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Development And Validation Of The Internalized Classism Scale For Poor And Working Class In The United States

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DEVELOPMENT AND VALIDATION OF THE INTERNALIZED CLASSISM SCALE FOR POOR AND WORKING CLASS IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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This dissertation, submitted by Aleska R. Hagan in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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Aleska R. Hagan
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ABSTRACT

The poor and working class are largely overlooked or ignored across many aspects of U.S society including public policy, societal structure, representation in media, and even in the realm of psychological research (Lott, 2002; Smith, 2005). Furthermore, of the scanty representations and descriptions of the poor and working class that are available, most are derived from oppressive classist views and negative stereotypes (Smith, 2010). Classism pervades the social structure of the United States. Classist beliefs and experiences of classism are internalized by all members of society to some degree. Working class and poor people who experience internalized classism are likely to experience a number of negative effects such as depression, increased shame, difficulty with relationships, etc (Smith, 2010; Russell, 1996). To date, there has been limited research related to social class in the field of psychology, but this has been growing. However, there is currently no measure available that assess internalized classism which severely limits important research regarding this phenomenon resulting from classist oppression. The purpose of this project was to create an instrument that will potentially aid in the further the understanding of the impact of classist oppression when it is internalized by those who are oppressed, the working class and poor. The scale construction procedures, analysis, and empirical attributes will be provided in addition to the limitations of this research project and implications for future research and practice.

For Rugwump and those
who demand a better future.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the United States, differences in power are determined by a variety of social categories such as, but not limited to, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and disability (Smith, 2010). The social categories to which an individual belongs may determine whether the attitudes, beliefs, policies, procedures, and other elements of the social structure created for and by the status quo disadvantage or advantage the individual. Social class is one such social category that may determine one's power and privilege with those at the bottom of the hierarchy experiencing more oppression and less power (Smith, 2010).

The importance of social class in the U.S. has been highlighted in the last two presidential elections. According to Knafu (2012), the candidates in the 2012 election began attempting to regularly discuss supporting the shrinking middle class in an attempt to lure in voters. Yet, the poor and working class were often left out of any these discussions. Thus, they were not wooed by candidates in the way that their more powerful counterparts were. However, much seemed to change in terms of working class visibility in the following presidential election of 2016.

The working class moved to a place of prominence as the subjects of much discourse during and following the 2016 election. Results of the election left many questioning and confused (Garriot, 2017). Where it seemed that the working class was ignored in 2012, it seemed that their support was specifically sought in 2016 by the Republican candidate, Donald Trump. According to Garriot, Trump's statements that the American dream is dead were appealing to

those individuals who had been experiencing barriers to social mobility. Garriot explained that many Trump voters had been experiencing increases in mortality rates as well as health declines. Furthermore, these largely White, working class Trump voters are facing diminishing odds of earning more than their parents. In some sense, it very well could seem as if the American dream is dead.

Further attempts at understanding the role of social class and the perspective of Trump voters can be found in a segment aired on National Public Radio, during which Alec MacGillis, a reporter who had focused on understanding Trump supporters in the American Rustbelt, was interviewed regarding what he had gleaned from his work in the field (Martin, 2016). MacGillis noted that the experiences of those in the middle of the country are very different from larger more prosperous coastal cities, and while places like Washington, New York, and San Francisco are experiencing growth, the rustbelt towns have many closed down factories and have seen decreases in good paying jobs. Much of the middle of the country did not feel included or represented by the mainstream media that largely did not reflect their experiences. He further noted that to some degree, these people seemed to have voted for Trump simply as a means to prove to the rest of the world that they mattered. To some degree, it seems that Trump supporters were experiencing limitations to power over their own life circumstances, and so sought to have an effect in the only way they perceived to be available to them.

Social Class Hierarchy

According to Robinson (2012), there is large stratification of income in the United States. Indeed, much of the discourse in the 2012 presidential political arena drew attention to just how wealthy and powerful the top 1% had become in relation to the rest of the people in the United States. Social class standing is a reflection of economic and political power and is far more than

access to material goods (Zweig, 2004; Smith, 2010). A greater understanding of social class can be gleaned by further description of the social class hierarchy.

There has been much discrepancy in regards to how social class categories are defined and classified within a hierarchy (Smith, 2010). Lists of class indicators are lengthy and leave a lack of clarity. Income and socioeconomic status calculators are incomplete and fail to adequately measure social class categories due to unreliability. Furthermore, these measures do not speak to differentials in power and privilege that should be a part of the social class discussion.

To address these aforementioned concerns with the measurement of social class, Smith (2010), a prominent researcher of social class in the field of psychology, created a social class framework that combines the theories of multiple social class researchers to provide a clearer yet more encompassing description of the social class categories. This framework identifies the Owning class, the Middle class, the Working class, and poverty. According to Smith (2010), the Owning class are at the top of the class hierarchy and due to their economic power, they also hold the greatest social, cultural, and political power. Furthermore, they have a larger degree of control and power in their own lives and the lives of others, and so, they choose to work even though unnecessary and they control others' access to resources. Below the Owning class, the Middle class tend to be college educated individuals who have decidedly less power than the owning class in that they must work to support themselves. However, they have more economic security and higher rates of salaried employment than the working class and typically have more ability to self-govern and choose in their work than those of Working class. Those of the Working class are on average less educated, have lower income, have lower wealth, and have markedly less power than the aforementioned classes with little ability to choose or self –govern

in their work, little freedom in choosing jobs or types of work, little voice in the processes which determine their access to healthcare, education, and housing. Those in poverty are on average working class people who due to a number of factors are unable to support their families' basic needs (Smith, 2010).

A further description of the differences in power according to class status can be found in Zweig's (2004) account of class differences, in which the rich's ability to affect government is noted. Zweig (2004) explains that the rich, or Owning class according to Smith's (2010) aforementioned descriptions, control wealth by using lobbyists to influence politics and use politics to support legislature and regulations that benefit their interests. The Middle class have professional organizations that work to support their interests (Zweig, 2004). The working class are represented by labor unions. Of interest, the rich have become more powerful as the decrease in trade unions has led political parties to cater to rich donors instead of attending to the demands of unions (The Economist, 2004). This coupled with a decrease in high tax rates on the rich has created a greater disparity between the rich and poor. Furthermore, with a decrease of power and hope to influence politics, many poor have given up and do not vote in elections.

As noted, reduction of trade unions and participation in voting is one way that working class power is reduced and the owning class's power is supported (The Economist, 2004). Smith (2010) further explains that social classes are part of a larger social system where the position of those in power is supported by cultural mechanisms and systems that we all participate in and often unknowingly sustained. She further explained that by ignoring oppression or inequity, we support it and allow it to continue.

Cultural and Historical Factors in Social Class Hierarchies

It is important to recognize some of the cultural mechanisms that work to reinforce overlooking class inequity. One cultural norm is that discussing money in the U.S. is often considered impolite conversation and leads to discomfort. Smith (2010) noted that people without money feel ashamed and try to hide it, and people with money tend to be resistant to sharing the degree that they have benefitted from the current system. Smith (2010) also noted that conversations about social class are further muddied by the American mythos of the "American Dream". The "American Dream" is a shared cultural story that implies that the U.S. left behind the class based societies of the European forefathers. Instead, according to the beliefs of this narrative, the U.S. is not a true class based society because there is the opportunity for social mobility for everyone if you work hard enough. The belief in the "American Dream" then indicates that if you remain poor, then it is due to some affliction of your own. Given Smith's declaration that classist oppression continues through obscuring it or not noticing it, an examination of class in the history of the United States becomes particularly important.

An interesting and provocative book by Nancy Isenberg (2016), the T. Harry Williams Professor of American History at Louisiana State University, describes the process by which our historical tales have been cleansed of the accounts of class struggles that have been present since the foundation of the United States and actually began in England. She speaks about how the history commonly taught in schools here in the U.S. glorifies the description of the first English people that travelled to America as regular people who were in search of opportunity, "the American Dream" (p. 1-14). However, originally English businessmen, politicians, and other people with money and power considered the new land to be a terrible and disgusting place that they primarily wanted to plunder for resources. To address the difficulty in acquiring workers to send to the new, dangerous, and unknown land to create infrastructure and establish settlements,

the powerful thought that an excellent idea would be to simultaneously get rid of England's poverty problem by taking the poor, idle, and unproductive to the Americas with the belief that these people were expendable waste. Following establishment of settlements, the expendables remained exploited as unfree child, indentured, and slave labor. From the very beginning, the land of equal opportunity and freedom was not created equal as England used its own poor and other unwanted English people as unfree workers exploited to enhance the wealth of the already rich and powerful.

According to Isenberg's (2016) description of early colonial America, the majority of first settlements were created by England's poor, lower classes, and other marginalized people who were dehumanized and viewed as separate and different from more deserving English citizens. Criminals, Irish rebels, and whores, as well as those that sold themselves into indentured servitude made up many of England's first people rounded up and put to work in the new colonies, and when these people did not meet all the labor needs, poor children were rounded up and placed on ships. Next, to meet growing needs of labor, slave trade of people from the Carribean and Africa became one of the largest sources of unpaid labor. However, speaking of the enslavement and repeated, intentional multi-generational trauma imposed upon African and Carribean as "unpaid labor" does fail to recognize the true extent the rich White elite have dehumanized people, and particularly people of color, to increase their already overabundance of resources. Laborers were not viewed as people, instead they were viewed as animals or tools to be used to access resources.

Isenberg's (2016) rendition of history seems to lend support to Smith's (2010) statement that oppression is supported through ignoring and overlooking. Furthermore, it highlights a prominent way in which U.S. culture has been molded by the elite to create a fantasy of "the

American Dream". The story of the foundation of the U.S. that is often shared in history books, which differs dramatically from Isenberg's account, as well as the description of "the American Dream" passed from person to person work to silence the voices of the many hardworking people who literally put their lives into their work and never saw social mobility while the owning class reaped the rewards. Furthermore, Isenberg's description of the owning class's perceptions of the poor as "expendables", "waste", and "trash" likely cause their lot to be overlooked (Isenberg, 2016; Smith, 2010). Unfortunately, while the told history of the United States has been heavily altered, it seems that the perceptions of the poor have persisted.

Classism and Oppression

These negative perceptions of the poor are a form of oppression. Lott (2012) described classism as oppression through negative attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, and general social devaluation towards those with less power and privilege. The poor are associated with more negative stereotypes than the middle class (Cozzarelli, Wilkson, & Tager, 2001). Lott argued that the poor are often considered unintelligent and that poor parents are thought to not value education. She also stressed that the poor are often viewed as lazy, loud, unattractive, overweight, sexually promiscuous, and as having poor hygiene. Finally, Lott (2002) stated that the poor are thought to be criminals, dishonest, and substance abusers. The negative descriptors of the poor are in abundance and are the messages shared and transferred across generations. These are the descriptors used in jokes and perhaps the motivators for websites that some say are effectively making fun of class differences such as *People of Walmart* (Gross, n.d)

With a wide variety of negative beliefs about the poor, it is not surprising that the poor are thought to be deserving of their circumstances. Lott (2002, 2012) described the common meritocratic beliefs that hard work and individual merit leads to success and that the poor have

caused their own poverty due to their own failings. In fact, Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler (2001) found that the poor were blamed for their circumstances in their study that assessed the stereotypes associated with the poor and middle class. Internal factors such as laziness and intelligence were seen to be more likely to cause circumstances of poverty rather than external factors such as discrimination or access to resources. This seems very similar to Isenberg's (2016) descriptions of how the poor were described by the rich in U.S. history.

Along with the belief that those who are poor somehow cause their circumstances, Lott (2002) also indicated that those receiving social supports, such as welfare, are often thought to cheat or not work hard enough to get off of the system. Bullock, Wyche, and Williams (2001) further posit that those on welfare are the most hated group in America and this is proliferated by media images that portray those on welfare as exploiting the system with no intentions of becoming more financially independent. A study by Bullock (1999) compared middle-class and welfare recipient attitudes and found that middle-class participants were more likely to anticipate that welfare recipients would have a lifetime of dependency upon the system. Furthermore, middle-class participants were more likely to anticipate generational use of the welfare system.

Although it is apparent that there is an abundance of negative stereotypes regarding the poor and working class, it also is important to consider the effects that these negative stereotypes may have on the working class and poor. These negative stereotypes affect low income individuals in a number of concrete ways. According to Lott (2012), low-income people face frequent layoffs, job instability, low purchasing power, barriers to resources, poor food quality, poor living conditions, reduced access to health care, and lower quality education. Beyond concrete shortages in resources, the structure of the class system works to socialize individuals in a way that creates difficulty for upward mobility. Barone (1999) argued that class roles are

conditioned to fuel capitalist profits. Working class individuals are taught to be submissive, accept insecurity, feel powerless, and settle for little. They are taught to defer to superiors. Barone (1999) also posited that class affects access to language and cultural capital in that schools value middle and upper class socialization making it difficult for lower and working class individuals to succeed. This socialization makes it difficult for lower and working class individuals to thrive in middle class work environments as well.

Perhaps most importantly, classism affects the self-concept of lower income and working class individuals. Barone (1999) reported that with the constant bombardment of working class and lower class individuals of negative messages about their class, they internalize the belief that middle and owning class individuals are superior, smarter, and better leaders. Furthermore, when upward mobility is sought and failures are found, lower income individuals blame themselves. Additionally, Liu, Picket, and Ivey (2007) report that the privileges afforded to the middle class teach them to expect success, whereas the poor often face barricades and are taught to expect failure. These expectations seem to translate naturally into a phenomenon described by Thompson and Dahling (2010) that perceived status influences perceptions of one's access to prestige, social power, and even perceptions of available career trajectories. In this way, the oppressed begins to then oppress themselves.

Internalized Classism

In a qualitative study in which Jones (2003) interviewed working class individuals, findings suggested that understanding of class and class positions stem from exposure to social power structures as well as material circumstances. The many negative messages such as stereotypes, view of the poor and working class as inferior, and belief in meritocracy guide beliefs regarding class differences. Being a member of the poor and working class and

experiencing these consistent messages may lead to the internalization of classism (Russell, 1996). The poor and working class may even begin to subtlety believe these messages about themselves or the people that they come from. These internalized messages have the ability to impact a lower or working class individual's life in a number of ways. In particular, it seems that these internalized messages may limit what an individual envisions as possible in their lives. For example, Bluestein et al's (2002) qualitative study of higher and lower socio economic status (SES) individuals found that that when considering a job, lower SES individuals focused on ability to survive whereas higher SES individuals placed more importance on happiness. Higher SES participants seem to have a greater sense of the path and actions needed to reach their career goals, whereas lower SES people were less aware of the necessary actions needed to reach their goals but were instead were more highly aware of the barriers to their goals. This paralyzing awareness of barriers also applies to systemic changes involving economic policies where the poor often feel as if they have no power and so don't bother attempting to participate in it .(The Economist, 2004). DeAngellis (2015) explained that class influences the context that one is surrounded by, how one is socialized, the everyday decisions that one makes. In a society where the lower and working class have regular experiences of having less power and less resources compared to higher ranking counterparts, they tend to view many life experiences and situations as outside of their control.

Furthermore, when the poor and working class begin to believe the classist messages of the oppressive system around them, they may begin to channel the oppressor (Bailey, 2011). This allows for further exploitation of the working class by the owning class despite worker dissatisfaction (Marx and Engels, 1848/2015). With little power or control in their work life, the working class is reliant on the owning class for access to resources (Smith, 2010). Workers feels

the threat of competition for their earnings which drives them apart as they view other workers as the problem rather than the owning class (Marx and Engels, 1848/2015). This sentiment may be found in a Trump voter's complaints about the manufacturing jobs being moved to Mexico noted in the aforementioned National Public Radio program (Martin, 2016). Despite the profound way that internalized classist messages may influence the well-being of working class and poor individuals, there is little psychological research regarding this topic. To date no scale measuring internalized classism has been created.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is contribute to scholarship related to classism and its internalization, particularly for those who identify as poor or working class, by developing a reliable and valid scale of internalized classism. The effects of internalized classism have barely received attention in the psychological literature (Russell, 1996). Furthermore, the ability of psychologists to recognize and measure internalized classism for the purposes of research and practice remains hindered by the absence of an appropriate scale. The current study hopes to weaken the current cognitive distancing and denial of the poor in the field of psychology (Lott, 2001) by developing a scale that will bring attention to the internal messages of those subjected to classist oppression as a result of being a member of the poor or working class. It is hoped that the development of such a scale will add to the literature regarding the poor and working class experience, thereby increasing the ability to conduct helpful research and purposively taking a social justice stand against the classist systems of oppression. Furthermore, it is hoped that by drawing attention to the impact of classism and internalized classism as tools of the oppressor, an oppressive system may be challenged by a more united common people comprised of the middle class, working class, and poor who refuse to ignore or suffer gross inequity.

Chapter II

Review of the Literature

In this chapter, there will be a brief description of social class, and in particular, what is meant by poor and working class. Next, an exploration of classism will illuminate the detrimental effects of classism as well as attend to the phenomenon of the internalization of classist messages. The importance of measuring internalized classism will be presented and a discussion of the current scales available and their failure to address this construct specifically will follow. In addition, a description of the hypothesized dimensions of internalized classism pertaining to those of poor and working class will be included.

Social Class

Social Class is not just a category demarcating money or lifestyle (Smith, 2010). However, there seems to be a variety of theories that vary in terms of what is meant by "social class" (Marx & Engels, 1848/2015; Gane, 2005; Smith, 2010). According to Marx and Engels (1848/2015), throughout history, there have been changes to the structure of society, and yet, there seems to be a pattern of society being divided into the "haves" and the "have nots." Furthermore, there seems to be two distinct classes comprised of those that own or have wealth, and those that work for those that own or have wealth (1848/2015). In industrialized society where productivity and profits are idealized, the value of an individual becomes associated with their work output. People are dehumanized upon embarking upon their labor because their value becomes monetized. They are viewed a piece of the machine (Marx & Engels, 1848/2015).

In an attempt to increase profit and trading, the owning class looks for new ways of cutting costs (Marx & Engels, 1848/2015). The owning class makes a continuous push toward driving down the cost of labor. Pushes towards efficiency through increases in technology then reduces the value of the work being done. When advances in production require less skill from workers, the work that they complete becomes less valuable and they are deemed more readily replaceable. This leads to exploitation where workers are pushed towards acceptance of more work for less pay. As this continued push towards greater and more efficient production at less cost for greater profit continues, the owning class often must expand to find new resources to exploit. This exploitation works as a way to chain workers to the owning class despite worker discontent (Marx & Engels, 1848/2015). The long hours and low pay make it difficult or impossible for the exploited worker to change their circumstances. They do not have the time or wealth to support a transition in work when they are barely able to subsist on their earnings. For Marx and Engel, class was largely determined by economic capital (Bourdieu, 1987).

Bourdieu, another prominent social class scholar in the field of sociology, had another perspective on social class. According to Bourdieu, social class is a constructed theoretical category, but he indicated that class hierarchy did have a large impact on the life trajectories of individuals (Bourdieu, 1987; Smith, 2010). Furthermore, he argued that social class categories are social groups comprised of people who share similar experiences due to their location in the social hierarchy and whose position in the hierarchy is determined by capital (Bourdieu, 1987; Smith, 2010). He claimed that class conflict stems from both stratification in economic capital and cultural capital.

Smith (2010), a prominent psychologist researching social class in the field of psychology, utilizes elements of the aforementioned sociologist Bourdieu's and sociologist

Gilbert's theories, conceptualizations of class by class activist Betsy Leondar-Wright and economics professor Michael Zweig in conjunction with a social justice lens to create her framework for defining social class. She defines social class as a component of socially constructed identity that determines the dispersal of privilege and disadvantage in society through economic resources and power. This definition moves beyond a simple account of class indicators or access to resources, but also speaks to an inequitable social structure that serves the Owning class by systematically benefitting them at the expense of the working classes. According to her framework, the Owning class have the most economic, social, cultural, and political power and are in control of the resources by which all other classes including the Middle class, Working class, and poor work to earn income. For the purposes of this study, Smith's definition of social class will be utilized.

Social Class as a variable

Given the varying perspectives regarding social class, it is no surprise that historically, measuring, operationalizing, and researching social class has been difficult. Yet, the current study strived to create a scale that measures internalized classism for working class and poor individuals. Therefore, a method for defining and identifying these individuals is important in order to collect a sample relevant to the study. However, this is no simple task. To date, there is no standard definition of the various social classes. Therefore, identifying who is a part of the working class or poor is difficult. Matthews (2012) based his definition of social classes on income percentiles of the U.S. Census data. He identified the 0 to 20^{th} percentile as lower class, 20^{th} to 40^{th} lower-middle class, 40^{th} to 60^{th} as middle, and 60^{th} to 80^{th} as upper middle class, and 80^{th} to 99^{th} as upper class. Using this method of defining the classes, those households making

under $20,262 a year would be considered the lower class. However, one problem with this definition is that it does not take into account household size or the experience of social class.

Another method of using income to determine the lower class might be to use the government based standards for receiving benefits under the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). Under these guidelines, and in order to be eligible for benefits, the gross monthly incomes are adjusted by household size (see Figure 1). This measurement would include those families up to 130 percent above the poverty line. At the same time, it would account for those that by government standards may experience some need for assistance in meeting basic needs, such as food. Using this method to defining the lower class would allow for a basic income division while assuming at least some experience with lacking the resources to meet basic needs such as food and housing.

Table 1. Federal Guidelines for SNAP.

Household Size	Gross Monthly Income (130% of Poverty)	Net Monthly Income (100% of Poverty)
1	$1,287	$ 990
2	1,736	1,335
3	2,184	1,680
4	2,633	2,025
5	3,081	2,370
6	3,530	2,715
7	3,980	3,061
8	4,430	3,408
Each additional member	+451	+347

Gross Income = Household total nonexcluded income before deductions
Net Income = Gross Income minus allowable deductions
From USDA Food and Nutrition Services. Retrieved April 24, 2017 from http://www.fns.usda.gov/snap/applicant_recipients/Eligibility.htm#income

However, basing the lower class definition on poverty levels is not without fault. Christopher (2005) explained that the federal government poverty line underestimates the hardship felt by the poor. Also, she argued that this discrepancy is particularly high for people of color. She reported that poverty is experienced differently dependent upon gender and race/ethnicity. For example, U.S. poverty rates inaccurately portray poverty in Latinos or other

groups that may be less likely to obtain social transfers or tax benefits. Women have higher rates of poverty than men. In addition, Black women, Black men, and single parents of color are more likely to subsist in the lowest ranks of poverty and have less disposable income. Furthermore, Christopher explained that the current standards for the government are based on a 1960's model that was grounded on the cost of food being roughly one-third of a family's income. This method of determining poverty does not take into account the prospect of other costs surpassing the remaining two-thirds of a family's income.

In the field of psychology specifically, defining the social classes is no less unclear. Liu et al. (2004) explained that one problem is that social class and socio-economic status (SES) are two different terms that are often used interchangeably. He claimed that social class is an economic position assignment based on income, education, and job. He stated that people are aware of the position to which they are assigned and of where others around them are positioned as well which allows for classism. Conversely, Liu et al (2004) reported that SES is a changeable economic placement centered on lifestyle, prestige, power, and resources. Furthermore, SES does not consider the phenomenon of placement awareness and so classism is not discussed as a factor influencing a person's life. Additionally, Liu et al.'s (2004) content analysis of 3 counseling journals found that measurements and descriptions of social class was varied across research. In psychology, there is still no clear way of communicating or investigating social class or socioeconomic status.

Still, it is important to note that Liu et al.'s (2004) definition of social class allows for the experience of being aware of one's class as well as knowing one's placement in relation to others. Awareness of the social position of oneself and others is one explanation of where the `phenomenon of classism stems from. For the purpose of this study, the term social class will be

used to assume Lui et al.'s (2004) previously described definition which is an economic position based on income, education, and job. Furthermore, the person of that said position is aware of his/her own position and also aware of the positions of others and how they compare. Therefore, when measuring social class for the purpose of creating a scale measuring the internalized classism for the poor or working class, it will be important to take into account economic resources as well as the more subjective experiences that influence the poor's sense of social class alluded to by Christopher (2005) and Liu et al. (2004).

Defining Classism

In order to create a scale that addresses internalized classism, it is important to understand the construct of classism. Classist experiences are thought to be internalized by working class and poor individuals (Russell, 1996). Just as the concepts of socio-economic status and social class can be confusing, classism can be defined in different ways as well. Liu et al. (2004) described classism as prejudice and discrimination against people of a particular social class. They argued that there are multiple forms of classism: (a) downward classism (i.e., prejudice and discrimination that people with a higher social class people focus toward to those of lower class), (b) upward classism (i.e., prejudice and discrimination lower class people focus toward upper class people), and (c) lateral classism (i.e., prejudice and discrimination focused toward for people of a parallel social class).

Lott (2002) and Smith (2005) argued that Liu et al.'s (2004) definition of classism does not encapsulate the ideas of oppression in addition to privilege. Smith (2005) explained that while everyone is capable of engaging in prejudice, only more powerful groups are able to oppress less powerful groups. Therefore, it can be argued that classism should be defined as social class privilege and prejudice that results in the oppression of others.

Lott (2002) and Smith's (2005) definition of classism is more complementary to the psychological definitions of other –isms such as racism. For example, Sue (2003), a well-known scholar in the area of racial oppression, defined racism as "any attitude, action, or institutional structure or any social policy that subordinates persons or groups because of their color" (p.31). He followed logic similar to Smith (2005) and Lott (2002) in that racism moves beyond prejudice or discrimination because of power. It is then logical to assume that whereas poor people can be prejudiced against the rich and upper class just as racial minorities can be prejudiced against white people, the poor do not actually have power to affect the lives and outcomes of the middle and upper class in a systemic or large scaled fashion similar to how racial minorities do not have the power to affect the lives of white people through a systemic large scaled way. (Lott 2002; Sue, 2003; Smith, 2005). For the purpose of this study, classism will be defined as described by Lott (2002) and Smith (2005) with the concepts of privilege and oppression in consideration. Attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, as well as institutional structures and social policies that privilege a person or people while disadvantaging or oppressing others according to one's standing on the social class hierarchy (Lott, 2002; Smith, 2005; Sue, 2003).

Classist Attitudes, Beliefs, and Behaviors

In addition to defining classism, it is critical to have an understanding of what classism might look like in order to recognize what may be internalized by the working class and poor. It is also important to grasp some of the prejudices and attitudes that fuel the oppression of the poor. A series of studies provides some insights into such prejudices and attitudes.

First, a study conducted by Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler (2001), with a sample of 209 college students, found that the poor were viewed more negatively than the middle class and were identified as the main cause of their class position. These findings highlight the interplay

between negative stereotypes and belief in a just world. The participants most frequently endorsed items that indicated that the poor are uneducated, unmotivated, lazy, or socially irresponsible.

Two studies by Lott and Saxon (2002) provided further support for the idea that negative attributions are assigned to the poor. In their first study, they examined participant judgments based on the race and social class assigned to a hypothetical woman running for office in the Parent Teacher Organization. In the second study scenario, a hypothetical woman was judged as being a potential girlfriend for their cousin or brother with race and ethnicity being changeable. In both studies, social class significantly influenced the perceptions that the participants had of the hypothetical woman. The working class woman as compared to the middle class woman in the first study scenario was rated more negatively with such traits as less perfectionist, crude, irresponsible, meek, unemotional, and unsuitable for the job. In the second study hypothetical situation working class girlfriends were judged as more crude and irresponsible than their middle class counterparts.

Whereas the aforementioned studies demonstrated that negative attitudes and beliefs toward the poor are present on an individual level, Bullock, Wyche, and Williams (2001) analyzed the media for portrayals of the poor. Their analysis of televised and print media indicated that negative stereotypes about the poor are perpetuated by the media. They found that depictions of the poor are often associated with drug use, sexual availability, and violence. In one detailed depiction, they found a celebrity discussing a homeless man by focusing on the man's mental illness and body odor for the sake of audience laughter. In an opinion piece, Harris (2012) explained how a fairly recent T.V. reality show in which a poor, southern family is presented, *Honey Boo Boo,* is an example of the negative media portrayals. She posited that TLC, the

network that the show is on, has tapped into the American biases about class, size, gender, and race, in order to create a successful show, and she argued that the network stages and edits what we see in order to use our biases to increase programming viewing. Still, these blatant displays of negative stereotypes are not the only form that classism takes (Lott, 2002; Smith, 2005). Together, the works of Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler (2001), Lott and Saxon (2002), and Bullock, Wyche, and Williams (2001), illustrate how negative stereotypes influence the belief that the poor are responsible for their circumstance which might allow the affluent to maintain the dominant just world philosophy in U.S. society that espouses the "American Dream."

Although the negative attitudes directed at the poor are disturbing and hurtful, another damaging and common element of classism are the behaviors of avoidance and denial of the poor (Lott, 2002; Smith, 2005). Lott (2002) posited that, "distancing is the dominant response to poor people on the part of those who are not poor and that distancing, separation, exclusion, and devaluing operationally define discrimination." USA Today opinion piece author, Person (2012), supported the idea that the poor are ignored in his column. He reported that although 1 in 7 Americans are at or below the poverty level, the 2012 presidential election debates focused on strengthening the middle class and taxation of the wealthy. He argued that the poor were largely left out of the candidate conversations. Knafu (2012) mentioned in his article that in one of Romney and President Obama's debates, Romney and Obama used the phrase "middle class" many times, while Romney only said "poverty" five times and Obama never said it at all.

Lott (2002) explained that this distancing is also perpetuated by psychologists. She argued that although the field of psychology is examining multiculturalism and diversity, the poor remain invisible. Lott (2002) reported that psychologists are also participating in denying the presence of the poor and working class. This form of classism has likely contributed to the

shortage of research pertaining to how classism affects individuals on an internal emotional and cognitive level (Lott, 2002). With this lack of attention to the area of classism, psychology continues to passively uphold classism. Furthermore, the disconnect between psychologists and those of lower classes allows for the failure to understand the experiences of the individuals being studied. As part of the professional class, psychologists may have biases which lead them to inaction while simultaneously placing the responsibility of social change on those of the less powerful lower classes (Ostrove & Cole, 2003). Smith (2005) further supported this argument by reporting that this blindness to the poor among psychologists is because of attitudinal barriers. She explained that these barriers stem from discomfort and discourage advocacy for psychological programming directed toward the poor. The distance between psychologists and the poor and working class clients also inhibits therapeutic practice as social exclusion creates an *us* and *them* dynamic (Smith, 2013). Moreover, Smith (2013) posited that field of psychology excludes the poor and working-class throughout psychological theory and graduate curricula. Furthermore, she explains that unchallenged negative assumptions, attitudes, systemic policies and procedures allow for these inequities to continue outside the awareness of those of more privileged classes (Smith, 2013).

Smith (2005) identified four themes that she has seen in the field that limit psychologists' work. The first theme is the idea that poor people have too many problems for a psychologist to help and instead need resources and problem solving. The second theme is that interventions used by the psychologists appear less effective and valuable with the poor because they continue to struggle with difficult lives. The third theme is that working with the poor means to become aware of the lives of poor people. The fourth theme Smith (2005) identified is that typical psychological services may not be appropriate for the working class and poor. It is apparent that

the many in helping field, as well as psychologists, are unprepared for working with individuals that are poor or working class (Lott, 2002; Smith, 2005). This described distancing and discomfort with the working class and poor only further supports a need for further research and understanding in the area of classism, and particularly how regular contact with classist experiences are internalized.

Classism can vary in expression. The poor can be viewed negatively and associated with negative personal characteristics that are deemed the reason for their situation (Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002). Negative stereotypes provide justification for access to resources in order to support the U.S. narrative of a just world. The poor can also be denied existence or a voice which excludes them from consideration in social institutions and policy (Lott, 2002; Smith 2005).

Abelev (2009) reported that norms, beliefs, speech patterns, and interactional style are taught based on class membership. Students who found success according to her qualitative study were required to access, adopt or cross-over to middle-class ways of being. Her findings are an indication that society values middle class culture over lower classes. In addition to basic cultural capital, Gupton, et al (2008) explained that the social networks that an individual belongs to provide resources, and so for middle class students this might include the knowledge of the benefits of a college degree, tutoring, mentoring, whereas low-income students may not know anyone with information about accessing education or resources for success. Social institutions have been created to serve middle class people. Furthermore, middle class students are taught how to create new social capital sources, whereas working and poor class students are less likely to learn such things at home.

Regardless of the manner in which classist oppression is perpetuated, it has an effect on people. Classism has the ability to impact life outcomes and trajectories, and this further illustrates a need for more social class related research. This study will aid in providing a better understanding of how classist experiences are internalized by individuals of the working class and poor, thereby increasing the insight into the impact of classist oppression.

Classism and Mental Health

One important area where oppression has a profound impact is on the mental health of the working class and poor. Smith, Chambers, and Bratini (2009) referred to oppression as a pathogen. Furthermore, they explained that socioeconomic oppression is connected to depression, emotional distress, and negative and destructive experiences. Additionally, they reported that many of the poor find no value in themselves because they are unable to make the purchases of the middle class. These societal inequities may result in emotional numbing within the poor as a response to being exposed to multiple chronic stressors (Appio, Chambers, & Mao, 2013). Furthermore, it is not uncommon for the poor to feel a sense of shame in regards to their social status, particularly if the influence of poverty is ignored.

There has long been research indicating that the poor are more likely to experience stressful life events, and these experiences are factors in creating individual stress (Dohrenwend, 1973). According to Smith, Chambers, & Bratini (2009), poverty can impact an individual on a number of different levels. Access to food, access to health care, neighborhood safety, environmental safety, and access to stable housing are at risk for the poor (Smith, Chambers, & Bratini, 2009; Smith, 2010). The poor are more likely to experience assault (Smith, Chambers, & Bratini, 2009). They are at greater risk for psychiatric disorders and health issues and are less

likely to have access treatment (Smith, Chambers, & Bratini, 2009; Smith, 2010). Furthermore, they are likely to have less choice in terms of healthcare, education, work, etc. (Smith, 2010).

In addition, the poor are found to be more affected by stressful change than their higher class counterparts. Bassuk, Buckner, Perloff, and Bassuk (1998) found that homeless mothers and mothers receiving public assistance had higher rates of major depression and substance abuse than those of the general population. Their results supported the notion that this difference is due to the multiple stressors associated with poverty. Besides the experiences of instability described, the added stress of oppression often leaves the marginalized feeling depressed, angry, and distressed (Salazar & Abrams, 2005). A look at the literature obviously points to the fact that classism has a psychological impact. Therefore, it is important to gain understanding of the internalization of the classist messages that may lead to these negative psychological processes.

Internalized Classism

The phenomenon of internalized oppression can be understood by looking at Salazar and Abrams' (2005) exploration of how the Racial/Cultural Identity Development model may be applied to marginalized individuals from a variety of different backgrounds including working class or poor. In their description of the model, they described internalized oppression as internalized marginalization and stereotypic messages which culminates into negative beliefs of oneself. Russell's (1996) definition of internalized classism expands on the concept of internalized oppression. She specifically defined it as "the process by which a person's experience as a member of the poor or working classes becomes internalized and influences her self-concept and self-esteem as well as her relationships with others". She further clarified that internalized oppression is not a central piece of an individual's identity but stems from the exposure to the negative experiences associated with oppression.

Russell (1996) explained that due to the avoidance of class, internalized classism is often overlooked by therapists. She reported that one common way that internalized classism presents itself is in a felt sense of being different. A sense of shame and wrongness are components of internalized classism as well. These feelings stem from being associated with the poor who are connected to many negative attributions. Additionally, Russell (1996) argued that this wrongness is connected to the idea of deserving the hardships associated with being poor. Furthermore, another sign of internalized classism may be seen if upward mobility occurs. Then, the person who has changed the circumstances of living may feel as if they do not belong.

Russell (1996) reported that once internalized classism is focused upon a number of emotions may come out into clinical work. Loss and grief related to hardship and relationships with others, shame, and anger related to family of origin, social injustice, and society in general are some of the emotions that a therapist may need to help client's work through. However, Russell noted that focusing on internalized classism can be beneficial to the client. Such work promotes strength and wholeness, finding support in others that share experiences, improved relationships with family, and empowerment to affect social context. In addition, Russell found that working with internalized classism can encourage clients to see the strengths that their personal circumstances have led to them developing. Russell's findings strengthen the argument that it is important that internalized classism be identified within the poor and working class so that this important emotional work in counseling can occur.

Dimensions of Internalized Classism

To reliably and validly measure internalized classism, it is important to first identify the dimensions of internalized classism. Based on the literature discussed thus far (Russell, 1996; Barone, 1999; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002; Lott 2012), the current study

posits that there are four major factors that contribute to the overall construct of internalized classism. The four major factors identified are negative stereotypes, belief in a just world, shame and embarrassment, and the middle class being valued over the working class and poor. Further description and rationales for these factors follows.

The first and perhaps most obvious component of internalized classism is negative stereotypes associated with the poor and working class. Negative stereotypes are a pervasive part of classist oppression (Russell, 1996; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002; Lott 2012). There are multiple examples of negative portrayals of the poor in the media (Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001; Harris, 2012). Negative stereotypes are damaging and can affect the way that the oppressed view themselves when internalized (Russell, 1996; Salazar and Abrams, 2005).

Another component of classism is the belief that the poor or working class are deserving of their circumstances, thus enacting, a belief in a just world (Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002; Lott, 2012). A study by Smith, Mao, Perkins, and Ampuero (2011) found that counselors with a higher belief in a just world perceived poor and working class clients more negatively. When counselors were asked to provide impressions of clients presented in vignettes, they associated working class and poor clients to be more unpleasant and dysfunctional and anticipated less smoothness and depth in sessions. This study illustrates a way that a belief in a just world or meritocracy supports classism and negative beliefs about the poor. Furthermore, Foster, Sloto, and Ruby (2006) argue that when individuals with high beliefs of meritocracy experience discrimination they subsequently have lower levels of self-esteem. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, belief in a just world is hypothesized to be an important component of internalized classism.

An additional hypothesized component of internalized classism is the idea poor and working class are somehow valued less than middle class individuals (Barone, 1999). Stephen, Markus, and Phillips (2014) explain that most major social institutions in the U.S. are structured to service middle class ways of being. Furthermore, the institutionalization of middle class culture occurs by devaluing elements of working class culture. In addition, Smith, Chambers, and Bratini (2009) note that classism essentially assumes that the middle and upper class are better than the lower classes. With the understanding that internalized oppression occurs when oppressive messages and experiences are internalized, it is hypothesized that the experience of middle class norms as the valued and institutionalized norms dominant in U.S. social structures would lead to an internalized perception that middle class culture is valued more than working class or poor culture (Salazar and Abrams, 2005; Russell, 1996; Stephen, Markus, & Phillips, 2014; Smith, Chambers, Bratini, 2009).

Finally, another component is that it is hypothesized to be an important part of internalized classism is a sense of shame or embarrass attached to being associated with the lower or working class (Russell, 1996). One example, explained by Gardner and Holley (2011) is when working class or poor doctoral students find that their cultural values are in opposition to the middle class values of university institutions. This experience elicits feelings of phoniness and contributes to a sense that they do not belong. Furthermore, for those that do not experience the social mobility that is expected in U.S. society, there can be a sense of shame as these individuals may believe that personal attributes have led to their circumstance (Smith 2010, Russell 1996).

In exploring the negative effects that internalized oppression, and specifically internalized classism potentially has on an individual, it is clear that psychologists are unaware

of these factors as they consider a client's problem (Russell, 1996; Salazar and Abrams, 2005). However, Russell (1996) provided a strong argument on why addressing internalized classism is beneficial to clients in reporting that negative emotions and thoughts can be addressed in counseling. Furthermore, strengths built from living the working class and poor experience can be recognized and focused on. Still, continued avoidance of classism by therapists and psychologists has made research and practice in this area limited (Russell, 1996; Lott, 2002; Smith, 2005). It is the assertion of this author that a scale designed to measure internalized classism will help psychologists, therapists, and clients engage in a dialogue concerning classism and its effects. Furthermore, a review of the literature reveals a dearth of scholarship regarding internalized classism.

Current Scales

An exploration of the literature in psychology reveals that some important measures that address some elements of classism or oppression. To date, there is no scale that measures internalized classism. Some of the scales that touch on classism or oppression will be considered. However, their inability to address internalized oppression as this study conceptualizes it will be noted. Finally, the inspiration or path that they forge for the current study will also be acknowledged.

Experiences with Classism Scale (EWCS). The Experiences with Classism Scale (EWCS) is an example of a scale created to gain further understanding of classism (Thompson & Subich, 2013). The scale attempted to measure undergraduate experiences with personal and systematic classism. Example items from the scale are: "How often do you feel like you have been treated differently in the past year on the basis of your physical appearance (clothing, type of bag/purse you carried, and shoes)?"; "How often, in the past year, do you feel like you have

had service persons (e.g., waiters/waitresses, cashiers, etc.) treat you differently when paying your bill based on what you purchased?" According to the scale developers, analysis of the scale indicated high reliability, a stable factor structure, and convergent and discriminant validity. While the scale is certainly an exciting and promising contribution to social class research, there are some notable areas requiring further investigation and improvement. The scale was designed to measure college student experiences in particular, and it may not be generalizable to broader populations. For example, some of the scales items are education specific due to the intention that the scale be used with college populations. However, the scale did illuminate interesting connections between classist experiences and self-reported experiences of depression, anxiety, stress, self-esteem, and psychological wellness. Determining that depression, anxiety, stress, self-esteem and psychological wellness are associated with classist experiences is a first step in understanding the impact of classist experiences. However, the scale still failed to determine what messages are internalized from those classist experiences. Notably Thompson and Subich (2013) indicated that the scale did not address internalized classism and admitted that this is an important construct in understanding the impact of experiences of classism.

Differential Status Identity Scale (DSIS). The Differential Status Identity Scale (DSIS) attempted to measure the effect of being a member of a certain social status (Thompson & Subich, 2007). Social status is a culmination of the intersection of multiple identities such as race or social class. The scale focuses particularly on those social positions that are considered non-ordinant groups where it is thought that the psychological impact would be the greatest.

Although grounded in discussions concerning social class, the developers took a broader lens and attempted to create a scale that would help produce insight into how a participant perceived themselves in comparison to the average citizen (Thompson & Subich, 2007). Their

scale factors addressed perceived economic resources beyond meeting basic needs, perceived power and responsibility, perceived ability to meet basic needs and perceived prestige involving things like race/ethnicity, type of car driven, and physical appearance. Some example items include the following: “Compare yourself to what you think the average citizen of the United States is like. Please indicate how you compare to the average citizen in terms of Ability to afford regular dental visits.”; “Compare what is available to you in terms of type and/or amount of resources to what you believe is available to the average citizen of the United States. Please indicate how you compare to the average citizen in terms of the type and amount of resources: Home(s)”; Compare yourself to what you think the average citizen of the United States is like. Please indicate how you compare to the average citizen in your ability to do the things below Contact people in high places for a job or position.” Though these items certainly capture interesting and useful information in terms of social class, the questionnaire failed to address the negative stereotypes often directed at the poor and working class as well as whether people believe these negative stereotypes in regards to those that share similar class status.

The DSIS does have profound potential in discerning how multiple identities intersect to impact a person’s conception of their status in society, but it failed to give psychologists the understanding of what impact social class and internalized classism has on poor and working class individuals in particular. Specifically, the DSIS did not take into consideration the multitudes of negative beliefs about the poor and working class and whether these messages are held as true and internalized by the poor and working class. Because identities vary in their saliency, it is important to have an understanding of classist messages that may be internalized specifically. The DSIS did give insight into the level of financial, prestige, and power based resources a person believes they have at their disposal; however, it did not bring focus to whether

the poor and working class are internalizing the messages that the group they belong to are often subjected to which include different, bad, or lesser than as described by Russell (1996).

Although the DSIS shows promise in furthering efforts to conceptualize social status in a psychological capacity as well as provides an avenue to measure an individual's views of their own social status, the scale is not without weaknesses (Thompson & Subich, 2007). Firstly, according to Thompson & Subich, further study is necessary to clarify the factor structure of the scale as there is some lack of clarity regarding whether the scale would be more appropriately represented by a 3 or 4 factor model. Second, they also note that responses to scale items may have been confounded by confusion regarding item instructions which may impact the interpretation of scale results. Regardless, the scale certainly attends to an important area of need in social class research, and further research of this scale would likely yield a useful tool for future research.

Internalized Racial Oppression Scale (IROS)

Another important scale that has provided inspiration for this study does not address classism, but instead internalized racial oppression. With the dearth of information regarding internalized classism, looking at how other forms of internalized oppression is measured was an important method for finding a model to base the current study on. The Internalized Racial Oppression Scale (IROS) was created with the intent of measuring the extent that racial oppression is internalized and replicated by Black people in the U.S. (Bailey, Chung, Williams, Singh, & Terrell, 2011).

It was the theory of the creators of the IROS that oppression no longer needs to be blatantly forced upon the marginalized groups because these groups will oppress themselves through the internalized messages that have come to hold within themselves as true (Bailey, et

al., 2011). Some example items are as follows: “I would never date someone with a natural or an Afro hairstyle”; “I hesitate to do business with Black-owned companies because of their mismanagement”; “I don’t attend any cultural programs with African-centered values”. The authors of the study defined internalized racial oppression “as the process by which Black people internalize and accept the dominant white culture’s oppressive actions and beliefs toward Black people (e.g., negative stereotypes, discrimination, hatred, falsification of historical facts, racist doctrines, White supremacist ideology), while at the same time rejecting the African worldview and cultural motifs” (Bailey, et al., 2011, p. 481). Authors of the study indicated that degree to which oppression is internalized may vary dependent upon exposure to oppression perpetrated by dominant culture. In addition, these racist beliefs and actions can actually be perpetuated by Black people who have experienced such oppression who then replicate the messages they have internalized and direct this oppression toward others within their own racial category.

The IROS paves the way for a natural progression for studies of other “isms”. Whereas it is important to investigate the degree to which the poor and working class experience classism as is somewhat addressed by the aforementioned EWCS (Thompson & Subich, 2013) and it is important to gain and understanding of where individuals perceive themselves to be on a hierarchical model of status as is somewhat addressed by the DSIS (Thompson & Subich, 2007), the EWCS and DSIS fail to address to what degree classist oppression is internalized and replicated by the poor and working toward people within their own socio-economic status.

Although the scale draws attention and lays down ground work to measuring internalized oppression, the IROS did have some limitations which needed further attention. Bailey, et al. noted that the sample size for the EFA study may not have been large enough to adequately support the model investigated in the CFA. Furthermore, the sample was predominantly Black

individuals from higher education which may compromise the scales ability to be generalized to the broader Black population (2011). Regardless, the research and creation of the IROS contributes to the important work of bringing attention to, naming, and understanding the impact of internalized racial oppression on Black people.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to create and validate a scale measuring internalized classism amongst the poor and working class. One of the difficulties faced by research directed toward the poor and working class is that there is no specific way of identifying social classes. Liu et al. (2004) found that there is not a consistent way of measuring or describing social class across counseling psychology research. This study will use a combination of economic factors and experiences to identify working class and poor. Income and other demographic questions regarding work type, education, and self-identification will be assessed as well as perceived ability to meet one's basic needs. Another area where definitions are illusive is regarding the term classism. Amongst psychologists, there seems to be some contention in how classism is defined (Lott, 2002; Smith, 2005; Liu et al., 2004). This study will refer to Lott (2002) and Smith's (2005) understanding of classism in which social class privilege and prejudice result in the oppression of others. This definition is most complementary to other prominent lines of research in other areas of oppression.

Classist prejudice can be found in many areas of United States society. It is in our college classrooms (Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott and Saxon, 2002). It is in our political debates (Knafu ,2012). Classism is perpetuated by our media (Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001; Harris, 2012). Classism has many different faces. It can appear as avoidance (Lott, 2002). Classism can also be more blatant as the poor and working class are categorized and stereotyped

as uneducated, unmotivated, lazy, socially irresponsible, drug user, sexual availability, and violent. (Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001). The poor and working class can be viewed as internally flawed and deserving of their circumstance (Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002).

These negative beliefs and attitudes toward the poor and working class are likely to have an impact on the individual. In fact, research points to an influence on mental health. Smith, Smith, Chambers, and Bratini (2009) socioeconomic oppression is linked to depression, emotional distress, negative and destructive experiences, devaluing of self, emotional numbing, a sense of shame, stress & anger (Dohrenwend, 1973; Smith, 2010; Salazar & Abrams, 2005; Smith, Chambers, & Bratini, 2009; Appio, Chambers, & Mao, 2013).

Unfortunately, those that are oppressed may internalize the negative messages they receive and even become oppressors as they perpetuate these ideas and beliefs toward those of their same status (Bailey, et al., 2011). Russell (1996) helped us understand how internalized classism occurs by describing it as a process by which the negative stereotypes, marginalization and oppressive experiences faced as a result of being poor or working class are adopted internally and effect the individuals relationships and self-concept. Internalized oppression can lead to many negative emotions such as shame, anger, a sense of wrongness, grief, difficulties with family, and difficulty with society. At the same time, if a counselor is willing and able to identify internalized oppression and its effects, the working class and poor are able to work through their negative emotions, find the strengths they developed as a result of their class status, and empower them to engage in social justice.

Regrettably, there is no tool or measure that addresses internalized classism. There are a number of measures that address some areas of classism or oppression such as the discussed

Experiences with Classism Scale (EWCS), Differential Status Identity Scale (DSIS), and Internalized Racial Oppression Scale (IROS). However, these scales do not address internalized classism specifically or as conceptualized by this study. Therefore, a scale created to assess internalized classism would be beneficial to the field of psychology as it would add to the limited research and knowledge in this area. It could also provide a useful tool for future social class research focused on furthering present literature that specifically looks at the experiences of the working classes who live in and are subjugated by an oppressive social system.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this research project was to expand on social class related literature by developing a scale that more accurately captures and measures the components of internalized classism for working class and poor individuals in the U.S. To this end, two studies were conducted. The first study hoped to establish the factor structure of the Internalized Classism Scale and the initial reliability estimates for the proposed scale and subscales. The second to confirm the factor structure and provide initial estimates of validity and further reliability estimates.

CHAPTER III

STUDY 1 SCALE DEVELOPMNET, EXPLORATORY FACTOR ANALYSIS, AND INITIAL RELIABILITY

This chapter will describe one of two studies conducted for the purposes of completing this scale development project. The purpose of Study 1 was to develop an empirically supported scale that measures internalized classism experienced by working class and poor people in the United States—the Internalized Classism Scale (ICS). The scale items were generated to comprise the hypothesized four components of internalized classism. The four factors were identified through a review of the literature and were hypothesized to be the following: a) belief in the negative stereotypes of the poor and working class, b) belief in a just world, c) belief that the working class and poor are somehow less than the middle class and above, and d) finally, a sense of shame or embarrassment as a result of being a member of the working class or poor (Russell, 1996; Barone, 1999; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, & Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002, 2012). There is currently limited research regarding internalized classism, and there are currently no scales that address internalized classism. Therefore, an exploratory factor analysis was used to analyze the current hypothesized factor structure.

In this chapter, an overview of the methods and procedures utilized to develop the internalized classism scale is provided. In developing a new scale, it is important to adhere to the scientific standards established in the field in order to insure that the developed scale is reliably measuring what it is intended to measure and that other researchers are able to find the same results if they followed the researcher's steps. Thus, Study 1's methods and analytical strategies

are based on the suggestions of Devellis (2012), Field (2013), and Worthington and Whittaker (2006). To this end, the methods and procedures for recruiting participants and collecting data are highlighted. This is followed by a description of the process of item generation for the ICS. Then, the process and results of the Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) are provided. Specifically, the rationale for the inclusion and exclusion of items in the final ICS are highlighted. The chapter is concluded with a description of scale reliability.

Study 1 Methods

Participants

Recruitment and Data Collection. Participants were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk and accessed the survey via a link to Qualtrics. This study used Amazon Mechanical Turk as a means to access a diverse sample of participants who were representative of working and lower income classes in the United States (Mason & Suri, 2012). This ensured that the population was not geographically limited or limited to college populations as is typical for social science research due to convenience. Due to the nature of the study, and difficulties that may emerge in socio-economic class identification amongst college populations in particular, utilizing typical methods of gathering participants did not seem prudent.

Participants were limited to those who indicated that their yearly household income fell below $60,000 a year. This limitation hope to gather a pool of participants that best represented poor and working class categories in the United States. In addition, a screening item was included to identify college students who rely on their parents for financial support in an attempt to avoid the confusion associated with social class status identification and these adults in transition.

Upon following the Qualtrics link, an informed consent was provided at the start of the survey and participants had an opportunity to print the document for recordkeeping. Participants were informed that the information they provided would be used to complete a college dissertation. Participants were told that their participation was voluntary and $0.40 would be given as compensation for completion of the survey. The choice to participate was interpreted as consent. Following the survey, debriefing information was provided. Using Amazon Mechanical Turk settings, participants were required to enter a code word provided in order to prove that they are human and to receive payment.

Based on guidelines provided Worthington and Whitaker (2006) related to adequate sample sizes for most scale development projects, the goal was to collect data from at least 300 participants. The initial subject pool was comprised of 753 respondents. The data was evaluated and participants were removed to improve the quality of the subject pool. There were 109 participants that were removed due to their acknowledgement that they were currently college students who were supported by their parents. Next, 107 participants were because they did not provide any responses beyond demographics. Then, 114 participants were removed because their household income was greater than $60000 a year. There were 52 participant responses removed due to having repeated IP addresses in order to ensure that individuals were not attempting to complete the survey multiple times. Finally, 17 participant responses were deleted because they completed the survey in less than 5 minutes which did not seem to be a realistic amount of time necessary to complete the survey with quality answers given the lengthiness of the survey. The final participant pool for the EFA analysis was comprised of 344 participants whose demographic information is provided below.

Participant Demographics. A demographics instrument (see Appendix A) was administered which requested information about participants' race/ethnicity, age, relationship status, sexual orientation, level of education, employment status, home ownership, total household income, needs meet by household income, ability to save money, and self-identified social class.

Of the 344 participants, the majority identified as Caucasian/White (84.6%, *N* = 291). The rest of respondents indicated they were Asian American (6.1%, *N* = 21), Hispanic (4.1%, *N* = 14), African American (3.2%, *N* = 11), Biracial or Multiracial (1.5%, *N* = 5), and (0.6%, *N* = 2) identified as other. Thirty-one percent of the participants identified as being between the ages of 18-29. Of the remaining participants, roughly 31% of participants indicated that they were between 30-39 years old, 13% indicated they were 40-49 years old, 15% identified as being 50-59 years old, and about 7% identified as being 60+ years old. More than a third (36%, *N*=123) of participants identified as single. Others (9.6%, *N*=33) identified as currently in a relationship but not living with their partners. Some (13.4%, *N*=46) indicated that they are in a relationship and are living with their partners, and others (28.8%, *N*=99) identified as married. More than one in ten (10.8%, *N*=37) said they are divorced, and a few (1.7%, *N*=6) identified as widowed. Heterosexual respondents were the majority of the sample (80%, *N*=275), with the remaining respondents identifying as Bisexual (13%, *N*=45), Gay (3%, *N*=10), Lesbian (.6%, *N*=2), Unsure/questioning (1.7%, *N*=6), and Other (1.7%, *N*=5). About a third of participants (33%, *N*=111), said that they had a Bachelor's Degree. A similar amount (29%, *N*=99) of participants indicated that they had taken some college class but did not get a degree. The remaining participants indicated that they had an Associate's Degree or vocational 2 year degree (17.5%, *N*=60), completed high school or got a GED (10.5%, *N*=36), had a Master's level degree (8.4%,

N=29), or rarely a Professional degree (1.5%) JD, MD, PsyD, DO, DMV, DDS, etc.). Only a single participant (.3%, *N*=1) indicated that they did not finish high school, and another single participant (.3%, *N*=1) indicated they had a PhD. The greatest portion of participants (48%, *N*=166) identified as being employed full time. Regarding employment status, several participants (20%, *N*=68) indicated they were employed part time. Others (15%, *N*=52) endorsed unemployed status without enrollment in school. More than a tenth (11%, *N*=36) were a stay at home parent or housemaker, and a few (6%, *N*=22) indicated retirement status. Most participants (61%, *N*=197) indicated that they rent their residence, whereas many (36%, *N*=117) identified as owning their home. In terms of the remaining participants, few (1%, *N*=4) endorsed renting-to-own a home. Roughly 1% (*N*=3) of participants identified as homeless. In terms of reported total household income, many (42%, *N*=145) of participants reported a total household income falling between $20,001-$40,000 per year. Others (32%, *N*=111) reported a total household income of 40,001-60,000 per year, and some (26%, *N*=88) reported having a total household income of under $20,000. When considering their household income, several participants (46%, *N*=159) indicated that their household income gets them from paycheck to paycheck, while others (31%, *N*=106) indicated that they are able to take care of basic needs with some ability to save or splurge, while few (7%, *N*=24) indicated that they are able to live comfortably. Notably, 16% of participants (*N*=55) indicated that they are not able to cover their basic needs with their household incomes. Less than one-fourth (24%, *N*=83) of participants indicated that they are able to save for retirement, whereas three-fourths (75%, *N*=259) of participants indicated that they do not make enough money to save for retirement at this time. When asked to identify which social class they considered themselves to be, nearly half (48% *N*=164) identified as Working Class, while under a third (29%, *N*=98) identified as Middle Class, and less than a

quarter (22%, *N*=76) identified as Lower Class. About 2% (*N*=6) identified as Middle to Upper Class. Table 1 provides further detail of the demographic information.

Table 2. EFA Participant Demographic Responses

Demographic	Response	N	%
Age			
	18 to 29 years	107	31
	30 to 39 years	108	31
	40 to 49 years	46	13
	50 to 59 years	50	15
	60 years or older	25	7
	No response	8	2
	Total	344	100.0
Sexual Orientation			
	Heterosexual	275	80.2
	Bisexual	45	13.1
	Gay	10	2.9
	Lesbian	2	.6
	Unsure/questioning	6	1.7
	Other	5	1.5
	Total	343	100.0
Education Acquired			
	I did not finish high school	1	.3
	High school or GED	36	10.5
	Took some college classes but did not get a degree	99	28.9
	Associate's Degree or vocational 2 year degree	60	17.5
	Bachelor's Degree (BA, BS)	111	32.5
	Master's level degree (MA, MS)	29	8.5
	Professional degree (JD, MD, PsyD, DO, DMV, DDS, etc)	5	1.5
	PhD	1	.3
	Total	342	100.0
Employment Status			
	Employed full time	166	48.3
	Employed part time	68	19.8
	Unemployed and not going to school	52	15.1
	Stay at home parent or housemaker	36	10.5
	Retired	22	6.4
	Total	344	100.0
Residential Status			
	Rent	197	61.4
	Rent to own	4	1.2
	Own	117	36.4
	I am homeless	3	.9
	Total	321	100.0
Household Income			
	under $20,000 per year	88	25.6
	$20,001-$40,000 per year	145	42.2
	$40,001-$60,000 per year	111	32.3
Wealth Savings			
	I am able to save for retirement	83	24.3
	I am able to save for retirement	83	24.3

Table. 2. Continued

Demographic	Response	N	%
	I do not make enough money to save for my retirement at this time	259	75.7
	Total	342	100.0
Self-Identified Class			
	Middle to Upper Class	6	1.7
	Middle Class	98	28.5
	Working Class	164	47.7
	Lower Class	76	22.1
	Total	344	100.0
Basic Needs			
	Does not cover my basic needs	55	16.0
	Gets me from paycheck to paycheck	159	46.2
	Takes care of basic needs with some ability to save or splurge	106	30.8
	Allows me to live comfortably	24	7.0
	Total	344	100.0

Item Development for the Internalized Classism Scale

The instrument newly developed, the Internalized Classism Scale, was initially comprised of approximately 15-20 items for each four factors for a total of 70 items with the expectation that all items would not be necessary in its final form (Devellis, 2012). The factor constructs were created to clearly align with research regarding classism and internalized classism (Russell, 1996; Barone, 1999; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, & Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002, 2012) as recommended by scale development experts (Devellis, 2012; Worthington & Whitaker, 2006). That is, a lengthy amount of time was spent reviewing social class literature as well as other literature related to experiences of oppression and internalized oppression The constructs were created to assess internalized classism in terms of a) Negative Stereotypes, b) Shame and Embarrassment Associated with Poor and Working Class Status, c) Belief that the Poor and Working Class are Somehow Less than the Middle Class and above, and d) Belief in a Just World.

After creating the items, the next step was to decide upon a rating scale format (Devellis, 2012). Devellis (2012) explained that it was important to use response theory as a guide determining scale format in that any subtle changes to scale format may greatly effect scale performance. To this end, he argued that scales with large numbers of binary responses may lead to response fatigue with less reliability in performance, whereas limiting response options may limit scale variance and a neutral response may allow some participants to opt out of determining or reporting their "true" attitudes or opinions. Thus, based on Devellis' (2012) suggestions, the ICS employed a 6-point rating scale that ranged from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 6 (*Strongly Agree*). There were no reversed items included and so higher scores on the ICS are indicative of higher levels of internalized classism.

After an initial pool of items was created and the rating scale was chosen, the feedback of expert reviewers was sought for purposes of item review and refinement as is best practice (Worthington & Whitaker, 2006). Over 10+ psychologists were contacted due to their contributions to social class research and/or advocacy. Only one expert was able to provide feedback for this study, whereas others were not able to help due to time constraints and most did not respond to requests. Experts were contacted via email (See Appendix B for an example of the email sent) which provided information about the research project, their expertise in area of social class being sought, and a description of the task being requested of them. A link to a qualtrics survey was provided if they were willing to provide feedback. The survey soliciting expert feedback listed each scale item and requested that each item be rated in terms of clarity, grammar, conciseness, and essentialness to the scale. For each item, experts were also asked to indicate whether the item belonged in the category of Just World, middle class valued over lower classes, negative stereotypes, and shame and embarrassment associated with identifying as

working class or poor (See Appendix C to view a sample of the components include in the expert feedback survey). The expert feedback collected was used to adjust some minor wording issues, but no items were eliminated or added based on the feedback provided.

Study 1 Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)

Process of Determining Factor Structure and Reduction of Items. Using a conceptualization of internalized classism based on the understanding of classist stereotypes of the lower income and working classes, an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was used to assess the fit of the items and factors hypothesized to measure the construct of internalized classism. This decision was based on the process for which a similar scale, the Internalized Racial Oppression Scale, was created (Bailey, Chung, Williams, Singh, and Terrell, 2011). It was hypothesized that the scale of internalized classism would have four factors based on the intended construction of the scale.

Using SPSS 23.0, the initial 70 items of the ICS first were subjected to an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with principal axis factoring as the extraction method with no rotation. In terms of proceeding with scale development, Field (2013) explained that the adequacy of your sample size for EFA can first be checked by looking at the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sample adequacy. For this study, the KMO fell in the excellent range and is an indicator of a sample size adequate for factor analysis. Next, it is important to examine the Bartlett's test of sphericity (BTS) in that if the items can be factored into a model, then the BTS is significant. For the ICS, the BTS is indeed significant which means that it will be productive to do further analysis (see Table 3).

Table 3. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy		.956
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity		
	Approx. Chi-Square	20591.006
	df	2415.000
	Sig.	.000

Next, an exploratory look at scale factors and loadings can commence. An initial glance at the scree plot should yield some data regarding how many extractable factors the scale produces. For this study, a look at the scree plot is difficult to decipher likely due to the number of variables, but it appears that there is an elbow indicating about 3 factors. An examination of the total variance (See Table 3) should further support the extractable factors shown by the scree plot. All factors with Eigenvalues above 1 will be considered extractable factors. For this study, there appears to be 10 factors with Eigen values above 1 that explain explaining 69.309% of the variance (range from 29.119% to 1.551%). This obvious discrepancy between the Eigen values and scree plot illustrate a clear need to further explore how many factors need to be extracted. Therefore, based on the hypothesis that there would be four factors underlying internalized classism, analysis proceeded with the specification that four factors should be extracted.

Table 4. Initial Item Factor Loadings.

Item		F1	F2	F3	F4	Extraction	M	SD
SE1:	At a high school reunion, I would be ashamed to admit that I am BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.439	.580	-.124	-.196	.616	3.55	1.564
SE2:	Being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS is a sign of being a failure	.575	.473	-.105	-.113	.778	2.74	1.385
SE3:	Being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS is embarrassing	.442	.646	-.149	-.313	.801	3.35	1.537
SE4:	Being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS is shameful.	.544	.459	-.211	-.197	.729	2.65	1.395
SE5:	I am embarrassed of family members who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.542	.091	-.221	.199	.476	1.89	1.058
SE6:	I am more similar to middle class people than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS when it comes to values, goals, manners, and beliefs.	.506	.253	.140	.062	.559	3.31	1.494
SE7:	I am not like most poor or working class people.	.487	.190	.075	.139	.492	3.20	1.488
SE8:	I would be disappointed in my life if I never ended up at least middle class	.393	.577	-.031	-.123	.518	3.40	1.619
SE9:	In a conversation with a rich person, I would be embarrassed to talk about how I grew up.	.376	.319	-.356	-.018	.532	2.20	1.444
SE10:	I would feel embarrassed talking about my current job with a group of doctors, lawyers, professors, or other such professionals	.357	.541	-.116	-.171	.579	2.85	1.651
SE11:	Being middle class is better than being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.409	.532	.214	-.279	.624	4.38	1.365
SE12:	I would be embarrassed to invite a “rich” person over to my house.	.373	.478	-.247	-.180	.508	3.07	1.655
SE13:	The jobs of the middle class are more interesting to hear about than the jobs of the poor or working class.	.645	.150	.088	.100	.501	2.62	1.419
SE14:	Working in factories or labor is embarrassing.	.613	.100	-.300	.097	.569	1.96	1.165
SE15:	Working in fast food or retail is embarrassing	.536	.342	-.193	-.053	.539	2.59	1.540

Table 4. cont.

Item		F1	F2	F3	F4	Extraction	M	SD
MC1:	A middle class person would likely be a better friend than a person who is BELOW MIDDLE CLASS.	.570	.054	-.108	.197	.452	2.40	1.191
MC2:	Middle class is more ideal than being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.403	.551	.183	-.230	.668	4.34	1.336
MC3:	Everyone should aim to own a house or apartment	.357	.129	.228	.026	.318	3.77	1.462
MC4:	Getting a four year college degree is better than getting a trade certificate.	.365	.320	.027	.265	.481	3.09	1.534
MC5:	I would expect a doctor or college professor to be a better person than a mechanic or plumber	.484	.142	-.126	.332	.500	1.94	1.171
MC6:	I would prefer that my child become a doctor or college professor over a mechanic or plumber.	.397	.433	.094	.192	.490	3.23	1.656
MC7:	I would likely be more proud of my child if they became middle class or above rather than poor or working class.	.532	.425	.105	.076	.502	3.51	1.579
MC8:	I would prefer to live in a neighborhood of middle class people than a neighborhood of people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.508	.400	.192	-.076	.547	3.97	1.458
MC9:	Middle class people are happier than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.426	.416	-.081	-.034	.525	3.20	1.419
MC10:	Middle class people deserve more respect than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.636	-.005	-.098	.395	.679	1.88	1.083
MC11:	Middle class people make better leaders than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.712	.135	.053	.233	.605	2.36	1.227
MC12:	Middle class workers are harder to replace than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS at a company	.613	.314	.016	.109	.503	2.85	1.478

Table 4. cont.

Item		F1	F2	F3	F4	Extraction	M	SD
MC13:	People prefer interacting with middle class people because they are more "polished" than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS.	.649	.174	-.004	.161	.728	2.96	1.368
MC14:	People prefer interacting with middle class people because they are more well-spoken than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS.	.663	.262	-.003	.119	.826	2.97	1.379
MC15:	People prefer interacting with middle class people because they are not as impulsive as people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS.	.731	.053	-.011	.246	.758	2.38	1.251
MC16:	People prefer interacting with middle class people because they are not as loud as people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.696	.025	-.141	.268	.691	2.35	1.277
MC17:	People who have graduated from college deserve more respect than those who have not	.624	.179	.065	.298	.762	2.19	1.299
MC18:	People who have graduated from high school deserve more respect than those who have not	.565	.204	.116	.220	.623	2.42	1.378
MC19:	Poor and working class people want to become middle class	.217	.374	.195	-.174	.374	4.03	1.323
MC20:	A good job or career requires a college education	.281	.319	-.017	.282	.428	3.15	1.513
NS1:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS and on welfare are not motivated to get off the system	.620	-.224	.253	-.144	.643	2.51	1.436
NS2:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS are lazy	.768	-.177	.001	.045	.653	1.88	1.048
NS3:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be messy, unclean, or sloppy looking	.753	-.175	-.155	-.018	.649	2.02	1.179
NS4:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS are not as intelligent as others	.801	-.098	-.033	.123	.733	2.05	1.199
NS5:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be abusive of their children/family/partner	.665	-.272	-.354	.016	.673	1.72	.954

Table 4. cont.

Item		F1	F2	F3	F4	Extraction	M	SD
NS6:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be crazy or have mental health issues.	.672	-.270	-.303	-.063	.682	1.76	1.005
NS7:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be criminals	.740	-.301	-.220	-.119	.741	1.80	1.019
NS8:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be crude	.799	-.235	-.254	-.024	.814	1.98	1.167
NS9:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be immoral	.760	-.293	-.326	.029	.821	1.70	.933
NS10:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS expect handouts	.757	-.266	-.009	-.135	.709	1.94	1.157
NS11:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS have houses or apartments that are messy, unclean, or untidy	.789	-.227	-.270	-.059	.767	1.96	1.111
NS12:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS purposely have children to get more money from welfare	.679	-.326	-.081	-.175	.770	1.97	1.194
NS13:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS that receive government assistance (i.e., welfare, food stamps, disability) are likely "cheating the system"	.658	-.367	.031	-.190	.817	2.00	1.228
NS14:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be dysfunctional	.817	-.231	-.206	-.127	.804	1.94	1.131
NS15:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be neglectful of their children/family/partner	.776	-.278	-.326	-.098	.824	1.81	1.053
NS16:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be promiscuous	.759	-.292	-.291	.018	.782	1.85	1.069
NS17:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS are "trashy"	.789	-.258	-.170	.053	.726	1.83	1.039
NS18:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS want to live off of disability, food stamps, or welfare rather than work	.717	-.361	-.006	-.186	.828	1.96	1.190
NS19:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be addicts/alcoholic	.760	-.279	-.203	-.168	.759	1.90	1.110

Table 4. cont.

Item		F1	F2	F3	F4	Extraction	M	SD
NS20:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be unhealthy	.569	-.044	-.108	-.215	.496	2.58	1.356
JW1:	Anyone can be at least middle class	.286	-.185	.408	.076	.446	2.93	1.354
JW2:	People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because of the bad choices that they make	.723	-.131	.236	-.053	.688	2.48	1.336
JW3:	People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because they are irresponsible	.776	-.182	.176	-.054	.747	2.21	1.209
JW4:	People who are ambitious will not remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.616	-.062	.473	-.016	.637	3.05	1.432
JW5:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS are to blame for remaining below middle class.	.732	-.154	.336	-.047	.749	2.35	1.270
JW6:	People who are good people will not remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.666	-.243	.125	.093	.567	2.01	1.109
JW7:	People who are intelligent will not remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.699	-.098	.342	.115	.656	2.47	1.412
JW8:	People who work hard enough will not remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	.569	-.034	.594	.024	.691	2.85	1.450
JW9:	People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because there is something wrong with them.	.698	-.135	.020	-.059	.554	1.85	1.031
JW10:	People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because they are bad at planning	.762	-.082	.236	-.108	.718	2.31	1.255
JW11:	People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because they are bad at saving money	.735	-.127	.309	-.184	.757	2.48	1.372
JW12:	People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because they are unmotivated	.777	-.153	.301	-.114	.758	2.26	1.313
JW13:	People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because they do not value education	.747	-.067	.211	.039	.708	2.23	1.307
JW14:	People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because they spend their money on things they do not really need	.739	-.104	.305	-.132	.696	2.47	1.428

Table 4. cont.

Item		F1	F2	F3	F4	Extraction	M	SD
JW15:	The American dream is possible for everyone	.288	-.225	.497	.012	.488	3.19	1.605

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

Moving forward with the hypothesis of a 4 factor model, another step of factor analysis occurred. For this step of analysis, 4 factors were set to be extracted utilizing the principal axis factoring method of analysis with a Direct Oblim rotation. The process of reducing scale items utilizing EFA analysis with the 4 factors set to be extracted. With item reduction sought to provide clarity to data interpretation, examining individual item performance is necessary. Devellis (2012) suggested that items with multiple factors loadings at greater than .32 or items whose highest loading is a .32 on a single factor should be considered for removal. Items JW 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; NS 1, 4; SE 6, 7, 9, 14; MCV 3, 6, 7, 12, 16 were removed due to either low loadings across all factors or due to cross loading on multiple factors. A follow-up EFA with the aforementioned analysis settings but with the 20 poorly performing items removed revealed 4 additional items, (SE2, 13; MCV 4, 13) to be removed due to low or cross loadings. This process of cumulatively deleting items and then conducting another EFA analysis to monitor the effects of item removal on the factor model was repeated with the results of each run of analysis being examined to filter away bad items in order to clarify the factor model. Following this strategy, the third EFA analysis indicated MCV 18, and 20 should be deleted, a fourth EFA analysis indicated MCV 11, and 17 should be deleted, a fifth EFA analysis indicated MCV 19 should be deleted, a sixth EFA analysis indicated MCV 15 should be deleted. These 6 rounds of EFA followed by item removal resulted in a total of 30 items of the initial 70 items being removed due to poor performance.

On the 7th round of EFA analysis with the 30 items deleted as indicated from the previous analysis an interesting result occurred. It was noticed that the 2 additional items (MCV1 and 14) should be removed due to poor performance, and removing the 2 items left the fourth factor with only 3 items. Given that a factor should ideally have more than 3 items unless a subscale has high reliability with no low correlation to other items (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006), it was determined that the remaining 3 items (MCV5, MCV10, and SE5) should be deleted which then resulted in a 3 factor model. An 8th EFA with 3 factors set for extraction indicated that JW7 should be deleted due to poor performance. A ninth EFA of the 34 remaining items identified 3 clear factors. The three factors and their contributing items were identified as: Factor 1 consisting of NS15, 9, 16, 8, 11, 19, 14, 7, 5, 6, 17, 18, 10, 12, 3, 13, 2, 20 and JW9; Factor 2 consisting of SE3, 1, 8; MCV2; SE11, 4, 10, 12; MCV 9, 8; SE15; Factor 3 consisting of JW8, 15, 4, 1.

During the item reduction process, Devellis (2012) recommends that Cronbach's Alpha be regularly calculated to ensure that reliability is not too heavily sacrificed for scale succinctness. When the scale under development had been reduced to 34 items from 70, and a clear factor model was identified, the Cronbach's Alpha was calculated. The total scale Cronbach's Alpha was .94, and the Cronbach's Alphas for each of the Factors was as follows: Factor 1=.97, Factor 2=.91, Factor 3=.81. Noting Devellis's recommendation that a Cronbach Alpha much above .90 might indicate that more items could be deleted to minimalize redundancy particular attention was directed toward Factor 1 due to its exceedingly high Cronbach's Alpha value and relatively large number of items in comparison to the other factors. This was interpreted as a need to reduce items. Using factor loadings and item content to identify

issues of redundancy, NS15, 9, 16, 8, 11, 19, 14, 13 from Factor 1 and SE3, MCV2, MCV9, 8 from Factor 2 were deleted. Interestingly, with this deletion, none of the MCV items remained.

This study began with a collection of 70 items that were administered to 344 subjects for the purposes of developing a scale that would efficiently and effectively measure the latent construct of internalized classism (Russell, 1996; Barone, 1999; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002; Lott 2012). With the purpose of reducing the variables as well as identifying a factor model thought to encompass most of the important information provided by the original data, a strategic and empirically supported process of removing items thought to be least effective in contributing to the measurement of the latent variable (internalized classism) was used (Field, 2013; Devellis, 2012). This effort resulted in a final scale length of 22 items loading on 3 factors.

Final Factor structure. Utilizing principal axis factoring with a Direct Oblim rotation to analyze the final 22 items, there were three factors extracted with eigenvalues of above 1.0, as well as 3 factors clearly demarcated on the Scree Plot. All items loaded onto their factors with loading values of .518 or greater. Interestingly, Factor 1 did show a relationship with each of the other factors, but Factor 2 and 3 showed little relationship as noted in the Factor Correlation Matrix (Table 5). Please see Table 6 for the final factor structure and factor loadings of the ICS.

Table 5. Factor Correlation Matrix.

Factor	1	2	3
1	---		
2	.334	---	
3	.338	.085	---

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Table 6. Pattern Matrix[a]

	Item	F1	F2	F3
NS6:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be crazy or have mental health issues.	.839		
NS7:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be criminals	.836		
NS5:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be abusive of their children/family/partner	.817		
NS17:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS are "trashy"	.813		
NS18:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS want to live off of disability, food stamps, or welfare rather than work	.788		
NS10:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS expect handouts	.746		
NS3:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be messy, unclean, or sloppy looking	.743		
NS13:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS that receive government assistance (i.e., welfare, food stamps, disability) are likely "cheating the system"	.684		
NS2:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS are lazy	.671		
JW9:	People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because there is something wrong with them.	.588		
NS20:	People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be unhealthy	.554		
SE1:	At a high school reunion, I would be ashamed to admit that I am BELOW MIDDLE CLASS		.801	
SE10:	I would feel embarrassed talking about my current job with a group of doctors, lawyers, professors, or other such professionals		.732	
SE8:	I would be disappointed in my life if I never ended up at least middle class		.714	
SE4:	Being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS is shameful.		.691	
SE12:	I would be embarrassed to invite a rich person over to my house.		.680	
SE11:	Being middle class is better than being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS		.600	
SE15:	Working in fast food or retail is embarrassing		.518	
JW8:	People who work hard enough will not remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS			.752

Table 6 cont.

	Item	F1	F2	F3
JW15:	The American dream is possible for everyone			.699
JW4:	People who are ambitious will not remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS			.657
JW1:	Anyone can be at least middle class			.613

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.[a]
a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

The three factors identified for this scale under development are Factor 1, Negative Stereotypes: NS 5,7, 6,17,18,10,12,3,2,20, and JW9, Factor 2, Shame and Embarrassment: SE 1,8,11,4,10,12,15, and Factor 3, Belief in a Just World: JW 8,15,4,1. Factor 1 explains 37.96% of Variance, Factor 2 explains 14.53% of variance, and Factor 3 explains 9.32% of variance for a total variances explained of 61.81%. See Table 5 for factor loadings.

Scale Reliability

It is standard practice to conduct statistical analysis to measure the consistency of a scale to provide evidence that the scale is measuring the construct in the same way across repeated administrations (Field, 2013; Devellis, 2012). The most widely used calculation is Cronbach's Alpha which is the calculation used for the purposes of this study. In addition, it is generally good practice to provide Cronbach Alpha calculations for every subscale. For the current scale under development for this dissertation project, the Internalized Classism Scale for the Working Class and Poor had a high reliability with a Cronbach's α=.90. In terms of subscales, Factor 1 displayed high reliability with a Cronbach's α=.94, Factor 2 displayed a high reliability with a Cronbach's α=.87, Factor 3 displayed a high reliability with a Cronbach's α=.81. These high Cronbach's α values are interpreted as evidence that the final scale shows excellent reliability.

CHAPTER IV

STUDY 2: CONFIRMATORY FACTOR ANALYSIS, RELIABILITY, AND VALIDITY

In this chapter, an overview of the purpose of Study 2 and supporting evidence for specific validity tests conducted is provided. Then, methods and procedures utilized to analyze and gain further insight regarding the model identified during Study 1 are delineated. In order to provide accurate interpretations and results regarding the model in question, Study 2's methods and analytical strategies are based on the suggestions of Devellis (2012), Whittaker (2012), Bryne (2010) and Worthington and Whittaker (2006). To this end, the methods and procedures for recruiting participants and collecting data are highlighted. This is followed by the process and results of the Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). The chapter is concluded with a description of the process for which support for scale validity was sought utilizing scales measuring constructs hypothesized to be related to internalized classism.

Study 2 Purpose and Rationale for Validity Tests

This is the second of two studies conducted for the purposes of developing and validating a scale that assesses internalized classism. Study 1 aimed to develop a statistically sound scale which reliably and validly measured the latent construct of internalized classism in the United States. Using EFA procedures, three hypothesized factors of the Internalized Classism Scale (ICS) emerged, as follows: a) negative stereotypes of the poor and working class, b) belief in a just world, and c) a sense of shame and embarrassment as a result of being a member of the working class or poor. For this second study, further efforts toward analyzing and gathering

evidence to confirm the factor structure found in Study 1 and establish the scale's validity and reliability occurred.

To establish the validity of the ICS, the procedures set forth by Worthington and Whitaker (2006) were followed. An attempt to establish construct validity was made through the use of Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA). A CFA is one way of finding evidence of construct validity by examining whether the variables support the hypothesized association with the expected factor indicating convergent validity (Brown, 2015). Furthermore, evidence for divergent validity occurs when variables do not highly load onto factors unexpected due to theory. Additional evidence for construct validity may be found by comparisons of the total ICS scale score and its related subscale scales to measures conceptually overlapping with internalized classism and its components or completely opposite or unrelated to these same components (Worthington and Whitaker, 2006). For the present study, scales measuring constructs that were known to relate to classism and internalized classism were used to establish construct validity.

It is common practice for validity evidence to be gathered by examining the relationship between a scale under development and a scale expected to correlate due to a theoretically supported hypothesis (Johnson and Morgan, 2016). One type of criterion related validity is concurrent validity which is established when two scales measuring the same construct are compared (Johnson and Morgan, 2016). For this study, concurrent validity is somewhat difficult to establish because there is no other scale that measures internalized classism. However, there was a scale thought to relate to a subscale of the ICS. More specifically, a measures of shame was used to assess concurrent validity for the ICS-Shame and Embarrassment (SE) subscale and the ICS-Belief in a Just World (JW) subscale, respectively.

Previous literature provides support of the use of a shame scale to provide evidence for concurrent validity for the ICS. For example, Russell (1996) reported that shame is often felt by those with internalized classism. Smith (2010) explains that shame is associated by the poor in particular due to the regular experiences of classism associated with bureaucratic experiences. Lott and Bullock (2007) noted that misidentification of one's own social class is usually in the upward direction with people almost never mistakenly identifying as poor or working class. Liu (2011) more specifically connected shame as "a kind of internalized classism" (pg. 211). He noted that there are many contributing elements of classism that elicit a shame response. Given this, the Shame Inventory (Rizvi, 2010), a scale that measures shame and shame in response to specific events, was compared to their responses on the ICS-SE subscale. Those with high internalized classism scores and specifically high scores related to shame or embarrassment associated with being poor or working class were hypothesized to score high on the shame inventory and indicate that they have experienced shame related to specific events involving money or class.

In addition to the scales included to establish criterion-related validity (specifically concurrent validity), there was also a scale included to examine construct validity (specifically discriminant validity) as well as account for response bias. The examination of discriminant validity occurs through the comparison of the scale under development with a scale that is not expected to be related in order to establish that survey results are not resulting from irrelevant constructs (Johnson and Morgan, 2016; Devellis 2012). The social desirability scale was used to determine whether participants were openly and honestly answering items or whether they were answering in a manner that is socially desired (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). There was not expected to be a relationship between the social desirability scale and the ICS, and so it was

expected that the Social Desirability scale could provide evidence for discriminant validity. Furthermore, it was hoped that participants scored low on the Social Desirability Scale as this might indicate that participants also approached the Internalized Classism Scale with candor which would provide evidence that response bias was not unduly influencing results (Johnson and Morgan, 2016).

Another aspect of construct validity assessed during study two's analysis of the ICS was convergent validity. Convergent validity is focused on assessing whether a scale representing a construct that is theoretically related to the construct represented by the scale under development are interacting in an expected way (Johnson and Morgan, 2016; Devellis, 2012). First, while the Shame inventory was used to assess concurrent validity for the ICS-SE subscale, it also was used to establish convergent validity for the ICS total scale given the inclusion of two additional subscales (i.e., ICS-JW and ICS-NS). At the same time, the PHQ-9 (Patient Health Questionnaire), a nine-item questionnaire that screens for depression, was included to assess convergent validity for the ICS total scale. Based on a review of the literature, those who experience oppression such as classism are more likely to experience shame and depression (Russell, 1996; Bullock & Lott, 2007; Smith 2010; Liu, 2011; Smith, Chambers, & Bratini, 2009; Salazar & Abrams, 2005). Therefore, it is hypothesized that those who have higher internalized classism scores, a form of internalized oppression, are likely to rate more highly on shame and depression providing evidence of convergent validity.

Another scale that was used to provide evidence for construct validity specifically convergent validity) of the Internalized Classism scale is the Short Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SSDO) (Pratto et al, 2013) The SSDO expects that those supporting group inclusion and equality will produce low scores. It was expected that those who scored highly on ICS-JW

subscale (i.e., belief in a just world) would be likely to be positively related to social dominance. This idea is supported by Bailey, et al.'s (2011) interpretation of internalized oppression in that the oppressed begin to oppress themselves. In addition, it was thought that those participants scoring high on the ICS-JW subscale would also likely score high on the social power subscale of the Differential Status Identity Scale (DSIS) (Thompson & Subich, 2007) which would indicate further support of construct validity (specifically convergent validity). The SSDO and DSIS social power subscale would likely tap into shared construct elements that are hypothesized to be a part of internalized classism represented in the ICS-JW subscale whereas individuals are thought to have power to change and responsibility for the social class they are associated with due to a belief in the common "American Dream" meritocratic philosophy in the U.S. (Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002) The DSIS social power subscale and SSDO share similarities in constructs as they reflect an individual's believe that everyone has power to change their circumstance according and will get what they deserve according to a just world framework (Pratto et. Al, 2013; Thompson and Subich, 2007; Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002. The SSDO and DSIS reflect the classist belief that individuals are responsible for their lot and life and have the power and individual responsibility to determine their circumstance.

Additionally, construct validity (specifically convergent validity) was assessed with three subscales of the DSIS assessing perceived access to amenities (i.e., How do you perceive your ability as compared to the average citizen to travel for leisure), perceived ability to meet their basic needs (i.e., How do you perceive your ability as compared to the average citizen to go to the), and perceived social prestige (i.e., Compared to the average citizen, how valued do you feel

in terms of your ethnic group). It was expected that the ability access resources to fulfill basic needs, and in addition, access resources considered to be amenities or luxury items would be associated with lower scores on the ICS-SE. It was expected that due to experiencing circumstances associated with the middle-class "ingroup" as evidenced by the ability to provide for basic needs and even amenities, there would be less class based feelings of shame and embarrassment (Liu, 2011). Furthermore, it was expected that feeling that one's identity is valued by society, measured by the DSIS social prestige subscale, would be associated with less shame and embarrassment and decreased endorsement of negative stereotypes related to the poor and working class. More simply put, it was hypothesized that feeling as if an individual felt that their identity was valued by society they likely would not feel the shame and embarrassment usually associated with classist experiences (Smith, 2010; Liu, 2011). Furthermore, it was expected that an individual would not endorse negative stereotypes associated with their own social class status if they felt valued by society.

Study 2 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses will be tested to assess the validity of the ICS scale, as follows:

Hypothesis 1. The data will fit the ICS 3-factor structure that emerged in Study 1 demonstrating both reliability and construct validity.

Hypothesis 2. Scores on the Internalized Classism scale will be positively correlated with scores on both the PHQ-9 depression scale and the Shame Inventory demonstrating construct (specifically convergent) and/or criterion-related validity (i.e., concurrent validity).

Hypothesis 3. Scores on the shame subscale of the Internalized Classism scale will negatively correlate with scores on the economic-basic needs and economic-amenities subscales of the DSIS demonstrating construct validity (specifically convergent validity).

Hypothesis 4. Scores on the shame and negative stereotype subscales of the Internalized Classism scale will be negatively correlated with scores on the social prestige subscale of the DSIS demonstrating construct validity (specifically, convergent validity).

Hypothesis 5. Scores on the Belief in a Just World (JW) subscale of the Internalized Classism scale will correlate with Short Social Dominance Scale scores and scores on the Social Power subscale of the DSIS demonstrating construct (specifically convergent validity).

Hypothesis 6. Scores on the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale will not be correlated with the Internalized Classism scale demonstrating construct validity (specifically divergent validity).

Study 2 Methods

Participants

Recruitment and Procedure. Recruitment and data collection procedures were largely identical to that of Study 1. That is, Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT) was used as a means to access a diverse sample of participants who were representative of working and lower income classes as supported in the social science literature. (Mason and Suri, 2012), and participants who completed the survey were compensated with $0.04. Utilizing AMT filtration process, the request for participants was available only to those that identified with a yearly house hold

income of $49,999. However, it should be noted that there are a number participants included in the data that indicated that they made more than $49,999 which seems to indicate that they somehow circumvented AMT filtration process. The ideal goal for sought for the subject pool was to gather participants that best represented poor and working class categories in the United States. In an attempt to further increase the likelihood of obtaining a representative sample, an initial question was included at the beginning of the Qualtrics survey attempted to identify respondents who are currently college students supported by their parents so that they could be more readily filtered out through self-identification. It was the intention that this additional restriction might prevent the income /class confusion and misidentification that often occurs with students who report little household income but are actually still dependent upon and supported by their parents' income. A total of 508 participants who completed the ICS completely and the other Study 2 measures via AMT were included in the analyses. Their demographic information is provided below. Please see Results section for procedures used to include these participants.

Participant Demographics. Utilizing the same demographics instrument (see Appendix A) as in Study 1, participants were asked to provide information about their race, ethnicity, household income, level of education, number of household members, etc. **Race and ethnicity.** In terms of race, of the 508 participants, those that identified as Caucasian/White made up the vast majority of the data by accounting for 77.3% (N=391) of participants. The rest of respondents indicated they were 2.8% (N=14) Asian American, 5.7% (N=29) Hispanic, 10.7% (N=54) African American, 2.8% (N=14) Biracial or Multiracial, and .4% (2) identified as other. There were two participants that chose not to respond. **Age** About 25.4% identified as being between the ages of 18-29. Of the remaining participants, roughly 29.5% of participants indicated that they were between 30-39 years old, 15.2% indicated they were 40-49 years old,

13% identified as being 50-59 years old, and about 10% identified as being 60+ years old.

Relationship Status In terms of relationship status, about 35% (*N*=177) of participants identified as single, 9.5% (*N*=48) said they are currently in a relationship but not living with their partners, 15.6% (*N*=79) indicated that they are in a relationship and are living with their partners, 24.9% (*N*=126) identified as married, 12.1% (*N*=61) said they are divorced, and 3% (*N*=15) identified as widowed. **Gender.** In terms of gender, about 65.6% (*N*=332) identified as female, 33.8% (*N*=171) identified as male, .2% (*N*=1) identified as non-binary/third gender, .2% (*N*=1) indicated that they identified as FTM transgender, and .2% (*N*=1) indicated that they preferred not to say. **Sexual Orientation.** In terms of sexual orientation, Heterosexual respondents were the majority of the sample comprising about 82.4% (*N*=417), with the remaining respondents identifying as 8.9% (*N*=45) Bisexual, 2.4% (*N*=12) Gay, 4% (*N*=20) Lesbian, 1.6% (*N*=8) Unsure/questioning, and .8% (*N*=4) as Other. **Level of Education.** Nearly a third of participants, 32.3% (*N*=164), said that they had a Bachelor's Degree. Similarly, about 27.8% (*N*=141) of participants indicated that they had taken some college class but did not get a degree. As for the remaining participants, about 14.2% (*N*=72) indicated that they had an Associate's Degree or vocational 2 year degree, 15.2% (*N*=77) indicated that they completed high school or got a GED, 7.7% (*N*=39) indicated that they had a Master's level degree, .4% (*N*=2) indicated having a Professional degree (JD, MD, PsyD, DO, DMV, DDS, etc), only 7 participants (1.4%) indicated that they did not finish high school, and 5 participants (1%) indicated they had a PhD.

Employment Status. The greatest portion of participants identified as being employed full time (40.8%, *N*=207). About 23.6% (*N*=120) indicated they were employed part time, 14.2% (*N*=72) said they are unemployed and not going to school, about 8.7% (*N*=44) said that they are a stay at home parent or housemaker, and 9.5% (*N*=48) indicated that they are retired. 3.2% (*N*=16)

identified as unemployed students. **Home Ownership.** The majority of participants, 56.3% (*N*=286), indicated that they rent their residence, whereas 32.7% (*N*=166) of participants identified as owning their home. In terms of the remaining participants, about 1.2 percent (*N*=6) said that they are renting to own their home. Roughly .8% (*N*=4) of participants identified as homeless. **Total Household Income.** In terms of reported total household income, about 35.6% (*N*=181) of participants reported a total household income falling between $20,001-$30,000 per year, 20.3% (*N*=103) reported a total household income of 40,001-50,000 per year, and 42.9% (*N*=218) reported having a total household income of under $20,000. **Needs Met by Household Income** When considering their household income, 52.4% (*N*=265) indicated that their household income gets them from paycheck to paycheck, about 21.7% (*N*=110) indicated that they are able to take care of basic needs with some ability to save or splurge, and about 4% (*N*=20) indicated that they are able to live comfortably. Notably, 21.5% (*N*=109) indicated that they are not able to cover their basic needs with their household incomes. **Ability to Save Money.** Only 16.5% (*N*=83) of participants indicated that they are able to save for retirement, whereas 83.5% (*N*=420) of participants indicated that they do not make enough money to save for retirement at this time. **Social Class Self Identification.** When asked to identify which social class they considered themselves to be, 47.9% (*N*=243) identified as Working Class, 16.8% (*N*=85) identified as Middle Class, 33.9% (*N*=172) identified as Lower Class, and about 1.4% (*N*=7) identified as Middle to Upper Class. Table 6 provides further detail of the demographic information.

Table 7. CFA Participant Demographic Responses

Demographic	Response	N	*%*
Race/Ethnic Identity			
	African American	54	10.2
	Asian American	14	2.8
	Caucasian/White	391	77.3
	Hispanic	29	5.7

Table 7. cont.

Demographic	Response	N	%
	Native American	2	.4
	Biracial or Multiracial	14	2.8
	Other	2	.4
	Total	508	100.0
Age			
	No Response	35	6.9
	18 to 29 years	129	25.4
	30 to 39 years	150	29.5
	40 to 49 years	77	15.2
	50 to 59 years	66	13
	60 years or older	51	10
	Total	508	100.0
Household Size			
	1	177	34.8
	2	150	29.5
	3	88	17.3
	4	53	10.4
	5	20	3.9
	6	17	3.3
	7	2	.4
	8	1	.2
	Total	508	100.0
Household Income			
	under $20,000 per year	218	42.9
	$20,001-$30,000 per year	181	35.6
	$40,001-$50,000 per year	103	20.3
	$60,001-$70,000 per year	6	1.2
	Total	508	100.0
Relationship Status			
	Single	177	35
	in a relationship not living with partner	48	9.5
	in a relationship living with partner	79	15.6
	Married	126	24.9
	Divorced	61	12.1
	Widowed	15	3.0
	Missing	2	.4
	Total	508	100.0
Sexual Orientation			
	Heterosexual	417	82.4
	Bisexual	45	8.9
	Gay	12	2.4
	Lesbian	20	4.0
	Unsure/questioning	8	1.6
	Other	4	.8
	Total	506	100.0
Education Acquired			
	I did not finish high school	7	1.4
	High school or GED	77	15.2
	Took some college classes but did not get a degree	141	27.8
	Associate's Degree or vocational 2 year degree	72	14.2
	Bachelor's Degree (BA, BS)	164	32.3

Table 7. cont.

Demographic	Response	N	%
	Master's level degree (MA, MS)	39	7.7
	Professional degree (JD, MD, PsyD, DO, DMV, DDS, etc)	2	.4
	PhD	5	1
	Total	507	100.0
Employment Status			
	Student and not employed	16	3.2
	Student and employed part time	23	4.5
	Student and employed full time	34	6.7
	Employed full time and not going to school	173	34.1
	Employed part time and not going to school	97	19.1
	Unemployed and not going to school	72	14.2
	Stay at home parent or housemaker	44	8.7
	Retired	48	9.5
	Total	508	100.0
Residential Status			
	Rent	286	56.3
	Rent to own	6	1.2
	Own	166	32.7
	I am homeless	4	.8
	None of the above	46	9.1
	Total	508	100.0
Wealth Savings			
	I am able to save for retirement	83	16.5
	I do not make enough money to save for my retirement at this time	420	83.5
	Total	503	100.0
Basic Needs			
	Does not cover my basic needs	109	21.5
	Gets me from paycheck to paycheck	265	52.4
	Takes care of basic needs with some ability to save or splurge	110	21.7
	Allows me to live comfortably	20	4.0
	Total	504	100.0
Self-Identified Class			
	Middle to Upper Class	7	1.4
	Middle Class	85	16.8
	Working Class	243	47.9
	Lower Class	172	33.9
	Total	507	100.0

Instruments

The preliminary scale of internalized classism developed via the EFA and scale development process outlined in Study 1 was comprised of 22 items (see Appendix E). The scale was administered in conjunction with the same demographic questions included in Study 1 (see Appendix A). Differing from Study 1, this study also included a series of other scales chosen for their constructs with the intention of using them to establish the validity of the current scale

underdevelopment as recommended by Devellis (2012). In choosing scales for the purpose of collecting evidence of validity, Devellis suggests that theory must support a predicted relationship between the scales. Then, if statistical analysis reveals a significant correlation between the scale under development and the validity scale in the manner predicted, empirical evidence in support of the scale validity has been achieved. To help establish the validity of Internalized Classism Scale, the following scales were administered in conjunction with the demographic questionnaire, and the current 22 item scale under development. A brief description of each of the scales used for validity and their statistical properties follows.

Patient Health Questionnaire-9. The PHQ-9 (see Appendix G) is a 9-item screening measure widely used in a variety of settings to access depressive symptoms. Participants rate each item on a 4-point scale ranging from 0 (*Not At All*) to 3 (*Nearly Every Day*). Total PHQ-9 scores are calculated by summing the response with higher scores indicating higher levels of symptoms of depression. Kocalevent, Hinz, and Brahler (2013) established normative data, construct validity, and factor structure with the general population. They found an internal consistency coefficient of 87. Furthermore, their study found good inter-correlations between the PHQ-9 and the mental component scale of the Health-related Quality of Life-short form ($r = -0.68$ $p < .001$), followed by the physical component summary scale of this same scale ($r = -0.48$ $p < .001$), and the Satisfaction with Life Scale ($r = -0.42$ $p < .001$). For the purpose of this study, the total PHQ-9 score was used to denote depression.

Shame Inventory. The Shame Inventory (see Appendix H) is a measure created by Rizvi (2010) in hopes to assess tendency to experience shame and shame in response to life events. The scale is made up of two parts. The first part address overall shame feelings the individual may have experienced and consists of three items (e.g. Circle the number which indicates how

often you typically experience shame). Participants rate each item on a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (*Never, None, or No Effect)* to 4 (*Always, Extreme, or Extreme Effect*) dependent upon the item. The second part addresses specific live events that have caused the experience of shame. Participants are asked to indicate the intensity of their shame about 50 different events (e.g. Failed at work). Participants may choose X (*It does not apply to me*) or a number between 0 (*No Shame*) to 4 (*Extreme Shame*). The total Shame Inventory scale score is calculated by averaging participant responses across all items, whereas the part one overall feelings of shame were calculated by averaging the first 3 items and the part two specific feelings of shame were calculated by averaging the next 50 items. Higher scores on the total scale and two subscales indicate higher levels of shame. Rizvi (2010) demonstrated that good internal consistency (α = .84) overall for the Shame Inventory with part one having an internal consistency coefficient of .80 and part two's internal consistency being .83. Furthermore, the Shame Inventory had good test- retest reliability (r =.85, p <.001). Rizvi (2010) also demonstrated that the Shame Inventory significantly correlated with other shame related scales, including the Test of Self-Conscious Affect (TOSCA) which measures overall shame-proneness and guilt proneness as well as the Personal Feelings Questionnaire-2 which is comprised of a guilt subscale and shame subscale created to focus on trait forms of these emotions. The Shame Inventory demonstrated convergent validity with the TOSCA shame scores and PFQ shame subscale scores. The Shame Inventory established divergent validity as it was not significantly correlated with guilt as measured by the TOSCA and had a weaker, though significant correlation with the PFQ-guilt subscale. For the purposes of this study, the shame inventory total scale was used to assess shame.

Short Social Dominance Orientation Scale. Pratto et al. (2013) tested the internal reliability and validity of a 4-item version of the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (see

Appendix I). An example item is, “Group equality should be our ideal.” Participants rate each item on a 10-point scale ranging from 1 (*Extremely Oppose*) to 10 (*Extremely Favor*). Item responses are averaged to calculate a total social dominance orientation scale. According to the authors, those scoring low would prefer inclusion and equality and would be more likely support women leaders, defending minorities, and assistance for the underprivileged. The scale showed good reliability considering that it is a brief 4-item scale with a weighted alpha coefficient of .65. Furthermore, the scale predicted attitudes to protecting minorities, aid to the poor, and women in leadership positions (Pratto et al., 2013). For the purposes of Study 2, the total SSDOS score was used to measures social dominance orientation.

Differential Status Identity Scale. The Differential Status Identity Scale (see Appendix F) is a measure created by Brown et.al. (2002) and further refined and analyzed by Thompson and Subich (2007) with aim to assess the impact of perceived social status. It provides a manner of viewing the effects of internalization of multiple aspects of an individual’s identity (e.g., race and class). The measure consists of 60 items asking participants to compare themselves to the average citizen across four 15-item subscales related to economic resources-amenities (e.g., How do you perceive your ability as compared to the average citizen to travel for leisure), economic resources-basic needs (e.g., How do you perceive your ability as compared to the average citizen to go to the dentist), social power (e.g. Compared to the average citizen, how do you perceive your ability to gain a high-profile position of employment) and social prestige (e.g., Compared to the average citizen, how valued do you feel in terms of your ethnic group). Participants rate each item on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*very much below average for the economic resources and social power subscales or much less for the social prestige subscale*) to 5 (*very much average or much more*). DSIS subscale scores are calculated by summing items associated with

each of the subscales with higher scores indicating a greater perceived level of social prestige, social power, or economic resources, respectfully. The scale showed high internal consistency for the total DSIS score (α = .97), economic resources-amenities subscale score of α=.95, economic resources-basic needs subscale score of α=.94, social prestige subscale score of α=.92, and the social power subscale score of α=.94. In order to establish convergent validity, Thompson and Subich (2007) reported social class standing and income level during childhood were correlated with DSIS total and subscale scores with validity coefficients ranging from .32 to .56. For the purpose of this study, the four subscale scores will be used.

Social Desirability Scale. Crowne and Marlow (1960) designed to the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability scale (MCSD) to measure the degree to which an individual is likely to portray him or herself in a positive and socially desirable light (see Appendix J). The MCSD scale is comprised of 33 items (e.g. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in need). Participants are asked to indicate whether the statement is True or False for them. A score sheet is provided and higher scores indicate a stronger desire to present oneself in a socially desirable way. Internal consistency was found to be a score of α=.88. The measure also showed a test-retest correlation of .89. Furthermore, their scale showed significant correlation with the Edwards Social Desirability scale.

Study 2 Results

Cleaning the Data

It is common practice to have a sample size that is about 5-10 cases per free parameter of a model (Brown, 2015). The initial subject pool was comprised of 988 respondents. The data was evaluated and participants were removed to improve the quality of the subject pool. There were 149 participants that were removed due to their acknowledgement that they were currently

college students who were supported by their parents. Next, 33 participants were removed because of low item completion. Then, 5 were removed for house hold income being greater than $60000. There were 130 participant responses removed due to having repeated IP addresses in order to ensure that individuals were not attempting to complete the survey multiple times. Finally, 160 participant responses were deleted because they completed the survey in less than 6 minutes which did not seem to be a realistic amount of time necessary to complete the survey with quality answers given the lengthiness of the survey. The final participant pool for the EFA analysis was comprised of 508 participants whose demographic information is provided below.

Confirming the Factor Structure of the Internalized Classism Scale

Hypothesis 1: The data will support the factor structure that emerged in Study 1 demonstrating both reliability and construct validity.

Testing hypothesized model. Confirmatory Factor Analysis. According to Worthington and Whitaker (2006), it is typical to follow an EFA with a CFA to assess whether the factor structure produced by the EFA fits the data from a new sample. Results from the EFA help a researcher identify a hypothesis regarding how the scale items and latent variables are interacting (Bryne, 2010). A CFA attempts to provide support for the model across different subject pools. The hypothesized interactions between scale items and latent variables are represented in mathematical or diagram form. A new subject pool is recruited and the scale under development is administered. The new data is analyzed to determine how the items and latent variables are interacting, as well as, how close the current data's pattern of interaction between items and latent variables mimics the hypothesized model of variable/latent variable interactions. For the current study, CFA was used to assess how well the hypothesized model of the internalized classism matches the interactions between latent variables and scale items found in

data provided by a new sample (Bryne, 2010). Structural equation modeling was completed using the graphical version of the software AMOS.

Utilizing Bryne's (2010) suggestions for drawing a model using Amos, the following model was created to graphical represent the hypothesized structure of internalized classism. As suggested by the scale development process, theory, and EFA analysis conducted in study 1, the hypothesized model to be confirmed was a three-factor model. Refer to Figure 2 for the graphical display of the hypothesized model. Each of the three factors (labelled JW, NS, SE,) are represented by a large oval with the inter-correlations between them represented by double-headed arrows. Each of the scale items are represented by a rectangle and each item is limited to loading on a single factor. The items load on the factors as follows Factor 1, Negative Stereotypes: NS 5,7, 6,17,18,10,12,3,2,20, and JW9, Factor 2, Shame and Embarrassment: SE 1,8,11,4,10,12,15, and Factor 3, Belief in a Just World: JW 8,15,4,1. Errors of measurement are represented by the small circles labelled ERR1-ERR22 with one corresponding to each scale item and shown to be uncorrelated as evidence by the absence of double-headed arrows between them. Once the hypothesis model has been created, an examination of the data can take place. According to Bryne (2010), the CFA is attempting to determine the goodness-of-fit of the hypothesized model by using multiple approaches to it assessment, and she further notes that the model can be evaluated as a whole or evaluated by examining specific aspects of the scale. AMOS provides a number of "fit statistics" that help provide insight into the fit of the hypothesized model to the data.

The focus of CFA is to establish whether a hypothesized structural model (see Figure 2) comes close to portraying the interactions occurring between scale items and latent variables of a given data set (Bryne, 2010). When conducting a CFA, research will often use fit indices as a means of evaluating the hypothesized model (Worthington and Whittaker, 2006). There are 3

categories of fit indices: Absolute fit indices, parsimony correction indices, and comparative fit (Brown, 2015). Absolute fit indices attempt to measure how precise the model is at explaining the data interactions observed. Chi-square is an example of an absolute fit index. In examining this study's results to determine goodness of fit, a customary look at chi-square found that the value of chi-square was significant [$\chi 2$ (206) = 1211, $p < .000$], which generally would suggest that the model is not a good fit. However, due to chi-square's well known limitations, such as its tendency to be heavily influenced by sample size, chi-square should be interpreted with caution and alone could not negate or establish goodness of fit (Brown, 2015; Bryne, 2010; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). Another commonly referred to absolute fit index is the standardized root mean square (SRMR) (Brown, 2015). This index basically measures the differences in the correlation values observed in the input matrixes and the expected correlation values of the model. For this study, the SRMR was .07 which would indicate that this model is not a good fit. Another type of index utilized for assessing model fit are Comparative fit indices (Brown, 2015). The NFI and CFI are both alternative indices of fit well represented in the literature, and they reflect a comparison of the hypothesized model with the model represented by the data in their values (Bryne, 2010). The recommended values for cutoff indicating a good fit for these indices should ideally fall close to .95. For the present study, the values for NFI and CFI were .85 and .87, respectively. The NFI falls below the recommended .95 cutoff value, and according to cutoff recommendations, a value falling at around .9 should be interpreted as a marginally adequate model fit (Bryne, 2010). It is recommended that the CFI be more highly considered if choosing between the NFI and CFI. For this study, a CFI of .87 falls below the .95 cutoff required to indicate a good fit. However, Blunch (2013) noted that these measures utilize an unrealistic

baseline model. However, given these values, it seems that this study's model does not adequately fit the sample data.

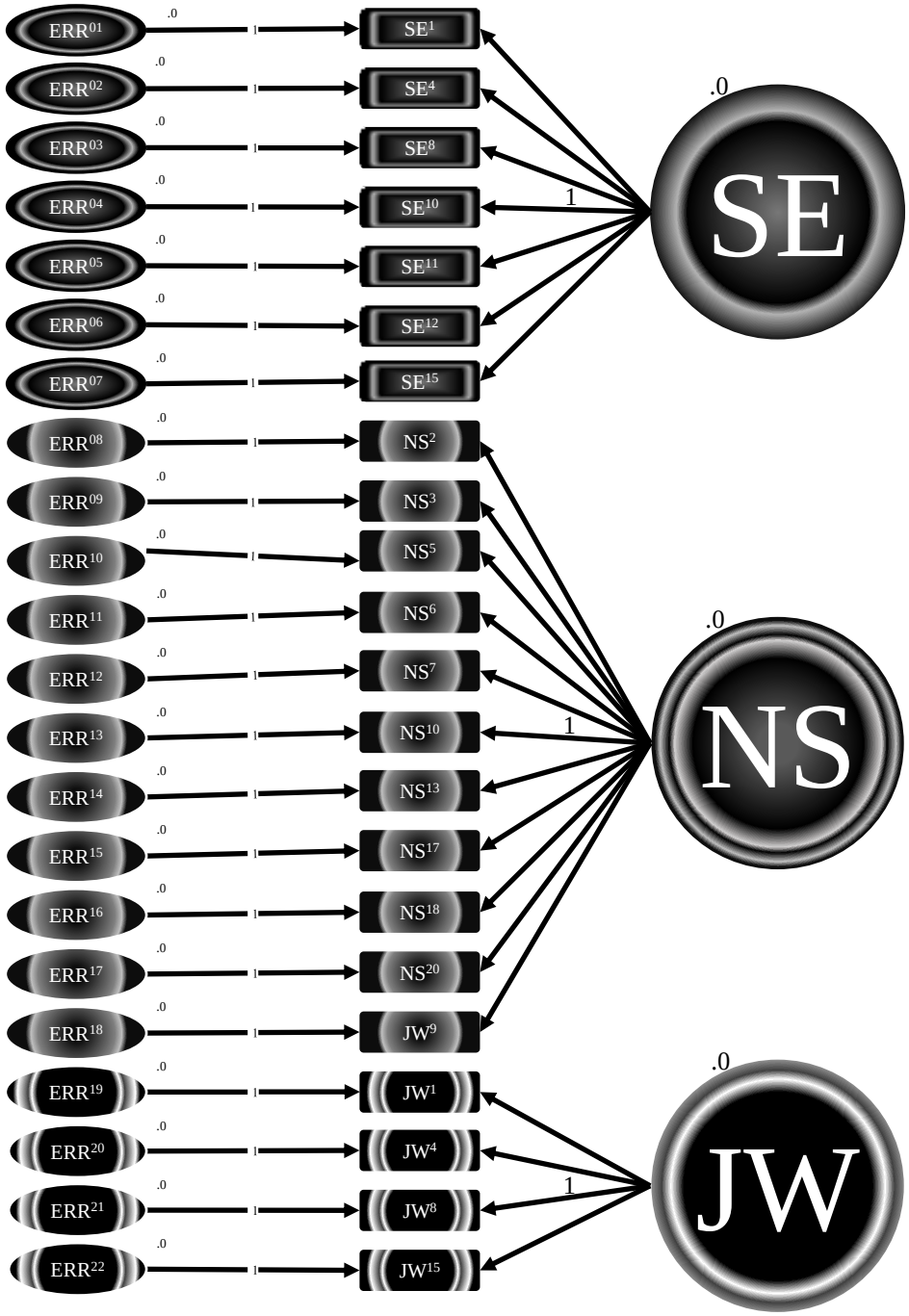

Figure 1. Hypothesized model unmodified. Hypothesized structure of internalized classism.

Table 8. Three Factor Unmodified Model

Item	Factor	Standardized Regression Weight	Squared Multiple Correlations (R^2)
JW15	←JW	.77	.60
JW8	←JW	.86	.74
JW4	←JW	.92	.84
JW1	←JW	.81	.65
NS6	←NS	.61	.37
NS5	←NS	.73	.53
NS3	←NS	.87	.75
NS2	←NS	.87	.76
NS7	←NS	.71	.50
NS10	←NS	.86	.74
NS13	←NS	.81	.66
NS17	←NS	.83	.68
NS18	←NS	.87	.76
NS20	←NS	.54	.29
JW9	←NS	.76	.58
SE15	←NS	.60	.35
SE12	←SE	.66	.43
SE11	←SE	.68	.47
SE10	←SE	.69	.47
SE8	←SE	.76	.57
SE4	←SE	.77	.59
SE1	←SE	.77	.59

Another type of fit index is the parsimony correction indexes (Brown, 2015). These indexes help account for models that have too many parameters where a model with less parameters would accurately account for the data. The RMSEA was found to have a value of .10, which was above the recommended cutoff point of .05 (Brown, 2015), but Blunch (2013) provided more general recommendations where that values "around" .05 should be considered a good fit and values above .10 considered unacceptable. The confidence interval for the RMSEA was .09; .10. Brown (2015) indicated that an upper limit value of the confidence interval that falls below .08 is supportive of fit. Based on the values of these fit indexes, it can be stated that this model, again, is not an adequate fitting model. However, as this model is theoretical and likely a precursor for further examination, it seems that further evaluation of the model is indicated.

Best practices for model modifications. Ideally, a model would not be modified during the CFA process, and any modifications that do occur should remain fairly minor and should have some theoretical basis (Bryne, 2010; Whittaker, 2012; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). Furthermore, it is recommended that researchers should not "fish" for a solution with the intent of making an ill-fitting scale fit. However, if a model is not a good fit, Bryne (2010), suggests examining the modifications indices as well as the estimated parameter change (EPC) statistic to determine if there are any statistically significant unexpected covariances to help determine what might be contributing to a poor fit. Whittaker (2012) indicated that examining the EPC tends to produce the most reliable fitting models. Bryne (2010) suggested that an EPC of .20 or greater indicates large covariance. For the current scale under development there were four error covariations that conspicuously stood out in terms of the degree of covariance. In looking at the items associated with the item covariance, it became apparent that they all contributed to the

same factor. Therefore, it seemed reasonable and theoretically sound that the parameters were altered to reflect the relationship between the errors. However, it is best practice to modify the parameters one at a time while monitoring the effect on fit with further modification indicated only if it impacts fit significantly. Guided by these recommendations, the following parameter changes were made in the step by step manner described.

Results of error covariation. The following error variances were allowed to covary as indicated:

1. The first error variances warranting further examination were ERR13 and ERR16 The MI value for the pair was 143.83 with a EPC of .20 indicating likely covariance the fit indexes associated with this covariance are as follows: $\chi 2$ (205) = 1049.48, $\chi 2/df$=5.12, p < .000, TLI=.88, CFI= .89, RMSEA=.09 (90% CI=.08,.10), SRMR= .07.
2. The next error variances warranting further examination were ERR11 and ERR12 The MI value for the pair was 120.52 with a EPC of .35 indicating likely covariance the fit indexes associated with this covariance are as follows: $\chi 2$ (204) = 915.13, $\chi 2/df$ = 4.49, p < .000, TLI=.90, CFI= .91, RMSEA=.08 (90% CI=.08,.09) SRMR= .07.
3. The next error variances warranting further examination were ERR10 and ERR12 The MI value for the pair was 51.98 with a EPC of .18 indicating likely covariance the fit indexes associated with this covariance are as follows: $\chi 2$ (203) = 848.52, $\chi 2/df$=4.18, p < .000, TLI=.91, CFI= .92, RMSEA=.08 (90% CI=.07,.08) SRMR= .06.
4. The next error variances warranting further examination were ERR10 and ERR11 The MI value for the pair was 75.30 with a EPC of .22 indicating likely covariance the fit indexes associated with this covariance are as follows: $\chi 2$ (202) = 724.98, $\chi 2/df$=3.59 , p < .000, TLI=.92, CFI= .93, RMSEA=.07 (90% CI=.07,.08), SRMR= .06.

Following the noted modifications to the model, there remained notably large MI values and EPC values above .20. However, their impact on fit indices appeared to have diminishing returns with no major indication that the free correlation would significantly aid model identification. Therefore, in honoring the principle of parsimony, it was determined that further covariance demarcation might muddy accurate interpretation of the goodness of fit. Figure 3 illustrates the final 3 factor model following modification based on error covariation, Table 9 provides a comparison of fit indices for the hypothesized and modified ICS models where it is evident that modifications improved fit according to quantitative standards with many of the fit indices falling in a range interpreted as acceptable or good.

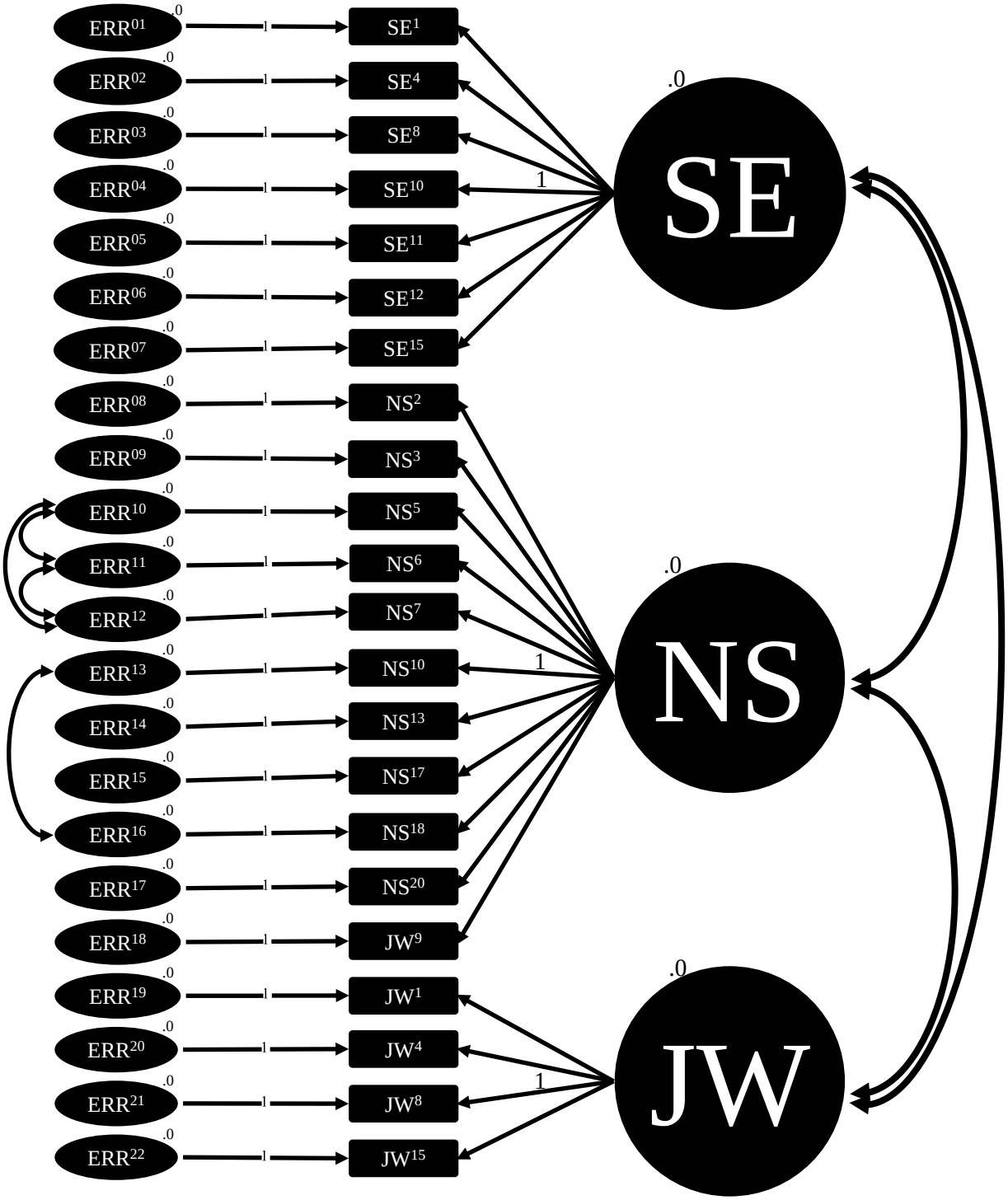

Figure 2. CFA Amos Graphical Model of the ICS modified

Table 9. Modified Three Factor Model

Item	Factor	Standardized Regression Weights	Squared Multiple Correlations (R^2)
JW15	←JW	.77	.60
JW8	←JW	.86	.74
JW4	←JW	.92	.84
JW1	←JW	.81	.65
NS6	←NS	.58	.33
NS5	←NS	.70	.49
NS3	←NS	.88	.77
NS2	←NS	.88	.78
NS7	←NS	.68	.46
NS10	←NS	.84	.71
NS13	←NS	.82	.67
NS17	←NS	.83	.68
NS18	←NS	.85	.72
NS20	←NS	.54	.29
JW9	←NS	.77	.60
SE15	←NS	.60	.36
SE12	←SE	.66	.43
SE11	←SE	.68	.47
SE10	←SE	.69	.47
SE8	←SE	.76	.57
SE4	←SE	.77	.59
SE1	←SE	.77	.59

Table 10. Summary of Fit Statistics.

Model	χ^2	*df*	*p*	CFI	SRMR	RMSEA	95% CI
Hypothesized Model	1211.47	206	.00	.87	.07	.10	.09, .10
Modified Model	725	202	.00	.93	.06	.07	.07, .08

Note. χ^2 = chi-square; *df* = degrees of freedom; CFI = Comparative Fit Index; SRMR = standardized root mean residual; RMSEA = root mean squared error of approximation; CI = confidence interval.

Hypothesis Two, Three, Four, Five and Six

Scale Validity

Devellis (2012) explained that validity of a scale can be established by providing empirical evidence that it measures phenomenon as expected by comparing response data to the data of a related construct measured by an already established scale. To establish validity the Internalized Classism scale, comparisons of the ICS total and subscales to other scales that assessed potentially related constructs (i.e., convergent or concurrent validity) and potentially unrelated constructs (i.e., divergent validity) were made. For the purposes of establishing validity for this study and as previously outlined, the PHQ-9 (Patient Health Questionaire), the Shame Inventory, the Differential Status Identity Scale (DSIS), the Short Social Dominance Scale (SSDS), and the Marlowe-Crown Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) were included with the administration of the Internalized Classism scale. Table 10 provides the correlations among these scale scores and the ICS total and subscale scores that address Hypotheses Two through Six.

Table 11. Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations Among the ICS Scales and Validity Scales.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Depression Total		---											
2. Shame Total		.54**	---										
3. DSIS economic resources-amenities		-.16**	-.17**	---									
4. DSIS economic resources-basic needs		-.18**	-.14**	.83**	---								
5. DSIS-social power		-.05	-.01	.67**	.71**	---							
6. DSIS-social prestige		-.22**	-.15**	.54**	.61**	.50**	---						
7. Social Dominance Orientation Total		-.04	.09	.19**	.17**	.13*	.13*	---					
8. Social Desirability Total		-.29**	-.33**	.05	.07	.02	.10	.08	---				
9. ICS-Negative Stereotypes		.14*	.08	.10	.14**	.12*	.15**	.12*	-.14**	---			
10. ICS-Shame & Embarrassment		.31**	.36**	-.11*	-.05	-.03	-.03	.05	-.20**	.35**	---		
11. ICS-Just World		-.14**	-.11	.22**	.25**	.20**	.26**	.18**	.12*	.35**	.10	---	
12. ICS Total		.19**	.19**	.07	.13*	.12*.	.15**	.15**	-.14*	.80**	.73**	.56**	---
	M	17.10	55.96	28.86	32.05	29.12	37.88	22.00	16.62	20.98	21.46	11.37	53.81
	SD	7.10	33.32	11.08	10.23	11.49	8.93	3.66	5.73	9.62	8.83	5.65	17.60

Note. * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$

Hypothesis 2: Scores on the Internalized Classism scale will be positively correlated with scores on both the PHQ-9 depression scale and the Shame Inventory demonstrating construct (i.e., convergent validity) and/or criterion-related validity (i.e., concurrent validity).

The Shame Inventory was administered as a means of establishing both construct and criterion-related validity given its hypothesized relation with the ICS-SE subscale and the ICS total scale, respectively. The PHQ-9 was administered as a means of establishing construct validity (i.e., convergent validity) validity via comparison with the ICS total scale. The PHQ-9 positively, yet weakly correlated with the ICS total scale with a Pearson's correlation coefficient of r =.19, p < .00. The Shame Inventory positively correlated with the Internalized Classism Scale with a Pearson's correlation coefficient of r =.19, p =.00. Additionally, it was positively and moderately correlated with the ICS-SE subscale, r = .36, p = .00. These findings appear to support the construct and criterion-related validity of the ICS –SE subscale as well as the construct validity (i.e., convergent validity) of the ICS.

Hypothesis 3: Scores on the shame subscale of the Internalized Classism scale will negatively correlate with scores on the economic-basic needs and economic-amenities subscales of the DSIS demonstrating construct validity (i.e., convergent validity).

The DSIS was administered as a means of establishing construct validity (i.e., convergent validity). It was expected that the DSIS economic-basic needs and economic-amenities subscales would have a negative relationship with the Shame and Embarrassment (SE) subscale of the Internalized Classism Scale. Contrary to the hypothesis, the DSIS economic-basic needs subscale did not correlate with the Shame and Embarrassment (SE) subscale of the Internalized Classism Scale, r = -.05, p > .05. However, the DSIS economic-amenities subscale did negatively correlate

with the Shame and Embarrassment (SE) subscale of the Internalized Classism Scale Pearson's correlation coefficient of r = .-11, p < .05. These findings were questionable and did not lend strong support to the ICS-SE's construct validity.

Hypothesis 4: Scores on the shame and negative stereotype subscales of the Internalized Classism scale will be negatively correlated with scores on the social prestige subscale of the DSIS demonstrating construct validity (i.e. convergent validity).

The DSIS was administered as a means of establishing convergent validity. It was expected that the DSIS Social Prestige subscale would negatively correlate with scores on the Shame and Embarrassment (SE) and Negative Stereotypes (NS) of the Internalized Classism Scale. Contrary to the hypothesis, the DSIS Social Prestige subscale did not negatively correlate with the NS subscale of the Internalized Classism scale, but instead, there was a positive relationship between the subscales Pearson's correlation coefficient of r =.15, p =.00. Also contrary to the expected hypothesis, the Shame and Embarrassment (SE) subscale of the Internalized Classism Scale did not correlate with the DSIS Social Prestige subscale, r = -.03, p > .05. Again, these findings were mixed and lead to questions about the convergent validity of the ICS-NS and ICS-SE subscales given the weak and/or non-significant correlations with the DSIS-social prestige subscale.

Hypothesis 5: Scores on the Belief in a Just World (JW) subscale of the Internalized Classism scale will positively correlate with Short Social Dominance Scale scores and scores on the Social Power subscale of the DSIS demonstrating construct validity (i.e. convergent validity).

The Short Form Social Dominance Scale (SFSD) and the Social Power subscale of the DSIS were administered as a means of establishing construct validity (i.e., convergent validity),

and it was expected that both would have a positive relationship with Belief in a Just World (JW) subscale of the Internalized Classism Scale. The SFSD positively correlated with the Belief in a Just World (JW) subscale of the Internalized Classism Scale with a Pearson's correlation coefficient of r =.14, p =.00. In addition, the JW subscale of the Internalized Classism Scale correlated with the Social Power subscale of the DSIS with a Pearson's correlation coefficient of r = .18, p = .00. These results support the hypothesis and provided some support for the construct validity (i.e. convergent validity) of the ICS-JW subscale.

Hypothesis 6: Scores on the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale will not be correlated with the Internalized Classism scale demonstrating construct validity, specifically discriminant validity.

The Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSD) was administered as a means of establishing discriminant validity. It was expected that the scale would not be related to the Internalized Classism Scale. The MCSD negatively correlated with the Internalized Classism Scale with a Pearson's correlation coefficient of r= -.14, p = .00. These results do not support the hypothesis and leaving questions about the divergent validity of the ICS.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to create a psychometrically sound scale that effectively measured internalized classism experienced by the working class and poor. The psychological impact of experiencing classist oppression is not well understood, and furthermore, little attention has been directed toward the internalization of classist oppression by those working class and poor people who have been immersed in a society that largely devalues and pathologizes their culture, behaviors, perspective, and experiences (Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott and Saxon, 2002, Smith 2010, Liu, 2011; Stephens, Markus, Phillips, 2014). As distribution of wealth in the U.S. continues to become increasingly more stratified, the saliency of social class in the United States has intensified (Knafo, 2012; Robinson, 2012; Martin, 2016, Garriot, 2017). This scale development project is a timely contribution towards supporting social justice, multicultural competency, and research efforts involving social class issues that are becoming increasingly more pressing in the U.S. This research may help facilitate a greater understanding of the experiences of working class and poor people in the U.S. as well as contribute to the creation of more culturally appropriate mental health treatment approaches. The interpretations, implications, and limitations of this scale development study will follow.

Interpretation of Results

A review of the psychological literature relating to social class yielded pithy research regarding the impact of experiences of classes. In terms of the concept of internalized classism

(e.g. internalized classist oppression) an even greater dearth of information was found. No other scales specifically addressing internalized classist oppression were located. Therefore, the psychometric properties of this scale could not be directly compared to an already established scale's properties as is typically suggested in determining validity (Devellis, 2012). Furthermore, there was little information available in terms of defining and conceptualizing internalized classism.

In order to address the notable deficiency in research regarding the experiences of internalized classism, this study sought to create a scale that might provide a means and opportunity for gathering data and adding to the limited knowledge currently available that is able speak to the connection between classist experiences, internalized classism, and mental health. Experiences of classism typically represented in negative beliefs and attitudes directed toward the poor and working class and other marginalizing experienced as a result of a disenfranchised social class status certainly impact the well-being of the person experiencing them (Russell, 1996; Smith, 2010; Lott and Bullock, 2007). In fact, in a society that devalues the working class and poor in a variety of ways, the classist beliefs can become integrated into the worldview of the person experiencing oppression, and with this internalization of classist beliefs, the oppressed may then subsequently become an oppressor as they then proceed to address themselves and others of similar class status from the standpoint of the oppressive beliefs so regularly experienced in the world around them (Bailey, et al., 2011; Russell, 1996). The continued perpetuation and spread of class based oppression is particularly of note to the field of psychology because experiences of class based oppression has been connected to depression, emotional distress, negative experiences, devaluing of self, emotional numbing, a sense of shame, stress, and anger (Dohrenwend, 1973; Smith, 2010; Salazar & Abrams, 2005; Smith,

Chambers, & Bratini, 2009; Appio, Chambers, & Mao, 2013). Furthermore, when the person who has experienced oppression begins to, even unknowingly, believe and apply the oppressive attitudes and experiences they have had to themselves and others similar to them, their relationships, self-concept, and emotional well-being suffer (Bailey, et al., 2011; Russell, 1996).

Evidence for a three factor model was collected and the scale was refined by primarily utilizing theory, factor loading values, correlation values, and communalities during study 1. A notable outcome of study one was that results deviated from a hypothesized four factor model with the items associated with the hypothesized middle class valued over the poor and working class (MCV) being completely eliminated. While the literature certainly supports the notion that a prominent element of classist oppression is that middle class culture and attributes are considered the norm and are more valued than the poor and working class (Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002; Smith, 2010; Russell, 1996, further consideration of the items associated with the factor provides some insight into their lack of support.

A major determinant of the removal of the majority of the MCV items was that they were largely difficult to interpret due to their significant correlations to the items on the other three factors. In considering what have might contributed to the cross factor loadings of the valuing the middle class over the poor and working class items (MCV), one consideration is the possible connection between the negative stereotypes associated with the poor and working class as a provided rationale for the devaluation of the lower and working classes. From early U.S. history examples of negative stereotypes of lower classes and slave labor can be found, and these were used as justification and evidence for their exploitation and marginalization (Isenberg, 2016). An

examination of the MCV items did reveal that, with this perspective, many seemed to reflect negative stereotypes.

Another contribution to the difficulty with interpretation regarding the MCV items might also be a connection to experiences of shame and embarrassment. In U.S. Society, middle class is often considered the "average" or "norm" (Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002; Smith, 2010; Russell, 1996. When one feels as if their culture and experiences do not match to what is valued by society, shame and embarrassment might occur. Liu (2010) noted that many students from poor or working class backgrounds that he has worked with have painful feelings of shame associated with past experiences associated with their social class standing. Shame and embarrassment as a response to the devaluation of one's own group in comparison to the middle class group would likely muddy results making their removal seem more pertinent.

The three factors supported by the EFA and subsequent CFA were Negative Stereotypes (NS) regarding the poor and working class, belief in a Just World (JW), and Shame and Embarrassment related to being poor or working class. According to the literature, classist oppression, i.e. classism, often expresses itself in the form of negative stereotypes about the poor and working class (Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002; Smith, 2010). These negative stereotypes are imbedded in our society and are seen in their influence on media portrayals of the poor and working class, in policy, in access to resources, and are internalized by everyone who is a part of the social system (Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002; Russel, 1996). When classism is internalized, or integrated into one's worldview or beliefs, it becomes internalized. It becomes accepted as true. This becomes particularly problematic for individuals who identify as

working class or poor and also believe in the classist negative stereotypes about the poor and working class.

In addition to classist negative stereotypes (NS), a belief in a just world is another important message that supports classist oppression and is internalized by U.S. society (Bullock, Wyche, and Williams, 2001; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler, 2001; Lott, 2002). This belief is woven into the mythos of United States culture and implies that you get what you deserve. In U.S. culture, it is commonly associated with "American Dream" which is the belief that people have equal opportunity and if you work hard enough you will find success. This view contributes to a classist system of oppression because it does not accurately depict the reality of social mobility in the United States. Without consideration of contextual factors such as wealth, access to resources, cultural, social, economic capital, etc, a belief in a just world assumes that anyone who does not attain the "success" expected, must be flawed or have done something to deserve their experiences. Analysis showed support for a belief in a Just World (JW) as a component of internalized classism. For those who do not find success, the internalized classist belief in a just world would contribute to a sense of wrongness in them or their behaviors.

Another identified factor according to analysis is Shame and Embarrassment (SE) associated with being poor or working class. Shame and embarrassment are painful experiences for those who simultaneously identify as working class or poor and believe that if they work hard enough they should be able to find success (Russell, 1996; Smith, 2010). Yet, when they are not able to socially mobilize in the way that they expect, and their society tells them they should be able to, they may begin to question themselves, their families, and communities. Furthermore, they are aware of the negative views society holds regarding their social class and may feel embarrassment and shame about their "wrongness" if they feel that they represent the negative

classist stereotypes in opposition to the idealized middle class norm. They begin to attempt to distinguish themselves from others that they believe represent or will connect them to the negative stereotypes (NS). This study's results as well as the aforementioned literature provide evidence that shame and embarrassment regarding one's own class identity as working class or poor, beliefs in negative stereotypes regarding the poor and working class, and beliefs in a just world contribute to the overarching experience of internalized classism by poor and working class people. Furthermore, literature currently available describes shame and embarrassment as an element of internalized classism (Liu, 2011; Smith, 2010; Russell, 1996).

In study 2, confirmatory factor analysis was used to further examine and establish support for the underlying model identified during the EFA that occurred as part of the scale development process in study 1 of this dissertation research project. The confirmatory factor analysis, with particular attention directed toward the fit indices, appeared to indicate that the hypothesized model was a bad fit for the confirmatory model. Further refinement of the scale occurred following best practices and use of the modification indexes (Brown, 2015; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). By addressing the error variances with the largest and most likely covariance, the scales fit improved with fit indices values indicating adequate to good fit. Furthermore, the CFA revealed that all items of the Internalized Classism scale loaded to their respective factors with all items loading with fairly high values which provided evidence for content validity and internal structure (Johnson & Morgan, 2016). In addition, the scale reliability was established during the EFA which revealed excellent Cronbach's Alpha values for the Internalized Classism Scale (ICS) as well as the three subscales. Scale reliability was also supported by the squared multiple correlation values gathered from CFA process.

To further provide further support for the validity of the internalized classism scale, theory was used to identify psychological constructs that would be expected to relate to internalized classism. Devellis (2012) suggested including items or scales that provide empirical support that they measure those aforementioned related constructs during the data collection process. For the Internalized Classism Scale, the following scales were included in the data collection process for the purposes of establishing validity: The Differential Status Identity scale (Thompson & Subich, 2013), the Patient Health Questionnaire-9 (Kocalevent, Hinz, and Brahler, 2013)**,** the Shame Inventory (Rizvi, 2010), and Short Social Dominance Orientation Scale (Pratto et al., 2013)**.** Correlation analysis did not support all of the hypothesized relationships between the Internalized Classism Scale and the aforementioned scales providing mixed evidence in terms of validity of the scale.

In terms of criterion related validity, there are no other scales available that measure internalized classism. However, there is a scale measuring shame that was used to provide evidence for concurrent validity. The Shame Inventory was positively and moderately correlated with the ICS-SE as was expected due to both scales being a measure of shame establishing concurrent criterion-related validity. The moderate relationship may be explained by differences in the shame related content found in each measure with the ICS-SE subscale measuring only class-based shame and the Shame Index measuring shame in relation to a wide variety of shame inducing experiences.

In terms of construct validity (i.e. convergent validity), the Shame Inventory and PHQ-9 were administered with the expectation that both would be positively correlated with the ICS due to the literature indication of a connection between internalized oppression and experiences of shame and/or depression (Dohrenwend, 1973; Smith, 2010; Salazar & Abrams, 2005; Smith,

Chambers, & Bratini, 2009; Appio, Chambers, & Mao, 2013). The ICS did significantly correlate positively with the Shame inventory as well as the PHQ-9, but both correlations were weak. However, it should be noted that there is no defined cutoff of correlation strength used to establish construct validity (Devellis, 2012). For this study, it was expected that internalized classism would significantly and positively correlate with the PHQ-9 and the Shame Index due to theoretical connection supported by literature. However, it makes sense that the correlation would not be strong due to the fact that the constructs measured by each of the measures are not expected to be similar, but instead they are simply expected to have a relationship.

Further evidence for construct validity (i.e. convergent validity) was sought through the empirical support of a relationship between the ICS-JW subscale of the ICS and the Short Form Social Dominance Scale (SFSD) and the Social Power subscale of the DSIS. Results supported the hypothesis illustrating significant relationships between the ICS-JW and the SFSD as well as the DSIS-Social Power subscale. The results support construct validity (specifically convergent validity). The scales were expected to be measuring related constructs, and yet were not expected to be measuring constructs purported to be the same providing explanation for the low correlations. These findings are an indication that the Internalized Classism Scale is relating to the constructs measured by the SFSD and DSIS-Social Power subscale in a theoretically expected way.

In addition to convergent validity, this study also attempted to secure evidence for discriminant validity. This form of participant response validity was intended to be established using the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale MCSD (Crowne and Marlow, 1960) as outlined by Devellis (2012). However, according to Devellis, a correlation between the SDS scale and the scale under development would indicate that the respondents may not have

responded with candor and/or and instead attempted to answer in a manner that seemed social desirable. Therefore, in examining the values resulting from correlation analysis, it appears that there may be some indication that data responses may not be valid. However, it important to note that in reassessing the constructs of social desirability and internalized classism, such an outcome may be somewhat expected. According to Johnson and Morgan (2016), issues related to socially desirable response are more likely to occur when measures are comprised of items which are socially sensitive. It is colloquially understood that money and social class are not typically discussed. Therefore, it could be hypothesized that the more honest someone is in acknowledging the negative aspects of their experience as it relates to money, social class, finances, and wealth, especially when the experience is viewed with shame, and particularly as classist oppressive beliefs are being endorsed the less likely they are attending to portraying themselves in a socially desirable light. Simply put, to even acknowledge being poor can elicit rejection from others. Therefore, it might be hypothesized that speaking about social class, and particularly classist beliefs, is inherently responding in a less socially desirable way.

In addition to the aforementioned validity results, there were other validity results that did not support initial hypothesis and were more difficult to decipher. Interestingly, these results were all related to the DSIS and it subscales. It was expected that these analysis would provide evidence for construct validity. More specifically it was expected that the ICS-SE subscale would negatively correlate with the DSIS economic basic needs subscale, economic amenities subscale, and social prestige subscale. It was also expected that the ICS-NS subscale would negatively correlate with the DSIS Social prestige subscale. Instead, findings indicated no relationship between the ICS-SE and the DSIS economic-basic needs subscale or Social Prestige subscale. Furthermore, while the ICS-SE showed a small negative correlation to the DSIS

economic amenities subscale as expected, another unexpected positive correlation between the ICS NS and the DSIS Social Prestige subscale was revealed.

One possible explanation for the unexpected results regarding many of the hypothesized DSIS relationships is related to some weaknesses of the DSIS. More specifically, previous analysis of the DSIS and subsequent attempts of validation relied upon a subject pool predominantly consisting of middle class college students (Subich & Thompson, 2007). The subject pool of the present study was collected by specifically targeting working and lower class individuals. Furthermore, the present study purposively removed participants who identified as college students who relied on their parents for support from the subject pool. Therefore, the unexpected results involving the DSIS could be a reflection of a lack of generalizability of the scale to the current study's very different sample. In addition, the DSIS has a known confounding issue regarding the misinterpretation of its instructions (Subich & Thompson, 2007). Given the lengthy nature of the current study, it seems possible that participants may have misinterpreted the instructions with no chance for correction due to the online format.

Limitations and Future Research

This study was completed to fulfill a dissertation requirement. All research has limitations, and this project is not an exception. This research project is important and will likely contribute to the field of psychology by increasing opportunity for further research in the area of social justice, social equity, and oppression. However, in order to build upon the research of this study in particular, it is important to note the areas that may be improved upon in future endeavors.

One limitation to the study was that all the items of the scale were created from a single person's interpretation of the literature surrounding social class and internalized classism. The

scale development process would have likely benefitted from multiple perspectives to aid in ensuring appropriate breadth in the conceptualization of internalization as it is operationalized by scale items as well as reduced redundancy in items that had high similarity likely due to the availability bias of the primary researcher. Furthermore, attempts to recruit expert feedback were made at attempting prominent psychologists known to have expertise in the area of social class, but only one expert responded. Therefore, it is likely that further refinement in terms of wording and subtleties in the aspects of the latent variable that the items are attempting to target could be built upon in future studies by successfully recruiting and incorporating the knowledge of social class experts.

Despite efforts to recruit a diverse sample, the sample for this study collected is not representative of the larger population in the United States limiting the scale's utility and the finding's generalizability. The demographics represented by the sample certainly do not reflect the current U.S. population. Also, given the fact that participants had some requirement of being somewhat computer savvy, as well as likely have regular access to a computer, the generalizability of the sample data is certainly limited. In future studies improving upon the validity and reliability of the Internalized Classism Scale, attempts at acquiring a sample utilizing a variety of recruitment methods such as face to face recruitment at prominent social structures within and serving poor and working class communities (schools, workplaces, public resource offices, etc.) would be recommended to improve the generalizability of the results. Future studies also should examine the factor structure, reliability, and validity of the ICS across gender and ethnic groups to determine its utility.

Another area of weakness is the scales reliance on self-report. This is relevant in two important ways. As previously mentioned, it is not generally acceptable to discuss personal

finances and social class (Smith, 2010; Lott & Bullock, 2007). In addition, it is unknown what the impact of experiencing shame or embarrassment related to scale items regarding a topic that is generally not spoken about in polite society may have on responses. Furthermore, the study requested that people identify themselves in terms of social class as well as provide information regarding their socio economic determinants such as household income, education level, etc. as a means of targeting the appropriate population. It is unknown how honest or accurate participants were considering the sensitive nature of discussing finances in society.

Another limitation to consider is the difficulty in categorizing individuals by social class (Smith, 2010). This study primarily relied upon household income, education, and other socio economic (SES) indicators to generally target the appropriate population. However, it is known that SES indicators are not as accurate as other factors such as wealth as well as experiences of power and privilege. It is likely that this study would be much improved by targeting these factors more intentionally to ensure that the appropriate subject pool is gathered. It seems that future studies could utilize other important scales in the field which are more focused on report of experience related to one's status to better identify a participant's social class status.

It should also be noted, and is perhaps obvious in the writing, that this writer is personally invested in issues related to classism and oppression. As a person who grew up in poverty, has spent most of my life living close to the poverty line, and currently has immediate family members living in poverty, my view is certainly affected by experiences of classist oppression. In an effort to be transparent, many of the items included in the scale were inspired by considering social class literature and attempting to apply it to myself and the working class and poor people in my own life.

Implications

The purpose of this study was to contribute to current psychological research and literature related to social class. Specifically, this study focused on creating a psychometrically sound measure that displayed evidence that it was affectively measuring the latent construct of internalized classism. It is the intention that the Internalized Classism Scale will lead to a better understanding of internalized classism in lower income and working class individuals. A scale measuring internalized classism is anticipated to have a positive impact on the insight obtained by research focused on understanding how experiences of classism impact working class and poor people subsequently promoting further social class research and therefore, improving research supported practice and training.

Future research. Through the use of an empirically supported scale able to effectively measure the latent variable of internalized classism, the hidden psychological phenomenon can become visible. This new "visibility" of internalized classism allows it to be identified and then connected to other phenomenon and constructs (Devellis, 2012; Bryne, 2010). This then creates opportunity for conducting additional research that deepens the understanding of the detriment that classism may have on an individual. Future research is recommended to further refine this current scale. While the scale model does seem to adequately fit the data according to fit indices, it was beyond the scope of this project to gather additional data to conduct a confirmatory factor analysis on the modified scale. Furthermore, the reliability and generalizability of the model should be tested across subject pools recruited using more diverse techniques and targeting more diverse populations. In addition, due to the current studies mixed findings regarding the scale's validity, additional analysis will be important for further scale validation.

There are a number of exciting and important directions for research that future endeavors utilizing the Internalized Classism Scale could take. A potential future direction for research that would contribute to literature related to social identity, privilege, and oppression would be to investigate how scores on the internalized classism scale are related to the saliency of the social class status for subjects. In addition, research that examines internalized classism in conjunction with other internalized oppressions would likely contribute to literature regarding social status and intersecting identities. Furthermore, research that attempts to identify protective factors against internalized classism would yield beneficial information for improving the well-being of poor and working class individuals.

Practice and training. These aforementioned possibilities of research utilizing the Internalized Classism Scale may help generate more effective and appropriate interventions and treatment for individuals of poor and working class backgrounds. Research utilizing the ICS would likely lead to a greater understanding of the experiences of the working class and poor which can then improve the overall cultural competency of the field regarding this population. In addition, there is potential for research utilizing the ICS to increase awareness of potential effects of internalized classism on cross cultural supervision and training.

Furthermore, there is potential that this study may help lay the groundwork for helping mental health professionals with low income and working class clients to help identify if internalized classism or particular areas of internalized classism are a struggle that should be attended to in therapy. It is not intended that this scale be utilized as a clinical scale, especially at this point in the Internalized Classism Scale's development. Scales or measurements intended for clinical use typically require more stringent guidelines for development (Devellis, 2012). However, continued attention to the importance of recognizing internalized classism in clients is

likely to occur if research regarding class issues becomes more prominent. This research helps draw awareness to classism related issues, and specifically to internalized classism. It is hoped that continued research regarding classism and class related issues will deepen the understanding of the impact that classist oppression has on an individual's psychological well-being helping the field recognize that socioeconomic status affects much more than access to material and basic needs (Russell, 1996; Smith, 2010, Lott & Bullock, 2007, Lott, 2002).

Additionally, it is intended that this research is a starting point for a line of research that continues to recognize and see the human beings negatively impacted by a by classist oppression. Classism related issues are a social justice issue (Lott, 2002). This research and scale may contribute to improved action, practice, and training regarding social justice advocacy and social class. It is the intention that this research, contribute to research in the field that attempts to emphasize the value of working class and poor people in the U.S. as well as increases the compassion directed toward all working class and poor people in the United States. Increasing the perceived humanity and visibility of the working class and poor people may potentially awaken U.S. citizens to the need to address the inequity that pervades every aspect of our social system (Stephens, Markus, Phillips; 2014; Smith, 2010; DeAngelis, 2015).

On a more personal level, I hope that this research will help explain how it is that our country has become so divided on the political front. I believe that the social class system in the United States continues to support income stratification because the core beliefs fueling classism are internalized by most people in the United States. The very drive to improve individual socioeconomic status is often fueled by a desire to avoid the shame associated with perceived failure at attaining mobility or wealth, as well as, the fear of being lumped in with the rest of

"those" people (Smith, 2010; Lott & Bullock, 2007). Classist beliefs immobilize the common people from taking action (Stephens, Markus, Phillips, 2014).

If the American people choose to believe in a just world, a world where you get what you deserve, then when it appears that people have it bad, it is assumed that they caused it or they are flawed (Smith, 2010; Lott & Bullock, 2007). This allows us to make excuses for why it is that we do not do more as a country for our poor and working class. This also encourages continued support for those that are well off because it is assumed that they are deserving. Furthermore, we, as a society, attempt to distance ourselves from the poor (Lott, 1996). We do not want to be associated with "those people". "Those people" are so bad that they deserve those conditions of life. In fact, we fear being associated with the lower class to such an extent that we attempt to prove that we deserve to be held above "those people". We don't want their life, and if we believe that they are so badly flawed and deserving of their circumstances, it gives us a sense of comfort and security that we can't possibly end up in their circumstances because we are "so different" from "those people". In addition, it helps us free ourselves from the guilt of seeing fellow humans suffering while we go on about our lives.

These beliefs in a just and fair world keep us from looking out into the world for the problem, but instead encourages us to look at ourselves as individually deserving of our circumstance (Smith, 2010; Lott & Bullock, 2007). The problem is not about deserving. We all deserve. As we were all trying to prove our worth and point out how we are different from "those people" who have it bad and are obviously causing problems, the rich elite and super powerful continue to accumulate wealth. Our problem as a country is our belief that the tenets espoused in classism are true (Smith, 2010; Lott & Bullock, 2007). However, this does not seem to recognize that those at the top, are the problem, and they don't want to be like any of us. That most average

U.S. citizens are viewed as “those people” by the elite. Our shame and desire to prove our own worthiness for a secure life causes us to turn against each other as we vie for the affection of the elite (Marx and Engels, 1848/2015). I think that we continue to do this because we are aware of the power structure in the United States. Internalized Classism tends to reduce personal empowerment (Russell, 1996; Smith, 2010). This makes us feel as if we are alone and unable to change our lives, and especially the system supporting oppression (Stephens, Markus, & Phillips). If we are willing to turn to the people around us, join together as equals, equal in deserving, we begin to deteriorate the system of power that says that someone like Donald Trump is more deserving than all the rest of us (Marx and Engels, 1848/2015).

As Bailey (2011) explained in his own research about internalized racial oppression, the oppressed can become the oppressors. It is time to say that the majority of the U.S. people are oppressed by the rich elite, and while we were fighting to say who is more deserving of scraps, the rich and powerful accumulate wealth unchecked and at our expense. We are all deserving and valuable, and it is time to point to those super powerful, rich, elite and recognize that there is nothing indicating that they are any more deserving than the rest of us. We the people have much more in common than those people who have purchased their leadership over us (Marx and Engels, 1848/2015). Let’s be okay with being associated with those around us, let us wonder about those above that we have never seen work along side.us. Let us realize that the scarcity we fear stems not from those other people around us. Poor people have very little opportunity to affect the lives of the masses (Smith, 2010; Lott & Bullock, 2007; Zweig, 2004, and Stephens, Markus, Phillips, 2014) classism and other forms of oppression amongst the common people are misdirected anger (Marx and Engels, 1848/2015). The problem in terms of equity resides in the

fact that the people in power who are least like the majority of all U.S. citizens have determined that their access to increasing their billions is more valuable than anything else.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this dissertation project attempted to contribute the current and limited psychological research available that addresses classist oppression. The Internalized Classism Scale attempts to provide an avenue for gathering empirical evidence that illustrates the profound affect that experiences of classism can have on individuals. The measure was developed using common EFA and CFA strategies, and at its current state, is likely an acceptable measure of internalized classism. Still, there is room for improvement and refinement for the Internalized Classism Scale, and any attempts at refinement will only add to the insight and clarity gained in regards to understanding internalized oppression. Internalized classism and other internalized forms of oppression are the invisible chains that keep systems of power in place and prevent individuals from social mobility and equity. In order to remove these chains, we must first see them.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Demographic Questionnaire

Are You Older than 18?
Yes
No

Are you currently a college student whose parents help with tuition or other expenses?
Yes
No

Is your total yearly household income more than $75000?
Yes
No

What is your Age?_____

Gender
Male
Female
Other
Choose not to identify

Number of household members
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9 or more

Yearly Household Income
Under $20,000 per year

$20,001-$40,000 per year
$40,001 -60,000 per year
$60,001-$80,000 per year
$80,001-$100,000 per year
$100,001-$140,000 per year
Over $140,001 per year

What best describes your relationship status?
Single
In a relationship, not living with partner
In a relationship, living with partner
Married
Divorced
Widowed

With what social economic class do you identify with?
Lower Class
Working Class
Middle Class
Upper Middle Class
Upper Class

What Race/Ethnicity do you identify with?
White/Caucasian
Black/ African American
American Indiana/Alaskan Native
Arabic
Asian
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
Hispanic/Latino
Other
Multiple/Biracial

What is your highest level of education

I did not finish high school
High school or GED
Took some college classes but did not get a degree
Associate's Degree or vocational 2 year degree
Bachelor's Degree (BA,BS)
Master's level degree (MA, MS)
Professional degree (JD, MD, PsyD, DO, DMV, DDS, etc)
PhD

What is your employment status?

Student and not employed
Student and employed part time
Student and employed full time
Employed full time and not going to school
Employed part time and not going to school
Unemployed and not going to school
Stay at home parent or housemaker
Retired

Do you rent or own your residence?

Rent
Rent to own
Own
I am homeless
None of the above

My household income….

Does not cover my basic needs
Gets me from paycheck to paycheck
Takes care of basic needs with some ability to save or splurge
Allows me to live comfortably
Allows me to live better than most

In terms of saving money for the future
I am able to save for retirement
I do not make enough money to save for my retirement at this time

What is your gender
Female
Male
Non-binary/ third gender
Prefer to self-describe
Prefer not to say

Appendix B

Expert recruitment e-mail

Hello _____,

You have been identified as a potential expert reviewer given your scholarship in the area of social class. Thus, I am inviting you to review the following items for a scale development project that is part of my dissertation. This project has been approved by the University of North Dakota IRB (IRB-201412-153) and is being supervised by Dr. Rachel Navarro.

The purpose of this scale is to measure internalized classism experienced by people of poor and working class status from a variety of different social identities, including but not limited to race, ethnicity, gender identity and expression, sexual orientation, veteran status, language, ability, spirituality, religion, and political ideology.

The Task should take no longer than 40-60 minutes depending on the nature of your responses. The review process will occur online via a Qualtrics survey. The majority of the survey is simple point and click multiple choice and Likert scale response. There is space at the end of the survey to provide written feedback. You may take a break and return to the survey as necessary. I ask that you complete the survey by (01/25/2017). For each item, I am asking you to provide expert evaluation regarding clarity, grammar, conciseness, content validity, and essentialness. Furthermore, I ask that you rate the scale in terms of comprehensiveness and extensiveness as far as how well the entire scale addresses internalized classism.

If you are open to acting as an expert reviewer, I thank you! Please use the following link (https://und.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_e9EDWgtpRtiWzTn)
I appreciate any time, effort, and feedback that you put forth on my behalf. Beyond the necessity of this step to completing my dissertation, this project and subject matter is a line of research that I am passionate about and expect to continue working on in my future as a professional psychologist. I look forward to hearing back from you.

Sincerely,
Aleska Hagan, M.S.
Doctoral Candidate,
Department of Counseling Psychology and Community Services
University of North Dakota

Appendix C

Sample of Expert Feedback Survey Components

You have been identified as a potential expert reviewer given your scholarship in the area of social class. Thus, I am inviting you to review the following items for a scale development project that is part of my dissertation. This project has been approved by the University of North Dakota IRB (IRB-201412-153) and is being supervised by Dr. Rachel Navarro.

The Task should take no longer than 40-55 minutes depending on the nature of your responses. The purpose of this scale is to measure internalized classism experienced by people of poor and working class status from a variety of different social identities, including but not limited to race, ethnicity, gender identity and expression, sexual orientation, veteran status, language, ability, spirituality, religion, and political ideology.

For each item, I am asking you to provide expert evaluation regarding clarity, grammar, conciseness, content validity, and essentialness.

Construct Definition: The phenomenon of internalized oppression can be understood by looking at Salazar and Abrams' (2005) exploration of how the Racial/Cultural Identity Development model may be applied to marginalized individuals from a variety of different backgrounds including lower class. In their description of the model, they described internalized oppression as internalized marginalization and stereotypic messages which culminates into negative beliefs of oneself. Russell's (1996) definition of internalized classism expands on the concept of internalized oppression. She specifically defined it as "the process by which a person's experience as a member of the poor or working classes becomes internalized and influences her self-concept and self-esteem as well as her relationships with others". She reported that one common way that internalized classism presents itself is in a felt sense of being different. A sense of shame and wrongness are components of internalized classism as well. These feelings stem from being associated with the poor who are connected to many negative attributions. Additionally, Russell (1996) argued that this wrongness is connected to the idea of deserving the hardships associated with being poor.

Based on the above explanation of internalized oppression and internalized classism, I hypothesize that there are four components of internalized classism:

Negative Stereotypes- broad negative beliefs about the poor and working class such as that they are lazy, irresponsible, addicts, promiscuous, violent, unmotivated, etc.

Belief in a just world- belief that the poor and working class deserve or are responsible for their circumstances

Devaluation and Difference of those below middle when compared to the middle class and above- belief that the poor and working class are different and less valued than those of the middle class and above.

Shame or Embarrassment associated with being below middle class- it is shameful or embarrassing to be identified as or to have similarities with the poor and working class.

Instructions:
For Each Item: Please select one or more of the categories for each of the items. Please rate the degree of how essential you believe the item to be to the scale. Please rate the clarity, grammar, and conciseness of each item.

After reviewing all items, please provide a rating for the level of exhaustiveness of the entire scale in terms of how well you believe that it evaluated and attended to the concept of internalized classism

People who are **below middle class** are lazy

- [ ] Negative stereotypes
- [ ] The belief in a just world
- [ ] Devaluation of those below middle class when compared to middle class and above
- [ ] Shame or embarrassment associated with being below middle class

How essential do you believe the item is to the scale?

- ○ Not essential
- ○ Somewhat essential
- ○ Very essential

Please rate the item for clarity, grammar, and conciseness.

Very Poor	Poor	Insufficient	Acceptable	Good	Very Good

Clarity	○	○	○	○	○	○
Grammar	○	○	○	○	○	○
Conciseness	○	○	○	○	○	○

Please provide a rating for the level of exhaustiveness of the entire scale in terms of how well you believe that it evaluated and attended to the concept of internalized classism.

○ Very comprehensive and exhaustive

○ Moderately comprehensive and exhaustive

○ Minimally comprehensive and exhaustive

○ Not comprehensive and exhaustive at all

What other specific feedback do you have for the items or scale?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Thank you so much for your time and effort on my behalf! I appreciate your feedback! You have earned good research karma. Thank you for your help.

Appendix D

Internalized Classism Scale,

70 Item Scale as administered in EFA

Please carefully read each of the following statements and select the option that best represents your level of agreement to each statement.

For statements that contain the words, **BELOW MIDDLE CLASS:** BELOW MIDDLE CLASS is referring to anyone that does not meet the lowest cut-off, guidelines, or generally accepted standards or qualifications to be considered middle class in the United States of America. For example, those who are poor or working class would be considered **BELOW MIDDLE CLASS.**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
A middle class person would likely be a better friend than a person who is BELOW MIDDLE CLASS.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Anyone can be at least middle class	○	○	○	○	○	○
At a high school reunion, I would be ashamed to admit that I am BELOW MIDDLE CLASS.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS is a sign of being a failure	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS is embarrassing	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being middle class is better than being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○

Being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS is shameful.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Everyone should aim to own a house or apartment	○	○	○	○	○	○
Getting a four year college degree is better than getting a trade certificate.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am embarrassed of family members who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am more similar to middle class people than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS when it comes to values, goals, manners, and beliefs.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am not like most poor or working class people.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would be disappointed in my life if I never ended up at least middle class	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would be embarrassed to invite a “rich” person over to my house.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would expect a doctor or college professor to be a better person than a mechanic or plumber	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would feel embarrassed talking about my current job with a group of doctors, lawyers, professors, or other such professionals	○	○	○	○	○	○

I would prefer that my child become a doctor or college professor over a mechanic or plumber.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would likely be more proud of my child if they became middle class or above rather than poor or working class.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would prefer to live in a neighborhood of middle class people than a neighborhood of people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
In a conversation with a “rich” person, I would be embarrassed to talk about how I grew up.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Middle class is more ideal than being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
Middle class people are happier than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
Middle class people deserve more respect than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
Middle class people make better leaders than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
Middle class workers are harder to replace than people who are	○	○	○	○	○	○

BELOW MIDDLE CLASS at a company						
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS and on welfare are not motivated to get off the system	○	○	○	○	○	○
People prefer interacting with middle class people because they are more “polished” than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People prefer interacting with middle class people because they are more well-spoken than people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People prefer interacting with middle class people because they are not as impulsive as people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People prefer interacting with middle class people because they are not as loud as people who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because of the bad choices that they make	○	○	○	○	○	○
People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because they are irresponsible	○	○	○	○	○	○

People who are ambitious will not remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS are lazy	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be messy, unclean, or sloppy looking	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS are not as intelligent as others	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS are to blame for remaining below middle class.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be abusive of their children/family/partner	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be crazy or have mental health issues.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be criminals	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be crude	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be immoral	○	○	○	○	○	○

People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS expect handouts	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS have houses or apartments that are messy, unclean, or untidy	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS purposely have children to get more money from welfare	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS that receive government assistance (i.e., welfare, food stamps, disability) are likely "cheating the system"	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be dysfunctional	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be neglectful of their children/family/partner	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be promiscuous	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are good people will not remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are intelligent will not remain below BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○

People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS are “trashy”	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS want to live off of disability, food stamps, or welfare rather than work	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be addicts/alcoholics	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be unhealthy	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who have graduated from college deserve more respect than those who have not	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who have graduated from high school deserve more respect than those who have not	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who work hard enough will not remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
Poor and working class people want to become middle class	○	○	○	○	○	○
People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because there is something wrong with them.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because they are bad at planning	○	○	○	○	○	○

People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because they are bad at saving money	○	○	○	○	○	○
People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because they are unmotivated	○	○	○	○	○	○
People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because they do not value education	○	○	○	○	○	○
People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because they spend their money on things they do not really need	○	○	○	○	○	○
The American dream is possible for everyone	○	○	○	○	○	○
The jobs of the middle class are more interesting to hear about than the jobs of the poor or working class.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Working in factories or labor is embarrassing.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Working in fast food or retail is embarrassing	○	○	○	○	○	○
A good job or career requires a college education	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix E

Internalized Classism Scale,

Final 22 Item Scale

Internalized Classism Scale (ICS)

Please carefully read each of the following statements and select the option that best represents your level of agreement to each statement. For statements that contain the words, **BELOW MIDDLE CLASS:** BELOW MIDDLE CLASS is referring to anyone that does not meet the lowest cut-off, guidelines, or generally accepted standards or qualifications to be considered middle class in the United States of America. For example, those who are poor or working class would be considered **BELOW MIDDLE CLASS.**

	StronglyDisagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be crazy or have mental health issues.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be criminals	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be abusive of their children/family/partner	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS are "trashy"	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS want to live off of disability, food stamps, or welfare rather than work	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS expect handouts	○	○	○	○	○	○

People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be messy, unclean, or sloppy looking	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS that receive government assistance (i.e., welfare, food stamps, disability) are likely "cheating the system"	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS are lazy	○	○	○	○	○	○
People remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS because there is something wrong with them.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are BELOW MIDDLE CLASS tend to be unhealthy	○	○	○	○	○	○
At a high school reunion, I would be ashamed to admit that I am BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would feel embarrassed talking about my current job with a group of doctors, lawyers, professors, or other such professionals	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would be disappointed in my life if I never ended up at least middle class	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS is shameful.	○	○	○	○	○	○

I would be embarrassed to invite a "rich" person over to my house.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being middle class is better than being BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
Working in fast food or retail is embarrassing	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who work hard enough will not remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
The American dream is possible for everyone	○	○	○	○	○	○
People who are ambitious will not remain BELOW MIDDLE CLASS	○	○	○	○	○	○
Anyone can be at least middle class	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix F

Differential Status Identity Scale

DIFFERENTIAL STATUS IDENTITY SCALE

Compare yourself to what you think the average citizen of the United States is like. Please indicate how you compare to the average citizen in terms of the items below using the following scale:

Very Much Below Average,	Below Average,	Equal,	Above Average,	Very Much Above Average
-2	-1	0	+1	+2

For example, if you believe you are equal to the average U.S. citizen in terms of the financial resources needed to pursue a high-quality university education, you would mark "0" to item 1 below.

1. Ability to give your children (now or in the future) additional educational experiences like ballet, tap, art/music classes, science camp, etc. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
2. Ability to afford to go to the movies, restaurants, and/or the theater on a regular basis -2 -1 0 +1 +2
3. Ability to join a health club/fitness center -2 -1 0 +1 +2
4. Ability to afford regular dental visits -2 -1 0 +1 +2
5. Ability to afford dry cleaning services on a regular basis -2 -1 0 +1 +2
6. Ability to travel recreationally -2 -1 0 +1 +2
7. Ability to travel overseas for business and/or pleasure -2 -1 0 +1 +2
8. Ability to shop comfortably in upscale department stores, such as Saks Fifth Avenue -2 -1 0 +1 +2
9. Potential for receiving a large inheritance -2 -1 0 +1 +2
10. Ability to secure loans with low interest rates -2 -1 0 +1 +2
11. Ability to hire professional money managers -2 -1 0 +1 +2
12. Ability to go to a doctor or hospital of your own choosing -2 -1 0 +1 +2
13. Ability to hire others for domestic chores (e.g. cleaning, gardening, child care, etc.) -2 -1 0 +1 +2
14. Ability to afford prescription medicine -2 -1 0 +1 +2
15. Ability to afford elective surgeries and/or high-cost medical examinations, such as MRIs or CAT scans -2 -1 0 +1 +2

Compare what is available to you in terms of type and/or amount of resources to what you believe is available to the average citizen of the United States. Please indicate how you compare to the average citizen in terms of the type and amount of resources listed below using the following scale:

Very Much Below Average,	Below Average,	Equal,	Above Average,	Very Much Above Average
-2	-1	0	+1	+2

For example, if you believe you are equal to the average U.S. citizen in home(s), you would mark "0" for item 1 below.

1. Home(s) -2 -1 0 +1 +2
2. Land -2 -1 0 +1 +2
3 Stocks and Bonds -2 -1 0 +1 +2
4. Money -2 -1 0 +1 +2
5. Cars -2 -1 0 +1 +2
6. Computers -2 -1 0 +1 +2
7. New Appliances (Washers, Dryers, Refrigerators, etc.) -2 -1 0 +1 +2
8. Amount of Education -2 -1 0 +1 +2
9. Quality of High School(s) Attended -2 -1 0 +1 +2
10. Life Insurance -2 -1 0 +1 +2
11. Quality of Health Insurance -2 -1 0 +1 +2
12. Savings -2 -1 0 +1 +2
13. Maids or Cooks -2 -1 0 +1 +2
14. Close Connections to the Rich and Powerful -2 -1 0 +1 +2
15. Quality of Health Care -2 -1 0 +1 +2

Compare yourself to what you think the average citizen of the United States is like. Please indicate how you compare to the average citizen in your ability to do the things below using the following scale:

Very Much Below Average,	Below Average,	Equal,	Above Average,	Very Much Above Average
-2	-1	0	+1	+2

For example, if you believe you are equal to the average U.S. citizen in your ability to be respected and heard by others in your community, you would mark "0" to item 1.

1. Contact people in high places for a job or position. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
2. Contact people who can help you get out of legal problems. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
3. Start in a high-profile position of responsibility. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
4. Get information and services not available to the general public. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
5. Control how your group is represented in history, media, and the public. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
6. Receive a fair trial. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
7. Become a millionaire by legal means. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
8. Control the type and amount of work of others. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
9. Control the salary and compensation of others. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
10. Influence the laws and regulations of the your state or city/town. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
11. Influence state or federal educational policies. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
12. Influence the policies of a corporation. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
13. Influence where and when stores are built and operated. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
14. Influence where and when waste treatment facilities are built and operated. -2 -1 0 +1 +2
15. Influence the decision-making of foundations, charities, hospitals, museums, etc. -2 -1 0 +1 +2

Compared to how society values or appreciates the average U.S. citizen, how does society value or appreciate your . . . ?

Much Less	Less	Equal	More	Much More
-2	-1	0	+1	+2

1. Ethnic/racial group -2 -1 0 +1 +2
2. Socioeconomic group -2 -1 0 +1 +2
3. Nationality -2 -1 0 +1 +2

Compared to how society values or appreciates the average U.S. citizen, how does society value or appreciate the . . . ?

Much Less	Less	Equal	More	Much More
-2	-1	0	+1	+2

1. Neighborhood in which you live -2 -1 0 +1 +2
2. Type of home you live in -2 -1 0 +1 +2
3. Places where you shop -2 -1 0 +1 +2
4. Places where you relax and have fun -2 -1 0 +1 +2
5. Type and amount of education you have -2 -1 0 +1 +2
6. Type of car you drive -2 -1 0 +1 +2
7. Position you hold in society -2 -1 0 +1 +2

Compared to how society values or appreciates the average U.S. citizen, how does society value or appreciate your . . .?

Much Less	Less	Equal	More	Much More
-2	-1	0	+1	+2

1. Physical appearance -2 -1 0 +1 +2
2. Occupational success -2 -1 0 +1 +2
3. Financial success -2 -1 0 +1 +2
4. Physical abilities -2 -1 0 +1 +2
5. Economic background -2 -1 0 +1 +2

Appendix G

Patient Health Questionnaire-9 (PHQ-9)

Name _____ Date _____

Over the *last 2 weeks*, how often have you been bothered by any of the following problems?	Not at all	Several days	More than half the days	Nearly every day
1. Little interest or pleasure in doing things	0	1	2	3
2. Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless	0	1	2	3
3. Trouble falling or staying asleep, or sleeping too much	0	1	2	3
4. Feeling tired or having little energy	0	1	2	3
5. Poor appetite or overeating	0	1	2	3
6. Feeling bad about yourself—or that you are a failure or have let yourself or your family down	0	1	2	3
7. Trouble concentrating on things, such as reading the newspaper or watching television	0	1	2	3
8. Moving or speaking so slowly that other people could have noticed? Or the opposite—being so fidgety or restless that you have been moving around a lot more than usual	0	1	2	3
9. Thoughts that you would be better off dead or of hurting yourself in some way	0	1	2	3

(For office coding: Total Score ____ = ____ + ____ + ____)

Appendix H

The Shame Inventory

The questions below are about *overall* shame feelings that you may experience.
1. Circle the number which indicates *how often* you typically experience shame.

Never	Seldom	Occasionally	Often	Always
0	1	2	3	4

2. Circle the number which indicates the *intensity or severity* of shame that you typically experience.

None	Slight	Moderate	Considerable	Extreme
0	1	2	3	4

3. To what extent does shame negatively affect the quality of your life?

No Effect	Slight Effect	Moderate Effect	Considerable Effect	Extreme Effect
0	1	2	3	4

This is a list of situations and behaviors that may be related to the experience of shame for you. Please write a number (between 0–4) beside each statement which indicates the intensity of your shame about that event. If the statement does not apply to you, write an "X" beside the statement.

X = Does Not Apply to Me
0= No Shame
1= Slight Shame
2= Moderate Shame
3 =Considerable Shame
4= Extreme Shame

Rate
0-4 A time when I . .

_____ 1. Was laughed at in front of others
_____ 2. Was criticized in front of others
_____ 3. Cried in front of others
_____ 4. Made a scene in public
_____ 5. Lost something important
_____ 6. Had sex with someone when I didn't want to
_____ 7. Forced/coerced someone to have sex with me
_____ 8. Had an affair/was unfaithful/was sexually promiscuous
_____ 9. Was sexually harassed
_____ 10. Made a suicide attempt/threat or harmed myself on purpose
_____ 11. Didn't know answer to a question I felt I should know
_____ 12. Was caught saying negative things about others
_____ 13. Overate or ate unhealthy/high fat food

_____ 14. Missed an important appointment
_____ 15. Was praised for something I didn't do
_____ 16. Didn't live up to a really important standard of mine
_____ 17. Didn't live up to other's standards
_____ 18. Told a lie
_____ 19. Broke a promise
_____ 20. Committed a crime
_____ 21. Knew someone talked badly about me behind my back
_____ 22. Received a compliment
_____ 23. Found out s
_____ 24. Was turned down for a date/request to spend time with someone
_____ 25. Could not afford something
_____ 26. Was slow to learn something
_____ 27. Hurt someone emotionally
_____ 28. Hurt someone physically
_____ 29. Hurt an animal
_____ 30. Was physically or sexually abused
_____ 31. Saw a picture of myself/saw myself in mirror
_____ 32. Was afraid to do something
_____ 33. Failed at work
_____ 34. Lost a friendship
_____ 35. Had fantasies of violence or death
._____ 36. Had sexual/kinky fantasies
_____ 37. Betrayed a friend
_____ 38. Was betrayed by someone I care about
_____ 39. Hated a family member
_____ 40. Had an abortion
_____ 41. Had a private aspect of myself exposed
_____ 42. Other, describe:
_____ 43. Not being in an intimate relationship
_____ 44. Not having children
_____ 45. Being gay/lesbian/bisexual
_____ 46. Feeling unattractive/ugly
_____ 47. Having a mental disorder
_____ 48. Being a certain race/ethnicity
_____ 49. Not having good career
50. Being adopted

Appendix I

Short Form Social Dominance Orientation Scale

There are many kinds of groups in the world: men and women, ethnic and religious groups, nationalities, political factions. How much do you support or oppose the ideas about groups in general? Next to each statement, write a number from 1 to 10 to show your opinion.

Extremely Oppose 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Extremely Favor

1. In setting priorities, we must consider all groups.
2. We should not push for group equality.
3. Group equality should be our ideal.
4. Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.

Appendix J

Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is *true* or *false* as it pertains to you personally.

1. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.
2. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
4. I have never intensely disliked anyone.
5. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.
6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
7. I am always careful about my manner of dress.
8. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.
9. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen
I would probably do it.
10. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
11. I like to gossip at times.
12. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
13. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
14. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.
15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
16. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
17. I always try to practice what I preach.
18. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people.
19. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
20. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.
21. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
22. At times I have really insisted ori having things my own way.
23. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.
24. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.
25. I never resent being asked to return a favor.
26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
27. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.
28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
29. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.
30. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
31. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.
32. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved.
33. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

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