et al., 2014). However, very few scholars have attempted to conceptualize, operationalize and measure the construct (Diemer et al., 2014). The use of various conceptualizations and methods of assessment make it difficult to compare results across studies

or to link CC to outcomes. Moreover, CC scholars may not be assessing the same construct as each other when referring to CC. The lack of a coherent construct, conceptual and measurement model and the use of fragmented and indirect approaches to measure CC limit our understanding and prevent the advancement of the CC field (Goodman, et al., 1998). The following literature review details the conceptualization, operationalization and measurement of CC and concludes with the future direction of developing a new theoretical construct grounded in the CC literature to address CC's conceptual and measurement ambiguity.

Part I. Conceptualization of Critical Consciousness

Some scholars have defined CC as an outcome of some process. Critical consciousness is to be attained or achieved. For CC as an outcome, the definitions appear to create a spectrum from describing an analytical state to taking some form of action.

The Spectrum of Critical Consciousness Conceptualization

Awareness. On one end of the CC as outcome spectrum are the awareness definitions. Critical consciousness is critical awareness about one's political, social, and cultural condition (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1999). The critical awareness incorporates perspectives of relationships between self and society (Houser & Overton, 2001). This type of critical awareness is a metacognitive experience in that one must think about their thinking, be aware of the existence of consciousness, and mindful of its ever-evolving process (Houser & Overton, 2001). To further clarify CC as awareness, scholars state the type of awareness that constitutes CC. For example, persons with the highest level of CC are aware of their own assumptions shaping interpretations of reality and their responsibility for choices that either sustain or alter that reality (Carlson, Engerbretson, & Chamberlain, 2006). Chronister, Wettersten, and Brown (2004) state that CC is overcoming false consciousness and achieving a critical understanding of self, environment/world, and one's place in the world including awareness of how values, beliefs and practices reinforce structures of injustice. Some scholars include a causal understanding or

“causal reasoning...found in a knowledge of the role of history” (Watts, Diemer, & Voight, 2011, p. 53) as a component of awareness. This causal or consequential domain is a temporal dimension that helps “reveal cause-and-effect relationships between ongoing social forces and current social circumstances” (Watts et al., 2011, p. 52). Likewise, Mustakova-Possardt (1998) includes causal and moral conclusions as key dimensions of CC as awareness.

Capacity. Next on the spectrum are definitions that go beyond a cognitive state to include capacity, ability, skill, or realization of one’s power. Watts and Abdul-Adil (1999) state that CC is a fundamental and necessary skill needed to understand oppression. These definitions have a common theme that incorporates the capacity to conduct a critical analysis of structural oppression and potential actions to challenge inequities within sociopolitical environments (Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Diemer et al., 2006; Getzlaf & Osborne, 2010). For example, Garcia and colleagues (2009) define CC as “the ability to recognize and challenge oppressive and dehumanizing political, economic, and social systems” (p. 20). These definitions of CC only require the understanding of oppression and inequities (Getzlaf & Osborne, 2010) or perception of disparities which questions existence of inequity (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998), and the realization of one’s power to take individual and collective actions to create conditions of equity and social justice (Getzlaf & Osborne, 2010), but seem to stop short of taking action.

Action. On the opposite end of the spectrum from awareness are the definitions that include action. Interpreting Freire (1973), Diemer and Li (2011) state critical consciousness “represents how oppressed individuals critically ‘read’ and act to change their social conditions, and consists of critical reflection and critical action components,” (p. 1815) including perceived capacity to effect social change and self-reported social action. Some CC scholars also define CC by types of action. For example, a person who has developed CC will critically inquire into ideologies, philosophies, perceptions, interpretations, and ideas that stem from the socially constructed reality (Mejia & Espinosa, 2007). Houser and Overton (2001, p. 612) state that CC is “searching beneath and beyond our existing assumptions.” Watt (2007) noted that one with CC

will seek opportunities to develop awareness and skills that facilitate effectively addressing issues of social injustice, such as engaging in difficult dialogues that may cause discomfort.

Cognitive action. There are definitions of CC that connect the two ends of the cognitive-action spectrum. Martin (2003) notes that the fundamental aspect of CC is “the act of intellection which is to focus on one’s self-consciousness upon an examination of societal and individual contradictions by questioning fundamental assumptions and constantly reconstructing ever new interpretations of the world,” (p. 414) so that the act of cognition itself becomes a critical consciousness. Mustakova-Possardt (1998, p. 13) defines CC as “an integrative psychological construct which unites private aspects of adult meaning-making with more public aspects of adults’ actions in the larger social world.” Watts & Abdul-Adil (1998) note that CC is the act of critical thinking when applied to the societal realm. Likewise, Freire (1976, p. 129) noted that “critical reflection is also action,” indicating a blurred line between thought and action.

Critique of Conceptualization

CC as an outcome, awareness, capacity, action, or cognitive-action, includes much variation. Awareness or an intellectual component of CC seems to be extremely important as it is incorporated in every scholar’s CC definition that was reviewed. CC as awareness may be most similar to Freire’s conceptualization of CC since the outcome of critical consciousness requires recognizing the “reality as an oppressive reality” (Freire, 1970, p. 175). However, CC as awareness most likely would not result in Freire’s goal of liberation from that oppressive reality. “Resistance is key because analysis without action does not produce tangible change” (Watts et al., 2003, p. 186). Capacity definitions of CC have a similar problem as the awareness definitions. Having the capacity to reflect and/or act does not mean that a person will use that capacity. Therefore, action definitions of CC may better serve Freire’s purpose of liberation; however, the action definitions are limited by the numerous variations causing conceptual ambiguities.

To further complicate the response to *what is critical consciousness*; there are definitions that formulate CC as a process. For example, Hatcher and colleagues (2010, p. 543) state that CC is best viewed as a process “which is analytical, constructive and mobilizing.” Getzlaf and Osborne (2010, p. 2) state that “CC is a concept derived from Freire’s (2000) process of conscientization, a process in which learners become conscious of the ways in which they think about themselves and their worlds, and transform these ways of thinking to a new perspective.” Critical consciousness has been conceptualized as a process of growth in “knowledge, analytical skills, emotional faculties and capacity for action in political and social systems” (Watts et al., 2003, p 185). Campbell and MacPhail (2002, p. 333) note “Firstly, [critical consciousness] refers to the development of intellectual understandings of the way in which social conditions have fostered peoples’ situations of disadvantage.” A slightly different perspective includes critical consciousness as a “component of identity development and social perspective taking” (Thomas et al., 2014, p. 486). Thus, from the literature, it is hard to determine if CC is outcome and/or process and, if it is an outcome, whether cognition, capacity, action or some combination constitutes CC.

Conscientização. The “term conscientização refers to learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality” (Freire, 1970, p. 35). Many scholars have supplemented the definition of conscientização for the definition of critical consciousness and/or scholars use the terms *critical consciousness*, *conscientização*, *conscientization*, and *consciousness-raising* interchangeably (e.g., Windsor et al., 2014a). As an example of the confusion, Watts, Diemer and Voight (2011, p. 44) state, “Critical consciousness (CC) describes how oppressed or marginalized people learn to critically analyze their social conditions and act to change them.” Similarly, Diemer, Rappa, Park, and Perry (2014, p. 2) note, “Critical consciousness (CC) represents oppressed or marginalized people’s critical analysis of their social conditions and individual or collective action taken to change perceived inequities.” The literature has many examples of scholars stating that CC is

two-dimensional, including a cognitive aspect, or ability to understand or relate personally, and an action component to influence the larger social reality (Garcia, Kosutic, McDowell, & Anderson, 2009; Ramsey & Latting, 2005). These examples use critical consciousness and conscientização as synonymous; however, each one seems to state Freire's (1970) definition of conscientização. Although, *consciousness-raising*, *conscientization* and *conscientização* are the same concepts, critical consciousness is not synonymous with conscientização. In fact, conscientização and CC are distinct in that CC is one goal or outcome of conscientização. Mustakova-Possardt (1998, p. 27) notes that CC is the "product of the interaction between motivation and evolving structures of thought, where each component continuously shapes the other." Similarly, Gutierrez and Ortega (1991, p. 26) noted that "critical consciousness can arise through a process of consciousness-raising."

Reaching the level of critical consciousness may involve moving through a series of lower, non-critical levels or stages of consciousness (Freire, 1973; Campbell & MacPhail, 2002). Similarly, Carson, Engebretson, and Chamberlain (2006) noted that Freire used a process to move individuals from lower to higher levels of consciousness. A key aspect of critical consciousness development is that people move from being objects of oppression to subjects that act upon their sociopolitical environment (Freire, 1970; Diemer et al., 2006). A few scholars have identified the stages in the CC development process. Freire (1970; 1973) developed a problem-posing education to develop critical consciousness that included: (1) identifying the social problem; (2) analyzing the underlying causes; and (3) implementing solutions. Gutierrez and Ortega (1991) identified a five phase group process of CC development: 1) recognition of intragroup similarities supporting group identity; 2) development of shared goals; 3) naming of barriers that limit self and group expression; 4) exploration of ideas to address identified barriers; and 5) plan for action. When analyzing the data from a photovoice study, Carlson et al. (2006) identified a four stage process for the development of critical reflection; which, some scholars use critical reflection as

interchangeable with CC. The four stages are: 1) passive adaptation, 2) emotional engagement, 3) cognitive awakening, and 4) intentions to act (Carlson et al., 2006).

It is important to note that conscientização has been described by Freire and scholars as a cyclical process in that the process of consciousness-raising leads to the outcome of CC which then allows one to reach higher levels of CC, and thus, continue the process of consciousness-raising. For example, Hatcher et al. (2010, p. 551) note that the process of consciousness-raising or conscientization is “a fluid process, without a finite end point.” Hatcher and colleagues (2010) noticed feedback loops rather than a linear process during their conscientização intervention in which collective action seemed to “draw participants back to sharing common problems with one another and translating the ‘information’ they learned into meaningful conversations with family and friends”(p. 552). Although Garcia and colleagues (2009) use CC instead of conscientization or conscientização, they state, “It is important to acknowledge that CC is not a categorical construct, but, instead, a continually evolving process” (p.20) that “brings with it the possibility of a new praxis, which at the same time makes possible new forms of consciousness” (Hernandez, Almeida, & Del-Vecchio, 2005, p. 110). This is consistent with Freirian pedagogy, in that social action should naturally loop back to analysis and dialogue. Freire (1970) called this concept *praxis* or the blend of reflection and social action that causes a group to move from reflection to action and back to reflection.

The process of reflecting and acting on one’s reality by describing and defining a problem clearly, analyzing its causes, and acting to resolve it are key elements in the problem-posing methodology. (Smith-Maddox & Solorzano, 2002, p. 70)

The problem posing methodology is how a person participates in conscientização.

Conscientização is the process of moving from lower to higher levels of consciousness. Reaching the level of critical consciousness is the goal of conscientização. The combination of critical consciousness and action is praxis (Freire, 1970). The process of conscientização is fluid which means that the development of CC sends a person back into conscientização, the process of developing higher levels of CC (Freire, 1970).

Consciousness-raising or conscientization uses dialogue and reflection to increase awareness of oppressive societal structures and forces and subsequently develop motivation to participate in individual and collective action to eradicate the oppressive systems (Baker & Brookins, 2014; Garcia et al., 2009). This process includes self-accountability for reflecting on power dynamics, continuously examining how our biases, assumptions and cultural worldviews influence our perceptions of differences between individuals, owning our contributions to social injustice, and for developing partnerships to foster social justice (Garcia et al., 2009; Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005). Consciousness-raising also incorporates empowering ourselves and others to "open paths for liberation from oppressive and societal discourses" (Hernandez et al., 2005, p. 107).

Tools, strategies, and methods. Perhaps another issue confusing the conceptualization of CC is that some scholars include the tools, strategies and methods for conscientization (i.e., consciousness-raising) within the definition of CC. Watts et al. (2011, p. 45) state, "For [Freire], reading, dialogue, reflection, and action were all part of what he called critical consciousness and were key to a new self-understanding in historical, cultural, and political contexts." However, dialogue, reflecting and reading are tools of the consciousness-raising process, and thus, not part of the CC construct (Freire, 1970). There are several tools used for conscientização. Gutierrez and Ortega (1991, p. 26) note two methods for raising consciousness include:

constructive dialogue occurring in small groups, and praxis, a process of action and reflection. Both techniques are aimed at helping individuals to understand the nature of their experience, the status of their group in society, and their ability to engage in social change.

Garcia and colleagues (2009) provide a list of practices and tools that can be used to promote CC including setting aside time for initial and ongoing critical conversations; reflective questions, critical genograms, maps of social capital, and questionnaires for exploring social identities and systems of privilege and oppression. The tools are needed to break the silence surrounding injustice to lead to transformative action (Freire, 1970). To further clarify the definition of CC, it is important to distinguish between CC and the tools used to develop CC.

Dialogue and critical reflection. Dialogue or open discussions regarding inequity seems to be one of the most important methods of conscientization. If one of the conditions of consciousness-raising is the investigation of ways of thinking, then dialogue is the vehicle through which that investigation occurs. Freire (1970, pp. 96-97) states, “The methodology of that investigation must likewise be dialogical, affording the opportunity both to discover generative themes and to stimulate people’s awareness in regard to these themes.” The development of critical consciousness ultimately requires interactively analyzing, questioning and discussing the status quo - that dictates who is and is not allowed access to resources and opportunities and how that access is granted or denied - so the mundane and normal cultural practices that have been deeply ingrained and made invisible can be made seen in a new light (Hatcher, 2010; Bartlett, 2008). This investigation of ways of thinking that occurs through dialogue is critical reflection (Diemer, et al., 2009; Garcia et al., 2009). And, the goal of critical reflection seems to be increased awareness of systemic inequity. The development of CC requires an individual to examine beliefs about sociocultural contexts, the power dynamics surrounding race, gender, sexual orientation, and other aspects of social identity, that perpetuate systemic inequity and influence the person’s behavior (Garcia et al., 2009). Tools used to perpetuate systemic inequity (e.g., stereotyping, discrimination) and the outcomes of systemic inequity (e.g., social and health inequalities) have been classified as structural violence (Gilligan, 1996). An awareness of structural violence can be a first step toward social change (Watts & Serrano-Garcia, 2003) for part of structural violence is denial of one’s primordial right to speak which must be reclaimed (Freire, 1970; Quintana & Segura-Herrera, 2003). Lastly, critical thinking skills may be needed to aid reflection, develop awareness, and deconstruct experiences of oppression (Garcia et al., 2009; Thomas et al., 2014) so individuals can increase consciousness of “social forces that influence them and their communities—especially as they relate to race, culture, class, and gender” (Watts, Abdul-Adil, & Pratt, 2002, p. 41).

Reflective questioning. One tool to promote critical reflection through dialogue is the posing of reflective questions. Reflective questions direct attention to power dynamics involved in various systems that maintain systemic inequity (Garcia et al., 2009). Examples of such questions may include: "Where does knowledge of dysfunctional families come from and how do class, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or disability inform the dynamics of this system" (Garcia et al., 2009, p. 32). Reflective questions allow exploration of how "knowledge is created and maintained by larger sociopolitical forces" (Garcia et al., 2009, p. 32). An example of the use of reflective questions is Watts and colleagues' (2002) development of a curriculum (Young Warriors) for African American male adolescents that employs a series of five questions designed to develop critical thinking skills about sociopolitical issues. Questions provoke discussions about the status quo, promote the ability to analyze or identify the meaning of experiences and events, and then elicit how participants would improve the situation or take action promoting social justice (Watts et al., 2002).

Psychosocial support. Psychosocial, emotional and moral support to challenge injustice from peers, family, teachers, school, community and social environment are considered tools for conscientização (Diemer et al., 2006; Diemer & Li, 2011; Ginwright & James, 2002; Green, 2009). The development of critical consciousness is theorized to occur when people are socially supported to explore and challenge social inequity which provides the motivation to change unjust social conditions (Freire, 1973; Diemer & Li, 2011; Giroux, 1983; Green, 2009). Supportive contexts may encourage the development of perceived capacity that one can make a difference and seems to foster engagement in sociopolitical action (Diemer, Hsieh, & Pan, 2009). For example, observing a family member actively resist racism may encourage one to develop CC (O'Connor, 1997). For youth's development of CC, the school setting and peer level of support seems to be an important contributing factor (Diemer, et al., 2006; Houser & Overton, 2001; Lynn, Hassan & Johnson, 1999). Moreover, researchers have noted that the skills needed to develop CC, such as critical thinking skills, can be taught and modeled (Diemer et al., 2006;

Watts et al., 2002). Thus, being around others who have CC or skills to develop CC may be a source of support and an antecedent of CC development.

Co-learning. Freire (1970), through problem-posing education, revolutionized the teacher-student relationship by emphasizing co-learner, non-hierarchical, respectful relationships between students and teachers. Within the consciousness-raising process, students and teachers are co-learners and active in a process of co-constructing knowledge through multi-methods and dialogical means (Smith-Maddox & Solorzano, 2002). The teachers are viewed as facilitators who model challenging ideas, values and assumptions perpetuated by the dominant social order (Smith-Maddox & Solorzano, 2002). The facilitator's role is to empower students through an egalitarian relationship with learners and offer advice and support in a non-directive way (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002). Approaches that view the learner as a "passive 'empty vessel' to be filled with knowledge emanating from an active expert teacher, are contrary to the development of the critical debate and dialogue, a key mechanism underlying the development of critical consciousness" (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002, p. 337). Likewise, rigidly authoritarian rules, didactic teaching methods that reduce opportunity for autonomy and critical thinking are contrary and prohibitive of the CC development process (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002).

Group participation and process. Some scholars discussed the need for small group discussions and interactions as an important tool to facilitate CC development (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998; Hatcher et al., 2010).

If there is a single term that captures CC practice, it is group discussion. To be successful according to Montero, there must be listening, dialogue, humility, respect, and critique. The aim is to come close to consensus on the problematization of recurring aspects of everyday experience. From there, young people begin to consider solutions aimed at the sociopolitical roots of the problem. (Watts et al., 2011, p. 54)

The group process is constructive and empowering. Gutierrez and Ortega (1991, p. 30) identified a five phase group process of CC development: "(a) recognition of member similarities to enhance group identity; (b) the development of common goals; (c) identification of obstacles or

barriers to self and group expression, (d) exploration and generation of ideas to address identified obstacles and barriers and (e) planning action steps.” Group participation seems to allow a combination of tools to be utilized for consciousness-raising such as encouraging dialogue that promotes reflective questioning about the connections between personal and societal issues, the use of role plays and other participatory activities; grounding discussions within the daily, shared realities of those involved in the consciousness-raising process; co-constructing new and empowered understandings and identities; and identifying potential solutions to local problems (Hatcher, 2010). Small groups also encourage a constructive group process in which participants are allowed the time and given encouragement to create a physically and psychologically safe space (Ginwright & James, 2002) that permits participants to explore connections between personal and social problems.

Discussion in groups of similar others is thought to help individuals to begin to speak about common experiences, receive social support, and to see the connections between personal and political life. Group discussion can be a critical factor in the development of critical consciousness because of the effect of groups on attitude change and formation. Cohesive groups, consisting of similar others, have a particularly strong influence on an individual's behavior and perception of reality. (Gutierrez & Ortega, 1991, p. 26)

When participants are in groups with similar others, they can engage in the social comparison process and feel comfortable sharing common problems and struggles; helping them perceive group commonalities and a shared fate in which they are not alone (Gutierrez & Ortega, 1991). Participants “move from consciousness of themselves as oppressed individuals to the consciousness of an oppressed class” (Freire, 1970, p. 174). This way they develop a group identity, a sense of community, and obtain support from others who are also struggling (Hatcher et al., 2010). According to Gutierrez and Ortega (1991, p. 26), “[e]mpowerment theory assumes that if individuals understand the connectedness of human experience they will be more likely to work with others to alter social conditions.” Thus, intra-group interaction and communication have been identified as empowerment techniques that have strong influence on behavior and perception of reality (Gutierrez & Ortega, 1991).

The empowering group process that incorporates a sense of belonging has the potential to lead to mobilizing activities and collective action that promotes the common good over efforts towards individual achievement (Hatcher, 2010; Thomas et al., 2014). Group participation, with safety in numbers, provides ideal environment for engaging in constructive risk-taking behavior which can allow for development of new attitudes, beliefs, and possibilities for social change (Gutierrez & Ortega, 1991). Part of the group process is to provide opportunities for mentoring and becoming involved in organizations to affect change (Thomas et al., 2014; Watts & Flanagan, 2007; Windsor et al., 2014). Empowering the silenced to find their collective voice and liberate themselves is the overarching goal of consciousness-raising (Gutierrez & Ortega, 1991); or, as Hardy-Fanta (1986, p. 123) describes, having “competent people working toward achieving their own ends through collective action.” To accomplish similar goals, Watts, Abdul-Adil, and Pratt (2002) and Windsor and colleagues (2014) have considered a process of civic learning in which participants develop community action projects that use participant-generated insights to change social systems.

Action and identity development. Action has been identified as a tool for consciousness raising (Windsor, et al., 2014a; Windsor et al., 2014b). Freire (1970, p. 73) noted that CC “results from the intervention in the world as transformers of that world”. Civic engagement and sociopolitical action seem to shape how one perceives self, others and social injustices. As people challenge oppressive conditions within local sociopolitical contexts, a new understanding of themselves, other group members, and of those contexts arises (Sonn & Fisher, 1998; Garcia et al., 2009). A person’s identity becomes one of an active and engaged citizen, defined as “someone who has a sense of civic duty, feeling of social connection to their community, confidence in their abilities to effect change, as well as someone who engages in civic behavior” (Zaff, Boyd, Li, Lerner, & Lerner, 2010, p. 737). Moreover, the collective action promotes solidarity with peers and solidarity allows disempowered groups to gain collective power.

Part of developing CC includes the psychological process of empowerment that stems from altering one's perception of self in society (Gutierrez & Ortega, 1991), incorporating the reclamation of devalued and lost identities (Watts and Serrano-Garcia, 2003). "This includes the development of a sense of group identity, the reduction of feelings of self-blame for problems, an increased sense of responsibility for future events, and enhanced feelings of self-efficacy" (Gutierrez & Ortega, 1991, p. 25). The reclamation of identity is a very important part of the CC development process because one of the major tools of oppression and social control is the divide and conquer strategy that is facilitated by the internalization of inferior beliefs about one's self and one's group members (Speight, 2007). Civic engagement helps to protect individual, families and communities from negative messages reproduced in society (Thomas et al., 2014; Speight, 2007; Zaff, et al., 2010). Thus, research seems to suggest a cyclical relationship between identity (both personal and collective) in that identity influences civic engagement and civic engagement develops one's identity (Thomas et al., 2014; Zaff et al., 2010).

Additional conceptual issues. In addition to the variations of CC's definition, confusing the process of consciousness-raising with the outcome of CC, and using the tools to develop CC within the definition of CC, there are other conceptual differences and inconsistencies within the CC literature.

Exclusion of oppressor. Since the initial formulations of CC, scholars have used CC in various contexts to understand how oppressed or marginalized populations: 1) reflect on and become critically aware of social, political, and economic oppression and the resulting social injustices; 2) identify and navigate the structural constraints and social inequities that limit human agency and well-being; and, 3) acquire the skills and resources needed to transform oppressive elements to create a just society (Ginwright & James, 2002; Prilleltensky, 2012; Watts et al., 1999; Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1997; Watts et al., 2011). For example, Diemer et al. (2014) define CC as how "oppressed or marginalized people think about and respond to inequitable sociopolitical conditions" (p. 15). Similarly, Baker and Brookins (2014) notes that CC is

“concerned with the ways in which marginalized group members develop an understanding of oppressive societal structures and forces, and subsequently the motivation for individual and collective action to confront and change those structures and forces” (p. 1016). Some scholars limit their definition of CC to focus on oppressed or marginalized populations (Diemer et al., 2014; Ginwright & James, 2002; Watts et al., 2011). These definitions exclude oppressors and the examination of privilege and may support the proposition that oppression is a problem for the oppressed to solve. When, in essence, oppression is not a problem of the oppressed; although it is a problem for the oppressed. In fact, one could argue that CC is more important for members of privileged groups who have greater access to resources and power and can operate as allies to the oppressed (Thomas et al., 2014).

To achieve liberation, the primary focus of CC (Watts et al., 1999), it is imperative that those who may be privileged by the system of social injustice, unfair distribution of resources and opportunities, and inequity, be able to recognize unjust social processes and acquire the knowledge and skills needed for social change. The eradication of oppression requires the redistribution of access to resources, power and opportunity. Advantaged groups cannot share power they do not think or acknowledge they have. Thomas et al. (2014) noted that critical consciousness would help individuals understand their role in a system of oppression, as members of either the privileged or stigmatized groups. The state of oppression dehumanizes both oppressor and oppressed (Freire, 1970), and thus, oppressors also require conscientização to be part of the humanization process. Liberation requires true solidarity in which the oppressor not only fights at the side of the oppressed to transform the oppressive reality but also takes a radical posture of “entering into the situation of those with whom one is solidary” (Freire, 1970, p. 49). Thus, CC, with the goal of liberation, has the radical requirement that engages the oppressor, those who deny others the right to speak their word, and the oppressed, those whose right to speak has been denied, must work together to transform the structures that beget oppression (Freire, 1970).

Absence of privilege. In addition to CC's application to oppressed populations, another critical limitation of CC conceptualization is the failure to incorporate the concept of privilege. Some definitions only define CC as addressing oppression. For example, Garcia and colleagues (2009, p. 19) define CC "as the ability to recognize and challenge oppressive and dehumanizing political, economic, and social systems." As an antidote to oppression and necessary ingredient in the fight for social justice, CC must address injustice which includes privilege. Some scholars have recognized the role of privilege in the maintenance of oppression by including privilege within CC's conceptualization. Watt (2007) notes that CC is an awareness of "one's own privileged status in relation to racism, sexism, ableism, classism, etc. on a personal and political level" (p. 116). Watt (2007) acknowledges that critical consciousness will not develop without engaging in difficult conversations that directly address what it means to be privileged. Likewise, Garcia and colleagues (2009, p. 29) note that it is important to "allocate time to reflect on and address issues related to interlocking systems of oppression and privilege." Campbell and MacPhail's (2002) CC intervention demonstrated the Freirian approach in helping young people examine their social privilege (e.g., as males, heterosexuals, affluent) as well as their marginalization. Watts, Diemer, and Voight (2011) also note that privileged youth could work towards a more just society if they learned about oppression, privilege, and the consequences of social injustice. The process of learning about oppression and privilege is enacted through ongoing self-reflexivity and active examination, exploration, discussion, and evaluation to develop self-knowledge of how our individual and group privilege influence social oppression (Carolan et al., Chew, 2010). The development of CC includes evaluating how one's privilege impedes the ability to empower and support those with less power and privilege (Carolan, et al., 2010). Since privilege and oppression are mutually reinforcing, operating in a cyclical process, providing sustenance to the other, CC requires an examination of privilege as well as oppression.

Intersectionality. Related to the critique that CC, as it has been conceptualized by many, fails to include privilege and privileged persons is the idea that our identities are usually composed of overlapping and intersecting identities of privilege and oppression. In other words, an educated, rich black, lesbian woman has intersecting identities of oppression (i.e., black, lesbian, woman) and intersecting and interlocking identities of privilege (i.e., able-bodied, rich, educated). It is thus very difficult to divide most people into either category of oppressed or oppressor (Black & Stone, 2005; Crenshaw, 1989; Ferber, 2012; McIntosh, 2014). Although some group identities are more widely recognized as being oppressed or privileged, the experience of oppression and privilege is an individualized experience that varies by social context incorporating protective and risk factors (Thomas et al., 2014). Thus, it is important to not “sort individuals into stigmatized and non-stigmatized groups based on in-group identity” (Thomas et al., 2014, p. 488). With intersecting identities of oppression and privilege and variable experiences with interlocking oppressions and privileges, it becomes nearly impossible to separate people into oppressed-only and privileged-only categories. It should be noted that intersectionality theory is used to denote the intersecting experiences of oppression with which members of multiple oppressed groups must contend (Crenshaw, 1991; Viruell-Fuentes, et al., 2012). Because systems of oppression are mutually reinforced and work in concert to produce inequality (Ferber, 2009), analyses that focus on a single oppression will produce an inadequate representation of the social experience impacted by several oppressions simultaneously (Viruell-Fuentes, et al., 2012).

Despite the wide usage of CC, the exact definition of CC remains vague and ambiguous. Critical consciousness has roots in multiple disciplines – social work, education, public health – which make the concept complex and difficult to interpret. Definitions differ on whether CC is an outcome or a developmental process. Definitions of CC also confuse CC and conscientização and may include tools, strategies or techniques for the consciousness-raising process within the CC

definition. Also, definitions tend to exclude oppressors and examination of privilege and suffer from not incorporating the idea of intersectionality.

Part II. Operationalization of Critical Consciousness

The various definitions of CC dictate the operationalization of CC through the selection of key domains. Thus, several scholars (e.g., Chronister & McWhirter, 2006; Diemer et al., 2006; Diemer & Li, 2011; Watts et al., 1999) have proposed a variety of operationalizations of CC that stem from the diversity of conceptualizations of the construct. Some researchers operationalize CC as a unidimensional construct with critical reflection as a single domain (Mustakova-Possardt, 1998; Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998). However, some literature seems to suggest that the Freirian notion of CC is characterized by the capacity to critically reflect and act upon one's oppressive environment, and thus, has two key dimensions: 1) sociopolitical analysis, also called critical reflection or critical analysis, and 2) critical action (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Windsor et al., 2014a). A derivative of this operationalization incorporates critical reflection and critical action with the critical reflection domain encompassing two sub-domains: perceived inequality and egalitarianism (Diemer et al., 2014). Although some scholars may agree on a two-dimensional operationalization of CC, this agreement does not always lead to the use of the same two domains. For example, Diemer and Blustein (2006) conceptualized CC as including the domains of critical reflection and sociopolitical control. They did not include action. A further confusing factor is that scholars sometimes refer to the components of CC by different names. For example, the terms critical reflection, social analysis and critical analysis seem to be applied interchangeably. Few researchers have identified three domains for CC: cognitive (e.g., critical reflection), attitudinal (e.g., political efficacy), and behavioral (e.g., critical action) (Watts et al., 2011). In order to gain a better understanding of CC's operationalization, the key domains must be examined.

The Domains of Critical Consciousness

Critical reflection. Critical consciousness has been conceptualized as a purely cognitive state of consciousness that derives from the critical analysis of sociopolitical inequity (Diemer & Li, 2011; Mustakova-Possardt, 1998; Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998). Watts and Abdul-Adil (1998) noted that CC is a person's level of awareness of the sociopolitical and cultural environment that permits the identification of oppression and inquiry about its existence. Similarly Freire's (1970) conceptualization of CC is a cognitive state that focuses on people's intellectual analyses of their positions and circumstances. Watts, Diemer, and Voight (2011) define critical reflection as the combination of social analysis and moral rejection of social injustices that limit well-being and human agency. Most scholars seem to agree that critical reflection refers to examining everyday realities to analyze the relationships between personal contexts and the wider social forces of structural oppression, including, but not limited to, social, economic and political environments that restrict access to opportunity and resources, and thus, sustain inequality and perpetuate injustice (Diemer & Li, 2011; Giroux, 1983; Hatcher, 2010; Watts & Flanagan, 2007). The capacity to critically reflect includes: 1) thinking critically about accepted beliefs, thoughts, feelings and assumptions; 2) detecting the hidden interests underlying personal and social assumptions and beliefs (whether class-, gender-, race/ethnicity- or sect-based); and 3) identifying how history impacts the present details of everyday life and how ways of thinking and feeling serve to maintain and perpetuate existing systems of inequality (Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Diemer et al., 2006; Watts, Williams, & Jagers, 2003). Some scholars have stated that critical reflection has two subdomains: "(a) critical analysis of perceived social inequalities, such as racial/ethnic, gendered, and socioeconomic constraints on educational and occupational opportunity; and (b) egalitarianism, the endorsement of societal equality" (Diemer et al., 2014, p. 2).

Action. Action has been conceptualized as "an individual's objective ability or potency to act given structural constraints" (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002, p. 333). Freire (1973, p. 66)

also noted that “while no one liberates himself by his own efforts alone, neither is he liberated by others.” Thus, Freire and other scholars seem to suggest that individual and collective actions are needed to transform the reality of the socioeconomic and cultural circumstances that create and perpetuate social injustice. Many scholars define critical action as the overt engagement in individual or collective action taken to produce sociopolitical change of the unjust aspects (e.g., institutional policies and practices) of society that cause unhealthy conditions (Diemer & Li, 2011; Diemer et al., 2014; McPhail, 2002; Watts & Flanagan, 2007; Watts et al., 2011; Zimmerman, et al., 1999). Individual critical action may include “acts of individual women sharing advice, support, and info with others” (Hatcher et al., 2010, p. 543). Critical action encompasses social justice activism and can take many forms including practices outside traditional political processes and forums or more formal actions such as voting and community organizing (Hatcher, 2010; Watts et al., 2011; Watts, 2012; Windsor et al., 2014b).

Some scholars have noted that critical action encompasses sociopolitical control, which itself has definitional variations. Sociopolitical control has been used synonymously with critical action since it represents participation in individual and/or collective social action to effect social change (Diemer & Li 2011; Ginwright & James, 2002; Zimmerman et al., 1999). Others have noted that sociopolitical control is expected to be closely associated with critical consciousness since it represents one’s perceived capacity to change social and political conditions rather than direct engagement in action (Diemer & Blustein, 2006). Some CC scholars have found that critical action has two subcomponents that include: (1) sociopolitical control, perceived self-efficacy to effect social and political change, and (2) social action that includes, for example, engagement in protests (Diemer & Li, 2011; Watts & Flanagan, 2007). It should be noted that originally sociopolitical control “refers to beliefs that actions in the social and political system can lead to desired outcomes” (Zimmerman & Zahniser, 1991, p. 736) which may be more closely related to political efficacy than to action.

Political efficacy. When considering whether critical reflection is sufficient to lead to action, Watts, Diemer, and Voight (2011) argue that a sense of agency is necessary for engagement in political action in that people will be much more likely to engage in critical action if they believe in their competence that their action will be effective in creating the sought after change. Similarly, Zimmerman (1995) noted that if individuals do not believe they have the capacity to accomplish goals, then it is unlikely that they would learn or do what is needed to be successful. Thus, for Watts, Diemer, and Voight (2011), the construct of CC is theorized to have three distinct components - “critical social analysis, political efficacy (the perceived ability to effect sociopolitical change), and participation in civic or political action” (p. 45). Political efficacy is defined as “the perceived capacity to effect social and political change via individual and/or collective activism” (Watts et al., 2011, p. 46). In general, political efficacy refers to people’s beliefs about their ability to engage effectively as political actors (“internal political efficacy”) (Watts et al., 2011; Morrell, 2003). A similar concept is Kieffer’s (1984) participatory competence which is the perceived capacity to effect change. Political efficacy may also include a person’s beliefs that external agents, such as government officials, are responsive to one’s sociopolitical concerns (“external political efficacy”) (Watts et al., 2011; Morrell, 2003).

Other potential domains. Although most CC scholars have identified two central domains, some scholars have identified other potential dimensions of CC.

Recent reviews (Watts et al., 2011), [sociopolitical development (SPD)] scholarship (Watts & Flanagan, 2007), and empirical evidence (Berg et al., 2009; Diemer & Li, 2011; Zimmerman & Zahniser, 1991) suggest that *critical motivation*, or the expressed commitment to address societal inequalities and produce social change, may also be a component of CC. That is, the motivation or perceived capacity to effect sociopolitical change may precede behaviors taken to produce sociopolitical change, as is consistent with social cognitive theories. (Diemer et al., 2014, p. 19)

Mustakova-Possardt (1998) suggests that CC is to be analyzed in terms of the synergistic interaction between CC’s two main components, structural development and moral motivation.

Mustakova-Possardt defines moral motivation “as the overall predominance of moral over

expediency concerns” (1998, p. 13) and then breaks the structural development component into four dimensions: 1) the understanding of causality, 2) the ability to recognize social patterns, 3) a differentiated sense of self, and 4) a social system and conscience orientation. Hatcher and colleagues (2010) portray CC as having three distinct elements: analytical, constructive and mobilizing. The analytical and mobilizing aspects are similar to the critical reflection and action components. The constructive process is similar to political efficacy in that it encourages the belief that “change is possible – participants reinterpret their situation and develop strategies for improving it” (Hatcher et al., 2010, p. 543) and are able to see solutions involving individual and collective action.

Critique of Operationalization

The operationalization of CC is problematic for a few reasons. Scholars have identified different domains and use various combinations of one, two, or three domains. In addition to the various combinations of domains used to operationalize CC, there is inconsistency within the literature for how to operationalize single domains. For example, some scholars operationalize the domain of critical reflection as having two factors or dimensions. Diemer and colleagues (2014) operationalized critical reflection as composed of endorsement of group equality and perceived inequality; whereas, for other scholars critical reflection is unidimensional. However, when Diemer (2014) tested the operationalization of CC, he found that the two theorized sub-factors of critical reflection did not correlate with each other, and thus, are distinct constructs rather than sub-factors of critical reflection. In addition to considering whether critical reflection has one or more sub-factors, Diemer’s results bring into question whether critical reflection includes endorsement of equity rather than endorsement of equality.

When considering the inclusion of political efficacy and/or critical motivation within the conceptual model of CC, another interpretation of a theorized conceptual model of CC becomes apparent. Efficacy and/or critical motivation seem to bridge the concepts of thought and action.

One could describe this conceptualization of CC as a mediational model in which CC's impact on behavior depends on efficacy or motivation to act. Also, these other domains may not be a part of the CC construct but may be methods for CC development.

The action domain seems to be the most problematic. Similar to the critical reflection domain, there is inconsistency in how to operationalize the action domain. For the most part, there seems to be uncertainty regarding whether critical action involves capacity to act (Diemer et al., 2006; Diemer & Blustein, 2006) or overt action (Chronister & McWhirter, 2006). To add complexity to this issue of overt action versus capacity to act, the collective behavior literature has experienced conflict regarding what constitutes activism (Corning & Myers, 2002). Debates have focused on whether action must be extra-institutional to be labeled activist, the amount of coordination needed between the actors engaged in the action, and whether one's membership in a movement is founded on explicit actions and/or supportive attitudes (Corning & Myers, 2002).

Critical consciousness – action relationship. Another concern regarding the critical action component is whether overt action can logically be included in the construct of CC. There are five dominant ideas within the CC field: 1) CC leads to action (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Corcoran, Pettinicchio & Young, 2015; Freire, 1970), 2) CC is necessary but not sufficient to lead to action (Watts et al., 2011), 3) CC and action exist in a cyclical process (Thomas et al., 2014; Zaff et al., 2010); CC and action occur simultaneously (Freire, 1970); and 5) action leads to CC (Freire, 1970). Hatcher and colleagues (2010) note that CC is mobilizing when CC facilitates a reinterpretation of oppressive situations as changeable rather than fixed which precedes the constructive understanding that change is possible and then leads to the development of action strategies and collective action. However, if action is said to lead to CC and action is a component of CC, then, by that logic, CC leads to itself.

Perhaps one issue of confusion regarding the CC-Action relationship is whether scholars are discussing the relationship between CC and action or between reflection and action. Scholars have hypothesized that a complex or dynamic relationship exists between the components of

social or political action and critical reflection, rather than critical consciousness, in that action and reflection may influence each other in a cyclical or transitive design such that greater reflection leads to greater action and vice versa (Freire, 1973; Diemer et al., 2014; Watts et al., 2011). Freire (1970) viewed the relationship between reflection and action as reciprocal. Critical reflection is generally considered a precursor to critical action—people do not act to change their social conditions without some consciousness or awareness that their social conditions are unjust. That is, CC scholarship posits that critical action presupposes some degree of critical reflection – or that people do not blindly participate to change societal inequalities without first reflecting on what those inequities are (Watts et al., 2011). Similarly, Campbell and MacPhail (2002) noted that CC is characterized by the dynamic relationship or interaction between critical thought and critical action such that critical thought leads to critical action. Freire (1970, p. 66) also noted that “reflection – true reflection – leads to action.” Freire (1970) theorized that as oppressed people begin to analyze their social conditions, they would feel able and compelled to act to change them.

It so happens that to every understanding, sooner or later an action corresponds. Once man perceives a challenge, understands it, and recognizes the possibilities of response, he acts. The nature of that action corresponds to the nature of his understanding. (Freire, 1973, p.83).

Diemer (2014) summed up CC scholarship’s proposition that critical action presupposes some degree of critical reflection. Diemer’s (2014) results from testing the CCS scale noted that The *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality* factor correlated significantly with the *Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation* factor (Study 1 $r = .29$; Study 2 $r = .18$). Diemer (2014, p. 16) concluded “This association is supportive of the central theoretical tenet of CC, that perceptions of inequality motivate marginalized people to act to redress injustice (Freire, 1993).” However, causality cannot be inferred from correlations on cross-sectional data. There is no way to discern from the correlation whether perceptions of inequality motivated people to act or whether the

action improved perceptions of inequality. Moreover, Freire (1970) noted that action without reflection can occur and it is categorized as activism.

Even if activism is to occur, reciprocally, as people act on their social conditions they should gain a more sophisticated understanding of structural oppression. “Thus, as critical reflection grows, critical action follows and vice versa in the cyclical process of CC development” (Watts et al., 2011, p. 47). The cyclical process may occur at such a fast pace that the two may actually occur simultaneously. To transform the objective reality, individuals must simultaneously reflect on themselves and the world and act upon that reality (Freire, 1970). Thus, “action and reflection occur simultaneously” (Freire, 1970, p. 128)

Praxis. Most notably is that the majority of CC scholars have interpreted Freire’s work and operationalized CC as having two dimensions: Reflection and Action. However, Freire notes:

As we attempt to analyze dialogue as a human phenomenon, we discover something which is the essence of dialogue itself: *the word*. But the word is more than just an instrument which makes dialogue possible; accordingly, we must seek its constitutive elements. Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such a radical interaction that if one is sacrificed – even in part – the other immediately suffers. There is no true word that is not at the same time a praxis. Thus, to speak a true word is to transform the word. Action + Reflection = Word = work = praxis. Sacrifice of action = verbalism. Sacrifice of reflection = activism. An unauthentic word, one which is unable to transform reality. (Freire, 1970, p. 87)

Perhaps some confusion regarding the action domain stems from the misinterpretation of Freire’s praxis that includes both reflection and action (Freire, 2000). When working with illiterate peasants, Freire’s goal was to engage the participants in a combination of action and reflection that he called praxis (Freire 1970). Within Freire’s praxis of social change, reflection and action must go hand-in-hand for social change to occur (Freire, 1970). Freire (1970, p. 47) states that “To surmount the situation of oppression, people must first critically recognize its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation, one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity.” Freire noted that the liberation process cannot be purely intellectual but must involve action, nor can the liberation process be limited to mere activism

without serious reflection: “only then will it be a praxis” (Freire, 1970, p. 65). However, through various interpretations of Freire’s work, action seems to have become a domain of CC rather than CC and action existing as two separate constructs composing Freire’s praxis for liberation.

As discussed, there is no standard operationalization of CC and attempts to operationalize CC components have not been consistent (Baker & Brookins, 2014). Although research on CC has contributed to our understanding of the construct, the operationalization of various components has been relatively fragmented (Baker & Brookins, 2014) and is in need of clarification. Scholars incorporate various combinations of domains to operationalize CC. Even if scholars use the same domains to operationalize CC, they may define the identified dimensions of the domains in various ways. The potential reciprocal relationship between reflection and action brings into question whether both can be components of the same construct or if action is only part of a larger theoretical model in which the development of CC may predict action or vice versa. The operationalization of CC through the selection of domains is important for purposes of measuring the construct.

Part III. Measurement of Critical Consciousness

Following the trend of divergent conceptualizations and operationalizations of the CC construct, scholars have also used a variety of qualitative and quantitative measurement methods. For the most part, qualitative scholarship has relied on researchers’ idiosyncratic conception of critically conscious responses (Diemer et al., 2014; Watts et al., 1999), the subjective judgment of intervention facilitators to assess sociopolitical development (Watts et al., 2011), a concept sometimes used interchangeably with CC (Diemer et al., 2006), or have coded participants’ statements for reflection of CC during the course of an intervention as indicators of CC (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998). For example, scholars have relied upon qualitative methods of assessment to evaluate CC interventions and for curriculum development (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998; Thomas et al., 2014).

An extensive literature review for measures of critical consciousness returned few results. Chronister and McWhirter (2006) developed the *Critical Consciousness of Domestic Violence Measure* (CCDV) to evaluate the extent to which respondents are critically aware of the effect of domestic violence on their lives and the resources and capacity they possess to manage their lives. Obviously this scale is for a specific purpose and excludes the measurement of CC in non-domestic violence contexts. In most CC studies, due to the absence of CC measures, researchers attempting to measure CC assess each domain using scales of similar constructs as proxies in lieu of developing items and measures to assess these concepts.

Measuring the Domains of Critical Consciousness

Critical reflection. As a qualitative assessment of critical reflection, researchers have coded participants' statements for evidence of critical reflection during the course of an intervention (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998). To measure critical reflection, researchers have used social psychological theories of attribution. When trying to understand social problems and inequalities (e.g., inequalities between the poor and the rich), people tend to make causal attributions. These attributions may be based more on individual characteristics (e.g., poor people are lazy) or structural characteristics (e.g., social systems that provide opportunity for social mobility are not equally available). Based on the definition of critical reflection, "people with greater levels of critical reflection make more structural attributions for social problems and group disparities" (Watts et al., 2011, p. 48). For example, Neville Coleman, Falconer, and Holmes (2005) used a modified version of the *Attributions about Poverty Scale* (APS) (Hughes & Tuch, 2000, as cited in Neville et al., 2005) "to examine individual (or victim blame) and structural (or system blame) attributions for current economic and social disadvantages among African Americans" (p. 35). As an alternative method for assessing critical reflection, Diemer and Blustein (2006) measured sociopolitical analysis through inverse scores on the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; Pratto et al., 1994) measure. Based on previous research, Diemer and Blustein

(2006) conceptualized SDO as the desire to maintain the status quo of non-egalitarian and hierarchically structured relationships among socially constructed groups, and thus, conceptualized SDO as reflecting a lack of critical analysis. However, this theoretical proposition may not have been supported by Diemer and colleague's (2014) study that found no correlation between the two subdomains of perceived inequality and perceived egalitarian which used many of the same items as the Social Dominance Orientation Scale. Perhaps inverse scores on the SDO measure is not an appropriate measure of critical reflection; albeit, a related construct.

Political efficacy. Diemer and Blustein (2006) measured political efficacy using the Sociopolitical Control Scale (SPCS) (Zimmerman & Zahniser, 1991). The SPCS was designed to assess individuals' perceptions of their capabilities in social and political systems. It has two hypothesized subscales of perceived leadership competence, which involves self-perceptions of one's ability to organize a group of people, and policy control, which involves self-perceptions of one's ability to influence policy decisions in a local community. Although the SPCS has been found by previous research to have reasonable reliability, Peterson, Hughey, Reid, Zimmerman and Speer (2006) showed that method bias from the use of negatively worded items had a significant effect on the factor structure of the SPCS.

Action. The action domain of CC is usually measured quantitatively according to the frequency of participating or intentions to participate in various types of social and/or political action (Watts et al., 2011). For example, *The Activism Orientation Scale* (AOS) examines action propensity to reduce perceived injustices (Corning & Myers, 2002), whereas the Speer, Jackson, and Peterson's (2001) civic engagement scale assesses frequency of involvement in specific action (e.g., "signed a petition").

Activist orientation is defined as an individual's developed, relatively stable, yet changeable orientation to engage in various collective, social-political, problem-solving behaviors spanning a range from low risk, passive, and institutionalized acts to high-risk, active, and unconventional behaviors. (Corning & Myers, 2002, p. 704)

Critical action has also been measured by the proxy of Sociopolitical Control Scale scores (Diemer et al., 2006). “Sociopolitical control reflects the perceived capacity to take action upon one’s sociopolitical environment that increases with critical consciousness. As such, we expect sociopolitical control to be closely associated with critical consciousness” (Diemer & Blustein, 2006, p. 223).

The fragmented measurement of the CC construct is very problematic. First, if researchers have operationalized CC differently (e.g., Reflection only v. Reflection and Action); then they will measure different domains. Second, even if researchers conceptualize the construct as having the same domains, the definition and methods to measure those same domains could vary. Third, the psychometric properties on the quantitative measures for the proxy constructs were not assessed for measuring CC. In most cases, measurement of CC lacked content, construct, and factorial validity. Thus, not only are study results incomparable, but researchers have no idea if they are measuring the same construct as one another or if they are measuring CC. Fortunately, these issues have not gone unnoticed. Scholars have recently noted that the “vexing problem in CC scholarship is the inconsistent conceptualization and measurement of CC” (Diemer et al., 2014, p. 3). Diemer and colleagues (2014, p. 3) noted that “*no scale exists that was explicitly designed to measure CC.*” Attempting to address many of the measurement issues discussed, three new scales of critical consciousness were developed in 2014. Two scales measure critical consciousness in youth and young adults (Diemer et al., 2014; Thomas et al., 2014) and one scale purports to measure sociopolitical consciousness for Salvadoran youth (Baker & Brookins, 2014).

Diemer and colleagues (2014) developed the critical consciousness scale (CCS). For this scale, CC is theorized to be composed of two domains: Critical Reflection and Critical Action. The critical reflection domain has two dimensions: *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality (PI)* and *Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism*. Thus, the critical reflection domain encompasses critically reflecting on perceived societal inequalities as well as the endorsement of societal

equality. The critical action domain encompasses individual or collective action taken to change perceived social inequalities (Freire, 1970). Guided by Freire's (1973) theoretical framework, the items that composed the scale were developed by Diemer and colleagues and consisted of newly written items or modified versions of existing items. The items for Critical Reflection of Perceived Inequality were developed to gauge consciousness of racial/ethnic, gendered, and socioeconomic constraints on educational and occupational opportunity. Critical reflection-egalitarian "items were developed to assess the endorsement of equitable relations among societal groups, consonant with the rejection of unequal social position, status, and privilege between socially constructed groups" (Diemer et al., 2014, p. 4). For critical action, items were produced to gauge the degree to which respondents have participated in individual and/or collective action to produce sociopolitical change. The response format is a 6-point Likert scale from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree* for Critical Reflection items and a 5-point behavioral frequency scale from *never did this* to *at least once a week* for Critical Action items. The scale was developed for use with youth or adult populations but was tested on youth ages 13 – 19, with a mean of 15.47 (SD = 1.34). For the purposes of sampling youth of color, participants were recruited from high schools within two urban areas and an African American high school student association. The entire sample consisted of 326 students with slightly more female (56.9%) than male participants.

After the exploratory factor analysis (EFA), the final scale comprised of 3 conceptually meaningful factors and 22 items reflective of the latent CC construct. The first factor, *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality*, composed of eight items measuring youths' critical analysis of socioeconomic, racial/ethnic, and gendered constraints on educational and occupational opportunity. The second factor, *Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism* composed of five items measuring youths' endorsement of societal equality, or all groups of people treated as equals within society. The third factor, *Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation* composed of nine items that measure youths' participation in social and political activities to change perceived inequalities. The three CCS subscales were internally consistent, particularly for shorter

measures, demonstrating Cronbach's alpha estimates of .90 (*Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality*), .88 (*Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism*), and .85 (*Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation*). However, the three factors did not associate with each other in hypothesized directions. As hypothesized, *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality* had a significant positive correlation with *Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation*. *Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation* had a significant but unexpected negative correlation with *Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism*. Counter to hypothesis, *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality* did not correlate with *Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism*. Thus, it seems that *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality* and *Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation* may represent an underlying latent construct and may have a transitive relationship such that more action leads to more perceived inequality and vice versa. However, *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality* and *Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism* are not components of the same critical consciousness construct.

Thomas and colleagues (2014) created the critical consciousness inventory (CCI) with nine items using the Guttman scaling design. The scale incorporated components of critical consciousness, including sociopolitical development, with items that assessed "issues of equity and justice in society, equitable treatment across social groups, and access to resources or educational opportunities for various groups" (Thomas et al., 2014, p. 489). The social perspective component of CC assessed experiences of empathy and emotional reactions to oppression and inequity. Lastly, the scale included items evaluating the questioning of experiences of inequity, reactions to oppression, and the individual's ability to deconstruct them. "Items were worded to be appropriate for both members of oppressed groups and dominant groups, as critical consciousness is important for both majority and minority members" (Thomas et al., 2014, p. 489). The scale adopted the developmental perspective of critical consciousness by Watts et al.'s (1999) model of sociopolitical development as a guide in developing items to reflect four stages of development: "precritical, in which issues of inequity and oppression are not recognized; beginning critical, in which individuals would begin to recognize oppression and

inequity; critical, in which the person has a solid sense of critical consciousness; and post critical, which includes some form of personal or social action in response to oppression or inequity” (Thomas et al., 2014, p. 489). This scale was developed with the assumption that the development of critical consciousness leads to civic action. The purpose of the Guttman scaling format was to allow for a developmental perspective as items are developed in a sequential pattern. The Guttman scale also facilitated the interpretation of responses to distinguish between levels of CC; whereas, a Likert-type response format resulting in mean scores would not detect the stage of respondent’s CC development. Results suggested that the scale was able to separate participants into high and low levels of critical consciousness. The scale also identified three levels of difficulty or consciousness. Subscales for the critical consciousness scale were developed by creating mean scores for each level of the items (all “a” scores became precritical, “b” scores became beginning critical, “c” scores became critical, and “d” scores became postcritical). Lastly, the reliability as indicated by Cronbach’s alpha was 0.61 for persons and 0.87 for the items. Results suggest that social dominance beliefs are positively related to pre-critical and beginning levels of critical consciousness and negatively related to post-critical consciousness attitudes

The Baker and Brookins’ (2014) study used photovoice and relevant scales to identify themes and potential items for their sociopolitical consciousness measure. The authors developed a measure of sociopolitical consciousness, drawing on both the conceptualizations of Watts and colleagues (1999; 2003) and the photovoice data with Salvadoran youth. The participants in the photovoice stage were Salvadoran youths ($n = 681$) aged 14–22 years ($M = 16.9$, standard deviation [SD] = 1.5) attending five high schools in three regions of the country. The overall sample was 53% male and 47% female, primarily born in El Salvador (94%), and spoke Spanish at home (97%). sociopolitical consciousness. Examples of some themes related to sociopolitical awareness include: efficacy, equality, and methods for social change. An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was used to examine the factor structure of the scale and identify latent variables. Analysis found seven factors: 1) sociopolitical awareness accounted for 17.09% of the variance

and comprised six items that assessed how aware individuals perceived themselves to be about political issues, current national and local events, and issues in their communities ($\alpha=.81$); 2) global beliefs explained 10.7% of the variance with nine items that measured the extent to which society is just and equal and the system of rewards are fair ($\alpha=.78$); 3) “collective responsibility for the poor” explained 6.9% of the variance, comprised four items measuring participants examining beliefs about government and community responsibility for assisting people who are of low SES ($\alpha=.82$); 4) “equality and rights” (ER) explained 5.8% of the variance, comprised five items that examined beliefs about the equality of rights across all sociopolitical groups, with an emphasis on those groups that have been historically marginalized ($\alpha=.76$); 5) “belief in collective action” (BCA) explained 5% of the variance and comprised five items measuring when someone subscribes to collective action (i.e., policy change, reconstruction of society, and attitude change ($\alpha=.71$); 6) “localized community efficacy” (LCE) explained 4.5% of the variance and comprised three items measuring how effective local structures are at solving community issues ($\alpha=.69$); 7) “problem-solving self-efficacy” (PSE) explained 3.8% of the variance and comprised three items focusing on individual’s perceptions of their ability to think analytically and empathetically when solving problems ($\alpha=.68$).

Critique of Measurement

The conceptual issues within the field of CC make CC difficult to study and measure. Researchers have used various quantitative and qualitative measures of CC. Quantitative scholarship has mostly measured CC by repurposing scales developed to measure other constructs as proxy measures of CC. For example, critical reflection was measured by the proxy of inverted scores on the Social Dominance Orientation measure (Diemer & Blustein, 2006) and critical action by the proxy of Sociopolitical Control Scale scores (Diemer et al., 2006). Qualitative scholarship has used divergent conceptions of CC (O’Connor, 1997; Taft, 2006; Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998), reliant on researchers’ idiosyncratic conceptions of critically conscious responses as

indicators of CC (Watts et al., 1999). One persistent limitation with the measurement of CC is that methods of assessment have been mostly made for and tested on youth and/or marginalized populations (Baker & Brookins, 2014; Diemer, 2009; Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Diemer & Hsieh, 2008; Diemer, Hsieh, & Pan, 2009b; Thomas et al., 2014; Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998; Watts et al., 1999; Watts & Guessous, 2006; Watts et al., 2003;).

Social desirability bias. No research on CC measurement has assessed the potential for social desirability bias. It is possible that some items on the scales are prone to social desirability bias. For example, Thomas's (2014) scale, states "I believe that the world is unfair, and I make sure to treat others fairly." Persons who tend to reply to self-reported items in a manner that is considered socially accepted or desirable may skew results. When assessing consciousness of these types of socially charged issues, researchers have to take into account that people have been taught the politically correct responses.

Wording of items. Items on the new scales tend to be ambiguous and lack clarity. For example, Thomas' (2014, p. 48) scale states "I don't notice when people make prejudiced comments," but how does one know what they don't notice? Another example of an ambiguous statement from Thomas (2014, p. 48) is "I notice when people make prejudiced comments and it hurts me." Does this statement include prejudice statements against anyone? Some participants may have gender consciousness but not race consciousness. A person may feel bad when someone makes a prejudiced statement against women, but not against Latinos. An example of a general statement from the Baker and Brookins (2014) scale is "I feel that people who meet with misfortune have brought it on themselves." What people are the respondents considering? What type of misfortune? In Thomas' (2014) scale, the terms "groups" and "people" are general, vague, and ambiguous. For example, "I believe that the world is unfair for some people" (Thomas, 2014, p. 48). Can someone demonstrate CC by thinking the privileged group is treated unfairly? This resonates with the myth of reverse discrimination. Moreover, a member of a hate group could receive a high score on the critical action domain of Diemer's (2014) CCS scale as well as Speer

and Peterson's (2000) cognitive empowerment scale that could be used as a proxy to assess critical consciousness. For example, one could interpret "human rights" as being "pro-life / anti-abortion," or the right to live in a segregated neighborhood. One example of a sociopolitical action item is "participated in a political party, club or organization" (Diemer et al., 2014). Items such as these would allow KKK and tea party members to receive high scores, which is counterintuitive for a measure of CC. Another example of general and ambiguous is Baker and Brookins' (2014) statement, "I understand the issues facing this nation." There are many issues that potentially face a nation. Is it important that the participants are thinking of the same issues? Also, Baker and Brookins (2014) mention the scale's inclusion of self-assessments. Is it important that the respondents think they understand the issues facing the nation or that they really do understand the issues. Thus, is Baker and Brookins' scale a measure of CC or a measure of participant's self-assessment of their CC? For example, "I can help organize solutions to problems my community faces" or "I can think analytically when trying to solve problems" (Baker & Brookins, 2014, p. 1028). This person may think s/he can think analytically or can help organize solutions, but may not be able to do so if put to the test. The person may also believe it is important to think analytically or help organize, but critical consciousness seems to go beyond beliefs in one's ability. Another serious flaw in regards to wording of the items is exemplified in Diemer's (2014) CCS scale. Respondents can choose the same response to items but for different reasons. For example, one item from Diemer's (2014) scale states, "poor people have fewer chances to get good jobs." In addition to not knowing of which ethnic groups respondents are referring (e.g., Koreans or Jamaicans), two participants may endorse that idea but with opposite causal explanations. One participant may think having fewer chances is the poor person's fault and the other respondent may understand the oppressive systemic causal factors. It is questionable whether self-assessments, attitudes, or responses to vague statements can accurately assess critical consciousness.

Construct validity. Construct validity refers to the ability of a measurement tool (e.g., survey, test, etc.) to actually measure the construct being studied (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). In other words, does the scale measure what it is supposed to measure; in this case, critical consciousness? Scales exhibit good construct validity when observations about the hypothesized existence or nonexistence of relationships between the measure of a construct and its factors and/or other constructs are in accord with expected relationships a priori (Goranitis, Coast, Al-Janabi, 2014). These a priori theoretical and anticipated relationships are constructed by taking into consideration available evidence from the literature proposing contextual variables from the development of CC for antecedent variables to outcome variables (Goranitis et al., 2014). Where there is no existing evidence, hypotheses are developed based on the scholars' judgment on possible associations (Goranitis, et al., 2014). A series of investigations into various subtypes of construct validity are needed to provide evidence of construct validity, such as content, factorial, convergent, divergent, and nomological validity. Measures of CC may not have undergone the psychometric scrutiny to establish construct validity.

Content validity. The measures of CC may have issues with content validity. Content validity refers to how accurately an assessment or measurement tool taps into the various aspects of the specific construct in question. In other words, do the questions assess critical consciousness, or are the responses influenced by other factors? Researchers have noted that CC is domain-specific (Diemer et al., 2014). As a result, researchers have tailored measures of CC to specific contents. Chronister and McWhirter (2006), for example, developed a measure of the Critical Consciousness of Domestic Violence (CCDV) to assess “the degree to which respondents are critically consciousness of the impact of domestic violence in their lives and the skills and power they possess to exert control in their lives” (p. 155). Diemer et al. (2014) noted in the limitations section of the study that his scale excludes other types of oppression – i.e., heterosexism, ageism, ableism – and only considers employment and education opportunity.

There may be content issues regarding equity and equality. Thomas et al. (2014) scale states as the highest level, “I work to make sure that people are treated equally and are given equal chances” (p. 494). Diemer and colleagues’ (2014) scale includes statement, “We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.” However, is equality of treatment the just response for oppressed populations when inequality is the norm? In other words, giving a historically disadvantaged group an equal chance may not rise to a critical consciousness level. Should female employees be treated equally as male employees? Some may say, yes, female employees should be given equal pay and benefits as their male counterparts. However, knowing the U.S.’ history of discrimination against women in the workforce, is it fair to treat women equally in every circumstance, demanding the same from women as from men who have past and continuing privilege?

Factorial validity. Part of construct validity is determining the factors representing the underlying latent construct. The factors can be determined via an EFA or the factors can be extracted from the literature and, thus, based on theory. Several scholars have theorized the domains of critical consciousness, but few have tested these domains (Diemer et al., 2014). Scales of constructs have internal structures. If the construct is unidimensional then all of the items on the scale will adhere to one latent construct. If the construct has multiple domains, the items will compose multiple factors that are all significantly correlated with each other. Diemer and colleagues (2014) found that the CCS had three factors; however, these factors were not all significantly correlated with each other, suggesting the three factors do not represent one latent construct.

Convergent and divergent validity. To assess convergent validity, constructs that are theoretically related to critical consciousness need to be identified. To assess divergent validity, constructs that are theoretically unrelated to critical consciousness need to be identified. Critical consciousness is theoretically related to oppression, social dominance, stigma consciousness, civic engagement, sociopolitical control, empowerment, self-efficacy, personal characteristics

including identity development and social capital or access to resources (Baker & Brookins, 2014; Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Thomas, et al., 2014). Critical consciousness requires an awareness of social position across various cultural groups, and an understanding of power and equity, thus, CC may be related to cognitive empowerment (Diemer et al., 2014; Speer & Peterson, 2000).

Another construct closely linked to CC is Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), the belief that certain groups do in fact carry positive and negative social value, that one's group carries a higher level of positive value, and that minority groups have earned and deserved their status of inferiority (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). The SDO construct is important to review because inverse scores on the SDO scale have been used as a proxy for the critical reflection domain of CC (Diemer & Blustein, 2006). SDO supports group-based social inequality and statuses of oppression and privilege. Those who endorse SDO value non-egalitarian and hierarchically structured relationships among social groups that promote domination and social inequality wherein certain groups enjoy disproportionate power, status, access to resources and opportunity over other socially constructed groups (Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). More precisely, SDO is interpreted to reflect a sociopolitical attitude that connotes limited sociopolitical analysis and consequently limited critical consciousness (Diemer et al., 2006). It could be argued that oppression is maintained by beliefs in social dominance. Critical consciousness would diminish the belief in social hierarchies for both oppressors and the oppressed, and would be a critical component for disrupting oppression.

Nomological validity. A nomological network is a theoretical framework that represents factors of a construct, observable manifestations, and the interrelationships between constructs (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955; Peterson & Zimmerman, 2004). To be able to assess nomological validity, it is necessary to identify correlates, related constructs, antecedents and outcomes of critical consciousness. Through a series of studies primarily using structural equation modeling (SEM), Diemer and his colleagues have demonstrated how sociopolitical development, primarily

among minority adolescents from low SES backgrounds in the United States, is related to parental support, peer relations, school characteristics, academic achievement, previous community participation, and connections to a future career (Diemer, 2009, 2012; Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Diemer & Hsieh, 2008; Diemer et al., 2009; Diemer et al., 2006; Diemer & Li, 2011; Diemer et al., 2010). Critical consciousness has also been associated with urban African American youth's mental health (Zimmerman et al., 1999), school engagement among urban African American (O'Connor, 1997), career development among low socioeconomic status (SES) youth of color (Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Diemer et al., 2010), and occupational attainment in adulthood among low-SES youth of color (Diemer, 2009). Diemer and Li (2011) additionally examined two "contextual antecedents" of critical consciousness, focusing particularly on the critical action component, which was conceptualized as young people's "perceived ability to change social and political conditions and participation in individual or collective social action" (p. 1816). This research considered the potential for micro-level factors such as teacher, parent, and peer sociopolitical support to predict sociopolitical control, social action, and the future voting behavior of *marginalized* youth. Baker and Brookins (2014) theorized several predictors of the societal action component of CC, including sense of agency, cultural worldview, and racial identity. Diemer et al. (2009) found that parental support predicted sociopolitical development for ethnic minority adolescents.

Identifying outcomes of CC may facilitate the evaluation of construct validity by hypothesizing what outcomes CC should predict. Outcome research suggests that CC and related construct of SPD are related to career development, school engagement, and healthier sexual behavior among oppressed and marginalized adolescents (Diemer, Hsieh, & Pan, 2009). Hatcher et al. (2010) noted that the development of CC can be theoretically linked to such outcomes as reduction of intimate partner violence, unprotected sex among young women, and improved communication between parents and their children about sex. Critical consciousness may stimulate the effectuation of social change via traditional political behavior such as voting (Watts

& Flanagan, 2007) and predict future civic engagement (Diemer & Li, 2011; Thomas et al., 2014). Scholars theorize that CC should predict institutional and/or community-level change, via community organizing (Diemer et al., 2014; Speer & Peterson, 2000; Windsor, Jessell, Lassiter, & Benoit, 2015b) and positive youth development (Berg et al., 2009; Christens et al., 2012; Ginwright & James, 2002). It should also be noted that many of the tools used to develop CC could be used as related constructs and antecedents (e.g., supportive environment or participation in critical dialogue).

A critical point for construct validity is that the scale must only measure critical consciousness and not some closely related constructs. One issue with assessing construct validity of CC is that CC is used interchangeably with other concepts but should be distinguished from similar constructs such as psychological empowerment, sociopolitical development, sociopolitical control, stigma consciousness, and critical thinking. For example, Freire's CC may have provided the foundation for the concept of sociopolitical control, perceived efficacy to effect social and political change (Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Zimmerman et al., 1999). Christens and colleagues (2013) used a version of the Sociopolitical Control Scale to measure the emotional component of personal empowerment. This usage begs the question of whether sociopolitical control can be used to measure empowerment and/or critical consciousness.

The terms "critical consciousness" and "sociopolitical development" are sometimes used interchangeably (Diemer, et al., 2006). Some texts say that CC is the cognitive cornerstone, prerequisite or primary component of SPD (Baker & Brookins, 2014; Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998; Watts et al., 1999; Watts et al., 2003); whereas other texts note that SPD is a component of CC (Thomas et al., 2014). Baker and Brookins (2014) noted in their research for developing a scale of SPD that while authors used the term *critical consciousness*, many of the components of CC and SPD are the same, thus, supporting the idea that the two concepts share the same theoretical base. SPD is defined as "the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, analytical skills, emotional faculties, and the capacity for action in political and social systems necessary to

interpret and resist oppression” (Watts et al., 2003, p. 185). SPD has also been defined as “the evolving, critical understanding of the political, economic, cultural and other systemic forces that shape society and one’s status in it, and the associated growth in relevant knowledge, analytical skills, and emotional faculties” (Watts & Flanagan, 2007, p. 784). Accordingly, the goal of sociopolitical development, like conscientization, is to contribute to the realization of individual, relational, and collective liberation and well-being (Watts et al., 1999).

[S]ociopolitical development (SPD) emphasizes an understanding of the cultural and political forces that shape one’s status in society. We use it to describe a process of growth in a person’s knowledge, analytical skills, emotional faculties, and capacity for action in political and social systems. (Watts et al., 2003, p. 185)

Like critical consciousness, scholars have used the term *sociopolitical development* to describe the ability to critically reflect upon the environment and sociopolitical issues, including access to resources and issues of equity (Diemer et al., 2006; Watts et al., 1999). Also, similar to some conceptualizations of CC, SPD includes activism as a crucial component. “Resistance is key because analysis without action does not produce tangible change” (Watts, Williams, & Jagers, 2003, p. 186). Some measures aimed at assessing constructs characterized as components of sociopolitical development are the same as those which have been used to assess CC, including Pancer, Pratt, Hunsberger, and Alisat’s (2007) Youth Social Responsibility Scale (YSRS), Lipkus’ (1991) Global Belief in a Just World scale (GBJWS), and Zimmerman and Zahniser’s (1991) sociopolitical control. It should be noted that the three domains of critical reflection, political efficacy, and critical action have also been used to denote sociopolitical theory (Watts et al., 2011). The literature is still unclear about whether CC and sociopolitical development are one in the same and can be used interchangeably or, if they are different, how they differ. Various concepts may have contributed to our current understanding of CC, but using them interchangeably minimizes important differences that each concept contributes to our understanding of different constructs and measures or interventions that may be based on these understandings (Goodman, et al., 1998).

Concurrent validity. Measures of CC may be lacking concurrent validity in that no tests were performed to determine how well the results of the developed scale correlate with other assessments designed to measure the same construct (Peris, 2008). Concurrent validity has also been defined as the scale's ability to distinguish between groups that it should theoretically be able to distinguish between (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). In other words, scales measuring CC should be able to distinguish between members of hate groups and members of anti-oppressive organizations.

Measurement method. There also may be issues pertaining to the measurement methods selected. For example, Watts and Abdul-Adil (1998) noted that the development of CC is not a type of indoctrination even though CC has political undertones. For example, if after undergoing a process of critical reflection, an individual concludes that inequality among U.S. populations is not due to oppression; this is not deemed as a wrong conclusion (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998). Watts (2003, p. 187) "critical consciousness can lead to different ideological outcomes; strictly speaking, there is no one set of conclusions that everyone should reach. Diversity precludes that. To press for equal outcomes turns the process of critical consciousness into indoctrination." The idea suggests that CC is about process rather than conclusions. However, with this interpretation of CC, the use of causal attributions for individual or social problems is an invalid method of measuring CC or the domain of critical reflection because attributions are conclusions. When using causal attributions as in Neville et al. (2005) to assess the critical reflection domain, a person must be aware of the structural causes of the social problem. Thus, if a person does not come to the conclusion that structural attributions are the cause of social problems and inequalities, then they are deemed to have less critical awareness. In this sense, researchers that ascribe to the conceptualization of CC as a process would not use attributions to assess critical reflection. However, some may argue that the process described by Watts and Abdul-Adil (1998) is the act of critical thinking rather than the demonstration of CC. It is possible that previously tried measurement methods, such as Likert-scales or attributions, may not suit the construct of

critical consciousness. Critical consciousness may lend itself to needing a new format of measurement that has not yet been attempted such as the use of vignettes which are useful when needing to contextualize information that is domain-specific (Veloski, Tai, Evans, & Nash, 2005).

Despite scholars' attention to linkages of CC to positive outcomes at both the individual and collective levels as well as the development of programs that foster critical consciousness and civic engagement, issues with the inconsistent conceptualization and measurement of CC still exist, and thus, valid and reliable measures are needed (Watts et al., 2011; Thomas et al., 2014). Critical limitations in the measurement of CC stem from conceptual ambiguity and inconsistency. When CC is divided into domains that reflect the researcher's conceptualization of CC, researchers have used different techniques to measure the same domains. For example, Diemer and Blustein (2006) measured the critical analysis component of CC through inverse scores on the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) measure of Pratto et al. (1994) and the sociopolitical control component of CC with Zimmerman and Zahniser's (1991) SPCS. Notably, Diemer and Blustein (2006) did not measure critical action as a component of CC. Elsewhere; however, researchers have included the action component (Diemer & Li, 2011). Neville et al. (2005) used a modified version of the Attributions about Poverty Scale (APS) (Hughes & Tuch, 2000, as cited in Neville et al., 2005) to assess structural attributions as an indication of critical analysis. The different conceptualizations suggest that scholars have not generated an agreed upon conceptual framework of CC from which a measurement model could be originated. Consequently, researchers attempting to measure CC have lacked standardized and validated measurement tools, and thus, frequently devised ad hoc scales, modified the scales of other researchers, or pulled scales from related disciplines that may not fully or appropriately tap the construct of interest. Although these proxy measures have been tested and found valid and reliable for those constructs, much of the work in the area of CC has used measures that are unsubstantiated to measure the construct of CC (Corning & Myers, 2002).

Using various combinations of domains for operationalizing CC or measuring the same domains with different assessments of proxy constructs leads to several problems such as being unable to decipher if CC is actually being measured as intended and whether researchers are measuring the same construct as one another. Furthermore, the absence of psychometric testing of the differing measurement methods prevents the CC field from being able to advance CC scholarship. The use of different conceptualizations and measures makes it difficult to compare results across studies or to link CC to outcomes. Moreover, existing measures may need to be revised in order to address the limitations of ambiguity, vagueness, and social desirability. Furthermore, populations that are observed to have low critical consciousness through other means should not be able to receive a high score on a CC measure, suggesting issues of validity.

Since attempts to operationalize the components of CC have not been consistent, there have been difficulties establishing construct validity (Baker & Brookins, 2014; Diemer et al., 2014; Thomas et al, 2014). Moreover, little empirical research has been conducted to test the operationalization of critical consciousness systematically and subsequently, to foster a greater understanding of its applicability and efficacy across individuals and contexts. Such research is central to determine when and how to use critical consciousness interventions, to understand the stages and mechanisms in developing critical consciousness, and to identify community, organizational and familial characteristics that may contribute to critical consciousness development (Peterson et al., 2002). The lack of a coherent construct model and, thus, measurement model of CC has led to several barriers that may prevent the field of CC from moving forward. A conceptual framework and validated measure of CC could further the development of CC interventions, outcome research, counseling practice, and the scholarly understanding of how CC impacts personal and community development. However, CC is content specific (Diemer et al., 2014) meaning that individuals have consciousness of some specified subject matter. For example, an individual may have critical consciousness of racism but not sexism. Thus, a general measure of CC may not be possible.

Transformative Consciousness

Based on the review and critique of the literature, several CC conceptual and measurement issues were highlighted. There is ample evidence that the construct of CC requires clarification for measurement purposes. To address the conceptual and measurement limitations, the proposed study introduces a new construct: transformative consciousness, grounded in the CC literature. This construct is the umbrella construct that can be applied to a variety of subjects. For the purpose of this dissertation, transformative consciousness is applied to oppression and privilege. The domains of this construct will be informed by the CC literature. Additionally, to assist in the development of this new construct, the proposed study will use ecological systems theory and system justification theory (SJT) to guide the conceptualization of transformative consciousness. The approach elected for the development of a measure was to narrow the scope of transformative consciousness of oppression and privilege (COAP) to focus on specific content of African American racial oppression and white racial privilege (see Appendix B). Thus, the scale has a limited scope and is not applicable to all forms of inequality. The construct and the measure will be theoretically based. Although this dissertation developed a general framework of transformative consciousness that can be applied to myriad topics, feasibility requires that for the purposes of measurement, the study focuses on socio-ecosystemic inequality (i.e., oppression and privilege), and more specifically, African American racial oppression and white racial privilege.

To accomplish the conceptualization, scale development and testing of COAP, this study has three research aims: 1) Develop a conceptual model of Transformative Consciousness of Oppression and Privilege; 2) Develop the COAP scale, and 3) Test the psychometric properties of COAP. As prevention and intervention scientists continue to develop programs to develop critical consciousness for liberating the dehumanized, it will be important to have a tool to assess critical consciousness development and evaluate effectiveness of such programs.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL MODEL

The purpose of this chapter is to present the conceptual model of Transformative Consciousness (TC) and then to apply the model to oppression and privilege. To inform the author's thinking and to accomplish the conceptualization of Transformative Consciousness, the author used four main resources: 1) the author's research and practice experience as a licensed social worker in the field of mental health and substance use; 2) the author's experience as co-developer and facilitator of a critical consciousness (CC) health intervention; 3) pre-dissertation interviews that the author conducted with experts in the field of CC at the VIII International Meeting of the Paulo Freire Forum; and, 4) existing literature. The pre-dissertation interviews helped to define the construct and identify the domains for measurement (Goodman et al., 1998). Work in the field as a licensed social worker that included collaborating with the author's mentor, Dr. Liliane Windsor, and the Newark Community Collaborative Board (NCCB) on developing and facilitating a critical consciousness-raising intervention. As a developer and facilitator for *Community Wise*, a behavioral-health intervention grounded in CC theory, the author observed participants engage in CC development (Windsor et al., 2014a; Windsor et al., 2015b). Through informal observation, the author learned the following: Critical thinking skills are needed to conduct a deeper level of analysis regarding how the historical context and structural barriers impact individual behaviors. Gaining CC is a continuous process that fluctuates over time and is influenced by experience and topic. Gaining CC without empowerment can lead to antipathy and complacency. Critical consciousness can be developed through action and dialogue and, vice versa, the development of CC can lead to action and dialogue. In addition to the pre-dissertation interviews and the development and facilitation of an intervention grounded in CC theory, the author conducted an in-depth literature review of CC. The comprehensive literature review identified conceptual inconsistencies within the CC field and provided ideas to define, operationalize, and test the domains of the new conceptual model.

Transformative Consciousness is one dimension of a larger theoretical model called Transformative Potential. Transformative Potential (TP) is defined as levels of consciousness and action that produce potential for addressing contextual factors and relationships necessary for change at one or more socio-ecosystemic levels. A person with transformative potential critically reflects on the conditions that shape his or her life and works with self and others to change problematic conditions (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002). The process of transformation requires the simultaneous processes of objectifying and acting (Freire, 1970). Merely reflecting on realities without intervention will not lead to transformation; and, moreover, one cannot truly perceive the depth of the problem without being involved in some form of action involving the problem. With these ideas in mind and similar to how many scholars have conceptualized critical consciousness, TP has two sub-dimensions: Transformative Consciousness (TC) and Transformative Action (TA) (see Figure 1).



Figure 1. Conceptual models of CC and TP. The figure illustrates the domains of CC and TP.

The transformative consciousness domain aligns with Freire's reflection domain and the transformative action domain aligns with Freire's action domain. However, action is not a subdomain of TC as it is for CC. The operationalization of CC has included action as a subdomain and scholars have hypothesized a causal relationship between reflection and action. However, if action is a dimension of CC and CC leads to action, then that means CC leads to itself. In the TP model, TC can lead to TA or vice versa or have a bi-directional relationship. In theory, the dimensions of TC and TA are hypothesized to be positively correlated. For CC, the literature review supports the idea that reflection leads to action rather than critical consciousness.

Freire (1970) and other scholars viewed the relationship between reflection and action as reciprocal. Another major difference between CC and TP theory is that TP can be applied to problems other than oppression.

Transformative Consciousness

Transformative consciousness is defined as levels of socio-ecosystemic reflection on the causative elements and factors perpetuating the identified problem, potential behavioral responses to the identified problem, and the consequences of the identified problem for the development and implementation of potential solutions. As the research evidence suggests, TC is expected to include: (1) a critical and analytical awareness of one's sociopolitical and cultural environment to identify the contextual factors and relationships necessary for change; (2) competencies that allow the individual to interact with others and environment to transform personal and social realities; and, (3) a sense or assessment of the impact of the problem on self, the individual's role in the perpetuation of contextual factors prohibiting change, and the individual's ability to control these issues. Thus, TC is operationalized to have three domains. Figure 2 present these domains of TC as Awareness, Behavioral-Response, and Consequence.

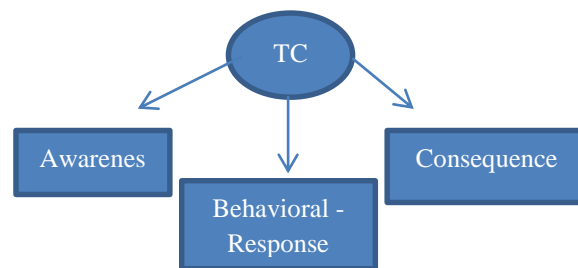


Figure 2. Domains of transformative consciousness. This figure illustrates the three hypothesized domains of transformative consciousness.

Similarly, as conceptualized by Diemer et al. (2014), the reflection domain of CC has two sub-domains (see figure 3). However, the results of scale testing found no correlation between the two sub-domains indicating that the domains do not compose the same underlying latent construct of reflection.

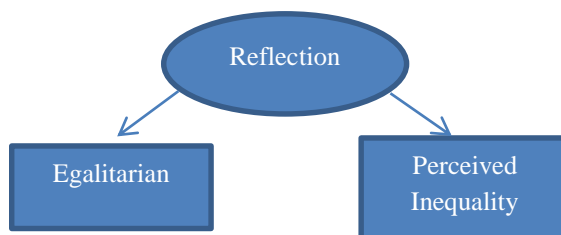


Figure 3. Domains of reflection. This figure illustrates the two hypothesized domains of critical reflection.

Domains of Transformative Consciousness

The Awareness domain is defined as the level of knowledge or perception of underlying causes, factors or potential solutions to the identified problem. Awareness is a social analysis and conceptual grasp of the different angles of the problem (Watts & Flanagan, 2007; Thomas et al., 2014). The behavioral-response domain is defined as the level of reaction (behavioral, verbal) that one believes is appropriate in response to the identified problem. This domain also assesses the role one sees for self and others in the problem and/or solution. “Consciousness denotes not only an awareness [of the issue(s)], but also the idea of conscience, the capacity to make judgments and to have intentions. It is active, intent upon the world” (Kirkwood & Kirkwood, 1989, p. 36). The consequence domain is defined as the level of result or effect that one believes some action or condition is likely to have (see Table 1). These domains are supported by the literature (see Table 2).

Table 1

Domains of Transformative Consciousness

Awareness	Behavioral-Response	Consequence
Knowledge, thought, analysis or perception of underlying causal factors or potential solutions to the identified problem.	The level of reaction or response (behavioral, verbal) that one believes is appropriate in response to the identified problem.	The level of result or effect that one believes some action or condition is likely to have.

Table 2

Evidence from the Literature for the Domains of C-SEI

Domains		Evidence from the Literature
Awareness	awareness about one's political, social, and cultural condition and relationships between self and society	Carlson, Engerbretson, & Chamberlain, 2006; Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1999; Houser & Overton, 2000; Chronister, Wettersten, & Brown, 2004
Behavioral-Response	Consciousness of potential actions to challenge inequities within sociopolitical environments	Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Diemer et al., 2006; Getzlaf & Osborne, 2010
Consequence	This causal or consequential domain is a temporal dimension that helps "reveal cause-and-effect relationships between ongoing social forces and current social circumstances"	Mustakova-Possardt, 1998; Watts, Diemer, & Voight, 2011

Levels of transformative consciousness. Each domain has three levels of consciousness (LOCs): Denial (D), Blame (B), and Critical (C) (see Figure 4 and Table 4). The critical consciousness level is the highest level of transformative consciousness.

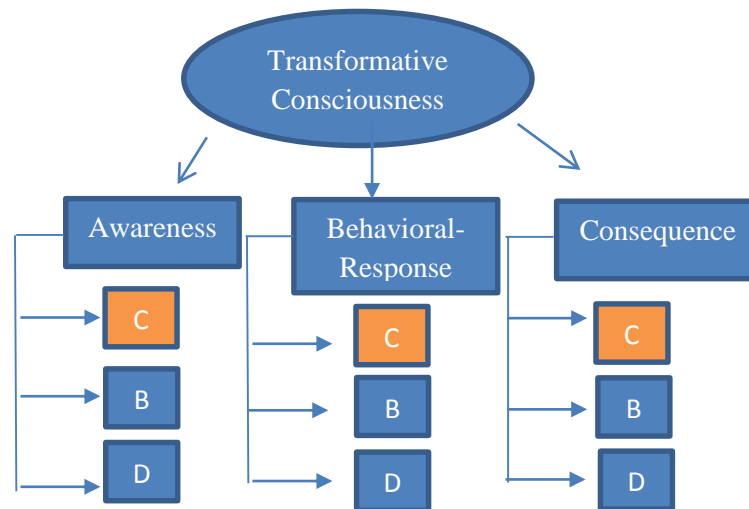


Figure 4. Conceptual model of TC. This figure illustrates the three levels of each domain of TC.

These levels are grounded in Freire's (1973) work that outlined the stages of critical consciousness: the magical stage, naïve consciousness, and critical consciousness. The magical stage was characterized by lack of critical thought and insight about individual and social forces

that shape people's lives. In this stage, people do not perceive the way in which their personal choices and social conditions undermine their health and well-being. They also do not perceive their own actions as capable of changing their conditions (Freire, 1973). Freire's (1973) magical stage corresponds with the denial level of consciousness for each domain. The denial level of consciousness is defined as knowingly or unknowingly refusing to acknowledge the underlying individual and social causal factors perpetuating the identified problem or prohibiting solution(s) to the identified problem. Freire's (1973) second stage is naïve consciousness in which people perceive themselves and their social situations as essentially undamaged; but perceive others are to blame for personal and social problems. The naïve stage corresponds with blame consciousness. The blame level is characterized by the blaming of individuals, usually those the problem is most negatively affecting, to the exclusion of all other systemic factors or social forces for problems and/or the shape of people's lives. The phrase that may most readily affix to this level is that of blaming the victim. The level of critical consciousness is characterized by critical thought in which individual and systemic forces are unveiled and individuals gradually become conscious of their own perceptions of reality, how their thoughts, beliefs, and assumptions shape their interpretations of that reality, and how their own responsibility for choices either maintain or change that reality (Freire, 1973). "The purpose of consciousness-raising is to help those participating to view problems not as personal failures or shortcomings, but as being rooted in structures affecting the lives of those in similar situations alike" (Hatcher et al., 2010, p. 543).

For TC, the development of critical consciousness involves people moving through a series of stages or levels of consciousness (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002). Individuals at the critical consciousness level question the mundane realities of their lives and reexamine how health, well-being, and other problems relate to wider social forces (Hatcher et al., 2010). The critical consciousness level allows the conscientious evaluation of the underlying causal factors perpetuating the identified problem or prohibiting the solution to the identified problem. Freire (1973, p. 41) stated "as they apprehend a phenomenon or a problem, they also apprehend its

causal links. The more accurately men and women grasp true causality, the more critical their understanding of reality will be.” Thus, levels of CC progress according to the understanding of the underlying causes of the issue. To determine a person’s level of transformative consciousness of a particular issue, that person’s level of awareness, behavioral-response, and consequence regarding that issue will have to be assessed.

Table 3

Levels of Transformative Consciousness

Critical	The highest level of transformative consciousness that takes into consideration the individual and social forces that shape people’s lives or the identified problem.
Blame	The 2 nd level of transformative consciousness that blames individual(s) to the exclusion of all other systemic factors or social forces for problems and/or the shape of people’s lives.
Denial	The lowest level of transformative consciousness that does not consider the individual and social forces that shape people’s lives or the identified problem.

In contrast to the dominant conceptualization of CC in the literature, critical consciousness is the highest level of each domain of transformative consciousness (see Table 5) rather than the latent variable.

Table 4

Levels of Transformative Consciousness within each Domain

	Awareness	Behavioral-Response	Consequence
Critical	The consideration of thought(s) and insight about individual and social forces that shape people’s lives or the identified problem.	The consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the individual and social forces that shape people’s lives or the identified problem.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that takes into consideration individual and social forces that shape people’s lives or the identified problem.
Blame	An understanding of causal factors that blames	The consideration of a response (action or verbal)	The evaluation of present or potential events and

	individuals to the exclusion of all other systemic factors or social forces of identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	that addresses the perceived blameworthy individual(s) for the problem and/or the shape of people's lives.	their outcomes that blame individual(s) to the exclusion of all other systemic factors or social forces for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.
Denial	The lack of critical thought and insight about individual and social forces underlying the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	The lack of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the individual and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The lack of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that takes into consideration individual and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.

Social-ecological model. Transformative consciousness is informed by Urie Bronfenbrenner's Social Ecological Systems Theory. This theory depicts the different types of systems that influence an individual's behavior (Figure 5). The social-ecological model is a person-in-environment perspective in that the model represents how individuals create their contextual environments and how contextual environments create individuals (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). The socio-ecological model conceptualizes individual behavior as being affected by multiple levels of systemic influence (McLeroy, Bibeau, Steckler & Glanz, 1988; Stokols, 1992). A person's level of transformative consciousness is informed by one's reflection on the interconnectedness of all things within the socio-ecosystem and of themselves as active participants. In other words, differences in social perspectives and identity are grounded in sociopolitical processes "because humans are socially constituted, as is evidenced by how the regard and treatment they receive from others informs their self-image and sense of place in society" (Murray, 2011, p. 154).

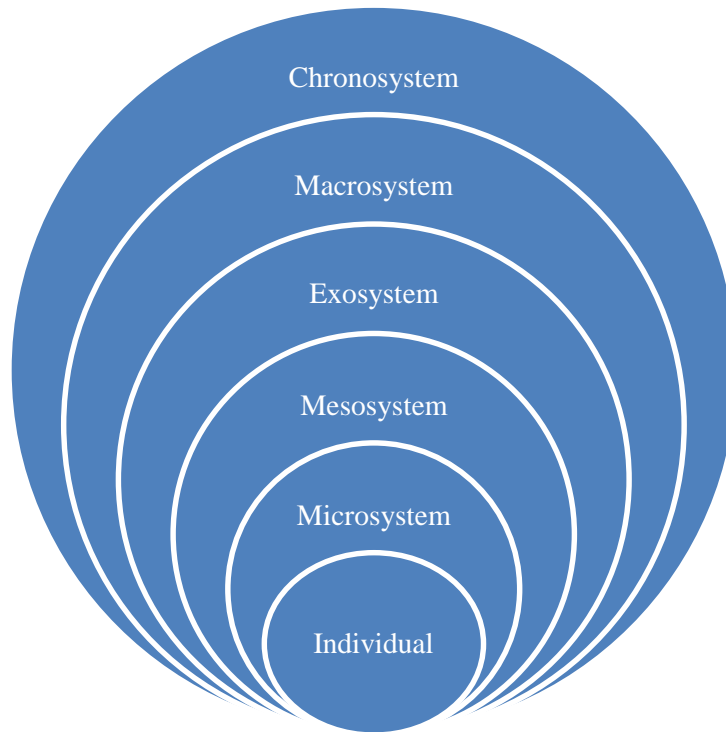


Figure 5. Social-ecological model. This figure illustrates the six levels of the social-ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1994).

These multiple levels of influence include intrapersonal factors of the individual such as knowledge, attitudes, and cultural beliefs; interpersonal factors such as friendships and social support systems, family; institutional factors including rules and norms; community factors and public policy and law at the local, state, and national levels (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Bronfenbrenner's (1994) social-ecological model postulates that there are dynamic interrelations among various personal and environmental factors such that the interior nature of the human being as a system affects levels of environment and, in turn, the levels of environment affect human development. As a nested arrangement of structures (Bronfenbrenner, 1977), the social-ecological model is both bi-directional and the interactions between each system level are synergistic such that an interaction may produce an effect that otherwise would not have occurred. As such, the socio-ecological model helps to identify contextual factors and

relationships between self, others and community, that may be necessary for change at one or more socio-ecosystemic levels.

Transformative Consciousness is assessed for each level of the socio-ecosystem. For the purposes of this dissertation, the socio-ecosystem model has seven levels: Intrapersonal (Intra), Interpersonal (Inter), Microsystem (Micro), Mesosystem (Meso), Exosystem (Exo), Macrosystem (Macro) and Chronosystem (Chrono). One modification to Bronfenbrenner's (1977) social-ecological model in its application to Transformative Consciousness is that the individual level was divided into two levels: intrapersonal and interpersonal. The purpose for this change was to capture the factors related to an individual's cognitions, attitudes, beliefs and the individual's interactions with others that greatly influence a person's life, problem or environment. Also, critical consciousness requires the examination of how the self, identity and internal processes have been influenced by oppression and privilege (Green, 2009). The seven levels are referred to as the socio-ecosystem (see Table 5).

Table 5

Socio-Ecosystem Levels

Intrapersonal	Includes the processes that exist within a person, for example, attitudes, beliefs and thoughts.
Interpersonal	Include all interactions and communications between individuals.
Microsystem	Include interactions between groups of individuals that are closely related to an individual or within the individual's immediate surroundings, such as family, friends, peers, colleagues.
Mesosystem	Includes interactions between different parts of a person's microsystem (e.g., family, schools, jobs, and neighborhoods) in which the microsystems exert influence upon each other.
Exosystem	Includes interactions between institutions (e.g., education system and criminal justice system) in which the individual plays no role in the decision-making process or the construction of experiences but the interaction has a direct impact on the individual level and/or the microsystems to which the individual belongs.
Macrosystem	Includes the socio-political environment, culture, norms, values, laws, attitudes and ideologies of the society in which a person lives.

Chronosystem	The patterning and cumulative effects of events and transitions manifesting overtime or throughout the life course as well as socio-historical circumstances that shape the context for the other socio-ecosystems.
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Note. Adapted from Bronfenbrenner (1977).

The intrapersonal level pertains to the self and everything that involves the person from biology to thoughts, attitudes, emotions, beliefs to actions that one does to oneself or by one's self. The interpersonal level pertains to interactions between individuals whereas the microsystem level pertains to the interactions between the individual and family, friends, classmates, neighbors and other people with whom the individual has direct interactions. The mesosystem involves the relationships between the microsystems in a person's life. For example, an individual may experience an interaction between family and education system in the case of child neglect being related to school performance. Within the exosystem, the individual plays no active role in the construction of experiences. The interactions are between institutions or at the institutional level which has a direct or indirect effect on the individual. The macrosystem is composed of the culture, norms, values, laws, attitudes and ideologies of the society in which a person lives. The chronosystem includes the patterning and cumulative effects of events and transitions manifesting overtime or throughout the life course as well as socio-historical circumstances that create the individual's context.

The development of transformative consciousness "supposes that persons change in the process of changing their relations with their environment and with other people" (Chronister, Wettersten, & Brown, 2004, p. 902). A key element of the critical consciousness level is that it requires an individual to examine the ways in which the individual level is influenced by the other levels and vice versa (Green, 2009). The incorporation of the socio-ecological model means that the domains of transformative consciousness are assessed for each level of the socio-ecosystem (see Table 6).

Table 6

Domains of Transformative Consciousness at each Socio-Ecosystem Level

	Awareness	Behavioral-Response	Consequence
Intrapersonal	The level of thought, insight knowledge about intrapersonal forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	The level of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the intrapersonal and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The level of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that takes into consideration intrapersonal and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Interpersonal	The level of thought, insight knowledge about interpersonal forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	The level of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the interpersonal forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The level of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that takes into consideration interpersonal forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Microsystem	The level of thought, insight knowledge about microsystemic forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	The level of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the microsystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The level of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration microsystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Mesosystem	The level of thought, insight knowledge about mesosystemic forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	The level of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the mesosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The level of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration microsystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Exosystem	The level of thought, insight knowledge about exosystemic forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	The level of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the exosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The level of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration exosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.

Macrosystem	The level of thought, insight knowledge about macrosystemic forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	The level of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the macrosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The level of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration macrosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Chronosystem	The level of thought, insight knowledge about chronosystemic forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	The level of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the chronosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The level of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration chronosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.

Then, the next step of building the model is to apply the levels of transformative consciousness to the socio-ecosystems (see Tables 7-9).

Table 7

LOCs for Awareness Domain within the Socio-Ecosystems

	Denial	Blame	Critical
Intra	The lack of critical thought and insight about intrapersonal forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	An understanding of causal factors that blames perceived intrapersonal processes to the exclusion of all other systemic or social forces for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	Critical thought and insight about intrapersonal forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.
Inter	The lack of critical thought and insight about interpersonal forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	An understanding of causal factors that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of interpersonal systemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	Critical thought and insight about interpersonal forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.
Micro	The lack of critical thought and insight about micro forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	An understanding of causal factors that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of micro systemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	Critical thought and insight about micro forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.

Meso	The lack of critical thought and insight about meso forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	An understanding of causal factors that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of mesosystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	Critical thought and insight about meso forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.
Exo	The lack of critical thought and insight about exo forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	An understanding of causal factors that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of exosystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	Critical thought and insight about exo forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.
Macro	The lack of critical thought and insight about macro forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	An understanding of causal factors that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of macrosystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	Critical thought and insight about macro forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.
Chrono	The lack of critical thought and insight about chrono forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.	An understanding of causal factors that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of chronosystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	Critical thought and insight about chrono forces that underlie the identified problem and/or shape people's lives.

Table 8

LOCs for Behavioral-Response Domain within the Socio-Ecosystems

	Denial	Blame	Critical
Intra	The lack of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the intrapersonal forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The consideration of a response (action or verbal) that blames perceived intrapersonal processes to the exclusion of all other systemic factors or social forces for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the intrapersonal and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Inter	The lack of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the interpersonal forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The consideration of a response (action or verbal) that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of interpersonal systemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to interpersonal and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Micro	The lack of consideration of	The consideration of a	The consideration of

	reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the microsystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	response (action or verbal) that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of microsystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to micro and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Meso	The lack of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the mesosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The consideration of a response (action or verbal) that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of mesosystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to meso and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Exo	The lack of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the exosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The consideration of a response (action or verbal) that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of exosystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to exo and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Macro	The lack of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the macrosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The consideration of a response (action or verbal) that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of macrosystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to macro and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Chrono	The lack of consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to the chronosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The consideration of a response (action or verbal) that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of chronosystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The consideration of reaction(s) (action or verbal) that responds to chrono and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.

Table 9

LOCs for Consequence Domain within the Socio-Ecosystems

	Denial	Blame	Critical
Intra	The lack of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that takes into consideration intrapersonal and social forces that shape people's	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that blame perceived intrapersonal processes to the exclusion of all other systemic factors for	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that takes into consideration intrapersonal and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified

	lives or the identified problem.	identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	problem.
Inter	The lack of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that takes into consideration interpersonal forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that blame perceived individual processes to the exclusion of interpersonal systemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that takes into consideration interpersonal forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Micro	The lack of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration microsystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of microsystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration microsystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Meso	The lack of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration mesosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of mesosystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration mesosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Exo	The lack of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration exosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of exosystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration exosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Macro	The lack of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration macrosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of macrosystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration macrosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.

Chrono	The lack of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration chronosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that blames perceived individual processes to the exclusion of chronosystemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that take into consideration chronosystem forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
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Socio-Ecosystemic Inequity

Transformative consciousness may be applied to a wide variety of problems affecting one or multiple socio-ecosystems; however, for purposes of this dissertation, TC will focus on socio-ecosystemic Inequity/Injustice (SEI). In order to understand the conceptualization of TC of SEI (C-SEI), it is important to develop a basic understanding of the problem of SEI. Socio-ecosystemic inequity is the presence of oppression *and/or* privilege within the levels of the socio-ecological model that produce injustice. In contrast, socio-ecosystemic equity (SEE) is the absence of cyclical and reinforcing processes of oppression *and* privilege within the levels of the socio-ecological model. Socio-ecosystemic inequity has two components: oppression and privilege. Oppression and privilege are the unjust use of power to maintain social, economic, and/or political inequity (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998). In the simplest terms, oppression is the systematic process of disadvantage, as well as the product of disadvantage resulting from that process, perpetuated by individuals' beliefs and behaviors, grounded in societal and cultural norms, and codified in formal and informal laws and policies of our institutions on a group of people because of some characteristic that has been deemed inferior and is systematized to constantly prevent group members from accessing resources, and social, economic and/or political power (Apple, 2007; Frye, 2003). The true mark of oppression is when something "bad" is happening to a group of people that share some inherent characteristic (e.g., race, sex, class, disability) at a disproportionate rate. Privilege, the second component of socio-ecosystemic

inequity, is the systematic process, perpetuated by individuals' beliefs and behaviors, grounded in societal and cultural norms, and codified in formal and informal laws and policies of our institutions, of bestowing undeserved advantage on a group of people because of some inherent characteristic (e.g., SES, sexuality, race, gender) regardless of merit (Ferber, 2012) that has been deemed superior, as well as the product of advantage resulting from that process, that continuously provides privileged group members with access to resources, and social, economic and/or political power (Stewart, Latu, Branscombe, Phillips, & Denney, 2012). The true mark of privilege is when something "good" is happening to a group of people that share some inherent characteristic (e.g., race, sex, class, disability) at a disproportionate rate.

It is important to note that SEI is process (i.e., inequity) and outcome (i.e., injustice). The processes and outcomes of SEI occur at each level of the socio-ecosystem (See Table 10). As a process, socio-ecosystemic inequity involves "the unjust exercise of power and the control of ideas and coveted resources in a way that produces and sustains social inequality" (Watts et al., 1999, p. 258). The outcomes of SEI occur at the socio-ecosystem levels other than the individual level. In other words, oppression and privilege as outcomes can only be seen on socio-ecological levels that involve groups or aggregates. However, the process of socio-ecosystemic inequity may occur at all socio-ecosystem levels, including the individual level. For example, an employer denying a person a job because the person is gay (i.e., process at the individual level) would support and perpetuate a type of oppression (e.g., heterosexism at the institutional level). Even though the employer may be heterosexist and practicing anti-gay, discriminatory behaviors, the socio-ecosystemic injustice which is the oppressive outcome of heterosexism exists at the group level and not at the interpersonal level. It should be noted that socio-ecosystemic justice would be an outcome that does not result from the process of oppression and/or privilege or takes into consideration and combats the processes of oppression and/or privilege. For example, randomly choosing from a pool of qualified male and female applicants.

Table 10

Socio-Ecosystemic Inequity

Socio-ecosystem Levels	Oppression		Privilege	
	Process	Outcome	Process	Outcome
Intrapersonal: Processes and outcomes that occur within the individual to produce internalized oppression and/or privilege.	When marginalized racial populations accept the negative societal beliefs and stereotypes about themselves (e.g., African Americans believing Afrocentric features are ugly).	Inferiority Complex. Internalized oppression Low Self-esteem. Self-hate.	When dominant racial population accept the negative societal beliefs and stereotypes about themselves.	Superiority complex.
Interpersonal: Processes and outcomes between individuals that support privilege and/or oppression.	Interactions/relationships between individuals that support racial oppression (e.g., discrimination)	The perpetuation of oppression at all other levels.	Interactions/relationships between individuals that support racial privilege (e.g., discrimination)	The perpetuation of oppression at all other levels.
Microsystem: Processes and outcomes between entities that most immediately impact the individual that support privilege and/or oppression.	The interactions/relationships between groups that support the devaluation and inferior treatment of an oppressed person or group.	Disadvantages (e.g., poverty) for families, communities and other primary groups that result from the process of oppression.	The interactions/relationships between groups that support the positive regard and superior treatment of dominant group or individuals.	Advantages (e.g., inheritance) for families, communities and other primary groups that result from the process of privilege.
Mesosystem: Processes and outcomes between microsystems that support privilege and/or oppression.	Includes interactions/relationships between different parts of a person's microsystem (e.g., family, schools, jobs, and neighborhoods) in which the microsystems exert influence upon each other that perpetuate devaluation and	Disadvantages that are supported by interactions/relationships between microsystems (e.g., a black woman's healthcare provider does not communicate the results of her breast cancer diagnosis).	Includes interactions/relationships between different parts of a person's microsystem (e.g., family, schools, jobs, and neighborhoods) in which the microsystems exert influence upon each other that perpetuate positive regard and superior	Advantages that are supported by 2 or more microsystems (e.g., Ivy League school admits student because student's parent(s) attended the school).

	inferior treatment of an oppressed person or group.		treatment of an oppressed person or group.	
Exosystem: Processes and outcomes between institutions that support privilege and/or oppression.	Includes interactions between institutions in which the individual plays no role in the decision-making process or the construction of experiences but the interaction perpetuates devaluation and inferior treatment of the oppressed individual or group.	Disadvantages that are supported by interactions between institutions that result from the process of oppression (e.g., Person's town decides to allow a toxic dump within its borders or to not treat the water appropriately and allow its residents to get lead poisoning)	Includes interactions between institutions in which the individual plays no role in the decision-making process or the construction of experiences but the interaction perpetuates positive regard and superior treatment of the privileged individual or group.	Advantages that are supported by interactions between institutions that result from the process of privilege (e.g., addiction to prescription opiates receive a public health response rather than a criminal justice response)
Macrosystem: Processes and outcomes within the sociopolitical environment that support privilege and/or oppression.	Includes the interactions/relationships within the cultural and sociopolitical environment that perpetuates oppression.	Disadvantages that are produced by interactions/relationships within the cultural and sociopolitical environment (e.g., involvement with the CJ system, inadequate education).	Includes the interactions/relationships within the cultural and sociopolitical environment that perpetuates privilege.	Advantages that are produced by interactions/relationships within the cultural and sociopolitical environment (e.g., adequate representation in the political process).
Chronosystem: Processes and outcomes that occur over time that support privilege and/or oppression.	The patterning and cumulative effects of events and transitions manifesting overtime or throughout the life course as well as socio-historical circumstances that shape the context and experiences of oppression within the other socio-ecosystems.	Disadvantages that result over time from the cumulative experiences oppression (e.g., the lack of accumulation of wealth).	The patterning and cumulative effects of events and transitions manifesting overtime or throughout the life course as well as socio-historical circumstances that shape the context and experiences of privilege within the other socio-ecosystems.	Advantages that result over time from the cumulative experiences privilege (e.g., inheriting land, business or money)

SEI-oppression can be illustrated as a cycle in which the process of being oppressed leads to oppressive outcomes that contribute to the perpetuation and process of oppression (Orr, 2000; Speight, 2007). Likewise, SEI-privilege can be illustrated as a cycle in which the process of being privileged leads to privileged outcomes that contribute to the perpetuation and process of privilege. The cyclical nature between SEI processes and outcomes makes SEI a self-perpetuating phenomenon; like a virus, SEI self-replicates by infecting the host system with insertion of its genetic material and, literally, taking over the host system's functions. An infected system produces more of the virus, in this case SEI, instead of its usual product. The criminal justice system may provide a practical example in that this system is to apprehend, prosecute, sentence and punish those who commit criminal offenses; however, this system infected with SEI, has mass produced gross injustices against the poor and people of color (Alexander, 2010). Many of our societal systems, infected with SEI, are no longer able to function and carry out their intended purpose. In addition to oppression and privilege being self-perpetuating cycles, these cycles of oppression and privilege support and reinforce each other. There is a complex and intricate relationship between privilege and oppression. The presence of privilege for those in the dominant group creates the presence of oppression for others in the non-dominant group. Privilege helps to create and maintain oppression for others (Pyke, 2010) and oppression facilitates the maintenance of privilege because for every devalued category there is a corresponding valued category. This dichotomy creates a cycle of socio-ecosystemic inequity in which oppression and privilege reinforce each other (see Figure 6).

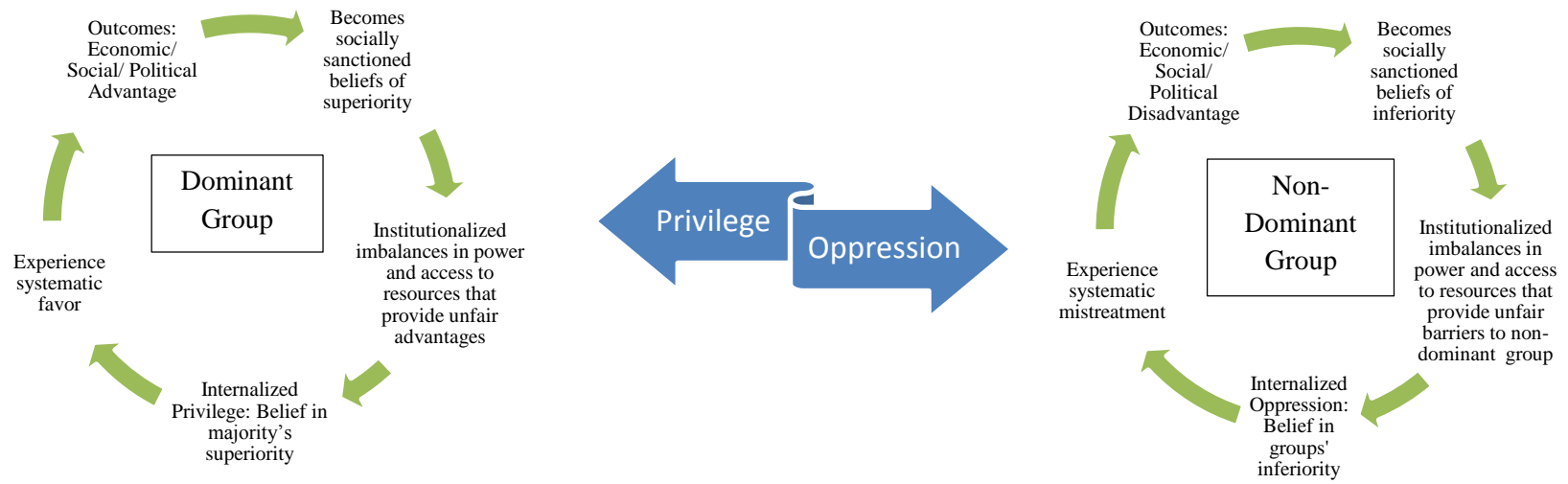


Figure 6. Reinforcing cycles of privilege and oppression. This figure illustrates the cyclical natures of privilege and oppression and how the bi-directional relationship between privilege and oppression.

There are frameworks that explain the dynamics of privilege and oppression as well as the potential effects that both have on its targets. According to Fanon (1965) and Young (1990), oppression occurs through several stages beginning with the invasion of one group by another for the purpose of exploiting the territory and its natural resources, including the inhabitants, for the benefit of the invader. The exploitation is part of the process of stigmatization of the group such that traits become associated with inferior status. This stigmatization objectifies and dehumanizes group members to justify the exploitation. Goffman (1963) in his seminal work, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*, described stigma as a sign or mark that describes a “spoiled” identity and, the holder is valued less than “normal” people. Stigmatized people are regarded as flawed, compromised, and somehow less than fully human, and thus, are demeaned, diminished, constrained, and objectified in our society because of group identities (Speight, 2007).

Oppression imposes a marginalized or dehumanized status on a group of people based on some common characteristic (e.g., SES, sexuality, race, and gender) and then uses that status to justify unfair, inhumane or unjust treatment. This very process of oppression also creates privilege for the invading group. The exploitation creates an unequal distribution of resources and power which marginalizes the oppressed, effectively limiting their participation in society and access to opportunities and resources. The opposite effect takes place for members of the privileged group such that the exploitation produces power and access to resources and opportunity. This process of exclusion and marginalization renders the oppressed powerless and vulnerable to various forms of systemic violence perpetrated against them simply for being members of the oppressed group. The oppressed are subjected to violence, tyranny and domination to obtain their submission and compliance. The violence includes the destruction of the oppressed group’s culture and identity based on principles of inferiority and is supported by the established norms as defined by the dominant group’s culture and values. The oppressors establish a society in which the political, social and economic systems are designed to continuously benefit and maintain the superiority of the oppressor while simultaneously denigrating the oppressed. “Culture is key in socializing

people into a system of racial inequality, and cultural constructions of race shape our own individual identities, as well as our participations in institutions and systems that reproduce inequality” (Ferber, 2014, p. 227).

Types and forms of SEI. Socio-ecosystemic inequity has many types: racism, classism, sexism, ageism, ableism, heterosexism, etc. Each type has the oppression and privilege components. For example, racism is racial oppression (disadvantage based on race) and/or racial privilege (advantage based on race). More specifically for the U.S., racism is white racial privilege and non-white racial oppression. The same formula applies to the other isms. Thus, sexism is male-sex privilege and non-male-sex oppression. Ableism is able-bodied privilege and non-able-bodied oppression.

Socio-ecosystemic inequity has many forms - external, internalized, intentional, unintentional, direct and indirect. External forms of SEI are experiences that occur outside of the person. Internalized forms is an internal process wherein the person internalizes the positive (for internalized privilege) or the negative (for internalized oppression) messages, beliefs, and values that mainstream society attaches to their group (Pyke 2010; Speight, 2007). Direct socio-ecosystemic inequity is overt and indirect is passive. There is also a matter of degree. Some forms of SEI are more egregious than other forms. In addition to forms and degrees of SEI, the process of SEI may occur at one or multiple levels of the socio-ecological model.

External, direct and indirect forms occur at all levels of the socio-ecosystem from the individual to the structural (Gee et al., 2011); however, the internalized forms only occur at the individual level. The external form has many sub-forms, including: acute or incident-based, chronic, historical, intragenerational, intergenerational, cumulative, complex and vicarious. For example, at the individual socio-ecosystem level, a person from a marginalized racial group may experience the process of direct, acute, oppression based on their race (i.e., supporting the socio-ecosystemic outcome of racism) when another person, possibly having internalized racial privilege, hurls racial epithets and discriminates (e.g., acting on racial prejudices or stereotypes).

The indirect process at the individual level consists of macroaggressions which are the everyday verbal, nonverbal, and environmental slights, snubs, or insults, whether intentional or unintentional, which communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative messages to target persons based solely upon their marginalized group membership (Sue, 2010). To further complicate matters, the types of socio-ecosystemic inequity that occur at the mesosystem level are commonly referred to as institutional forms and the types that occur at the macrosystem level are commonly referred to as cultural forms. An example at the mesosystem level of indirect, cumulative, racial, privilege may be the growing percentage of white high school students accepted to college as compared to their black counterparts. This could be the result of institutional privilege wherein a policy may have a disparate impact. In this case the disparate impact is a favorable impact for the white students indicating the presence of privilege. Disparate impact can also be adverse (e.g., a seemingly neutral law such as the crack/cocaine disparity) in which the impact prevents success and indicates the presence of oppression.

It is also important to differentiate between SEI and unfair processes and/or outcomes (Frye, 2003). Discrimination and prejudice are tools of oppression and privilege (Quillian, 2006). Negative discrimination works to disadvantage while positive discrimination works to advantage. For example, a white man receiving a promotion over a black man, when all other factors are equal, is positive discrimination in favor of the white man supporting white racial privilege and negative discrimination against the black man supporting black racial oppression, both of which are components of racism. However, if the scenario is reversed and the black man received the promotion and the white man was discriminated against, this would not be racism because the racial discrimination works against the status quo of white supremacy (Quillian, 2006). Similarly, a gay person physically assaulting a heterosexual person because that person is heterosexual (i.e., process at the interpersonal level) is not a type of oppression (albeit, it is a bad act); whereas a heterosexual person physically assaulting a gay person because they are gay (i.e., process at the interpersonal level) would support and perpetuate a type of oppression (e.g., heterosexism). The

person receiving the negative treatment supporting the perpetuation of SEI at the non-individual levels (e.g., a disproportionate rate of gay people are victims of violence) must be in a marginalized or stigmatized group. However, the group that the actor belongs to does not matter – a black person assaulting another black person because they’re black supports racial oppression regardless of the fact that the actor also belongs to the marginalized group. It is a similar process for privilege. If a woman receives an “unearned” advantage (e.g., promotion), this is not the process of privilege. Likewise, if a man is given an “unearned” disadvantage (e.g., being fired), this is not process of oppression. These are not examples of the process of SEI (privilege and oppression) because a woman receiving an unearned advantage does not support sexism whereas giving a man an unearned advantage would support sexism. Because the man does not belong to a marginalized group, the unearned disadvantage is simply unfortunate. Discrimination that works against white supremacy, heterosexual supremacy, male supremacy, etc., is discrimination, but it is not oppression, or rather, the discrimination which occurs at the interpersonal level does not support the perpetuation of oppression at the non-individual levels. We have to remember that all privilege is advantage but not all advantage is privilege and all oppression is disadvantage but not all disadvantage is oppression (Frye, 2003). The key is to determine whether or not the process supports the outcome of SEI at the non-individual levels.

Intersectionality. Socio-ecosystemic inequity is informed by intersectionality. Moreover, oppression and privilege have a unique relationship in that most people have identities composed of complex interlocking associations with oppression and privilege (Ferber, 2012; Veenstra, 2011). Coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989, intersectionality recognizes that everyone has a multi-faceted identity that may include multi-layered experiences of oppression such as racism and sexism. People experience oppression and privilege in various configurations and in varying degrees of intensity (Black & Stone, 2005). Cultural patterns of oppression are not only interrelated, but are bound together and influenced by the intersectional systems of society. For example, a white, gay male may be privileged because of race and gender; however, he may

experience oppression because of sexuality (see Figures 7 and 8). Oppressed and privileged identities can be thought of as risk factors in that the group membership increases a person's risk of having experiences that either support (e.g., being discriminated against or for) oppression or privilege.

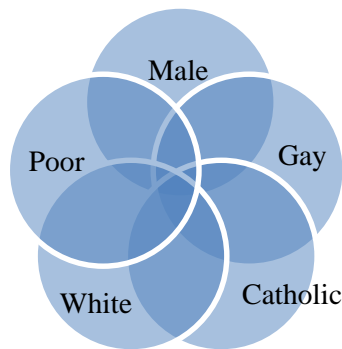


Figure 7. Example of intersectionality. This figure illustrates how an individual's identity may be composed of characteristics associated with privilege and/or oppression.

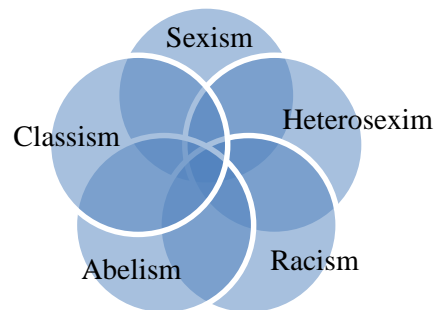


Figure 8. Example of interlocking SEI. This figure illustrates the overlap of oppression and privilege that may advantage and disadvantage the same individual.

System justification theory. Transformative Consciousness of SEI is also informed by System Justification Theory (SJT). The starting premise of SJT is that the overarching social, economic, and political systems in our society grant status and privilege to certain groups and oppresses others (Brandt, 2013). The theory then states that people consciously and unconsciously justify and perpetuate the existing social order (Jost, Pelham, & Carvallo, 2002). Thus, members of low and high status groups are motivated to justify, defend, and rationalize the status quo which guarantees inequality (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). The provision of ideological, cognitive, affective and behavioral support for the existing social system indicates that people view the social system (and the ingrained inequality among groups) as legitimate, and thus, beyond blame or reproach (Jost & Hunyady, 2002; Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Sullivan, 2003).

There are both advantages and disadvantages of engaging in system justification depending on the social status of the group to which one belongs (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). For example, subscribing to a meritocratic ideology (i.e., the belief system that ability and hard work lead to success and, conversely, that failure or the lack of success is the consequence of personal defects or shortcomings) inflates the confidence and esteem of those who are privileged as well as relieves the guilty conscience from receiving unearned advantage (Jost & Hunyady, 2002). However, one of SJT's major goals is to understand why people support and justify the status quo even when doing so seems detrimental to personal and group interests (Jost, et al., 2002). For example, SJT scholars have demonstrated that marginalized populations will support policies that are against their interests (Jost, et al., 2002). As such, SJT scholars have proposed that members of low-status groups go through a potentially unconscious process that allows them to justify and support the oppressive status quo at the expense of personal and collective interest and esteem (Brandt, 2013; Jost et al., 2003). Consequentially, many scholars use SJT to explain internalized oppression and its ramifications. According to SJT, people internalize and perpetuate systemic forms of inequality and harbor preferences for member of higher status outgroups, even though it means oppressing oneself and/or members of one's group (Jost et al., 2002). For example, SJT

studies have shown that members of low status groups often express ill feelings toward their own groups and/or express outgroup favoritism (Jost et al., 2002). “Expressing preferences for high status outgroups is one of the ways in which people unknowingly support and maintain existing forms of inequality, even at the expense of personal and group interests and esteem” (Jost, et al., 2002, p. 587). SJT acknowledges that certain advantages of high status groups, such as control of mass media, allow high status groups to persuade or coerce others to accept their preferred interpretation of reality. As such, a false consciousness is created as marginalized populations internalize the cultural values and stereotypes of the social systems that oppress them (Quintana, & Segura-Herrera, 2003; Neville et al., 2005). Another term used to explore false consciousness is adapted consciousness.

In particular, life situations characterized by exploitation and oppression lead to the development of adapted consciousness rather than critical consciousness. Adapted consciousness refers to a state where “a person accommodates to conditions imposed on them, and acquires an authoritarian and a-critical frame of mind” (Freire, 1993b, p. 23). This constitutes a situation of “democratic inexperience” within which oppressed people have a limited ability to conceive of alternatives to existing social relations, let alone the confidence to challenge such social relations. (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002, p. 334)

The denial level of transformative consciousness is the development of the false consciousness or adapted consciousness that is created as a consequence of accepting and perceiving the oppressive social system as legitimate (Quintana, & Segura-Herrera, 2003). Also, the false or adapted consciousness occurs at the intrapersonal level of the socio-ecosystem. Intrapersonal SEI is characterized by internalized oppression and privilege. Internalized oppression has received the most focus in the literature. Freire (1970) noted that the oppressed suffer from a duality within their innermost being, which he describes as follows:

The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They [the oppressed] discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. The conflict lies in the choice between being wholly themselves or being divided; between ejecting the oppressor within or not ejecting them; between human solidarity or alienation; between following prescriptions or having choices; between being spectators or actors; between acting or having the illusion of acting through the

action of the oppressors; between speaking out or being silent, castrated in their power to create and re-create, in their power to transform the world. (p. 48)

System Justification Theory is one strategy for resolving cognitive dissonance. Cognitive dissonance theory assumes that people resolve contradictory thoughts, feelings, and behavior by providing justifications or rationalizations to the experience triggering the dissonance.

Dissonance theory suggests that people rationalize their own suffering and discomfort to the extent that the experience of disadvantage may therefore increase commitment to the sources of suffering (Jost et al., 2003). For example, low status groups may experience psychological conflict when choosing to abstain from protest of oppressive social, political and economic systems that are maintained and perpetuated by their acquiescence (Brandt, 2013). One way to relieve the psychological conflict is to rationalize the legitimacy of the social, political and economic arrangements (Brandt, 2013).

With interlocking forms of oppression and privilege composing individual social identities, everyone is both a victim and a supporter of the system. “Insofar as social institutions are maintained in part through attitudes and beliefs that support them, conscious and unconscious ideological thought processes play a pivotal role in the acceptance or rejection of particular modes of inequality” (Jost & Thompson, 2000, p. 210). Moreover, people who rationalize the status quo are less likely to take action for social change thereby perpetuating the cycle of oppression (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). Guided by the SJT premise that members of both high and low status groups participate in shared thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that validate and reinforce existing social, political and economic systems, TC is developed to address the false consciousness created through system justification.

Transformative Consciousness of Socio-ecosystemic Inequity

Transformative consciousness of socio-ecosystemic inequity (C-SEI) is expected to include: (1) a critical and analytical awareness of privilege and oppression within one’s

sociopolitical and cultural environment; (2) competencies that allow the individual to interact with others and environment to transform personal and social realities that perpetuate privilege and oppression; and, (3) a sense or assessment of the impact of oppression/privilege on self, the individual's role in the perpetuation of oppression/privilege, and the individual's ability to control these issues. Transformative consciousness of SEI is defined as levels of socio-ecosystemic reflection on the causative elements and factors perpetuating SEI, potential behavioral responses to SEI, and the consequences of the perpetuation of SEI for the development and implementation of potential solutions to SEI. The operationalization of C-SEI is the level of transformative consciousness (i.e., denial, blame, or critical) within each domain of TC (i.e., awareness, behavioral-response, and consequence) of SEI (i.e., privilege and oppression) at each level of the socio-ecosystem (i.e., intrapersonal, interpersonal, micro, meso, exo, macro and chrono).

Domains of C-SEI. The first part of the model is to apply the domains of TC to SEI (see Table 12). The Awareness domain pertains to the level of knowledge or perception of underlying causes, factors or potential solutions to SEI. Awareness is a social analysis and conceptual grasp of the different angles of SEI (Thomas et al., 2014; Watts & Flanagan, 2007). The behavioral-response domain is defined as the level of reaction (behavioral, verbal) that one believes is appropriate in response to SEI. This domain also assesses the perceptions of one as an active participant. Reflection on the consequences of SEI is conceptualized as the understanding the process that leads to the SEI outcomes and the implications of such outcomes. In Baker and Brookins (2014, p. 1022) “it became apparent that the older adolescents in particular understood economic marginalization (the process and how it works) and the implications of being poor.” Participants from the Baker and Brookins (2014) study identified the cyclical nature of poverty and the subsequent barriers of inequality, such as inadequate education, that maintained the impoverished status.

Table 11

Transformative Consciousness Domains of SEI

Awareness	Knowledge, thought, analysis or perception of underlying causal factors or potential solutions to SEI.
Behavioral Response	Thoughts about reaction (behavioral, verbal) that one believes is appropriate in response to SEI.
Consequence	Thoughts about results or effects that one believes some action in response to SEI or condition of SEI is likely to have.

Levels of C-SEI. The denial level is characterized by lack of critical thought and insight about oppressive individual and social forces that shape people's lives. The blame level for SEI finds fault with members of oppressed groups and blames them for personal and social problems without attributing responsibility to systemic factors. The critical consciousness level is characterized by critical thought of which underlying causal factors of systemic inequality is unveiled and persons view problems as rooted in systems of privilege and oppression (Freire, 1973; Hatcher et al., 2010). These levels of TC are also informed by the Just World Belief construct which taps into beliefs about the relative contributions of personal behavior and social forces on social conditions (Watts & Guessous, 2006). In effect, Just World Beliefs are an outcome of an individual's reflection. A micro view attributes social conditions to the talents (or shortcomings) of individuals. A macro view emphasizes the influence of ineffective or oppressive social institutions on social conditions. People who believe the world is unjust tend to think that people regardless of effort may not get what they deserve because of social forces that are beyond the person's control. Consequently, the unjust world believers are more likely to offer contextual and systems-level rather than individual-focused explanations for problems. For someone to achieve the critical consciousness level of transformative consciousness the person must become aware of his status as an oppressed and/or privileged person which requires understanding the essence of society (Freire, 1970). The person must perceive the reality of oppression and privilege "not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform" (Freire, 1970, p. 49).

The last step in building the model for C-SEI is to apply the socio-ecosystem levels. The C-SEI model is a combination of the levels for each domain of TC within each socio-ecosystem (see Table 8) and SEI (see Table 9). An important aspect of using the socio-ecosystem model to inform C-SEI is to understand the relationships between the levels. On the intrapersonal level, identity is crucial for oppression and privilege. On the interpersonal level, it's interaction and relationships that are the vehicles for communicating oppression and privilege that, in large part, are based on one's identity. As a process, oppression and privilege operate through in that one can be privileged or oppressed through interaction. These interactions at the interpersonal level form one's identity at the intrapersonal level. Also, this identity can determine how one acts. What do you do in response to privilege or oppression? Do you submit or resist or acquiesce? How you behave is a key component of identity. There is no way not to respond to privilege and oppression. It is ubiquitous within the socio-ecosystems. The response to oppression and privilege is an everyday, interactional activity that reinforces itself via our activities and relationships. Oppressing or being oppressed, privileging or being privileged involves complex socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micro-political activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of the reasons the group is oppressed or privileged. The outcomes are couched in the language of explanations. For example, the outcome of racism is poverty and that poverty is viewed as the reason blacks are inferior. Then these negative messages or "natures" or social norms for a particular group are largely internalized by the group members. These social norms become personal identities. Table 12 provides an example of C-SEI for the consequence domain at the intrapersonal level.

Table 12

Consequence Domain of TC and C-SEI at the Intrapersonal Level

Intrapersonal Level	Consequence Domain of TC at the Intrapersonal Level		
	Denial	Blame	Critical
	The lack of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that takes into consideration intrapersonal and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that blame perceived intrapersonal processes to the exclusion of all other systemic factors for identified problems and/or the shape of people's lives.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that takes into consideration intrapersonal and social forces that shape people's lives or the identified problem.
Interpersonal Level	Consequence Domain of C-SEI at the Intrapersonal Level		
	Denial	Blame	Critical
	The lack of evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that takes into consideration intrapersonal and social forces that shape SEI.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that blame perceived intrapersonal processes to the exclusion of all other systemic factors for SEI.	The evaluation of present or potential events and their outcomes that takes into consideration intrapersonal and social forces that shape SEI.

Application of C-SEI. Socio-ecosystemic inequities (SEI) have served as barriers to social justice (Buhin & Vera, 2009). Socio-ecosystemic inequity is complex because it involves an interplay of system levels (from micro to chrono), processes (e.g., interactions or execution of laws), outcomes (e.g., disproportionality and over- or underrepresentation), forms (e.g., internal, external, direct, indirect, cumulative, discrete), and types (e.g., racism, heterosexism, classism) and lends itself to equi-finality because multiple paths lead to the same destination. However, “[i]n American society, with its stress upon individual achievement and self-blame for failure, there is a tendency for people not to blame the social system or discrimination” (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Dworkin & Dworkin, 1999, p. 20). As a result, prevention and intervention work that solely focus on individual change and do not attempt to address socio-ecosystemic inequities fall prey to the issue of equi-finality. Equi-finality is the principle that in open systems a given end state can be reached by many potential means (Ungar, Ghazinour, & Richter, 2013). The power of SEI is rooted in the principle of equi-finality in that there are many socio-ecological pathways (e.g., individual behaviors, family and community factors, policies, norms) that lead to and sustain SEI outcomes. The end results become the causes and the process is self-replicating. For example, if the role of systemic inequity in social problems (e.g., HIV/STI infection rates, mass incarceration, poverty) is unrecognized but individual factors are overly represented, then some underlying causes (i.e., the individual factors) will be addressed while the other causal pathways (i.e., systemic inequity) are left unattended. In order to address persistent inequities (e.g., the opportunity gap; the culture of domination; income inequality) and the lack of insight that perpetuates inequity, it is imperative that individuals develop transformative consciousness to be able to critique the mechanisms of SEI as well as the consequences (Houser & Overton, 2001). C-SEI was developed to address this issue of equi-finality. By assessing an individual’s C-SEI, one can examine the degree to which individuals possess critical consciousness of these socio-ecosystemic factors that underlie these problems.

The development of C-SEI derived as a response to the CC conceptualization problems identified in the literature review. Although C-SEI is grounded in the CC literature, there are many differences that make it distinct in conceptually relevant ways. Unlike CC, C-SEI has one clear definition. There is also a clear distinction between state or outcome and process. C-SEI is a developmental process in which a person may be at different levels of consciousness. The denial, blame, and critical levels of C-SEI are states or outcomes. Transformative consciousness is operationalized into three dimensions: Awareness, Behavioral Response and Consequence. The conceptualization of TC also does not include any of the tools used to develop TC, such as dialogue or critical reflection. All of these clarifications make TC distinct from CC. When TC is applied to socio-ecosystemic inequity (SEI), there are a few notable differences between TC and CC. The construct includes privilege and oppression, is conceptually distinct from other constructs that have been used interchangeably with CC, and takes intersectionality into consideration.

People have been shaped and dehumanized by socio-political forces of oppression and privilege and must find through their struggle the way to life-affirming humanization (Freire, 1970). The oppressed have been destroyed through objectification which has reduced them to things (Freire, 1970). The privileged have been destroyed by the acts of objectifying the humanity of their counterparts (Freire, 1970). In order to regain humanity, the oppressed must cease to be things and oppressors must stop objectifying others; but, that very struggle for liberation begins with the recognition that all have been destroyed (Freire, 1970). The impact of SEI on the person essentially separates person from self, others, and community. Transformative consciousness is to restore those connections so people can have intentional consciousness of the world, of others, and of self (Kirkwood & Kirkwood, 1989).

CHAPTER 4: COAP SCALE DEVELOPMENT (STUDY 1)

The purpose of this chapter is to detail the development of the Transformative Consciousness of Oppression and Privilege (COAP) Scale. The methods for this study followed the scale development procedures detailed in DeVellis (2003). The Critical Consciousness of Oppression and Privilege scale was developed in eight steps: (1) clearly defined construct, (2) generated vignettes and items, (3) determined the format of the measure, (4) had experts review vignettes and items, (5) considered inclusion of validation items, (6) administered items to a development sample, (7) evaluated the items, and (8) optimized scale length. It is important to remember that scale development is an iterative process and may not follow the steps in a linear manner; but, instead, will cycle between or skip steps depending on the needs of the development process (DeVellis, 2003). The main research question for this chapter is: Does the scale represent the content domains of the construct?

The construct that COAP will attempt to measure is Transformative consciousness of socio-ecosystemic inequity (C-SEI). The definition of C-SEI levels of socio-ecosystemic reflection on the causative elements and factors perpetuating SEI, potential behavioral responses to SEI, and the consequences of the perpetuation of SEI (i.e., oppression and privilege) for the development and implementation of potential solutions to SEI. The scale was developed by the principal investigator and in consultation with peers and colleagues. The scale was made to be appropriate for members of oppressed and dominant groups as the development of C-SEI is important for both majority and minority members. The scale's content is limited to African American racial oppression and white racial privilege.

Method

This scale uses the person perception method with vignettes because it was important for the scale to assess cognitions rather than attitudes (Rayburn, Medoza, & Davison, 2003; Collins

& Brief, 1995). The person perception method uses vignettes to capture immediate perceptions of people and behaviors (Collins & Brief, 1995). The typical person perception study directs participants to read a vignette and then rate people in the scenarios on bipolar adjective scales in order to assess perceptions. For example, participants may rate targets on 7-point scales regarding how trustworthy versus untrustworthy, good versus bad, responsible versus irresponsible they perceive the targets (Rayburn, Mendoza, & Davison, 2003). Although this study does not have the participants rate targets on a scale, it does have participants rank order items in response to their thinking about the vignette. Thus, this scale uses the person perception vignette method to reveal respondent's consciousness about oppression and privilege. Previous research supports the validity and utility of the person perception method in capturing people's automatic thoughts of behaviors and events presented in vignettes (Asch, 1946; McKinney, Sprecher, & Orbach, 1987).

The person perception method is a common method among social psychologists but has not been previously used in the analysis of critical consciousness or oppression and privilege. However, this method was selected because vignettes can be especially useful when exploring potentially sensitive topics that participants might otherwise find difficult to discuss (Barter & Renold, 1999). Race and racism has been shown to be a difficult topic that many people fear and avoid discussing (Henze, Lucas, & Scott, 1998; Watt, 2007). Moreover, the use of vignettes may provide some protection from social desirability bias which complicates research about sensitive topics (Rayburn, Medoza, & Davison, 2003). A straightforward inquiry about perceptions of racism may raise a red flag for participants to censor their responding in a socially desirable way. Therefore, it is necessary to look beyond the participants' willingness to disclose sensitive information and examine their automatic or intuitive inference processes. The person perception paradigm provides such an approach because it does not focus on conscious, deliberative decision making (Hastorf et al., 1970).

Vignettes

Vignettes were utilized in order to have the scale test cognitions rather than attitudes and to include scenarios of privilege or oppression (Menaker & Franklin, 2013). Vignettes have been used successfully in research investigating racism (Saucier, Hockett, Zanotti, & Heffel, 2010; Utsey, Gernat, & Hammar, 2005). Freire (1970) noted the importance of investigating people's thinking which involves the questioning or discussion of thematics. Implicit in these thematics is "the thought-language with which men and women refer to reality, the levels at which they perceive that reality, and their view of the world, in which their generative themes are found" (Freire, 1970, p. 97). These generative themes of oppression and privilege were encompassed in the vignettes. The vignettes allowed participants to consider underlying causes, appropriate behavioral-responses, and potential consequences rather than identifying attitudes or measuring agreement with attitudinal statements. Also, the use of vignettes allowed all participants to consider the same scenario. If the author attempted to use statements, such as, "I feel that people who meet with misfortune have brought it on themselves," then the author could not be sure all participants were considering the same people or the same misfortune. Similarly, the vignettes were written to correspond with the socio-ecosystem levels. The author created vignettes for African American racial oppression and white American privilege for each socio-ecosystem level (i.e., individual, microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem). Vignettes are a recommended method for exploring perceptions and interpretations of uniform situations (Barter & Renold, 1999). In other words, the vignette method is a good way to control variation and details (Veloski et al., 2005). Because of the focus on privilege and oppression, the vignettes allowed the content to be specific and grounded in racial issues of importance and interest (Watts et al., 2003).

Vignettes can be used for three main purposes in social research: 1) to allow situations in a certain context to be explored; 2) to assess or clarify people's thoughts, beliefs, judgments or attitudes; and, 3) to provide a less personal and therefore less threatening method of exploring

sensitive topics (Barter & Renold, 1999). Vignettes are short stories, scenarios or examples about hypothetical persons, situations, behaviors in specified circumstances, to whose situation the interviewee is invited to respond (Finch, 1987; Hazel, 1995; Hill, 1997; Hughes, 1998). The vignette method can elicit thoughts, perceptions, opinions, attitudes, beliefs from the interviewee's responses or comments to stories depicting scenarios and situations (Barter & Renold, 1999). Vignettes can be used as a self-contained method or in conjunction with other research techniques and methods (Barter & Renold, 1999).

Vignette development. Based on the recommendations of Barnett, Brodsky, and Davis, (2004), Clifford, Iyengar, Cabeza, and Sinnott-Armstrong (2015), McCrow, Beattie, Sullivan, and Fick (2013), the author developed the vignettes through successive iterations in collaboration with peers and colleagues who reviewed revised versions of vignettes on multiple occasions. Using the socio-ecosystems as a guide, the author developed several vignettes that corresponded with each level for African American racial oppression and white racial privilege. Because the vignettes should appear plausible and realistic to participants, researchers have developed vignettes around actual experiences (Barner & Renold, 2009). For inspiration, the author used personal experience, the experiences of others, and previous knowledge on the subject. For example, the author thought about the Clark and Clark (1939, 1940) doll experiment and designed a vignette for the intrapersonal level with the premise of a little black girl not wanting to purchase an "ugly black doll." For a mesosystem vignette, the author used a colleague's experience in which she (a black woman) was conducting research within prisons and was always scrutinized more thoroughly than her white colleagues upon exiting the prison. Because the author is African American woman, the African American oppression vignettes were easier to develop than the white privilege vignettes. Also, the author believes the white privilege vignettes were more difficult because individuals are conditioned to be blind to its presence (McIntosh, 1998; Speight, 2007). For the white privilege vignettes, the author had to lean more heavily on observations, media, and the author's white peers and colleagues for ideas. The author also considered ways in

which certain aspects of her identity are privileged. For example, the author is highly educated and when this fact is known, the author receives unearned benefits. The author then changed that factor of her privileged identity to be about race. It was also important to include sufficient context within the vignettes for respondents to have an understanding about the situation, but vague enough to force participants to provide additional factors which influence their decisions (Barter & Renold, 1999). For vignettes, fuzziness and ambiguity are strengths since either leaves space for participants to define the situation in their own terms (Barter & Renold, 1999). Lastly, the author tried to create vignettes that would be easily understood and not too complex by not having more than three changes to a story line (Barter & Renold, 1999).

Based on the recommendation of Barter and Renold (1999), the author asked five lay people to provide feedback on wording and to determine if the vignettes were realistic. Via informal discussions with each person, the author was given ideas for improving vignettes and for creating additional vignettes. For example, the vignette about the heroin addicts was a result of this process. Based on the feedback, the author then revised the vignettes and conducted a content validity study to assess clarity and representativeness of socio-ecosystem level and oppression or privilege.

Content validity study of vignettes. Content validity, comparing the operationalization against the content domain for the construct, is part of assessing construct validity (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). For this study, content validity is the extent to which an instrument samples vignettes (rather than items) from the full breadth of the content domains desired (Windsor et al., 1994). Content validity was assessed by determining whether evidence exists to support the conclusion that the vignettes on the measure assess all content domains. Face and logical validity, the two types of content validity, were assessed. Face validity is whether the instrument simply appears to assess the construct under study; whereas, logical validity requires a more systematic and rigorous process using experts to objectively evaluate the content of the measure (Rubio, Weger, Tebb, Lee & Rauch, 2003).

A content validity study should be executed when no measure exists that operationalizes the construct as the researcher conceptualized it (Rubio et al., 2003), as is the present case. The content validity study, by providing an objective method to evaluate each vignette, provided important information and constructive feedback from a panel of experts about the quality of the measure (Gump, Baker, & Roll, 2000; Lanza & Carifio, 1992; Rubio et al., 2003). The assessment of content validity provides confirmation about how well the vignettes assess the content domains of the construct (Rubio et al., 2003). In other words, a content validity study examined the extent to which the vignettes included and represented all dimensions of the construct. Content validity can be characterized as face validity or logical validity. Face validity indicates that the measure seems to be valid from a simple inspection of its vignettes (i.e., “on its face”) (Rubio et al., 2003). Logical validity indicates a more rigorous process that includes using a panel of experts to objectively evaluate the content validity of the vignettes using some criteria (Rubio et al. 2003). Moreover, having experts review the vignettes can confirm or invalidate the definition of the construct (DeVellis, 2003). Content validity focused on whether the operationalization is a good reflection of the constructs privilege and oppression and each socio-ecosystem levels. Thus, the vignettes were evaluated to determine if they included and represented the content of privilege or oppression at each level of the socio-ecosystem (Gump et al., 2000). This approach is definitional in nature – it assumes you have a good detailed definition of the construct and that you can check the operationalization against it (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). The content validity study examined whether or not or how much so the vignettes operationalized the constructs of inequity/injustice (privilege and oppression) at each socio-ecosystem level.

Panel of experts. To conduct a content validity study, the author followed the steps outlined in Rubio et al. (2003). First, the author identified a panel of experts willing to review the scale and provide feedback via e-mail, phone or in-person communication. The panel of experts consisted of both content and lay experts (Rubio et al., 2003). The “content experts” are

professionals who have published or worked in the field (Rubio et al., 2003, p. 96). A non-probability, purposeful sampling approach was used to identify experts. Content experts were identified by the author's familiarity with their work on diversity, anti-oppression and anti-racism. Selected raters were assessed to have high knowledge or expertise in diversity and inequality as indicated by educational background and occupation. The "lay experts" were identified as peers and colleagues not having an expertise in issues of privilege and oppression. Recruiting participants from this population ensures that the measure is being developed for the potential research subjects (Rubio et al., 2003). Although the literature is diverse with respect to the number of experts needed, Rubio et al. (2003), recommends using at least three experts for each group (professionals and lay experts) with a range of up to 10 for each group yielding a sample size of 6 to 20. Based on this information, the author selected seven experts, four content and three lay experts to compose the panel. The experts were given the task of assessing the vignettes. Because there were a total of 69 vignettes, the author divided the vignettes between reviewers and assigned reviewers two socio-ecosystem levels. In other words, one reviewer had to assess the privilege and oppression vignettes at the microsystem and mesosystem levels. Thus, each expert reviewed approximately 20 vignettes and each vignette was reviewed by at least 2 experts, one content expert and one lay expert.

After identifying potential panel members, the author solicited their participation by email, telephone or in-person communication. The expert panel had two weeks to respond with their feedback. If response was not received within that timeframe, then the author solicited a replacement. Participants did not receive incentive, but did receive a copy of the revised scale as recommended by Rubio et al. (2003). The panel of experts received a packet that included a cover letter (which will reflect the educational level of each group), consent form, response form, an information sheet, and self-addressed return envelope (if necessary). The cover letter included the purpose of the study, the reason the expert was selected, a description of the measure, and an explanation of the response form. The information sheet (see Appendix C) included definitions of

the content domains privilege and oppression at each of the seven socio-ecosystem levels (intrapersonal, interpersonal, microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem) (see Table 13). The information sheet also included a description of the response form and provided definitions of representativeness, clarity and ranking of vignettes.

Representativeness and clarity were rated on a scale of 0 – 4. The information sheet provided an explanation for each score.

Table 13

SEI Information for Experts

	Oppression	Privilege	Examples
Intrapersonal: The internalization of prejudicial attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts from the dominant society resulting in internalized oppression and/or privilege.	The internalization of beliefs of inferiority that mainstream society attaches to the individual's group rooted in socio-historical patterns of treatment.	The internalization of beliefs of superiority that mainstream society attaches to the individual's group rooted in socio-historical patterns of treatment.	<p>Internalized AA Oppression Example: An African American person who thinks African textured hair is “bad” or nappy.</p> <p>Internalized White Privilege Example: A white person who is blinded to the non-merit factors responsible for their success but sees very clearly how non-group members are individually responsible for non-success.</p>
Interpersonal: The interactions and communications between individuals that support privilege and/or oppression.	The interactions and communications rooted in the prejudicial attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts from the dominant society between individuals that support the devaluation and inferior treatment of an oppressed person or group.	The interactions and communications rooted in the prejudicial attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts from the dominant society between individuals that support the beliefs of superiority and superior treatment of a privileged person or group.	<p>Interpersonal AA Oppression Example: A person refusing to hire an African American because applicant is African American.</p> <p>Interpersonal White Privilege Example: A person attributing positive characteristics to a person and treating person favorably because of person's</p>

			white race. A white person attributing negative attributes to an African American person.
Microsystem: The interactions between groups that most immediately and directly impact the individual's experience of oppression and/or privilege.	The interactions between groups that support the devaluation and inferior treatment of an oppressed person or group.	The interactions between groups that support the beliefs of superiority and superior treatment of a privileged person or group.	AA Oppression Example: An African American family punishes one child with a darker complexion more or harsher than the other child with a lighter complexion. White Privilege Example: School does not suspend a white adolescent who has violated school rules.
Mesosystem: Includes interactions between different parts of a person's microsystem (e.g., family, schools, jobs, and neighborhoods) in which the microsystems exert influence upon each other and perpetuate privilege and/or oppression.	Includes interactions between different parts of a person's microsystem (e.g., family, schools, jobs, and neighborhoods) in which the microsystems exert influence upon each other that perpetuate devaluation and inferior treatment of an oppressed person or group.	Includes interactions between different parts of a person's microsystem (e.g., family, schools, jobs, and neighborhoods) in which the microsystems exert influence upon each other that perpetuate beliefs of superiority and superior treatment of a privileged person or group.	AA Oppression Example: Certain neighborhoods have created race covenants agreeing not to sell property to African Americans. White Privilege Example: Banks provide selective financing to White families.
Exosystem: Includes interactions between institutions in which the individual plays no role in the decision-making process or the construction of experiences but the interaction perpetuates privilege and/or oppression of the oppressed individual and/or within the microsystems to which the individual belongs.	Includes interactions between institutions in which the individual plays no role in the decision-making process or the construction of experiences but the interaction perpetuates devaluation and inferior treatment of the oppressed individual and/or within the microsystems to which the oppressed individual belongs.	Includes interactions between institutions in which the individual plays no role in the decision-making process or the construction of experiences but the interaction perpetuates beliefs of superiority and superior treatment of the privileged individual and/or within the microsystems to which the privileged individual belongs.	AA Oppression Example: Police officers execute stop and frisk policies in predominantly African American neighborhoods. White Privilege Example: Police officers do not execute stop and frisk policies in white neighborhoods.

Macrosystem: Includes the cultural and sociopolitical environment that perpetuates privilege and oppression.	Includes the cultural and sociopolitical environment that perpetuates oppression.	Includes the cultural and sociopolitical environment that perpetuates privilege.	AA Oppression Example: Passing a law that disproportionately negatively affects African Americans. White Privilege Example: Media perpetuating ideas and norms that favor White culture.
Chronosystem: The patterning and cumulative effects of events and transitions manifesting overtime or throughout the life course as well as socio-historical circumstances that shape the context for privilege and/or oppression within the other socio-ecosystems.	The patterning and cumulative effects of events and transitions manifesting overtime or throughout the life course as well as socio-historical circumstances that shape the context and experiences of oppression within the other socio-ecosystems.	The patterning and cumulative effects of events and transitions manifesting overtime or throughout the life course as well as socio-historical circumstances that shape the context and experiences of privilege within the other socio-ecosystems.	AA Oppression Example: Not being able to take advantage of investment opportunities. A toxic dump within a poor community is now the cause of birth defects. White Privilege Example: Being able to inherit the benefits of descendants' wealth earned from racial advantages over time.

Response form. On the response form (see Appendix C), the vignettes were divided and organized by level of socio-ecosystem that the vignettes were created to represent. Thus, all intrapersonal vignettes were placed together and so on. The vignettes were also divided and organized by privilege or oppression for each socio-ecosystem level. Thus, all intrapersonal-oppression vignettes were placed together and all macrosystem-privilege vignettes were placed together. Most sections had five vignettes including a test vignette. For example, Microsystem – African American Racial Oppression had five vignettes. However, Mesosystem – White Privilege had six vignettes. Each section had one test vignette for a total of 14 test vignettes out of 69 vignettes. The test vignettes were intentionally placed in a section where they did not belong for purposes of reliability. The author wanted to ensure the raters understood the definitions and were paying attention. For example, in the Macro-system African American Racial Oppression section, there was a vignette that discussed relationships between individuals. The test vignettes either

discussed the incorrect socio-ecosystem level or did not correspond with African American Racial Oppression or White Racial Privilege. Thus, these vignettes should have been identified as lacking representativeness of socio-ecosystem level and/or type of inequity (i.e., oppression or privilege). The following example is a test vignette because it discusses class but not race.

Berry is from a low income family. For High School, Berry received a scholarship to a prestigious boarding school; however, was kicked out due to “behavior” issues. After being kicked out, Berry dropped out of high school. Eventually he completed his GED and went on to own a business. Berry is a voracious reader and retains a lot of information and trivia. When in conversation with clients, usually people that have several academic degrees, Berry insults them with his large vocabulary and is able to make them feel stupid.

The response form used three criteria to evaluate the measure: (1) representativeness of the content domain for socio-ecosystem level and either oppression or privilege; (2) clarity of the item; (3) ranking of the vignettes. First, the experts were asked to evaluate the representativeness of each vignette for level of the socio-ecosystem on a scale of 0 – 4. In other words, did the vignette represent the level of the socio-ecosystem for which it was placed? The raters repeated the same process for whether the vignette represented privilege or oppression. Then the raters assessed the clarity of each vignette on a scale of 0-4. Lower values indicated lack of clarity or that the vignette was not representative of the socio-ecosystem level or of type of inequity.

During this process, reviewers were asked to assess the factor structure. Following an option suggested by Rubio et al., (2003), the vignettes were grouped according to the factor to which they belonged and experts were asked to indicate how well the vignette assessed that factor. Reviewers were invited to note if they thought a vignette was better suited for a different socio-ecosystem level or whether the vignette should be oppression rather than privilege and vice versa. The author also asked the experts how relevant they thought each vignette was to what the author was intending to measure. This question is especially important since the overall scale could be divided into separate subscales to measure multiple constructs (DeVellis, 2003).

After assessing representativeness, clarity and factor structure, reviewers ranked the vignettes in each section according to their preferences. A ranking of one indicated the vignette

was the reviewer's favorite. Higher rankings indicated a less favorable assessment from the reviewer. Reviewers were also asked to comment on the vignettes and to indicate awkward wording or confusing language and to suggest alternative phrasings. Lastly, reviewers advised me on ways to tap into the constructs of privilege and oppression that I may have overlooked by suggesting vignettes. Space was provided for the experts to offer all feedback. By the end of this process, the experts had evaluated vignettes for clarity, representativeness, factor structure, conciseness, grammar, reading level, content validity and redundancy. Based on the recommendation of Worthington and Whittaker (2006), the reviewers offered suggestions for improvements and provided ideas for developing new vignettes (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). From the results of the assessment, the author was able to select two vignettes for privilege and oppression from each level of the socio-ecosystem which totaled 28 vignettes to compose the measure.

Response format. The response format of the measure is composed of three parts: 1) stem development for sentence completion, 2) branch development for ranking responses to the stems, and 3) rank ordering. Sentence completion with a ranking scale format was selected for two reasons. First, the individual choices for the ranking scale have pre-determined sequential order reflecting the differing levels of transformative consciousness, thereby, allowing a developmental perspective of the construct. This may be the first time that ranking is used to assess a developmental approach, but this approach is similar to Guttman scaling which has been used to assess development (Andrews, Hops, Ary, Lichtenstein, & Tildesley, 1991; Thomas et al., 2014). Since the branches were written to represent denial, blame, and critical consciousness, they had a sequential pattern, allowing for a developmental perspective of the C-SEI construct (Thomas et al., 2014). Second, similarly to Thomas and colleagues (2014), this study did not use a Likert-type response format because it does not allow a developmental perspective and results would be difficult to interpret. For example, a Likert response format would allow participants to score high on more than one level (i.e., critical, blame, denial) of TC which is counter theory.

Also, ranking, as opposed to Likert, allows the items to be compared to each other rather than independent items which allow the assessor to distinguish between levels of transformative consciousness (Thomas et al., 2014). Mean scores developed from a Likert-type scale would not be as precise in interpretation for clinical use.

Stem and branch development. The author developed incomplete statements (stems) and completion responses (branches) that correspond to the vignettes. Each vignette has three stems that are unfinished sentences developed to represent the three domains of Transformative Consciousness - that is, awareness, behavioral-response, and consequence. For the most part, the stems follow a format. Most awareness stems end with “because;” most behavior-response stems end with “would” or “should,” and most consequence stems use an “if-then” statement. Each stem has three branches or possible responses to complete the stem representing the three levels of Transformative Consciousness – that is, denial, blame and critical. Participants respond to the scale by rank ordering the branches to complete the stems. Branch development was grounded in Freire’s (1973) work. Since the scale needed to include the developmental perspective of critical consciousness, the author used Freire’s (1973) three levels of CC development (magical, naïve, and critical) as a guide.

Stems and branches were developed through formal and informal means. The author organized seven teleconference groups of lay people. The number of participants in each group ranged from two to five participants for a total of 25 participants. Each person was given the vignettes and definitions of the stem (awareness, behavioral-response, consequence) and item (denial, blame, critical) content areas. For approximately 60 minutes, participants discussed the vignettes and brainstormed stems and items. For example, during teleconferences the author asked, what is the experience of oppression or privilege in this vignette, what questions would you ask about this vignette to determine someone’s level of awareness of the oppression or privilege, why do you think this action in the vignette occurred, how would someone respond if they were unaware of the systemic issues? These responses informed the development of the

stems and branches. The author took notes as the author facilitated the teleconferences. Other thoughts for stems and items came from daily experiences; informal discussion with family, friends, and colleagues about the vignettes; reading the comments to various electronic media postings about race issues; and, eavesdropping on people's conversations about race. For example, the author overheard commuters on the Staten Island ferry discussing a race incident at a CVS and one person said, "Did you hear? A security guard in CVS was racially profiling black customers." The person's companion said, "Well, you know they steal but you can't say that." That discussion provided the idea for an item to represent the blame level of the awareness domain of C-SEI.

Branch evaluation. After evaluating clarity and representatives of the vignettes, the author selected eleven lay experts to examine the branches representing the levels of C-SEI (i.e., denial, blame, and critical). This process was similar to examining the factor structure of the vignettes. This assessment was conducted using Survey Monkey. Eleven participants were provided with the measure composed of vignettes. For each vignette, participants were provided with three stems for sentence completion. Each stem had three branches that the author drafted to represent denial, blame, or critical consciousness levels of C-SEI. Instead of ranking the items to each stem, the author directed the participants to categorize each item to a level of C-SEI: denial, blame, or critical. The participants also provided feedback regarding any part of the scale. After reviewing the data, the author revised the scale.

Ranking. As noted each vignette has three stems and each stem has three branches. To respond to the stem, the scale uses a ranking system such that respondents must choose one of the proposed branches representing critical, blame or denial or "I don't know" for either their first, second, or third choice. Once an item is selected, it cannot be selected again. For example, if the author chooses item three as the first choice, then the author can only choose items one or two or "I don't know" as the second or third choices. By rank ordering the items, the respondents are deciding which items are most like their thinking to least like their thinking. As a result, the

participants are determining whether their thoughts are most like the critical, blame or denial responses to the stem.

Scale review. The author informally reviewed the entire scale which was composed of 28 vignettes, 84 stems, and 252 items with a group of pre-doctoral fellows. The author received feedback on wording and clarity. The author conducted an informal cognitive interviewing session by asking them what they thought when reading the vignettes, stems and branches. Afterwards, the author reviewed their feedback and revised the scale accordingly.

Pilot test. For the pilot test, the author divided the scale into two equal parts. The author selected the first oppression and the first privilege vignette at each socio-ecosystem level and created scale one composed of 14 vignettes and scale two composed of 14 vignettes. The author entered both scales into Survey Monkey. The author then asked three people to complete scale one and another three people to complete scale two. The six participants provided feedback. By the end of this process, the experts had evaluated the scale for clarity, conciseness, grammar, wording, reading level, content validity and redundancy. Following the recommendation of Worthington and Whittaker (2006), the author asked participants to review the vignettes. Participants offered suggestions for adding new content and commented on length of administration. After reviewing the data and comments, the scale was revised for the last time (see Table 14 for example).

Table 14

African American Racial Oppression at the Intrapersonal Level

Vignette:	Amanda is a 7 year old African American girl with dark skin who was adopted by white parents. While in the toy store, Amanda browses the small ethnic and black doll section. She remembers her parents told her to get a doll that looked like her. Amanda grabs a white doll and thinks, “ <i>I don’t want an ugly black doll.</i> ”			
Awareness Stem:	You think Amanda selects a white doll because			
	Awareness Branches	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
A1	(C) She has received messages from society that dark skin like hers is considered ugly.	X		

A2	(D) She wants a pretty doll that looks like her adoptive white family.			X
A3	(B) Amanda has low self-esteem and needs to learn to love herself.		X	
A4	I don't understand			
A5	Refuse to answer			
Behavioral Response Stem:	If you were Amanda's parent, you would			
	Behavioral-Response Branches			
B1	(B) Strongly encourage Amanda to take the black doll because Amanda should play with dolls that look like her.			
B2	(D) Let Amanda take the white doll because she obviously really wants it.			
B3	(C) Ask Amanda why she thinks the black doll is ugly and the white doll is pretty.			
B4	I don't understand			
B5	Refuse to answer			
Consequence Stem:	Amanda's preference for white dolls suggests that			
	Consequence Branches			
C1	(D) Amanda appreciates the beauty of people who do not look like her.			
C2	(C) Amanda may think and act in ways that supports her belief that she - like the black dolls - is ugly.			
C3	(B) White people should not adopt/raise African American children since white people can't instill African American cultural values.			
C4	I don't understand			
C5	Refuse to answer			

Scoring. The scoring system was developed in partnership with the author's committee chair. The system of rank ordering the three item choices and possible "I don't know" response created twenty-four possible combinations (see Table 15). Separately, the author and committee chair each organized the twenty-four possible combinations of responses from the highest level of transformative consciousness (1st choice is the Critical branch, 2nd choice is the Blame branch, and 3rd choice is the Denial branch) to the combination of responses that represented the lowest level of transformative consciousness (1st choice is the "I don't know" response, 2nd choice is the Denial item, and 3rd choice is the Blame item). Then the author and committee chair compared orderings and discussed inconsistencies. After attaining 100% consensus, the ordering of the

possible 24 combinations was finalized and each combination was scored as an ordinal level of measurement from 0 to 23, with 0 representing the lowest level of C-SEI to 23 representing the highest level of C-SEI. Ordinal responses to vignettes are a common technique as some scholars use Likert-type responses to statements about vignettes (Clifford et al., 2015). It is important to note that each vignette has three stems: an awareness stem, a behavioral-response stem, and a consequence stem. Each stem has three branches: a denial branch, a blame branch, and a critical branch. Because of the way the scale is scored, the stem and its three branches compose one item. Thus, each vignette has one awareness item (i.e., the awareness stem and its 3 branches), one behavioral-response item (i.e., the behavioral-response stem and its 3 branches) and one consequence item (i.e., the consequence stem and its 3 branches). The three branches to each of the three stems for each vignette are computed together in the scoring system to create one item, such as the, Awareness-Oppression-Intrapersonal item.

Table 15

Scoring

Possible Response Combinations for Each Item	Score for each combination
?* D B	0
? B D	1
? D CC	2
? B CC	3
? CC D	4
? CC B	5
D ? B	6
D ? CC	7
D B ?	8
D CC ?	9
D B CC	10
D CC B	11
B ? D	12
B ? CC	13
B D ?	14
B CC ?	15
B D CC	16
B CC D	17
CC ? D	18
CC ? B	19
CC D ?	20
CC B ?	21

CC D B	22
CC B D	23

*Question marks represent the “I don’t know” response

Optimizing scale length. Once the items have been evaluated, DeVellis’ (2003) step eight pertains to scale length. The consideration is a balance between length and reliability. In other words, the author wants the scale to be long enough to adequately assess the construct but not too long as to deter participants from responding to the items. There are different guidelines for administration time. Some recommend that a questionnaire should not take longer than fifty minutes to complete; whereas Worthington and Whittaker (2006) recommend scale length between 15 to 30 minutes. With these guidelines in mind, the author decided to test only scale one (14 vignettes) of COAP. The author also devised a graduated incentive system and allowed people to opt out at different time points. This allowed the administration of the scale to take from 20 minutes to one hour depending on how much of the scale participants chose to complete.

Data Analysis

Content Validity Study of Vignettes

The experts rated the vignettes on a scale of 0-4 in the following areas: 1) Representativeness – Socio-ecosystem Level; 2) Representativeness of Oppression or Privilege (depending on the type of vignette); and, 3) Clarity. Then raters were asked to rank the vignettes in each section (i.e., the socio-ecosystem level and privilege or oppression). A ranking of one indicated their favorite vignette. Thus if a section had five vignettes, a ranking of five indicated the rater’s least favorite vignette. To score the vignettes, the author summed the ratings for representativeness and clarity and then subtracted the rank. More specifically, the author totaled the raters’ scores from the 0 – 4 scales on: 1) Representativeness – Socio-ecosystem Level; 2) Representativeness of Oppression or Privilege (depending on the type of vignette); and, 3) Clarity. The author then subtracted the ranking of the vignette to get the final score. For example, if a rater scored the vignette as a 3 on representativeness of socio-ecosystem level; a 4 on

representativeness of oppression; and a 4 on clarity, and then gave the vignette a ranking of 3 because it was the 3rd favorite, the author then calculated $3 + 4 + 4 - 3 = 8$. The vignette would receive a score of 8 from one rater. Each vignette had at least 2 raters. Thus, the author added the scores together to get the total vignette score (see Table 16 for example). The highest possible score was 23. Test vignettes were the lowest scored vignettes every time except once in which there was a tie for the lowest score. Vignettes that were significantly changed after the content validation study were sent to raters for new ratings. The final rating sheet is attached.

Table 16

Example of Expert Ratings of Vignette

African American Racial Oppression Vignettes - Chronosystem	Representativeness		Clarity 0 – 4	Rank	Score
	Level 0-4	Oppression 0-4			
The rate of unemployment for African Americans has been double the rate of unemployment for white Americans for nearly four decades...	4, 4	4, 4	4, 4	3, 2	$24 - 5 = 19$

Branch Evaluation

Branch evaluators determined whether the branches represented denial, blame or critical consciousness levels of C-SEI. Survey Monkey provided a percentage of agreement that essentially worked as inter-rater reliability. In other words, Survey Monkey calculated the percentage of raters that put a branch in one of the three categories. In order to be included in the scale, branches had to have at least 60% agreement on their categorization: denial, blame, or critical. Branches with less than 60% agreement were revised using the qualitative feedback provided.

Pilot Test

The purpose of the pilot test was to: 1) determine average length of time to complete the scale; 2) finalize wording; and 3) identify the best vignettes. Participants told the author via email how long it took them to complete the scale. Participants also provided comments about the

vignettes and wording. From the pilot test, the author attempted to incorporate most of the qualitative feedback that the author received to strengthen and clarify the vignettes, stems and items.

Qualitative Data

The content validity study, branch evaluation and the pilot test included qualitative data. Participants were asked to provide comments on the vignettes, branches and stems. These comments were reviewed by the author. Primarily, the qualitative data provided direction on how best to revise the vignettes, stems or branches.

Results

Content Validity Study of Vignettes

Scores from the content validity study of the vignettes ranged from -7 to 23. The average score was 14. Without the test vignettes, the scores ranged from 4 to 23 and the average score was 16. The cutoff for a vignette to be considered for the scale was a score of 15. Any vignette scoring below 15 was automatically excluded from final scale. The test vignettes were the lowest scored vignettes in every section except in the exosystem level wherein one white privilege vignette scored lower than the test vignette. Also, at the mesosystem level for white privilege, a test vignette and a non-test vignette had the same lowest score. Since vignettes were ordered in privilege and oppression groups within each level of the socio-ecosystem for a total of 14 sections (i.e., 7 socio-ecosystem levels for privilege and oppression), the author was easily able to organize the vignettes from highest to lowest scored in each section. Some sections had a 3rd rater. The ratings of the 3rd rater were consistent with the scores of raters 1 and 2 and never changed the ordering of the vignettes from highest to lowest scored generated from the two main raters. From each section (for example, chronosystem-privilege would be one section) of the 14 sections, the two highest scored vignettes were selected for the final scale. For the 28 vignettes selected for the scale, the scores ranged from 16 to 23. The average score was 20.

The content and lay experts also provided feedback that focused on the wording of the vignettes, questioned representativeness for level of socio-ecosystem or privilege or oppression. Comments also provided a glimpse into the thought process of the experts and their level of C-SEI. For example, comments about wording included, “I think rewording it into the present situation makes it more clear.” “I think the additions make it clearer that it is internalized oppression. Because African Americans DO have to work twice as hard to get as much, that is reality.” “Make it clearer how awesome Michael’s performance at work is to improve clarity.” Comments questioned representativeness of privilege or oppression. For example, one expert noted the lack of representativeness regarding privilege, “I’m confused about this one. It doesn’t seem clear enough that this is about privilege.” Another expert noted, “I don’t see how this shows privilege. If anything, it shows internalized oppression from the women make the comments.” Another expert noted, “This could or could not represent oppression. The locations that the cops work in could impact the types of arrests they make.” Lastly, an expert commented, “Unsure if this is just privilege. More combo of oppression/privilege.” Experts also questioned representativeness of the socio-ecosystem levels. “This doesn’t seem like internalized oppression so much as denial/blindness to other forms of oppression. Maybe belongs in macro or similar?” Another expert noted, “I know I gave this all 4s but it’s possible this might not be great for this level because it’s a “group” of funders.” Experts provided strong feedback regarding potential factor issues. “Isn’t this more individual level between individuals rather than microsystem? I know it can be both but I think would be better in that section rather than this one.” “This isn’t really representative of microsystem oppression, this is more oppression between individuals.” “Not sure this qualifies as mesosystem as it occurs between two individuals.” Experts also commented on content; for example, “There is gender at play here as well (that’s why I put 3s).” Most experts identified the test vignettes by low scores and/or comments; for example, “This one does not fit for what you are measuring, get rid of it.”

Lastly, the comments provided a glimpse into the thought process of the experts and their level of C-SEI. For example, one expert noted, “I don’t know but I like it - My first read of this vignette was that it was a stupid comment but not privilege. After reading it several times, it seems to me that Peggy is setting up a power dynamic for their relationship, perhaps unconsciously.” This comment demonstrates the awareness of the power relationship which is key in issues of privilege and oppression. In contrast, demonstrating a lack of awareness, one expert states, and “If there are very few African American Skaters is it oppression if it is harder to find appropriate clothes?” Another expert stated, “Confusing. The whites say they are more qualified, then one says all the AAs went to Ivy League Schools (which would seem to indicate that they were very qualified), but Affirmative Action favors unqualified minorities.” This comment demonstrates the person’s lack of knowledge regarding who benefits from Affirmative Action programs. Similarly, in response to a vignette about a white person being admitted over a black person to a university due to legacy preferences, one expert noted, “Seems to me that most Universities work the other way in today's environment, having said that I liked this vignette.”

Branch Evaluation

The 28 vignettes had 252 branches. Thirty-seven branches (15%) had less than 60% agreement on placement in the denial, blame or critical levels of Transformative Consciousness. One hundred and seventy-three branches (69%) had 100% agreement. Twenty-four branches (9.5%) had a 50/50 split of agreement. This only occurred for the blame and denial branches indicating that respondents could not decipher between the two categories for these particular levels of Transformative Consciousness, and thus, the branches were not a good representation of the levels. Also, eight blame and denial branches received 0% agreement, indicating that 100% of evaluators agreed that these eight blame branches should be denial and that the eight denial branches should be blame. Similarly four blame and denial branches received 25% agreement indicating 75% of evaluators agreed the blame and denial branches should be reversed. After

reviewing the branches, the author agreed with the respondents and switched the blame and denial branches for those cases for the final scale.

Similar to the content validity results for vignettes, the evaluators of the branches provided feedback that ranged from correcting grammatical errors to suggested wording, to inquiries for clarification. For example, “Option#2: extra word “do”. Great vignette.” Another evaluator stated, “Again, options #2 and #3 both feel equally blatantly racist – is that the intention?” “Option #3 is a bit confusing.” “I think the 2nd option could be worded, *There is a big difference between what is acceptable for whites and African American youth behavior*, to make it clearer.”

Pilot Test

On average participants took 45 minutes to complete the scale. During this process participants found a few typos that I corrected. Participants also indicated which vignettes they liked the most and which ones were confusing. For example, one reviewer commented:

This is a really interesting vignette, but it feels like it is tapping multiple issues: racially-discriminatory policing and criminal solutions to substance abuse. I'm not sure if you want the vignettes to only represent a single dimension of these generally complex social problems.

Most of the comments were thoughts about the vignettes that ended with a question. For example, one reviewer wrote,

I understand what you are getting at here – but I also think there is a valid argument that media images in general do not make teenage girls feel good about themselves because they are designed to breed insecurity and sell products. So this vignette is a bit confusing for me. Also, given that white privilege is so frequently invisible, would Lacey, as a teenager be aware of the similarities between herself and the people represented in the media?

Discussion

This study addressed several gaps identified in the literature review of CC. The purpose of the scale development study was to develop a scale of C-SEI that addressed the measurement

limitations of critical consciousness. This scale, Transformative Consciousness of Oppression and Privilege (COAP), developed to assess C-SEI is domain-specific in that it focuses on African American racial oppression and white racial privilege. In the form of vignettes, the scale includes experiences of African American racial oppression and white racial privilege at each level of the socio-ecosystem. This is important because these factors are interdependent and if the point of transformative consciousness is to lead to action to address inequity and injustice, then one must be conscious of privilege and oppression at all levels. It was difficult to develop the vignettes to isolate privilege or oppression since they are so closely related and, in fact, one needs the other in order to exist. However, the author was able to use the stems and items to focus respondents' attention on either privilege or oppression. Another contribution of this scale is that it was created for the general population, not focused on youth and not focused on people from the oppressed population, and thus, can be used with the general population, most of whom have intersecting identities of privilege and oppression (Black & Stone, 2005; Crenshaw, 1989).

The scale uses vignettes. Vignettes provide the content on which to focus attention. In other words, instead of using broad terms like "all people" the vignette provides participants with the reference group. Thus, people who take the scale are more likely to consider the same content. The scaling method of vignettes, sentence completion and ranking, allows the scale to assess types of cognitions (either denial, blame or critical) rather than attitudes. The ranking allows a developmental perspective. Moreover, when creating the item responses to the stems, the author kept in mind the issue of social desirability bias - that is participants' responses may reflect what they think is the correct answer rather than how they are truly feeling. This is consistent with the recommendation by Strahan and Gerbasi (1972). The items to the stems were created based upon two premises: 1) if given the chance, people will select the responses that they think are right or politically correct especially when dealing with issues of race; and 2) if given a choice, people will be drawn to the statements that are most like their thinking (Quillian, 2006). With these premises in mind, the author attempted to create branches that probably were not the most

politically correct answers. The author assumed there would be less social desirability if there was not an obvious politically correct choice. With Likert-type response formats, the items are usually phrased to represent the high or low levels of the construct. For example, an item from Rosenberg's (1965) self-esteem measure states, "On the whole I am satisfied with myself." One can instantly tell that agreeing with this item represents higher self-esteem than disagreeing with this item. Thus, if the author included an item that stated, "African Americans continue to experience discrimination." It is conceivable that people would recognize this answer as the politically correct answer even if they believed racism is no longer an issue, and would answer in the socially desirable way by selecting this branch as their first choice. If this scale had been a Likert-response format, then selecting strongly agree for all the politically correct responses would have falsely indicated a high score for C-SEI. The ranking of the items allowed participants to consider multiple statements. Also, it is possible that having a statement somewhat similar to how one thinks, provides validation and legitimacy for that way of thinking. For example, having to compare the statements, "African Americans continue to experience discrimination" to "Discrimination based on race is no longer occurring," simply because the statement that is most like my thinking is there, the respondent may be more likely to choose it rather than having to state agreement or disagreement with one statement. The author relied on the premise that participants would recognize the items that corresponded with their level of transformative consciousness if given the option. In other words, the author believed that participants would not recognize the critical consciousness branch if they did not have that level of transformative consciousness and if there was an item present within the vicinity of how the respondent really thinks. Hazel (1995) noted that the inclusion of controversial language may make participants more confident to respond. One doesn't have to have transformative consciousness to strongly agree or disagree with certain items that have a certain tone. The author received confirmation that this method may have worked because many people told the author that they could not recognize the "right" choice. This is excellent feedback because there is no

right choice, only levels of C-SEI which is an assessment of a person's thinking and not how one should be thinking.

The comments from the content validity study of the vignettes helped the author realize that even though the author provided the experts with definitions of privilege and oppression, their interpretation of those definitions and the interpretations of the vignettes was highly dependent on and limited by the experts' levels of C-SEI. For example, a lay expert who believes that affirmative action unfairly advantages unqualified African Americans would have a very different interpretation of a vignette than someone who believes that without affirmative action, the default is affirmative action for unqualified whites. Similarly, the comments from the pilot test provided a glimpse into the cognitive processing of participants. Many of the comments seem to invite further discussion which is a good sign that the scale is working in an unintended way. In other words, one of the tools to develop Transformative Consciousness is dialogue and the development of critical consciousness should send a person back into the process of development, that is, conscientização.

There are two main areas in which the scale could be strengthened. First, future revisions of the scale could use greater diversity within the group selected to develop the scale. Since those selected to develop the scale were colleagues, peers and associates within my social network, one could argue that this group had a higher level of C-SEI than the general population. The scale could benefit from input from those with lower levels of C-SEI, especially for the stem and item development. "Vignette creation is a multistep process that benefits from a multidisciplinary team's input to refine content and format and to work through a series of steps to ensure that key themes, content, and format are vetted and appropriate for participants" (Lapatin et al., 2012, pp. 1349-1350). The second area for improvement would be to incorporate the understanding of how the socio-ecosystem levels influence each other. The vignettes represent one socio-ecosystem at one time; however, C-SEI includes understanding the socio-ecosystemic contextual factors and the relationships between the socio-ecosystems that lead to the underlying causes of SEI and

potential solutions. For example, some people may understand that racial slurs between individuals as supporting oppression, but may not perceive the connection between individual covenants designed to prevent homeowners from selling property to African Americans to the failing school systems of today in impoverished neighborhoods of color.

CHAPTER 5: COAP SCALE TESTING (STUDY 2)

The purpose of this chapter is to provide evidence of the COAP scale's psychometric quality by (dis)confirming the scale's reliability and validity. It is important to keep in mind that there is a reiterative process between the scale development and testing phases such that the results of testing the scale may require the researcher to return to repeat tasks from earlier stages of development (DeVellis, 2003). To assess the scale's validity, this study gathered evidence of COAP's factorial and construct validity. Factorial validity refers to the clustering of correlations of responses by groupings of items in the measure that represents a common factor or unobservable latent variable (Stats Direct, 2015; Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum, & Strahan, 1999). If the items on a scale are claiming to measure the same latent variable, then the items should have strong inter-item correlations that are being influenced by the same latent variable (Fabrigar et al., 1999). The construct validity of a measure is the assessment of whether the newly developed scale measures the intended latent variable as purported (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). For this study, COAPs is purported to measure the construct transformative consciousness of socio-ecosystemic inequity (C-SEI). Construct validity is difficult to assess and has many dimensions that can be investigated in order to show evidence of validity (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). Three dimensions of construct validity assessed in this study were convergent, divergent, and nomological validity. Convergent and divergent validity are considered subtypes of construct validity. When evidence of both convergent and divergent validity is demonstrated together then those results by definition provide evidence for construct validity (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). Neither one on its own is sufficient. Convergent validity assesses whether measures of constructs that theoretically should be related to each other are, in fact, observed to be related to each other (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). With divergent validity, constructs that theoretically should not be related to each other are, in fact, observed not to be related (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). In other words, there is a convergence between similar

constructs and the measure should be able to discriminate between different or theoretically unrelated constructs or people. Nomological validity is derived from a nomological network which is a representation of constructs of interest in study, their observable manifestations, and the interrelationships among and between these constructs (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). Within a nomological network, the construct under study should operate in theoretically suggested ways with the other constructs in the network. The reliability of a measure is the extent to which the measure gives consistent results (Peterson & Zimmerman, 2004; Trochim & Donnelly, 2008).

Thus, the research questions and hypotheses are:

1. Do the 3 hypothesized dimensions of the construct provide a good fit to the data from the sample of participants?
 - a. Hypothesis₁: The three domains are unidimensional.
2. Is there evidence that the scale measures what it is intended to measure among a convenience sample?
 - a. Hypothesis₁: The three domains of COAP will be more strongly correlated with each other than with the domains of the CCS.
 - b. Hypotheses₂: The three domains of COAP will have a statistically significant positive correlation with the Perceived Inequality and Sociopolitical Participation subscales of the CCS.
 - c. Hypotheses₃: The three domains of COAP will have a statistically significant negative correlation with social dominance orientation.
 - d. Hypotheses₄: The three domains of COAP will not have a statistically significant correlation with social desirability.
3. Is there evidence of the scale's internal consistency among a convenience sample?
4. Does Sociopolitical Participation predict Awareness, Behavioral-Response, and Consequence directly and indirectly through its relationships with social dominance orientation, perceived inequality, and CC self-assessment?

Methods

Procedure

Primary data was collected from a convenience sample for analysis of the scale's psychometric properties. The scale was administered in electronic format via Survey Monkey. No duplicates were allowed to be completed from the same computer. The study was described as a survey about participants' CC. Initially, the COAP scale included 28 vignettes which were two oppression and two privilege vignettes at each of the seven socio-ecosystem levels, 84 stems, and 252 branches. Following DeVellis' (2003) instruction to optimize scale length, the author randomly selected one privilege and one oppression vignette from each of the seven socio-ecosystem levels for a total of 14 vignettes, 42 stems, and 126 branches (Scale A and Scale B). The author randomly decided to use Scale A for testing. Also, for scale testing purposes, the author divided the scale into four sections. Section one consisted of demographics, social desirability scale, critical consciousness scale, social dominance orientation scale and four COAP vignettes (2 intrapersonal and 2 interpersonal) leaving 10 vignettes to be divided among the remaining three sections for scale administration. Each of the remaining three sections had four COAP vignettes. The author selected two bonus vignettes from Scale B to round out section four. To clarify, the complete COAP scale included 14 vignettes; however, the author included two additional vignettes from scale B for a total of 16 vignettes in the survey packet. The author estimated that section one would take 30 minutes to complete and the remaining sections (2-4) would take 15 minutes each. After each section, participants were asked if they wanted to end the survey or continue to the next section. When participants ended the selected section or completed the survey, they were directed to a link to enter the lottery to win a VISA gift card (Section1: \$30; Sections 1-2: \$50; Sections 1-3: \$75; Sections 1-4: \$100).

Recruitment and sampling. Because this measure was developed for use with the general population, a convenience sample was used in which potentially any person aged 18 and

over could participate. Participants from the general population were recruited by email, Facebook, and word of mouth. The author sent the survey link to department heads at Rutgers University to be sent to students, staff and faculty. People who received the recruitment email were encouraged to forward the recruitment email to their social networks. In addition to trying to recruit participants from the general population, the author targeted people who had community organizing backgrounds and/or race consciousness as determined by the types of groups and organizations with which they were involved. For example, the author sent the survey to several groups that identified as anti-racist. These types of participants were identified and included in the study because the author hypothesized that active participation in anti-racist groups would indicate high transformative consciousness of racial oppression and privilege. Thus, they should not only score high on COAP but COAP should also be able to distinguish between the two groups if enough of them participated. Informed consent was obtained prior to participants taking the survey.

Sample size. The number of participants was determined by how many items were incorporated on the final scale. Gorsuch (1983) proposed guidelines for a minimum ratio of participants to items (5:1 or 10:1). The final scale had 42 items. Thus, minimum sample size was 210 and max sample size was 420. Worthington and Whittaker (2006) also provided guidelines for sample size, one of which states that sample sizes of at least 300 are generally sufficient in most cases. Hoelter (1983) recommends a sample of 200. Thus, the author used the 5:1 ratio as a minimum and a sample size of 300 as the target.

Measures

Social dominance orientation. This study used a 16-item measure of social dominance orientation (SDO) developed by Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and Malle (1994) to ascertain the participant's degree of preference for inequality among social groups. In accordance with social dominance theory, which postulates that societies endorse social inequality through hierarchical ideologies that reinforce the superiority of some groups over others (Pratto et al., 1994), the SDO

scale measures a general attitudinal preference for intergroup relations that are equal or hierarchical. Half of the items are phrased to indicate support of inequality (e.g., “Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups”) while the other half are phrased to indicate support of equality (e.g., “We should do what we can equalize conditions for different groups”) (these items are reverse scored). Each item is rated on a scale from 1 (*very negative*) to 7 (*very positive*), with a rating of 4 (*neither positive nor negative*) suggesting a neutral perspective. Higher scores indicate attitudes that reflect social dominance as a norm. Pratto et al. (1994) found their SDO measure to be reliable with strong internal consistency ($\alpha = .83$, across all samples), test-retest reliability ($r = .81$ for a sample of diverse undergraduates; $r = .84$ in a sample of undergraduate men with extremely high or low SDO scores), and construct validity with diverse samples of college students. Evidence of construct validity was assessed via predictive, discriminant, and convergent validities (Pratto et al., 1994). As such, the authors have found that their measure is a psychometrically reliable, stable, and valid measure of SDO. From this study’s sample, the reliability for SDO was .88, similar to the findings of Pratto et al. (1994).

Critical consciousness scale (CCS). The critical consciousness scale consists of three conceptually relevant factors hypothesized to be reflective of the underlying CC construct. The first factor, *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality* (CCS-PI) consists of eight items that measure youths’ critical analysis of socioeconomic, racial/ethnic, and gendered limitations on educational and occupational opportunity. However, two items (“Women have fewer chances to get ahead” and “Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead”) were inadvertently deleted from the Perceived Inequality subscale producing a modified version of the scale used in this study. The second factor, *Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism* (CCS-E) consists of five items that measure youths’ endorsement of societal equality, meaning attitudinal preference for intergroup relations that are non-hierarchical. It should be noted that 4 of the 5 items on this subscale are the same as items on the Social Dominance Orientation scale. The third factor, *Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation* (CCS-P) consists of nine items that measure youths’ participation in

sociopolitical activities to change perceived inequalities. Higher scores on each subscale represent higher CCS-PI, CCS-E and CCCS-P. Scores from the three subscales are not to be totaled. The three CCS subscales were internally consistent, particularly for shorter measures, demonstrating Cronbach's alpha estimates of .91 (*Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality*), .81 (*Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism*), and .81 (*Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation*). It should be noted that the factors did not associate with each other in the expected directions. For this study, comparable to Diemer's (2014) findings, the three CCS subscales were internally consistent, demonstrating Cronbach's alpha estimates of .91 (*Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality*), .79 (*Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism*), and .81 (*Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation*).

Social desirability. Social desirability bias, or the tendency to reply to self-reported items in a manner that is considered socially accepted or desirable, was measured using the 10-item Version two short form of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972). Participants rated each item "true" or "false" (e.g., I am sometimes annoyed by people who ask favors of me"). Participants received 1 point each time they indicated the more socially desirable response. Sum scores were calculated (range 0 – 10), with higher scores representing an increased tendency to respond in the "socially desirable" manner. The Social Desirability scale had a poor reliability coefficient, .51.

Transformative consciousness of oppression and privilege scale (COAPs). COAPs, which is the focus of the present study, consists of 14 scenarios presented in the form of vignettes. There is one privilege and one oppression vignette for each of the seven socio-ecosystem levels. For example, a scenario dealing with an African American person being followed by a security guard in a store was classified as oppression at the mesosystem level, as it primarily involves something negative happening to an African American person within an organization rather than an interaction between individuals (i.e., interpersonal). This is not to say that the scenario did not include individual action or that the African American character is not

privileged in some way, just that the essence of all the scenarios correspond with either oppression or privilege and a particular socio-ecosystemic level.

The vignettes were written to be of interest and importance to the general population. A stem, or incomplete sentence, follows the vignette. Each vignette has three stems that represent the domains of transformative consciousness: Awareness, Behavioral-Response, and Consequence. An example of an awareness stem is: “You think Amanda selects a white doll because.” An example of a behavior-response stem is: “The police should.” An example of a consequence stem is: “As a result of the University’s selection criteria.” Participants are then provided with three branches representing the three levels of transformative consciousness: denial, blame and critical. An example of a denial item is: “They will be taking a financial risk that may be better suited for a financial institution.” An example of a blame item is: “He should expect to be treated like a thug or criminal and not be offended when it happens.” An example of a critical item is: “Voting laws that have a discriminatory impact against African Americans may continue to be passed.” Participants are to rank the three branches as either “1st choice” “2nd choice” or “3rd choice” by comparing the branches to each other and then ordering the branches according to which one is most like their way of thinking (See Appendix D for examples from full scale). Participants were also allowed to select “I don’t know” for one of their choices replacing one of the branches to a stem.

Scoring. Participants can receive a score for: 1) the entire scale, 2) each socio-ecosystem level, 3) oppression vignettes; 4) privilege vignettes; and 5) each domain (i.e., awareness, behavioral-response, or consequence) of Transformative Consciousness of SEI (C-SEI) for African American racial oppression and white racial privilege (see Table 18). However, the focus of this research is on the overall scale and the domains of C-SEI. For each item (includes one stem and 3 branches), there are 24 possible combinations, thus, scores for each item range from 0 to 23. With 42 items composing the scale, the highest score for the scale is 966 and the lowest score is 0, with higher scores indicating greater C-SEI. Each domain of transformative

consciousness (i.e., awareness, behavioral-response, and consequence) has 14 items. The highest score for each domain is 322. Table 16 shows the scale and domain scores for the sample.

Table 17

Scale Scores

COAP Score	Transformative Consciousness Domains			
	Awareness Domain Score	Behavioral-Response Domain Score	Consequence Domain Score	
N =	154	154	154	154
Score range	0 - 966	0 - 322	0 - 322	0 - 322
Range	581 - 940	174 - 321	200 - 316	183 - 310
Mean	822	275.16	281	266
SD	76.84	32.52	25.08	29

To score, participants receive a certain number of points for the combination of their ranked ordered responses (i.e., branches) to each stem. If participant ranked the critical branch as first choice, the blame branch as second choice and the denial branch as third choice, then s/he received the highest score of 23 for that item. The scoring system is more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 4, Scale Development.

Data Analysis

Missing Data

For respondents to be included in the final sample, they had to complete section one of the survey packet. Three hundred forty-eight (348) people started the survey. One hundred and eight (108) individuals did not complete section one and those cases were deleted. At two different points in first section of the survey, the author included an item to check if participants were still reading the survey. These items stated, “Please click on 'Slightly Agree' to indicate that you are still reading the survey” and “Please click 1 to indicate that you are still reading the survey.” These items were only inserted in the CCS and SDO scales because the formatting was

most similar. Three individuals failed both reliability tests and those cases were deleted. Thus, the remaining sample was two hundred thirty-seven (237) people that completed section one. Since the survey had an option to opt out of completing sections 2 - 4, each section had a different number of respondents. Of the two hundred thirty-seven (237) people that completed section one, two hundred fifteen (215) respondents completed section two, one hundred seventy four (174) respondents completed section three, and one hundred fifty-five (155) respondents completed section four.

Construct Validity

Factorial validity. For factorial validity, the author expected that the factor analysis would confirm the existence of three potential sub-scales of C-SEI representing awareness, behavioral-response, and consequence by providing a good model fit with the data supporting the underlying factor structure of the theory. Thus, three models corresponding with each domain of C-SEI, Awareness, Behavioral-Response, and Consequence, were tested following the hypothesized conceptual model. It should be noted that the hypothesized three factor model was tested as three separate subscales to determine if the three domains are unidimensional and correlated as expected following the recommendation that second order factor models should only be tested when factors in the first order models have high inter-factor correlations (Bowen & Guo, 2012). Factorial validity was assessed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Confirmatory factor analyses were performed on the collected data using maximum likelihood estimation procedures of AMOS 23 (Arbuckle, 2007) to assess the potential factor structure of the COAP scale.

CFA was conducted using asymptotically distribution-free estimation (also known as Weighted Least Squares, WLS) procedures of AMOS 23. This study used fit indices that are widely accepted and considered to be robust measures of fit (Hoyle, 1995). These included the discrepancy chi-square (X^2), the X^2 -to- df ratio, the goodness-of-fit index (GFI), the Comparative

Fit Index (CFI), the Expected Cross-Validation Index (ECVI) (Browne & Cudeck, 1989, 1992), and the Root Mean Square of Error Approximation (RMSEA). Generally, non-significant χ^2 values are preferred; however, this statistic is sensitive to sample size and tends to be significant with larger sample sizes. Accordingly, I included the χ^2 -to-*df* ratio (Farmer & Peterson, 2012). This fit index is more useful for studies with larger sample sizes because it modifies the χ^2 statistic by the degrees of freedom. A value that does not exceed 3.0 for the χ^2 -to-*df* ratio can be interpreted as indicating reasonable fit (Farmer & Peterson, 2012; Kline, 1998). Furthermore, higher values for CFI indicate acceptable fit; cutoff values of .95 are suggested. Smaller ECVI and RMSEA values are appropriate (Fan, Thompson, & Wang, 1999; Hu & Bentler, 1999). Browne and Cudeck (1992) suggest the following guidelines for interpreting the RMSEA: <0.05 = good fit; 0.05-0.08 = acceptable fit; 0.08-0.10=marginal fit; and >0.10 = poor fit.

To further assess construct validity, the author included two validation items. The author asked participants to assess their knowledge of CC and the author asked respondents if they were members of a community organizing group. The author also included the following validation scales: Social Desirability (Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972), Critical Consciousness Scale (CCS, Diemer et al., 2014) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO, Pratto et al., 2014). The author hypothesized that the domains of C-SEI will be more strongly correlated with each other than they are with the three subscales of CCS, CCS-PI, CCS-Egalitarianism, and CCS-P.

Convergent and divergent validity. To assess convergent validity, whether two constructs that are theoretically related are, in fact, related (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008; Gump, Baker, & Roll, 2000), the author hypothesized: 1) The domains of C-SEI will be positively correlated with the three subscales of Diemer et al.'s (2014) critical consciousness scale, 2) The domains of C-SEI will be positively correlated with CC self-assessment, and 3) The domains of C-SEI will be negatively correlated with the Social Dominance Orientation Scale. To assess divergent validity, whether two constructs that are theoretically unrelated are, in fact, unrelated

(Trochim & Donnelly, 2008), the author hypothesized that the domains of C-SEI will have no correlation with the social desirability scale.

Nomological validity. A nomological network is a theory-based conceptual model or theoretical framework that identifies relationships between variables to differentiate the construct from similar constructs and to define the construct which allows for construction of a measurement model (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). An essential preliminary step in constructing a nomological network is to depict a “general framework to represent some fundamental aspects” of C-SEI (Zimmerman, 1995, p. 587). This includes identifying observable measures relevant to C-SEI. The elements of a nomological network are: 1) must have at least two constructs; 2) theoretical propositions (e.g., as participation increases, social dominance orientation decreases); and 3) measures of the constructs (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). In other words, the construct under study should operate in theoretically hypothesized ways in relation to the other constructs in the network. Thus, this network should include a theoretical framework of the construct to be measured, an empirical framework for how the construct will be measured, and the specification of the connections between the theoretical and empirical frameworks (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). The eight variables used to assess nomological validity via path analysis were sociopolitical participation, perceived inequality, social desirability, social dominance orientation, self-assessment and the three domains of TC, awareness, behavioral-response, and consequence. I did not include the CCS-Egalitarianism subscale because all items except one were the same as the social dominance orientation scale. All of the other variables except for CC self-assessment were measured via existing scales. CC Self- assessment was one question that asked participants, “Please rate your knowledge of critical consciousness,” on a 0 - 4 scale with 0 representing, “I have no idea what critical consciousness is” to 4 representing, “I consider myself and expert in critical consciousness.”

To test the conceptual model, the author applied path analysis within the framework of structural equation modeling (SEM; Bryan, Scmiege, & Broaddus, 2007). Although SEM denotes

a type of analytic technique that usually includes the estimation of unobserved or latent constructs as well as an estimation of the structure of the relationships among latent constructs, path analysis represents a special case of SEM in which every variable in the model is directly measured or observed (Bryan et al., 2007). This approach is advantageous because the fit of complex, multicomponent models to data can be tested parsimoniously from a sample of participants (Bryan et al., 2007; Peterson et al., 2014). Many applied studies, including the present research, lack the sample size needed to test full SEM models with latent constructs. The path analysis of observed variables within an SEM framework allowed the author to obtain an adequate participants-to-parameters ratio, while additionally permitting examination of direct effects, indirect effects, mediational effects, and total effects simultaneously in one model rather than conducting a series of regression analyses (Peterson et al., 2014).

The author tested the path model using AMOS 23 (Arbuckle, 2007). The author began with a fully saturated model and ended with an over-identified model including only significant paths. Maximum likelihood estimation was used to analyze the variance-covariance matrix. The fit indices that the author interpreted are widely accepted and considered to be robust measures of fit (Hoyle, 1995). These included the discrepancy chi-square, the goodness-of-fit index (GFI), the comparative fit index (CFI), the expected cross-validation index (ECVI), and the root mean square of error approximation (RMSEA). Nonsignificant χ^2 values and higher values (i.e., $> .90$) on both the GFI and CFI indicate acceptable fit, whereas smaller ECVI and RMSEA values are desirable. According to Browne and Cudeck (1992), guidelines for interpreting the RMSEA include: $< .05$ = good fit; $.05 - .08$ = acceptable fit; $.08 - .10$ = marginal fit; $> .10$ = poor fit.

The author expected that participation would directly and indirectly lead to TC Awareness and would indirectly lead to TC behavior and consequence through self-assessment, perceived inequality and social dominance orientation. The path model had several mediational effects. According to the test of joint significance, when conducting a path analysis, if all the direct and indirect effects in the mediated model are significant, then there is mediation by

definition (Mallinckrodt, Abraham, Wei, & Russell, 2006). This is because the regressions are tested simultaneously rather than one by one as proposed by Baron and Kenny (1986). To decompose the effects of the mediating variable on the independent (IV) and dependent variable (DV) relationship, one must compute the ratio of the variable's indirect effect to its total effect (Peterson, Farmer & Zippay, 2014). This ratio is the proportion of the IV's total effect on the DV that is mediated through another variable. In other words, the proportion is the extent to which the mediating variable explains the relationship between the IV and DV. Thus, greater proportions are evidence of more mediation. The total effect of an IV on a DV is the sum of the direct and indirect effects. The indirect effect is the product of the beta weights of the two indirect pathways. To decompose the mediation effect, one must compute the ratio of the indirect and total effects by multiplying the beta weights on the two indirect pathways which are the IV – mediator pathway and the mediator – DV pathway. Then, that result is divided by the total effect. The effect of the IV on the DV is reduced by mediation if a negative number is obtained or increased by mediation if a positive number is obtained.

Reliability. The reliability of a measure is the extent to which the measure gives consistent results (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). Scales using vignettes have used Cronbach's Alpha to test reliability (Gump et al., 2000). The author expected that the domains of C-SEI represented by the subscales of COAP and the overall COAP scale will have strong internal consistency. The internal consistency of the overall scale and for each dimension was calculated using Cronbach's alpha.

Results

Participant/ Sample Characteristics

Since the survey was divided into sections to allow flexibility for participants to control the length and time allotted to complete the survey, each of the four sections had a different number of respondents. Level one had 237 respondents. Level two had 191 respondents. Level

three had 172 respondents and level 4 had 154 respondents. Demographic data are reported in Table 18 for the total sample (N=237).

Table 18

Demographics

	N	%
In College		
Yes	154	65
Age		
18 - 25	71	30
26 - 35	95	40
36 - 45	32	13.5
46 - 75	39	16.5
Sex		
Female	200	84.3
Male	34	14.3
Intersex	3	1.3
Gender		
Woman	198	83.5
Man	33	13.9
No gender/Do not identify/Other/Refuse	6	2.5
Sexual Orientation		
Heterosexual	200	84.4
Gay or Lesbian	14	5.9
Bisexual	17	7.2
Not Sure/Refused	6	2.5
Education		
Less than HS	1	0.4
HS graduate or Equivalent	2	0.8
>1 year of college	1	0.4
1 or more years of college, no degree	15	6.3
Associate degree	4	1.7
Bachelor's degree	108	45
Master's degree	86	36

Professional degree	2	0.8
Doctorate degree	21	9
Employment		
Full-time	127	53.6
Part-time	74	31.2
Unemployed	21	8.9
Other	15	6.3
Income		
Less than \$20,000	33	13.9
\$20,000 - \$39,999	44	18.6
\$40,000 - \$59,999	27	11.4
\$60,000 - \$79,999	34	14.3
\$80,000 - \$99, 999	23	9.7
Above \$100,000	49	20.7
Refused/Not sure	27	11.4
Race		
African American or Black	54	22.8
White	157	66.2
Asian	11	4.6
Other	19	8.4
Ethnicity		
Hispanic or Latino	43	18.1

Participants composed a convenience sample. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 73 years ($M = 33$ years, $SD = 12$), with 154 (65%) of participants identifying as an undergraduate or graduate student. The sample was overwhelmingly a female, woman and heterosexual majority with approximately 84% for the three categories. The sample was also of a high education. Forty-five percent completed Bachelor's degree and approximately 46% had completed a degree beyond a Bachelor's degree. The majority of the sample (54%) was employed full-time. Thirty-two percent of the sample was employed part-time. The majority of the sample was white (66%) followed by African American or black (23%). Eighteen percent identified as Latino or Hispanic. Descriptive data obtained with the convenient sample are reported in Table 19.

Table 19

Descriptive Statistics for Sample on Key Measures of Interest

Variable	N	Scale Score Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
CC Self-Assessment	191	1 - 5	1	5	2.3	1.1
Social Desirability	237	1 - 16	8	16	11.8	1.8
Perceived Inequality	237	1 - 36	6	36	29.7	6
Egalitarian	237	1 - 30	17	30	28.3	2.7
Sociopolitical Participation	237	1 - 45	9	37	17.5	5.4
Social Dominance Orientation	237	1 - 112	16	67	24	10.1
TC Awareness	154	0 - 322	174	321	275.2	32.5
TC Behavioral-Response	154	0 - 322	200	316	281	25.1
TC Consequence	154	0 - 322	183	310	266	29
COAP Score	154	0 - 966	581	940	822	76.8

Construct Validity

Evidence of construct validity was assessed by examining factorial validity with confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), convergent and divergent validity with bi-variate correlations, and nomological validity using path analysis.

Confirmatory factor analysis. Several guidelines in the literature indicated that the sample size for the current study (N = 237) was appropriate for conducting CFA (DeBlaere & Moradi, 2008). Kline (1998) recommended five cases per parameter estimated. Simulation studies suggest that a sample size of at least 200 is sufficient to derive meaningful and interpretable models and fit indices (Hau & Marsh, 2004; Quintana & Maxwell, 1999). Finally, smaller sample sizes can be appropriate when testing a priori models (Quintana & Maxwell, 1999) such as the one in this study. The author deemed the size of the present sample adequate because it exceeded each of these guidelines.

The hypothesis for the confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was that each domain of Transformative Consciousness (Awareness, Behavioral Response and Consequence) will provide a good model fit with the data supporting the potential underlying factor structure of the theory and be unidimensional. Confirmatory factor analysis was performed to test three models according to the conceptualization of Transformative Consciousness of Socio-ecosystemic Inequity (C-SEI). Table 20 presents fit indices for the three models tested in this study. Model 1 and Model 2 had marginal fits to the data. Model 3 had a very good fit to the data. As can be seen in Table 19, the discrepancy X^2 was significant for two models, Awareness and Behavioral-Response, and non-significant for one model, Consequence. The values for the X^2 -to- df ratios were below the 3.0 cutoff for good model-to-data fit for all models. The CFI values ranged from .817 to .924 indicating marginal model-to-data fit. No model had values above the 0.95 cutoff indicating good model-to data fit. The RMSEA value for the Consequence model was .03 indicating good model fit. However, the RMSEA values for Awareness and Behavioral, .063 and .056, respectively, were moderate fits being slightly above .05.

Table 20

Fit Indices

Measures of fit	Models		
	Model 1: Awareness	Model 2: Behavioral Response	Model 3: Consequence
χ^2	204.129	182.607	126.762
Df	104	104	104
p-value	0.000	0.000	0.064
χ^2 -to- df ratio	1.963	1.756	1.219
CFI	0.817	0.757	0.924
ECVI	1.256	1.166	0.932
(90% CI)	(1.102-1.442)	(1.025-1.340)	(.837 - 1.068)
RMSEA	0.063	0.056	0.030
(90% CI)	(.051-.076)	(.042-.070)	(.000-.047)

The standardized factor loadings shown in Table 21 indicate how strong each item was relative to the factors tested in this study. These loadings may be useful to determine where the lack of fit in the models occurred or how the model can be strengthened. From Comrey and Lee (1992), factor loadings greater than 0.70 are excellent, 0.63 very good, 0.55 good, 0.45 fair, and 0.32 poor. Although the guidelines proposed by Comrey and Lee (1992) to assess the overall quality of the factor loadings apply when one is conducting an exploratory factor analysis, DiStefano and Hess (2005) suggest that these guidelines are appropriate for assessing the quality of the factor loadings for conducting a confirmatory factor analysis as well. Slightly more than half, 26 of 48 (54%), of the factor loadings for the models are better than fair (>0.45). In sum, these data provide strong evidence that the models provide marginal to good fit with the data; however, the items may be problematic and in need of revision.

Table 21

Factor Loadings

Transformative Consciousness Domains					
Items	Model 1: Awareness	Items	Model 2: Behavioral- Response	Items	Model 3: Consequence
V1A	0.27	V1Br	0.36	V1Cq	0.14
V2A	0.52	V2Br	0.38	V2Cq	0.25
V3A	0.40	V3Br	0.22	V3Cq	0.49
V4A	0.41	V4Br	0.46	V4Cq	0.40
V5A	0.49	V5Br	0.41	V5Cq	0.48
V6A	0.48	V6Br	0.56	V6Cq	0.40
V7A	0.60	V7Br	0.48	V7Cq	0.59
V8A	0.60	V8Br	0.42	V8Cq	0.47
V9A	0.52	V9Br	0.53	V9Cq	0.49
V10A	0.51	V10Br	0.26	V10Cq	0.37
V11A	0.60	V11Br	0.49	V11Cq	0.41
V12A	0.64	V12Br	0.27	V12Cq	0.38
V13A	0.60	V13Br	0.34	V13Cq	0.41
V14A	0.67	V14Br	0.69	V14Cq	0.50
V15A	0.51	V15Br	0.46	V15Cq	0.69
V16A	0.29	V16Br	0.44	V16Cq	0.37

*Items highlighted in red are below the cut off for poor (<0.32)

Convergent and divergent validity. All was as hypothesized (see Table 22). The COAP scale score was positively correlated with Perceived Inequality, Egalitarianism, Sociopolitical Participation and Self-Assessment, $r = .482, p < .001$; $r = .305, p < .001$; $r = .246, p < .001$, respectively, and negatively correlated with Social Dominance Orientation, $r = -.449, p < .001$, and not correlated with Social Desirability. Each factor of Transformative Consciousness was strongly and positively correlated with the other factors. There was a positive correlation between TC-Awareness and Behavioral-Response, $r = 0.68, p < .001$. There was a positive correlation between TC-Awareness and Consequence, $r = 0.71, p < .001$. There was a positive correlation between Behavioral-Response and Consequence, $r = .676, p < .001$. Each factor of TC, Awareness, Behavioral-Response, and Consequence were positively correlated with Diemer et al.'s (2014) CCS-PI subscale, $r = .421, p < .001$; $r = .435, p < .001$; $r = .394, p < .001$, respectively. However, only Awareness and Behavioral-Response were positively correlated with Diemer et al.'s (2014) CCS-E subscale, $r = .263, p < .001$ and $r = .232, p < .001$. The TC-Consequence factor and Egalitarian were not correlated. All three TC factors, Awareness, Behavioral-Response, and Consequence, were positively correlated with Diemer et al.'s (2014) CCS-P subscale, $r = .320, p < .001$; $r = .277, p < .001$; $r = .193, p < .001$, respectively.

Social Desirability was not correlated with any of the TC factors, CC Self-assessment, Social Dominance Orientation or the CCS-E and CCS-P subscales of Diemer et al.'s (2014) CC scale. However, Social Desirability was positively correlated with the perceived inequality subscale of Diemer et al.'s (2014) CC scale, $r = .221, p < .001$.

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) was negatively correlated with Awareness, Behavioral Response, Consequence, $r = -.354, p < .001$; $r = -.434, p < .001$; $r = -.237, p < .001$. Social Dominance Orientation was also negatively correlated with two of Diemer's (2014) subscales, Perceived Inequality and Egalitarian, $r = -.173, p < .001$ and $r = -.689, p < .001$, but not correlated with the sociopolitical participation subscale.

Self-Assessment of one's critical consciousness, CC-Self-Assessment, was positively correlated with Awareness and Behavioral-Response, $r = .190$, $p < .01$ and $r = .255$, $p < .01$, but not correlated with Consequence. Self-Assessment was also not correlated with Perceived Inequality, Egalitarian, Social Desirability, Social Dominance but was correlated with Sociopolitical Participation, $r = .306$, $p < .001$.

The correlation matrix (see Table 22) demonstrated that the three potential domains of transformative consciousness correlated more strongly with each other than any other conceptually relevant variable. TC Awareness correlated with TC Behavior, $r = .68$, $p < .001$. TC Awareness correlated with TC Consequence, $r = .71$, $p < .001$. TC Behavior correlated with TC Consequence, $r = .68$, $p < .001$. The strongest correlation between any of the domains of transformative consciousness and another construct is a positive correlation between Perceived Inequality and TC Behavior, $r = .44$, $p < .001$. These results indicate that Awareness, Behavioral-Response and Consequence are distinct constructs from theoretically similar constructs and may represent one underlying latent factor. Diemer et al. (2014) found that as they hypothesized, *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality* had a significant positive correlation with *Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation*, $r = .18$, $p < .05$. Counter Diemer and colleagues' (2014) hypotheses, *Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation* had a significant but unexpected negative correlation with *Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism*, $r = -.42$, $p < .05$ and *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality* did not correlate with *Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism*.

Table 22

Descriptive Statistics for Sample and Bivariate Correlations

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	M	SD	α	Skewness	SE	Kurtosis	SE
TC: 1 Awareness	-										275	32.52	.81	-.79	.20	-.02	.39
TC: 2 Behavioral- Response	.68**	-									281	25.08	.70	-1.03	.20	.81	.39
TC: 3 Consequence Perceived	.71**	.68**	-								266	29	.74	-.75	.20	.13	.39
4 Inequality	.42**	.44**	.39**	-							29.72	5.92	.90	-1.45	.16	2.72	.32
5 Egalitarianism	.26**	.23**	.13	.04	-						28.33	2.73	.79	1.16	.16	4.0	.32
Sociopolitical 6 Participation	.32**	.28**	.19**	.25**	.05	-					17.5	5.43	.81	1.16	.16	1.45	.32
Social 7 Desirability	.04	.10	-.04	.22**	-.02	.07	-				11.75	1.75	.51	.15	.16	-.35	.32
Social 8 Dominance	-.35**	-.43**	-.24**	.17**	-.69**	-.09	0.03	-			24.02	10.14	0.88	1.98	.16	4.32	.32
CC Self- 9 Assessment	.19*	.26*	.12	.024	.05	.31**	-.07	.00	-		2.35	1.1	NA	.28	.18	-1.07	.35
10 COAP Score	NA	NA	NA	.48**	.31**	.25**	.04	-.45**	.18*	-	822	76.84	.91	-.78	.20	.14	.39

Note Inter-correlations for participant scores ($N=154$) are represented below the diagonal. ** $p < .01$ level (2-tailed).

Nomological validity. Since nomological validity is a type of validity that explores whether a measure correlates in theoretically predicted ways with measures of different but related constructs, a conceptual framework specifying the hypothesized relationships was necessary for the study (see figure 9).

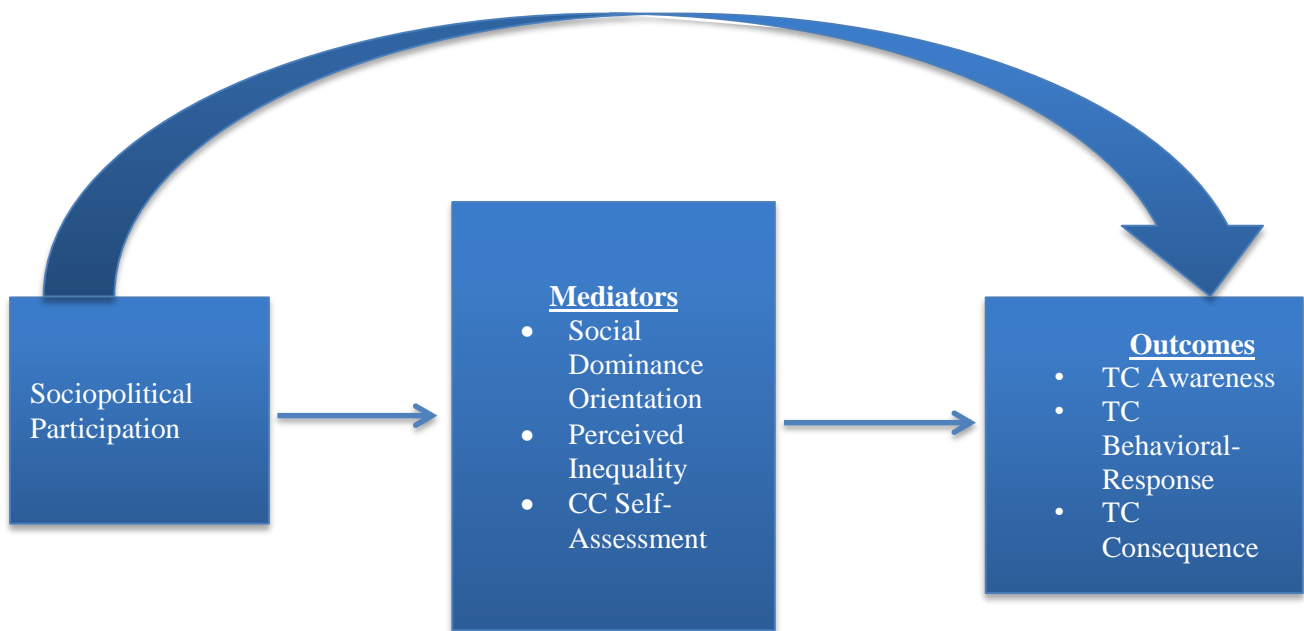


Figure 9. Conceptual framework for the study. This figure provides the conceptually relevant variables in theorized relationships.

Figure 10 presents the over-identified path model, which includes only significant paths. The path coefficients in Figure 10 represent statistically significant ($p < .05$) standardized beta weights. This model was found to have a good model-to-data fit for the sample, $X^2(12) = 7.76$, $p = .065$; CFI = 1.0; RMSEA = .000. The path analysis depicts how the domains of transformative consciousness operate within a network of conceptually relevant constructs. Path analysis represents a special case of structural equation modeling (SEM) in which every variable in the model is directly measured (Bryan et al., 2007). This approach is advantageous because complex models can be parsimoniously fit to the data (Bryan et al., 2007; Peterson et al., 2014). However, “[g]iven that structural equation modeling (SEM) is based on the analysis of covariance structures, evidence of kurtosis is always a concern and, in particular, evidence of

multivariate kurtosis, is known to be exceptionally detrimental in SEM analyses” (Byrne, 2010, p. 103). Table 22 provides the skewness and kurtosis z statistics for assessing the normality of the data (Balanda, 1988; Doane & Seward, 2011; Field, 2012; Kim, 2013). Assessing normality is important because most statistical tests have assumptions of normal distributions. Although it seems that scholars have not come to consensus as to how large the absolute, non-zero values should be before concluding the result indicates extreme kurtosis or skewness, “rescaled β_2 values equal to or greater than 5 have been suggested to be indicative of departure from normality” (Byrne, 2010, p. 104) for kurtosis and values greater than the absolute value of one are highly skewed. Using these nonzero values as a reference, a review of skewness and kurtosis scores revealed that the majority of the variables were not significantly skewed or kurtotic. However, to ensure rigor, the author utilized an approach to analyze non-normal data and conducted the asymptotic distribution-free (ADF) estimation (Byrne, 2010) on the variables used in the path analysis. The results were virtually identical to the original model presented in Figure 10.

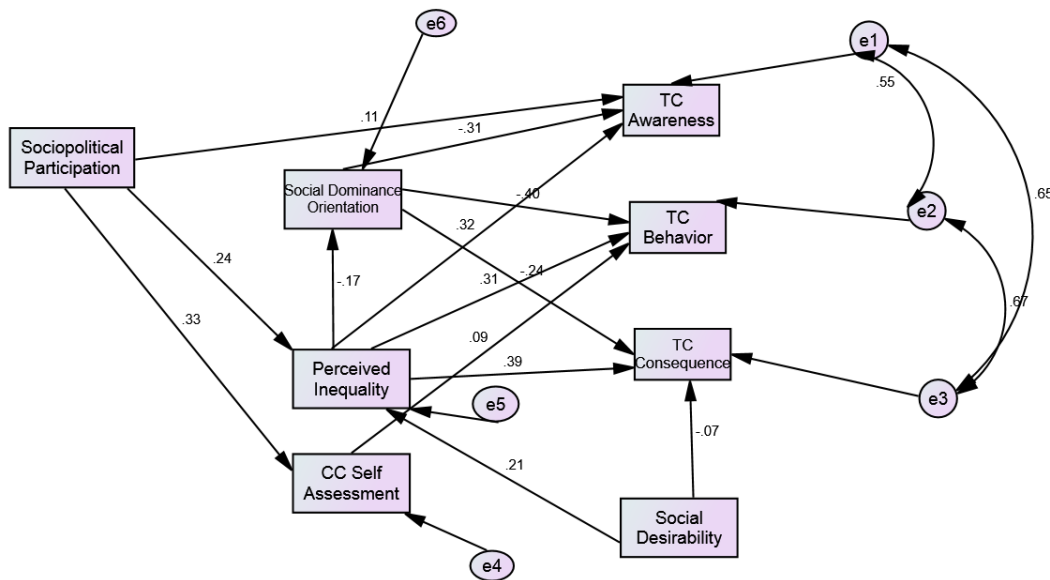


Figure 10. Path model predicting C-SEI. Note. Fit indices for the model: $X^2(12) = 7.76$, $p = .065$; CFI = 1.0; RMSEA = .000. Paths shown are statistically significant standardized regression weights; $p < .05$.

Four mediational pathways were identified in the path model. These mediational pathways represent statistically significant mediational models. According to the test of joint significance, when conducting a path analysis, if all the direct and indirect effects in the mediated model are significant, then there is mediation by definition (Mallinckrodt et al., 2006). The first mediational model (Figure 11) suggests that Perceived Inequality (PI) partially mediates the relationship between Participation and TC Awareness. The indirect pathways are Participation to PI (.22) and PI to Awareness (.32).

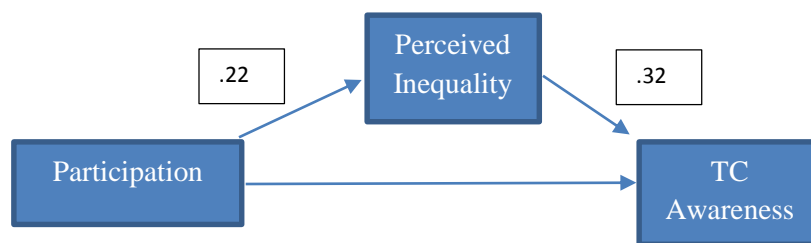


Figure 11. Perceived inequality mediating sociopolitical participation and TC Awareness. This figure illustrates that the relationship between sociopolitical participation and TC Awareness is mediated by perceived inequality.

The product of these indirect pathways is .07. The standardized total effect is .21. Thus the ratio is $.07/.21 = .33$. Thirty-three percent of the total effect of the IV of participation on the DV of TC Awareness is explained by perceived inequality. Thus, perceived inequality has a direct effect on TC Awareness such that an increase in perceived inequality corresponds with an increase in TC Awareness. Sociopolitical participation also has a direct effect on TC Awareness such that an increase in sociopolitical participation corresponds with an increase in TC Awareness. Sociopolitical participation has an indirect effect on TC-Awareness through perceived inequality such that more sociopolitical participation is associated with more perceived inequality and more perceived inequality is associated with greater TC Awareness. The relationship between sociopolitical participation and awareness is partially mediated by perceived

inequality, such that 33% of the relationship between sociopolitical participation and awareness is explained by perceived inequality.

The effects of perceived inequality on TC Awareness, TC Behavior, and TC Consequence are each partially mediated by Social Dominance Orientation as demonstrated by the following three mediational models. The second mediational model (Figure 12) suggests that Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) mediates the relationship between perceived inequality and TC Awareness.

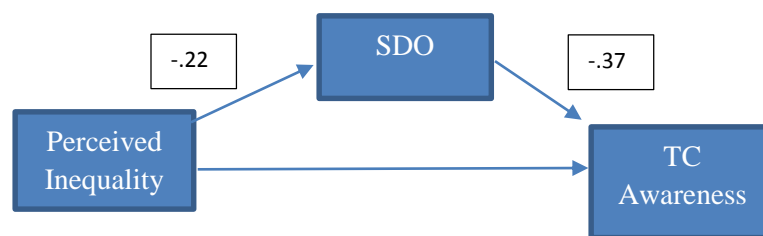


Figure 12. SDO mediating perceived inequality and awareness. This figure illustrates that the relationship between sociopolitical participation and TC Awareness is mediated by perceived inequality.

The product of these indirect pathways is .08. The standardized total effect is .406. Thus the ratio is $.08/.406 = .20$. Twenty percent of the total effect of the IV of PI on the DV of TC Awareness is explained by SDO. The third mediational model suggests that SDO mediates the relationship between perceived inequality (PI) and TC Behavior. The indirect pathways are PI to SDO (.22) and SDO to Behavior (.32). Thus, perceived inequality has a direct effect on TC Awareness such that an increase in perceived inequality corresponds with an increase in TC Awareness. Social dominance orientation has a negative direct effect on TC Awareness such that a decrease in SDO corresponds with an increase in TC Awareness. Perceived inequality has an indirect effect on TC Awareness through SDO such that more PI is associated with less SDO and less SDO is associated with greater TC Awareness. The relationship between PI and TC Awareness is partially mediated by SDO, such that 20% of the relationship between PI and TC awareness is explained by SDO.

The third mediational model (see Figure 12) suggests that SDO mediates the relationship between sociopolitical participation and TC Behavior. The product of these indirect pathways is .10. The standardized total effect is .432. Thus the ratio is $.10/.432 = .23$. Twenty-three percent of the total effect of the IV of PI on the DV of TC Behavior is explained by SDO. Thus, perceived inequality has a positive direct effect on TC Behavior, such that more perceived inequality is associated with more TC Behavior.

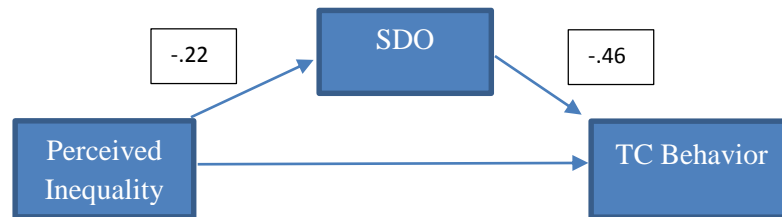


Figure 13. SDO mediating perceived inequality and TC Behavior. This figure illustrates that the relationship between perceived inequality and TC Behavior is mediated by SDO.

Social dominance orientation has a negative direct effect on TC-Behavior, such that more SDO corresponds with less TC Behavior. Perceived inequality has an indirect effect on TC Behavior through SDO such that more perceived inequality is associated with less SDO and less SDO is associated with more TC Behavior. The relationship between perceived inequality and TC Behavior is partially mediated by SDO, such that 23% of the PI - Behavior relationship is explained by SDO.

Figure 14 suggests that SDO mediates the relationship between perceived inequality and TC Consequence. The indirect pathways are PI to SDO (-.22) and SDO to TC Consequence (-.24). Perceived Inequality has a positive direct effect on TC-Consequence, such that more PI is associated with more TC Consequence. Social dominance orientation has a negative direct effect on TC-Consequence, such that more SDO corresponds with less TC Consequence. Perceived inequality has an indirect effect on TC consequence such that more PI is associated with less SDO and less SDO is associated with more TC Consequence. The relationship between PI and TC consequence is partially mediated by SDO, such that 11% of the PI - Consequence relationship is explained by SDO.

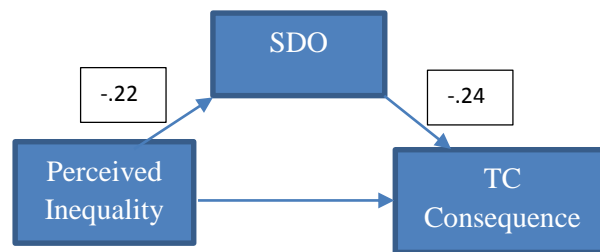


Figure 14. SDO mediating perceived inequality and TC Consequence. This figure illustrates that the relationship between perceived inequality and TC Consequence is mediated by SDO.

The path model had few pathways not included in the mediational models. Sociopolitical participation has a positive direct effect on self-assessment, such that more sociopolitical participation leads to more CC self-assessment. Sociopolitical participation has positive indirect effects on TC Behavior through perceived inequality and CC self-assessment, such that more sociopolitical participation leads to more TC behavior through increases in perceived inequality and CC self-assessment.

The remaining effects not incorporated in the mediational models are the following: Social desirability has a negative direct effect on TC Consequence, such that more social desirability is associated with less TC Consequence; and, social desirability has a positive direct effect on perceived inequality, such that more social desirability is associated with more perceived inequality.

Reliability

This study used Cronbach's Alpha to examine the reliability of each factor. Acceptable Cronbach's Alpha scores range from .70 - .95 (Tavakol & Dennick, 2011). The Awareness factor had good reliability with .89. The reliability for the other two factors, behavioral-response and consequence were barely acceptable at .70 and .74, respectively. The reliability for the COAP scale was .91.

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the psychometric properties of the COAP scale. The results of the CFA, validity tests that assessed correlations between the potential three factors of TC and

other theoretically related constructs, path analysis, and reliability suggest the COAP scale is valid and reliable, but in need of further development to strengthen its psychometric qualities.

This study examined the potential three factor structure of transformative consciousness of socio-ecosystemic inequity for African American racial oppression and white racial privilege. The results provide evidence that the hypothesized three factor model of Awareness, Behavioral Response, and Consequence to be a good fit to the data providing evidence for the conceptualization of transformative consciousness of socio-ecosystemic inequity. The results demonstrated that despite the good model fits to the data, several of the items had weak factor loadings (<0.60), which suggest that these items are not ideal indicators of the factors. The awareness factor had two items with low ($<.40$) factor loadings, behavioral-response had six, and consequence had five items with low factor loadings. These items should be reviewed and possibly revised. It is important to note that the sample had an overwhelming female and middle to upper class majority which may have influenced responses. A more in-depth analysis of COAPs' properties is required to determine how the scale operates with different populations.

Relationships operated in theoretically expected ways. Correlations demonstrated construct validity by providing evidence that the three domains of transformative consciousness correlated more strongly with each other than any other construct. Correlations also provided evidence of divergent and convergent validity. For divergent validity, none of the domains of TC were correlated with Social Desirability. Theoretically, they should not be related. However, since this study utilized self-report instruments to assess attitudes of content in which people generally want to appear politically correct, responses were susceptible to social desirability bias. Thus, having no correlation seems to provide strong support for divergent validity. For convergent validity, the domains of TC were positively correlated with perceived inequality and sociopolitical participation and negatively correlated with social dominance orientation as hypothesized.

The bivariate correlations brought to light some interesting findings. First, Social Desirability was positively correlated with the perceived inequality subscale of Diemer et al.'s (2014) CC scale confirming the author's suspicion that CC scales may be susceptible to social desirability bias. As Diemer and

colleagues (2014) found, *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality* had a significant positive correlation with *Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation*, $r=.25$, $p<.001$. Diemer et al. (2014) found that *Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation* had a significant but unexpected negative correlation with *Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism*, $r = -.42$, $p<.05$; however, this study found no significant correlation between *Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation* and *Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism*. Similarly, as in the Diemer et al. (2014) study, this study found no correlation between the two sub-domains of *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality and Egalitarianism*. These findings, in combination with findings from Diemer and colleagues (2014) suggest that perceived inequality and egalitarianism are not part of the same construct. For this reason, the author did not include the Diemer et al.'s (2014) egalitarian construct within the path analysis. However, since perceived inequality and sociopolitical participation were positively correlated, these dimensions may be two dimensions of one construct similar to the conceptualization of Transformative Potential briefly described in chapter three. The egalitarianism subscale was mostly composed (4 of 5 items) from the SDO scale. Reverse scores on the SDO scale have been used as a proxy to assess the reflection component of critical consciousness. Since scholars (e.g., Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Diemer & Blustein, 2006) conceptualize CC as composed of two dimensions - reflection and action - it would be expected that SDO and sociopolitical participation should correlate. However, SDO did not correlate with sociopolitical participation in this study. The absence of a correlation suggests that sociopolitical participation and social dominance orientation do not represent the same underlying latent construct of critical consciousness. Thus, another conclusion from these results is that inverse scores on the social dominance orientation measure are not a good proxy measure of critical reflection or CC as it has been used by many scholars.

The path model also provided evidence of nomological validity by providing evidence of relationships between theoretically connected constructs. As hypothesized, sociopolitical participation directly led to TC Awareness and indirectly led to TC Awareness, TC Behavior and TC Consequence through self-assessment, perceived inequality and social dominance orientation. These findings are supported by the CC literature that civic engagement is a method of raising TC awareness to the critical

consciousness level for African American racial oppression and white racial privilege. Once people are involved, they learn more about the injustices and inequities that exist, the causal factors underlying the manifestations and perpetuation of the inequities, and the consequences. The path model provided evidence of this proposition by showing an indirect link of sociopolitical participation affecting TC Awareness and TC Consequence through perceived inequality. Another pathway of interest is from sociopolitical participation to CC self-assessment to TC behavior which seems to agree with the CC literature's proposition that efficacy is needed for CC development. As people participate, they assess their own CC growth which develops their consciousness on how to intervene.

Direct Effects, Indirect Effects and Mediation

The findings also raise questions about the meaning of direct and indirect effects such as those shown in the path model. Magill (2011) and MacKinnon (2011) discussed the value of testing direct and indirect effects in social work research. When results indicate that an effect is direct between two variables, the interpretation is that a change in the independent variable (IV) is associated with a change in the dependent variable (DV). Magill (2011) and MacKinnon (2011) noted that because most studies focus only on direct relationships between IVs and DVs, they often do not explain precisely how IVs may have influenced DVs. This is also known as the "black box" of intervention research in that the researcher knows the intervention worked (i.e., the intervention lowered substance use) but the researcher does not know how or through what mechanism(s) the intervention worked (e.g., increased self-esteem, changed environment). Mediators are variables that intervene, or help to explain, the relationships between IVs and DVs. As applied to this study, the indirect effects represent the mechanisms or processes through which sociopolitical participation (IV) was found to influence the potential three domains of transformative consciousness (DV). The author hypothesized that these mediational processes would involve participants' self-assessment of CC, perceptions of inequality and social dominance orientation. The findings suggest that for sociopolitical participation, the hypothesized mediators did serve as explanatory variables as evidenced by stronger ratios of indirect to total effects. It should be noted that all

mediation effects are indirect effects, but not all indirect effects are mediation effects. Mediation effects require a mediating variable to intervene in the relationship between the IV and DV. An indirect effect that does not include a mediating variable is interpreted as an IV that affects an intermediary variable and that intermediary variable then affects the DV, such is the case between sociopolitical participation, perceived inequality and TC Consequence. This is an indirect effect but not mediation because there is no direct relationship between sociopolitical participation and consequence to be intervened upon by perceived inequality.

These findings highlight the need for additional research on other potential mediators beyond those considered in this study that can help us to better understand the process through which sociopolitical participation is related to transformative consciousness of socio-ecosystemic inequity. As research is conducted in other contexts and with representative samples of the general population to further test and develop the transformative consciousness framework used in this study, it may also be useful for researchers to consider possible moderators. Moderators such as how much one participates or types of action might be used to examine differences between subgroups.

The conceptualization and scale testing of transformative consciousness and the identification of mediators may assist with public health concerns regarding health inequalities. As a result of national attention focused on alleviating health inequalities, scholars are adopting new paradigms of research to develop culturally relevant theories of health and illness (Carlson et al., 2006; Windsor et al., 2014b). The lack of well-articulated theories of change at the community level (Merzel & D’Afflitti, 2003; Potvin, Gendron, Bilodeau, & Chabot, 2005) has been a major stumbling block to the successful development of community-based approaches to address health inequalities. There is increased recognition that many public health concepts that inform philosophical and theoretical approaches have been based on inadequately developed and untested ideas (Bachrach & Abeles, 2004; Windsor et al., 2015a). Most health intervention programs have been based on theories of social change that target individual behavior without consideration of systemic factors (Potvin et al., 2005). Program developers who have used theories of community change have found these theories inadequate to account for the specificity of

causal mechanisms and mediating relationships (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002). Scholars can elicit authentic community participation in neighborhoods to address health inequalities by developing transformative consciousness to address learned helplessness and false consciousness (Quintana, & Segura-Herrera, 2003) that has led to people participating in their own dehumanization process. The development of transformative consciousness may be the first step to combat apathy that has been used for survival. Transformative consciousness can guide the development of comprehensive community initiatives that place emphasis on community capacity building needed in oppressed communities (Windsor, et al., 2014a; Windsor et al., 2014b; Windsor et al., 2015b). Moreover, the development of transformative consciousness may enlist the aid and support of members of the dominant group. The path model may provide guidance for articulating theories of change at the community level by specifying causal mechanisms and mediating relationships (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002). Moreover, by using this measure, it is possible to determine (a) the individual or group's level of consciousness, (b) appropriate interactions or interventions that will facilitate development of consciousness, and (c) the effectiveness of such efforts (Alschuler, 1986).

Limitations

There are several limitations to the study that should be recognized when interpreting the findings. First, randomized experimental designs remain the gold standard for establishing causality. Thus, the findings from using path analysis with cross-sectional data rather than experimental designs with random assignment should be interpreted with caution (Peterson et al., 2014). With experimental designs researchers can meet a three prong test to infer causality that includes demonstrating associations between variables, providing evidence of temporal sequence that one variable precedes another, and ruling out of competing explanations for the observed relationships (Kundi, 2006). Since this study did not use the randomized experimental design, the inferences of causality from the use of path analysis with this type of data are tentative (Peterson, et al., 2014). The author of this dissertation did, however, subject the hypothesized model to a potential falsification test (Peterson, et al., 2014). The author hypothesized a

specific ordering of variables based on the conceptual framework (see Figure 9) that was supported by the data (Peterson, et al., 2014).. Although the author used causal language to discuss results, the author recognizes the limits of the design and the tenuousness of the inferences (Peterson, et al., 2014).

The non-probability sampling strategy also limits the generalizability of my findings. More research is needed to expand the framework and test new models using data from randomly selected samples. Larger and more diverse samples will also allow examination of differences in perceptions and outcomes determined by variables including social networks, community involvement, gender, race, age and other individual and environmental characteristics. The testing of COAP was also limited by its exclusion of qualitative data, such as those generated from cognitive interviewing or open-ended questions. Such data are needed to develop the understanding of the context and elements of participants' perceptions and interpretations of the vignettes, stems, and branches. Finally, I recognize that because Transformative Consciousness is a dynamic process that involves change in the individual over time, the scale does not reflect development and is only capturing a snapshot of *consciousness* related to the underlying cognitions that comprise TC (Baker & Brookins, 2014). Despite these limitations, my findings address a gap in the CC literature of using non-validated, proxy measures.

Future Research

Future research will focus on revising and improving items that did not perform well in the factor analysis. Also, other types of validity should be assessed. For example, criterion validity examines whether the operationalization behaves according to the theory of the construct (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). There are two-subcategories of criterion validity: Predictive and Concurrent validity. In psychometrics, predictive validity is the extent to which a score on a scale or test predicts scores on some criterion measure (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). The predictive validity of a measure is the correlation between the scores on the measure of the construct and the scores on the measure of the outcome variable (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). Research has found that case vignettes have predictive power of behavior and that responses to cases may be a good indication of what someone will actually do (Li et al., 2007).

However, predictive validity could not be assessed in this study because there were no outcome measures of future behavior. Concurrent validity is the extent to which the measure correlates with validated measures of the same construct (Trochim & Donnelly, 2008). Concurrent validity could not be assessed because there are no other measures of Transformative Consciousness of SEI.

CHAPTER 6: GENERAL DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to conceptualize a construct, develop a scale and test the psychometric quality of the scale in response to the conceptual and measurement limitations found in the CC literature. To address the conceptual limitations of CC, this study formulated the construct of Transformative Consciousness and applied the conceptual model to socio-ecosystemic inequity (SEI), specifically African American racial oppression and white racial privilege. Grounded in the CC literature but distinct from CC, Transformative Consciousness of SEI (C-SEI) has three potential dimensions: Awareness, Behavioral-Response, and Consequence. C-SEI is similar to CC in that both constructs include reflection on issues of oppression (Watts et al., 2012; Diemer et al., 2014). However, a few major differences are that C-SEI includes privilege, the socio-ecosystem levels, and does not include action as one of the domains.

Transformative Consciousness of Socio-ecosystemic Inequity (C-SEI)

The conceptualization of C-SEI attempted to address the conceptualization issues identified in the literature review. The construct was operationalized to have three domains: Awareness, Behavioral-Response, and Consequence. The conceptual model included levels of consciousness that are based on Freire's (1973) magical, naïve, and critical consciousness levels. The action domain was removed from the conceptual model to allow for consciousness to lead to action and vice versa.

COAPs Development (Study 1)

The development of the Transformative Consciousness of Oppression and Privilege Scale (COAPs) attempted to address the measurement issues identified in the literature review. One main measurement issue was the use of proxy measures of other constructs to measure selected domains of CC (Thomas et al., 2014; Diemer et al., 2014; Watts et al., 2012). There are a few differences between COAPs and previous methods of measurement of CC. COAPs was created for the general population to allow for intersectionality –overlapping privileged and oppressed identities – that exists within the general population. This version of COAPs is content specific focusing on African American racial oppression

and White racial privilege. Lastly, the scale's format uses a combination of vignettes, sentence completion and ranking to assess cognitions rather than attitudes and to reduce the likelihood of social desirability bias.

COAPs Testing (Study 2)

Testing the psychometric properties of the COAP scale provided evidence of reliability and construct validity. Results indicated that the scale and the subscales had moderate to good internal consistency. For reliability, Cronbach's Alpha of the scale was above .9 indicating internal consistency of the scale's items. As evidence of construct validity, the data supported convergent, divergent and nomological validity. Construct validity was supported by the results of the CFA indicating a fair to good fit to the data for three domains representing Awareness, Behavioral-Response and Consequence. The results also provided evidence of divergent and convergent validity showing that C-SEI is unrelated to Social Desirability and related in expected ways to Social Dominance Orientation, Perceived Inequality, and Sociopolitical Participation. The path model also indicated that the construct operated in theoretically expected ways within the nomological network. Previous research of CC has suggested that action is a component of critical consciousness or that CC leads to action or action leads to CC (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Corcoran, Pettinicchio, Young, 2015; Freire, 1970). The evidence from this study suggests that, for this sample, action was directly and indirectly associated with aspects of C-SEI, such that participation leads to higher levels of C-SEI. Further research is needed to test the psychometric properties of COAPs.

Limitations

There were a few limitations with the COAPs development study. The participants who helped develop the scale were volunteers and my associates. Thus, similar ways of thinking most likely plagued the development process. Integration of higher order thinking was important to create the level of consciousness branches (denial, blame, and critical consciousness); however, it is challenging for content experts to think like a novice or a less critically consciousness person (Tractenberg, Gushta, Mulroney, &

Weissinger, 2013). The scale's use of vignettes was to address the attitudinal nature and non-developmental aspect of Likert-type scales of CC. However, creating vignettes is a multi-step process that benefits from the participation of a diverse team in order to incorporate appropriate content and formatting (Lapatin et al., 2012). Thus, the scale development process would have benefited from the participation of individuals with varying levels of transformative consciousness. The use of vignettes also caused the scale to be lengthy. This may limit the scale's utility for populations that have limited time or reading difficulty. The use of vignettes could be problematic and should be reviewed to determine if there is another method that could better address the measurement limitations and that would be more easily used by the general population.

Another limitation is that this research cannot be used to predict social change behavior. Research has found that case vignettes have predictive value of behavior and that responses to cases may be a good indication of how someone will actually respond (Li et al., 2007). However, for many researchers the use of case vignettes presents a methodological challenge in that there is an indeterminate relationship between beliefs and actions (Barter & Renold, 1999). This research dilemma can be avoided if the aim of the research is to collect data on the meanings and interpretations people ascribe to specific contexts, without inferring actions (Barter & Renold, 1999). However, the purpose of developing C-SEI is to get people to take action against SEI. Socio-ecosystemic injustice/inequity is a complex problem requiring a multilevel approach to solve. This suggests that skills, self-efficacy, moral motivation and other tools are required to be developed to effectively address inequity (Mustakova-Possardt, 1998). Such tools can be explored as mediators. Ultimately, training and education should result in the application of transformative consciousness but that does not assure success. This scale measures only an intermediate step on the road to addressing the causes and healing the effects of socio-ecosystemic inequity (King, 1963). Any treatment or intervention aimed at changing behavior and systems is beset with many barriers. Treatment fidelity, meaning strategies used to ensure the success of change by linking theory and practice, is only complete when the delivery and receipt, and the enactment of skills learned are incorporated into one's daily life.

The following limitations were inherent in the testing of COAPs because of the study design and other factors. First, the findings are not generalizable to the U.S. population because the scale used a convenience sample. As such, respondents were self-selected and may not adequately represent those who did not participate. Moreover, the sample was overwhelmingly female and middle to upper class. Thus, results cannot be applied to males or lower socio-economic groups. Also, those who may have not been familiar with CC or those not interested in this issue probably did not participate. Those who participated may have been more self-determined and had better self-awareness than those who chose not to participate. Study participation was voluntary, and data collected may not adequately represent those who did not participate. The path analysis suggests that participation directly and indirectly leads to transformative consciousness. However, this study did not use an experimental design with random assignment. Thus, caution should be used in making inferences of causality when using path analysis with cross-sectional data. The several limitations of this study must be considered when interpreting all findings.

Future Research

There are many ideas for future research stemming from this dissertation which mostly addresses the limitations of this study. Future research includes revisiting the conceptualization of TC and C-SEI. It is important to keep in mind that there is a reiterative process between conceptualization, scale development and testing phases such that the results of testing the scale may require the researcher to return to earlier stages in the development process to repeat such tasks as operationalization and item development (DeVellis, 2003). Thus, the conceptualization of transformative consciousness is still developing.

Future research for scale development includes developing a shorter and less time consuming format for assessment while simultaneously expanding the scale's content to assess consciousness of more types of oppression and privilege other than African American racial oppression and white racial privilege. When considering shortening the scale, there is evidence not presented in this dissertation that

supports the use of only three of the seven socio-ecosystems: Interpersonal, Mesosystem, and Macrosystem. Scholars of racism generally have identified three levels of analysis: the individual, the cultural, and the structural (Speight, 2007). It is possible that assessment of TC may only require the intrapersonal level for each domain (Awareness, Behavioral-Response, and Consequence) of TC, or only the awareness domain for each socio-ecosystem level, or only the awareness domain at the intrapersonal level. However, the literature supports retaining the chronosystem because TC should have an explicit appreciation of historical context. This historical context offers insight into the power dynamics used to promote and maintain C-SEI and facilitates the identification of methods for accomplishing social justice (Reich, Pinkard, & Davidson, 2008). To address including more types of SEI, for example, there could be one vignette that integrates multiple types of privilege and oppression (e.g., sexism, heterosexism) at all the socio-ecosystem levels in line with intersectionality. This is important because these systems of injustice are interacting and mutually constitutive and reinforcing. Therefore, activists cannot oppose only one system of inequality and meet with any success. Activists must work to undermine all forms of inequality simultaneously (Ferber, 2012).

Future research for scale testing includes testing the new scaling method composed of vignettes, sentence completion and ranking used in this study with an already established construct and comparing results to a validated, standardized measure to determine if this scaling method is functional. Other types of construct validity need to be assessed (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994; Rubio et al., 2003). Once the scale has substantial evidence supporting its validity, the author proposes to identify cut off scores for denial, blame and critical consciousness levels of transformative consciousness. This will make scale scores interpretable for assessment and development of C-SEI. The scale should be able to predict outcomes and differentiate between those theoretically determined to have high or low C-SEI. Future research would also examine which components of Transformative Consciousness – awareness, behavioral-response or consequence, working either in concert or isolation – accounts for associations between C-SEI and desired outcomes. For example, high levels of awareness may be more important for changing individual behavior and developing motivation to navigate perceived structural barriers. However, it may be that

high levels of behavioral-response or understanding consequences engender agency or self-efficacy that leads individuals to feel responsible for making change. Research of this kind will pinpoint which domains are most responsible for predicting certain outcomes. Lastly, the author needs to determine if and how transformative consciousness may differ, occur in and lend itself to measurement within historically disenfranchised groups as compared to the power majority group (Green, 2009). Comparisons between these two groups and other moderating variables such as age, gender, and socio-economic status have not been evaluated in much of the literature (Green, 2009). There is a need for a better understanding of how the lack of C-SEI damages those in dominant or privileged groups for these are not the same ways in which it damages those victimized by inequality (McIntosh, 2014). These differences need to be taken into consideration when designing interventions utilizing transformative consciousness.

Implications for Social Work

According to the NASW Code of Ethics (1996), social workers should advocate changes in individuals, communities, and policy, in order to meet human needs and promote social justice. At the core of the social work profession is the commitment to prevent and eliminate domination, exploitation and discrimination that pose barriers to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness (U.S., 1776). In order to end socio-ecosystemic inequity within the social work profession and society, it is appropriate for social workers to internalize two roles: 1) developer of one's own transformative consciousness, and 2) developer of the transformative consciousness in others.

Transformative consciousness provides a framework for social work practice (Here, "social work practice" includes everything a social worker may do such as clinical counseling, community organizing, policy advocacy, education and research) at micro, mezzo and macro levels (Mullaly, 2002). For example, TC can provide a lens to understand how individuals are affected by internalized and structural oppression; to explore a family's intergenerational beliefs that support oppressive thinking and behaviors; to engage in community based participatory research with marginalized populations; or to promote community organizing and social activism efforts (Windsor, 2013).

Critical or structural social work argues that traditional social work unwittingly acts as a tool of social control in the enforcement of the status quo perpetuating oppression and privilege (Mullaly, 2002; Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005; Windsor et al., 2014a). According to Mullaly (2002), conventional social work addresses the suffering or symptoms caused by oppression, such as homelessness, depression, substance abuse, and unemployment, while ignoring the oppression and social injustice at their core. Whereas traditional social work merely assists oppressed individuals in maintaining their status as oppressed individuals by facilitating conformity with the status quo and oppressive societal norms and practices (Mullaly, 2002), transformative consciousness engenders a response to create innovative structural solutions to social problems. In adopting an anti-oppressive practice, in which oppression theory is incorporated into social work interventions to help empower oppressed groups, social workers can resist training and socializing oppressed populations to adapt to inferior roles in accordance with mainstream culture's views and treatment of them (Mullaly, 2002; Windsor, Pinto et al., 2014b). Even though the field of social work aligns itself with the person in environment perspective (PIE) - a holistic framework stemming from the ecological systems model that allows the social worker to view the personal and structural challenges that underlie a client's presenting problem (Dybicz, 2015) - theoretical and treatment approaches focus on individual change and fail to address historical and structural contexts (Windsor, Jemal, & Alessi, 2015a). More research is needed that connects individual and community change (Carlson et al., 2006; Corning & Myers, 2002). For instance, when addressing substance use frequency among impoverished and oppressed populations, it is crucial to understand substance use as a complex phenomenon interrelated with poverty, violence, and low social capital (Dunlap & Johnson, 1992; Schnittker et al., 2011). Treatment of oppressed individuals and families in isolation from their socioeconomic and political contexts does not address the influence of oppressive forces on the daily experiences of these individuals (Dunlap & Johnson, 1992; Windsor, Benoit, & Dunlap, 2010; Windsor & Dunlap, 2010; Windsor, Dunlap & Golub, 2011). The socioecological model posits that programs will be most successful if changes are promoted at multiple levels of this system, from person oriented interventions to public policy (Stokols, 1992). Thus, to foster liberation, social workers "must work

collaboratively with other community members to use collective skills and resources in addressing [problems] at broader levels of the ecology, including community interventions, distribution of research information, and political involvement” (Chronister, Wettersten & Brown, 2004, p. 903).

Transformative consciousness of SEI is needed to help social workers and their clients understand how and in what ways they have internalized oppression/privilege and have been impacted by structural oppression/privilege. This understanding enables citizens to identify solutions to social problems that are beyond the scope of the individual as the agent of change (Sprecht & Courtney, 1994). A social worker’s level of C-SEI may help strengthen the therapeutic alliance with marginalized populations, and thus, increase retention and engagement in clinical practice and research (Burkard, Juarez-Huffaker, & Ajmere, 2003; Windsor et al., 2015a). Failure to address the dynamics of privilege and oppression within the counseling profession and relationship is likely to produce counselors with restricted emotional, intellectual, and psychological development, thus lowering the overall effectiveness of the counseling profession (Alschuler, 1986; Brown & Perry, 2011).

The development of TC may help social workers form collaborative partnerships for anti-oppressive work. This work would include: 1) reducing inequitable sociopolitical contexts; 2) forming therapeutic alliances grounded in the client’s reality and that validate the client’s experiences; 3) helping clients navigate systemic oppression within multiple systems of care, while simultaneously acting to change those systems; 4) recognizing and challenging personal biases and the biases of others; and 5) taking collaborative action with communities to address structural injustice (Hernandez et al., 2005; Garcia et al., 2009; Mullaly, 2002; Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005). Several methods can be used to achieve these practice objectives that redistribute power such as creating alliances with privileged groups to share power and resources and aligning with oppressed groups to use collective action to create power (Windsor et al., 2014a; Windsor et al., 2015b). Most importantly, however,

critical and liberating dialogue, which presupposes action, must be carried on with the oppressed at whatever the stage of their struggle for liberation. The content of that dialogue can and should vary in accordance with historical conditions and the level at which the oppressed perceive reality. (Freire, 1970, p. 65)

This is aligned with Freire's (1970, p. 66) notion that "while no one liberates himself by his own efforts alone, neither is he liberated by others." Thus, social workers need to conduct collaborative action with the oppressed and not for the oppressed.

Social work education should be geared to developing transformative consciousness in which students examine the nature and extent of their own social privilege and the resulting oppression.

Effective anti-oppression and privilege training requires self-awareness, knowledge and skill (Black & Stone, 2005). This type of social work practice requires the social worker to

explore personal biases and beliefs; increase their knowledge of their cultural heritage and its impact on others; improve their awareness of racism, oppression, and discrimination; and continue to seek out educational opportunities to confront their multicultural counseling limitations and to develop a nonracist identity. (Black & Stone, 2005, p. 252)

Any attempt to train culturally competent social workers without a focus on privilege is inappropriate and intentionally reinforces the oppressive status quo. Schools of social work should integrate content about oppression and privilege throughout all content areas and curricula. The NASW code of ethics makes the integration of this content a moral imperative. Because social work is the only field with a social justice oriented code of ethics, social workers have the specific calling to not only be a voice for those silenced, but to provide the tools for the silenced to reclaim their voices. A social worker's good intentions do not make situations less oppressive and saying "I am committed to social justice," without a deep understanding that unveils oppressive realities (Freire, 1970) constitutes active collusion in maintaining the oppressive status quo (Alschuler, 1986). Socio-ecsystemic inequity, particularly oppression, is silencing, makes people unsafe, uncomfortable, denies inalienable human rights, and presents barriers to meeting hierarchical needs through one's own effort and persistence. Transformative consciousness helps all understand that you do not need to be a card-holding member of a recognized hate group to contribute to the problem of social injustice and violence. The only way to not be a part of the problem is to actively work to change the culture and systems that condone oppression and privilege. Transformative consciousness shifts the problem from "theirs" to "ours" so that we can recognize our personal and social

responsibility for combatting the disease of injustice. Only then can *liberty and justice for all* become our creed rather than a broken promise.

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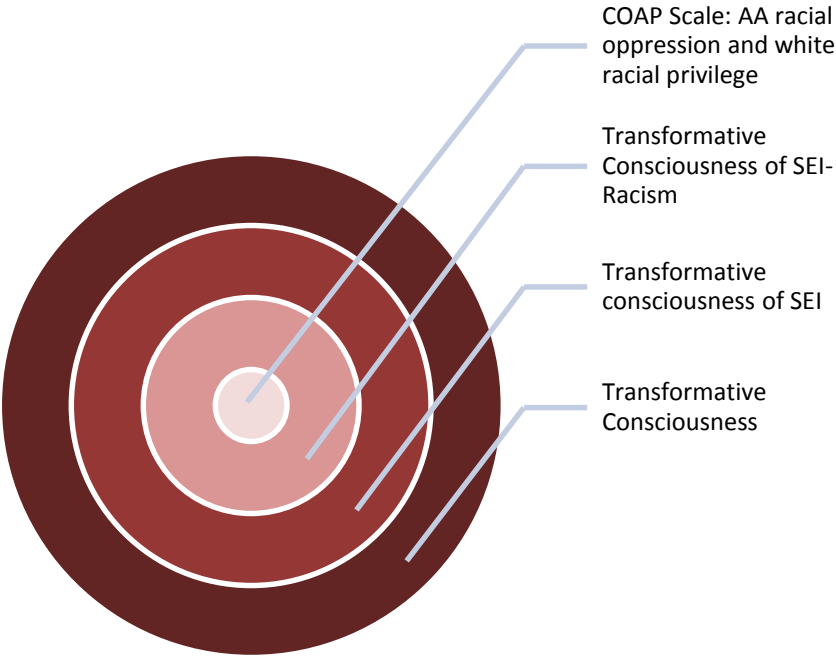
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APPENDIX A



APPENDIX B

Vignette Content Validity Information Sheet

The Socio-Ecological Model provides the levels at which socio-ecological inequality occur for corresponding vignettes. Socio-ecological inequality is the manifestation of oppression and/or privilege at each socio-ecological level.

The levels are below.

- **Individual System Level –**
 - *Intrapersonal Sub Level*
 - **Definition:** includes the socio-ecological contexts of privilege and/or oppression that have been internalized by the individual resulting in internalized (racial) oppression or privilege.
 - **Internalized AA Oppression Example:** An African American person who thinks African textured hair is “bad” or nappy.
 - **Internalized White Privilege Example:** A white person who is blinded to the non-merit factors responsible for their success but sees very clearly how non-group members are individually responsible for non-success.
 - *Interpersonal Sub Level*
 - **Definition:** includes manifestations of privilege and/or oppression within social interactions between individuals.
 - **Interpersonal AA Oppression Example:** A person refusing to hire an African American because applicant is African American.
 - **Interpersonal White Privilege Example:** A person attributing positive characteristics to a person and treating person favorably because of person’s white race. A white person attributing negative attributes to an African American person.
- **Microsystem Level**
 - **Definition:** includes the groups and institutions that most immediately and directly impact the individual’s experience of oppression and/or privilege.
 - **AA Oppression Example:** An African American family punishes one child with a darker complexion more or harsher than the other child with a lighter complexion.
 - **White Privilege Example:** School does not suspend a white adolescent who has violated school rules.
- **Mesosystem Level**
 - **Definition:** This level includes interactions between microsystems (e.g., family, schools, jobs, and neighborhoods) in which the individual plays an active role in constructing the context of social inequality.
 - **AA Oppression Example:** Certain neighborhoods have created race covenants agreeing not to sell property to African Americans.
 - **White Privilege Example:** Banks provide selective financing to White families.
- **Exosystem Level**
 - **Definition:** the individual plays no role in the construction of experiences of oppression and/or privilege, but these experiences of socio-ecological inequality that mainly occur within and between institutions have a direct impact on the individual level and the microsystems to which the individual belongs.

- **AA Oppression Example:** Police officers execute stop and frisk policies in predominantly African American neighborhoods.
- **White Privilege Example:** Police officers **do not** execute stop and frisk policies in white neighborhoods.
- **Macrosystem Level**
 - **Definition:** composed of the culture, norms, values, laws, attitudes and ideologies of the society in which a person lives that creates, maintains, and perpetuates socio-ecological inequality by routinely advantaging whites while producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for people of color.
 - **AA Oppression Example:** Passing a law that disproportionately negatively affects African Americans.
 - **White Privilege Example:** Media perpetuating ideas and norms that favor White culture.
- **Chronosystem Level**
 - **Definition:** The patterning and cumulative effects of events and transitions manifesting overtime or throughout the life course as well as socio-historical circumstances in which socio-ecological inequality is manifested.
 - **AA Oppression Example:** Not being able to take advantage of investment opportunities.
 - **White Privilege Example:** Being able to inherit the benefits of descendants' wealth earned from racial advantages over time.

The COAP scale is intended to measure critical consciousness of socio-ecological inequality (i.e., racism, sexism, ableism, heterosexism, ethnocentrism, etc.); however this scale focuses on racism, specifically for African Americans and Whites.

Definitions:

- **Socio-ecological Inequality** is the manifestation of oppression and/or privilege at each socio-ecological level.
 - **Privilege** – The unjust use of power to maintain social, economic, and/or political advantage for a group based on some common characteristic (e.g., SES, sexuality, race, gender) (Stewart, Latu, Branscombe, Phillips, & Denney, 2012).
 - Specifically, **White Racial Privilege** is the unearned advantages of being White in a racially stratified society, and has been characterized as an expression of institutional power that is largely unacknowledged by most White individuals (Neville, Worthington, & Spanierman, 2001).
 - **Internalized Privilege** – is the personal conscious or subconscious acceptance of the dominant society's positive and self-serving views, stereotypes and biases of yourself and others belonging to the same White racial group. It gives rise to patterns of thinking, feeling and behaving that result in discriminating, minimizing, criticizing, finding fault, invalidating, and hating those who do not share mainstream group membership while simultaneously valuing the dominant culture to which you belong.
 - Specifically, **Internalized White Racial Privilege** is a White person's internalization of the positive messages, beliefs, labels and values that mainstream society attaches to them as well as the negative messages, beliefs and values that mainstream society attaches non-Whites.
 - **Oppression** - the unjust use of power to maintain social, economic, and/or political inequity (Watts & Abdul-Adil, 1998).
 - Specifically, **African American Racial Oppression** is the unjust exercise of power and the control of ideas and coveted resources in a way that produces and sustains social inequality for African Americans (Watts et al., 1999, p. 258).
 - **Internalized Oppression** - Refers to the acceptance, by the marginalized population, of the negative messages, societal beliefs, labels and stereotypes that mainstream society attaches to them.

- Specifically, **Internalized African American Racial Oppression** is the personal conscious or subconscious acceptance of white society's racist views, stereotypes and biases of African Americans by African Americans. It gives rise to patterns of thinking, feeling and behaving that result in discriminating, minimizing, criticizing, finding fault, invalidating, and hating oneself while simultaneously valuing the white culture.

Representativeness

- **Definition:** Representativeness is the likelihood that the vignette provides a good example or representation of the category. For example, if I wanted to assess someone's math ability, a question asking them to spell "math" would not be representative of math ability. For the purposes of this scale, the categories are the socio-ecological levels (see above).
- **Representativeness Scale:** Ranges from 0 – 4.
 - A score of 0 indicates that the vignette is not at all representative. The vignette has absolutely nothing to do with the category it's supposed to represent. It is completely unclear why I put the vignette in the category.
 - A score of 1 indicates that the vignette minimally represents the category, but has major issues.
 - A score of 2 suggests that the vignette somewhat represents the category, but has some issues that are easily remedied.
 - A score of 3 suggests that, for the most part, represents the category, but has minor issues that do not have to be addressed.
 - A score of 4 indicates that the vignette absolutely belongs in the category and requires no changes.

Clarity

- **Definition:** Clarity is the quality of understandability. For example, if I asked you to pick up my daughter, would you know what I was asking you to do or would you ask for clarification as to whether I wanted you to pick her up in your arms or pick her up from daycare?
- **Clarity Scale:** Ranges from 0-4
 - A score of 0 indicates that the vignette is not understandable at all.
 - A score of 1 indicates that the vignette is minimally understandable, but has major issues.
 - A score of 2 suggests that the vignette is somewhat understandable, but has some issues that are easily remedied.
 - A score of 3 suggests that, for the most part, is understandable, but has minor issues that do not have to be addressed.
 - A score of 4 indicates that the vignette is absolutely clear and requires no changes.

Please note that I am asking you to rate each vignette for socio-ecological level (i.e., Individual, Micro, Meso, Exo, Macro, & Chrono) and for socio-ecological inequality based on race (African American Oppression or White Privilege).

APPENDIX C

Vignette Content Validity Response Form

According to the brief descriptions of the socio-ecological levels of socio-ecological inequality based on race (i.e., racism) provided below, please complete the following tasks for each vignette:

Task 1: Rank on the scale 0-4 how well the vignette represents the socio-ecological level and socio-ecological inequality.

Task 2: Rank on the scale 0-4 how clear the vignette is for the socio-ecological level and socio-ecological inequality.

Please use track changes to suggest alternative phrasings in vignettes that are awkward or confusing and identify the best 2 vignettes for each section.

Please refer to the information sheet for definitions and scaling descriptions.

Individual Level

Definition: The individual level includes private manifestations and experiences of socio-ecological inequality within and between individuals that simultaneously shape person and environment through a symbiotic relational-interactive process.

The individual level has two sub-levels.

1. Intrapersonal
2. Interpersonal

Individual Level - Intrapersonal

1. **Definition:** Intrapersonal - includes the socio-ecological contexts of privilege and/or oppression that have been internalized by the individual or private manifestations of racism that reside inside the individual resulting in internalized (racial) oppression or privilege.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **individual-intrapersonal level** and how much you think the vignette represents **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness.

For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **individual-intrapersonal level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

I appreciate your comments on any of the vignettes, especially if you score vignette 1-3 for either representativeness or clarity.

Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent intrapersonal (internalized) African American racial oppression?

<u>Intrapersonal:</u> Internalized racial beliefs.	Representativeness		Clarity	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
Internalized African American Racial Oppression Vignettes	Level 0 - 4	Oppression 0 - 4	0 - 4		

Amanda is a 7 year old African American girl with dark skin who was adopted by white parents. While in the toy store, Amanda browses the doll section. The last time she wanted a white doll, her adopted mother demanded she pick a doll from the small ethnic and black doll section and told her she had to get a doll that looked like her. Amanda grabs a white doll and thinks, <i>"I don't want an ugly black doll."</i>					
Brenda, an African American woman, is an excellent employee. She works long hours and rarely takes vacations. Even though she receives excellent evaluations, she hasn't received a promotion in the standard amount of time. She always feels uncertain that she has done enough to prove her worth to her employers. Brenda knows that as an African American she has to work twice as hard to get half as much.					
Carrie, age 28, is currently dating, Solomon, the most eligible African American bachelor in her law school. Solomon has wavy hair, greyish blue eyes, and a caramel complexion. Carrie is very excited because he's told her that she is the only dark skinned girl he's ever found attractive. Afraid of losing her man, Carrie tries her best to satisfy him sexually which includes having unprotected sex. A week later she has an outbreak of genital herpes.					
Terence Comas is an African American conservative republican in Congress who, in a recent press conference, stated "society is overly sensitive about race. I believe race differences and any problems related to race can be overcome by an individual's hard work. I came from a poor background but I didn't choose to do drugs or be involved in crime."					
Felix, a man of Cuban descent, marries a white woman and, together, they have 4 children. The children do not learn Spanish, and thus, cannot communicate with Felix's mother. Felix barely visits his family and takes great efforts to distance himself from his Latin roots.					

Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Individual Racism Level – Intrapersonal Cont'd

Definition: Private manifestations of racism that reside inside the individual.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **individual-intrapersonal level** and how much you think the vignette represents **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness.

For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **individual-intrapersonal level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

I appreciate your comments on any of the vignettes, especially if you score vignette 1-3 for either representativeness or clarity.

Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent intrapersonal or internalized White racial privilege?

Intrapersonal: Internalized racial beliefs. Internalized white Racial Privilege Vignettes	Representativeness		Clarity 0 - 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
	Level 0-4	Privilege 0-4			
As Regina and Rich, a very wealthy white man, who inherited his father's corporation, walk past a homeless African American man, Rich says, "When my father came from Germany, he had no education and no money, but he worked hard to make a comfortable life for him and his family. I don't understand why some people don't want to work hard and then complain about being poor."					
Beverly is an intelligent and attractive forty-five year old single woman who recently received a well-earned, prestigious promotion. While in the restroom, she overhears female co-workers stating that she probably got the promotion because she slept with the boss.					
white researchers are conducting research in predominantly African American, low-income communities. They are experiencing a tremendous amount of resistance from the residents. No one wants to talk to them. One member of the research team says, "It's understandable. The African American community has been exploited and victimized by researchers in the past. They've been given diseases on purpose and not given the cures when the cure was readily available and their cells have been sold for profit." Another researcher scoffs and says, "That happened how many years ago? It's time to get over it. We just want to talk to them, not inject them."					
In a diversity training workshop, some of the white participants complain that they can no longer speak their minds and have to accommodate minorities by being politically correct. One person states, "This is unfair. Always trying to sugar coat stuff is crazy. People are too sensitive these days." Another white person agrees, and says "Yeah, Black people use the N-word and wear t-shirts that say 'Black power'. Not being able to do something because I'm white is reverse discrimination!"					
David is a white, 19 year old freshman attending a prestigious University. He has just lost a race for Class President against an African American classmate. He is					

angry because he lost to a person he knows was only admitted to the school because he's African American.					
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Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Individual Racism Level – Interpersonal

1. **Definition:** Interpersonal - includes manifestations of privilege and/or oppression within social interactions between individuals.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **individual-interpersonal level** and how much you think the vignette represents **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness.

For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **individual-interpersonal level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

I appreciate your comments on any of the vignettes, especially if you score vignette 1-3 for either representativeness or clarity.

Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent interpersonal African American racial oppression?

Interpersonal Racism: Occurs between individuals. Interpersonal African American Racial Oppression Vignettes	Representativeness		Clarity 0 – 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
	Level 0-4	Oppression 0-4			
Every time potential funders interact with Naomi, a successful African American CEO, they do not address questions and comments to Naomi and assume one of the white staff members is the CEO. Outraged, Naomi confronts the funders. Subsequently, Naomi receives no funding.					
Diane is a 13 year old African American girl with dark skin and long thick black hair. She loves to read and is a very good writer and speaker. She is often bullied by her African American class mates who make fun of her cheap clothes and shoes and the way she speaks. They accuse her of talking <i>white</i> , thinking she's better than them, and calling her an Oreo.					
Jamal is an African American researcher who often conducts research in prisons. When exiting a prison he had been to for the first time with a white colleague, the guard repeatedly examined Jamal's visitor's tag and then said, "Just have to be sure that you're not a prisoner trying to escape."					
When a public official fired a high ranking staff member for lying, the media characterized this action as further evidence of the public official's bullying behavior. Supporters of the public official fought back and said that the government has been feminized. It's no longer acceptable behavior to handle					

business directly and in a strong manner.					
Bernard Dunn and Michael Goetz stop at a red light next to an expensive white SUV driven by Jamal, an African American man. Michael yells at Jamal to turn down the music. Jamal, unable to read Michael's lips, holds up his finger indicating "one minute". As Jamal reaches toward his radio to turn down the volume, Michael fires 7 shots, killing Jamal. Michael tells police, "The thug cursed me out and gave me the finger while reaching for his gun. I knew he had a gun because only gang members or drug dealers have expensive cars like that and play that thug music."					

Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Individual Racism Level – Interpersonal Cont'd

Private manifestations of racism that reside inside the individual. Examples include prejudice, xenophobia, internalized oppression and privilege, and beliefs about race influenced by the dominant culture.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **individual-intrapersonal level** and how much you think the vignette represents **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness.

For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **individual-intrapersonal level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

I appreciate your comments on any of the vignettes, especially if you score vignette 1-3 for either representativeness or clarity.

Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent interpersonal White racial privilege?

<u>Interpersonal Racism:</u> Occurs between individuals.	Representativeness		Clarity 0 - 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
Interpersonal White Racial Privilege Vignettes	Level 0-4	Privilege 0-4			
Henry, in a drunken state, leaves his house in an outrage. After driving about 10 minutes, a white police officer pulls Henry (who is also white) over. The officer decides to take Henry to the police station so he can sober up and, once cooled off, the officer brings Henry home and tells his wife where she can retrieve Henry's car.					
Peggy, when introduced to her new African American coworker, asks where Betty is from because she has a southern accent. Betty says she's from Alabama.					

Peggy immediately tells Betty that one of her favorite people in the world was an African American woman from Montgomery, Alabama. This woman was the nanny, maid and cook and lived with Peggy's family even though she had 3 children of her own. Peggy affectionately spoke of her nanny noting that she was so motherly to her and her sister and comforted her family during hard times.					
Roger, a co-worker of Mercedes, sincerely asks if she has experienced racism at their job. She says, "Well, I heard Peggy and Joe (who are both white) laughing while Peggy was doing her impression of an African American by snapping her fingers in a circular motion and swiveling her neck with lips pursed saying, "You go boy!" Roger looks shocked and says, "That wasn't racism! Peggy has nothing against African Americans. She's just always joking around. I often hear the women making fun of how men talk, but I just laugh it off."					
Tameeka, a young African American woman, has provided childcare for the Whyte family for 4 years. Although she barely makes enough to provide for herself and two children, she has saved what she could to send her oldest son to private school next year; however, she will be a few hundred dollars short by the tuition deadline. Tameeka asks the Whyte family for a small loan. They reply that giving her the money would not be in her best interest and that she will feel better about herself and her work ethic if she earns the money honestly by working hard.					
A wife and husband are going through a divorce. After much discussion, the couple decides that the husband should have full custody of the children. When this decision is stated in court to the judge, she is shocked and asks, "What kind of woman doesn't want her children?"					

Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Microsystem

The Microsystem includes the groups and institutions that most immediately and directly impact the individual's experience of oppression and/or privilege. The microsystem is the system in which an individual encounters the most social interactions, such as. The individual is not simply observing or having things happen to them, but helping to create and construct the experiences they have. The individual has direct contact/interaction with the system - e.g., School suspends student.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **microsystem level** and how much you think the vignette represents **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness.

For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **microsystem level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

I appreciate your comments on any of the vignettes, especially if you score vignette 1-3 for either representativeness or clarity.

Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent African American racial oppression at the microsystem level?

Microsystem African American Racial Oppression Vignettes	Representativeness		Clarity 0 - 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
	Level 0-4	Oppression 0-4			
Michael, an African American, recently interviewed for a promotion within the corporation. After being informed that he was not hired and realizing that the corporation did not promote any non-white applicants, Michael called the hiring manager for feedback. The hiring manager told him that on paper Michael was as qualified as some of the other candidates, but many times the hiring decision turns on the impression from the interview to determine if the candidate is a good fit and not the resume.					
Marge is the mother of Nikki, a 14 year old African American ballerina. When Marge visited stores that sold ballet attire, store managers were surprised when they found out Nikki wants to be a ballerina since African American body types are not suited for ballet. Nikki's dance instructors often tell her that she is very strong, muscular and athletic, but not graceful, so they have to transform her from an eagle to a swan.					
A gay couple lives in a state that does not recognize marriage between same-sex partners. While completing their taxes as singles, they notice the many tax credits and deductions that only married couples can receive. If they were able to legally marry, they would have received a \$2,700 refund instead of each owing \$900 in taxes.					
Rebecca, a viewer of a news station, posts, "That black lady that do the weather is nice but she need to wear a wig or grow some hair." The news reporter responded that she is proud of her hair that is rooted in her African heritage. Subsequently the news station fires the reporter based on an unwritten policy that reporters are not to respond to viewer comments even though a white news reporter was not fired for responding to viewer comments about his weight.					
Tank's daughters Light Eyes and Pantay talk about their experiences of growing up in a drug-abusing household. They remember how securing food, clothes, and shelter became a constant crisis as their mother consumed more and more drugs.					

They dropped out of school used alcohol and weed, prostituted, were raped by family members and strangers, and became intimately involved with drug dealers all before the age of 13. Pantay was beaten by her mother on several occasions because she had dark skin and didn't bring in enough money to support her mother's drug habit. Light Eyes, considered beautiful by many, was offered to men by her mom for light bill payments to cab fare.					
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Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **microsystem level** and how much you think the vignette represents **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness. For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **microsystem level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

I appreciate your comments on any of the vignettes, especially if you score vignette 1-3 for either representativeness or clarity.

Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent White racial privilege at the microsystem level?

White Racial Privilege Vignettes	Representativeness		Clarity 0 – 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
	Level 0-4	Privilege 0-4			
Laurie, Rick and their five children are a white family who has been struggling financially. For a few years they've used public assistance. With increasing financial pressures, Laurie and Rick decide to move in with Laurie's parents. When friends of Laurie's parents hear about the family's situation there is an outpour of sympathy and support. One neighbor states, "It's not like you're taking advantage of the system like some people. Public assistance is for people who need help, not for people too lazy to work."					
Bruce enjoys the support from a community of very close gay and lesbian friends. Though he's very comfortable with his lifestyle he has yet to share his sexual orientation with his family. He's afraid that knowledge of his sexuality will destroy the close relationship that he has with his parents and siblings. Eventually, he decides to tell his dads that he is heterosexual.					
Ronnie, African American, and Brandon, white, are both heroin addicts. One way they support their heroin habit is to shoplift. They walk into stores together,					

and even though Ronnie often looks and dresses better than Brandon, the stores' employees watch him intently. Meanwhile Brandon does all the shoplifting while not being monitored.					
Five white employees are suing their employer for employment discrimination. The white employees claim they were denied promotions because of their race even though they were more qualified than the other applicants. They state, "Affirmative action may have been necessary back in slavery times or the Jim Crow era but the playing field has been leveled; in fact, the playing field now favors non-whites." One notes that all of the African Americans went to Ivy league schools, whereas none of the white applicants did. Affirmative action favors unqualified people minorities over qualified whites.					

Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Mesosystem

This level includes interactions between microsystems (e.g., family, schools, jobs, and neighborhoods) in which the individual plays an active role in constructing the context of social inequality.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **mesosystem level** and how much you think the vignette represents **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness.

For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **mesosystem level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

I appreciate your comments on any of the vignettes, especially if you score vignette 1-3 for either representativeness or clarity.

Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent African American racial oppression at the mesosystem level?

African American Racial Oppression Vignettes	Representativeness		Clarity 0 - 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
	Level 0-4	Oppression 0-4			
After hearing Trevor's story, the school's guidance counselor called Child Protective Services (CPS) on Cassidy, a single African American mother working two jobs. Cassidy made her 9 year old son Trevor kneel on rice as punishment for his severe misbehavior that resulted in several suspensions causing Cassidy to miss days of work and pay. When the child welfare counselor					

discussed alternative forms of punishment such as time outs, Cassidy said, “I don’t believe in time outs. That shit don’t work. Only white people can afford to use time outs.”					
Billy, a young African American man, is preparing for his usual 7 pm run. At this time of year, the weather is a bit chilly, so Billy grabs a tight fitting hat and a sweatshirt with a hood. After his run, he plans to stop by the local deli so he grabs his wallet and keys and stuffs them in the front pocket of his sweatpants. Before he exits his home, he catches his reflection in the hall mirror. Instantly he removes his hat, takes a few dollars from his wallet and tries to make himself look less dangerous.					
Seth is a very active Boy Scout leader and participates on many of the Boy Scout committees. One committee he chairs sponsored the vote on whether the Boy Scouts would allow gay men to be troop leaders. Though Seth is gay he is not open about his sexual orientation and argues vigorously against allowing gays to be troop leaders. Although Seth knows that he would never sexually victimize a troop member, he believes that allowing gay troop leaders would increase the potential for sexual victimization of the boys in the troop. Also, he knows that if a gay man did sexually victimize one of the boys that incident would bring added suspicion and accusation to all gay men and would prove the point for why gay men should not be troop leaders.					
A newspaper reports that five African American employees are suing their employer for employment discrimination. The employees argue that their bosses continually passed over them for promotions, advancing white colleagues who benefited from exclusive training opportunities and interviews marred by unfair questions and biased scoring. On one interview, six white applicants finished with more points than any of the five minority candidates, the complaint said — partly because the white applicants received identical high scores on questions even after giving different responses. Attorneys for the employer said those who were promoted had more experience and interviewed better. The public commentary section highlights how African Americans play the overused race card.					
Tyrique, an African American male in 8 th grade, lives in a high crime urban area. He hears gun shots during most nights and once tripped over a dead body on his way to school. Lately, Tyrique has had nightmares, and thus, has been extremely tired and irritable during school. Teachers have labeled him as inattentive and disrespectful, and have placed him in remedial courses.					

An African American family informs the school's administration that that the history text teaches about the Holocaust, Japanese concentration camps, the World Trade Center, but does not discuss slavery or Jim Crow and segregation. The administration responds that certain conversations incite tension and are not school appropriate.					
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Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **mesosystem level** and how much you think the vignette represents **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness.

For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **mesosystem level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

I appreciate your comments on any of the vignettes, especially if you score vignette 1-3 for either representativeness or clarity.

Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent White racial privilege at the mesosystem level?

White Racial Privilege Vignettes	Representativeness		Clarity 0 - 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
	Level 0-4	Privilege 0-4			
Greg, a male, is a receptionist for a small social work private practice in which all the staff, but him, is female. When Greg enters the waiting room to fix himself a cup of coffee, one of the clients states that he must be the person who runs the place. Greg tells his female co-worker about the experience, and she rolls her eyes and says, "Of course, the only male in this place would be mistaken for the boss." Greg replied, "No, I think it's because I'm wearing a tie."					
A Princeton researcher conducts a study in which employers are sent fake cover letters and resumes from white and African American applicants. The study finds that white people with criminal histories are more likely to be employed than African Americans without criminal histories.					
A white man with a short haircut and an African American man with a braided hairstyle typically called, "corn rows," enter the court room. The judge asks the African American man how he pleads. The African American man politely corrects the judge that he is the lawyer and the white man is the defendant. The judge quickly apologizes and states he made the mistake because the white man					

wore a tie.					
A White family is selling their home and refuses to sell to people who will bring down the property value, make the neighborhood unsafe, or dangerous. As such, the family refuses to meet with all prospective African American buyers.					
Two female high school students have applied to the same top tier university. One is African American and the other is white. Both have 3.9 GPAs and were very active in sports and extracurricular activities at their respective schools. The African American applicant came from a struggling inner city school and the white applicant came from a private high school. Both the mother and grandmother of the white applicant went to this university which has a history of denying admission to African American applicants. The review committee has reviewed both applications and with one spot left, the review committee has decided that although the University would benefit from a more diverse student population, the white applicant's family history and loyalty to the school should be rewarded, and thus, admits the white applicant.					
Megan, a white 14 year old pot smoker and her boyfriend William, a white 19 year old white prescription opiate user, often carry their drugs with them when traveling the streets of NYC. Even though Megan smokes throughout the day, lives next door to a police officer and smokes openly in her yard, she has never been stopped and frisked.					

Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Exosystem

The exosystem is a system in which the individual plays no role in the construction of experiences of oppression and/or privilege, but these experiences of socio-ecological inequality that mainly occur within and between institutions have a direct impact on the individual level and the microsystems to which the individual belongs. The primary vehicle of socio-ecological inequality in the exosystem level occurs within and between institutions via discriminatory treatment, unfair policies and inequitable opportunities and impacts, based on race, produced and perpetuated by institutions (schools, mass media, etc.) Individuals within institutions take on the power of the institution when they act in ways that advantage and disadvantage people, based on race.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **exosystem level** and how much you think the vignette represents **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness. For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **exosystem level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

I appreciate your comments on any of the vignettes, especially if you score vignette 1-3 for either representativeness or clarity.

Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent African American racial oppression at the exosystem level?

African American Racial Oppression Vignettes	Representativeness		Clarity 0 – 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
	Level 0-4	Oppression 0-4			
Officer Jim and Officer Bob are cops in New York City. Last month, Officer Jim arrested two white males, one for murder and one for rape; whereas officer Bob arrested 72 African American men and women for drug-related crimes. Officer Bob received a \$25,000 dollar bonus for his service and overtime pay needed to process all of the drug arrests. As a result, Officer Bob will be promoted within the year.					
Carrie teaches Honor's English at a public high school in a predominantly white town. Over the years she's become more concerned with the lack of African American students in honor's classes and the overrepresentation of African American students in the special education track. Carrie brings her concerns to the administration which assures her that the students are where they belong as per results on standardized tests.					
Alexis is the mother of a young African American girl, who is a competitive ice skater. Many of Alexis' nights have been spent dying the pieces of her daughter's ice skating costumes dark brown because pieces that are next to the skin are only sold in flesh color and do not match her daughter's skin tone.					
Tamara, an African American, 7 th year doctoral student recently heard that the only African American faculty member did not receive tenure and would be leaving the University. Tamara is very upset because this professor was the only one that shared her research interests, provided mentorship, and gave her research and publication experience. Without the help of faculty, her resume will not be as competitive as her white counterparts who have a plethora of faculty willing to mentor them.					
Amy is in court for a domestic violence case against her male partner. While she completes paperwork in a section designated for victims only, a man wanders into the area. Before he has a chance to speak to the desk clerk, the sheriff's officers have tackled him and are escorting him out. A few minutes later he returns with an ice pack and is allowed in the room because he is a victim of domestic violence for a same sex partnership.					

Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **exosystem level** and how much you think the vignette represents **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness.

For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **exosystem level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

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Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent White racial privilege at the exosystem level?

White Racial Privilege Vignettes	Representativeness		Clarity 0 - 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
	Level 0-4	Privilege 0-4			
Alice, a white woman, has started a new job that has a 1 year probation period. Senior colleagues have been welcoming and accommodating and have helped her out by telling her about trainings, conferences, and networking opportunities. One year later, Alice along with the 3 other white junior faculty members are promoted; however, the one African American applicant is terminated.					
New York Police Department trains its officers on how to carry out the stop-and-frisk policy. Under the Fourth Amendment, police officers can legally stop and detain a person only when they have a reasonable suspicion that the person is committing, has committed or is about to commit a crime. Statistics show that of the 4.4 million stops between January 2004 and June 2012, only 6% resulted in arrests – meaning the vast majority of those stopped were doing nothing wrong. In about 15% of the cases, the person stopped was white even though whites account for about half of the population. Officers were less likely to use force against white residents even though stops of whites were more likely to result in weapon seizures than stops of African Americans.					
Gayle is 57 year old white female who has lived, when not incarcerated, in public housing for the majority of her adult life. Lately, she has been experiencing pain in her back. She has been to the doctor several times, but doctors are hesitant to give her pain medication because of her history as a IV drug user and tell her to adjust her posture. Eventually the pain becomes					

unbearable and Gayle is rushed to the ER. Doctors find a golf ball size tumor pressing on her spinal cord. They remove the tumor which causes paralysis in Gayle's lower body. After surgery, the doctors tell her that the tumor was cancerous, and that the cancer has spread to her pancreas and into her bones. They give her 3 months to live.					
When the University of Michigan Law School denied admission to Barbara Grutter, a female Michigan resident with a 3.8 GPA and 161 LSAT score, she filed suit, alleging that the University had discriminated against her on the basis of race in violation of her Constitutional rights; she was rejected because the Law School uses race as a major factor, giving applicants belonging to certain minority groups a significantly greater chance of admission than white students with similar credentials.					
<i>Why ask what whites fear about blacks? Why not ask what blacks fear about whites? More blacks have been killed by whites in our country than the other way around. I don't even know the number of unarmed black men who have been pulled over, attacked or even killed by police for "Driving While Black." When was the last time you heard of an innocent white man being riddled with bullets by the police? When was the last time a white supremacist was labeled a terrorist? How many times has a white person been given the death penalty for killing an African American person or people?</i>					

Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Macrosystem

The macrosystem is composed of the culture, norms, values, laws, attitudes and ideologies of the society in which a person lives that creates, maintains, and perpetuates socio-ecological inequality by routinely advantaging whites while producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for people of color.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **macrosystem level** and how much you think the vignette represents **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness.

For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **macrosystem level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

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Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent African American racial oppression at the macrosystem level?

African American Racial Oppression Vignettes	Representativeness		Clarity 0 – 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
	Level 0-4	Oppression 0-4			
Sandee, a Black professional woman, is out for her morning stroll in her upper middle class, predominantly white town. As Sandee turns the corner heading toward her home she encounters two white girls around the age of 9 walking to school. When the two girls see Sandee they grab each other and briskly cross the street.					
A group from a predominantly African American neighborhood has completed a project that found that the general perception of a “criminal” is someone who is African American. However, the research proved that most crime is committed by white people and that these crimes, including mass killings, embezzlement, shoplifting, insider trading and political scandal, have cost more money and loss of life than all crimes committed by African Americans. The group has repeatedly tried to submit their report to journals and other news outlets, but have only received rejections stating that their work is not credible or of high quality.					
Recently a study connected nutrition to illness in children. As a way to reduce the burden of dealing with sick children on the healthcare system, a new policy states that children must receive certain vitamins and nutrients from their food intake or guardians will be charged with child neglect. A mother on public assistance buys the most nutritious foods possible with her food stamps from her local shopping markets. However, her youngest child recently became ill with one of the preventable illnesses. She is afraid to take him to the emergency room.					
Poll taxes and literacy tests were among the many discriminatory laws that were enforced to keep African Americans from voting. In June 2013 the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the coverage formula used in Section 5 of the Act which requires jurisdictions with significant histories of voter discrimination to "pre-clear," or get federal approval from the Department of Justice (DOJ), for any new voting practices or procedures, and to show that they do not have a discriminatory purpose or effect.					

Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **macrosystem level** and how much you think the vignette represents **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness.

For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **macrosystem level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

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Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent White racial privilege at the macrosystem level?

White Racial Privilege Vignettes	Representativeness		Clarity 0 - 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
	Level 0-4	Privilege 0-4			
When Lacey, a white teenager, looks in magazines, watches TV, or views other media, she sees people of her same race labeled as beautiful, successful, trustworthy, intelligent, and good.					
People who support reparations for slavery want something for nothing because the African Americans today that would get reparations were not enslaved and have had more than enough opportunity to make something of their lives like Asians.					
A news station reports breaking news that a string of bombs have been set off killing dozens of people. Reporters do not identify that the suspect is white nor do they label him a terrorist.					
Margaret, a white woman, was allegedly murdered by her ex-husband, an African American. When the jury failed to convict him based on lack of evidence, people rioted and Margaret's father stated to the press, "The justice system has failed us. We must never let this happen to another American family."					
Maria is a single mother of her 14 year old son, Carlos, who is smoking marijuana regularly, not attending school, committing low level crimes and becoming increasingly violent. After trying every intervention, Maria seeks assistance from the family court. After having Carlos promise that he will be a good boy, the judge sends Carlos home. As Carlos' behavior escalates in severity, Maria pleads with the judge to mandate Carlos to an inpatient facility where he can be evaluated and receive treatment, but the judge continues to send Carlos home. At one court date Maria tells the judge in a thick Dominican accent, "you talk me like I'm some uneducated woman or a drug addict. I'm not some drug addict who don't want her son. I love my son, but he's out of					

control.”

Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Chronosystem

The patterning and cumulative effects of events and transitions manifesting overtime or throughout the life course as well as socio-historical circumstances in which socio-ecological inequality is manifested.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **chronosystem level** and how much you think the vignette represents **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness.

For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **chronosystem level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **oppression** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

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Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent African American racial oppression at the chronosystem level?

African American Racial Oppression Vignettes	Representativeness		Clarity 0 – 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
	Level 0-4	Oppression 0-4			
The rate of unemployment for African Americans has been double the rate of unemployment for white Americans for nearly four decades					
As of 2012, 73% of African American children are raised in single-parent households; usually the households are female-headed and the children are born to unwed mothers, as compared to 42% Hispanic or Latino children and 25% Non-Hispanic white children.					
The 13 th Amendment which ended slavery in the U.S., except as punishment for convicted criminals, is responsible for the modern day slavery of African Americans via the criminal justice system. Laws such as the Black codes made certain acts illegal that would be more likely perpetuated by African Americans. For example it was illegal to be unemployed or homeless. But after the end of slavery, most former slaves were homeless and unemployed.					
On average, university education enrollment among African Americans has increased over the years; however, graduation rates for African American students are still much lower than the graduation rates for White students.					
Jacob is a new hire. In his first staff meeting, the manager welcomes him and					

asks him to introduce himself to the group. Jacob is happy to do so and ends his introduction by saying he's very lucky to have been hired. He doesn't know how he pulled it off. After the laughs dissipate, Craig, the only disabled employee on staff says, "Maybe you were hired because you're not handicapped." A shocked silence spreads through the room before employees grumble, roll their eyes and walk out.					
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Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Directions: For representativeness, please indicate how much you think the vignette represents the **chronosystem level** and how much you think the vignette represents **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater representativeness.

For clarity, please indicate how clear you think the vignette is for the **chronosystem level** and how clear you think the vignette is for **privilege** on a scale of 0-4. A score of 4 indicates greater clarity.

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Lastly, please rank the vignettes in order of how much you like them. A ranking of 1 indicates the vignette is your favorite.

How much do the following vignettes clearly represent White racial privilege at the chronosystem level?

White Racial Privilege Vignettes	Representativeness		Clarity 0 – 4	Rank	Comments / Suggestions
	Level 0-4	Privilege 0-4			
A university has only allowed whites to apply as professors minimizing the competitive pool of applicants. After several decades of having a white only faculty, the university opened its doors to African American faculty. However, the university's selection committee could not understand why African Americans rarely made it past a certain stage in the selection process that only required recommendations from colleagues, publications in peer-reviewed journals, and a research agenda within the interests of the University and concluded that there are no qualified African American applicants.					
Daniel, a white man, served in WWII. As a veteran, he received the G.I. Bill that allowed him to pay for a college education at a prestigious University and to get a loan from a bank to buy a home on a large piece of property. Over the years, Daniel put his education to good use and became a wealthy business owner. Also, his property value increased substantially which allowed him to purchase a second home without a loan and to sell the first multimillion dollar home to his grandson for \$1.					

Whites make up 52% of the U.S. population and are about 66% of the crack/cocaine users; yet, 10% of the crack/cocaine defendants in the federal system are white.					
In the 1920s William, a white farmer, received a loan to purchase more land and to start a business. He invested money in a bank. Over time, this investment grew which allowed him to purchase more land. The family business is now run by his granddaughter, Eliza, and the family is one of the largest landowners in Alabama.					
Berry is from a low income family. For High School, Berry received a scholarship to a prestigious boarding school; however, was kicked out due to “behavior” issues. After being kicked out, Berry dropped out of high school. Eventually he completed his GED and went on to own his own business. Berry is a voracious reader and retains a lot of information and trivia. When in conversation with clients, usually people that have several academic degrees, Berry insults them with his large vocabulary and is able to make them feel stupid.					

Comments: Please note if you think a vignette belongs in another section (i.e., Individual, Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, Chronosystem) and/or provide feedback about vignette language. Other feedback is welcomed.

Notes/Comments/Suggestions/Questions:

APPENDIX D

The Tested COAP Scale: Transformative Consciousness of African American Racial Oppression and White Racial Privilege

***6. Amanda is a 7 year old African American girl with dark skin who was adopted by white parents. While in the toy store, Amanda browses the small ethnic and black doll section. She remembers her parents told her to get a doll that looked like her. Amanda grabs a white doll and thinks, “I don’t want an ugly black doll.”**

You think Amanda selects a white doll because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
She has received messages from society that dark skin like hers is considered ugly.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
She wants a pretty doll that looks like her adoptive white family.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amanda has low self-esteem and needs to learn to love herself.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***7. If you were Amanda’s parent, you would**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Strongly encourage Amanda to take the black doll or get no doll because Amanda should play with dolls that look like her.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Let Amanda take the white doll because she obviously really wants it.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ask Amanda why she thinks the black doll is ugly and the white doll is pretty.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***8. Amanda's preference for white dolls suggests that**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice
Amanda appreciates the beauty of people who do not look like her.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amanda may think and act in ways that supports her belief that she - like the black dolls - is ugly.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
White people should not adopt/raise African American children since white people can't instill African American cultural values.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***9. Some white participants in a diversity seminar complain that they can no longer speak their minds. One person states, Black people use the N-word and wear t-shirts that say 'Black power'. Not being able to do something because I'm white is reverse discrimination!" David joins the conversation and says, "Speaking of reverse discrimination, I just lost the race for Class President against some dude who was only admitted to this school because he's African American."**

You think the participants made the statements because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Both whites and African Americans experience discrimination.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
African Americans are given unearned or undeserved opportunities causing whites to pay for past harms they had nothing to do with.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
White family history and values may exclude or not acknowledge advantages based on race that help them succeed.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***10. If you were the group facilitator responding to the participants' comments, you would**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Explain that sometimes people are treated unfairly and that includes whites.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Encourage the African American students in the group to speak about their experience of getting into college over whites who were more qualified.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Discuss the group's definition of reverse discrimination and examine the underlying assumptions of equal starting points.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 11. If the African American student had lost the race for class president against David, then**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
The loss may indicate the African American's lack of ability to be in a leadership role.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most people would probably not question David's qualifications or how many whites with lower grades than African Americans were admitted.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
That would mean that David won fair and square and is likely the better person for the position.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 12. Diane is an intelligent 13 year old African American girl. Her African American classmates accuse her of acting white, thinking she's better than them, and calling her an "Oreo".**

You think Diane's classmates accuse her of acting white because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
People should stay true to who they are and not pretend to be something they're not.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
She's probably acting "uppity" or like she's better than them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Society has conditioned some African Americans to believe that positive associations (e.g., intelligence) can only be attributed to white people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 13. If you were the teacher, you would**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Help Diane's classmates understand that people who think being ghetto and talking with a 3rd grade education is cool are just plain ignorant.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tell Diane's classmates that there is nothing wrong with speaking intelligently and with proper English.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Discuss with the students their judgments of what is associated with good and bad and black and white.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 14. If Diane's classmates continue to believe that excelling in academics is acting white, then**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Perhaps more people should want to act white like Diane.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
They may limit and relegate themselves to certain actions that are less likely associated with academic success.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Acting black also needs to be associated with excellence and success.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 15. Roger, a co-worker of Mercedes, sincerely asks if she has experienced racism at their job. She says, "Well, I heard Peggy and Joe (who are both white) laughing while Peggy was doing her impression of an African American." Roger looks shocked and says, "That wasn't racism!"**

You think Roger is surprised by Mercedes' example of racism because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Peggy and Joe's behavior is not perceived as an intentional hostile communication based on race.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Peggy and Joe were not intentionally trying to put Mercedes down.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It was a harmless joke and Peggy is being oversensitive.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 16. In response to Roger's comment, Mercedes should**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Join in the fun with her co-workers and do impressions of other co-workers.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Realize that she is being oversensitive. Laugh it off and not take it so personally.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Suggest that he and his peers attend training on racism.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***17. If Peggy and Joe continue similar behavior then**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Mercedes will eventually become accustomed to their humor.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mercedes could initiate a hostile work environment complaint following her company's harassment policy.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mercedes should try to avoid Peggy and Joe or figure out a way to make Peggy and Joe understand how uncomfortable they make her feel.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***71. After interviewing for a promotion, Michael, like the other African American applicants, was not promoted. The manager told him that although Michael was as qualified as some of his colleagues, many times the impression from the interview determines if the candidate is a good fit for a promotion.**

You think Michael was not promoted because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Some people interview better and others may be nervous or anxious.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Michael may not have been as prepared for the interview compared to his white colleagues.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Perceptions of what is "good" interviewing favors white people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***72. If Michael found out that he was more qualified than the promoted candidates, then he should**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Accept that their interviews must have been exceptional.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Engage the corporation in developing a more open and systematic review process for promotion purposes.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work on his interviewing skills so he can be a competitive applicant.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***73. If promotions continue to depend on the interviews, then**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Candidates for promotions will have to be their best in the interview.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Michael may never be promoted if he can't learn to interview better.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The promotion process will be biased toward factors that favor white individuals.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***74. Ronnie, African American, and Brandon, white, are both heroin addicts. One way they support their heroin habit is to shoplift. They walk into stores together, and even though Ronnie often looks and dresses better than Brandon, the stores' employees watch him intently. Meanwhile, Brandon does all the shoplifting while not being monitored.**

You think the store's employees watch Ronnie more than Brandon because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
The store's employees are trained to identify common factors associated with potential threats to store security.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ronnie may be acting suspicious to make the employees watch him so he and Brandon can carry out their plan.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Africans Americans are more likely to be racially profiled than white individuals.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***75. To improve the store's security, the store's management should**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Understand that their biases are not allowing them to do their jobs efficiently.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ban all Identified shoplifters from the store.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Identify common characteristics of people who are caught stealing and closely monitor people with those characteristics.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***76. If Ronnie has more shoplifting arrests than Brandon, then**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Ronnie may have been arrested more often than Brandon because of racial profiling.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ronnie is probably a known shoplifter for the area.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ronnie deserved to be watched more than Brandon.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***77. Tyrique, an African American male in 8th grade, lives in an African American neighborhood. At night, Tyrique hears gunshots and has nightmares. In school, Tyrique is disrespectful and irritable. Tyrique's teacher would like him removed from the classroom.**

You think Tyrique's teacher would like him removed because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Tyrique's behavior is setting a bad example for the other students.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Part of a teacher's job is behavior management until behavior becomes unmanageable and then removing disruptive students is probably school policy.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The teacher has not taken into consideration the connection between his environment and behavior and has labeled him a "bad kid".	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***78. If you were a school administrator, in response to Tyrique's behavior, you would**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Consider other reasons for Tyrique's behavior that have been overlooked.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Understand that this type of behavior is characteristic of kids who live in high crime areas.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Consider how they've dealt with other disruptive students and treat Tyrique the same.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***79. If the school puts Tyrique in a special class for "bad" kids, then**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Tyrique will learn that there are consequences for bad behavior.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tyrique will receive an inadequate education.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tyrique's previous teacher will be able to teach without disruption.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***80. Megan, a white 17 year old pot smoker, and her friend Jason, an African American 20 year old drug user, often carry and use their drugs throughout the day.**

You think Megan has never been stopped and frisked by law enforcement because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
The police are too busy handling real crimes and are not concerned with her.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Law enforcement has never caught her doing anything wrong.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People who look like Megan have not been made out to be the face of crime.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***81. If law enforcement did approach Megan and Jason, they would probably**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Overlook Megan as a potential person who is breaking the law. She is not automatically suspected by virtue of group membership.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Try to figure out what Jason is doing with her since he is an older male with an under-aged girl.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Take both of them in for questioning.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***82. If Megan is able to avoid criminal justice involvement, then**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
She should take this as a warning and stop hanging out with other substance users.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
She avoids criminal record and interaction with the criminal justice system and any potential consequences.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Like most adolescents, she'll probably continue experimenting and will eventually grow out of this stage.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***84. Tamara, an African American, 7th year doctoral student recently heard that her mentor and the only African American faculty member did not receive tenure and would be leaving the University at the end of the academic year.**

You think Tamara is without a mentor because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Tamara did not choose a better qualified mentor who had tenure.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Selecting a mentor that may be fired is just part of the process and could have happened to anyone.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tamara was limited in her selection of a mentor by the lack of African American professors at the school who share similar experiences and interests.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***85. In response to her mentor's departure, the school should**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Determine how the departure of Tamara's mentor affects her and try to lessen the negative impact on her academic career.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Give Tamara an assessment to see what she needs to do in order to finish her degree on time.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Match Tamara with another faculty member willing to mentor her in her area of interest.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 86. If Tamara does not have a mentor, then**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
This experience will help her learn to select mentors based on qualifications and not race.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tamara's resume may not be as competitive as her white counterparts who have a plethora of faculty willing to mentor them and provide exclusive training opportunities.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Completing the program may be more difficult; however, not all successful students have mentors.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 87. An investigative journalist is conducting an experiment of race relations within a predominantly white community. The journalist hires teen actors to vandalize a car parked in a public space. As the white teens take their turn vandalizing the car, the hired African American teens wait in a car parked nearby. The police dispatch receives three 9-1-1 calls alerting the police to the presence of suspicious African American youth sitting in a parked car.**

You think the police were called about the African American teens because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
It's suspicious for unknown youth to be sitting in a parked car unsupervised and it's better safe than sorry.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People probably knew the white teens were being taped but weren't aware that the African American teens were part of the setup.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The callers associate African American youth with danger.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 88. The result of the journalist's experiment shows that**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
People may be afraid of African American youth because the bad actions committed by some have given their group a bad reputation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There is a big difference between what is acceptable behavior for white and African American youth.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Had unknown white youth been sitting in a parked car in a predominantly African American neighborhood, people may have called the police on them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 89. The police should**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Evaluate that they were called based on a perception of fear of African American youth and not for the actual "bad" behavior that the white youth were doing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Make the journalist pay a fine for setting up a situation that scared the community members, and wasted officer time and taxpayer money.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Realize the 9-1-1 callers made an honest mistake and head back to the precinct since no actual crime was committed.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***90. Poll taxes and literacy tests were among the many discriminatory laws that States enforced to keep African Americans from voting. The U.S. Supreme Court no longer requires States to prove that new voting practices or procedures do not have a discriminatory purpose or effect.**

You think new voting laws are no longer reviewed because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
African Americans are less inclined to take part in the democratic process.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The new laws no longer discriminate on basis of race to prevent African Americans from voting.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Indirect racial impact of the voting laws is not being considered.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***91. In response to the Supreme Court's decision, I would**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Work with government and grassroots organizations or get involved in rallies and create petitions or lobby to advocate for just policies.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Let the people who are impacted by the laws fight for their rights.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Understand that the laws are meant to be fair and not racist.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***92. The potential result of the Supreme Court's decision is**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
To send a message that African Americans no longer need the court's protection and if they want to vote, they just have to make the effort.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Voting laws that have a discriminatory impact against African Americans may continue to be passed.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
To reinforce the idea that racist voting laws are from a past era and, as a society, we have moved past such racial injustice.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***93. When Lacey, a white teenager, looks in magazines, watches TV, or views other media, she sees people of her same race labeled as beautiful, successful, trustworthy, intelligent, and good.**

You think Lacey sees positive images of people of her same race because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
There are more successful white Americans in the public eye than African Americans.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Some magazines cater to specific audiences or populations.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Media is set up to provide positive messages about white people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***94. In response to the media Lacey views, she should**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Take notice of the types of people who are excluded.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Understand that the people in her magazines, regardless of race, are selected to appeal to her tastes and interests.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Diversify her media selection to be exposed to other types of people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***95. As a result of seeing these images, Lacey**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Knows that if other people had these similar characteristics of success they would be displayed in the magazines regardless of race.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Knows that she belongs to this group and is assumed to embody these positive characteristics by others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Is uplifted and learns to feel good about herself, which is what we as a society want for all people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***97. The 13th Amendment ended slavery in the U.S., except as punishment for convicted criminals. Some people believe that the 13th Amendment is what caused modern day slavery for African Americans per the criminal justice system.**

You think some people have that belief because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Laws tend to make certain acts illegal that are more likely committed by African Americans.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
They do not want to hold African American criminals responsible for their bad actions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People look for links to slavery as an excuse. Slavery ended 200 years ago and has no role to play in the number of African Americans in prison today.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***98. If you were a criminal justice policy maker you would**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Promote the message that "If you did the crime, you should do the time." If fewer African Americans committed crimes then there would be fewer African Americans in prison.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Allow the criminal justice system to operate as is because justice is color blind and everyone has the same responsibility to be law abiding citizens.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Address the factors in today's society that lead to higher arrests, convictions, and longer sentences for African Americans than whites.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***99. One consequence of how the criminal justice system operates is**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
That it takes violent offenders off the streets and allows non-violent offenders a chance to learn from their mistakes.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The perpetuation of inequality for African Americans, since they are unjustly targeted and will be blocked from basic elements of citizenship such as housing, education, employment and voting.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Prisoners are more likely to choose to hone their criminal skills and not take advantage of programs to better themselves.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***100. After several decades of only allowing white individuals to be professors, the university opened its doors to African American faculty. However, African American applicants have rarely met the qualifications.**

You think the University can find qualified white applicants but cannot find qualified African American applicants because:

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
The past discrimination gave white applicants a head start to obtain the qualifications while African Americans were deprived of opportunities, mentors, and training.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Affirmative Action helps African Americans with lower qualifications find jobs so there is no encouragement for them to meet the standards of high level jobs.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is still early in the recruitment process. It will probably take a few years to find the right people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 101. If you were on the selection committee, you would**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Ask staff to refer or encourage qualified African American applicants to apply for a position.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Develop a plan to identify and change the unfair selection or hiring criteria that disadvantages African American applicants and advantages white applicants.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Implement a mentorship/training program to advance the skills of potential African American applicants.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 102. As a result of the University's selection criteria,**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
White applicants will be rewarded for their ability to meet the selection criteria.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The historical disadvantages based on race will limit the number of "qualified" African Americans and will maintain the faculty positions for white applicants.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
African American and white applicants will be equally qualified for the job because selection criteria will apply to everyone equally.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 103. A white man with a short haircut and an African American man with a braided hairstyle typically called, “cornrows,” enter the court room. The judge asks the African American man how he pleads: Guilty or Not Guilty. The African American man corrects the judge stating that he is the lawyer and the white man is the defendant.**

You think the judge made the mistake because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
The white defendant was probably better dressed than the African American attorney.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Judge had probably never met the African American attorney before.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Judge may subconsciously associate African American with criminality.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 104. If you were the judge, you would**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
Consider how his judgment of who is criminal has been compromised by certain societal messages.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Implement a dress code for all attorneys to follow in the courtroom.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Explain to the African American attorney that the error was based on a reasonable assumption since most defendants in his courtroom are African American.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 105. If the African American attorney continues to dress a certain way and wear “cornrows” then**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
He should expect to be treated like a thug or criminal and not be offended when it happens.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
He can use his appearance to challenge stereotypical views of criminality.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
From time to time, people may make an honest mistake and label him incorrectly.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 106. Tameeka, an African American woman, has provided childcare for the Whyte family for 4 years. Although she barely makes enough to provide for herself and two children, she has saved what she could to send her oldest son to private school next year; however, she will be a few hundred dollars short by the tuition deadline. Tameeka asks the Whyte family for a small loan.**

You think Tameeka asks the Whyte family for the loan because

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
The Whyte family may not charge her as much interest as a bank.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
She wants a quick way to get money she hasn't earned.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Forms of racism have kept Tameeka poor and the Whyte family in a position to give a loan.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*** 107. In response to Tameeka's request, the Whyte family should consider that**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
People need to learn to live within their means.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It may be better for Tameeka to get a loan from a bank.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
They have received loans from others that helped them achieve financial success.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***108. If the Whyte family decides to give Tameeka the loan, then**

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	I don't understand
They will have granted her access to a credit system that many people use to make advancements in life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
They are perpetuating dependence and the idea that you don't have to earn what you want in life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
They will be taking a financial risk that may be better suited for a financial institution.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

GLOSSARY

The following definitions of terms were used in this study.

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA)	A statistical technique used to verify the factor structure of a set of observed variables to determine whether the hypothesized relationships between observed variables and their underlying latent constructs exists.
Construct Validity	The degree to which a scale measures what it claims to measure.
Convergent Validity	Tests whether constructs that should be related, are related.
Divergent (Discriminant) Validity	Tests whether hypothesized unrelated constructs are, in fact, unrelated.
Factor	A latent variable identified with clusters of variables that represent the common variance of variables, excluding unique variance (Bryant & Yarnold, 1995).
Factor loadings	The correlation coefficients between the variables (rows) and factors (columns). Analogous to Pearson's r , the squared factor loading is the percent of variance in all the variables accounted for by each factor (Bryant & Yarnold, 1995).
Nomological Validity	A network of constructs with hypothesized relationships.
Oppression	The systematic process of undeserved disadvantage, as well as the product of undeserved disadvantage resulting from that process, that is perpetuated on a group of people because of some characteristic that has been deemed inferior and is systematized to constantly prevent group members from accessing resources, and social, economic and/or political power.
Privilege	The systematic process, perpetuated by individuals' beliefs and behaviors, grounded in societal and cultural norms, and codified in formal and informal laws and policies of our institutions, of bestowing undeserved advantage on a group of people because of some inherent characteristic (e.g., SES, sexuality, race, and gender) regardless of merit.
Racism	The presence of racial oppression and/or racial privilege.
Reliability	Analyses that determine whether the scale gives consistent results.
Socio-ecosystem	Adapted levels of Bronfenbrenner's (1977) social-ecological model that includes intrapersonal and interpersonal levels to which transformative consciousness is applied.
Socio-ecosystemic Equity (SEE)	The absence of cyclical and reinforcing processes of oppression and privilege within the levels of the socio-ecological model.
Socio-ecosystemic Inequity (SEI)	The presence of oppression and/or privilege within the levels of the socio-ecological model that produce injustice.
Transformative Consciousness	Levels of socio-ecosystemic reflection on the causative elements and factors perpetuating the identified problem, potential behavioral responses to the identified problem, and the consequences of the identified problem for the development and implementation of potential solutions.
Transformative Consciousness of SEI (C-SEI)	Levels of socio-ecosystemic reflection on the causative elements and factors perpetuating SEI, potential behavioral responses to SEI, and the consequences of the perpetuation of SEI for the development and implementation of potential solutions to SEI.