AWRY: JOURNAL OF CRITICAL PSYCHOLOGY
Article

The Influence of Critical Consciousness-Based Education on Identity Content and Perceptions of Sexism

Nia Phillips[1]

[1]Assistant Professor, Department of Psychology, University of Prince Edward Island, Canada

Correspondence
Email: nlphillips@upei.ca

The current study investigates the impact of critical consciousness education on gender identity and perceptions of sexism. Students in women's studies and personality psychology courses completed measures of gender identification, gender identity content, and perceptions of sexism at the beginning and end of the semester. Results indicate that women's studies education changes how participants define what it means to be a woman while also leading to broader recognition of sexism. Further, mediation analyses indicate that changes in identity content mediates the relationship between course and perceptions of sexism. These results indicate the impact of critical consciousness-based education on perceptions of the self and society, in conjunction with a need for research that includes content-based analyses of identity as well as varied and diverse conceptions of gender oppression.

KEYWORDS
critical consciousness, gender identity, perceptions of sexism, identity content, conceptions of bias

1 | INTRODUCTION

Scholars concerned with issues of social justice have long been aware of the role that education can play in liberation. Arguably, the most essential component of liberatory education is the concept of *conscientização*, or critical consciousness (Freire, 1973). Critical consciousness is the development of a reflexive understanding of the world—that is, a focus on the structures and motivations that underlie reality, coupled with the interconnectedness of individual, social, and structural experience (de Lauretis, 1990; Diemer et al., 2016; Freire, 1974; Gurin, 1985; Gurin & Townsend, 1986; Jemal, 2017). This concept of critical consciousness has been called an "antidote to oppression," because it challenges the natural order of the social world, highlighting the ways in which social practices, organizations, and everyday reality are not neutral and maintain inequality (Watts et al., 1999).

Certain academic programs, such as those in gender, ethnic, or other cultural studies, promote critical consciousness by illuminating power and position. Courses in cultural studies help expose the imbedded structures in society that reinforce and reproduce oppression. In doing so, this curriculum calls into question dominant, system-justifying narratives that would have people believe that existing social stratification is the natural result of the relative worth, skill, or value of different groups. The impacts of participation in critical consciousness-based classes are twofold: first, students emerge with broader understandings of what constitutes bias or discrimination (Bidell et al., 1994; Case, 2007; Hassel et al., 2011; Kernahan & Davis, 2007), and secondly, engagement in these courses results in changes in how students understand their own identities (Adams, 2014; Bargad & Hyde, 1991; Berg & Simon, 2013; Mathews et al. 2019; Quintana & Segura-Herrera, 2003). As such, the current project examines the role of critical consciousness-based education on understandings of the world (i.e., perceptions of sexism) and understandings of one's self (i.e., gender identity). Additionally, I consider gender identity along two dimensions: level and content. That is: what does it mean to be a member of that group, and how does this relate to one's strength of identification?

1.1 | Critical Consciousness and Conceptions of Bias

What constitutes bias? Over the past twenty-five years, social psychologists have devoted substantial resources to articulating conceptual complexity of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. As social norms regarding expression evolve, more traditional, overt, and "old-fashioned" forms of bias have been replaced with "modern" prejudices (McConahay, 1986; Swim et al., 1995; Swim & Cohen, 1997). Additionally, researchers have focused on different dimensions of bias, such as hostile and benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and their differential impact on other indicators of inequality, e.g., victim blaming and academic performance (Dardenne et al., 2007; Abrams et al., 2003).

Even as conceptualizations of inequality become more nuanced, they still tend to fall under the traditional umbrella of the A, B, C's of psychology (i.e., affect, behavior, and cognition). These map onto the concepts of prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping, respectively. Prejudice, discrimination, and stereotyping are individual-level phenomena in that they explain inequality as something that happens *to* individuals (or collectives of individuals) by other individuals. This individualized perspective is consistent with lay theories of inequality that operate as intellectual hurdles that educators must overcome in critical learning environments (Kleinman & Copp, 2009). Research indicates educational contexts that work to present inequality as a psychological phenomenon that is embedded in social systems and structures—as critical consciousness approaches advocate—lead to greater recognition of discrimination in the absence of a individual perpetrator and greater recognition of systemic discrimination broadly (Adams et al., 2008).

It is important to recognize that systemic understandings of inequality are not monolithic. As a result of engagement in an educational context that shifts focus from naïve, individual perspectives to systemic conceptions

of injustice, people's personal understanding of the nature and causes of inequality become more diverse and complex (Bidell et al., 1994). These learners also more readily recognize the presence of, and problems associated with phenomena such as the patriarchy (Hassel et al., 2011) as well as male, white, and heterosexual privilege (Case, 2007; Case et al., 2014; Kernahan & Davis, 2007). Moreover, these changes in conceptions of bias are often accompanied by a decrease in individual prejudice (Hogan & Mallott, 2005; Probst, 2003; Scott et al., 1977; Stake & Hoffman, 2001; Thomsen et al., 1995) and greater appreciation of diversity (Bowman, 2010).

1.2 | Critical Consciousness and Identity

The perceptual shifts that exemplify critical consciousness are predicated on the integration of the self into the learning process. As people learn to evaluate the social context and systemic features of the world, they also consider the impact of these structural forces on individuals (including themselves). As such, the use of firsthand experiences and personal narratives is particularly useful in educational efforts to promote critical consciousness (Comerford & Fambrough, 2002). Further, recognizing and challenging the structural assumptions of environments allows a change from thinking about the self as an *object* to a *subject* in society. As Freire (1973) states, "by…perceiving themselves in dialectical relationship with their social reality…education can help men [sic] assume an increasingly critical attitude toward the world and so to transform it." (p. 33). Indeed, research suggests that critical consciousness education leads to greater self-awareness in conjunction with improved understandings of sociocultural identities (Allan & Iverson, 2003).

One manner in which the self is shaped by critical consciousness is through influence on existing social identities. For example, in ethnic studies courses, students consider critical perspectives that depathologize marginalized ethnic groups, which leads to greater ethnic identification among minority group members (Adams, 2014; Cerezo et al., 2013). Additionally, White students who participate in courses designed to promote structural understandings of racism show an increase in White identification coupled with a change in the definition of Whiteness to include anti-racist values (Berg & Simon, 2013). Similarly, after completing coursework in Black feminism, the concept of Black girlhood transforms from a socially devalued identity to one that incorporates empowerment-related concepts like courage, independence, and inventiveness in the face of marginalization (Jacobs, 2016). This is consistent with models that promote critical consciousness as the process of undoing of false consciousness, as people from marginalized groups come to reject mainstream narratives that justify their oppression (Quintana & Segura-Herrera, 2003). While critical consciousness and social identity are unique concepts, they also are inherently linked as they overlap and intersect to shape negotiations of social reality (Mathews et al., 2019).

Critical consciousness education can also lead to the development of entirely new identities. Drawing upon the developmental model proposed by Downing and Roush (1985), Bargad and Hyde (1991) provide evidence that engagement in women's studies courses results in the development of a feminist identity. However, it is possible that rather than a novel identity, this simply reflects a change in understandings of one's existing gender identity. Similarly, Kornbluh et al. (2019) discuss how education promotes the development of a social justice identity. As they go on to define this process as the politicization of existing personal identity, it becomes clear that this may not be a new social identity, rather the re-negotiation of old ones. Regardless of whether these reflect the acquisition of new identities or adjustments to current ones, critical consciousness education promotes clear shifts in how people understand themselves.

1.3 | Identity and Recognition of Bias

While critical consciousness education leads to changes in the self and conceptions of discrimination, existing research also highlights how these two concepts are related. Identity contributes to the likelihood that one will construct and acknowledge events as the product of bias. For example, individuals from historically marginalized groups are often more aware of and sensitive to instances of oppression in everyday life than individuals lacking oppressive histories (Feagin, 1991; Nelson et al., 2010; Turner, 1993). This relationship may be due to a number of factors affecting these groups, such as stigma consciousness (Pinel, 1999), group-based rejection sensitivity (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002), and/or cultural mistrust (Adams & Salter, 2007; Nelson et al., 2010), all of which result from living in cultural worlds where oppression is a normal component of everyday life. Just as those individuals belonging to historically oppressed groups may perceive racism for a variety of reasons, dominant group members' failure to recognize bias may also reflect diverse antecedents. For dominant group members, the connection between others' disadvantage and their own privilege is not always clear (Case, 2007; Powell et al., 2005), reflecting the general invisibility of privilege in mainstream dialogues about inequality (McIntosh, 1990). In addition, dominant group members may also be motivated to deny discrimination to the extent that it calls their own social position into question. For example, White participants who receive a self-affirmation treatment identify greater racism in ambiguous events than those who do not receive an affirmation treatment, suggesting that racism denial results in part from ego defensiveness (Adams et al., 2006). Besides categorical group membership, strength of group identification also plays an important role in perceptions of discrimination (Crocker et al., 1999; Nelson et al., 2010; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Salter & Adams, 2016). Dominant group members who score high on measures of identification are less likely to make attributions to discrimination than those who score lower on these measures. For members of subordinate groups, increased identification is associated with greater perceptions of discrimination. Above and beyond membership in certain groups, attachment to or engagement with those groups influences willingness or ability to make attributions to discrimination.

1.3.1 | Identification - Level vs. Content

Existing research on the relationship between identity and perception of discrimination falls victim to a common issue in social psychology. Namely, identity-based scholarship frequently focuses solely on quantitative measures of identification—that is, how strongly one identifies with a group or category—to the exclusion of other aspects of identity. However, recent work by identity researchers has reflected upon the need for multidimensional assessments of identity (Ashmore et al., 2004; Leach et al., 2008; Roccas et al., 2006; Sellers et al., 1998). One such dimension is that of identity content, or what group membership means for individuals (Adams et al., 2006; Ashmore et al., 2004). Strength of identification with specific categories holds little meaning without recognition of how individuals define that identity. To wit, this study considers identity as a quantitative concept (i.e., level, or how strongly one identifies with a group) and a qualitative one (i.e., content, or what it means to be a group member).

1.4 | The Current Project

The current study considers the influence of a critical consciousness-promoting educational environment on perceptions of the self and their world. Specifically, I examined the impact of women's studies education on identification level, identity content, and perceptions of sexism. Although previous research has explored the influence of educational context on both conceptions of sexism and identity, as well as considered the relationship between identity and perceptions of discrimination, research suggests that these individual (i.e., identity) and sociocultural (i.e., education)

components of bias perception should be interrelated (Mathews et al., 2019). However, to my knowledge, no study to date has provided an empirical test of how these individual and cultural factors may interact to shape perceptions of bias. As such, I designed this investigation to explore how identity content and identification level may individually and jointly impact perceptions of sexism. The present project considers identity as both a quantitative and qualitative phenomenon, providing much-needed examination of the role of content in identification processes. Thus, I examine the impact of an introductory women's studies course on level of gender identification, gender identity content, and perceptions of sexism in ambiguous events as compared to a control class.

For the purpose of this comparison, I selected an introductory personality psychology course. Personality psychology courses also promote significant self-reflection, by highlighting individual differences in psychological phenomena. In addition, while personality psychology lacks the same gendered lens as women's studies, the course does include regular discussions of gender differences in personality across the semester. However, perhaps the most significant difference between personality psychology and women's studies lies in their relative consideration of structural and political analysis. Whereas women's studies curriculum is inherently reliant upon recognition of systemic and structural perspectives, personality psychology courses typically devote little consideration to the influence of the social world and by extension fail to articulate the how course topics might be shaped by systemic factors.

1.5 | Hypotheses

Based on existing research, I identified a number of hypotheses for the project. Although both courses include discussions of gender, the women's studies courses will do this more frequently and in greater detail than personality psychology. As such, I anticipate that students in women's studies will show a greater increase in gender identification over the semester than students in personality psychology (H1). At the same time, the nature of discussions around gender in personality psychology and women's studies differ, in that the former largely considers gender (or sex) differences in psychological phenomena, while the latter takes a more critical, de-essentializing approach that challenges gender stereotypes. As such, when it comes to gender identity content, I propose that over the course of the semester, women's studies students will incorporate more critical and non-traditional concepts into their understandings of their gender identity relative to personality psychology students (H2). Further, consistent with prior research (e.g., Case, 2007; Hassell et al. 2011) and the goals of critical consciousness education, I propose that women's studies students will be more likely to construct ambiguous event as the product of sexism than personality psychology students (H3).

Research also suggests a relationship between identity and perceptions of bias (Crocker et al, 1999; Nelson et al., 2010). Consistent with research findings on both ethnic and national identity and perceptions of racism, I propose a positive relationship between gender identification and sexism perception (H4). Lastly, I anticipate that individuals who incorporate critical, nontraditional, or discrimination-relevant concepts into their gender identity will be more likely to make attributions to sexism in ambiguous situations than those who do not (H5).

2 | METHOD

2.1 | Participants

I recruited participants from targeted courses at both the beginning and end of the semester. The full sample consisted of 126 participants: 75 students enrolled in *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* and 51 students enrolled in *Personality Psychology*. I selected these specific courses based on differences in content and perspective regarding gender. The primary focus of the women's studies course is gender, whereas gender is a secondary (or even ter-

tiary) consideration in personality psychology. In addition, the women's studies course takes a more historical-based analysis, while topics in personality psychology are weighted more heavily towards current theories and research rather than historical perspectives. The women's studies courses also emphasize political and structural implications of course content while personality psychology presents a more individualized and apolitical discussion of course content.

Although my hypotheses were developed in explicit consideration of women respondents, men were not prohibited from participation in the study. However, due to the very low number of men who completed the measures ($N = 2$ across sections of women's studies; $N = 3$ across sections of Personality Psychology), there was insufficient power to conduct analyses with regard to gender differences. For these reasons, men participants were excluded from data analysis and the full sample (noted above) includes only women. No participants self-identified as neither a man nor a woman (i.e., non-binary, agender, genderfluid). The ethnic breakdown of the overall sample was: 87% White, 6% Asian/Asian American, 4% Latino, 2% multiracial, and 1% African American. The average age of participants was 20 years old. Both the ethnic breakdown of participants and mean age were comparable across women's studies and personality psychology.

2.2 | Procedure

After obtaining permission from course instructors, I gave a brief explanation of the project, asked students who were interested in participating to remain seated, and excused those who declined to participate. I collected Time 1 data ($n = 113$: 62 from women's studies, 51 from personality psychology) during the first week of the semester, and I collected Time 2 data ($n = 75$: 49 women's studies, 26 personality psychology) during the week before final examinations. At both times, all students present agreed to complete the survey. Sixty-two participants (48 percent of the entire sample) completed the measures at both Time 1 and Time 2.

2.3 | Measures

Participants completed measures in a pencil-and-paper format questionnaire.

2.3.1 | Perceptions of Sexism

Participants used Likert-type scales to rate the extent to which a number of situations and scenarios were the due to sexism (1 = not at all due to sexism, 7 = definitely due to sexism). The items included a range of scenarios, including individual actions, (e.g. "At an office meeting, a visiting executive asks the only woman present for a cup of coffee, assuming that she is an administrative assistant."), systemic inequities, (e.g., "According to the US Census Bureau, in 2004 the Female-to-Male Earnings Ratio was 77:100. In other words, women made only 77% of what men made."), and cultural traditions (e.g., "In a traditional heterosexual marriage, women are expected to take on the man's last name and men are expected to keep their given last name.") I adapted the individual and systemic items based upon previous research on perceptions of racism (Adams et al., 2006). I created traditions items to assess sexism perception in differential (but not inherently negative) treatment based on gender.

2.3.2 | Gender Identification

I assessed strength of identification as a woman with the private regard subscale of the *Collective Self-Esteem Scale* (CSE; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Participants indicated the extent to which they are glad to be a woman, as well as their perception that the group "women" is worthwhile. Again, participants rated these statements using 7-point Likert scales (1= Strongly Disagree, 7 = Strongly Agree).

2.3.3 | Gender Identity Content

The last task participants completed was to indicate what their gender meant to them personally. The instructions directed them to complete four identical, back-to-back, open-ended statements that said, "Being a member of my gender group means _____."

3 | RESULTS

3.1 | Differences by Retention

I conducted a series of preliminary analyses to assess differences in participants who dropped out of the study and those who completed materials at both Time 1 and Time 2. The percentage of dropout participants did not differ between women's studies and personality courses, $N = 31, 42.5\%$ and $N = 27$, or 52.1%, respectively, $F(1, 111) = .29, p = .59, \eta^2 = .003$. Further, in a comparison of differences within the two courses, dropout women's studies participants did not differ from non-dropout participants in level of identification, $F(1, 58) = .42, p = .52, \eta^2 = .001$, or sexism perception in individual events, $F(1, 58) = .22, p = .60, \eta^2 = .001$, systemic events, $F(1, 58) = .04, p = .84, \eta^2 = .003$, or gendered traditions, $F(1, 58) = .15, p = .70, \eta^2 = .007$. For participants in personality psychology, no differences emerged in identification, $F(1, 48) = .84, p = .36, \eta^2 = .02$, and sexism perception in individual events, $F(1, 48) = .07, p = .79, \eta^2 = .002$, systemic events, $F(1, 48) = .01, p = .93, \eta^2 = .00005$, or gendered traditions, $F(1, 48) = .94, p = .34, \eta^2 = .02$. None of the dropout participants from women's studies and only one of the dropout participants from personality psychology completed the identity content measure at Time 1. While this may indicate a lack of engagement in the course for these participants, this difference must be interpreted with caution given the absence of differences between dropouts and non-dropouts for all other dependent measures. Given the lack of differences as a function of retention, all participants were included in subsequent analyses.

3.2 | Gender Identification

To test for condition differences in identification, identity content, and perceptions of racism (i.e., hypotheses H1-H3), I conducted 2 2 mixed-model analysis of variance (ANOVA) with course (women's studies, personality psychology) as the between-participants factor and time (semester beginning, end) as the repeated measures factor.

I created a single-item composite measure of gender identification by averaging responses on all four items of the private regard subscale of the CSE ($\alpha_{Time1} = .82, \alpha_{Time2} = .76$). Mean responses by time and course appear in Table 1. The 2 2 ANOVA revealed a marginal effect of course, $F(1, 73) = 4.42, p = .08, \eta^2 = .05$. However, this effect was in the opposite direction as hypothesized, such that women's studies students indicated marginally lower levels of gender identification than personality psychology students (Ms = 6.10 and 6.44 and SDs = .84 and .84, respectively). There was no significant effect of time on level of identification, $F(1, 73) = .37, p = .55, \eta^2 = .02$.

TABLE 1 Mean Gender Identification Scores by Time, Condition

	Time 1		Time 2	
	M	SD	M	SD
Women's Studies	6.32	0.90	6.11	0.84
Personality Psychology	6.52	0.53	6.53	0.54

In addition to the marginal main effect of course on identification, there was also a marginally significant Course Time interaction, $F(1, 73) = 2.94, p = .09, \eta^2 = .03$. However, similar to the course main effect, this interaction was not in the hypothesized direction. Rather than an increase in identification, taking a women's studies course tended to result in a slight mean decrease (from 6.20 at Time 1 to 6.00 at Time 2), whereas students in the personality psychology course showed a slight increase (from 6.40 at Time 1 to 6.49 at Time 2).

As such, H1 was not supported by the data. These unanticipated results (both for the main effect of course and the Course Time interaction) may be the result of comparison standards. In a women's studies course where gender is a perpetual topic of discussion students may feel that, by comparison, gender is not a constant consideration in their daily life and thus respond (slightly) lower on the scale. Personality psychology students lack a similar comparison standard, perhaps resulting in higher overall identification levels. However, a more likely alternative explanation is that these effects lack interpretability due to ceiling effects. The collective self-esteem scale provides a range of responses from 1 to 7, such that higher numbers indicate greater identification as a woman. For the current sample over 80% of participants responded to items with either a 6 or 7, suggesting that lack of hypothesized effects are the product of a negatively skewed sample. Furthermore, such ceiling effects provide support for consideration of identity content in addition to level of identification, which I turn to next.

3.3 | Gender Identity Content

In order to examine the meaning of gender identity, a pair of independent reviewers who were unaware of condition or hypotheses coded the open-ended responses for these items. In particular, I was interested in the extent to which participants, when asked about their understandings of their gender, mentioned the struggles or challenges associated with being a woman. After coding was complete, I tested for inter-rater reliability of coder's responses using Cohen's Kappa, resulting value = .87, $p < .05$. Frequencies of responses and their corresponding proportion for the sample appear in Table 2.

Each participant had the opportunity to respond to four identical open-ended statements that said, "Being a member of my gender group means _____," such that at each time point a participant's responses might be coded four separate times for a single dimension. However, participants rarely responded with multiple statements tapping into the same dimension, therefore I created a single categorical score (presence vs. absence) for each coding category for each participant at both time points. Unfortunately, low response rates did not allow for sufficient statistical power to conduct analyses comparing the different courses across the semester. As such H2 was not supported by the data, but neither was it disconfirmed. Further, an examination of the patterns of the proportions in Table 2 suggests that at the beginning of the semester about half of the respondents talked about their gender in terms of struggle. Over the course of the semester, women's studies students became increasing likely to mention struggle while personality psychology students became less likely to mention struggle when talking about their gender identity.

TABLE 2 Types of Mentions Within Gender Category

	Women's Studies				Personality Psychology			
	Time 1		Time 2		Time 1		Time 2	
	$N = 9$		$N = 17$		$N = 11$		$N = 12$	
	Freq.	Proportion	Freq.	Proportion	Freq.	Proportion	Freq.	Proportion
Struggle	4	23.5	13	76.5	18	40.0	27	60.0

3.4 | Perceptions of Sexism

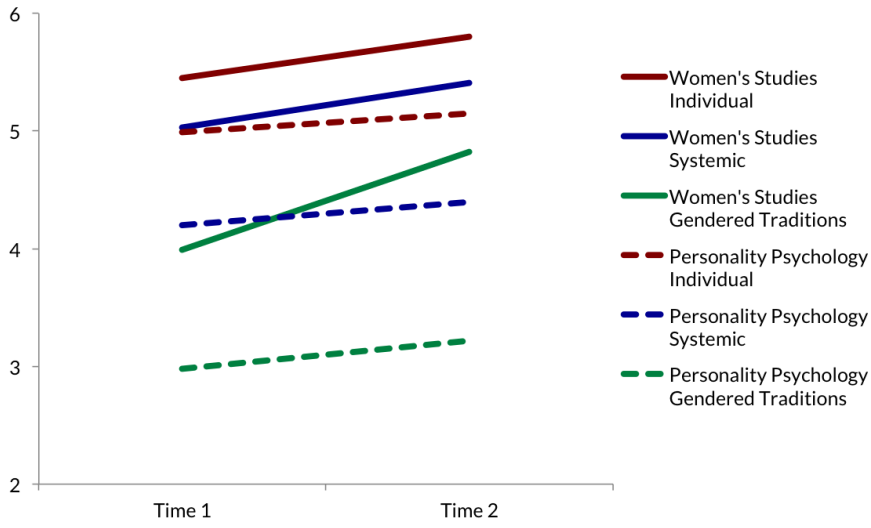
Eighteen items assessed perceptions of sexism in ambiguous events. I conducted confirmatory factor analyses based on a priori distinctions regarding different types of sexism: individual, systemic, and gendered traditions. These analyses yielded a 5-item factor assessing sexism in individualized scenarios ($\alpha_{Time1} = .88, \alpha_{Time2} = .79$), a 6-item factor assessing sexism in systemic events ($\alpha_{Time1} = .87, \alpha_{Time2} = .80$), and a 7-item factor assessing sexism in gendered traditions ($\alpha_{Time1} = .84, \alpha_{Time2} = .89$). Drawing upon the results of the factor analysis, subsequent analyses assessed perceptions of sexism using these three separate variables.

In order to examine the effect of course and time on perceptions of sexism I conducted a series of 2 (course) 2 (time) mixed-model ANOVAs for each of the different types of sexism perception (individual, systemic, and gendered traditions) as the dependent variables. These analysis resulted in significant main effects of course for individual, $F(1, 59) = 8.08, p < .01, \eta^2 = .14$, systemic, $F(1, 59) = 6.65, p < .05, \eta^2 = .12$, and gendered traditions, $F(1, 59) = 12.95, p < .01, \eta^2 = .18$. Participants in the women's studies course were more likely than participants from personality psychology to construct ambiguous events as the product of sexism for all three types of events (see Figure 1). This reflects a possible selection bias, in that students who opt-in to women's studies courses are more likely to recognize sexism overall than students who opt-in to personality psychology. In addition, there was a significant main effect of time for sexism perception in individual events, $F(1, 59) = 12.82, p < .01, \eta^2 = .18$, systemic events $F(1, 59) = 19.00, p < .001, \eta^2 = .32$, and gendered traditions, $F(1, 59) = 23.69, p < .001 \eta^2 = .26$. Over time, all participants were more likely to make attributions to sexism. Finally, the Course Time interaction was not significant for individual events, $F(1, 59) = 1.15, p = .29, \eta^2 = .02$, or systemic events, $F(1, 59) = .001, p = .98, \eta^2 = .00003$, but this interaction was significant for sexism perception in gendered traditions, $F(1, 59) = 7.65, p < .01, \eta^2 = .08$. Decomposition of this interaction indicates that the increase in sexism perception for gendered traditions was greater for participants in women's studies courses (from $M = 4.02, SD = 1.22$ to $M = 4.88, SD = 1.20$), $t(36) = -5.63, p < .01, d = .71$, than for participants in personality psychology, (from $M = 3.00, SD = 1.24 to M = 3.40, SD = 1.33$), $t(27) = -.09, p = .17, d = .31$.

The pattern of results for these variables—the significant Course Time interaction for perception of sexism in gendered traditions but not for individual or systemic forms—implies 3-way interaction of course, time, and sexism type. A 2 (course) 2 (time) 3 (sexism type) mixed-model ANOVA confirmed that this interaction was significant, $F(2, 118) = 3.82, p < .05, \eta^2 = .04$. These data indicate support for H3, particularly with regard for recognizing sexism in gendered traditions.

As an alternative to examining the Course Time interaction for each dimension of sexism perception, one can decompose this interaction by examining the Time Sexism Type interaction within each course. The Time Sexism

FIGURE 1 Perceptions of Sexism in Gendered Traditions by Course and Time



Type interaction was only significant for participants in the women's studies course, $F(2, 68) = 8.08, p < .01, \eta^2 = .29$, but not the personality psychology course, $F(2, 68) = .56, p = .57, \eta^2 = .04$. To probe the interaction among women's studies participants, I conducted a series of t-tests to examine which types of sexism differed over time for women's studies students. Although perceptions of sexism increased over the duration of the women studies course along individual, $t(93) = 3.61, p < .01, d = .65$, systemic $t(93) = 3.36, p < .001, d = .55$, and gendered traditions dimensions, $t(93) = 4.85, p < .001, d = .72$, the significant interaction reflects the fact that the increase between Time 1 and Time 2 was greatest for the dimension of gendered traditions.

3.5 | Gender Identification and Perceptions of Sexism

In order to assess the relationship between gender identification and perceptions of sexism I conducted separate linear regressions in which I regressed perceptions of sexism variables at Time 2 on gender identification at Time 2. Gender identification significantly predicted perceptions of sexism in individual scenarios, $\beta = .27, t(73) = 2.39, p < .05, R^2 = .07$, and systemic events, $\beta = .25, t(73) = 2.24, p < .05, R^2 = .06$. These findings support H4, and indicate that greater identification as a woman was associated with greater perception of sexism.

At the same time, regression analyses indicated that level of gender identification did not significantly predict sexism perception in these gendered traditions, $\beta = .13, t(73) = 1.13, p = .27, R^2 = 02$. This lack of significance is interesting given the nature of the gendered tradition dimension. Previous research on perceptions of discrimination distinguishes between individual and systemic racism and finds perceptions of both are associated with greater racial identification. The idea of recognizing bias in cultural traditions is novel to the current project and it is possible that a comparable parallel for this dimension does not exist for race. The gendered traditions items address socially acceptable means for differential treatment of men and women based on traditional gender roles; similar support for differential treatment based on race is less acceptable.

3.6 | Identity Content and Perceptions of Sexism

To assess H5, I examined the relationship between identity content and sexism perception by conducting t-tests of differences in perceptions of sexism at Time 2 based upon inclusion (or not) of struggle into participants' gender identity (also at Time 2). This analysis (and subsequent analyses with identity content) includes only those participants who elected to respond to the open-ended items assessing identity content. Participants who did not respond were coded as missing data rather than for the absence of the given coding dimensions. Results indicate that struggle emerged as a marginally significant predictor of sexism perception in individual events, $t(28) = 1.98, p = .06, d = 04$, and a significant predictor of sexism perception in both systemic events, $t(28) = 2.32, p < .05, d = .05$, and gendered traditions, $t(28) = 3.35, p < .01, d = .11$. These results support H5, in that thinking of one's gender in terms of struggle promotes the construction of ambiguous events as the product of sexism.

3.7 | Mediation Analyses

These findings allowed for the examination of identity content as a potential mediator of the relationship between condition and sexism perception at Time 2. I tested the mediation using Preacher Hayes (2008) indirect effects macro and employed a bootstrapping approach (Shrout Bolger, 2002). These results indicate that condition significantly predicted *struggle*, $\beta = -.49, t(29) = -2.98, p < .01$, and sexism perception in gendered traditions, $\beta = -.94, t(29) = 2.00, p = .05$, and *struggle* significantly predicted sexism perception in gendered traditions, $\beta = 1.35, t(29) = 2.72, p < .05$. Participants in women's studies courses were both more likely to internalize women's hardships as well as recognize the potential for sexism in gendered traditions. Incorporation of women's struggles into one's gender identity also led participants to see sexism in gendered traditions. When I included *struggle* as a mediator of the relationship between course and sexism perception, this pathway decreased significantly, $\beta = -.10, t(29) = -.57, p = .57, 95\% CI : LL = -1.74, UL = -.09$, indicating that *struggle* significantly mediated this relationship. This analysis suggests that course differences in recognition of sexism in gendered traditions were the result of increased internalization of women's struggles into one's gender identity.

Other research examining the relationship between perceived discrimination and identification proposes an alternative mediational path. The rejection identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999) proposes that experiencing discrimination leads to increased group identification as a means of maintaining-well being. Similarly, research on subgroup respect finds that perceived lack of respect promotes ingroup favoritism (Huo Molina, 2006). In order to assess this alternative hypothesis, I repeated the above mediation analysis this time including identification as the outcome and sexism perception in gendered traditions. These results indicate that condition significantly predicted sexism perception in gendered traditions, $\beta = -.94, t(29) = 2.00, p = .05$, and *struggle*, $\beta = -2.23, t(29) = -2.53, p < .05$, and sexism perception in gendered traditions significantly predicted *struggle*, $\beta = 1.15, t(29) = 2.14, p < .05$. However, inclusion of sexism perception as a mediator did not significantly decrease the relationship between condition and *struggle*, $\beta = -1.92, t(29) = -1.88, p = .07, 95\% CI : LL = -16.53, UL = .12$. This suggests that increased sexism perception in gendered traditions cannot account for the relationship between condition and thinking of one's gender in terms of struggle.

4 | DISCUSSION

4.1 | Summary of Findings

When considering the hypothesized relationship between educational context and gender identification, results failed to support H1. Despite anticipating greater gender identification among women's studies students relative to those in personality psychology, the data suggest the opposite, in that personality students' level of gender identification (marginally) increased over time, whereas women's studies students' did not. As briefly discussed, a possible explanation for this finding is based upon differing comparison standards made salient by the different classroom contexts. Women's studies courses present students with alternative, non-traditional, and critical conceptions of gender, as discussed by scholars and presented by instructors that adhere to these different conceptions. This provides students with different gender-related exemplars than personality psychology, which does not critically examine gender conceptions. In addition, the significant differences occur alongside ceiling effects, and therefore lack certain theoretical meaningfulness.

Another potential source of this unanticipated difference in gender identification is the possibility that the meaning of these categories differs according to classroom context. Though participants in the personality course indicate higher levels of gender identification, the 'Woman' that they are identifying with is likely to be very different than the 'Woman' with whom participants in a women's studies course are identifying. Both personality psychology and women's studies courses could arguably be considered egocentric, as both seek to understand the self. In personality this manifests somewhat apolitically as individual patterns of cognitions, emotions, and behaviors. Gender differences are considered, but not necessarily challenged or deconstructed. The notion of 'Woman' here is likely consistent with traditional gender roles and notions of femininity. This acritical approach then allows students to project themselves onto their understandings of being a woman, without having to challenge either themselves or the category itself. In contrast, women's studies is founded on the notion that the "personal is political" (Hanisch, 1970), and considers gender as the product of social and structural factors, and reflected in political power differences. By extension, the 'Woman' in women's studies is a challenge to traditional gender roles. She faces unique personal challenges by virtue of her gender alone, such as sexism and gender-based marginalization. Women's studies directly questions mainstream notions of what it means to be a woman, and simultaneously asks students to challenge these notions in themselves. Consistent with this idea and in support of H2, I found that women's studies students were more likely to think of their gender in terms of women's struggles over the course of the semester than were participants in the personality psychology course.

Results also indicate support for H3. Across the different forms of sexism consistent patterns emerge: women's studies students make greater attributions to sexism in ambiguous events than personality psychology students and everyone sees greater sexism over the course of the semester. The former effect can be understood in part as the product of selection differences. Neither personality psychology nor introductory women's studies are university requirements except for students who are majoring in the respective fields. The choice to enroll in a women's studies course therefore suggests a degree of gender consciousness, or in the least, openness to understanding more about gender issues. The source of the increase in sexism perception over the course of the semester is less clear, although one potential explanation is that students are increasing in liberalism as a function of university education (Vogt, 1997; Weil, 1985).

With regards to sexism type, perception of sexism in gendered traditions was always lower than perception of sexism in individual and systemic events. While students in personality psychology show comparable increases in sexism perception across all three types of sexism, for women's studies students the increase is greatest for gendered

traditions. Thus, the experience of taking a course that critically examines gender in daily life leads to the recognition of cultural traditions as the product of bias. These results are consistent with previous work that finds that taking a women's studies course broadens understandings of gender bias (Bidell et al., 1994; Case, 2007; Hassel et al., 2011).

Results also indicate support for both H4 and H5, in that both gender identification level and identity content significantly predicted perceptions of sexism. Strength of identification as a woman positively predicted perceptions of sexism in individual and systemic events, replicating previous work on identity and perceptions of discrimination. However, level of gender identification did not significantly predict perceptions of discrimination in gendered traditions. Consideration of gendered traditions is a novel contribution that the current project makes to the existing literature on perceptions of discrimination, and results suggest that this conception of sexism operates differently than systemic and individual biases and warrants further examination.

Finally, with regard to gendered traditions, struggle significantly mediates the relationship between course and sexism perception, such that differences between women's studies and personality psychology students' recognition of sexism in gendered traditions were the result of internalizing women's struggles. Furthermore, sexism perception did not mediate the relationship between course and thinking of gender in terms of struggle.

The impact of taking a women's studies course is evident both in how one constructs gender identity and what one constructs as sexism. Results of the present research indicate that both construction of women's identity in terms of struggle and recognition of gendered traditions as sexism increased uniquely for students enrolled in a women's studies course. Moreover, while strength of identification significantly predicted sexism perception in individual and systemic events, identity content predicted the construction of gendered traditions as sexist.

4.2 | Implications

The present research has clear implications for the study of group identity, particularly in regard to gender. Results suggest a ceiling effect on the measure of strength of identification, indicating that virtually everyone in the study was a highly identified woman. Given the tendency of social psychological work to over-emphasize identification level and exclude discussions of content, these findings indicate that such practices may have little potential for illuminating psychological processes. The lack of variability that emerged for the strength of identification measure emphasizes the importance of considering other means of assessing identity, in particular, identity content. Research in psychology that looks at the meaning of identities is considerably limited, yet in the current study identity content consistently emerged as a meaningful predictor of sexism perception. Moreover, without allowing participants the opportunity to define their identities for themselves, we run the risk of essentializing categories and misrepresenting experience.

The current project also has implications for the study of bias. Previous research that has discussed different forms of oppression (e.g., racism) has often focused on the distinction between individual or systemic inequality. A novel contribution of this research is that it also includes items that are superficially neither positive nor negative, but reflective of differences in the way that people are treated on the basis of gender. This construct is particularly important given the extent to which people may use tradition as an excuse for unequal treatment of women and men.

The relationship between identity and sexism perception are only somewhat consistent with previous findings on the relationship between ethnic identity and perceptions of racism. For example, consistent with research on ethnic identity and racism perception, strength of identification predicts sexism perception in individual situations and systemic events, but fails to predict sexism perception in gender traditions (a gender-unique classification of bias). This discrepancy provides additional support for gender as a unique social identity that may fail to align with the relationships observed with other group identities.

4.3 | Limitations and Future Directions

Perhaps one of the most evident shortcomings of the current study lies in the method of assessing identity content. The question itself was quite challenging for participants ("Being a member of my gender group means _____."), as evidenced by the low response rates. Given that participants are unlikely to critically consider their gender on a regular basis, this question may have been difficult to answer. As such, future studies should include a full-scale qualitative assessment of gender identity content, perhaps through personal interviews or autobiographies.

With regard to the relationship between identity and sexism perception I discuss findings in a specific direction. I propose that critical consciousness education lead to changes in what it means to be a woman, and that this change in identity content leads to changes in sexism perception. At the same time, previous research suggests that the opposite may be true. In work on subgroup respect, Huo & Molina (2006) find a perceived lack of respect for one's group impacts subgroup identification. Similarly, work on the *rejection-identification model* (Branscombe, Schmitt, Harvey, 1999) proposes that perceived group rejection (such as discrimination) leads to greater group identification as a means of coping. However, results from the mediation analyses indicate that identity influences recognition of discrimination, rather than the opposite relationship.

The results of the current study suggest the need for further exploration about the key dimensions of influence in women's studies education. Might the reported time and course differences be attributed to course content, method of delivery, or another factor altogether? A potential future project might address this question by conducting content analyses of course syllabi and/or texts. In addition, one might also consider manipulation of anticipated impactful factors in a more controlled setting.

Finally, the comparison between personality psychology and women's studies may seem to represent a unique contrast, with the two courses representing opposite ends of the spectrum. Certainly, one hesitates to generalize the findings from personality psychology students to the field of psychology more broadly. Perhaps a more stringent or interesting test might be the comparison of women's studies education with social psychology, a course that is more likely to consider the social context. However, regardless of the comparisons across courses, the change in women's studies over time lends support for its impact on identity and perceptions of sexism.

5 | CONCLUSION

The present study considers how educational contexts that promote critical consciousness lead to a variety of consequences. Critical-consciousness education changes how individuals understand their world by broadening understandings of what constitutes sexism, while also impacting understandings of the self promoting redefinition of gender identity. By encouraging people to recognize the political and motivational factors promoting inequality, critical consciousness-based education also promotes understandings of reality that lead to liberation from oppressive social systems. When one recognizes inequality as the means by which the politically powerful seek to maintain their power, mainstream and victim-blaming explanations for inequality are invalidated, freeing people from social narratives that would justify their marginalization. Moreover, this liberatory process is directly linked to changes in one's understanding of identity. Specifically, liberation results from internalization of critically conscious understandings of gender inequality and sexism into their own gender identity. The current research highlights the essential and often overlooked role that content plays in scholarly considerations of group identity. This is particularly true of gender, a category for which there seems to be relatively high and consistent identification with, yet simultaneously low consistency with regard to the meaning of that identity. One cannot generally assume that highly identified women are interchangeable or even comparable in the ways in which they negotiate their own gender. Without evidence support-

ing consensus regarding the meaning of group identity, the knowledge gained from research that focuses exclusively on the level of identification is highly limited. Only when research considers identity content in concert with strength of identification will we better understand the processes by which the self interacts with the social world.

acknowledgements

I wish to thank Glenn Adams for the support he provided in the development and implementation of this study. Additionally, I thank Stacey MacKinnon for her comments on an earlier draft of this manuscript.

references

Abrams, D., Viki, G., Masser, B. and Bohner, G. (2003) Perceptions of stranger and acquaintance rape: The role of benevolent and hostile sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **84**, 111–125.

Adams, G., Edkins, V., Pickett, K., Lacka, D. and Cheryan, S. (2008) Teaching about racism: Pernicious implications of the standard portrayal. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, **30**, 349–361.

Adams, G. and Salter, P. (2007) Health psychology in african settings: A cultural-psychological analysis. *Journal of Health Psychology*, **12**, 539–551.

Adams, G., Tormala, T. T. and O'Brien, L. T. (2006) The effect of self-affirmation on perception of racism. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, **42**, 616–626.

Adams, T. A. (2014) The pan-african studies effect and its impact on undergraduate students. *The Journal of Pan-African Studies*, **7**, 23–37.

Allan, E. J. and Iverson, S. V. (2003) Cultivating critical consciousness: Service-learning in higher education. *Inquiry: Critical Thinking Across Disciplines*, **23**, 51–61.

Ashmore, R. D., Deaux, K. and McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004) An organizing framework for collective identity: Articulation and significance of multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin*, **130**, 80–114.

Bargad, A. and Hyde, J. S. (1991) Women's studies: A study of feminist identity development in women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, **15**, 181–201.

Berg, K. K. and Simon, S. (2013) Developing a white anti-racism identity: A psycho-educational group model. *Groupwork*, **23**, 7–33.

Bidell, T. R., Lee, E. M., Bouchie, N., Ward, C. and Brass, D. (1994) Developing conceptions of racism among young white adults in the context of cultural diversity coursework. *Journal of Adult Development*, **1**, 185–200.

Bowman, N. A. (2010) Disequilibrium and resolution: The nonlinear effects of diversity courses on well-being and orientations toward diversity. *The Review of Higher Education*, **33**, 543–568.

Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T. and Harvey, R. D. (1999) Perceiving pervasive discrimination among african americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **77**, 135–149.

Case, K. A. (2007) Raising male privilege awareness and reducing sexism: An evaluation of diversity courses. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, **31**, 426–435.

Case, K. A., Hensley, R. and Anderson, A. (2014) Reflecting on heterosexual and male privilege: Interventions to raise awareness. *Journal of Social Issues*, **70**, 722–740.

Cerezo, A., McWhirter, P. and D., Valdez M., . B. C. (2013) Giving voice: Utilizing critical race theory to facilitate consciousness of racial identity for latina/o college students. *Journal for Social Action in Counseling and Psychology*, **5**, 1–24.

Comeford, S. A. and Fambrough, M. J. (2002) Constructing learning sites for solidarity and social action: Gender autobiography for consciousness-raising. *Affilia*, **17**, 411–428.

Crocker, J., Luhtanen, R., Broadnax, S. and Blaine, B. E. (1999) Belief in u.s. government conspiracies against blacks among black and white college students: Powerlessness or system blame? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, **25**, 941–953.

Dardenne, B., Durmont, M. and Bollier, T. (2007) Insidious dangers of benevolent sexism: Consequences for women's performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **93**, 764–779.

Diemer, M. A., Rapa, L. J., Voight, A. M. and McWhirter, E. H. (2016) Critical consciousness: A developmental approach to addressing marginalization and oppression. *Child Development Perspectives*, **10**, 216–221.

Downing, N. E. and Roush, K. L. (1985) From passive acceptance to active commitment: A model of feminist identity development for women. *The Counseling Psychologist*, **13**, 695–709.

Feagin, J. R. (1991) The continuing significance of racism: Antiblack discrimination in public spaces. *American Sociological Review*, **56**, 101–116.

Freire, P. (1973) *Education for critical consciousness*. Seabury.

— (1974) *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Continuum.

Glick, P. and Fiske, S. T. (1996) The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **70**, 491–512.

Gurin, P. (1985) Women's gender consciousness. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, **49**, 143–163.

Gurin, P. and Townsend, A. (1986) Properties of gender identity and their implications for gender consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, **25**, 139–148.

Hanisch, C. (1970) The personal is political. In *Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation* (eds. S. Firestone and A. Koedt), 76–78. Radical Feminism.

Hassel, H., Reddinger, A. and van Slooten, J. (2011) Surfacing the structures of the patriarchy: Teaching and learning threshold concepts in women's studies. *International Journal for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning*, **5**.

Hogan, D. E. and Mallott, M. (2005) Changing racial prejudice through diversity education. *Journal of College Student Development*, **46**, 115–125.

Huo, Y. J. and Molina, L. E. (2006) Is pluralism a viable model for diversity? the benefits and limits of subgroup respect. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, **35**, 237–254.

Jacobs, C. E. (2016) Developing the "oppositional gaze": Using critical media pedagogy and black feminist thought to promote black girls' identity development. *The Journal of Negro Education*, **85**, 225–238.

Jemal, A. (2017) Critical consciousness: A critique and critical analysis of the literature. *The Urban Review*, **49**, 602–626.

Kernahan, C. and Davis, T. (2007) Changing perspective: How learning about racism influences student awareness and emotion. *Teaching of Psychology*, **34**, 49–52.

Kleinman, S. and Copp, M. (2009) Denying social harm: Students' resistance to lessons about inequality. *Teaching Sociology*, **37**, 283–293.

Kornbluh, M. Collins C., . K. . (2019) Navigating activism within the academy: Consciousness building and social justice identity formation. *Journal of Community Applied Social Psychology*, **30**, 151–163.

de Lauretis, T. (1990) Eccentric subjects: Feminist theory and historical consciousness. *Feminist Studies*, **16**, 115–150.

Leach, C. W., van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M. L. W., Pennekamp, S. F., Doosje, B., Ouwerkerk, J. W. and Spears, R. (2008) Group-level self-definition and self-investment: A hierarchical (multicomponent) model of in-group identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **95**, 144–165.

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

Mathews, C. J., Medina, M. A., Bañales, J., Pinetta, B. J., Marchand, A. D., Agi, A. C., Miller, S. M., Hoffman, A. J. and Diemer, M. A., R.-D. (2019) Mapping the intersections of adolescents' ethnic-racial identity and critical consciousness. *Adolescent Research Review*, 1–17.

McConahay, J. B. (1986) Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale. In *Prejudice discrimination, and racism* (eds. J. F. Dovidio and S. L. Gaertner), 91–125. Academic Press.

McIntosh, P. (1990) White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. *Independent School*, **49**, 31–36.

Mendoza-Denton, R., Downey, G., Purdie, V. J., Davis, A. and Pietrzak, J. (2002) Sensitivity to satus-based rejection: Implications for african-american students' transition to college. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **83**, 896–918.

Nelson, J. C., Adams, G., Branscombe, N. R. and Schmitt, M. T. (2010) The role of historical knowledge in perception of race-based conspiracies. *Race and Social Problems*, **2**, 69–80.

Operario, D. and Fiske, S. T. (2001) Ethnic identity moderates perceptions of prejudice: Judgments of personal versus group discrimination and subtle versus blatant bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, **27**, 550–561.

Pinel, E. C. (1999) Stigma consciousness: The psychological legacy of social stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **76**, 114–128.

Powell, A. A., Branscombe, N. R. and Schmitt, M. T. (2005) Inequality as ingroup privilege or outgroup disadvantage: The impact of group focus on collective guilt and interracial attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, **31**, 508–521.

Preacher, K. J. and Hayes, A. F. (2008) Asymptotic and resampling strategies for assessing and comparing indirect effects in multiple mediator models. *Behavior Research Methods*, **40**, 879–891.

Probst, T. M. (2003) Changing attitudes over time: Assessing the effectiveness of a workplace diversity course. *Teaching of Psychology*, **30**, 236–239.

Quintana, S. M. and Segura-Herrera, T. A. (2003) Developmental transformations of self and identity in the context of oppression. *Self and Identity*, **2**, 269–285.

Roccas, S., Klar, Y. and Liviatan, I. (2006) The paradox of group-based guilt: Modes of national identification, conflict vehemence, and reactions to the in-group's moral violations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **91**, 698–711.

Salter, P. S. and Adams, G. (2016) On the intentionality of cultural products: Representations of black history as psychological affordances. *Frontiers in Psychology*, **7**, 1166.

Scott, R., Richards, A. and Wade, M. (1977) Women's studies as change agent. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, **1**, 377–379.

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A. J. and Chavous, T. M. (1998) Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of african American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, **2**, 18–39.

Shrout, P. E. and Bolger, N. (2002) Mediation in experimental and nonexperimental studies: New procedures and recommendations. *Psychological Methods*, **7**, 422–445.

Stake, J. E. and Hoffman, F. L. (2001) Changes in student social attitudes, activism, and personal confidence in higher education: The role of women's studies. *American Educational Research Journal*, **38**, 411–436.

Swim, J. and Cohen, L. L. (1997) Overt, covert, and subtle sexism: A comparison between the attitudes towards women and modern sexism scales. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, **21**, 103–118.

Swim, J. K., Aikin, K. J., Hall, W. S. and Hunter, B. A. (1995) Sexism and racism: Old-fashioned and modern prejudices. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **68**, 199–214.

Thomsen, C. J., Basu, A. M. and Reinitz, M. T. (1995) Effects of women's studies courses on gender-related attitudes of women and men. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, **19**, 419–426.

Turner, P. A. (1993) *I heard it through the grapevine: Rumor in African-American culture*. University of California Press.

Vogt, W. P. (1997) *Tolerance and education: Learning to live with diversity*. Sage.

Watts, R. J., Griffith, D. M. and Abdul-Adil, J. (1999) Sociopolitical development as an antidote for oppression—theory and action. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, **27**, 255–271.

Weil, F. D. (1985) The variable effects of education on liberal attitudes: A comparative-historical analysis of anti-semitism using public opinion survey data. *American Sociological Review*, **50**, 458–474.