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Racial Identity, Skin Tone, and Intragroup Racism among African American Males

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Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

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Abstract

Skin tone of an African American is a key primer for prejudicial attitudes among Whites, with darker skin tones eliciting more negative reactions. No previous studies have examined this phenomenon with African Americans as the evaluators. Social identity and social categorization theories, and Cross' theory of nigrescence, provided theoretical frameworks for this study. It was proposed that male African American observers' evaluations of another African American male may depend not only on the skin tone of the target (job candidate) and the quality of his credentials, but also on the observer's own skin tone and stage of racial identity. Using Harrison and Thomas' methodology with White observers, 136 self-identified African American males were randomly assigned to 1 of 3 conditions that varied skin tone (light, medium, dark) of the male shown in a photo and the quality of the resume (lower, higher) presented with that job candidate. In addition, each participant was assessed for stage of racial identity and self-reported skin tone. After viewing the photo and resume, participants evaluated the job candidate on hireability, trustworthiness, expertise, and attractiveness. There were no statistically significant findings. Outcomes suggested possible problems with the experimental materials that had been used previously with White observers. Further, there were problems with gaining adequate sample sizes for the person variables, suggesting a need for larger samples for future research. Despite the nonsignificant statistical findings, intraracial discrimination continues to be an important area for future study. Indeed, understanding intraracial social judgments related to skin tone among African Americans has as much social significance as understanding evaluations of African Americans by Whites and others.

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Acknowledgements

I am finally able to sit back and look back over this marathon that I have just completed. I am glad this process has finally come to a happy ending. This is the day I get the opportunity to write a note of thanks, a finishing touch to my dissertation. It has been a period of intense learning for me, not only in the scientific arena, but also on a personal level. I would like to reflect on the people who have supported and helped me so much throughout this time in my life.

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Carlton Lewis

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

The study of racism and race relations has long been an area of interest within the United States and much of the world. Interactions between African Americans and Whites have garnered intense focus throughout American history (Branch & Young, 2006; King, Messner, & Baller, 2009). Many of African Americans' self-definitions have reflected Whites' traditional stereotypes of them (Markovitz, 2004). These Anglocentric stereotypes of African Americans have been based on prototypes for racial classification such as skin tone and other physical features (Hochschild, 2007). Such stereotypes also have involved assumptions by Whites regarding intelligence, character, and social worth of African Americans (Ford & Ferguson, 2004). Stereotyping is not only an intergroup process but an intragroup process as well. However due to concentrated efforts, intergroup relational processes between Black and White people historically garnered more focus than intragroup processes within the African American community.

While attention has been given to interracial processes, less is known about intraracial prejudice and discrimination. Intraracial racism includes acts of discrimination, prejudice, and racism against other members of the ethnic/racial group one is born into (Cokley, 2002). The purpose of this research was to investigate intraracial racism as related to skin tone among contemporary adult African Americans. This study is socially significant in that it can help to understand how racial identity interacts with skin tone to influence intraracialism within the African American community throughout the United States. Intraracial racism threatens the stability of the

African American community. Chapter 1 is organized to present the background of the problem: theoretical foundations, gaps in the literature, purpose of this study, definition of terms, social significance of the study, and summary.

Background

Racial discrimination has affected and continues to affect the African American community in a variety of ways. From Africans' early arrival on American soil in 1619, their social roles as slaves began a long history of dehumanization (Erguner-Tekinalp, 2009), suppression of natural emotions related to autonomy and dignity (Lammers & Stapel, 2010), and relative powerlessness in terms of self-definition (Lammers & Stapel, 2010). Even after formal emancipation from slavery in 1863, African Americans continued to live within an American social and legal system that supported and tolerated discrimination against subordinate groups (King, Messner, & Baller, 2009). Enforcement of these social standards occurred in many states through malign neglect, which involved various forms of violence, including lynching and other tools of intimidation directed at any who might challenge social control (King, Messner, & Baller, 2009).

Processes of social discrimination between African and Whites have been supported by societal hyper-identification of real or imagined differences (Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2004). Race is a social construct, based on symbolic meaning and attached to differences in relation to dominance and oppression. Prototypical markers such as skin color and stereotypes are emphasized for each group; these prototypical markers and stereotypes then support and maintain given roles, responsibilities, and a place in the social hierarchy (Abraham & Appiah, 2006; Pechman, 2001).

While greater societal attention has been paid to prejudice and discrimination between racial groups, especially Whites versus Blacks, less is understood about how these processes also play out within a racial group. Questions remain of how African Americans define themselves within a historical context defined by others, in particular, Whites, and whether there are processes within the African American community that mirror interracial prejudices and discrimination. Also, it is unknown whether African Americans demonstrate intragroup prejudice based on skin tone, mirroring traditional markers of interracial prejudice such as expressions based on stereotypes and skin color underlie the purpose of this study.

Theoretical Foundation

Intragroup race relationships develop very early on in life (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). People tend to be around other individuals who are similar to themselves. The first interactions most people have with others typically are the interactions they have with their families (parents, siblings) or extended families, most of whom share a variety of similarities, including biological similarities. However, social experiences begin to inform the individual not only regarding his or her value and meaning within groups of similar others, but also relative to other groups (Cokley, 2002; Helms, 1995). Such social classifications may be defined by race, socioeconomic status, age, and other socially meaningful markers (Harrison & Thomas, 2009).

Social Identity Theories

According to Tajfel and Turner (1986), social identity consists of three major processes: social categorization, social identity, and social comparison. Social identity is

viewed as a portion of one's self-concept attained through perceived membership in a social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). An individual's need for categorization and social comparison is related to the need to maintain high self-esteem (Turner, Brown, & Tajfel, 1979). Strong group identification often promotes identity formation, self-esteem, and the ability to cope with developmental problems (Tragakis & Smith, 2010). A fundamental assumption is that people want to feel good about themselves and the group to which they belong (Tajfel et al., 1971; Turner, 1975; Turner et al., 1979). However, positive benefits of social identity are especially related to identity with a group that is valued in comparison with other groups; by contrast, individuals who view their in-group as negative, usually on the basis of how that group is defined by others, often do not experience these advantages due to their social identity and may try to disengage from that group (Tajfel et al., 1971; Turner, 1975; Turner et al., 1979). A plethora of strategies are employed by members of disadvantaged groups to attain positive social identity and reduce negative impacts. Another relevant concept that also addresses social categorization is self-categorization theory, as it is closely related to social identity theory. Self-categorization theory creates a distinction between personal and social identity and identifies them as different levels of self-categorization. Self-categorization theory explains how emergent properties of group processes can be explained through a shift in self-perception from personal to social identity (Turner, Oakes, Haslem, & McGarty, 1994). Self-categorization is fluid, variable and context dependent as social comparisons and self-categories are relative to a frame of reference (Turner et al., 1994).

In sum, both social identity and self-categorization theories help to explain the importance and situational influence of social identity on self-definitions and actions.

Development of social identity begins early in childhood and is a dialectic between the need to be a part of a group and finding one's own individuality. Identity is constructed through cognitive, evaluative, and emotional social interactions and processes (Turner, 1975). The cognitive component deals with the recognition of belonging to one's group and evaluative focuses on the value attached to said group, while the emotional component deals with affective components of attitudes group members hold toward insiders and outsiders.

Once a person develops social identities, he or she uses those social identities as sources of continued self-knowledge through processes of social comparison. Individuals tend to compare themselves to others when they need to judge their abilities or opinions against an external standard (White, Langer, Yariv, & Welch, 2006). These individual comparisons can be at the group level as well when attempting to understand how social groups fare in relation to other social groups. These social comparison processes have been found to serve as coping mechanisms, negative affect regulators, and self-enhancement tools, and also are used to elevate social status (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007; White et al., 2006). However, social comparison also can lead to negative outcomes; in fact, it often may lead to unhappiness (White et al., 2006). The social comparison effect is twofold: when looking down the ladder, an individual feels better about self, but when looking up the same ladder, the individual tends to feel worse about self (Festinger, 1954). Group membership continues to be highly important as will be

discussed briefly here and in Chapter 2. What is less clear, however, is the impact of these downward comparisons at the group level. According to Branscombe, Harvey, and Schmitt (1999), those who recognize the negative views others have placed on their group membership are likely to internalize a negative evaluation and have lower self-esteem. As McCoy and Major (2003) indicated, several theoretical perspectives in social psychology predict that experiencing prejudice will damage the self-esteem of its targets. However, attributions to prejudice also have been shown to indirectly enhance wellbeing by encouraging minority group identification (Branscombe et al., 1999). One important question that stems from this intragroup literature is the impact that negative societal views can have on intragroup prejudice. Relative deprivation theory is a view of social change and movements, in which people take action for social change to acquire something that others own and believe they should have (Walker & Pettigrew, 1984).

Racial Identity Theories

Racialism refers to how individuals cognitively organize perceptions of the world around racial categories that are believed to have indisputable characteristics (Cokley, 2002). Cokley (2002) said internalized racialism was not merely Black self-hatred, but the internalization of negative stereotypes about one's racial group. In order to overcome internalized racialism, one begins the process of racial identity development (Helms, 1995). A more self-affirming and realistic group identity follows the process of racial identity development. William E. Cross created the developmental model for racial identity, which then evolved into his revised nigrescence theory (Vandiver, Cross Jr, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002). The original model included five stages of

development: preencounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, internalization, and internalization-commitment. The model was later condensed to consist of four stages with stages four and five (internalization and internalization-commitment) being combined (Vandiver et al., 2002). Another change from the original model was that mental health outcomes were no longer linked explicitly to the different stages (Cokley, 2002).

Vandiver (2001) said that Cross' model described the process of moving from Black self-hatred to Black self-acceptance while affirming and accepting a Black identity in an American context. During stage one of the revised model, preencounter, the African American has immersed him or herself in the dominant culture and does not focus on race as a factor in daily interactions (Vandiver et al., 2002). The person in this stage of racial development views the world individualistically and does not really consider racial group involvement (Vandiver et al., 2002). In order to assimilate into the dominant group, the individual in this stage of development directs more focus toward the dominant group; thus, less focus is paid to one's own racial group. Miseducation is a term commonly mentioned within this stage to account for the stereotypical mindset Black people have about their own African American community (Cokley, 2002). The miseducated identity internalizes negative stereotypes (i.e., criminality, sexual deviance) about being Black (Cokley, 2002). Cokley (2002) indicated the preencounter self-hatred identity holds extremely negative views about Black people and ultimately is anti-Black and self-hating. Vandiver (2001) indicated that self-hatred regarding Black identity is founded on an individual's negative views about being Black.

The second stage, encounter, typically is entered when race is brought to the forefront and the African American begins to recognize the role of race in American society and the ascriptions and consequences that come with it (Cokley, 2002; Vandiver, 2001). The questioning of beliefs held in the preencounter stage is often tied to an episode or series of episodes involving racism that challenge and motivate the individual to reexamine the prominence of race in his or her life, as well as the influence of race (Cokley, 2002). The result of recognition of negative social definitions of being Black might include experiences of negative self-identity, shame, disillusionment, and resignation. For others, this awakening leads to the reconsideration of one's racial identity and propel the person into the immersion-emersion stage (Vandiver, 2001).

The third stage, immersion-emersion, is a process of redefinition, and during this process, the individual begins to search for a positive identity. This transition is twofold in that the individual first immerses him or herself into Black culture, glamorizing everything about the African American culture (Vandiver, 2001). The second part of this stage is the rejection and demonizing of European American culture and everything White (Vandiver, 2001; Vandiver et al., 2002). One outcome of intense involvement in the African American culture and Blackness is Black nationalism (Vandiver, 2001). Cross (1991) later moved Black nationalism to the internalization stage.

During the fourth stage, internalization, the individual embraces a Black identity along with at least two other identity categories (Vandiver et al., 2002). The two identities of stage four can vary from Black nationalism to inclusive multiculturalism. During this stage, the individual moves beyond separation by group, but instead looks to

build coalitions with all diverse cultural groups (Vandiver et al., 2002). The individuals within this stage are seeking positive social change, and movement into this stage is viewed as more psychologically healthy based on the original model (Vandiver et al., 2002).

Gaps in the Literature

Skin tone and other physical features present a challenge to those in a less valued group in that they are visible and immutable features that serve as instant cues which may trigger or prime cognitive stereotypes, related assumptions, emotional reactions, and behaviors (Breland, 1998). Social categorization is the process of differentiating those who do and do not belong to a social class on the basis of prototypical characteristics (Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Tarrant et al., 2001). The separation that is evident is based not on individual or personal diversity, but on the evaluation of limited, specific, and socially-defined classification markers (Tarrant et al., 2001). Skin tone and other physical features are used as prototypes for racial classification within American society (Hochschild, 2007). Such racial classifications are paired with stereotypes and assumptions that have social consequences, such as those who are classified as White have superior intelligence, character, and social worth relative to those who are classified as Blacks (Ford & Ferguson, 2004).

Research on this topic largely has focused on interpersonal perceptions of White observers evaluating Blacks. Harrison and Thomas (2009) conducted an experiment to examine the effects of skin tone on others' evaluations. They manipulated the skin tone (light, medium, dark) of a hypothetical male or female job candidate in a series of photo

images that were observed by participants. In addition, each image was presented either with a resume with high or low job qualifications. In general, when predominately White observers rated the candidates, a hypothetical job candidate with darker manipulated skin tones received more negative evaluations than the same stimulus picture with lighter skin tones (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). This research was able to identify that the light-skinned individuals were more accepted and received preferential treatment by groups of predominately White observers.

Less is known about how African Americans evaluate other African Americans who vary in skin tone and other characteristics such as qualifications. Early research by Clark and Clark (1939) revealed how negative racial stereotypes were internalized by African American children in terms of concepts regarding their own relative worth: the darker the skin tone, the more negative the evaluation of a stimulus doll. While these kinds of findings with African American children highlighted the cost of interracial prejudice and discrimination, the majority of research looking at the effects of skin tone on interpersonal evaluations has investigated interpersonal perceptions by White observers when evaluating a photo of an African American stimulus person who differed in skin tone. When non-White observers were included, their data were not analyzed separately, as the study was not investigating the effects of skin tone on non-White observers' interpersonal perceptions.

Watson, Thornton, and Davidson (2011) investigated identification with race among African Americans using evaluations of Black models in advertising. The photographic image of the Black model's skin tone was varied from light to dark. Watson

et al. (2011) found that Black observers with high ethnic identification evaluated the light-skinned Black model advertisement more favorably in terms source credibility and attitude than Black observers with low ethnic identification. Thus, the more one identified as being Black, the more negative the evaluations of darker skinned Black model advertisement. The reason may be due to the fact that those with high ethnic identification evaluated the light skinned-model more favorably because light-skinned models are typically the primary source of information and evaluation in advertisements targeted to diverse consumers (Watson et al., 2011).

Brown (2004) considered African American observers' own skin tones in relation to their evaluations of African American stimulus photos which varied in skin tone. Limited research today suggests that both African and Whites make different judgments based on skin tone (light, medium, or dark; Abraham & Appiah, 2006; Atkinson, Brown, Parham, Matthews, Landrum-Brown, & Kim, 1996; Hill 2002; Keith and Herring, 1991). However, it is important to investigate further how an African American's own skin tone and racial identity may interact to influence potential responses in terms of intragroup racialism.

Purpose of This Study

The key purpose of this experimental quantitative study was to examine how situational and person variables affect African American observers' perceptions of another African American. Following the work of Harrison and Thomas (2009), the situational variables that were manipulated included the skin tone and the qualifications of a hypothetical job candidate. Qualifications are important in that they may be

considered more objective, than subjective, forms of information. However, for this study, two-person variables also were studied as possible moderators of interpersonal perceptions: the observer's own skin tone and his stage of racial identity.

Hypotheses

Although this study was not a direct replication of the Harrison and Thomas (2009) study, as the African American population was utilized for this study, the experimental methods of Harrison and Thomas were used. Hypothesis 1 predicted a replication of their findings. Hypotheses 2 and 3 examined possible moderators of interpersonal evaluations.

H_o1: There will be no interaction effect in terms of perceptions of observers between the candidate's skin tone and the quality of his or her credentials.

H_{a1}: Candidate's skin tone will moderate the effect of the quality of his credentials on the perceptions of observers. In essence, it is expected that the positive effects of the higher quality resume will be greatest for the candidate with the lightest skin tone, while the negative effects of the lower quality resume will be greatest for the candidate with the darkest skin tone in terms of observers' perceptions of the candidate.

H_o2: Evaluations of the African American stimulus candidate will not vary in relation to the African American observer's own stage of racial identity.

H_a2: In general, value of skin tone as a marker of race will vary according to the observer's own stage of racial identity as an African American. Those observers who devalue their own race (Stage 1 Pre-encounter) should evaluate the darker skinned African American candidate significantly less positively than the lighter skinned African

American candidate. By contrast, those observers who devalue Whites relative to African Americans (Stage 3 Immersion-Emersion) should evaluate the lighter skinned African American candidate less positively than the darker skinned African American candidate. However, those observers who have less focus on the race/racial features of the candidate (Stage 4 Internalization/Black acceptance) will show the least differences in their evaluations of the darker skinned and lighter skinned African American candidates.

H_o3: Evaluations of the African American stimulus candidate will not vary in relation to the observers' own skin tone.

H_a3: Based upon the similarity hypothesis, it is expected that those whose own skin tone is generally more socially valued, that is, lighter toned skin, will value the candidate like himself most positively, while those whose own skin tone is least valued, that is, darkest skin tone, will value the candidate like himself least positively. That is, light-skinned African American observers will particularly favor the light skinned candidate, while the dark-skinned African American observers will particularly devalue the dark-skinned candidate.

Limitations and Assumptions

Limitations

Limitations in any research largely revolve around threats to external and internal validity (Campbell & Stanley, 1963). External validity involves the degree to which the results of a study may be generalized beyond the specific participants in the study. Ways to increase external validity include unbiased sampling from the target population. The target population for this sample was limited only to those who were reachable for

recruitment with the resources available and then volunteered for this research. Further, all recruiting was limited geographically to areas within the immediate community and surrounding areas (Eastern New Mexico and West Texas). Recruitment for this study targeted both local residents and individuals from the armed forces who also frequent the recruitment sites. Finally, in order to maximize similarity of characteristics, only males were eligible as participants.

Threats to internal validity were evaluated next. History (outside influences during time of study), maturation (naturally occurring changes over the course of the study), and mortality (dropping out before end of study) were risks because the final study ended up taking two meetings for participants who completed the pretest and then the experimental portions. However, there were very few who did not participate in both parts. When any participant chose not to complete the experimental session, another volunteer was assigned randomly to that session in his place.

While the experimental material was presented in a way that would not be obvious to participants, some may have become aware of the purpose of the study while filling out the questionnaire. A posttest question was added during debriefing to assess the participants' assumptions about the purpose of the study. Experimental stimuli and instrumentation could present some threats to internal validity; however, the evaluator was consistent in presentation of the instructions and stimuli not to bias the results. Statistical regression did not apply to this particular study, as extreme groups were not the focus of selection. Selection bias also was not an issue as participants were assigned randomly to the treatment conditions.

A situational variable related to the stimuli also must be acknowledged: participants were shown a photo of the stimulus person rather than seeing a live individual. In addition, there may have been ecological validity in this presentation as some initial decisions regarding hiring may be made from written materials with photos.

Assumptions

First, it was assumed that each participant would answer openly and honestly. Second, it was assumed that all participants would have sufficient reading and comprehension skills to understand and follow all instructions, and complete all written assessments.

Definition of Terms

The following are key terms relevant to this study:

Discrimination: The behavioral component of racism; it involves purposefully oppressing another group or individual based on one or multiple differences that are real or imagined (Nelson, 2009).

Internalized racialism: The internalization of negative stereotypes about one's racial group (Cokley, 2002).

Interpersonal perception: Process whereby one forms an impression of another based on beliefs, inferences, and attributions one makes about others based on a variety of perceived similarities and differences (Huston & Levinger, 1978).

Intragroup racism: Also known as racialism, this refers to processes of racism directed at members of the racial group with whom the perceiver identifies (Cokley, 2002).

Negative stereotype threat: Occurs when one plays out known negative expectations which are based on negative stereotypes, such as those related to race (Steele & Aronson, 1995).

Prejudice: The attitudinal component of racism; it involves biased and preconceived opinions about individuals based on negative stereotypes (Nelson, 2009).

Race relations: How different groups with racially-based social meanings interact (Howard, 2000; Tajfel et al., 1971).

Racial identity: A component of social identity which evaluates the self in relation to others of the same racial group membership, as well as those with other racial group memberships. It is assumed to vary by stage of development (Helms, Jernigan, & Mascher, 2005; Vandiver, 2002)

Racism: The belief that racial differences produce an inherent superiority or inferiority of a particular race (Nelson, 2009).

Skin tone: The lightness or darkness of one's skin (Brown, 2004).

Social categorization: The process of differentiating those who do and do not belong to a social class on the basis of prototypical characteristics (Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Tarrant et al., 2001).

Social comparison: A key social process in which humans are motivated to evaluate the self in comparison with others (Festinger, 1954).

Social identity: The extent to which one identifies in terms of group membership; or a portion of one's self-concept attained through perceived membership in a social group (Howard, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tarrant et al., 2001).

White privilege: An invisible and often overlooked condition that has helped to reinforce distancing between Black and White groups (Hays & Chang, 2003).

Social Significance

The dynamics of racism continue to be a social issue due to the fact that they can victimize individuals through prejudice and discrimination. Historically, one thinks of interracial discrimination, particularly between African Americans and Whites. Once society has a clearer understanding of these intraracial phenomena, society is in a better position to find ways to prevent and intervene, much the same way American society has responded to interracial prejudice and discrimination.

Summary

The goal of this study was to fill the gap in the literature to better understand the impact skin tone and racial identity play in terms of intragroup racism within the African American community. Because racial tensions historically have been high, it is understandable that research has paid more attention to intergroup racism rather than intragroup racism (Erguner-Tekinalp, 2009, Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2004. Chapter 2 will provide an overview of the historical legacy of racism against African Americans. In addition, Chapter 2 will cover topics relevant to intraracial racism regarding identity formation (social and racial), skin tone bias, racialism, and interpersonal perceptions. Chapter 3 will present details regarding the methodology for this study. Chapter 4 will detail the results of the analyses to test the research hypotheses, and Chapter 5 will summarize and discuss the findings in the context of previous theory and research, as well as the need for ongoing research in this socially significant area.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The study of race relations, defined as how different racial groups interact, has long been an area of interest in the United States and much of the world. Intergroup relations are best defined as the interactions between groups, while intragroup race relationships are best defined as the interactions within a racial group. However, intragroup race relationships involving elements of racism, prejudice, and discrimination are less identifiable and not well understood. Stereotypes are considered by social psychologists to largely be cognitive beliefs whereas prejudice refers to a more affective evaluation of a social group. The term discrimination for this subject is best described as the act, practice, or an instance treating one different than the other (Nelson, 2009). This literature review will focus on the topic of intraracial racism, specifically prejudice and discrimination within the African American community as related to skin tone.

This literature review is organized into four sections. The first section presents an overview of Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory. Particular areas of interest include the processes of personal and group social identity in terms of evaluations of self and others. The second section discusses the African American experience, discrimination, prejudice, racism, and its physiological and psychosocial affects. The third section focuses specifically on racial identity and the development of the African American social identity. The fourth section describes skin tone bias and cultural mistrust within the African American community. The review was accomplished by thoroughly searching the following electronic databases: Academic Search Premier, PsycARTICLES, SAGE Journals online, and SocINDEX. Specific keywords included *superordinate groups*, *inclusive identity*, *intergroup relations*, *tolerance*, *in-group projection*, *social identity*,

social identity theory, *racism*, *prejudice*, *discrimination*, *cultural mistrust*, *racial identity*, *Henri Tajfel*, *John Turner*, and *skin tone*.

Social Identity

Social identity is defined as the intersection of one's personal sense of self and identity as a member of a complex social network of group identities, characteristics, roles, beliefs, values, and other social processes (Frable, 1997; Turner, 1975; Turner et al., 1979). Identity describes not only what one is like, but also how one differs from others; further, identity is processual (continuously evolving) and multiple (Howard, 2000). That is, identity involves many aspects that coalesce to create an experience of one identity. Identity is defined as a unique combination of personality characteristics and social styles by which one is recognized and defines the self (Tsang, Hui, & Law, 2012).

Identity is both that which makes an individual unique and what makes one a member of a group by virtue of generic characteristics shared by members of that group (Haslam, Oakes, & Turner, 1999). Tragakis and Smith (2010) said identity is how an object represents its authenticity. However, one's authenticity as related to racial identity may carry different values and meanings, depending on the situational social definitions (Frable, 1997). Here, identification as a member of a group (social self), or reference group orientation (RGO), may present conflicts in the individual's experience of personal identity (PI; Cross, 1991). Brewer's (1991) optimal distinctiveness theory proposed that individuals are motivated to maintain a balance between inclusion within a group and personal distinctiveness. Self-categorization theory creates a distinction between personal and social identity and identifies them as different levels of self-categorization. Self-

categorization exhibits how emergent properties of group processes can be explained through a shift in self-perception from personal to social identity (Turner et al., 1994). Self-categorization is fluid, variable, and context dependent as social comparisons and self-categories are relative to a frame of reference (Turner et al., 1994).

Social identity is the extent to which one identifies in terms of group membership (Howard, 2000; Tarrant et al., 2001). Groups comprise multiple individuals who, while also being personally unique, share some prototypical characteristics for common categorization. For example, gender is a differentiating characteristic for group identification. Individuals can vary along many other dimensions, including physical, which may be related to the general categorization of gender (e.g., height, musculature, aggressiveness, sexual orientation). Within these two distinct gender groups that are defined by classification prototypes, significant variations and possible subgroupings exist. Other identities include but are not limited to race, occupation, and familial classification.

Tajfel and Turner's Theory of Social Identity

The topic of social identity has been of interest in social psychology for many decades. Key theorists in this area include Henri Tajfel, John C. Turner, and others who followed in their footsteps. Tajfel's (1974) original model sought to explain how social categorization is related to within-group favoritism and out-group prejudice. Tajfel likened the processes to those experienced by various groups during the Nazi years:

> The fundamental question was, if people seek positive social identities, what do they do if they are defined negatively in an unequal social world: as Jews in an

> anti-semantic world, blacks in a racist world, women in a sexist world? (as cited in Reicher, 2006, para. 6)

In an original experiment, Tajfel et al. (1971) demonstrated that categorization as a member of one group, even based on some arbitrary criterion produced favoritism for one's own group, but not necessarily outgroup devaluation. A person only needs to perceive oneself as a member of a social group in order to identify with that group (Tajfel et al., 1971). Reicher (2006) posed an important question: What does a person do if living in a world where that person's group is devalued? Social identity theory asserts that individuals who view their ingroup as negative tend to disengage from that group (Tajfel et al., 1971; Turner, 1975; Turner et al., 1979). When more objective means of disengagement (such as changing one's race) are not possible, only psychological methods remain for freeing oneself (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). Disengagement with social identity theory is as much a mental as it is a physical process; a person needs only to perceive oneself as being a part of a particular group and different from another to induce a sense of group membership (Hogg et al., 1995). Individuals tend to disengage or disidentify with a lower status group in order to gain psychological entry to the dominant group with positive/higher status (Hogg et al., 1995). This will be discussed in greater detail later in Chapter 2. Tajfel and Turner (as cited in Tarrant et al., 2001)) asserted that social identity consisted of three major processes: social categorization, social identity, and social comparison.

Social categorization is the process of differentiating those who do and do not belong to a social class on the basis of prototypical characteristics (Nesdale & Flesser,

2001; Tarrant et al., 2001). The separation that is evident is based not on individual or personal diversity, but on the evaluation of limited and specific socially defined classification markers (Tarrant et al., 2001). Cognitive processes are central to social categorization. First, one must have information about socially defined group membership, characteristics, meaning, roles, and related data. Second, the categorization is then used to clarify the situation. Once the situation is clarified, then an examination of the similarities and differences between the people involved are assessed, and group membership for self and for others is identified. The way categorization works more specifically is that individuals first categorize themselves and others into groups (Cunningham, 2005). This categorization is typically based on maximizing similarities and minimizing differences between people in the same group (Cunningham, 2005). The second aspect of categorization is minimizing similarities and maximizing differences between people in different groups (Cunningham, 2005).

The process of social comparison is related to social categorization. Social comparison was suggested by Festinger (1954) as a key social process—a process in which humans are motivated to evaluate self in comparison with others. According to Festinger (1954), social comparison theory describes the process through which people come to know themselves by evaluating their own attitudes, abilities and beliefs in comparison with others. A similar process has been described at the group-level by social identity theory. One's attitudes and perceptions toward in-group members (that is, the group with which the individual shares self-identified membership) and out-group members are biased by a desire to enhance personal self-esteem. This desire is why

members seek to be part of the most exceptional group or at least a group that is comparable to the most superior group (Nesdale, & Flesser, 2001; Tarrant et al., 2001; Turner, 1975; Turner, Brown, & Tajfel, 1979). Turner et al. (1979) also noted how categorization and social comparison are related to a need to maintain a high self-esteem. Here, those who match the standard example of one's own group receive positive responses, but those who do not match the standard example of one's group receive less favorable responses (Cunningham, 2005). This of course stays with the theme of elevating one's self-esteem by involvement within the group.

Social identity is viewed as a portion of one's self-concept attained through the perceived membership of a social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social identity integrates the internalized perception of "us" with the internalized knowledge, beliefs, affects, and behaviors related to that social group identity. Strong group identification tends to promote identity formation, self-esteem, and the ability to cope with developmental problems (Tragakis & Smith, 2010). According to Chatzisarantis, Hagger, Wang, and Thogersen-Ntoumani (2009), individuals who strongly identify with a group embed their personal identity within social identity and adopt the norms of the group. McCoy and Major (2003) indicated that individuals who are aware that their group carries a vulnerability to prejudicial treatment might protect their self-esteem from negative outcomes by attributing negative outcomes to group discrimination and not an internal dig at oneself. Social identity is a developmental process, which begins early in childhood. It is dialectic between the need to be part of a group, but also to find one's individuality.

Turner (1975) found that this identity is constructed through social interactions and processes. Social identity has three aspects: cognitive, evaluative, and emotional. The cognitive component deals with the recognition of belonging to a group. In recognizing, one decides to be a part of the group, assimilates their traits, and stay in the group (Tanti, Stukas, Halloran, & Foddy, 2011). These groups are not permanent, but can be and often are changed, especially when one evolves and needs more than what the group is able to provide.

The second part of social identity is evaluative, that is, the recognition of the value attached to the group. As mentioned earlier, individuals seek to have the group to which they belong to be viewed positively, and if this view does not occur, then one evaluates the benefit of remaining in that group (Tarrant, 2002). Weigert, Teitge, and Teitge (1986) believed that social identity may depend on the present situation, a person's structural values, and interpersonal mood at the time. Identity is a construction process and it is one that must be continuously upgraded for the identity to survive, which is why group membership is not permanent.

The third part of social identity is emotional, which deals with the affective components of attitudes group members hold toward insiders and outsiders. As noted previously, people have a need to sustain a high self-esteem, which is often accomplished through group comparisons. The group that one belongs to constitutes an important element of social identity and self-concept (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Group memberships take on qualitative values and affective valences (Cunningham, 2005).

Social Comparison Processes and Outcomes

According to White et al. (2006), social comparisons provide many positive functions including self-enhancement. Just as one's self-concept is affected by comparison of the personal self with others, it is also affected by comparing one's own group with other relevant groups. According to Davis (1959), relative deprivation theory asserts that individuals tend to make more intragroup comparisons in order to protect self-esteem, especially when one's group is devalued. Social comparison theory and the theory of relative deprivation work in tandem: where the theory of relative deprivation treats the consequences for the group where perceptions and evaluations are unambiguous, while social comparison treats the consequences for the individual of comparisons where perceptions and evaluations are ambiguous (Davis, 1959). If nothing is gained from the comparison, such as important information for making decisions, it is not worth the effort (Howard, 2000). According to White et al. (2006), individuals tend to compare themselves to others when they need to judge their abilities or opinions against an external standard. Group comparison is virtually no different than comparisons on an individual level. Consider the issues of self-concept and self-esteem; when comparison of one's own group (in-group) is favorable to another group (out-group) one is satisfied, but if the comparison is not favorable then one is dissatisfied (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007; White et al., 2006). According to White et al. (2006), social comparison has been found to serve as a coping mechanism, negative affect regulator, self-enhancement tool, and also used to elevate social status. The need for social comparison stems from one's need to reduce the uncertainty surrounding one's

own abilities (White et al., 2006). Although comparing groups or individuals is conducted on a daily basis, it is not always a benefit to one's mental health. Gibbons and Buunk (as cited by White et al., 2006) discussed the "dark side" of frequent social comparisons and reported that depression, low self-esteem, and neuroticism correlated to seeking social comparison.

Many people constantly compare themselves to others, and these same people report that they are vastly unhappy (White et al., 2006). White et al. (2006) went on to find that in making frequent social comparisons, one was more vulnerable to an affective response. The individual's affect was positive when making a downward social comparison, but negative when making an upward social comparison. The social comparison effect, simply put, means when looking down the social ladder an individual feels better about him or herself, but when looking up the social ladder an individual tends to feel worse about him or herself.

A fundamental assumption is that people want to feel good about themselves and the group to which they belong. Everyone strives toward achieving and maintaining a positive social identity (Tajfel et al., 1971; Turner, 1975; Turner et al., 1979). Social and cognitive processes serve this goal. For example, consider the mechanisms of the "self-fulfilling prophecy: (a) perceivers adopt beliefs about targets, (b) perceivers behave toward targets as if these beliefs are true, (c) targets fit their behavior to perceivers' overtures, and (d) perceivers interpret targets' behavior as confirming their beliefs" (Snyder & Stukas, 1999, p. 277). It is important to note that one does not keep the same perceptions over a lifetime. Perceptions change based on the situation or the roles

individuals or groups play in their interactions. Assessments are ongoing regarding the social roles one plays, the acceptance or rejection to the status of that role, and the willingness to conform to that role. The consequences to these evaluative interactions can be informational, emotional, and behavioral (Snyder & Stukas, 1999). These types of interactions have the potential to lead to discrimination in service to a self-fulfilling prophecy (Snyder & Stukas, 1999). Snyder and Stukas (1999) found that people (perceivers) tend to act in ways that cause the other person (target) to act in ways that will cause the target's behavior to conform to that of the perceiver. While engaging in the self-fulfilling prophecy, one may not view how their behavior impacted the situation; all one may see is that the individual or group acted exactly the way he or she believed they would act (Snyder & Stukas, 1999). In a complementary manner, "negative stereotype threat" (Steele & Aronson, 1995) occurs when the target plays out the known negative expectations of the other, again reinforcing negative stereotypes.

As previously noted, perceptions change depending on the situation or individual and based on how an individual's role shifts across a lifetime. In addition, the definition of roles themselves may also change within a social system. This kind of change may involve changes in the prototypes associated with a role. For example, consider the changes over the past 50 years of the definitions of qualifications for the roles of firefighters and police officers. While once considered White male occupations, women and people of color are now considered appropriate candidates for these roles. In a social system, those who are elected to fill those roles may change over time. The changes in definitions of roles and role prototypes can be due to the availability of

adequate new recruits for the needed role: the lack of individuals exhibiting the requisite attitudes or beliefs of the group, change in demands, changes in available resources, and/or changes in social supports needed for performance of those roles can broaden definitions of eligibility and acceptability (Banton, 2011).

Legacy of Racial Discrimination in America

The aim of this section is to present a review of racial discrimination and how it has affected, and continues to affect, the African American community. Discrimination is the act of purposefully oppressing another group or individual based on one or multiple differences that are real or imagined (Nelson, 2009). According to Banks, Kohn-Wood, and Spencer (2006)**,** discrimination is associated with both mental and physical health symptoms among African Americans. Based on a similar premise that segregation (a result of discrimination) was inflicting African American children with a negative self-concept (Branch & Young, 2006), Thurgood Marshall a civil rights activist and counsel to the NAACP utilized the judiciary system to gain equality of African Americans. Thurgood Marshall argued a landmark case against the Board of Education or Topeka, Kansas. This case, Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka took on segregation and the unconstitutionality of the belief that separate could be equal within the school system. The Supreme Court ruling decided that separate was not equal and helped lead to integration within the United States School system. The impact of discrimination is both internal and external; for example, children who are told they are less, and given less, tend to believe they are worth less. Much social cognition occurs in an implicit mode (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). In a study by

Greenwald and Banaji (1995) the attitudes of individuals were examined to understand the extent to which stereotypes operate implicitly, outside the conscious mind (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Researchers found that White participants when using speed pairing "yes" responded reliably faster to white positive word pairing than to black positive word pairing (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995).

The consequences of implicit prejudice and stereotyping are viewed throughout the American legal system, as just one example. The legal system is an area where discrimination has been tolerated, as law enforcement has looked away when discrimination occurred against a subordinate group (King, Messner, & Baller, 2009). Racial violence has defined the interactions between the two groups (Black and White) seemingly since the inception of the United States of America. The first interactions were personally mediated, and discrimination was commonplace within society. Personally, mediated racism has slowly given way to institutional racism. Institutional power also becomes a weapon of discrimination, when those in power dictate what and who will be punished. An example of institutional racism is how law enforcement continues to allow racial violence and injustices against subordinate groups (King, Messner, & Baller, 2009). Malign neglect was a tool used in many states, which allowed the lynchings to go unprosecuted. Lynchings were a powerful tool of intimidation used against the Black population for social control (King, Messner, & Baller, 2009). Markovitz (2004) discussed in his writings how harsh and brutal lynchings were, and the message sent by this brutal act. Lynchings were meant to be social gatherings so that the power of the "White man", and the weakness of the "Black man," could be clearly demonstrated.

Lynchings were meant to convey to Black persons that they had no power and that White people were not obligated to respect any aspect of their lives. Lynchings were a final attempt in the emasculation of the Black male: Black men were objects, not men, and if they attempted to claim any privileges of manhood they risked being lynched. According to Markovitz (2004), during the race riots of 1900, a mayor in New Orleans made this statement about lynching:

> The only way that you can teach these Niggers a lesson and put them in their place is to go out and lynch a few of them, and the others will trouble you no more. That is the only thing to do—kill them, string them up, lynch them! (p. 3)

The lynchings were a form of social control through intimidation and violence and meant not merely for the control of an individual, but for the entire group. The fact that the law enforcement would often not prosecute and tolerated these inhumane acts made it difficult to feel safe; thus, social control was enforced.

Africans arrived on American soil in 1619 and from the time of their arrival they were subjected to many forms of dehumanization (Erguner-Tekinalp, 2009). Dehumanization is the act of stripping away an individual or group's human-like qualities (Erguner-Tekinalp, 2009). Dehumanization is used to help the powerful suppress natural emotions that they would normally feel toward other humans (Lammers & Stapel, 2010). This psychological process continues to affect many African Americans today (Fiske, 1993). The process of dehumanization means denying people the qualities that make them human, such as interpersonal warmth, emotions, and sensitivity to pain (Lammers & Stapel, 2010). A process such as this is not easily forgotten or easily rectified.

According to Erguner-Tekinalp (2009), hundreds of years of discrimination, slavery, oppression, and segregation created tense feelings between the two groups (African Americans and Whites). Indeed, even today, the majority of African Americans report experiencing some type of racial discrimination as part of their everyday lives (Erguner-Tekinalp, 2009).

From a historical perspective of discrimination, White people have distinguished themselves from Black people symbolically and culturally. This division was psychologically necessary to justify the oppressive relationships and create a superiority/inferiority complex (Banks, Kohn-Wood, & Spencer, 2006). Lammers and Stapel (2010) stated that the experience of power decreases perspective taking and causes people to be more closed to others. White privilege is an invisible and often overlooked condition that has helped to reinforce distancing between Black and White groups (Hays & Chang, 2003). It is said that White privilege is lived but not recognized by White people and therefore influences and limits racial interactions (Hays & Chang, 2003). The experiences of the African-American/Black population were shaped and continue to be shaped by cultural forces that have often demeaned, disadvantaged, and denied equal access and opportunity (Erguner-Tekinalp, 2009). Thus, characteristics that have strengthened generic social categorization as either White or Black have carried great weight during the decades of American racial interactions.

Historical Development of the Black Group Identity in America

Processes of social discrimination between African Americans and Whites have been supported by hyper-identification of real or imagined differences. The majority of

earlier research on African Americans focused on their experiences of discrimination in the United States of America (Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2004). The results of this work identified what came to be known as the "Negro self-hatred perspective" (Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2004, p. 77). Prototypical markers and stereotypes are emphasized for each group, and those who are identified as members of the respective group are accorded roles and their attendant rules, responsibilities, and place in the social hierarchy. Values and affective responses become associated with each group and members of that group (Smith & Hung, 2008). Those individuals who strongly identify with the target group have a higher likelihood of attributing negative outcomes to racial prejudice (Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2004). Also, when race is a central component of one's identity, African Americans are more likely to attribute ambiguous discriminatory events to race as opposed to when race is not a central component (Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2004).

As Rockquemore and Brunsma (2002) noted, race is a social rather than a biological construct. It is based on the symbolic meanings attached to differences in relation to oppression and domination. The definitions of Blacks as a group in America have evolved over the centuries, with the majority of the time focusing on devaluation relative to White America. In general, it is assumed that this devaluation has resulted in lower self-esteem among African Americans as a group. Kenneth and Mamie Clark felt that they observed these effects on self-esteem in their now classic 1939 study with Black children, who preferred White dolls over those that were Black (Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2004). However, since then, this idea of globally lower self-esteem among Blacks

has been challenged (Crocker & Major, 1989). Recent research shows that African Americans have a positive self-concept (Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2004). This difference between more current observations on self-esteem among Blacks with those of previous generations has been explained as related to differences in how Whites view African Americans today (Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2004).

Current stereotypes about Blacks, and possibly among Blacks, may be more related to socioeconomic status and the portrayals that are more common in the media. For example, since the civil rights activities of the 1960s, "Blacks are often stereotyped as angry and out of control with regard to their feelings and emotions" (Franklin, 2004, as cited by Carter, Pieterse, & Smith III, 2008, p. 102). This stereotype is reinforced by the relatively higher crime rates among certain groups of Blacks, in particular, Black males from lower socioeconomic groups (Brigham & Ruby, 1996; U.S. Census Bureau, 2012) that are reported in daily news reports. Similarly, the angry, criminal, hedonistic, and/or immoral Black is a common depiction in television programs, music videos, and other forms of entertainment (Rome, 2004). The image of the gangsta (slang for gangster) stretches as well to those who have power and prestige, such as Black professional athletes, artists, and music moguls (Lewis, 2008). A related stereotype that gained popularity in the south was the Black rapist (Markovitz, 2004). This stereotype was a way to justify the lynching of Black males. If these Black males were accused of raping White women then no justice system would think twice about questioning the lynching (Markovitz, 2004). The behavior of lynching of course played into the favor of the White majority as they attempted to emasculate the Black male and invoke the fear that they

were not safe anywhere. This stereotype continues to affect the Black male population as the mere thought of the Black male can evoke fear in many that do not know the individual (Lammers & Stapel, 2010). Lammers and Stapel (2010) found that if the target (Black male) is deindividuated, this increases the dehumanization process.

Another common stereotype is that African Americans are lazy or not as intelligent, which makes them less qualified than Whites. Some believe these qualities are why Blacks want affirmative action (Laar, Levin, & Sinclair, 2008). This type of stereotype does appear to have effects on academic achievement among disadvantaged Black youth (Steele, 1997). Stereotype threat is situational, and individuals are at risk of confirming negative stereotypes about one's own group (Steele, 1997).

More specifically, Arroyo and Ziegler (1995) found that group identification requires emotional attachment and may involve individual sacrifice. This often occurs when the individual has to make conflicting decisions in reference to maintaining the distinctiveness of the racial group or association with another social group or the larger society (Arroyo & Ziegler, 1995). The individual attempts to balance group identity needs and personal desires for positive relations within the larger society (Arroyo & Ziegler, 1995). When this does occur, feelings of alienation, anxiety, and loss of identity are all common symptoms when an individual struggles to find balance.

Physical Features, Skin Tone, and Prejudice

According to Hochschild and Weaver (2007), darker skin tones are viewed negatively compared with lighter skin tones. Historically, this view may be related to socioeconomic status. For example, original settlers in the American colonies were

northern Europeans who tend to have lighter skin tone. Native Americans, African slaves, immigrants from other parts of the world (e.g., southern Europe, Asia) all were groups that, over time, entered the American mix, with many being relegated to lower socioeconomic status by the northern European majority (Hochschild & Weaver, 2007; Huang, 2004). Huang (2004) reported that socioeconomic status was related to skin color among African Americans prior to the Civil War. In a day and age that is far removed from the end of slavery, it is difficult to believe that skin color bias is still in existence. However, many areas of life are affected when skin color and other facial features are factored in. The skin tone bias is well documented between African Americans and Whites (Huang 2004; Hochschild & Weaver 2007). The focus of interest for this discussion and study is skin color bias within the African American community. According to Huang (2004), skin color bias is still prevalent today and light skinned African Americans enjoy more privileges while dark skinned African Americans are more likely to receive more discrimination. The stereotypes that are common for African Americans when compared to Whites are also present when darker skin tone African Americans are compared to lighter skin tone African Americans (Hochschild & Weaver, 2007; Ruscher, Wallace, Walker, & Bell, 2010).

In general, media portrayals of individuals of different races have also exaggerated differences, which then further support differentiated social identities, discrimination, and prejudice. The media's portrayal of African Americans was often negative and comical (Johnson, 2009). In early cartoons, the Black person's physical features were vastly exaggerated or animalistic, such as extremely black skin,

unrealistically enlarged red lips, disproportionately big noses, extremely white teeth, or an animal-like appearance. According to Johnson (2009), when discussing murals and pictures within a text book, he stated that without equivocation Blackness can be characterized as blasphemous in that the characterization within those particular images resemble primates more than human beings. These depictions are properly characterized as disparagement humor, because it denigrates and belittles African American individuals and their social group (Ford & Ferguson, 2004). Many theorists believe that this type of humor has negative consequences at the individual/psychological level and also at the sociological level (Ford & Ferguson, 2004). The negative images of African Americans in the media continue to have a huge impact on how this group views itself; as, well as how others view the African American group as a whole.

Skin tone is a status changer: the lighter or darker a person is, has the potential to influence how that person or group of people will be perceived (Brown, 2004). Skin tone serves not only as a marker of status and social roles between the White and Black races, but within those who self-classify as Black/African American (Hochschild, 2007). Racism between groups is so widespread, that the Black community has not focused much of their energy on dealing with "intraracial racism." However, in the United States, darker skinned African Americans are disproportionately disadvantaged and have been for over a century: Dark skinned Blacks are more likely to have lower levels of education, income, and job status when compared to their lighter skinned counterparts (Hochschild, 2007).

A reason for this discrepancy in status, education, and income levels lies within the Black/ White racial divide. Maddox (2004) found the following:

> At its core, racial bias stems from the idea that White Eurocentric phenotypic characteristics (e.g., lighter skin & eye color, longer & straighter hair, narrower nose, and thinner lips) are preferable to features toward the other end of the continuum (e.g., darker skin color, kinkier hair, broader nose, fuller lips). (p. 383)

The relationship between racial bias and Eurocentric characteristics continues to be strong in being status changers in relation to skin tone. Skin tone is such a prominent feature that it is able to overshadow and transcend one's true knowledge and experience (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). The commitment to racial identity, to Blacks as a group, reduces Blacks awareness of skin color discrimination within their own group (Hochschild, 2007). The fight against racial hierarchy between groups supersedes the need to openly discuss and challenge the racial hierarchy of skin tone within the African American community. However, evidence suggests that African Americans (African) and Whites in the United States exhibited bias based on skin tone during the slavery era. The White Eurocentric features in African Americans were seen as evidence of European American ancestry (Maddox, 2004). The lighter skin tone helped to better the educational, social, and economic opportunities after slavery ended, due in part to the fact that the lighter skin tone was seen as having a white blood line.

Despite social, cultural, and political transformations of the twentieth century, studies continue to reveal the fact that skin tone plays a major role in the shaping of socioeconomic outcomes among African Americans (Hill, 2002). In the United States

alone, darker skinned African Americans continue to be disadvantaged (Hochschild, 2007). An example of socioeconomic shaping is, "Lighter-skinned African Americans are more likely to have higher status occupations, higher incomes, and more years of schooling than their darker skinned counterparts" (Hill, 2002, p. 77), an idea also supported by Brown (2004). This continues to be true even when parental characteristics and other variables related to adult socioeconomic status are considered. Other examinations regarding skin tone indicate that stereotypically Black traits are commonly linked to darker complexioned Black people as opposed to lighter complexioned Black people (Brown, 2004). Moreover, the research tends to indicate that racism in America goes beyond the White versus Black, and is also manifested in skin tone variation (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). Since the inception of slavery skin tone variation contributed to the division of the Black community. Rape was the primary way the mixing of races occurred in America and from there birth distinctions were made (Cunningham, 1997; Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002). Distinctions specified by the shade of one's skin tone. The mixing of races created the mulatto group which is mentioned. The mulattos were treated better by both African Americans and Whites than were their darker skinned counterparts. For example, the lighter skinned African American received better treatment (house slave) while the darker skinned African American was set out in the field (field slave) to work (Cunningham, 1997; Huang, 2004). These mulattos were selected based on their skin tone and treated better. Selective attitude/preferential treatment is still racism, but now more are aware of skin tone bias among African Americans. Contrary to Brown's assertions, Carter, Helms, and Juby

(2004) found that the types and forms of racism are still in existence, they have just become subtler and harder to detect.

Skin Tone and Intragroup Racial Prejudice

During decades of the 1970s and 1980s when Blacks were beginning to receive some of the educational and occupational benefits that had been deprived for so long, intragroup manifestations of skin tone bias became more evident (Maddox, 2004). These manifestations of intraracial racism were observed in Black schools and social organizations early on following the abolition of slavery. A variety of methods were used to rid or exclude darker African Americans from higher status positions (Maddox, 2004). The exclusions were implemented to maintain a distance between light and dark skinned African Americans, much like it is done with African Americans and Whites. The stereotypical Black physical features elicited greater racism attributions, greater hostile emotions, and more empathy for the target individual or group (Johnson, Ashburn-Nardo, & Lecci, 2012). According to Watson, Thornton, and Engelland (2010) skin tone is a distinct social construct which attributes meaning to light and dark complexions. Lightness historically and currently is associated with Whiteness, which tends to make these individuals more valuable than dark skinned individuals (Harvey, LaBeach, Pridgen, & Gocial, 2005; Watson, Thornton, & Engelland, 2010).

Self-Identification Among African American Children and Skin Tone

The issue of racism within the African American community will be examined, as racism tends to carry different beliefs and expression. A belief that is fostered by racism is that one is innately superior to others. An expression of racism refers to

discriminatory acts resulting from prejudice, and institutional racism refers to processes in which members of a particular race are kept in a subordinate position. According to Harrison and Thomas (2009), the average person acknowledges his or her race if asked to describe one's self based on five physical characteristics. Skin color is possibly the most noticeable identifier among humans, even more than gender. Gender may be emphasized or deemphasized with clothing and behaviors (Maddox, 2004), detecting an individual's racial classification is often easier, especially if the skin tone is more extreme (i.e., darker for African Americans, lighter for Whites).

Race as an identifier has many ramifications for those who are African American or European American, light or dark skinned. These ramifications can be either positive or negative, and in some cases the negative ramifications for one group can become positive when compared to another group. Harrison and Thomas (2009) talked about American societies, ability to localize and generalize each race into one grouping instead of acknowledging that diversity thrives within each of these groups. Whiteness in America is a representation of beauty whereas Blackness implies ugliness and incivility (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). The same privileges that are afforded to Whites when compared to African Americans are also afforded to light skinned African Americans when compared to dark skinned African Americans.

Developmental Processes of Self-Identity and Skin Tone

In now-classic research, Clark and Clark (1939) reported behaviors by children that they assumed demonstrated Black self-hatred. Their research suggested that African American children become aware of their skin tone at a fairly early point in development.

In fact, Clark and Clark (1939) noted that at each age level, African American children demonstrated a well-developed knowledge of what it means to be racially different, indicated by skin color: they found this awareness becomes associated with preferences and evaluations of good and bad. Specifically, when Clark and Clark looked at doll preference, they found that in general, Black children preferred to play with White dolls as opposed to Black dolls (brown toned) and considered the White doll to have a nice color, and to be nice, while describing the brown doll as being bad.

Clark and Clark (1950) proposed that with age, knowledge of racial differences develop and stabilize by age 7 years. When measuring self-identification in relation to age, children age 3 years were able to choose the doll that looked like them in terms of darkness/lightness of skin 61% of the time; children who were age 7 years in the study were able to choose the doll that looked most like them 87% of the time. The Clark study not only noted the skin tone of the doll but were attentive also to the skin tone of the child making the choice (Brown, 2009). The participants reported only 20% of the light skinned children chose the Black doll as looking like them. This was compared to 73% of the medium skin tone and 81% of the darker skin tone respectively (Jordan & Hernandez-Reif, 2009). In addition, the lighter-complexioned children showed more favoritism to the white doll than did the medium or dark-complexioned group (Brown, 2004). This observation revealed that within the study their existed biases or preferences based on skin tone. These findings along with many others at the time provided the needed boost to argue that racial segregation infused harmful anti-Black sentiments in Black children (Brown, 2004). Not only that, but it would seem that even young children began to

gravitate to what was going to potentially deliver greater reward (or avoid harm). This information provided the needed turning point to end segregation.

The Clark doll experiment was initially focused on Black and White doll preference; however, they also had other ideas as to how skin tone plays a role in preference (Brown, 2004). According to Brown (2004), the researchers in the doll experiment took into account and made every effort to visually assess the child participant's skin tone (light, medium, or dark). Clark and Clark (1939) recognized that the child's behaviors or choices might be influenced by the examiner's skin tone in relation to his or her own skin tone. For example, if the examiner was of darker skin tone, would the children choose the Black doll in an attempt to gain the approval of the evaluator or would the children's decisions be based solely on their own preferences. However, the researchers of the doll experiment did not systematically vary the skin tone/complexion of the examiner: the examiner was of medium skin tone/complexion (Brown, 2004). In addition to the doll preference exercises, Clark and Clark (1950) also used a coloring test to examine the pattern of dynamics which formed the racial preference and identification of these children. Clark and Clark (1950) found that self-identification in medium and dark-skinned children was different and more stable among light skinned children, especially if they resided in a part of the country with more restrictive social definitions of race. When the Clarks considered the region of the country where the children lived, they found no significant differences between children from the North and South in the awareness of racial differences. However, when a coloring exercise was used instead of asking about doll preference for child study

participants age 7 years, 80% of Southern children versus 60% of Northern dark-and medium-skinned children colored their preference brown (Clark & Clark, 1950).

Jordan and Hernandez-Reif (2009) found the following:

> The Clarks' research suggested that self-identification with the Black doll was related to the Black children's own skin tone, with the distribution for choosing the Black doll as looking like them being only 20% for light Black children, 73% for medium skin tone Black children, and 81% for dark skin tone Black children. (p. 389)

However, the actual shade of the Black doll is unknown. This is an important factor as it could potentially create validity issues, especially if the White doll resembled the child's skin tone more than the Black doll. When measuring self-identification in relation to age, the children age 3 years were able to choose the doll that looked like them 61% of the time (Jordan & Hernandez-Reif, 2009). Children age 7 years in the study were able to choose the doll that looked most like them 87% of the time (Jordan & Hernandez-Reif, 2009). Clark and Clark (1950) indicated, with age the Black children were able to become more accurate in their choosing the Black doll that was the most similar to them in skin tone. At each age level, the African American children demonstrate a well-developed knowledge of what it means to be racially different, as indicated by skin color and their doll preference (Clark & Clark, 1950). Clark and Clark (1950) found that with age the knowledge of the racial differences develop to the point of absolute stability by the age of seven. However, it left the examiners wanting to know more about the complex nature of skin tone preference/rejection.

As noted earlier, Clark and Clark (1950) provided early indications about developmental phases of self-identity among Blacks. Their findings suggested the following: while the majority of Black children preferred the white skin color and rejected the brown skin color, this preference decreased as the participants grew older (from ages four through seven, the oldest age of the children tested). Clark and Clark (1950) used a second strategy, a coloring test, to skin tone preference, Responses of the children's coloring activities were classified into three categories: reality responses, fantasy responses, and irrelevant or escape responses. The reality response consisted of the child coloring an outline drawing of a child with a color reasonably related to its own color. The fantasy response was designated when the child colored the outline much different (e.g., extremely lighter, white, yellow) from his or her own skin color. Finally, the irrelevant or escape responses were those in which the child colored the other three objects realistically, but when it came to coloring himself or herself the child colored his own representation or preference in a bizarre fashion (e.g., purple, red, green, etc.) The children were aware of what the outlined human figure meant as they tended to take great care in their coloring of the picture that was meant to represent them (Clark & Clark, 1950). Overall, with the exception of the escape responses, the children tended to color themselves with a noticeably lighter shade than their own. According to the Clarks (1950), at the age of five, the African American children are aware of the fact that being "colored" or Black in the American society is a mark of inferior status.

Gaps in Understanding of Developmental Patterns of Skin Tone Bias

While presenting provocative information, the research by the Clarks left several questions unanswered and has fueled decades of commentary and research. The Clark studies were replicated many times in the decades that followed. Findings continued to suggest that not only did Black children identify with their skin tone less readily than White children (Goodman, 1964), but they also rejected their own ethnic group more frequently, preferred White skin tone, and had internalized the norms, beliefs, values, and negative judgment of the majority culture about their own racial or ethnic group (Clark & Clark, 1947; Clark, 1955; Greenwald & Oppenheim, 1968; Lewis & Biber, 1951; Morland, 1962, 1966; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). In addition, the preferences were consistent for children in two age groups (4 to 5 years and age 9 to 10 years), suggesting that the biases are relatively stable. Spencer (2010) found that these dynamics are still alive and well among American children. The stimuli were drawings showing five children who varied in skin tone, from dark to light. Children (133, Black and White) were asked to pick the one who fit a description, such as the "dumb child" or "the smart child" (Spencer, 2012). The findings led to the following observation:

> Nearly 60 years after American schools were desegregated by the landmark Brown v. Board of Education ruling, and more than a year after the election of the country's first black president, white children have an overwhelming white bias, and black children also have a bias toward white (Spencer, 2012, para. 3).

Developmental Models of Racial Identity

Questions have remained about how skin tone is related to developmental processes of racial/ethnic identity among children. In addition, questions remain of how skin tone may continue to mediate or moderate intragroup attitudes and behaviors among adult Blacks (Cross, 1995). The conceptualization of what skin tone preferences mean is critical as well: Baldwin (1979) argued that the concept of Black self-hatred is too narrow in order to understand social and racial identity among Blacks. Social and racial identity is too broad a concept to be condensed into one concept explaining skin tone preference.

One of the most accepted models for the development of racial identity among African Americans has been developed by Cross (Vandiver et al., 2002). Cross' work in the 1990s led to the development of the Cross racial identity model, also known as the revised nigrescence theory. Cross' original racial identity model included five stages: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, internalization, and commitment. The model was later revised to consist of four stages, which describe the themes of the stages: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, and internalization. In particular, the internalization stage of the revised model combined stages four and five (internalization and internalization-commitment from the original model (Vandiver et al., 2002). Cross' racial identity model describes "the process of accepting and affirming a Black identity in an American context by moving from Black self-hatred to Black self-acceptance" (Vandiver, 2001, p. 165). Nigrescence is a French term meaning turning Black (Vandiver, 2001). According to Vandiver (2001) the basis of the nigrescence theory is that it defines the complexity of social groups used by the person to make sense of the

individual as a social being. The original model led to the development and use of the Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black (RIAS-B), which tended to make the nigrescence theory more accessible and practical (Vandiver et al., 2002).

Pre-Encounter Stage in Racial Identity Development

Original model. During the pre-encounter stage identities of Black individuals are based on the values of mainstream America (Vandiver, 2001). During this stage, Black individuals take on an Anti-Black and pro-White stance. This stage is comprised of the myth in which Blacks hate themselves, due to their low self-esteem, their impaired personality, and poor mental health functioning (Vandiver, 2001). According to Vandiver et al., (2002), Blacks struggle to accept the fact that they are Black. In identifying and taking a pro-White stance, Blacks are likely to view the African American /Black group negatively (Vandiver et al., 2002).

Revised model. In the revised nigrescence theory, personal identity and reference group orientation are clearly explained along with the hypothesized relationships with self-esteem (Vandiver et al., 2002). Personal identity plays a minor role in the definition of Black identity; Blackness is more a reference group variable, or social identity, and not a personal identity variable (Vandiver et al., 2002). According to Vandiver (2001), personal identity reflects the general personality or overall self-concept common to the psychological makeup of all human beings and is considered a minor component in the nigrescence theory. Cross introduced the concept of race salience to the discussion of nigrescence identities. Race salience refers to the importance or significance of race in a person's approach to life (Vandiver, 2001). Reference group orientation reflects the

prominence of race in the life of an individual, as well as the influence given to race. A relationship is believed to exist between racial identity and self-esteem. The change within the revised version is that a Black person with a reference group orientation toward the White race is not assumed to suffer from low-self-esteem or poor mental health (Vandiver et al., 2002). These issues are both examples of personal identity. Likewise, the Black person with a reference group orientation toward the Black race is no longer assumed to have a high self-esteem or positive mental health (Vandiver et al., 2002). Vandiver, believed that race salience is capable of ranging from high to low in importance and from negative to positive in valence (Vandiver, 2001). The belief that Black self-hatred (high negative race salience) is related to low self-esteem is due to the fact that negative reference group orientation has been incorporated into the personal identity. The revised version of the Nigrescence theory characterized the pre-encounter stage by two identities, anti-Black and assimilation (Vandiver et al., 2002). The individuals with the assimilation identity have a pro-American reference group orientation and race is not significant to them (Vandiver et al., 2002). The individuals with an assimilation identity are not anti-Black; race just has a low salience for them (Vandiver, 2001). In contrast, individuals with the anti-Black identity are now characterized by miseducation and self-hatred. The term miseducation was used to give an account of the stereotypical mindset Blacks may have about the African American community. According to Cokley (2002) the miseducation identity internalizes negative stereotypes about being Black (such as, criminal, sexual deviant). Vandiver (2001) indicated that the aspects of self-hatred on the anti-Black identity are founded on an

individual's negative views about being Black. The pre-encounter self-hatred identity holds extremely negative views about Black people and ultimately is anti-Black and self-hating (Cokley, 2002). The anti-Black identity describes individuals who hate Blacks and being Black, and as a result, being Black carries a high negative salience for them (Vandiver, 2001). It is theorized that some Blacks hate Blacks as a group since the group is represented by only negative stereotypes (Vandiver, 2001). The theorists (Cokley, 2002; Vandiver, 2001; Vandiver et al., 2002) are in agreement about the negativity that pre-encounter self-hatred can breed and how it is believed to be the result of extreme miseducation. Blacks who experience extreme miseducation personalize the negative Black stereotypes, which results in the rejection of Blackness at a deep structural level (Vandiver, 2001). These negative stereotypes are fused into their personal identity as it becomes a part of being Black. Pre-encounter assimilation has a low salience for race, but a strong orientation toward being an American (Cokley, 2002). The rejection of Black beliefs and acceptance of an American perspective are no longer considered reflective of one's identity (Vandiver, 2001). The relationship between self-esteem and racial identity was reconceptualized when the Pre-Encounter identity was separated (Vandiver, 2001). In the original version, low self-esteem was linked to the entire pre-encounter stage, but now only linked to the pre-encounter Black identity.

Encounter Stage in Racial Identity Development

The next stage (stage 2 in both the original and revised models) is called the Encounter stage. According to the original version of the nigrescence theory, this is when Blacks begin to question their beliefs about the role of race in American society (Cokley,

2002; Vandiver, 2001). This questioning typically follows the experiencing of an episode of racism or a series of events. The reexamination of this belief system was said to lead to a reevaluation of their racial identity and propel them into the Immersion-Emersion stage (Vandiver, 2001). While the encounter stage continues to describe the experience of an event or series of events as the motivation for individuals to reexamine their reference group orientation, the encounter with discrimination or racism causes one's perception of the world to change and thus motivates an identity change (Cokley, 2002). The difference of this stage is that it does not describe an identity cluster; it depicts the process of reexamining one's reference group orientation (Vandiver et al., 2002). To move to the next stage (Emersion-Immersion), one's cognitive and emotional discomfort must be sufficiently intense after the reexamination (Vandiver et al., 2002). The incident or episodes must be personalized to begin the change of identity. It is extremely important for this stage that an encounter must be made in leading to an identity change. Vandiver (2001) stated that the encounter does not have to be multiple huge events; it can be one significant single event or a series of small "eye opening episodes." This stage is difficult to measure due to the fact that it is transitional in nature, and there appears to be no attitude changes in this stage (Cokley, 2002; Vandiver, 2001). There were no changes made to the encounter stage from the original to the revised model (Vandiver, 2001).

Immersion-Emersion in Racial Identity Development

Original model. The original theory chronicled an unstable transition from the old racial identity to the new one (Vandiver, 2001). This is a twofold transition, and at the beginning of this stage the individuals immerse themselves into Black culture,

glamorizing it (Cokley, 2002; Vandiver, 2001). Every aspect of one's life is influenced during this immersion from the changing of names and clothing to exclusive involvement in Black activities. According to Vandiver (2001), at this time a strong pro-Black identity is born (everything Black is good), and concurrently a strong anti-White identity is also adopted (all White people are evil). The Emersion is characterized as the movement out from stage 3 and causes another reevaluation (Vandiver, 2001). During this process, the individual begins to act emotionally calmer and rationally reexamines their experiences and racial identity (Vandiver, 2001). It is at this time that the anti-White sentiment is abandoned due to a balanced affect and cognitive reasoning thus leading into the internalization stage.

Revised model. In the revised version Immersion-Emersion was reorganized into two separate identities: Intense Black Involvement and anti-White. The intense Black involvement depicts a Black person's over romanticized immersion into the Black experience (Vandiver, 2001). Individuals manifesting the anti-white identity demonize the White culture and reject everything White (Vandiver, 2001). Individuals within this stage continue to invest themselves into Blackness. The intense Black involvement that takes place during Immersion is a sign of Black Nationalist sentiment (Vandiver, 2001). Black Nationalism is viewed as a positive internalization of being Black (positive high race salience; Vandiver, 2001). Cross (1991) moved Black Nationalism to the internalization stage.

Internalization and Internalization-Commitment in Racial Identity Development

Original model. Cross' original fourth stage of the Nigrescence theory, Internalization, described the intellectual and emotional acceptance of being Black. During this time or change, being Black recedes from the foreground of the individual's existence while other aspects of identity are considered as important as race (Vandiver et al., 2002). The fifth stage, Internalization-Commitment, is characterized by Black self-acceptance and is taken a step further into activism (Vandiver, 2001). Individuals at this stage are described as being involved in the civil rights movement and in creating social change (Vandiver et al., 2002Movement into this stage is viewed as progress into a more psychologically healthy state (Vandiver et al., 2002).

Revised model. In the revised model, stage four (Internalization/Black acceptance) and stage five (Internalization-commitment/activism) of the original version are fused together to become one. According to Cokley (2002), stage four (Internalization) theoretically consists of at least two or more identities. The first identity discussed by Cokley is the internalization identity of Black Nationalism and it adheres to an Afrocentric perspective, pro-Black, non-reactionary identity (Cokley, 2002). This identity view is based on the Black Americans' interpretation of what it means to have an African perspective (Cokley, 2002). This stage shares the marker of Black acceptance, which means the Black American has high positive race salience and activism (Vandiver et al., 2002). Racial oppression may influence the Afrocentric perspective, but it is not defined by oppression (Worrell, Cross, & Vandiver, 2001).

The next identity within stage four is the multiculturalist inclusive, which embraces a Black identity along with at least two other identity categories such as gender

and sexual orientation (Cokley, 2002). Along with having a positive Black identity, the multiculturalist actively focuses on two or more salient cultural identities. The biculturalist/multiculturalist strives to build coalitions beyond the Black community (Vandiver et al., 2002). The biculturalist identity describes the possibility that Blacks have another salient cultural identity beyond Blackness (Cokley, 2002). The multiculturalist seeks to endorse items for both biculturalist and multiculturalist identities and creates semblance between the two constructs. The multiculturalist identity is divided into two, multiculturalist racial/inclusive. As mentioned earlier, the multiculturalist inclusive looks to build coalitions with all diverse cultural groups, the multiculturalist racial individual only wants to build coalitions within racial minority groups (Vandiver et al., 2002). The revised model is characterized by seven Black racial identities, two in Preencounter, two in Immersion-Emersion, and three in Internalization (Vandiver et al., 2002).

Another change from the original model was that mental health outcomes were no longer linked explicitly to the different stages (Cokley, 2002). The revised model is considered to be more desirable due to the fact that it is less reactionary, and cognitively more complex (Cokley, 2002). The original model asserted that racial preference was believed to be a part of a Black person's personal identity and it affected the person's mental health functioning (Vandiver et al., 2002). If the Black American is able to accept the reality of being Black, they are then deemed psychologically healthy and assumed to have a high self-esteem (Vandiver et al., 2002). On the contrary, those Blacks who accepted the values of White society were believed to be suffering from self-hatred due to

their low self-esteem (Vandiver et al., 2002). According to Cokley (2002), the Nigrescence theory was operationalized using the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (RIAS), and currently the RIAS has three different versions. The RIAS has been the subject of many psychometric investigations that have raised concerns about the validity of the instrument (Cokley, 2002). Cross' original model was criticized for its negative description of Black Nationalism (Cokley, 2002). Within the last thirty years the Nigrescence theory has been instrumental in the way African Americans racial identities are conceptualized. Worrell, Cross, & Vandiver (2001), believed that in a racially polarized society like the United States, it might not be possible for African Americans to have Black RGO without associated anti-White sentiment. The Nigrescence theory is a good predictor of qualitative behavior changes over time. Another model that must be acknowledged in discussing intraracial racism is Helms' model, which presents the term racialism.

Racial Identity Formation and Degrees of Internalized Racialism

According to Cokley (2002), beliefs are the product of racial socialization also labeled by social psychologists as racialism. The term racialism refers to how individuals cognitively organize perceptions of the world around racial categories that are believed to have indisputable characteristics (Cokley, 2002). These indisputable characteristics include behavior, intellect, and temperament and are believed to be inheritable (Cokley, 2002). Beliefs in these racial categories typically consist of racial stereotypes. The term stereotypes describe beliefs held by individuals about the characteristics of a group of people, and these beliefs can be positive or negative (Cokley, 2002 & Helms, 1995).

Cokley (2002) stated that holding a stereotype does not have to be problematic even if it is negative. As mentioned earlier, stereotypes of Blacks are typically more negative than stereotypes of other ethnic groups (Cokley, 2002). A group of White college students carried stereotypes which included beliefs that Blacks were more athletic, criminal, sexually perverse, low in intelligence, and lazy (Cokley, 2002). These same stereotypes are deeply entrenched within the African American community and often develop into internalized racialism.

Internalized racialism is more than Black self-hatred; it is the internalization of negative stereotypes about one's racial group (Cokley, 2002). An example of internalized racialism is an African American believing Black people are naturally faster than White people or that Black people are cognitively lower in functioning than White people. This demonstrates the individual believes Black people are a part of a definable racial group (Cokley, 2002). Internalized racism affects a variety of life issues such as marital satisfaction for husbands which is inversely related to internalized racialism. According to Helms (1995) racial identity development is the process of overcoming internalized racism. Once this occurs the African American obtains a more self-affirming and realistic group identity. The earlier pre-encounter stage, miseducation and self-hatred attitudes were significantly and positively related to mental and genetic deficiencies of Blacks (Helms, 1995). Helms (1995) also found that the beliefs in sexual prowess and Blacks natural abilities were not positively related. It has been noted that some internalization attitudes are more accepting of individuals from diverse groups than others (Cross, 1991). This could possibly be due to the belief that the natural abilities of

one's group are unequaled and that the other group cannot be equally as gifted. The stages of racial identity development are approximately parallel to what might be called degrees of internalized racialism.

Skin Tone, Racial Identity, and Intragroup Evaluations Regarding Competence

Thus far, the review has presented theory and research concerning skin tone as a core component of self-identity, social identity, and racial identity. Racial identity was theorized to be a subtype of social identity and to differ as a function of a stage model of development. Each stage is proposed to be characterized by a different view of self in relation to one's social self-identity by race, as well as views toward one's own and other racial subgroups, and members of such groups. The focus of this next section is to look at how evaluations of others perceived to belong to the same racial group as oneself are affected by one's own skin tone, the target's skin tone, and/or one's own stage of racial identity.

Skin Tone and Perceptions of Competence

Breland (1998) has argued that skin tone intersects with perceptions of competence through two mechanisms: racial stereotypes and attractiveness. That is, as discussed earlier, Eurocentric traditions have supported beliefs that lighter skin is correlated with intelligence, ability, positive motivation, and related characteristics. Secondly, Breland (1998) notes that social psychology theory and research consistently demonstrated a positive correlation between perceived physical attractiveness and perceived competence, and this relationship gave rise to physical attractiveness being associated with higher education and socioeconomic status.

Expanding on Breland's (1998) suggestion regarding, factors other than physical characteristics also affect perceived attractiveness, favorability, competence, and other attributions and evaluations. One important factor in particular is the degree to which individuals perceive competence or attractiveness as validating or agreeing with their beliefs and self-constructs (Huston & Levinger, 1978; Klohnen & Luo, 2003). In an interesting study, Caruso, Mead, and Balcetis (2009) presented participants with photographs of a hypothetical candidate (study 1) or a real, biracial political candidate (Barack Obama; studies 2 and 3). The skin tone of the candidates was altered to be lighter or darker than the original photograph. When the candidate's political viewpoint/ affiliation matched that of the viewer, the viewer was more likely to select the lighter photograph as representative of that candidate. When it did not match, darker skin tones were selected. "The effect persisted when controlling for political ideology and racial attitudes" (Abstract). The specific name for this effect is the similarity-attraction effect (Montoya & Horton, 2004), which from this point on will be referred to as the similarity effect. According to Montoya and Horton (2004), the more similar an individual is to a target group or individual the more interpersonal attraction exists between those involved. In some instances, power of similarity is diminished or non-existent, and is especially evident when negative traits are the focus of discussion (Montoya & Horton, 2004). Montoya and Horton (2004) argued that similar people make us feel good, and dissimilar people make us feel bad, both about ourselves and about the world. Interpersonal attraction flows directly from these affective states. Once it is determined that an individual is liked, then that leads to affiliation if the affiliator anticipates a favorable

response (Huston & Levinger, 1978). This is true of most individuals who have a tendency to only approach if guaranteed a high likelihood of being accepted or rewarded.

Near the beginning of the twentieth century Black fraternities and sororities implemented tests to create separation and advancement within the African American community (Maddox & Gray, 2002). These tests included the comb test (checking the straightness of one's hair) and the paper bag test (the skin tone of one matching the lightness of a tan paper bag). The African American, who is aware of the paper bag test and the region it is practiced in, would be less likely to attempt to engage or join an organization in which the chances of being excluded are highly likely. Conditions of exclusion are typically true of racially based organizations. However, it would be interesting to determine whether this is also true in regard to employment opportunities and universities.

Montoya and Horton (2004) also found that similarity to another individual or group based on negative qualities does not lead to attraction. Intraracial racism/prejudice within the African American community is a clear example of the need of separation that some in the group attempt to create. Having similar attitudes does not predict attraction, and similarity is said to only be reinforcing when the individual is aware of the relationship between reward and similarity (Montoya & Horton, 2004). Attraction was believed to be performed outside of conscious cognition (Montoya & Horton, 2004). Montoya and Horton (2004) also believed that cognitive processes must be operating when individuals express attraction to similar targets. Individuals embody attitudes and personality traits that they believe to be good and correct. The same is true of group

interactions and beliefs. If attraction was completed without cognition mankind would possibly be more divided and unable/unwilling to come together, because cognitive processes help override attraction. A number of researchers have found that similarity does not predict attraction once one controls for the positivity of the stimuli attributed to the individual (Montoya & Horton, 2004). This is true in most ways, including when the positivity of the stimuli attributed is that of skin tone or race. The relative degree of similarity that is attributed to an individual or group helps to determine the perceived degree of positivity. Individuals who hold attitudes that are similar to ones' own are believed to possess positive personality qualities while those who disagree with us do not. In turn, more affection is felt for similar, rather than dissimilar, others (Montoya & Horton, 2004). The racial group as a whole feels more affection within the group as to another group; however, within the group another level of affection is attributed to those whom are more similar. Horton and Montoya (2004) found that those individuals or groups that are consistently described as having positive and informative traits are more attractive than someone described with equally positive, yet uninformative traits. The more information that can be given leads to the better opportunity for a perfect match within group and also between groups. Individuals create cognitively a composite of the information implied by the attitudes or personality traits attributed to another individual or group. The individual's own cognitive evaluation results from the valanced information acquisition and precedes, and guides, interpersonal attraction (Montoya & Horton, 2004). Many models and theories are formed in hopes of being able to adequately and educationally determine why similarity attracts.

Specific drawbacks exist when attempting to account for similarity liking. A range of destructive behaviors and emotions are attached to repeated social comparison: It was found that guilt was internalized, but that destructive behaviors such as lying, and in-group bias were often directed to the out-group (White et al., 2006). Attraction increases when one is confronted by similar attitudes and greater attraction is created when a competent individual commits an embarrassing act (Montoya & Horton, 2004). The blunder allows the individual to be viewed as more human than elite, and the blunder must be relatively minor. Attraction to an individual or group is influenced by the way the individual is expected to evaluate one's self or group. If it is expected that a person would regard one negatively, then that person will be less attracted to that individual compared to an individual or group who is competent but who is less likely to insult him or her. In effect, the blunder increases interpersonal attraction toward a competent other because it alleviates the danger of a negative evaluation for one's self-esteem (Montoya & Horton, 2004).

Attraction and Cognitive Evaluation

According to Montoya and Horton (2004), threat is a function of the quality of the person with whom one interacts and the extent to which the person (perceiver) has the ability to evaluate the self, either positively or negatively. Interpersonal attraction and cognitive evaluation are highly correlated when no threat to the self exists (Montoya & Horton, 2004). In the absence of threat to one's social identity, one's attraction to a partner should be guided by one's cognitive evaluation of the partner on attractiveness on a personal basis. However, when social identity and group membership come into play,

one's evaluation of another integrates group identities. This helps explain why one may be good enough to be considered a friend, but not good enough to be included in a group. The threat exists when others with whom one identifies are present and aware. The same can be and is true in regard to the African American community, in which skin tone that is too dark is grounds for exclusion. In the face of threat to self, interpersonal attraction and cognitive evaluation are unrelated, meaning that although one is attracted to another, the person will cognitively override the attraction (Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Tarrant et al., 2001). Interpersonal attraction increases when the quality of the partner increases and the chance to be negatively evaluated is diminished (Montoya & Horton, 2004). Festinger (1954) posited that humans are motivated to evaluate themselves in comparison with others.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) asserted that social identity consisted of three major processes: social categorization, social identity, and social comparison (as cited in by Tarrant et al., 2001). Social categorization was described as the process of differentiating those who do and do not belong to a social classification on the basis of protypical characteristics (Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Tarrant et al., 2001). The evident separation is not based on individual or personal diversity, but on the evaluation of limited, and specific, socially defined classification markers (Tarrant et al., 2001). Cognitive processes are central to social categorization. For example, when a dark skin toned African American is attempting to become a part of a group of other dark skin toned individuals this may be true. However, when this same dark skin tone individual is attempting to join the group of light skin tone Blacks, interpersonal attraction decreases

(i.e., they are not like me, but I want to join; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Tarrant et al., 2001).

One might speculate that when a negative evaluation is possible by a highly competent partner (light skin tone) and the interaction is expected to be intense (meaning that the individual badly wanted to join) to safe guard one's self, attraction is intentionally lessened (Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Tarrant et al., 2001). The attitudes toward the in-group and out-group are biased because each group attempts to enhance one's own specific group. Self-protective motives guide decreased attraction to an exceptional individual who could evaluate the self negatively (Montoya & Horton, 2004). Interpersonal attraction is often grounded in one's cognitive evaluation of the target (Montoya & Horton, 2004).

During times of possible threat, interpersonal attraction and cognitive evaluation tend to follow distinctly different paths (Montoya & Horton, 2004). Research found that individuals who criticized others were believed to be more intelligent; however, these same individuals were also rated to be less likable (Montoya & Horton, 2004). When one is perceived to be more superior to another they are evaluated favorably but are less attractive to the rater. These individuals are evaluated on their presence, perceived superiority, and intelligence. The interaction is driven by the want or need to join a specific group for the status that will be attained, even when the group's mission repulses the individual. Current literature suggests that the relationship between cognition and attraction is attenuated by personal motives, activated by a threat to the self (Montoya & Horton, 2004). Positive information guides a favorable cognitive evaluation and in turn

drives attraction (Montoya & Horton, 2004). Skin tone seems to be the most observable in helping select or exclude individuals, men and women should be attracted to the best quality of individuals for reproductive purposes in order to produce the best offspring. The social psychological literature is plagued with theoretical perspectives emphasizing the predictive ability of attraction, but similarity alone does not produce interpersonal attraction for negative traits (Montoya & Horton, 2004). Theories such as self-expansion (Konrath, 2007) would suggest that member selection is guided by efforts to expand the self. This would ring true for group similarity matching, those that are more alike would band together. "High quality" partners may provide expansion opportunities that "low quality" partners do not (Montoya & Horton, 2004). It is believed that individuals are drawn to other individuals because of the social prestige or self-esteem that is received from involvement in the group. Cognitive evaluation is believed to be critical for understanding how prejudice develops from stereotypes, how physical attractiveness is assessed, for predicting emotional attachment to a group, and for predicting the anti-Black affect (Montoya & Horton, 2004). Cognitive evaluation plays a significant role in attraction; but it is not the only element.

Interpersonal Attraction: Being Liked

Physically attractive individuals are liked more than their less attractive peers (Huston & Levinger, 1978). Stimulus attributes and attitudes of others lead to attraction and impact the perceiver's sense of self (Huston & Levinger, 1978). So now it is becoming more apparent how African Americans can exhibit racism within their personal group. For example, if a significant number of individuals or a group of people in control

designate a person as physically unattractive, lazy, criminal, or athletically gifted, then that person is defined as physically unattractive, lazy, criminal, or athletically gifted. It does not matter how the answer was derived, only that it is the answer. In a society that places so much emphasis on beauty, physically attractive individuals clearly are regarded with more favor than less physically appealing individuals (Huston & Levinger, 1978).

> The good-looking individuals are given preferential treatment: they are seen as more responsible for good deeds and less responsible for bad ones; their evaluations of others have more potent impact; their performances are upgraded; others are more socially responsive to them, more ready to provide them with help, and more willing to work hard to please them. (p. 122)

These individuals are placed on a pedestal, an area to strive toward. As with skin tone, the same is true of attractiveness; attractive individuals are more likely to attain high occupational status, to be more competent as husbands and wives, and to have happier marriages than less attractive individuals (Huston & Levinger, 1978). These individuals seemingly can do no wrong. Except in the case of an attractive female, she is perceived as vain and adulterous (Huston & Levinger, 1978). One being thought to be a part of an elite group tends to elevate the status of individuals among their peers. The fact that an African American is part of a primarily all White club might elevate his status among his peers that are not included within that group. Stereotypes result in individuals attempting to pull behavior from the others to confirm their stereotypic expectations. A few common stereotypes are that Black people are loud or that White people can’t dance

or that Asian people are good at mathematics. Stereotyping has the potential to lead more to displeasure than to pleasure.

Choosing a Partner

In choosing a partner or member of one's group, the person contemplating initiating an encounter must consider at least two factors: (a) the level to which he finds the attributes of the potential partners attractive, and (b) the level to which he anticipates they would find his attributes attractive and respond favorably to his advancement (Huston & Levinger, 1978). This bodes true for virtually all types of groups. For example, when Augusta National has a call for membership, many women are not as attracted to applying for membership. However, with the new inclusion of their first two female members, more women will be attracted to applying for membership. When no chance at being accepted into a group exists, the attraction level decreases; however, as the chances of being accepted increase, so does the desirability of being a part of the in group. Any golf course would do in the past, however the fact that Augusta National is now accepting women has just jumped to the top of many females list and it is seen as more attractive. Although attractive, it still fails in comparison to how attractive it is to males who have an increasingly higher chance of being accepted as a member. Attraction thrives on social interaction and space is important within this relationship. The closer one is to another, the higher the likelihood that the individuals will become familiar with one another and promote attraction. Close relationships are affected not only by the larger cultural environment and the individual personalities of the partners, but also by the pairs' own history of interaction with each other, and with the matrix of

social relationships within which their evolving partnership fits (Huston & Levinger, 1978). The racial divide within the American culture of Black people and White people, but also the division within the African American community has demonstrated how the social relationships are affected.

Representative Studies on Skin Tone and Interpersonal Perception

Research on skin tone and interpersonal perceptions frequently presents pictures as the stimuli, which manipulate the ethnicity, skin tone, and/or facial characteristics stimulus individuals. Participants are then required to respond to various types of questions through questionnaire materials. For example, Watson, Thornton, and Davidson (2011) investigated evaluations of Black models in advertising. Photos of Black models were presented which varied in skin tone (light, dark) and participants, who were classified by their own ethnic identity (high, low), and by their social comparison behaviors (comparer, noncomparer), were asked to complete evaluations of source credibility and advertisement. Abraham and Appiah (2006) presented pictures of Black and White individuals to manipulate race. Harrison and Thomas (2009) presented pictures of a person (male or female) with light, medium, or dark skin along with a resume and attempted to manipulate the likelihood of participants being hired due to skin tone. Strom et al. (2012) attempted to study Black, Korean, and White participants assigned pictures of faces and told to compare the client's skin tone and facial metrics through the use of a 7-point skin tone scale (very light-very dark) and a 7-point appearance rating scale (not at all Black, Caucasian, or Korean to very Black, Caucasian, or Korean). McDermott and Pettijohn (2008) presented pictures of a person (Black or

white, male or female) with lightened, original, or darkened skin along with demographic questions, attractiveness statements and a racism measurement scale in an attempt to investigate the influence of skin tone on perceptions of attractiveness in both African Americans and Caucasians. Hill (2002) contributed two studies to this particular methodological study. Hill (2002) attempted to focus on the interviewer's categorization of the participants self-reported skin tone (light or dark). The perceived skin tone variation was observed, and Hill attempted to understand how much, if any influence the interviewer's race had on skin color classification for both African American and Whites. Hill's (2002) study looked at solely non-institutionalized African Americans ages 18 or older, with the participant's skin-color being manipulated while the interviewer's purpose was to assess the participant's physical attractiveness. Keith and Herring (1991) conducted a study that used possibly the same participant pool as Hill's (2002) study on skin color and perception of attractiveness among African Americans. Keith and Herring (1991) looked into the effects of skin tone on stratification within the African American community. Atkinson et al. (1996) conducted a similar study with, the primary differences being that the participants were African and European American psychologists. The study focused on determining if African American and Whites make differential attributions or judgments about an African American female client based on her skin tone (light, medium, or dark).

Other Independent Variables That Are Manipulated

Watson, Thornton, and Davidson (2011) examined the possible interaction between race and skin tone of the individual in the picture of the study. The participants'

social comparison of the ad with which the picture was paired was also examined (issue related to credibility of attitude). Abraham and Appiah (2006) also manipulated the content policy issue of the news stories that were presented, one related to crime and the other to school vouchers, to examine possible interactions of the race of the individual and the topic under consideration on perceptions. Here the photos were assumed to serve as primes for stereotypes which would interact with the content information and impact perceptions.

Person Variables as Predictors

Person variables are characteristics of the perceivers that are not manipulated but are those which the participants bring with them to the situation. These are explored as possible predictors or moderators of perceptions to the stimuli. Person variables that have been studied in skin tone research include ethnic identity (Watson, Thornton, & Davidson, 2011), social comparison style (Watson, Thornton, & Davidson, 2011), ethnicity/race (Abraham & Appiah, 2006; Atkinson et al., 1996; Hill 2002), skin tone (Atkinson et al., 1996; Clark & Clark, 1947; Clark & Clark, 1950; Hill, 2002; Hill, 2002; Hraba & Grant, 1970; Keith & Herring, 1991; Snider & Rosenberg, n.d; Strom et al., 2012; Watson, Thornton, & Davidson, 2011), gender (Atkinson et al., 1996; Hill, 2002; Strom et al., 2012), age group (Clark & Clark, 1947; Clark & Clark, 1950; Hraba & Grant, 1970). Some of the measures that have been used to classify participants include the questions on the demographic portion of the survey for racial self-identification, (Keith & Herring, 1991). Participants' skin tones were classified (Atkinson et al., 1996; Clark & Clark, 1947; Clark & Clark, 1950; Hill, 2002; Hill, 2002; Hraba & Grant, 1970;

Keith & Herring, 1991; Strom et al., 2012; Watson, Thornton, & Davidson, 2011). Watson et al., (2011) selected participants from an online panel administered by Zoomerang in order to classify them for racial identity and also on source credibility to classify them for social comparison style.

Perceptions and Evaluations as Dependent Variables

Various responses have been measured to stimuli which manipulate the skin tone of the models or other relevant dimensions. For example, Abraham and Appiah (2006) looked at participants' evaluations of how much a social issue impacted Blacks, Whites, or other groups in relation to the manipulated variables. Others measured perceived attractiveness of stimuli (e.g, Hill, 2002; McDermott & Pettijohn (2008), willingness to hire (Harrison & Thomas, 2009), diagnoses and prognoses for AA clients (Atkinson, Brown, Parham, Matthews, Landrum-Brown & Kim, 1996), source credibility and attitude towards an advertisement (Watson, Thornton, & Davidson, 2011), and prototypicality of stimuli for racial groupings (Strom, Zebrowitz, Zhang, Bronstad, Lee, 2012).

Understanding Intraracial Racism among African Americans: The Gap in the Literature

Intraracial racism is a concern within the African American community, although those outside the African American community often disregard this particular problem (Hochschild & Weaver, 2007). Knowledge of the fact that intraracial racism does exist is a primary step to developing effective solutions. However, only a marginal amount of

credible research has addressed colorism or in-group bias. More research in the area of intra-race relations is needed.

Gaps in the Literature

The extant literature that has been reviewed on skin tone related to race and social perceptions is missing one key ingredient: the perceivers are rarely African Americans or, if they are included in the sample, their own race, racial identity, and/or skin tone usually are not taken into consideration. The majority of studies used mostly non-African Americans as the perceivers. Only Brown (2004) studied self-identified Black Americans and considered their self-rated skin tone, and Watson, Thornton, and Davidson (2011) considered respondents' ethnic identity in relation to their evaluations of stimulus models. However, theories and research related to processes of social categorization, social identity, and social comparison (e.g., Turner, 1975; Turner, Brown, & Tajfel, 1979), racial identity (Vandiver et al., 2002), and to interpersonal attraction (Montoya & Horton, 2004) strongly suggest that many within-group/intraracial factors must be considered in any understanding of social perception processes related to characteristics such as skin tone.

Indeed, the primary research question for the current research is: To what degree do the skin tone and/or stage of racial identity development among self-identified African American perceivers influence their interpersonal perceptions of other African Americans who vary on skin tone? An experimental design was employed which varied both the skin tone features of the stimulus target, and additionally investigates the person variables of skin tone and stage of racial identity formation of the observer. The candidate's

hireability, along with perceptions on other character dimensions, were the dependent variables within this particular study. The study participants included 120 adult males, who self-identified as African American. The participants were randomly assigned to one of the experimental conditions for candidate's skin tone and quality the resume, which varies in reported qualifications. As noted, the observer's own skin tone and stage of racial identity were considered as possible moderators of intraracial perceptions.

Hypotheses

Due to the fact that this study was, in part, a replication of the Harrison and Thomas (2009) research, the first hypothesis was consistent with their findings. Hypotheses 2 and 3 are new and considered person variables (African American observer's stage of racial identity and own skin tone) that were examined as possible moderators of interpersonal evaluations.

H_o1: There will be no interaction effect in terms of perceptions of observers between the candidate's skin tone and the quality of his or her credentials.

H_{a1}: Candidate's skin tone will moderate the effect of the quality of his credentials on the perceptions of observers. In essence, it is expected that the positive effects of the higher quality resume will be greatest for the candidate with the lightest skin tone, while the negative effects of the lower quality resume will be greatest for the candidate with the darkest skin tone in terms of observers' perceptions of the candidate.

H_o2: Evaluations of the African American stimulus candidate will not vary in relation to the African American observer's own stage of racial identity.

H_a2: In general, value of skin tone as a marker of race will vary according to the observer's own stage of racial identity as an African American. Those observers who devalue their own race (Stage 1 Pre-encounter) should evaluate the darker skinned African American candidate significantly less positively than the lighter skinned African American candidate. By contrast, those observers who devalue Whites relative to African Americans (Stage 3 Immersion-Emersion) should evaluate the lighter skinned African American candidate less positively than the darker skinned African American candidate. However, those observers who have less focus on the race/racial features of the candidate (Stage 4 Internalization/Black acceptance) will show the least differences in their evaluations of the darker skinned and lighter skinned African American candidates.

H_o3: Evaluations of the African American stimulus candidate will not vary in relation to the observers' own skin tone.

H_a3: Based upon the similarity hypothesis, it is expected that those whose own skin tone is generally more socially valued, that is, lighter toned skin, will value the candidate like himself most positively, while those whose own skin tone is least valued, that is, darkest skin tone, will value the candidate like himself least positively. That is, light-skinned African American observers will particularly favor the light skinned candidate, while the dark-skinned African American observers will particularly devalue the dark-skinned candidate.

Implications for Social Change

A better understanding is needed to develop a working model of what the long-term effects of intraracial racism, discrimination, and prejudicial treatment are and how to

reduce the effects within the African American community. Relationships deteriorate when negative events occur and the other individual or group does not have the ability to cope with them (Cokley, 2002). A culture and people that have grown through the effects of intergroup racism have developed differing abilities to create and maintain close emotional relationships. In the clinical psychology realm, understanding the psychological effects of skin tone stratification and discrimination provides insight into interpersonal struggles within the African American community.

Summary

This research can add to understanding the possible residual effects of social devaluation of African Americans. Further, society may gain more insight into the differential impacts of racism and colorism, based on the life experiences of African Americans in different age cohorts and with differing skin tones. Society will be able to see how these nonmalleable characteristics also relate to the beliefs and self-perceptions defined by the stage of racial identity, characteristics that may be modifiable and thus offer opportunities for social change at for the individual and group. Chapter 3 will present a detailed description of the research design with the research question and hypotheses. The chapter includes information on participants, independent variables, dependent variables, procedures, planned analyses, and ethical considerations.

Chapter 3: Research Method

This chapter clarifies the methods used in gathering data for this dissertation. Participants, materials, instruments, procedures, ethical considerations, and planned data analysis are outlined. The focus of this study was to examine possible processes of intraracial discrimination and prejudice among African Americans, especially as related to skin tone. As discussed in Chapter 2, skin tone has served as a critical marker for social classifications and their meaning within Western society. Previous theory and research has demonstrated how social identity becomes a central component of one's sense of self, as well as how that individual defines self in relation to others who do and do not share the same social identity (Frable, 1997; Turner, 1975; Turner et al., 1979). Ingroup and outgroup distinctions result from and are maintained by social identities (Tajfel et al., 1971). In general, individuals favor other ingroup members over outgroup members (Tajfel et al., 1971.) As Tajfel (1974) noted, people seek positive social identities and these usually are derived from identifying with others in one's group. This is the basis of what has been called racialism; that is, intraracial prejudice and discrimination among African Americans (Cokley, 2002).

Skin tone has been and continues to be a relevant marker of social status (White et al., 2006). Harrison and Thomas' (2009) previous study on the hidden prejudice in selection focused primarily on how skin tone affects perceptions by Whites evaluators. The purpose of the current dissertation study was to broaden societal understanding regarding how skin tone affects perceptions of African Americans regarding other African Americans. In addition, stage of racial identity and the observer's own skin tone

were considered as possible mediators of the perceptual process. The observer is the participant of the study completing the questionnaires. Racial identity is an important variable and that stage of racial identity also parallels the perceived value of one's own identity as an African American: According to Cross' theory of racial identity development, Black self-identification proceeds from feelings of shame, to pride in being Black and anger towards and rejection of Whites, and then to pride in being Black along with fewer negative conceptions about relationships between Blacks and Whites (Vandiver et al., 2002). Further, one's own skin tone may influence interpersonal perceptions of others based on common functions of attraction, including familiarity, similarity, and referent groups (Huston & Levinger, 1978). Skin tone also influences one's own experiences while growing up and functioning in American society (Cokley, 2002; Vandiver, 2001.

This study employed an experimental design and also evaluated both person and situational variables as predictors of intraracial social perceptions. The core of the design was a replication of previous research by Harrison and Thomas in which skin tone and qualifications of the stimulus candidate for a job were manipulated through photos and the content of the resumes. In addition, two-person variables were examined in this research: the stage of racial identity and the skin tone of the observer. The dependent variable is perceived favorability of the candidate.

Hypotheses

While main effects are expected both for the skin tone of the stimulus candidate and the content of the resume, the critical hypothesis here regards the interaction of these independent variables. In addition, moderating effects were expected for person variables.

H_o1: There will be no interaction effect in terms of perceptions of observers between the candidate's skin tone and the quality of his or her credentials.

H_{a1}: Candidate's skin tone will moderate the effect of the quality of his credentials on the perceptions of observers. In essence, it is expected that the positive effects of the higher quality resume will be greatest for the candidate with the lightest skin tone, while the negative effects of the lower quality resume will be greatest for the candidate with the darkest skin tone in terms of observers' perceptions of the candidate.

H_o2: Evaluations of the African American stimulus candidate will not vary in relation to the African American observer's own stage of racial identity.

H_a2: In general, value of skin tone as a marker of race will vary according to the observer's own stage of racial identity as an African American. Those observers who devalue their own race (Stage 1 Pre-encounter) should evaluate the darker skinned African American candidate significantly less positively than the lighter skinned African American candidate. By contrast, those observers who devalue Whites relative to African Americans (Stage 3 Immersion-Emersion) should evaluate the lighter skinned African American candidate less positively than the darker skinned African American candidate. However, those observers who have less focus on the race/racial features of the candidate

(Stage 4 Internalization/Black acceptance) will show the least differences in their evaluations of the darker skinned and lighter skinned African American candidates.

H_o3: Evaluations of the African American stimulus candidate will not vary in relation to the observers' own skin tone.

H_a3: Based upon the similarity hypothesis, it is expected that those whose own skin tone is generally more socially valued, that is, lighter toned skin, will value the candidate like himself most positively, while those whose own skin tone is least valued, that is, darkest skin tone, will value the candidate like himself least positively. That is, light-skinned African American observers will particularly favor the light skinned candidate, while the dark-skinned African American observers will particularly devalue the dark-skinned candidate.

Sampling

The plan for this study was to recruit a minimum of 120 males who self-identify as African American. Between-group situational variables, skin tone of candidate (light, moderate, and dark) and quality of resume (lower, higher), were manipulated. Each participant was presented with a picture of the candidate from one skin tone condition, matched with one version of the resume. While the planned sample size was larger than what is needed for projected power = .80, alpha = .05 (two-tailed), and effect size of $f^2(V)= .0625$ (minimum total sample size = 113) for fixed effects factorial MANOVA(G*Power, http://www.psycho.uni-duesseldorf.de/abteilungen/aap/gpower3, the larger sample size was selected in order to anticipate sufficient representation among

participants on the two person variables, stage of racial identity (four categories) and skin tone (three categories) of the observer.

While it was not known what the actual frequency would be among the participant pool for representation of the various levels on stages of racial identity or skin tones, recruitment strategies were planned to target various community groups in order to increase probability of getting a good cross-representation on these characteristics. In particular, local predominately African American churches were utilized as sites for recruitment purposes. Although I am not particularly focusing on level of education, a mix of education and age levels were expected to be represented within this study. The reason for local predominately African American community churches being utilized was due to the fact that within a location such as church a variety of skin tones and racial identity levels has the potential to be represented. Two other locations that were selected to be utilized were the neighboring university and local college. These locations also provided for greater opportunity to gather individuals of a variety of skin tones and racial identity levels from a variety of locations as many university students are from different regions of the state, the nation, and the world. While utilizing the university and college participants, a variety of education levels are represented along with the skin tone and racial identity levels as well. Other identified areas to gather participants included housing units as the locations provide for a multitude of opportunities to gather participants that meet the criteria needed for the study. City professionals (area hospital, schools, and business locations) who meet the criteria were considered as potential participants. The local NAACP chapter also has a list serve that was considered to obtain

participants from differing locations possible of different skin tone and racial identity level as well.

Manipulation

As noted, the design for this study was a replication with extension of previous work by Harrison and Thomas (2009). The stimulus materials and measures of the dependent variable that were developed and employed by Harrison and Thomas were used in this study. Additional dependent measures for other dimensions of favorability also were included for this study. Harrison and Thomas manipulated skin tone and developed their stimulus materials through a series of pilot projects to identify photos with adequate differences in perceived skin tone, as well as resumes with adequate differences on perceived qualifications. They also investigated the reliability of the dependent measure for competency level presented in the resume, and for perceived experience, skill, and knowledge of the applicant based on the resume. A significant difference needed to be observed from the general populace in reference to the average and above average resume (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). Similarly, participants in their pilot research rated the skin tone of the individual pictured, the estimated age, gave ratings on attractiveness, and overall picture rating for the photo pictured on the resume. The findings from the pilot study revealed significant differences on all three scales measured (competence, experience, & knowledge). On perceived skin color, the participants distinguished a significant difference between light, medium, and dark skin tone conditions. This was important as it ensured that the skin tone manipulations were congruent (light, medium, dark).

After completion of the pilot studies, Harrison and Thomas' (2009) main study presented each participant with one resume which included the candidate's photo shown in the upper right-hand corner. In Harrison and Thomas' (2009) study, each participant was exposed to one picture of the candidate (one skin tone) and one copy of the resume (qualifications). Applicants then were asked to review the materials and complete a questionnaire regarding the selection of the candidate for the job.

Manipulated Independent Variables

Photos. Harrison and Thomas (2009) manipulated skin tone of the job candidate in the stimulus photos via Adobe Photoshop CS software. Although Harrison and Thomas had photos of both a female and a male candidate, only males were considered for this study. The same male was used in all three versions of the photo so only skin tone was varied (light, medium, dark). The results for ratings on recommendation based on overall resume and the ratings of general hiring decisions were both significant. The mean selection rating score for recommendation based on the resume increased in relation to skin tone, where higher ratings were given to lighter skinned applicants (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). Stimulus photos designed by Harrison and Thomas and used in this study are presented in Appendix A.

Resumes. Two versions of the candidate's resume were developed by Harrison and Thomas. Only information on education and work experience differed in the two versions. One of the resumes portrayed an individual with more education and experience, which would seem to be a better applicant than the applicant with the other resume. All the resumes were developed by Harrison and Thomas by combining various

marketing related resumes from http://susanireland.com/resumeindex.htm. The occupation in the marketing field was used because it is a profession that is both gender and racially neutral. An independent-sample *t*-test indicated that a significant difference was seen between the two resume conditions among Harrison and Thomas' (2009) study participants. These resumes, which also were used in my study are found in the Appendix B.

Manipulation check. In order to ensure that the participants believed that the applicants were African American/Black, Harrison and Thomas included manipulations checks that also will be used in this study. At the end of the questionnaire the participants were asked to give the race/ethnicity of the individual pictured on the resume. During the check, the participants were given six picture choices (three males and three females) from which to circle the one that had appeared on the resume they had viewed and to ensure that they accurately differentiated between the varying skin tones. Only the pictures of the male candidate were presented in the current study.

This manipulation check proved informative to Harrison and Thomas: a total of 280 participants completed the questionnaires, but 40 participants were not included in the final analyses due to the participant incorrectly identifying the race/ethnicity of the applicant pictured or they circled a picture on the questionnaire that did not match the one that appeared on the resume the participant received in his packet (Harrison & Thomas, 2009).

Person Variables

In addition to manipulated independent variables, I included two-person variables as possible predictors of interpersonal perceptions. These included stages of racial identity and own skin tone of the observer.

Stage of racial identity. Stage of racial identity was operationally defined by classification based on responses of the participants on the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Cokley, 2002; Vandiver et al., 2002; Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004). The Cross Racial Identity Scale is a 40–item scale designed to measure attitudes that correspond to Cross' revised nigrescence theory. The CRIS is a paper and pencil measure comprised of 30 racial identity items and 10 filler items (Worrell, Vandiver, Cross Jr, & Fhagen-Smith, 2006). The CRIS measures six nigrescence attitudes: preencounter assimilation, preencounter miseducation, preencounter self-hatred, Immersion-emersion anti-White, internalization Afrocentric, and internalization multiculturalist inclusive.

The Encounter stage is not measured on the CRIS due to measurement problems (Cokley, 2002). Respondents rate the degree to which each item reflects their thoughts and feelings using a 7-point Likert-type scale, where 1= strongly disagree, 4= neither agree nor disagree, and 7 = strongly agree. Each of the subscales consists of five items, and the sum of the raw scores on component items gives a total raw score, which is divided by the number of items (5) on the subscale to obtain subscale scores ranging from 1 to 7, with higher scores reflecting greater endorsement of the attitude named by the subscale. Examples of items are "I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective" (internalization Afrocentric item) and "I am not so much a member of a

racial group, as I am an American" (preencounter assimilation item). The six CRIS subscales were established using both exploratory and confirmatory factor-analytic procedures (Vandiver et al., 2002; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001), and reliability estimates for CRIS scores have been in the medium to high range. CRIS subscale intercorrelations are generally low, ranging from $r = |.04|$ to $|.42|$ (*Mdn* $r = |.16|$). Convergent validity was established with selected subscales of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers et al., 1998), and correlations between subscale scores on both instruments were in the appropriate directions ($|.30| \leq r \leq |.59$; see Vandiver et al., 2002). CRIS scores have low correlations with social desirability and the Big Five personality traits (Vandiver et al., 2002). Internal consistencies for the CRIS have been reported to range from .78 for Preencounter Miseducation, .82 for Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive, .83 for Internalization Afrocentricity, .85 for Pre-Encounter Assimilation, to .89 for Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred as well as Immersion-Emersion Anti-White (Vandiver et al., 200). For Cokley's (2002) particular sample the Internal consistencies on the CRIS were .74 for Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred, .81 for Immersion-Emmersion Anti-White, .83 for Internalization Afrocentricity, and .83 for Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive. (See Appendix F).

Participant's Own Skin Tone

Self-evaluation. Following the completion of the presentation of the candidate and resume and the questionnaire rating process, my participants were asked to complete one final task. The participants were asked to rate their own perceived skin tone. The participant was provided a visual analogue scale. The three stimulus pictures of the

candidate were displayed on a continuum, with the darkest skin tone photo as the left anchor, the medium skin tone photo as the middle anchor, and the lightest skin tone as the right anchor. Ten hash marks were included on the analogue scale line, with the fifth hash mark falling at the middle anchor. The participants were asked to put a mark anywhere on the line to describe their own facial skin tone.

Researcher's evaluation of participant. As I collected the completed packets during the experimental phase, I also documented the skin tone of the participant using the same analogue scale as they used for their self-description. I was curious how well self-perception matched with other-perception of skin tone. The participants also were asked to provide basic demographic information regarding their own race, gender, age, socioeconomic status. A sample question was "What is your gender?" The questions that were used in this study are found in the Appendix E.

Final perception check. The participants were asked to report if they believed the light skinned candidate to be bi-racial or African American alone. This question was asked to ensure the participants were rating an African American. See Appendix I for this question.

Dependent Variable

As in Harrison and Thomas' study, participants completed a written questionnaire after reviewing the photo with the resume combination presented for that condition. The general dependent construct for my study was favorability of the candidate. However, I used more than the one dimension of favorability (hireability) that was used by Harrison and Thomas. I added other questions that evaluated the candidate's source credibility.

Hireability. These items replicated those used by Harrison and Thomas. The items were rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 to 7. The participants were asked to rate how strongly they would recommend the applicant based on the educational background, prior work experience, and overall resume. A sample question used was, "Based on the applicant's educational background, how likely would you recommend this applicant for the position in question?" The participants were also asked how likely they themselves would be willing to hire the applicant in the packet they received. The participants answered this question, "If you were in charge for hiring for the position in question, what is the likelihood that you would hire this applicant?"

Trustworthiness, expertise, and attractiveness. Because skin tone is assumed to affect one's perceptions of another's credibility and its related dimensions (Huang, 2004, Hochschild & Weaver, 2007), such perceptions also were evaluated in this study. Methodology followed earlier work by Ohanian (1990). Thus, source credibility is used to imply the degree to which the communicator's positive characteristics affect the receiver's acceptance of the message (Ohanian, 1990). Similar to Ohanian, overall credibility is conceptualized and measured in terms of three perceived subdimensions: trustworthiness, expertise, and attractiveness of the target. Each subdimension was defined as follows by Ohanian, and these definitions were provided to those who rated the target. Trustworthiness was determined to be the degree of confidence and level of acceptance in someone or something (Ohanian, 1990). Expertise was the second dimension of source credibility and it generally means the perceived expertise (Ohanian, 1990). Attractiveness was the fourth dimension, and this dealt with physical

attractiveness. Ohanian (1990) began with 182 items and through the use of questionnaires and elimination procedures that final scale consisted of 15 items that covered the three (attractiveness, expertise, and trustworthiness) areas. This 15-item scale was used in this study and is found in Appendix J.

Ohanian (1990) performed an exploratory factor analysis in the early phases of the scale development to assess the structure of source credibility. This factor analysis allowed for three factors to separate themselves from the others on the list. The dimensions included expertise, which consisted of 11 items that best identified this dimension; trustworthiness, which consisted of eight items; and the third-dimension attractiveness, which consisted of eight items describing attractiveness. These items were then tested for their reliability using item-to-total correlations to obtain a practical size scale which were to include five items per factor (Ohanian, 1990). As is standard in research, a confirmatory factor analysis was used to verify the tri-component structure of the scale (Ohanian, 1990). Ohanian (1990) investigated nomological validity assessing the relationship between the three dimensions and to several self-reported behaviors, all were significantly correlated. Ohanian (1990) demonstrated that the source-credibility scale has acceptable convergent and discriminant validity.

Procedures

Local agencies and institutions were identified as potential community partners for recruiting potential participants. Community leaders and administrators of local institutions were contacted, first by letter and then with a follow up telephone call, in order to describe the study, and to discuss permission and procedures for recruiting

participants through their locations. These potential recruitment sites included a local state university, community college, Eastern local area churches, and the NAACP chapter. With permission, information on the study and requests for participants was provided in fliers, announcements, and/or publications in other media (e.g., newsletters, websites) of churches, public boards and agencies, and colleges and universities. When invited, live presentations with information about the study were conducted by the researcher. It was estimated that the proposed recruitment period would last for 1-2 months (or until the required minimum sample size is achieved). Information contained in the recruitment announcements may be found in Appendix K. Actual procedures and time frames are discussed in Chapter 4.

Planned Analyses

Data from the pencil-and-paper assessments were entered into SPSS software. Initial analyses were to clean and screen the data, inspecting the characteristics of the continuous data to confirm if they meet the assumptions of the planned parametric analyses. If not, modifications of outliers and other data transformations would be explored, and, if not successful, data will be treated as discrete and nonparametric statistics will be employed instead of parametric, as appropriate.

Pending results of the above evaluations of the data, I planned to test the research hypotheses using the following analyses:

Hypothesis 1. While main effects are expected both for the skin tone of the stimulus candidate and the content of the resume, the critical hypothesis here regards the interaction of these independent variables. This hypothesis was evaluated using a 3 X 2 factorial MANOVA with skin tone and resume quality of the candidate as the independent

variables, and the overall rating for favorability of the candidate as the dependent variable.

Hypotheses 2 and 3. Additional factorial MANOVAs with an added independent variable for observer's racial identity classification or observer's self-described skin tone category were planned to test hypotheses 2 and 3. In these analyses, possible interactions between the manipulated independent variables and the person variables would be evaluated to test for moderation effects. The significance of any of the interactions of the manipulations with the observer's skin tone or racial identity would indicate whether to accept or reject the null hypotheses for hypotheses 2 and 3.

Ethical Considerations

This research was conducted only after receiving approval from the Walden University Institutional Review Board (IRB 06-29-15-0070414). No other ethical reviews were required by any community partners. The ethical principles of autonomy, beneficence, and justice were honored through such considerations as informed consent, confidentiality, and recruiting to include participant diversity. Necessary and sufficient information was provided in written and oral communications during recruiting and when participants engaged in the study procedures. Informed consent must be based on sufficient information regarding one's rights and protections. The voluntary nature of participation was explained, including instructions that one could withdraw from the study (and asked that his data be deleted) at any time. Potential participants were informed of any known or suspected benefits or risks from participating in the study. In addition, all participants and the information they provide were treated with respect and

confidentiality. Participants were informed of how their data would be used and reported (e.g., only group level data will be reported with no identification of individuals). They also were informed that they may request to receive information on the final results of the study.

I worked directly with each participant, collecting his information and responses to the research questionnaires. Completed packets were secured by the researcher in a locked briefcase when in transit, and then in a locked file cabinet in the researcher's private office. Each participant was given an identification number. This identification number was used to organize all the data for a given individual in all data files that are then created in SPSS. The master list of participant names and matching participant numbers was maintained in a locked file in my private office. All data that were entered into digital files and any storage devices (e.g., hard drives, thumb drives) are password protected, available only to the researcher and members of his dissertation committee. The data are filed in a secure location and scanned on to a secure server to maintain the data. Data will be kept secure for a period of at least 5 years, as required by the university.

Summary

Chapter 3 provided details regarding the research design plan for this study. In summary, this experimental research design evaluated the impact of a male African American candidate's skin tone and quality of resume on interpersonal perceptions of the candidate among African American male observers. Following previous research by Harrison and Thomas (2009), the design systematically varied both the skin tone of a job

applicant and the quality of the resume he presents. Observers rated the candidate on hireability, as well as other indicators of source credibility. In addition to the manipulated variables, person variables---observer's own skin tone and stage of racial identity---were evaluated as possible moderators of perceptions of the candidate. Chapter 4 will clearly describe the processes and results of analyses of the data, vis-à-vis the research questions and hypotheses. Chapter 5 will focus mainly on the significance and limitations of the findings, the implications of social change, and ideas for future research.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine how situational and person variables influence African American observers' perceptions of other African Americans. Throughout this dissertation, it was my intention to explore possible processes of intraracial discrimination within the African American community. The African American community is defined here as all those who identify themselves as African American and meet ethnic and racial requirements. Racial discrimination is related to learned beliefs, expectations, prejudices, and behavioral and emotional response patterns to other individuals or groups based on prototypical characteristics such as race, gender, and religion. Groups are comprised of multiple individuals who, while being unique personally, also share some prototypical characteristics for common categorization. For example, gender is a differentiating characteristic for group identification. However, individuals within each gender classification can vary, which may be related to human elements related to gender (e.g., height, musculature, aggressiveness, and sexual orientation). Within these two distinct gender groups that are defined by classification prototypes, significant variations and possible subgroupings exist (Haslam et al., 1999; Roughgarden, 2009).

Social input from the environment is filtered through the personal cognitive constructs learned about others. As cognitive constructs are primed by cues in the environment, perceptions of the situation or another individual begin to match expectations. Judgments and behaviors tend to follow from perceptions and expectations.

Snyder and Stukas (1999) found that people (perceivers) tend to act in ways that cause the other person (target) to act in ways that will cause the target's behavior to conform to that of the perceiver. Furthermore, this study is unique in that, rather than studying White observers' evaluations of African American males as a function of skin tone and job qualifications, this study explores African American males' evaluations of the African American male stimulus.

The primary research questions were:

RQ1: To what degree do the skin tone and qualifications of a male African American job candidate influence observers' evaluations of that candidate?

RQ2 and RQ3: Does the male African American observer's own skin tone and stage of racial identity moderate relationships between situational stimuli and the observer's evaluations?

Chapter 4 will present information in five main sections: introduction, data collection, treatment/intervention, results, and summary.

Data Collection

Although my original plan was to collect all of the data in one session, this became impractical because I had difficulty originally finding enough people to participate. It made more sense to first find enough people who would meet the criteria for eligibility to be in the study and pretest them on the person variables and then have them return for the experimental session. Data collection was initiated in the summer of 2015 and expired June 2016. There were two phases to data collection: Phase I – pretesting and Phase II – experimental manipulation.

Phase I: Pretesting

As planned, I recruited participants at different churches, housing communities, and community centers, as well as online. There were specific criteria (African American males, above the age of 18) consistent with the study's requirements for final participation. Recruitment strategies targeted a variety of community groups (churches, housing, recreational centers) in order to increase the probability of getting a good cross-representation in terms of skin tone and stage of racial identity.

The recruiting process seemed to be moving smoothly during the first three months (July to September 2015); 73 volunteers were allowed the choice to complete the materials online or in paper form. All participants assured me that they would complete via online or paper form. In the end, none of the 73 provided any data. The same recruiting methods and options for completing the survey were employed during the second 3-month period. I returned to many of the same locations more frequently, reminding those interested in the study of how to complete the survey. I was made available for questions and as a visual reminder to maintain awareness and engagement of participants throughout the study. This technique was more effective, as the number of completed surveys increased to 22. Of the 22 completed, 21 of these volunteers also indicated they would participate in phase II. The participants were either able to complete phase I online or in person.

The next two recruitment periods (from October 2015 to February 2016, and March 2016 to June2016) resulted in the majority of survey completions. The number increased from 22 to 144. The increased recruitment was a result of more specific and

direct discussions with potential participants (see Appendix H). In total, 144 surveys were returned: eight of these were disqualified due to missing information. The final sample size for phase I was 136.

Phase II: Experimental Manipulation

Phase II of the study took significantly less time as the participants provided their contact information and were readily available to complete phase II. The time frame was less than two months to complete. As planned, the 136 participants were drawn from individuals who completed assessments in Phase I.

The core of the manipulation was a replication of research by Harrison and Thomas, using the same stimulus pictures for the three candidate skin tones and two versions of the resume. Each participant was presented with one picture of the candidate (one skin tone) and reviewed one version of the resume (lower or higher qualifications). I did not take into account even distribution on person variables (participants' skin tone and stage of racial identity) when randomly assigning to manipulation conditions. As will be discussed later, this process resulted in very uneven distribution of numbers of cases with various skin tones and stages of racial identity within the various experimental conditions, which then affected ability to perform some of the planned analyses.

When the participants first arrived, they were welcomed to the location and thanked for their willingness to participate in the second phase of the study. Some participants were tested individually and others in groups, as I was accommodating the participants' needs. Although phase II was completed either individually or in a group setting, the material was presented in the same manner for all.

Step I: Initial contact was made with the phase I participants who agreed to participate in the second phase of the study. During this initial contact, the participants were thanked for being a part of phase I. The participants were also thanked for being willing to be a part of Phase II.

Following the statement of appreciation, the participants were reminded of how the second phase was meant to be face-to-face. The participants were informed that the meeting could be in an individual or group setting if they so desired. They were informed of the process.

The participants were then informed of the locations that would be utilized during phase II of the study. The participants were offered a location of their choice which included a local community center, church, business, or location of their choice which was conducive to test taking with a desk, seat, and space. The majority of participants chose a local community center and a local business as their preferred locations.

The participants were then scheduled to participate in the phase II study interviews. This was attempted to improve the chances of procuring as many phase II participants at one time as possible. The process was the same for each interview segment.

Once the participants arrived, each person was again thanked individually as they entered for being willing to participate in phase II of the study. The group or individual was thanked again prior to beginning the interview. The participants were read the informed consent form again and given the opportunity to ask questions. The participants were informed of the opportunity to leave if they desired at any time as they were

participating by choice. The participants were informed that they would be receiving a packet and would need to review the packets items and complete a questionnaire regarding the selection of the candidate for the job after the review.

The participants were each allowed the opportunity to become comfortable in their desired seat/location. The individuals present were randomly assigned to one of the three skin tone conditions (light, medium, dark) and randomly assigned to receive either the high or low-quality resume. After reading each resume, the participant completed the questionnaires to evaluate the candidate (see Appendices E & J). The participants were given 15 minutes to review the resume, but no one took longer than seven minutes to review and begin the questionnaire. The participant was given 20 minutes to answer the questionnaire that followed the presentation of stimulus materials.

Following the completion of the questionnaire regarding candidate favorability, the participants were asked to describe their own perceived skin tone on a visual analogue scale. The three stimulus pictures of the candidate were displayed on a continuum, with the darkest skin tone photo as the left anchor, the medium skin tone photo as the middle anchor, and the lightest skin tone photo as the right anchor. Ten hash marks were included on the line, with the fifth mark falling at the middle anchor. The participants were asked to put a mark anywhere on the line to describe their own facial skin tone.

I documented the observed skin tone of each participant as he returned the material using the same analogue scale. This was completed to determine the participant's self-perception versus other perception of skin tone. There were not any significant differences in self versus my perception of his skin tone.

The final perception check was for the participants to report whether or not they believed the light skinned candidate to biracial or African American alone. The resume and questionnaires are all in the appendix (see Appendix A through F & J). The total amount of time allotted for the completion of Phase II was one hour; no one (individual or group) went over the hour that was allotted. The participants were thanked for their time, their willingness to stay, and to participate in Phase II of the study.

Results

Demographics of Participants in Phase II

There were 144 males who qualified from Phase I pretesting. However, eight of these indicated they would not be available for the phase II activities. These individuals' phase I information was excluded and placed with the other unusable data. The data for the eight were not included in further analysis of the study. The mean age for the final 136 male participants was 38.96 years (*SD* = 13.30 years). Other demographics of the participants are summarized in Table 1. Of those who participated in the experimental study, 86.2% were no longer students. The group was fairly well-educated with 61.9% of those who were not current students having completed at least some college. The participants had some college or trade school training with over twenty percent (26.6%) completing specialized educational training. At least 50% of their mothers completed some college. The majority of participants reported originating from families with their socio-economic status being between working class and middle class (working class = 45.1%; middle class = 28.5%). The participants reported having a good sense of health status, current health was good (53.1%) with less than three percent (2.4%) reporting very

poor health. The mental health status was rated positively as well, current mental health status to be good or better (good = 33.5%; very good = 53.8%). There was a small percentage of individuals struggling with their current physical health (very poor = 2.4%, poor = 3.1%) or mental health (poor = .9%). A majority (69.9%) were from urban communities. A majority (70.5%) reported they do not belong to any ethnic organization. Their home communities' racial compositions were racially mixed (unable to determine a majority) or mostly white (51% or more White).

Table 1

Frequencies for Demographic Characteristics of Participants in the Experimental Phase

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Racial/Ethnic Background		
African	2	1.6
African American	66	48.0
Black	54	39.3
West Indian/Caribbean Black	1	0.9
Hispanic Black	3	2.4
Mixed Black	8	6.0
Other	2	1.6
Total	136	100
Current Student		
Yes	18	13.7
No	118	86.2
Total	136	100
Not Current Student-Level		
Completed Education		
Some High School	5	3.8
HS Diploma/Equivalent	26	19.0
Some College	35	25.6

Table continues

Associate or two-year degree	5	3.8
Bachelor's or four-year degree	13	9.6
Some Graduate/Professional School	11	8.2
Graduate or Professional Degree	20	14.7
N/A	21	15.4
Total	136	100
Missing	2	1.4
Total	138	100
Individual Income		
<$10,000	7	5.3
Between $10,000 and $20,000	13	9.6
Between $20,000 and $30,000	7	5.3
Between $30,000 and $40,000	20	14.7
Between $40,000 and $60,000	10	7.4
Over $60,000	12	8.9
N/A Prefer not to answer	4	3.1
Total	73	54.3
No Answer	63	45.7
Total	136	100.0
Family Income		
<$10,000	1	.9

Table continues

Between $10,000 and $20,000	4	3.1
Between $20,000 and $30,000	2	1.6
Between $30,000 and $40,000	6	4.5
Between $40,000 and $60,000	10	7.4
Over $60,000	27	19.8
N/A or prefer not to answer	8	6.0
Total	58	43.3
No Answer	78	56.7
Total	136	100.0
Primary Home Community		
Rural (country)	23	17.0
Suburban (outside city or town)	13	9.7
Urban (City or town)	96	69.9
Total	132	95.7
No Answer	4	3.25
Total	136	100.0
Racial Composition of Home Community		
Mostly Black (51% or more Black)	39	28.6
Mixed (unable to determine a majority)	49	35.3

Table continues

Mostly White (51% or more White)	42	30.7
Other (Please specify)	6	4.6
Total	136	100.0
Number or Ethnic Organization		
0	97	70.5
1	26	19.0
2	7	5.3
3	5	3.8
5+	136	100.0
Mother's Education Level		
Elementary	8	5.9
Some High School	12	8.8
High School Diploma or Equivalent	26	18.9
Business or Trade School	6	4.4
Some College	18	13.1
Associate or two-year degree	13	9.5
Bachelors or four -year degree	9	6.6
Some graduate or professional school	2	1.5 Table continues

Graduate or professional degree	11	8.1
N/A or prefer not to answer	25	18.2
Total	130	94.3
No Answer	6	4.4
Total	136	100.0
Father's Education Level		
Elementary	10	7.3
Some High School	21	15.3
High School Diploma or Equivalent	26	18.9
Business or Trade School	5	3.7
Some College	10	7.3
Associate or two-year degree	4	3.0
Bachelor's or four-year degree	5	3.7
Some graduate or professional school	4	3.0
Graduate or professional degree	8	5.9
N/A or prefer not to answer	30	21.8
Total	123	89.2
No Answer	13	9.5
Total	136	100.0Table continues

Family SES		
Poor	14	10.3
Working Class	62	45.0
Middle Class	39	28.5
Upper Class	4	3.1
Upper Middle Class	13	9.6
Wealthy	1	.9
Prefer not to answer	3	2.4
Total	136	100.0
Current Health Status		
Very Poor	3	2.4
Poor	4	3.1
Fair	19	14.0
Good	73	53.1
Very Good	35	25.6
Prefer not to answer	2	1.6
Total	136	100.0
Current Mental Health Status		
Very Poor	1	.9
Fair	12	8.9
Good	46	33.5
Very Good	74	53.8

Table continues

Prefer not to answer	3	2.4
Total	136	100.0

Classification of Participants Based on Skin Tone

Participants were asked on their Phase I survey to self-describe their skin tone (Extremely light to Extremely dark). At the time of the face-to-face Phase II appointment, I also used the same scale to describe the participant on skin tone. Due to low frequencies in some skin tone categories (both self-described and evaluator-described), some categories were combined, resulting in three groups for skin tone: Light (combined Extremely Light, Light, and Somewhat Light), Medium, Dark (combined Somewhat Dark, Dark, and Extremely Dark).

Table 2 summarizes participant's skin tone, as self-described by the participant, and as described by me. There was a significantly high association between the self-descriptions and my own of the participant's skin tone (Chi Square [4] = 260.873, $p <$ .001). Self-described skin tone was used for further analyses involving participant skin tone.

Unfortunately, I randomly assigned participants to stimulus skin tone condition without consideration of the person variables. This resulted in uneven distribution of group sizes across research conditions. Also, as noted above, the participants' skin tones were reduced to three categories (light, medium, and dark). Table 3 presents the distribution of participants within the three groups for the between-group experimental variable cross tabulated with the three categories for the participants' skin tones.

Table 2: Participant's self-description

Relationship Between Participant Observer's Self-Description of Skin Tone and Researcher's Description of Participant's Skin Tone

	Researcher's Description		
Participant's Description	Light	Medium	Dark
Light	25	0	0
Medium	0	41	1
Dark	0	2	69

Table 3:

Frequencies of Participant Observers with Different Skin Tones Across Three Skin Tone Conditions for Between-Group Experimental Variables

	Stimulus Candidate in Photo			
Observer	Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Light	12	7	6	25
Medium	16	11	15	42
Dark	24	17	28	69
Total	52	35	49	136

Classification of Participant Observers on Stage of Racial Identity

Using scores from the CRIS, which was completed in Phase I, participants were classified for stage of racial identity. In total, 27 participants (19.6%) were classified as Pre-Encounter (PE), 13 (9.4 %) as Immersion-Emersion (I-E), 89 (64.5 %) as Internalization (I), and 7 (5.1%) could not be classified. In order to have more even distribution of group sizes into Racial Identity groups, PE and IE were combined to create the Pre-Immersion group (PI; 40 participants) and the remaining 89 fell into the I group.

There were many more participants in the PI racial identity category who saw the light skin tone candidate, and too few in the medium or dark skin tone conditions, than would have occurred if they had been assigned evenly to skin tone conditions. If I could go back and do again, I would have made sure all of these things were taken into account for random assignment. I would have put one third of each of the two racial identity groups into each of the three candidate skin tone conditions.

Final Distribution of Participants in Experimental Conditions

Table 4 presents the final distribution of participants when they were coclassified by their stage of racial identity and their own skin tone for each of the three conditions for the between-group experimental variable, candidate's skin tone. The worst part of not planning for the minimum number for each group is there are as few as one, and fewer than 10, in enough cells to threaten the reliability of the analyses as they were planned. Necessary modifications to plans are presented in the next section.

Table 4:

Frequency of Observer Participants on Stage of Racial Identity and Skin Tone Across Three Between-Group Conditions for Candidate's Skin Tone

Participant's Stage of Racial Identity	Participant's Skin Tone	Stimulus Candidate's Skin Tone			
		Light	Medium	Dark	Total
Preencounter + I-E					
	Light	10	2	1	13
	Medium	4	3	2	9
	Dark	9	4	5	18
	Total	23	9	8	40
Internalization					
	Light	2	4	6	12
	Medium	11	10	8	29
	Dark	15	22	11	48
	Total	28	36	25	89

Initial Data Analyses

All data were hand entered into an SPSS data file (version 23). The first step was to inspect for any data entry errors and to correct them. This was completed. The next step was to look for missing data within the evaluations completed by the participants. No missing values were detected.

Evaluating the Dependent Measures

The items that were selected to evaluate observers' perceptions of the favorability of the candidate included the six items on hireability (from Harrison & Thomas, 2009), as well as 15 items from Ohanian (1990) to evaluate attractiveness (5 items), expertise (5 items), and trustworthiness (5 items). I first evaluated the internal reliability of each of the scales. Results are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5:

Internal Reliability for the Items on the Three Subscales to Assess Observer Ratings for Candidate's Hireability, Trustworthiness, and Expertise

Subdimension	**Number of Items**	**Cronbach's Alpha**
Hireability	6	.928
Attractiveness	5	.445
Trustworthiness	5	.798
Expertise	5	.813

Because the Cronbach's alpha value for the Attractiveness scale was considerably lower than the acceptable minimum of .70, I decided not to include this subscale in further analyses.

My next step was to evaluate the relative independence of the remaining three scales, hireability, trustworthiness, and expertise. In order to test this assumption, a factor analysis was conducted of all items that were presented to the participants. The rotated matrix from the factor analysis (principal components analysis, Varimax rotation) confirmed three factors. Factor 1, which accounted for 27.98% of the variance, appeared to be defined by the six items from the hireability subscale. Factor 2 (19.60% of variance) primarily was defined by the five items from the assumed expertise subscale. Factor 3 (17.53%) was generally defined by the five items that were conceptually compatible with the trustworthiness subscale.

As a result of these analyses, the three separate subscales were treated as independent. The mean rating of the items in each subscale was computed and used as the measure for that subscale.

Table 6:

Results of the Principal Components (Varimax Rotation) Factor Analysis of Questionnaire Items for Candidate's Hireability, Trustworthiness, and Expertise

	Principal Components		
	1	2	3
Recommend Hire	.819	-.077	-.079
Hire Experience	.856	-.148	-.182
Candidate Hireability	.853	-.093	-.142
Hire Applicant	.814	-.159	-.157
Quality of Resume	.841	-.116	-.086
Confidence	.848	-.138	-.088
Dependability	-.110	.202	.754
Honesty	-.147	.330	.688
Reliability	-.230	.321	.608
Sincerity	-.185	.142	.654
Trustworthiness	-.266	.693	.268
Expertise	-.015	.703	.357
Experience	-.007	.158	.671
Knowledge	-.047	.728	.344
Qualification	-.161	.778	.309
Skillfulness	-.187	.797	.038

Data Cleaning and Screening

Distributions of the computed scale scores then were evaluated for outliers. There were some outliers among the scores for Trustworthiness and Expertise. As there was no reason to believe that these scores were due to errors, it was assumed that they were capturing more extreme examples from the population. The Winsor method for correcting for outliers was utilized. This method retains the outlier cases, but corrects the score values to change them to the value that falls at 1.96 standard deviation above or below the mean in the distribution. The 2 high outliers on Trustworthiness that were above 3.01 were changed to 3.0. The 8 low outliers that were below 2.74 on the Expertise scale were converted to a value of 2.75. Examination of skewness and kurtosis, as well as histograms, indicated no problems with univariate normality of the dependent variables. Other assumptions were tested as part of the multivariate analyses.

Tests of Research Hypotheses

I will present results separately for each of the research hypotheses. Prior to running and interpreting the proposed MANOVAs and ANOVAs, the appropriate univariate statistical assumptions were tested. The assumption of univariate normality was assessed with the Shapiro-Wilk's test and a Q-Q plot for each dependent variable. The univariate homogeneity of variance assumption was tested with a Levene's test. No violations of univariate normality or homogeneity were observed. As part of the MANOVA analyses, Mahalanobis distances were used to examine multivariate outliers. Variance inflation factors were used to examine multicollinearity (VIF values of less than 10 indicate no evidence for multicollinearity). The Box's *M* test was used to evaluate

equality of covariance. Results of these evaluations are reported for the tests of each research hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1: Interaction Effect of Candidate's Skin Tone with Quality of Credentials

H_o1: There will be no interaction effect in terms of perceptions of observers between the candidate's skin tone and the quality of his or her credentials.

H_{a1}: Candidate's skin tone will moderate the effect of the quality of his credentials on the perceptions of observers. In essence, it is expected that the positive effects of the higher quality resume will be greatest for the candidate with the lightest skin tone, while the negative effects of the lower quality resume will be greatest for the candidate with the darkest skin tone in terms of observers' perceptions of the candidate.

Results. Mean ratings for favorability of candidate for trial 1 data are presented in Table 7. See Table 8 for results of factorial MANOVA to test hypothesis. The MANOVA analyses did not show any statistical significance with alpha = .05. There were no differences, nor trends in evaluations of the candidate with respect to the main effects for quality of the resume, candidate skin tone, or the interaction between the two. There was no replication of the Harrison and Thomas findings for hireability, nor for the other dependent measures of the current study.

Table 7:

Mean Ratings for Favorability of Candidate (Hireability, Trustworthiness, Expertise) for Three Skin Tones, Two Resume Quality Conditions

	Resume Quality	Skin Tone of Picture with resume	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Hireability	High	Light	6.10	.62	25
		Medium	6.03	.69	26
		Dark	5.90	.82	17
		Total	6.02	.70	68
	Low	Light	6.18	.70	26
		Medium	6.09	.79	24
		Dark	6.02	.75	17
		Total	6.11	.74	67
	Total	Light	6.14	.66	51
		Medium	6.06	.73	50
		Dark	5.96	.78	34
		Total	6.07	.72	135
Trustworthiness	High	Light	1.62	.47	25
		Medium	1.73	.49	26
		Dark	1.69	.59	17
		Total	1.68	.50	68

Table continues

	Low	Light	1.89	.69	26
		Medium	1.69	.62	24
		Dark	1.69	.52	17
		Total	1.77	.62	67
	Total	Light	1.76	.60	51
		Medium	1.71	.55	50
		Dark	1.69	.54	34
		Total	1.72	.57	135
Expertise	High	Light	1.58	.48	25
		Medium	1.64	.45	26
		Dark	1.52	.53	17
		Total	1.59	.48	68
	Low	Light	1.74	.65	26
		Medium	1.50	.52	24
		Dark	1.45	.33	17
		Total	1.58	.55	67
	Total	Light	1.66	.58	51
		Medium	1.57	.48	50
		Dark	1.48	.44	34
		Total	1.58	.51	135

Table 8:

Factorial 2 X 3 MANOVA to Examine Effect of Candidate's Skin Tone and Quality of Resume on Evaluations of Candidate's Favorability

Source	Wilks' Lambda	F-value	df	Error df	Sig.
Candidate's Skin Tone	.96	.87	6	254	.52
Quality of Resume	.98	.81	3	127	.49
Candidate's Skin Tone X Quality of Resume	.98	.55	6	254	.77

Hypothesis 2: Moderating Effects of Observer's Stage of Racial Identity

H_o2: Evaluations of the African American stimulus candidate will not vary in relation to the African American observer's own stage of racial identity.

H_a2: In general, value of skin tone as a marker of race will vary according to the observer's own stage of racial identity as an African American. Those observers who devalue their own race (Stage 1 Pre-encounter) should evaluate the darker skinned African American candidate significantly less positively than the lighter skinned African American candidate. By contrast, those observers who devalue Whites relative to African Americans (Stage 3 Immersion-Emersion) should evaluate the lighter skinned African American candidate less positively than the darker skinned African American candidate. However, those observers who have less focus on the race/racial features of the candidate

(Stage 4 Internalization/Black acceptance) will show the least differences in their evaluations of the darker skinned and lighter skinned African American candidates.

Results. A 3 (Candidate's Skin Tone) X 2 (Quality of Resume) X 2 (Racial Identity Group) factorial MANOVA was conducted for mean ratings of evaluations of favorability of the candidate. Results of the MANOVA are found in Table 10. The MANOVA analyses did not show any statistical significance with alpha = .05. There were no differences, nor trends in evaluations of the candidate with respect to the quality of the resume, racial identity, or the interaction between the two.

Table 9:

Factorial 3 X 2 X 2 MANOVA to Examine Effect Resume Picture Skin Tone, Quality of Resume, and Racial Identity on Evaluations of Candidate's Favorability

Source	Wilks' Lambda	F-Value	df	Error df	Sig.
Candidate Skin Tone	.96	.87	6	254	.52
Quality of Resume	.99	.43	3	123	.73
Racial Identity	.99	.05	3	123	.99
Racial Identity X Quality of Resume	.99	.53	3	123	.67

Hypothesis 3: Moderating Effects of Observer's Skin Tone.

H_o3: Evaluations of the African American stimulus candidate will not vary in relation to the observers' own skin tone.

H_a3: Based upon the similarity hypothesis, it is expected that those whose own skin tone is generally more socially valued, that is, lighter toned skin, will value the candidate like himself most positively, while those whose own skin tone is least valued, that is, darkest skin tone, will value the candidate like himself least positively. That is, light-skinned African American observers will particularly favor the light skinned candidate, while the dark-skinned African American observers will particularly devalue the dark-skinned candidate.

Results. Table 10 presents the results of the 3 (Candidate's Skin Tone) X 2 (Quality of Resume) X 3 (Observer's Skin Tone) factorial MANOVA for the mean ratings of the favorability of the candidate. The MANOVA analyses did not show any statistical significance with alpha = .05. There were no differences, nor trends in evaluations of the candidate with respect to the quality of the resume, candidate skin tone, self-described skin tone, or the interaction between.

Table 10:

Factorial 3 X 2 X 2 MANOVA to Examine Candidate's Skin Tone, Quality of Resume, and Observer' Self-Described Skin Tone Factorial Analysis for Mean Rating of Candidate's Favorability

Source	Wilks' Lambda	F-Value	df	Error df	Sig.
Candidate Skin Tone	.96	.87	6	254	.52
Quality of Resume	.98	.74	3	127	.53
Self-Described Skin Tone	.97	.60	6	254	.73
Self-Described Skin Tone X Quality of Resume	.99	.12	6	254	.99

Summary and Transition

This study examined how situational and person variables affected African American observers' perceptions of another African American. The work of Harrison and Thomas was replicated for this study with 136 African American men who met the study criteria. Data were collected from African American males in an area of the southwestern United States through two phases of the study. The first phase involved the use of an online survey and the second phase included a face to face component for the experimental manipulation. The situational variables that were manipulated included the skin tone (light, medium, dark) and the qualifications of the hypothetical job candidate. The qualifications were important as the experiment sought to determine the importance

of skin tone in interaction with qualifications of a candidate in evaluations. The Harrison and Thomas (2009) study's design was expanded in the current research to include two-person variables that were hypothesized to serve as moderators of the interpersonal perceptions: the observer's own skin tone and his stage of racial identity.

There were no significant differences or trends in evaluations of the candidate with respect to the main effects for quality of the resume, candidate skin tone, stage of racial identity, self-described skin tone, expertise, trustworthiness, nor interactions between any of the factors. These findings and their implications will be discussed further in Chapter 5. Focus of attention will be given to integrating the results of this study with previous research in discrimination, prejudice, and racism, limitations of the current study, and recommendations for future research into intraracial interpersonal perceptions and evaluations.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

The purpose of this quantitative experimental study was to examine how situational and person variables affected African American observers' perceptions of another African American. In this study, African American males evaluated a hypothetical male African American job applicant based on presentation of a stimulus picture (light, medium, dark skin tone) and a resume (lower qualifications, higher qualifications). This part of the design was a replication of previous work and materials by Harrison and Thomas, although they studied predominantly White observers' evaluations of the candidate. I deviated from Harrison and Thomas in that my consideration was of two-person variables as possible moderators of interpersonal perceptions: the observers' own skin tone and stage of racial identity.

I conducted this study in response to a gap in research regarding African Americans' evaluations of other African Americans where skin tone of the target is considered. There are strong social implications for increasing understanding of intraracial prejudice and discrimination, especially among social groups that have been a longtime target of outgroup prejudice and discrimination. I added consideration of the African American male's own skin tone and stage of racial identity as potential moderators of intraracial evaluations, because within American culture, skin tone carries with it attributions of status and worth, and stage of racial identity represents different attitudes related to being Black. Expanding awareness and understanding of factors that

may influence perceived value of self and other African Americans will allow society to address intraracism in ways similar to how interracial racialism has been addressed.

Findings

There were no statistically significant findings or trends with respect to the research questions and predictions. For the sample examined and the methods employed, there were no indications that African American males' evaluations of a hypothetical male African American candidate were influenced by the candidate's skin tone nor the quality of his resume. Further, neither the evaluator's own self-described skin tone nor stage of racial identity was related to the evaluations of the candidate.

Limitations and Recommendations

A few of the limitations of this study included those anticipated and discussed in Chapter 1. Limitations for any research largely revolve around threats to external and internal validity (Campbell & Stanley, 1963). Ways to increase external validity include unbiased sampling from the target population. The target population for this study was limited to only those who were reachable for recruitment within the resources available and then volunteered for this research. Further, all recruiting was limited geographically to areas within the immediate community and surrounding areas (Eastern New Mexico and West Texas). However, recruitment did target both local residents and individuals from the armed forces (whom are part of the local community and from many geologically different areas) who also frequented the anticipated recruitment sites. Only males were eligible as participants. Thus, generalization was automatically reduced due to these factors.

The experimental material (resume, picture) was presented in a way not obvious to participants (skin tone selection), but some may have become aware of the purpose of the study while filling out the questionnaire. They did not indicate any knowledge regarding the purpose of the study if they did figure it out. The evaluator of this current dissertation study was consistent in presentation of the instructions and stimuli to not bias the results. Selection bias was not an apparent issue in my sampling and pretesting methods. Participants were shown a photo of the stimulus person rather than seeing a live individual. The use of photos allowed for matched facial expressions, features, and skin tone (light, medium, dark).

A few unanticipated limitations emerged during the study. First, the sample sizes were not big enough for some of the statistical analyses that were needed to conduct factorial ANOVAs and MANOVAs to evaluate for moderating effects of observer's own skin tone and stage of racial identity. This was due to the fact that I did not systematically assign participants so that there would be equal group sizes for these person variables within all cells for each experimental condition. A larger group sample size and adequate number of cases in each of the co-classifications for independent variables would have allowed for more reliable evaluations of these hypotheses.

Another possible limitation is that the materials used by Harrison and Thomas were developed and used primarily with White majority group samples. They may have been effective for manipulating skin tone for African American targets when White observers were used, but they may not have been sensitive enough for skin tone

differentiation when African Americans are used. One recommendation is to do further research to ensure that racially sensitive stimulus materials are used.

Another significant question involves whether the resumes differed enough in content between the high resume and low resume versions. I found the differences between the two resumes to be very subtle. The stimulus materials that worked for Harrison and Thomas may not have been as culturally sensitive or powerful enough actually to manipulate the qualities of the independent variables when working with an all African American male sample population.

Finally, prior to the study, I could not predict the percentage of my sample who would fall into each of the racial identity groups, nor each of the skin tone groups. Actual sampling outcomes were problematic, especially for a good representation of various racial identity groups. Much larger sample sizes probably would be needed to achieve adequate representation in terms of these person variables.

Conclusion

My goal was to study intraracial discrimination among African Americans. Replicating previous research by Harrison and Thomas, I explored African American males' perceptions of male African American job candidates who varied in terms of skin tone and were presented with either a lower or higher quality resume. Although there were no statistically significant findings or trends from my study, I would like to argue the value of continued research in this area, so society can better understand unique processes that skin tone may play in intraracial discrimination among African Americans.

Intraracial discrimination among African Americans is a socially significant issue and there is much yet to learn about its dynamics and how to address it. I developed much more appreciation for this issue over the years of working on this study and speaking with African American men along the way. One of my participants said that "we don't tend to support each other" by volunteering for research. I hoped that the results of this study would lead to many reflective solutions to the racism issue. I hoped that the results of this study would add new information that could possibly lead to significant social change within the African American community and ultimately between races. The social change is the interpersonal interaction improvement within African Americans and how relationships improve due to this change. Additional research is needed to improve overall understanding of this phenomenon, with improvement of research methods and material manipulations.

One thing that became abundantly clear as the study was underway is that understanding the many factors influencing intraracial discrimination is not a main focus in society. Although there does appear to be a need for more knowledge and understanding regarding discrimination within the African American community, the current racial climate tends to cause intraracial discrimination to be placed on the back burner. In order to initiate motivation for change within the current client, African Americans must begin to bring attention to the issue. This may not be the most popular topic to bring up as an African American, due in part to the fact racism between groups is still alive and blatantly obvious. In weeding out discrimination, it may be more important to address the discrimination within the African American community and then work on

eliminating discrimination between groups. Changing the mindset/culture of the entire population may seem impossible, but creating change in a single group begins the shift toward the eradication of intraracial discrimination. Behaviors are significantly impacted by the way in which an individual is perceived. Snyder and Stukas (1999) found that people (perceivers) tend to act in ways that cause the other person (target) to act in ways that will cause the target's behavior to conform to that of the perceiver. While engaging in the self-fulfilling prophecy, one may not view how their behavior impacted the situation; all one may see is that the individual or group acted exactly the way he or she believed they would act (Snyder & Stukas, 1999). The plan is to continue research focusing on intraracial discrimination based on skin tone, seeking to develop more culturally sensitive, valid, and reliable measures, while also furthering exploring and bringing attention to this issue that is overlooked due to tine interracial discrimination that is ever present. The continued work is an effort to improve relationships within the African American Community and between the races as well, eliminating racism for good.

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Appendix A: Stimulus Photos: Skin Tone Conditions

Light-skin condition Medium-skin condition Dark-skin condition

I am using this image with the permission of the individual pictured as a replacement for the images Dr. Harrison used.

Appendix B: Higher Level Resume Example

George S. Johnson*

2240 Peachtree St. NW ~ #355 ▫ Atlanta, GA 30322 ▫ (404) 555-1234

Career Objective

To obtain an executive position in Account Management focusing on Integrated Direct Marketing and Analysis

Summary of Qualifications

- Ten years experience as an organized, energetic, and client-focused professional with a balance of technical and marketing skills.
- Skilled in competitive analysis, targeting markets, identifying prospects and following through to secure new business.
- A creative communicator and presenter; able to establish rapport with individuals and groups at all organizational levels.
- A motivated team player, with a reputation for perseverance and success in marketing and direct sales efforts.

Professional Experience

2000–present Thompson Marketing Associates (TMA) Atlanta, GA
Director of Metro Atlanta Area Marketing

- Led team to develop strategic business plan for Atlanta metro area market penetration, including analysis of organization's strengths, weaknesses, and competition.
- Conducted research to identify optimal target markets for business expansion.
- Mentored engineering staff in the areas of: targeting/selection, elements of sales calls, evaluating competition, and proposal development
- Initiated innovative strategies to increase TMA's name recognition in new markets
- Reviewed proposals to ensure accuracy of technical approach and ability to meet client's time and budget requirements.

1997–2000 Online Solutions Boston, MA
Business Development Manager

- Developed and implemented marketing strategy for new regulatory compliance program, resulting in increased revenues.
- Created and executed strategic and tactical marketing plans for key accounts.
- Developed and launched a series of new products and services to increase response rates, reduce customer defection, and increase client profitability.
- Initiated innovative strategies to increase TMA's name recognition in new markets
- Reviewed proposals to ensure accuracy of technical approach and ability

to meet client's time and budget requirements.

1994–1997 Expert Marketing Managers Boston, MA
Marketing Specialist & Assistant

- Negotiated with visual and merchant teams for appropriate space and shop enhancements to improve flow and increase sales.
- Researched and reviewed prospective clients using online computer services, referring optimal candidates to Marketing Manager.
- Secured event speakers and coordinated transportation and accommodations for out-of-town guests.

Education

M.B.A., Goizueta Business School of Emory University, Atlanta, GA, 2001

B.B.A., Boston University, Boston, MA, 1994

References

(available upon request)

Appendix C: Lower Level Résumé Example

George S. Johnson*

2240 Peachtree St. NW ~ #355 ▫ Atlanta, GA 30322 ▫ (404) 555-1234

Career Objective

To obtain an executive position in Account Management focusing on
Integrated Direct Marketing and Analysis

Summary of Qualifications

- Seven years' experience as an organized, energetic, and client-focused professional with a balance of technical and marketing skills.
- A creative communicator and presenter; able to establish rapport with individuals and groups at all organizational levels.
- A motivated team player, with a reputation for perseverance and success in marketing and direct sales efforts.

Professional Experience

2000–present Online Solutions Atlanta, GA
Business Development Manager

- Developed and implemented marketing strategy for new regulatory compliance program, resulting in increased revenues.
- Created and executed strategic and tactical marketing plans for key accounts.
- Developed and launched a series of new products and services to increase response rates, reduce customer defection, and increase client profitability.
- Created and executed strategic and tactical marketing plans for key accounts.
- Defined, developed, and implemented marketing automation software resulting in 100% improvement in user productivity.

1994–2000 Expert Marketing Managers Boston, MA
Marketing Specialist & Assistant

- Negotiated with visual and merchant teams for appropriate space and shop enhancements to improve flow and increase sales.
- Researched and reviewed prospective clients using online computer services, referring optimal candidates t Marketing Manager.
- Worked with marketing, advertising, merchandising, and account executives to develop strategies that generated sales of new or selected products.

Education

B.B.A., Boston University, Boston, MA, 1994

References (available upon request)

Appendix D: Questionnaire Example

1. To what degree would you recommend the candidate for hire based on overall resume?

2. To what degree would you recommend the candidate for hire based on prior work experience?

3. To what degree would hire the candidate based on overall resume?

4. If you were in charge of hiring for the position in question, what is the likelihood you would hire this applicant?

5. How qualified does the candidate appear based on the resume?

6. How confident are you the candidate could perform the job?

Appendix E: Demographics Questionnaire

Section I

(a) Male □ Female □

(b) How old are you? _____

(c) Please indicate your ethnic background **by circling the answer** that applies to you. Choose **only one** category.

a. African	e. Hispanic Black
b. African-American	f. Mixed _____/_____
c. Black	g. Other _____
d. West Indian/Caribbean Black	

(d) If you are **currently** a student, are you a high schooler □ □an undergraduate □ or a graduate student □?

(e) Name of School: _____ 5b. City where school is located: _____

(f) What is your semester standing in the school you listed in #5?

_____

(g) What is the racial composition of the school listed in #5? Mostly Black □ □Mixed □ □Mostly White □

(h) What is your current grade point average? _____

(i) If you are attending college, what is your major?

_____

(j) If you are **no longer a student**, what is the highest education level obtained? Circle one.

a. Elementary school	d. Business or trade school	g. Bachelor's or four-year degree
b. Some high school	e. Some college	h. Some graduate/professional school
c. High school diploma/equivalent	f. Associate or two-year degree	i. Graduate or professional degree

(k) If you are **no longer a student**, what is your current occupation?

_____

(l) What religious affiliation do you hold? _____

(m) How often do you attend religious services? Seldom □ □Sometimes □ Often □

(n) How important is your religion to you? Not Important □ □Somewhat Important □ □Very Important □ □(o) What is the best estimate of your/your family's yearly income before taxes? Circle "Y" for yours and "F" for family.

a. Less than $10,000 Y F	d. Between $30,000 and $40,000 Y F
b. Between $10,000 and $20,000 Y F	e. Between $40,000 and $60,000 Y F
c. Between $20,000 and $30,000 Y F	f. Over $60,000 Y F

(p) How would you describe the primary community in which you were raised?

Rural □ Suburban □ Urban □ Other _____

(q) What is the racial composition of the community listed in #16? Mostly Black □ □Mixed□ □Mostly White □ □(r) Are you a United States citizen □ □a permanent resident of the US □ or Other □ _____?

(s) How many ethnic organizations do you belong to? 1 2 3 4 5 5+

(t) What is the highest education level obtained by your mother (or female guardian) and father (or male guardian)? For mother, <u>circle</u> the "M" in the appropriate box; for father, <u>circle</u> the "F."

a. Elementary school M F	f. Associate or two-year degree M F
b. Some high school M F	g. Bachelor's or four-year degree M F
c. High school diploma or equivalent M F	h. Some graduate or professional school M F
d. Business or trade school M F	i. Graduate or professional degree M F
e. Some college M F	

(u) How would you describe your family's socioeconomic status?

Poor □ Working Class □ Middle Class □ Upper Middle □ Wealthy □

(v) How would you describe your current physical health?

Very Poor □ Poor □ Fair □ Good □ Very Good □

(w) How would you describe your current mental health?

Very Poor □ Poor □ Fair □ Good □ Very Good □