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Strains of skin tone bias: implications for adolescent delinquency and residential segregation for blacks

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University of Iowa

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STRAINS OF SKIN TONE BIAS: IMPLICATIONS FOR ADOLESCENT
DELINQUENCY AND RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR BLACKS

by

Karletta White

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy
degree in Sociology in the
Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

May 2017

Thesis Supervisor: Professor Karen Heimer
Associate Professor Mary E. Campbell

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Graduate College
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy degree
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To Evan and Evonnah-Marie

“The best way to find yourself is to lose yourself in the service of others.”

Mahatma Gandhi

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ABSTRACT

In two separate studies, I examine the relationship between skin tone and important psychological well-being, delinquency, and social integration outcomes for Blacks, testing not only if skin tone is important in determining these outcomes but attempting to disentangle the mechanism by which the inequality is produced. More specifically, using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), in *study one* I draw on important propositions of Agnew's (1992) General Strain Theory to investigate the extent to which darker skin impacts youths' feelings of strain, psychological well-being, and delinquency. Study one found skin tone to be significantly associated with certain facets of well-being but surprisingly there were no direct effects on various types of strain. Skin tone is a strong predictor of one's involvement in serious weapon violence, controlling for prior delinquency. Results also show that skin tone matters more for female adolescents' odds of being suspended compared to their male counterparts, while certain forms of strain significantly impact the effect of skin tone on one's involvement in delinquent activity.

In *study two*, I continue my investigation of skin tone as an external or interracial source of discrimination using the National Survey of American Life (NSAL). In this study I am concerned with whether Blacks with darker skin tones are more likely than their lighter-skinned counterparts to live in neighborhoods that they perceive as more segregated and with fewer amenities and community resources. Although these data did not allow me to directly test how the respondents came to reside in their present community (i.e. racial steering or neighborhood choice), I examine skin tone discrimination as well as major types of everyday discrimination (e.g. being denied a

bank loan or housing opportunity) experiences reported by Blacks. Overall, findings suggest that darker-skinned Blacks fare worse in regard to frequent experiences of skin tone discrimination from Whites. Skin tone is significantly related to respondent's perceived seriousness of drug activity in their current neighborhood, suggesting that skin tone may have some impact on one's perceived neighborhood quality. Further results, implications, and conclusions are discussed.

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

In two separate studies, I examine the relationship between skin tone and important psychological well-being, delinquency, and social integration outcomes for Blacks. In study 1, I investigate the extent to which possessing darker skin impacts youths' feelings of strain, psychological well-being, and delinquency. The study found skin tone to be significantly associated with certain facets of well-being but surprisingly there were no direct effects on various types of strain. Results show that skin tone is a strong predictor of one's involvement in serious weapon violence, controlling for prior delinquency. Results also show that skin tone matters more for female adolescents' odds of being suspended compared to their male counterparts, while certain forms of strain significantly impact the effect of skin tone on one's involvement in delinquent activity.

In study 2, I am concerned with whether Blacks with darker skin tones are more likely than their lighter-skinned counterparts to live in neighborhoods that they perceive as more segregated and with fewer amenities and community resources. I examine skin tone discrimination as well as major types of everyday discrimination (e.g. being denied a bank loan or housing opportunity) experiences reported by Blacks. Overall, findings suggest that darker-skinned Blacks fare worse in regard to frequent experiences of skin tone discrimination from Whites. Skin tone is significantly related to respondent's perceived seriousness of drug activity in their current neighborhood, suggesting that skin tone may have some impact on one's perceived neighborhood quality.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

There has been ongoing dialogue in research on race that acknowledges that colorism plays an important role in influencing social and economic outcomes for Blacks (e.g. see Neal & Wilson, 1989; Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Okazawa-Rey, Robinson, & Ward, 1986; Porter, 1991; Keith and Herring, 1991; Hunter, 2002; Herring, Keith, and Horton 2004). Colorism is the differential treatment of light- and dark-skinned Blacks both intraracially (by Blacks) and interracially (by non-Blacks). Research shows that skin tone is a key phenotypical factor affecting many outcomes, with Blacks with lighter skin tone being more likely to receive both social and economic benefits compared to Blacks with darker skin. More specifically, lighter-skinned Blacks tend to have more years of education, higher incomes, and in some cases even better health than dark-skinned Blacks (Keith and Herring, 1991; Hunter, 2002; Herring, Keith, and Horton 2004; Dressler, et al., 1999). However, dark-skinned Blacks tend to have a greater sense of authentic membership or feelings of closeness to the ethnic identity of the Black community (e.g. Hunter, 2005; Rockquemore and Brunisma, 2001).

Equally important, research shows that the benefits and disadvantages associated with skin tone continue to affect relationships throughout the different stages of life. For example, during childhood and early adolescence, Blacks are socialized to understand that along with their race, the darkness of their skin will also define how they are treated by their peers, teachers, and even by members of their own family (e.g. Wilder and Cain, 2011; Peters, 1985; Spencer et al., 1997). Thus, these interactions ultimately affect how Blacks of varying skin tones are perceived and treated by society and how they perceive

themselves. For example, Blacks with lighter skin tones are perceived as more physically attractive (e.g. Hill, 2002) and are more likely to have high self-esteem (e.g. Wade, 1996; Robinson and Ward, 1995). Dark-skinned Blacks on the other hand are more likely to experience discrimination when seeking employment or higher status occupations and even within the criminal justice system compared to their lighter-skinned counterparts (e.g. Wade et al., 2004; Johnson et al., 1998; Massey et al., 1993; Viglione et al., 2011).

What we do not see in the existing research on skin tone inequality are tests of the psychological and social strain caused by skin tone bias early in life and whether the effects of this strain increase the likelihood of deviant behavior. There is also a major gap in the skin tone literature on the relationship between skin shade and neighborhood conditions for Blacks, although Denton and Massey's (1989) research on Latino segregation has hinted at the possible effects that skin tone may have on neighborhood conditions and segregation of Blacks. Most prominent studies examining perceptions of neighborhood quality that include Blacks are focused on the effects of race alone (e.g. Sampson and Raudenbush, 1997; 2004; 2005; Quillian and Pager, 2001; Franzini et al., 2008; Taub, 1984). Therefore, the purpose of this project is to evaluate whether skin tone functions as a source of differential exposure to discrimination and if this exposure has any relationship with delinquency outcomes for Black adolescents and perceived neighborhood conditions of Blacks in adulthood.

Objective of Studies

There are two primary questions I seek to address with my studies regarding the relationship between skin tone and certain delinquency, social, and neighborhood outcomes. First, to what extent does the differential treatment of dark-skinned Black

adolescents at home and in school affect their experiences with different types of strain, psychological well-being, and delinquency compared to their lighter-skinned counterparts? More specifically, in study 1, I evaluate the extent to which having darker skin impacts strain (school strain, social strain, perceived prejudice, and depression) and psychological well-being during adolescence and if these factors are related to engagement in weapon violence, general acts of delinquency and the likelihood of being suspended from school. I am using the term psychological well-being to encompass three factors: self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism. All three (although definitions vary) have been considered significant factors in studies of colorism and play an important role in shaping attitudes about future goals throughout the life course, including the likelihood of engaging in delinquent activity (e.g. Hays and Ellickson, 1990; Aas et al., 1995; Ludwig and Pittman 1999).

Second, I explore the relationship between skin tone and residential segregation for a separate sample of Black adults. In study 2, I am concerned with whether Blacks with darker skin tones are more likely than their lighter-skinned counter-parts to live in neighborhoods that they perceive as more segregated and with fewer amenities and community resources. More specifically, I continue my investigation of how others perceive and treat Blacks with varying skin tones for a nationally representative sample of Black adults and I ask if the negative stereotypes associated with dark-skinned Blacks increase their likelihood of experiencing residential environments that they perceive as segregated, dangerous and/or lacking in community resources. Prolonged exposure to such environments significantly affects social mobility. Childhood exposure to segregated neighborhoods may also affect how adults perceive their current neighborhood.

I argue that skin tone discrimination operates in the same manner as racial discrimination does to create disparate treatment for persons with dark skin tone, which ultimately causes additional barriers for members of the less desired skin tone group. I am proposing a relationship between skin tone and the likelihood of negative outcomes for dark-skinned Blacks due to: 1) individual-level increases in social and psychological strain, which in turn will be associated with the likelihood of an adolescent engaging in delinquent activity, and 2) negative stereotypes that associate darker skin with criminality exposing dark-skinned Blacks to greater levels of discrimination, which in turn affect the likelihood of dark-skinned Blacks living in racially segregated neighborhoods with fewer institutional resources.

Therefore, to better understand if and how skin tone ultimately effects one's involvement in delinquent activity, I utilize concepts and major propositions of strain theory to guide my predictions on the effect skin tone has on deviant behavior once I take into account the varying levels and different types of social and psychological strain as well as available coping resources for Black adolescents. Agnew (1992) suggests that there are specific internal (e.g. self-esteem) and external factors that aid in shaping one's individual and personal coping resources as well as their emotional reaction to strain. Agnew also focuses particularly on the negative social relations an individual experiences with significant others (i.e. parents, teachers, and peers), all of which I consider in the current examination of skin tone and delinquency. My argument would suggest that one's involvement in delinquent activity is due to a combination of both internal and external mechanisms of skin tone discrimination. First, involvement in weapon violence and general acts of delinquency can be encouraged by feelings of strain and lower

psychological well-being due to the negative stereotypes associated with darker skin tones that can negatively affect one's self-perception as well as the discriminatory treatment experienced by Blacks with darker skin. Second, being suspended from school can occur as a result of an adolescent's struggle with strain and psychological well-being or the discriminatory treatment of school officials and/or their implicit bias toward dark-skinned Blacks. I utilize data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health) to explore the relationship between skin tone and adolescent strain, psychological well-being, and delinquency outcomes. Add Health is ideal for this project because it includes a nationally representative sample of adolescents and includes information on personal demographics as well as detailed measures of involvement with delinquency and personal well-being. Although these data (Add Health) did not allow me to directly test the attitudes of school officials, I control for the adolescent's perception of prejudiced peers and past and current delinquent behavior at the time of being suspended to test whether skin tone disparities remain even when we compare adolescents with similar backgrounds.

Significance of Studies

Most examinations of skin tone tend to focus primarily on the social and economic outcomes for Black adults. Rarely are the experiences of adolescents or young adults taken into consideration (e.g. Porter, 1991; Robinson and Ward, 1995). Currently, there is only one other study that has examined the effects of skin tone on adolescent delinquency, a recent (2013) study by Hannon and colleagues which also uses the Add Health survey. They found that skin tone had a positive and significant effect on the odds of females being suspended from school, but not males. My study extends these findings

by investigating the relationship between skin tone and school suspension, weapon violence and general delinquency in addition to multiple psychological outcomes for a sample of Black youth.

Regarding the relationship between skin tone and perceptions of neighborhood characteristics, my argument would suggest that dark-skinned Blacks may incur the brunt of concentrated neighborhood effects because they are being perceived by Whites as “more criminal” and less desirable overall, which in turn may also lead to more racial steering and discrimination by realtors and state funded housing programs. To test for the continuing impact of skin tone in adulthood on the proposed factors of neighborhood quality, I utilize the National Survey of American Life (NSAL). The NSAL is ideal for examining the proposed outcomes because it also includes a nationally representative sample of Blacks with information on personal demographics, in-depth measures of discrimination, and perceptions of neighborhood characteristics. These data (NSAL) did not allow me to directly test how the respondents came to reside in their present community (i.e. racial steering or neighborhood choice), but I examine reported skin tone discrimination as well as major (e.g. being denied a bank loan or housing opportunity) and everyday (e.g. treated with less respect or people act as if they are afraid of you) types of discrimination experiences and if these experiences impact how Black adults perceive their current neighborhood conditions. Other studies have utilized these data to examine many of the same measures of discrimination being used in the current study (e.g. Hudson et al., 2012; Harnois and Ifatunju, 2011) and their relationship with skin tone (e.g. Keith et al., 2009; Hersch, 2006; Monk, 2014; Miller et al., 2013) but not the relationship between skin tone, discrimination, and perceived neighborhood outcomes.

This study will contribute to the growing body of evidence showing that Blacks are more likely than Whites and other racial and ethnic minorities to reside in neighborhoods with fewer resources and amenities than others of comparable socioeconomic backgrounds (e.g. Massey, 1990; Massey et al., 1998). More importantly, there is currently no existing empirical evidence testing whether skin tone affects the likelihood of residing in a racially segregated, poor or dangerous neighborhood for Blacks, the central research question of study two. I also use Wave IV data from Add Health to provide a second test of my hypotheses in study two, but it is important to note that my analyses are not based on the same sample of Black respondents being used in study 1 because some of the respondents present in the earlier waves left the sample before Wave IV. The age of respondents in Wave IV range between 24-32 years of age. This age range provides a good test of neighborhood quality as it will allow me to compare individuals with varying levels of education and occupational status, both of which are very important predictors of neighborhood outcomes.

It is also important to note that most of the existing research assessing phenotypical factors that affect outsiders' perceptions of dark-skinned Blacks perception of guilt or criminal justice outcomes use a combination of "Afrocentric" features as a predictor of harsher outcomes (e.g. Eberhardt et al., 2006; Blair, Judd, and Chapleau , 2004; Gyimah-Brempon & Price, 2006; Pizzi, Blair, & Judd, 2004; and Squire and Newhouse, 2003). The current proposal for studies one and two attempt to isolate the effects of skin tone alone rather than using a combination of "Afrocentric" features.

This dissertation continues with a review of the literature and the theoretical framework introduced in this chapter, followed by empirical investigations of these

propositions. Chapter 2 begins with an examination of the important literature on skin tone and its role in determining the life chances of Blacks, because of both intraracial and interracial differences in perception and treatment. Next, I review the literature on contemporary effects of skin tone for Blacks, including relationships with income, educational attainment, and residential segregation. Amidst this literature I also present the relevant research on the relationship between race, skin tone, criminal justice outcomes and the role of the media to demonstrate how the perception of threat and criminality are constructed that influences the negative treatment of dark-skinned Blacks. Then I examine theories of delinquency, including General Strain Theory (Agnew, 1992), while highlighting relevant research on self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism as these factors not only play an important role in shaping adolescents' self-perception but also as buffers between strain and delinquency. To be clear, I am by no means suggesting that lighter-skinned Blacks never experience discrimination from outsiders, but instead testing whether the likelihood and frequency of such events and associated negative outcomes are higher for dark-skinned Blacks. In chapter 3 I present my hypotheses, describe the data and methods used for analyses, and then the results for study one's examination of skin tone effects for Black adolescents. I do the same in chapter 4 for my examination of Black adults in study 2, including separate sets of analyses and results from the NSAL and the Add Health measures of the respondent's neighborhood environment in order to compare the results from the two data sources. I conclude this dissertation, in chapter 5, with a discussion of the main findings and conclusions from the data, and discussion of the implications of the findings from these two studies.

CHAPTER II.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholars across multiple disciplines have established that not only do we live in a society that places great emphasis on skin color as it relates to categorizing a person into a particular race category, but also how the darkness or lightness of that person's skin color can shape their individual life experiences, especially in the case of Black Americans. The foundation for exploring the relationship between skin tone and beauty as well as education and economic outcomes has been established. However, many questions still remain regarding the impact that colorism may have in other areas of one's life. My goal with the current research is to explore whether skin tone functions as a source of differential exposure to discrimination and if this exposure has any relationship with delinquency outcomes for Black adolescents and perceived neighborhood conditions of Blacks in adulthood. To investigate these questions, I utilize several interconnected bodies of literature to guide both my understanding and interpretations of the unique role colorism plays in the lives of Black Americans at different stages of life. These works include theoretical and empirical investigations of: colorism (historical and contemporary effects), racial socialization and racial discrimination, Black stereotypes and perceptions of criminality, skin tone and criminal justice outcomes, stress and psychological well-being (self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism), strain and delinquency, residential segregation and concentrated disadvantage.

Although my dissertation project includes the tests and analysis for two separate studies (an adolescent sample and adult sample), the current chapter will serve as my review of the literature for both studies because it is my belief that colorism works to

create both individual level and structural level barriers for darker skinned Blacks that can impact their involvement in delinquency and exposure to less desirable neighborhood conditions. First, I begin with with a historical account of the origin(s) of colorism and then its contemporary effects, to demonstrate that colorism is a phenomena that continues to have lasting effects for Blacks, especially darker skinned Blacks. Next, I discuss research on “color consciousness” and racial socialization because they demonstrate the role family and peers play in creating and fostering skin tone bias in early childhood for Black adolescents. Next, I discuss research on racial discrimination and interracial skin tone bias to demonstrate how outsiders begin to form negative perceptions of darker skinned Blacks. In addressing these contexts, I explore studies of skin tone and Black stereotypes and skin tone and criminal justice outcomes to investigate whether negative stereotypes that are unique to darker skinned Blacks, mainly the association of darker skin with criminality and danger, increase levels of discrimination and in turn affect the likelihood of dark-skinned Blacks living in racially segregated neighborhoods as well as the likelihood of being suspended from school. To reiterate, in study one, I will investigate whether darker skinned Black adolescents experience individual-level increases in social and psychological strain, which in turn could be associated with the likelihood of an adolescent engaging in delinquent activity. Therefore, I then provide an overview of the major propositions of Agnew’s (1992) General Strain Theory to guide my exploration of skin tone and delinquency, while highlighting the literature on self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism to detail the complicated relationship between these factors and skin tone as well their impact on strain and delinquency. My approach to the remainder of the literature review is to address the literature on residential segregation

and concentrated neighborhood disadvantage as I argue that these factors are also impacted by the negative association of darker skinned Blacks with criminality. In my review of the segregation literature I detail relevant studies on skin tone and differences in income, education, and occupational attainment as these factors are related to access to higher quality neighborhood resources. I conclude this chapter with a summary of the literature and my research agenda for studies one and two.

Historical Significance of Skin Tone

Colorism refers to “the allocation of privilege and disadvantage according to the lightness or darkness of one’s skin” (Burke, 2008, p. 17), and in the case of Black Americans the disadvantages are generally allocated to those with darker skin (e.g. Hunter, 2000; Hunter, 2007; Keith and Herring, 1991; Edwards, 1973). The origin of “colorism,” or skin tone bias, in the United States can be found in the history of racial slavery (Drake and Cayton, 1962; Frazier, 1957; Russell et al., 1992). Although individuals with a wide range of racial backgrounds and skin tones were all assigned to the “Black” category by the “one drop rule,” which was designed to ensure that even those individuals with a White parent would still be designated “Black” and therefore enslaved (Davis, 1991), lighter-skinned slaves were often afforded easier household duties and most importantly less violent treatment by their overseer (Billingsley, 1968; Franklin, 1980) than darker-skinned slaves. In addition to their differential treatment, slaves were also recognized according to different color/race identifiers to represent their varying levels of African ancestry. For example, terms such as quadroon or octoroon were used to represent Blacks with one-fourth or one-eighth African ancestry. In the early nineteenth century, the term “mulatto” was also used to represent lighter skinned Blacks,

or those with at least three-eighths African ancestry (Bowman, Muhammad, and Ifatunji, 2004; Landry, 1980; Horton and Sykes, 2004; Edwards, Carter-Tellison, and Herring, 2004; Rockquemore and Brunson, 2001). As mentioned in Williamson's (1980) review of the life experiences of mulattoes in the United States, "Affluent, free mulattos were treated as a third group by Whites in the lower South, which placed them in an intermediate position between White and Black, slave and free" (pp.15). Ultimately, this new third group or intermediate group between Blacks and Whites was granted access to many privileges that darker skinned slaves could only dream about, such as land ownership and even high ranking political positions. Although not very common, it was the practice of some slave owners to allow select lighter skinned slaves to learn to read and even provide the opportunity for some to be freed of their slave status (Hunter, 2013). This ultimately created a hierarchy within the Black population, and lighter-skinned Blacks continued to experience advantages over their darker-skinned peers long after the end of slavery.

Research conducted during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950's and 1960's predicted that skin tone would become irrelevant for future examinations of Black stratification patterns (Frazier, 1957), partly because the one drop rule was eventually embraced by Blacks as a means to create solidarity within the Black community (Davis, 1991; see also Gullickson, 2005; Hochschild and Weaver, 2007). Creating a feeling of solidarity between light and dark-skinned Blacks during this time would prove to be a difficult feat however, as many darker skinned Blacks still found themselves being excluded from many well-known Black institutions of higher education and social fraternities and sororities because of colorism practices of the past. Admission to these

select organizations and institutions would only be granted if the individual could pass the “blue vein” test and/or the “paper bag” test, which signified that the individual’s skin color was light enough for their veins to be visible and/or their skin shade was not darker than that of a brown paper bag (Harrison 2010; Hunter 2010).

Hochschild and Weaver (2007) suggest however, that the Civil Rights Movement may have encouraged darker and lighter skinned Blacks to concern themselves with developing a strong racial identity and uniting all Blacks rather than dividing themselves based on varying skin tones. They argue that this explains what they call the “skin color paradox:” the lack of any substantial difference in the political attitudes of dark and light skinned Blacks despite differences in their experiences with discrimination (Hochschild and Weaver, 2007). We also see that both light and dark skinned Blacks are supportive of positive stereotypes associated with Blacks and often reject negative stereotypes like trifling, lazy, and weak (Bowman, Muhammad, and Ifatunji, 2004). However, preferences for lighter skin and straight hair (Bond and Cash, 1992) and associations with internalized stereotypes of “beauty” and “civilization” (Fanon, 1967) remain both within and outside the Black community, due to racial stereotypes that symbolize Black as “bad” and White as “good” (Neal and Wilson, 1989).

Developing Color Consciousness or Skin Tone Bias

Bias from Within

Research shows us that “color consciousness” or beliefs about skin tone discrimination are passed down from one generation to another. Black mothers and other women (e.g. grandmothers and aunts) in their family play a significant role in shaping children’s early perceptions about skin tone (Collins, 1997; 2000). The qualitative research of Wilder and Cain (2010) provides an in-depth and detailed picture of the role

family, women in particular, plays in the development of skin tone bias in early childhood today, and the lasting effects of skin tone bias for women on into adulthood.

One woman states,

So one day my mom, being red, being light-skinned, she comes [and] I'm telling her about my current choice. We were driving down [the street] and he was walking past, . . . and I was like "mom, that's him right there." My mom turns to me and stops the car and says, "Who?! That Black boy there?" I was in complete shock [laughter]. I was like "Black boy?" . . . She [said] "I'm tired of you dating these black skinned boys." And I was like "black-skinned?" . . . And then she told me . . . "I want my grandchildren to have nice hair and a nice skin tone." And I'm looking like are you serious?... how is it that you're with daddy, and daddy's darker than me?" She was like, "well that's how it's supposed to be, that the light-skinned and dark-skinned are supposed to be together and not dark on dark and light on light."

Interestingly, the work of Wilder and Cain (2001) also recognizes the operation of skin tone bias for Black women raised in the U.S. but born elsewhere. Because the woman quoted above had a light-skinned grandmother, the privileges afforded to her because of her grandmother's light skin were transferred to her while growing up in Jamaica. However, once entering college she was no longer given preferential treatment because of her grandmother's skin tone, essentially showing the implications for group differences in other contexts, such as the Caribbean, where lighter skin is also given preferential treatment (e.g. Charles, 2007; 2003; Wildera and Cain, 2010). Although my current focus is on Blacks from the United States, this is important to consider as the current sample of Blacks adults in study 2 also include a large sample of self-identified Caribbean-Blacks (or Blacks of Caribbean descent), a group that may actually encounter more or less racism and discrimination than native Blacks because of the added stigma (or protective factor) of immigrant status (e.g. Williams et al., 2007; Waters, 1994).

The process of racial socialization then becomes an important process for Black adolescents because it helps to develop a positive ethnic identity, which throughout their life can be used to protect Black adolescents “against feelings of dissonance” and maintain healthy levels of stress (e.g. Stevenson, 1994). According to the findings from Landor and colleagues (2013), this process of racial socialization may also be one that operates differently for boys and girls and this display of “gendered colorism” may even have an impact on the difference in the type and quality of parenting displayed to darker skinned children. More specifically, Landor and colleagues found that while lighter skinned girls are often the recipient of higher quality parenting (e.g. care about you and discipline) when compared to their darker skinned counterparts, darker skinned boys were the recipient of higher quality parenting and racial socialization (e.g. the promotion of mistrust messages) compared to their lighter skinned counterparts. This study along with others have argued that the reason for these gendered differences in colorism and racialization are the result of having to over protect or over racialize darker skinned Black males who often are the most disadvantaged in terms of income and education attainment. However, as Wilder and Cain (2011) have demonstrated, deep rooted beliefs of colorism can continue to negatively affect how Black adolescents perceive themselves and the outside world later in life.

Bias from the Outside

To reiterate, a person can experience skin tone bias both interracially and intraracially, both of which can have negative internal implications (e.g., for self-esteem or self-worth) as well as external implications (e.g. discrimination), especially for dark-skinned Blacks. Research on skin tone continues to show that darker skinned Blacks are

more likely to self-report experiences of discrimination in everyday life than their lighter skinned counterparts (e.g. Hersch, 2006; Klonoff and Landrine, 2000; Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers, & Jackson, 2008; 2010; Keith et al., 2009), and there is a considerable body of evidence supporting the link between skin tone discrimination and multiple health and social outcomes for Blacks (e.g. Klonoff and Landrine, 2000; Krieger et al., 1998, Keith et al., 2009; Hersch, 2006; Monk, 2014; Miller et al., 2013). For example, the findings from Klonoff and Landrine's (2000) study suggest that there may be a significant relationship between skin tone and racial discrimination. With a sample of 300 Black adults, they found that the darker skinned subjects in their study were eleven times more likely than the lighter-skinned subjects in their study to report having experienced more frequent and more stressful types racial discrimination. In particular, 67% of those reporting in the high level group of discrimination were darker skinned Blacks compared to only 8.5% of lighter skinned Black adults.

Additionally, there is also a growing body of research suggesting that minority youth, Black youth in particular, are now more aware of racial discrimination and are reporting having experienced at least one discriminatory incident (e.g. followed around in stores or people act as if they are afraid of you) in the previous year (e.g. Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers, & Jackson, 2008; Gibbons, Gerrard, Cleveland, Wills, and Brody, 2004;). Other studies also suggest that adolescents are now attributing their perceived discriminatory treatment to other characteristics besides their racial/ethnic group membership to more physical characteristics (Matthews et al., 2005), including skin tone (Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers, & Jackson, 2008; 2010). For example, Matthews et al. (2005) examined the discrimination experiences of Black and White adolescents between the

ages of 14-16 and found that following race/ethnicity, physical appearance was reported most frequently as the reason for their perceived discrimination. These findings hold true for both Latino and Puerto Rican (Szalacha et al., 2003) adolescents as well.

It is also important to note that many studies of skin tone discrimination for Black adults and adolescents have more recently begun to utilize NSAL data to examine many of the same measures of discrimination being used in the current study and their relationship with skin tone (e.g. Hudson et al., 2012; Harnois and Ifatunji, 2011; Seaton et al., 2008; 2010; Keith et al., 2008). Since the primary goal of the NSAL was to collect data on the specific physical and mental health status of Blacks, the majority of studies utilizing NSAL that include skin tone as a measure of discrimination examine these effects in relation to various factors of physical and psychological well-being, including (but not limited to) depression, self-esteem, mastery, and general life satisfaction (e.g. Hudson et al., 2012; Harnois and Ifatunji, 2011; Seaton et al., 2008; 2010; Keith et al., 2008). A recurring theme within much of this research suggests that consistent contact with both intraracial and interracial skin tone bias as an adolescent has the potential to weaken the social bonds darker skinned Blacks have with their families, peers, and personal communities. These negative experiences also shape how they perceive personal experiences of skin tone discrimination and racial prejudice from outsiders, both of which are examined in the current studies.

Lastly, using a light reflectivity measure of skin tone, where lower values of the percentage of light reflected indicate dark skin and higher values of reflectance indicate light skin, Krieger et al.'s (1998) study provides interesting findings about the relationship between skin tone on the respondent's experiences of (self-reported)

racial discrimination. In five of the seven situations, such as being out in public, they do find that both dark and light skinned Blacks report experiencing racial discrimination in different settings. Specifically, Krieger and colleagues find that lighter skinned Black men, regardless of social class, report experiencing unfair treatment and discrimination due to “race or color” at school, while darker skinned working-class Blacks, regardless of gender, are more likely to report experiencing racial discrimination “from police or in the court.” These findings are particularly relevant to the current project as they show that skin tone bias may be impacting the decisions of police officers, judges and other persons of authority (e.g. teachers) who possess the power to not only decide whether or not a person should be punished but the severity of the punishment as well. Meaning, for example, that if a teacher favors students with lighter skin, the teacher may be more likely to recommend school suspension for a darker skinned student who committed a minor infraction that would result in a lighter skinned student only receiving a verbal warning for committing the same infraction.

Interestingly, Hunter (2016) argues that the classroom interactions between teachers and students may be influenced by the “halo effect” that unconsciously comes into play during our evaluations of other people, whereby our “positive evaluation about one trait (often physical attractiveness) in a person influences the appraisal of other aspects of that person’s characteristics such as intelligence or likeability” (p. 56). Therefore, since society perceives lighter skin as more attractive and often associates lighter skin with more positive traits (i.e. good and intelligent), it is likely that lighter skinned students will be evaluated more favorably by teachers. Research by Keith (2009) supports this notion. For example, she (Keith, 2009) found that lighter skinned students,

women in particular, were both perceived as more attractive and held to higher standards by their teachers compared to darker skinned students. More specifically, the teacher's positive perceptions of lighter skinned students often resulted in lighter skinned students receiving greater encouragement and higher marks in school. Thus, these same lighter skinned female students were also able to achieve higher levels of education and employment than their darker skinned counterparts.

This theory would also suggest then that not only would the overall school experience be better for lighter skinned students because of the positive relationships with their teachers and peers afforded by their lighter skin, but they may also be perceived as being less disruptive or having fewer behavioral problems overall. If the "color-based halo effect" operates in a manner that provides social advantages for lighter skinned Blacks, allowing them to be perceived as more trustworthy and desirable, could it then mean that darker skinned Blacks are being perceived as just the opposite, less trustworthy and more dangerous?

Dark Skin and the Perception of Threat

Many researchers argue that the reason for the disparate treatment of darker skinned Blacks is the negative stereotypes associated with dark skin tones, which depict darker skinned Blacks as the "dark and dangerous criminal" and have been shown to impact both Blacks and non-Blacks perceptions of darker skinned Blacks. The negative portrayal of dark-skinned Blacks in the media cannot be ignored as television and other media outlets have played a major role in shaping the perceptions of dark-skinned Blacks for not only Whites but all race and ethnic groups. Dixon and Maddox (2005) for example, find that when the victim or the perpetrator displayed on the news is of a darker

skin complexion, they are more likely to be remembered and perceived as more criminal. A famous example of negative media perception and skin tone is the TIME magazine cover issued in October of 1995 where the magazine darkened the color of O.J. Simpson's skin on his mug shot, presumably making him appear more menacing and guilty. Darkened photos of then Presidential candidate Barack Obama were also used by the McCain campaign in negative advertisements in an attempt to associate Barack Obama with crime and terrorist activity (Messing et al., 2009). These and other studies suggest the impact that the media, especially news coverage for example, may have on how negative stereotypes for darker skinned Blacks are perpetuated in everyday life.

More recently, research on criminal justice outcomes has begun to demonstrate the importance of including skin tone in studies of police contact and sentencing disparities, as these studies may provide insight into how the "dangerous criminal" stereotype is affecting how darker skinned Blacks are perceived and treated in real life (e.g. Barlow and Barlow, 2002; Viglione et.al, 2011; Gyimah-Brempong and Price, 2006; White, 2015). For example, the study by Eberhardt et al. (2006) hints to the negative perceptions that criminal justice officials maintain for different skin tones, as the photos where the individual was "more Black" or those with darker skin were most often selected when asked to rate the physical characteristics most associated with "being Black." This is similar to what Maddox and Gray (2001) found when their diverse sample of undergraduate students described darker skinned Blacks as "criminal" and used more negative and stereotypic traits when doing so, whereas positive traits were often used to describe lighter skinned Blacks.

According to the “focal concerns” perspective developed by Steffensmeier et al. (1993; 1998), criminal justice officials are often left to assess factors outside of those considered legally relevant, namely, the blameworthiness of the offender, protection of the community, and practical constraints and consequences in sentencing decisions, for which young Blacks are most disadvantaged. In reference to the actual sentencing of Blacks with various skin shades (and/or Afrocentric features), Viglione and colleagues (2011) find that Black women who possess lighter skin (as perceived by a correctional officer) are sentenced to 12% less prison time and actually serve 11% less prison time than women who possess darker skin (Viglione et al., 2011). Similarly Black first time offenders in Georgia with the lightest skin tone received prison sentences averaging three and a half months longer than Whites, but Black offenders with the darkest skin tone received prison sentences eighteen months longer than Whites (Burch, 2005). A famous study by Baldus et al. (1998) showed that Black males whose photographs were perceived as more racially “stereotypical” (based on features such as lips, hair texture, nose width, and skin tone) were more likely to have received a death sentence than defendants perceived to possess less stereotypical features, even though all of the photographs tested were of Black defendants who were convicted of murdering white victims (Baldus et al. 1998; see also Eberhardt et al., 2006).

Blair et al. (2004) also argues that “Afrocentric” features are influential in sentencing decisions as a result of the associations made between features deemed “Afrocentric” and stereotypical criminal traits. More specifically, an offender whose “Afrocentric facial features” score is 1 standard deviation above their group mean receives a longer sentence by 7 to 8 months even after controlling for past criminal record

(Blair et al., 2004). These findings remained significant even after controlling for type of offense, socioeconomic status, and other relevant demographic variables.

Another study that may actually demonstrate how darker skin is linked to an outsider's or authority figure's decision to enforce discipline is my (White, 2015) investigation of skin tone and police contact. Using Add Health, I investigated the impact of skin tone on the likelihood of being stopped or arrested by police for a sample of Black and a sample of Latino/a adolescents. My findings show that skin tone affects the likelihood of being stopped or arrested by the police for Blacks. More specifically, Blacks experience at least an 18% increase in being stopped and arrested as skin tone darkens (5 pt. scale) before controlling for relevant demographic and neighborhood variables. Gender and prior delinquency also significantly increased the odds of being stopped and arrested for both Blacks and Latinos.

It is also important to note that most of the existing research assessing phenotypical factors that affect outsiders' perceptions of darker skinned Blacks perception of guilt or criminal justice outcomes use a combination of "Afrocentric" features as a predictor of harsher outcomes (e.g. Eberhardt et al., 2006; Blair, Judd, and Chapleau, 2004; Gyimah-Brempon & Price, 2006; Pizzi, Blair, & Judd, 2004; and Squire and Newhouse, 2003). Very few of these studies, however, have used measures of skin tone as a single independent factor (e.g. Viglione and Bales, 2011; Hannon et al., 2013). A major limitation of using "Afrocentric" features as a predicting variable is that they can include a combination of features such as lips, hair texture, nose, and skin tone. Using a combination of physical features makes it difficult to separate the effects of skin tone alone.

There is also a growing body of research on implicit attitudes and impression formation that have begun to disentangle the effects of skin and facial features (e.g. Benzeev et al., 2014; Stepanova and Strube, 2012; Hagiwara et al., 2012; Stepanova and Strube, 2009). A recent study by Stepanova and Strube (2012), for example, used skin tone (light and dark) and facial physiognomy (Eurocentric and Afrocentric) in affective priming tasks (used to measure implicit attitudes). They found that skin tone and facial physiognomy show independent priming effects in the affective priming tasks, where lighter faces were evaluated more positively than darker faces. This study along with others suggest that it is better to analyze skin tone alone than as a factor among a group of characteristics, although it is still possible for the facial features of the respondent to impact the observer's (e.g. interviewer) coding of skin tone. This is why the current proposal for studies one and two attempt to isolate the effects of skin tone alone rather than using a combination of "Afrocentric" features.

Finally, while these studies were successful in linking skin tone to specific sentencing outcomes, all except for my study (2015) used the public records of the offenders in each state. This is advantageous for studies of criminal justice outcomes because they provide the researcher with relatively large sample sizes. However, these specific data do not include testable measures of social and psychological resources that Agnew and others would suggest could alter an individual's trajectory toward crime, so they do not test the mechanism I am proposing here for the cause of these skin tone disparities. To reiterate, I am also arguing that skin tone should be a significant predictor in studies of disciplinary sanctions, school suspension in particular. However, I view skin tone as a significant predictor of school suspension because of its ability to impact the

discrimination experienced by darker skinned Blacks above and beyond just their past (and current) delinquent behavior. Unlike these studies, I am not focusing specifically on the bias among criminal justice officials who designate more lenient sentences to Blacks possessing lighter skin tones. Instead, I am testing whether skin tone is an important factor in determining deviant behavior both within and outside of the school setting. I also control for levels of strain and state of psychological wellness reported during the time of the suspension and the occurrence of weapon violence. For the current study, I not only use the available delinquent histories of the adolescents, but the data also allow me to incorporate specific measures of strain and psychological well-being as a means to test the accumulation of disadvantages that affect delinquency outcomes. Therefore, I now turn my focus to a review of the literature on Agnew's General Theory (GST) which I use to guide my empirical investigation of skin tone and delinquency.

Linking Skin Tone to Adolescent Delinquency

As the above literature on race and skin tone stratification has demonstrated, darker skinned Blacks report more experiences of discrimination and are more often perceived as threatening and therefore deserving of harsher treatment. Furthermore, the research concerning Black adolescent's experiences of discrimination and skin tone bias have found varying levels of perceived discrimination to not only negatively impact adolescent's feelings of depression and overall feelings of psychological well-being (e.g. self-esteem), but also delinquent behaviors (e.g. Peck, 2013; Rumbaut, 1994; Seaton et al., 2008; Simons et al., 2006). This had led me to investigate the relationship between skin tone and delinquency. In this section I review the literature on the early and major propositions of Agnew's General Strain Theory (GST), investigations of GST using

samples of Blacks and Black youth, studies of skin tone and psychological well-being (self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism), and studies of skin tone and delinquency to better understand the relationship skin tone and delinquency for Black adolescents.

Agnew's General Strain Theory

Traditional and more recent theories of strain all view criminal behavior or one's engagement in delinquent activity as an adaption to stressful situations. Deviant behavior often becomes a strategy for coping with such stress when other positive outlets are absent or limited. Therefore, I now visit the relevant literature on Agnew's General Strain Theory (Agnew, 1992) as its core principles are more applicable than other influential theories (e.g. learning or control) to examine whether skin tone may be operating as an additional source of strain prompting Black adolescents to engage in delinquent behavior, the main focus of the current study of adolescent delinquency.

Traditionally, strain theory asserted that differences in criminal behavior could be explained by our failure to achieve positive goals, in particular money (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960; Cohen, 1955; Merton, 1938). However, Agnew's (1992) General Strain Theory (GST) elaborates on Merton's original view of strain as just a structural condition by introducing strain at the individual level. Strain theory, Agnew's (1992) GST in particular, distinguishes itself from other social psychological theories of crime and deviance by emphasizing the role of negative relationships with others. Whereas social control and social learning (Akers, 1985; Hirschi, 1969) theories would argue that crime is more probable for darker skinned Blacks because of their weaker bonds to society and relationships with other deviant peers, Agnew's GST would assert that Blacks are more likely to engage in delinquent activity because of their disproportionate experiences of

strain in their social sphere in addition to having fewer resources for coping with strain in conventional ways.

In its beginning stages, Agnew (1992) defined strain as "relationships in which others are not treating the individual as he or she would like to be treated (p, 48)." More specifically, for Agnew, crime is likely the result when an individual experiences a broad range of strain, more specifically, those that (1) prevent or threaten to prevent you from achieving positively valued goals, (2) remove or threaten to remove positively valued stimuli that you possess, or (3) present or threaten to present you with noxious or negatively valued stimuli. (Agnew, 1992). While the presentation or and/or removal of stimuli is important to the relationship between strain and crime/delinquency, GST also recognizes that strain alone does not motivate deviant behavior for every person. Therefore, drawing from the literature on stress and aggression, Agnew's expansion of strain theory included the element of negative emotionality as a causal link between strain and delinquency.

Several empirical studies have assessed the major propositions of GST and found support for its main hypotheses (e.g. Agnew and Brezina, 1997; Agnew et al., 2002; Agnew and White, 1992; Aseltine, Gore, and Gordon, 2000; Bao, Haas, and Pi, 2004; Broidy, 2001; Hoffmann and Su, 1997; Jang and Johnson, 2003; Mazerolle and Maahs, 2000; Mazerolle, Piquero, and Capowich 2003; Moon et al., 2009; Morash and Moon, 2007; Paternoster and Mazerolle 1994; Piquero and Sealock, 2004) including the effect, both directly and indirectly, of negative emotional reactions on the relationship between strain and crime (e.g. Agnew & White, 1992; Jang and Johnson, 2003; Paternoster & Mazerolle, 1994; Mazerolle & Piquero, 1998; Hoffman & Cerbone, 1999; Baron, 2004),

especially anger (e.g. Piquero and Sealock, 2010; Mazerolle & Piquero, 1998; Mazerolle, Piquero, & Capowich, 2003). GST has also been considered useful in explaining the race/ethnic differences in crime patterns (e.g. Eitle & Turner, 2002; 2003; Jang, 2007; Jang & Johnson, 2003, 2005; Jennings et al., 2009; Perez et al., 2008; Rocque, 2008; Hoskin, 2011; Higgins & Gabbidon, 2009; Piquero & Sealock, 2010). For Blacks in particular, Agnew (2006, p.146) posits that rates of offending for this group are higher than other race/ethnic groups because Blacks are more likely to experience strains that are conducive to crime and have fewer legitimate resources for coping with strains because of their social disadvantages.

Skin Tone and Strains Unique to Blacks

More recently, Agnew (2001) breaks down the characteristics of strains that make criminal behavior more likely an outlet. These characteristics include: 1.) when the strain is perceived as unjust (e.g. discrimination), perceived as high in magnitude (e.g. excessive criminal victimization) associated with low social control (e.g. parental discipline/lack of social support), and create pressure or incentive to engage in criminal behaviors (e.g. being bullied by peers). According to Agnew (2011), these characteristics are well suited to explain the strains conducive to delinquent/criminal coping of minorities, Blacks in particular, because they are more likely than any other group to come from disrupted families, live in poverty stricken neighborhoods with deficient schooling, and experience discrimination and injustice (Agnew, 2006). For similar reasons, Kaufman and colleagues (2008) argue that the propositions of GST are also well suited to empirically explain Blacks' overrepresentation of offending because of their exposure to disproportionate amounts and different types of strain and stress. More

specifically, Kaufman and colleagues (2008) argue that compared to Whites, Blacks are exposed to disproportionate amounts and different types of strain and stressful situations that include but are not limited to: economic disadvantage, parental strain, negative relations with teachers, witnessing violence, along with racial discrimination and prejudice.

As with other researchers who have utilized GST to assess the delinquent and criminal offending patterns of Blacks in general (e.g. Simons et al., 2006; Kaufman et al., 2008; Jang and Johnson, 2003; 2005), I view the role that GST places on the social psychological motivations of delinquency just as important in explaining why darker skinned Blacks may be more prone to additional and more unique stressors than that of their lighter skinned counterparts. By this I mean, that in order to fully examine the impact of strain on the delinquent and criminal behavior of Blacks, Black adolescents in particular, we must give special attention to not only the strains often referenced in the more traditional theories of delinquency, but also those unique to Blacks and the culture of Black delinquency, including skin tone bias. We can begin by looking to the ethnographic work of Anderson (1999) and Jones (2010) for more insight to other/additional strains, including skin tone, and pressures influencing the deviant behavior of Black adolescents that is often shaped by their negative social environments and disadvantaged communities.

Both Anderson (1999) and Jones (2010) have developed theories to help explain the gender-specific crime of Black youth that has been impacted by the longstanding oppression of Blacks in the U.S. For the Black youth in Anderson's study, males in particular, adopting the "code of the streets" (i.e. being tough and fighting) is necessary

and often the only way to survive and gain respect in very poor, mostly Black urban neighborhoods. For young males who choose not to live by the “code,” avoiding victimization is almost impossible as these young males are often viewed as weak or less masculine by their peers and others in their neighborhood when they choose not to fight. Research on colorism would suggest that earning respect and displaying masculinity would be even more difficult for young men with lighter complexions as they are rarely portrayed as the aggressor on television and are less likely to be perceived as dangerous. Gaining respect is also important for young Black girls whose experiences of personal violence and fighting are often times situated around issues of colorism.

For the young Black girls in Jones’s work (2010), it’s a battle *Between Good and Ghetto*. In her 2010 urban ethnography, she also gives insight into the role skin tone plays in the lives of young inner-city Black girls’ interpersonal and gender-specific violent encounters. For many young Black girls, struggling with the “good girl” versus bad girl image usually dictates their everyday life decisions, and the lightness or darkness of their skin often becomes a factor in determining their “survival strategy” when faced with the decision to engage in a physical battle or not. Similar to the young males in Anderson’s (1999) study, these young Black girls have to navigate around issues of respect and retaliation, which are made even more difficult to combat by the lack of resources present in their impoverished environments. However, some find it easier to navigate between these issues because they can use their lighter skin as a tool of defense. Light-skinned girls are not expected to fight because they are considered by their friends and family as too pretty to engage themselves in a fight that may risk the chance of scarring or damaging their face. Dark-skinned girls are less concerned with being perceived as pretty

or the risk of damaging their face and body because these girls often take pride in knowing their social status will likely increase if they take on and win more battles. These findings would suggest that elements of victimization and offending are situated around issues of skin tone and also exacerbated by their negative social surroundings.

It is important to note that while Agnew (2006) and Kaufman et al., (2008) acknowledge that the strains experienced by Blacks are unique and qualitatively different due to negative social environments (i.e. neighborhood disadvantage), they also argue that these strains increase the likelihood of delinquency for Blacks because they are more likely to view these strainful events (e.g. discrimination) as unjust and therefore react with anger for which they have fewer resources for coping with legitimately. This study of skin tone and adolescent delinquency considers four different types of strain that reflect the proposed characteristics highlighted in Agnew's and Kaufman's theory, but also strains that have been identified as common stressors and sources of discrimination for darker skinned Blacks; *school strain, general social strain, perceived prejudiced peers, and depression*. However, I do not include a measure of anger to test the mediation hypothesis offered by GST.

While it may be considered a major limitation to test the propositions of GST in the current study of delinquency without a mediating negative emotion, I view GST as a useful theoretical framework for my approach to exploring the relationship between skin tone and delinquency because it allows me to account for important variables associated with strain as well as important coping resources without neglecting the complexities of skin tone bias. I have also considered the significance of negative emotions in other studies.

More recent investigations of Agnew's GST test for the mediating effect of negative emotion in the form of anger, however, the evidence is largely mixed or receives no support regarding the hypothesis that the negative affect will mediate or reduce the effect of strain on delinquency (e.g. Moon et al., 2009). For example, we see that even when racial discrimination and teachers' emotional punishment increase the likelihood of engaging in delinquent behavior, negative emotions, anger in particular, had no significant mediating effect on the relationship between strain and delinquency (Moon et al., 2009). Research has also suggested that other negative emotions, such as depression or anxiety, are also important and should be considered in tests of GST (e.g. Capowich, Mazerolle, and Piquero, 2001; Broidy and Agnew, 1997; Piquero and Sealock, 2010; Jennings et al., 2009). Broidy and Agnew (1997) for example, found that males and females are subject to similar amounts of strain and while both males and females may respond to strain with anger, there are often additional emotions accompanying their anger that influences behavioral outcomes. In particular, young girl's experiences of strain and anger are more often accompanied by feelings of depression, anxiety, and guilt which decrease the likelihood that they will cope with these feelings deviantly compared to boys.

Lastly, Eitle and Turner's (2003) study take into account Agnew's (1999) addition of "vicarious strain" in their investigation of strain and criminal offending. More specifically, they tested measures of *witnessing violence*, *receiving traumatic news*, and *lifetime trauma* along with other stressors on a range of criminal offenses, and find both direct experiences of victimization (i.e. community based violence) and vicarious violence (i.e witnessing community violence and traumatic news) significantly predict

criminal behavior of young adults even after controlling for all relevant demographic variables. While Eitle and Turner's (2003) study is often cited for being one of the more comprehensive examinations connecting GST with race and delinquency, it is also criticized for not including any measure of negative emotion or angry disposition. The results however provide a more definitive conclusion about the different stressors and community based strains unique to Blacks that may explain why Blacks commit a disproportionate amount of offending compared to other racial and ethnic groups. While these few studies alone do not justify excluding negative emotions in this analysis of Black adolescent delinquency, they lead me to further believe that the relationship between strain and delinquency is more complex when taking into account the effects of skin tone.

To reiterate, anger is considered the most applicable measure of negative emotion to Black's reaction of strain because it fosters irritability and explosiveness and lowers inhibitions when confronted with events perceived as unjust, which in the end creates an urge to seek revenge or retaliate (Agnew, 1992). However, I would argue that the negative emotions experienced by Blacks can be characterized better as more of a lack of hope or helplessness. Because while Blacks may get angry after experiencing discrimination or prejudice, Blacks are also aware that we can't react in a hostile manner (as GST would suggest) and our feelings of anger are often accompanied by feelings of sadness or disappointment in realizing that there is no legitimate method of defense we can use when faced with experiences we perceive as unjust or unwarranted without coercive repercussion. More importantly, I would argue that "anger" sort of minimizes the significance and the relevant role of environment and space for Blacks and issues of

skin tone bias. Consider the young men and women in Anderson's (1999) and Jones's (2010) studies who struggle with finding legitimate ways to display their masculinity or gain respect from others in their community. I would argue that these young men and women are not inherently bad or angry, but they are inherently resourceless, or for the lack of a better word, tired of being tired in a sense.

Therefore, following in the spirit of Agnew's original (1992) and/or more direct studies of GST (e.g. Agnew and White, 1992; Paternoster and Mazerolle 1994), I investigate the relationship between skin tone and delinquency by first testing for the effects of strain on delinquency and then controlling for different measures of psychological well-being (coping resources) and social control.

The stress and problems experienced in the school setting are important to consider in examinations of delinquent behavior because youth are required to spend a considerable amount of time in the school setting. It is also here that students often interact not only with their close friends or other student peers, but also with teachers and other adults. More importantly, school is a setting where youth are most vulnerable to victimization and stressful situations, however there is also the opportunity to gain access to additional sources of support. Similar to the argument of Hunter (2016) that acknowledges the role skin tone may play in influencing teacher's positive evaluations of lighter skinned Black students, the recent work of McGhee, Alvarez, and Milner (2016) also suggests that there are additional internal struggles for darker students of color "who experience trauma differently than lighter-skinned students" (McGhee et al., 2016) because they have to consistently battle for access to the social and academic capital that is more easily afforded to lighter skinned students (Russell et al., 2013) . Therefore, I

continue my review of GST but shift my focus to a discussion of coping resources and social support that Agnew (1992) claims are key in conditioning the impact of strain on crime and delinquency.

Skin Tone, Coping Resources, and Social Support

There is a strong concentration on the role of coping resources and social relationships within Agnew's General Strain Theory. More specifically, Agnew proposes that coping resources, such as self-esteem and self-efficacy, and factors of social control, such as parental attachment, will serve as important mediators between the strain and criminal behavior of adolescents when youth find themselves faced with limited resources for which they can turn to for support or an outlet to redirect their feelings of strain (Agnew, 2002). We also see referenced above in the literature on skin tone, that perceptions of skin color can impact the relationships between Black adolescents and their family members as well as their involvement in conventional means of success and experiences of discrimination. Therefore, in line with GST, coping resources are examined in the current study (study 1) not only as conditioning factors between strain and delinquency but also to test their direct relationship with skin tone. More specifically, the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism are all examined as independent outcomes of *psychological well-being*. The section to follow will overview the literature on self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism to include research that emphasizes the role of skin tone on the psychological adjustment of Black adolescents as well as their ability to impact a variety of delinquent outcomes for Blacks. Agnew further proposes that individuals restrained by a high degree of social control are less likely to cope with strain through crime. Thus, I conclude this section with a brief

overview of Hirschi's (1969) social control theory as the current study also considers the conditioning factors of social control (i.e. attachment, commitment, and involvement) in order to assess the inner workings of the relationship between skin tone, strain, and adolescent delinquency.

Skin Tone and Factors of Psychological Well-being

My approach to the measurement of psychological well-being is to use measures of self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism, all of which (with varying definitions) have been considered in studies of colorism (e.g. Thompson and Keith, 2001; Robinson and Ward, 1995; Coard et al., 2001), studies of GST (e.g. Eitle and Turner, 2003; Jang and Johnson, 2003), and all of which shape one's attitudes about the self and future goals according to the life course perspective (Bandura, 1997; Gecas, 2003; Hackett, 1995; Lent et al., 1994; Brown et. al, 1989; Lent et al., 1993). More importantly, while sometimes limited, many studies investigating GST find support for self-esteem and self-efficacy as condition factors (e.g., Agnew and White, 1992; Aseltine et al., 2000; Paternoster and Mazerolle, 1994; Eitle and Turner, 2003; Jang and Johnson, 2003). My definitions of self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism are derived from the literature on life course, which uses these measures as broader measures of an individual's sense of "agency" or "the ability to exert influence on one's life" (Shanahan and Mortimer, 2002), a concept Sampson and Laub (2003) also used to understand persistent offending and desistance from crime over the life course. I argue that skin color has an effect on an individual's level of self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism due to the negative stereotypes associated with darker skin tones that can negatively affect one's self-perception as well as the discriminatory treatment experienced by Blacks with darker

skin. Additionally, I argue these factors of psychosocial well-being also serve as an intervening mechanism between skin tone and delinquency for Blacks, prompting individuals with darker skin and low psychological well-being to engage in delinquent activity. Therefore, the current study not only tests the direct relationship between skin tone and the self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism for Black adolescents but it also tests if these factors buffer the predicted impact of strain on delinquency.

Self-esteem is defined as a person's feelings of self-worth (Rosenberg, 1979). For Black adolescents, research suggests that they generally display positive self-esteem overall (e.g. Gibbs et al., 1989, Ward, 1989) and it can remain just as high as White adolescents even as they grow older and understand the importance of higher education and occupational prestige yet realize they are less likely than others to actually accomplish such endeavors. However, very few have examined the extent to which skin tone affects self-esteem (e.g. Robinson and Ward, 1995; Coard et al., 2001). We might expect, however, that darker skin could be strongly related to the lower self-esteem of Black adolescents, because of the attitudes of important individuals in their lives:

"I had an Aunt who always equated . . . dark skin with unattractive, so I always heard Black and ugly, it was like there was one word "blackandugly." "He was blackandugly." You know? And I always, but I've always questioned, even as a kid, I didn't want to buy into it, cause I, maybe I wanted people to not make my color such an issue" (Wilder and Cain, 2011, p.585).

Statements like these may explain why Blacks with darker skin are more likely to have low self-esteem and experience feelings of uncertainty about their self-worth (Robinson and Ward, 1995). The self-categorized darker skinned adolescents in Robinson and Ward's study reported significantly lower self-esteem than did the self-categorized medium or lighter skin toned adolescents.

Skin tone also affects the self-esteem of Black students in different group contexts. For example, Harvey and colleagues (2005) find that when socially surrounded by Blacks in a school setting, self-esteem is given greater importance compared to Black students who attend predominately White universities. Wade's (1996) research on skin color and self-esteem suggests that darker skin can serve as both a positive and negative attribute for Black men because of the perceptions society holds for high status Black athletes and entertainers, who are predominantly darker skinned. While being praised for their high status positions and physical dominance, athletes and entertainers are also often stereotyped as being less intelligent than the rest of society. We see similar gender-specific effects in research on skin tone and the media that perpetuate the stereotypes associated with light and dark skin tones for Blacks. For example, in Conrad and colleagues (2009) content analysis of rap music videos, they show that the Black main characters in rap videos were more often darker skinned than female video characters, but the male characters often were often depicted as misogynistic themed characters while lighter skinned women were subjected to more submissive roles in the videos.

The self-esteem and academic achievement of youth can also be affected by types of parental support and involvement, which could be related to the skin tone of the child, if parents treat children with different appearances more or less favorable than the others. Until recently, parental behavior in terms of support (e.g. how much a youth feels loved), had not been examined among Black adolescents. From recent studies (Bean et. al, 2003; Taylor, 2000; Mboya, 1995; Gonzales et. al, 1996; Taylor, 2000; Taylor et. al, 1995) we see that not only do students who have parental support report higher self-esteem (Bean et. al, 2003), but they are also more likely to have high GPA's (e.g. Taylor et. al, 1995;

Bean et al., 2003). It is also very important to note that research shows a positive relationship between the support and acceptance of Black mothers and the self-esteem of Black adolescents (e.g., Mboya, 1995; Taylor, 2000). Such findings are again supportive of other research that shows the power and influence of Black mothers, who are often instrumental in the caretaking and emotional development of children (e.g. Collins, 1997, 2000; Wilson; Western, 2006), including their beliefs about colorism.

In regard to the relationship between self-esteem and delinquency the findings are mixed. While low self-esteem has been significantly associated with increases in delinquency (e.g. Rosenberg et al., 1989; Donnellan, et al., 2005), we also see that increases in self-esteem are associated with delinquency (e.g. Rosenberg et al., 1989; Owens, 1994). These findings suggest a reciprocal relationship between self-esteem and delinquency prompting many researchers to treat self-esteem as both a cause and consequence of delinquent behavior (Kaplan, 1978; Owens, 1994; Rosenberg and Rosenberg, 1978; Rosenberg et al., 1989; Mason, 2000) using Kaplan's (1975) influential "self-derogation theory" of delinquency to guide their studies. Kaplan (1975) argues that adolescents who experience low self-esteem are more likely than their adolescent counterparts to engage in delinquency because delinquent behavior serves as an alternative source of self-regard amongst delinquent groups when access to positive networks (e.g. family and friends) of usual support are blocked (Mason, 2000). Owens (1994) explores self-deprecation and self-worth as two important dimensions of self-esteem and finds a stronger relationship between self-deprecation (i.e. negative self-esteem) and delinquency (e.g. theft, vandalism, expelled from school) than positive self-worth (i.e. positive self-esteem) and delinquency, suggesting that the negative

perceptions one has of self may play a more defining role in determining one's involvement in delinquency more so than how positive they view themselves as Kaplan's self-degradation theory would suggest.

Self-efficacy is defined as "the perception of oneself as a causal agent in one's environment, as having control over one's circumstances, and being capable of carrying out actions to produce intended effects" (Gecas, 2003). Self-efficacy is key because it helps to form our beliefs about our personal capabilities and what we can do to help shape our future (Maddux and Gosselin 2003). "If people believe they have no power to produce results, they will not attempt to make things happen" (Bandura, 1997). For adolescents, self-efficacy is important to consider during one's transition into adulthood as it is influential in determining the educational, occupational, and overall developmental pursuits adolescents choose for themselves (e.g. Bandura, 1997; Hackett, 1995; Lent et al., 1994; Brown et. al, 1989; Lent, Brown, & Larkin, 1987; Lent et al., 1993), even after controlling for prior academic achievement, actual ability, and occupational interests (Brown et. al, 1989; Lent, Brown, & Larkin, 1987; Lent et al., 1993). According to Gecas and Schwalbe (1983), individuals with high social status, such as that of an athlete or entertainer are likely to develop "efficacy based self-esteem," a type of self-esteem which is largely shaped by "an individual's opportunities to engage in efficacious action." In other words, higher status provides these individuals with an array of opportunities that promote self-motivated action, whereas the self-esteem of a person without that power is more likely to be shaped by the opinions of others.

My argument would suggest that others' perceptions of skin tone would also affect the development of one's positive self-efficacy, especially for darker skinned

Blacks who are most likely to be structurally disadvantaged compared to lighter skinned Blacks. An important study on the self-efficacy, self-esteem, and skin tone of Blacks by Thompson and Keith (2001) shows that light skin tone has a positive relationship with feelings of self-efficacy for Black men and women. For men, even after controlling for socioeconomic variables, there is a .33 increase in their feelings of self-efficacy for every one increment change (5-pt scale) in skin tone, an effect almost twice the size of the effect for Black women.

Although there are varying definitions of self-efficacy, studies examining negative adolescent behaviors have found low self-efficacy in adolescents to be significantly related to both drug and alcohol use (e.g. Hays and Ellickson, 1990; Aas et al., 1995) as well as delinquency. Adolescents who are highly efficacious are less likely to engage in any delinquent activity (Ludwig and Pittman 1999). An individual's perceived self-efficacy can affect one's level of motivation and perseverance when faced with hardships or setbacks as well as their susceptibility to stress and depression (e.g. Bandura, 1997). This may relate to skin tone if darker skinned Blacks are systematically denied opportunities, because that could lead dark-skinned Blacks to feel less efficacious. Because self-efficacy beliefs develop over time through personal and vicarious experiences (Leary and Tangey, 2003), darker skinned Blacks could then be more likely to feel discouraged about accessing opportunities in the future.

Optimism has been referred to as “a mood or attitude associated with an expectation about the social or material future” (Tiger, 1979) as well as a more goal oriented cognitive characteristic measured as one's “emotionally charged, individual orientation toward the future” (Hitlin and Elder, 2007). According to Hitlin and Elder

(2007), optimism differs from self-esteem and self-efficacy because it deals with one's future positioning (e.g. occupational and educational aspirations) and not just the here-and-now of a particular setting. Those with greater optimism are more apt to adjust to very stressful events (e.g. Andersson, 2012; Scheier et al., 2001; Segerstrom et al., 1998), are more liked by those with whom they come into contact, and more importantly, have greater levels of social support altogether (Park & Folkman, 1997; Carver, Kus, & Scheier, 1994) compared to those who are pessimistic.

Very few studies of optimism actually include examinations of Blacks (e.g. Mattis et al., 2003; Northouse et al., 1999). One recent study shows that optimism for Blacks is most often impacted by religiosity and by stress associated with experiences with racism (Mattis et al., 2003). Blacks who report having positive relationships with God (e.g. "I feel uplifted in my relationship with God") are more optimistic while those who often experience racism (e.g. being mistaken for a servant) are less optimistic (Mattis et al., 2003; 2004). Another study by Northouse et al. (1999) found optimism (e.g. "I always look on the bright side of things") in Black women with cancer to have an indirect effect on how they rate their quality of life four years post-diagnosis. Although small, this body of research highlights the importance of including Black participants when considering how optimism and other important aspects of social psychological resilience may operate differently in varying sociocultural contexts.

As Russell and colleagues suggest, "A dark skinned Black woman who feels herself unattractive... may think that she has nothing to offer society no matter how intelligent or inventive she is" (1992, p.42). Repeated experiences of negative assessments of one's skin tone from multiple persons (e.g. parents, teachers, peers, etc.),

could make an individual less likely to develop positive psychological well-being. I argue that during adolescence, a critical time for growth and self-identification, a darker skinned individual may be more likely to struggle with feelings of self-esteem and self-efficacy and be less likely to feel optimistic about their future than a person who is praised for their lighter skin tone. These findings also suggest that the current measures of psychological well-being are also intertwined with issues of beauty and attractiveness, and as Porter's (1991) study of Black preadolescents has shown, younger children are not oblivious to what it means to be "color conscious" and are very aware that skin tone is important to perceptions of physical attractiveness in addition to having a sense of belonging amongst peers who look like them.

Robinson and Ward (1995) found that while many of the adolescents in their sample were satisfied with their skin color, there were still 20% of women and 40% of men who desired to have a lighter skin tone while 10% and 7% of women and men, respectively, wished to have a darker skin complexion. In addition, virtually half of the men and women in their sample agreed that skin color is an important factor to women when they date men. Interestingly, we see that both very light and very dark skinned students were more often dissatisfied with their skin color, which as earlier literature has suggested, may signify that colorism operates in two manners within the Black community: to make those with very light skin feel insecure about their Blackness while also creating insecurities amongst those with very dark skin tone, who feel as if they are "too Black." When Black junior high and high school students were asked their preferences on multiple race and skin color related items, such as the "prettiest skin complexion," "color of the nicest person I know," or "color of the person that I would

marry,” the majority preferred the lighter skin colors. In contrast, when asked to choose the skin color of the “dirtiest negro,” “ugliest skin complexion,” and “the color that I would not marry,” the skin color “black” was chosen most often (Anderson and Cromwell. 1977), suggesting again the association of lighter skin tones with positive characteristics and darker skin tones with negative characteristics among a sample of youth.

Overall, *self-esteem*, *self-efficacy*, and *optimism* are important because they can affect how an individual views their position in the world as well as how they view their chances of actually changing that position if they wanted to. The development of such attitudes are crucial during adolescence as one struggles to balance family, peer and academic demands (Bandura, 1997) and possessing these type of skills are vital to making responsible and long-term decisions (e.g. Clausen, 1991) including whether or not to engage in delinquent activity (e.g. Rosenberg et al., 1989; Donnellan et al., 2005; Owens, 1994).

Social Control (Factors of Social Support)

Although not a major focus of the current study, it’s important that I control for variables of social control (e.g. attachment and commitment) in the current investigation of skin tone and adolescent delinquency. To reiterate, Agnew further proposes that individuals restrained by a high degree of social control are less likely to cope with strain through crime.

Social control theory, which is grounded in the socialization process and the internalization of the dominant norms of society, maintains that crime and deviance are most likely to occur when an individual has a weak or broken social bond. According to

Hirschi (1969), the strength of an individual's bonds to society are influenced by four elements: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief, and each can act independently to influence delinquency or law violation if weakened or broken. In the first empirical study on GST, Agnew and White (1992) tested the direct effects of strain on delinquency while controlling for six different variables of social control, including parental attachment, school attachment, and time spent on homework. They found three of the seven control variables to be negatively related to drug use. The current study also controls for three of the four variables of social control. I measure these concepts using self-reported feelings of closeness to the adolescent's mother and other family members and school environment, in addition to one's departure from participation in other conventional activities such as church and sports, all measures that have been described in Hirschi's (1969) original argument and tested as conditioning factors between strain and delinquency.

Attachment refers to the emotional connection or attachment an adolescent has to their parents, their peers and teachers, or other conventional institutions. Measures of attachment can include the quality of communication between parents and their children or even trust; when attachment is strong the prospect for delinquency is decreased because adolescents care about the opinions of these figures and take them into account before acting (e.g. LeBlanc, 1990; Cernokovich and Giordano, 1992). *Commitment* explains one's "stake in conformity" (Toby, 1957) or the level of investment in long term goals for one's education, occupation, and other conventional goals. Delinquency is less likely to occur if adolescents are strongly invested in these areas because they will fear jeopardizing the positions for which they have worked so hard (e.g. Cernokovich and

Giordano, 1992; Stewart, 2003). When an individual has active *involvement* in conventional activities such as homework or spending time with their family that individual will be too busy to commit delinquent activities (e.g. Stewart, 2003; Jenkins, 1997).

Currently, there is only one other study that has examined the effects of skin tone and adolescent delinquency, a recent (2013) study by Hannon and colleagues which also uses the Add Health survey. They found that skin tone had a positive and significant relationship with the odds of females being suspended from school, but not males. My study extends these findings by investigating the relationship between skin tone and school suspension, weapon violence and general delinquency in addition to multiple psychological outcomes and the social supported needed to combat stress related to delinquency for a sample of Black youth. As the literature above has shown, stereotypes of criminality may be affecting the likelihood of delinquency for darker skinned Black adolescents. The purpose of study two is to test whether these same negative perceptions affect the likelihood of racial discrimination and residing in racially segregated neighborhoods for darker skinned Black adults. Therefore, I now shift my discussion to the literature on residential segregation and skin tone.

Linking Skin Tone to Residential Segregation

Residential Segregation and Concentrated Disadvantage

In *study 2* of this dissertation, I examine if Blacks with darker complexions are more likely than their lighter skinned counterparts to live in neighborhoods that they perceive as more segregated and with fewer amenities and community resources. As presented in the literature above, darker skinned Blacks, males in particular, experience

negative stereotypes associated with darker skin, namely criminality. If research shows that darker skinned Blacks have consistently more contact with police and the criminal justice system as a whole, then it is not unlikely that darker skinned Blacks have more restricted access to high quality neighborhoods than that of their lighter skinned counterparts. Therefore, in addition to the other structural and socioeconomic factors being considered, we must also take into account the possibility that skin tone affects *residential segregation* or the unequal distribution of groups across a given space based on race. For Blacks, living in segregated neighborhoods is common. Although levels of segregation have declined somewhat in recent decades, many studies have found that that Blacks are still highly segregated from non-Latino Whites in most large urban areas of the United States and continue to face discrimination in housing and mortgage markets, even after controlling for income (e.g. Yinger, 1995; Logan, 1995; Massey and Denton, 1993).¹

Residential segregation spatially concentrates poverty, creating an experience where Blacks who are racially isolated are often living in poorer, more dilapidated areas characterized by higher rates of poverty, crime, and poor school systems (e.g. Massey, 1990). For example, schools with higher percentages of Blacks are significantly underfunded compared to predominantly White schools, which means Black students are more likely to have less experienced teachers and subpar facilities (e.g. Kozol, 1992, 2005). Crime also becomes a part of everyday life for Blacks residing in racially

¹ Massey and Denton (1993) show that 92 percent of the White auditors in housing audit study were informed of apartment availability when seeking information on rental properties, whereas only 46 percent of Black auditors in the study were told that places were available.

segregated neighborhoods. Krivo et al. (2009) find that a city's overall crime rate is responsive to its overall levels of segregation. A 10-point increase in segregation at the city level is associated, on average, with a 12-percent increase in neighborhood crime. High crime rates in urban neighborhoods may also come as a result of a lack in what Sampson and colleagues (1997) refer to as "collective efficacy," whereby a lack of social cohesion and trust inhibits residents from intervening or uniting in action against problems in their neighborhood. Residential segregation has also been linked to high concentrations of Blacks in jail and prison as these disadvantaged communities are often the target of heavy police surveillance. In New York City for example, of the 55 community board districts represented in the city, just 7 of those districts can account for over 70% of the prison population (see Fagan et al., 2003).²

While most studies link racial segregation to negative social conditions (i.e. low educational attainment, violent crime, homicides, or health), few have explored the possible effects of skin tone on access to integrated neighborhoods (Massey et al., 1993; Denton and Massey, 1989). Findings from Denton and Massey's (1989) research on Latino segregation shows that "Black-Hispanics," who often possess darker skin tones, remain highly segregated from Whites and are more likely to live near Blacks compared to "White Hispanics," who are only moderately segregated from Whites and highly segregated from Blacks. Similar to the data collection process for the NSAL sample being used in my study of Blacks (which includes Blacks of Caribbean descent), Denton and Massey (1989) also made a special effort to limit their sample to cities mainly on the

² Watson et al. (2004) also find that a small number of neighborhoods in Houston accounts for more returning prisoners than several large counties combined throughout the state of Texas.

east coast (e.g. New York) because of their high populations of Caribbean-Hispanics, or individuals who identify as both Hispanic and of Caribbean origin. No similar work has been done on skin tone variation within the Black community. These findings suggest that darker skinned Blacks may also have higher levels of segregation from Whites compared to their lighter skinned counterparts, warranting further tests of skin tone in examinations of residential segregation for other racial/ethnic groups. More importantly, it is well documented that skin tone creates wealth disparities both within and across racial/ethnic groups because of the penalty imposed on darker skinned Blacks in the labor market (Goldsmith and colleagues, 2006; 2007), but this may be due in part to their access to high quality schools and jobs, further limiting their access to integrated neighborhoods with better resources. The current study (*study two*) is not only the first to test if darker skinned Blacks are more likely to live in majority Black neighborhoods, but it is also the first to test if darker skinned Blacks perceive their residential environment to be less safe and of lower quality than the neighborhoods of their lighter skinned counterparts, controlling for differences in income, education, and employment and marital status.

Skin Tone Effects on Income, Education, Occupational Attainment, and Marriage

While lighter skinned Blacks are the group less likely to self-report experiences of discrimination (e.g. Klonoff and Landrine, 2000; Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers, & Jackson, 2008; 2010; Keith et al., 2009; Hersch, 2006), they are also the group more likely to have higher incomes, higher SES, and more years of education on average than darker skinned Blacks. Research also suggests that lighter skinned men occupy higher status positions with a working-class man being 1.4 times more likely to be dark skinned than a

professional man (Krieger, Sidney, and Coakley, 1998). (Hill, 2000; Drake and Cayton, 1942; Hunter, 2002; Ransford, 1970; Edwards, 1973). These more recent higher status symbols experienced by lighter skinned Blacks parallel that of the “mulatto” (Bowman, Muhammad, and Ifatunji, 2004; Horton and Sykes, 2004; Edwards, Carter-Tellison, and Herring, 2004; Rockquemore and Brunnsma, 2001).

For example, an early study by Edwards (1973) with a sample of African Americans from 15 different American cities showed that light skinned Blacks not only occupied white-collar jobs in higher percentages than those with dark skin, they were also more likely to attend college and come from homes with educated parents, showing the multigenerational nature of skin tone bias (and the importance of controlling for background characteristics in studies of skin tone).³ More recently, using Add Health Data, Ryabov’s (2013) study of the school-to-work and school-to-college transitions of Blacks adolescents found that those with lighter skin were more likely to find employment or be in college than their darker skin counterparts. These findings hold true for both the men and women in his sample. Although the racial climate of today’s society is more desirable than the racially charged atmosphere of thirty or forty years ago, obtaining employment still remains more difficult for darker skinned Blacks today (e.g. Wade, 2004; Johnson et al., 2008).

Goldsmith and colleagues (2007) contend that the wage gap between light and dark skinned Blacks can be explained by employer’s “preference for whiteness,” or more favorable treatment of lighter skinned Blacks because they most resemble Whites (the in-

³ Similar effects have also been found for Filipino Americans (Kiang and Takeuchi, 2009) and Cuban Americans (Espino and Franz, 2002).

group). We see evidence of such in Wade et al.'s (2004) experimental study of skin tone bias for example, which found that White subjects acting as managers of a firm are more likely to recommend lighter skinned applicants for hiring over darker skinned Blacks with identical credentials. Even for those with twelve or more years of schooling, Johnson and colleagues (2008) show the "jobless rate" rate remains higher for darker skinned Black males living in Los Angeles (19.4 percent) compared to their lighter skinned and White counterparts (10.3 percent and 9.5 percent respectively), prompting me to control for not only the income of the household but the current employment status and level of education of the respondents in study two. To detail further, of the unemployed darker skinned males sampled in Johnson et al.'s (1998) study with less than twelve years of education, 36 percent came from poverty stricken ghettos compared to only 21 percent of their lighter skinned counterparts, suggesting skin tone may be related to access to higher quality neighborhood resources.

Skin tone differences in socioeconomic outcomes exist for Black women as well. Hunter's (2002) study measuring the skin tone advantages for both Black and Latina women found that very light skinned Black women earn more than \$2,600 dollars more per year than very dark skinned Black women. Hunter (2002) used the National Chicano Survey dataset along with data from the 1980 National Survey of Black Americans and found that for both Black and Latina women, a one increment increase in skin tone on a five-point scale signified a .3 year increase in educational attainment. This means that those with the lightest skin tone will have completed on average more than one full additional year of education compared to those with the darkest skin tone. Hunter's work supports the findings of earlier work done by Keith and Herring (1991) that used the

National Survey of Black Americans. They found that light skinned Blacks have higher incomes, higher SES, and more years of education than darker skinned Blacks, and the effects were stronger for Black women than men.

The skin tone differences in income and overall socioeconomic status for Blacks, especially women, are also related to issues of marriage and beauty as those with lighter skin are often able to translate their lighter skin and perceived beauty into a higher status marriage. Specifically, Hunter (2002) found that even when two women have the same background characteristics, the lighter skinned woman is more likely to marry a man who has more education than the darker skinned woman, which shows that light skin may function as a means of social capital, thereby putting light skinned women at an advantage in the dating and marriage markets. This supports the earlier work by Hughes and Hertel (1990) who found that lighter skinned Blacks were significantly more likely than darker skinned Blacks to have spouses with high socioeconomic backgrounds even after controlling for the background and status of the respondent.

It is not surprising then that Blacks, young Black women in particular, habitually attempt to change their physical appearance to appear White or more European (i.e. lighter skin and straighter hair) (Bond and Cash; 1992; Russell et al., 1992) in an effort to achieve a standard of beauty that society, the media especially, says is more desirable and promotes such features as a means to finding a significant other. Overall, we see that darker skinned Black men are less likely to be married than their lighter skinned counterparts, and darker skinned Black women are more likely to marry later in life than lighter skinned Black women (Edwards, Carter-Tellison, and Herring, 2004; Herring, Keith and Horton, 2004). Whatever the mechanism, skin tone bias means that this

important life event (marriage) can also be shaped by colorism and lighter skinned Blacks are most likely to experience and benefit from such experiences. Therefore, in study 2, alongside income and education level, I also control for the marital status for the sample of Black adults. Past research leads me to assume that since darker skinned Blacks are less likely to marry and/or translate their perceived beauty into usable social capital, then they are less likely to have higher paying occupations and/or a spouses with a high socioeconomic status, thereby limiting their exposure and access to more affluent neighborhoods with better resources and less crime.

Even during spurts of economic growth, lower-class Blacks are excluded from the economic prospects of mainstream society. After being shut out for so long from the educational and economic opportunities that the rest of society enjoys, this “hypersegregated” group of Blacks eventually becomes frustrated and more prone to the concentrated effects of criminality and lure of illegitimate gain (Sampson and Sharkey, 2008; Wilson 1987). I argue that darker skinned Blacks will incur the brunt of these concentrated neighborhood effects because they are being perceived by Whites as “more criminal” (as shown above) which in turn may also lead to more racial steering and discrimination by realtors and state funded housing programs.

Conclusion

Just as skin color was used to mark an individual as belonging to one race, it also became an important physical characteristic used to allocate life chances within racial groups depending on the lightness or darkness of someone’s skin. My review of the literature began with an overview of the historical and contemporary effects of skin tone. It shows that the darkness of one’s skin color is still important today and has played a

significant role in determining the life chances of Blacks dating back to slavery. Current research also demonstrates that experiences of skin tone bias may start at a young age and continue to negatively affect the psychological well-being of darker skinned Blacks through adulthood. My focus is on self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism because of their relation to human agency, which defines how an individual actually perceives their own fate and what they can actually “do” to impact their future outcomes and buffer the effects of strain on delinquency.

Additionally, I argue that skin tone should also be considered in the discussion of race and residential opportunity because it operates as an additional barrier for darker skinned Blacks with its ability to block one’s access to employment, high quality neighborhoods with quality schools and less crime, and even social resources needed to combat the discrimination experienced in their everyday lives. More specifically, my review of the literature has shown that negative stereotypes unique to darker skinned Blacks, mainly the association of darker skin with criminality and danger, may increase levels of discrimination and in turn affect the likelihood of dark-skinned Blacks living in racially segregated neighborhoods as well as the likelihood of darker skinned Blacks being suspended from school.

Therefore, I see the trajectory of darker skinned Blacks differing from the trajectory of lighter skinned Blacks, with the path for darker skinned Blacks being more likely to culminate in delinquency and living in neighborhoods they perceive as more racially segregated. This is because they are more likely to suffer from strain, low psychological well-being, and be denied access to mainstream opportunities of social mobility because of the negative perception of darker skinned Blacks. In the chapter to

follow, I present the data and specific hypotheses I use to analyze the effects of skin tone on the strain, psychological well-being, and delinquency outcomes for Black adolescents.

CHAPTER III.

DOES DARKER SKIN RELATE TO STRAIN, DECREASES IN PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL BEING AND DELINQUENCY FOR BLACK ADOLESCENTS?

The major focus of this chapter is to examine if there is a relationship between skin tone, strain, psychological well-being, and delinquency. As my review of the literature has shown, experiences with colorism begin early for Black adolescents and can ultimately impact their self-perception and beliefs about the future (e.g. Neal and Wilson, 1989; Wilder and Cain, 2011; Robinson, & Ward, 1986). However, the research on colorism has yet to explore whether such measures of psychological well-being together with varying types of strain prompt deviant behavior for Black adolescents. I argue that skin tone discrimination (conscious or unconscious) operates in the same manner as racial discrimination does to create disparate treatment for persons with dark skin tone, which ultimately causes additional strain for members of the less desired skin tone group.

To examine if and how skin tone ultimately effects one's involvement in delinquent activity, I utilize concepts and major propositions of strain theory to guide my predictions about the relationship between skin tone and deviant behavior. My examination take into account the varying levels and different types of social and psychological strain as well as available coping resources for Black adolescents. To reiterate, Agnew (1992) suggests that there are specific internal (e.g. self-esteem) and external factors (e.g. discrimination) that shape one's individual and personal coping resources when reacting to strain. Agnew also focuses particularly on the negative social relations an individual experiences with significant others (i.e. parents, teachers, and peers), all of which I consider in the current examination of skin tone and delinquency.

I argue that during adolescence, which is a critical time for growth and self-identification, a darker skinned individual may be more prone to engage in delinquent behavior due to one's increased experiences of strain from various sources (e.g. school strain and depression) and lack of personal resources (i.e. self-esteem and family support) needed to combat one's feelings of stress, compared to a person who often is praised for their lighter skin tone. To be clear, I am by no means suggesting that lighter skinned Blacks never experience strain or discrimination from outsiders, but rather my goal is to test whether the likelihood of participation in deviant behavior is higher for darker skinned Blacks.

Therefore, I plan to address the gaps in the literature connecting skin tone and juvenile delinquency by incorporating self-reported strain and psychological well-being alongside relevant sociodemographic factors, such as gender, to assess the following: 1) whether skin tone is related to different types of strain; 2) whether skin tone is related to levels of self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism; 3) and finally whether skin tone, strain, and psychological well-being have an effect on one's engagement in delinquent activity (inside and outside of the school environment).

Hypotheses

This study explores the relationship between skin tone, strain and psychological well-being, and delinquency of Black adolescents. For this study, I hypothesize that: (1) Darker skinned Black adolescents are more likely to self-report feelings of strain (school strain, general social strain, depression, and perceptions of prejudiced peers) than lighter skinned Black adolescents.

(2) Darker skinned Black adolescents are more likely to self-report low levels of psychological well-being than their lighter skinned Black counterparts, including self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism.

(2a) Additionally, because research has suggested that darker skinned Black women have historically been seen as less attractive and report lower feelings of self-worth, I predict that darker skinned adolescent girls are especially likely to report lower levels of self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism than their lighter skinned counterparts, and that this relationship will be weaker for adolescent boys who may perceive darker skin as a benefit because of famous male figures with darker skin.

(3) Because darker skinned adolescents experience more strain and lower self-esteem, self-efficacy, optimism, and attachment to school, family and peers, they will react by engaging in more delinquency. Specifically, darker skinned adolescents are more likely to report having been suspended from school, engaging in violence with a weapon, and overall general delinquency (e.g. having shoplifted, damaged someone's property, or participated in a physical fight), which is explained by their levels of strain, attachment to groups, and psychological well-being.

Data

National Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health)

To examine the effects of skin tone on strain, psychological well-being, and delinquency, I utilize data from the in-home surveys of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health). Initiated during the 1994-1995 school year, Add Health is a school-based study of adolescents in grades 7-12 from 80 schools across the United States, emphasizing the influence of social environments such as one's family,

school, community and peer groups. Measurement of these social environments make these data ideal for this project because I have access to information on the respondents' family background and personal development as well as their involvement in school and general delinquent activity.

For this particular study, I use the data collected at Waves I, II, and III. Wave I (collected 1994-5) includes in-home interviews with a total of 20,745 adolescents and 17,670 parents. All of the delinquency outcomes are derived from the Wave II questionnaire which was collected in 1996, one year following the first wave of data collection. There were 14,738 of the same students from Wave I that were re-interviewed in Wave II. All of the control variables for the current study are derived from the Wave I questionnaires, except the skin tone and age variables. Skin tone is measured at Wave III because interviewers were not asked to assess the respondents skin tone until Wave III, however, I am assuming that skin tone is a characteristic that remains relatively stable over time and serves as a good proxy for the respondent's skin tone at Wave I. Age is measured at Wave III because it was calculated using a computer interviewing program and then verified by the respondent, thereby making it more reliable than the age variable in previous waves. Wave III was conducted in 2001 and 2002, and includes in-home interviews with the original respondents who could be located and re-interviewed during those two years. There were a total of 14,322 respondents with completed interviews at Waves I, II, and Wave III (Harris et al., 2008). I am interested in the effects of skin tone for Black adolescents, therefore I am not using Wave IV data collected in 2007-2008 because respondents were at least 24 years of age and well into adulthood during those years. Before using listwise deletion to eliminate all of the missing data on my variables,

there was a total of 4,807 observations for Black adolescents in Wave II with valid weights. The majority of the missing cases were dropped because of missing data for the skin tone variable in Wave III. After listwise deletion, there are a total of 2,024 Black respondents for the current study: 853 males and 1,171 females. To be clear, I am using the same Black participants from all three waves. However, I lost a large portion of the sample due to missing variables that were collected during the interviews as later waves, thereby limiting the number of Black participants with data for all of the current variables being analyzed. All of the descriptive statistics and analysis are conducted using STATA 12.1 and use the “svy” command to weight the analysis and control for the complex survey design of Add Health.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables for the current study include types of strain, psychological well-being, and delinquency. Four types of strain are being used: School strain, general social strain, and perceived prejudice and depression.

School Strain Scale is measured as a standardized scale combining the Wave I questions: “Since school started this year, how often have you had trouble: getting along with your teachers? getting along with other students? getting your homework done? paying attention in school?” The respondent can choose 0 (never) to 4 (everyday).

General Social Strain Scale ($\alpha = .64$) is measured as a standardized scale using four items at Wave I that asks the respondent how much they felt disliked, how much they felt they were treated in unfriendly ways by others, how much they felt socially accepted, and also how much they felt loved and wanted. Responses for “accepted” and “loved” range from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*) indicating lower levels of

acceptance and love as the scale increases. Responses for “disliked” and “unfriendly” range from 1 (often) to 5 (never) but were recoded to 1 (never) to 5 (often) to parallel the other two items in the scale and for interpretation purposes, therefore making higher values representative of more dislike and unfriendliness.

Perceived Prejudice at School is measured using one item at Wave I that asks the respondent how much they agreed that “students are prejudiced.” Responses ranged from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*) but are reversed for interpretation purposes to 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), therefore making higher values representative of more perceived peer prejudice.

Depression Scale. I measure level of depression using the adolescent’s responses to a set of three questions that asked “how often ... each of the following things [was] true during the past week?” The items include “you felt depressed, you felt sad, and you felt you could not shake off the blues even with the help of family and friends.” Responses range from 0 (never or rarely) to 3 (most of the time or all the time) and were combined to form a standardized scale of depression.

Three indicators of psychological well-being outcomes (i.e. coping skills), as used by Hitlin and Elder (2007), come from the Wave I at home interview: *self-esteem*, *self-efficacy*, and *optimism* (Hitlin and Elder, 2007). After conducting an exploratory factor analysis, I identified four items that create a reliable scale of self-esteem, while indicating that self-efficacy and optimism were better measured as single items. Therefore, self-efficacy and optimism are measured with single items capturing *hard work* and *hopefulness*, both of which are often used as in studies of self-efficacy and optimism.

Self-esteem is measured with a standardized scale ($\alpha=.78$) created from the four questions: “You have a lot of good qualities; You have a lot to be proud of; You like yourself just the way you are; You feel like you are doing everything just about right,” all of which were asked on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). For interpretation purposes, all of the variables were recoded so that 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) and higher values represent higher levels of self-esteem.

Efficacy of Hard Work is used as a measure of self-efficacy and is measured using the question: “When you get what you want, it’s usually because you worked hard for it,” which was asked on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). For interpretation purposes, hard work was recoded so that 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), therefore higher values represent a perception that hard work is effective.

Hopefulness is used as a measure of optimism and is measured using the question: “How often during the last week have you felt hopeful about the future?” Responses for this item range from 0 (never) to 3 (most of the time or all of the time).

Three measures of delinquency are being used: *school suspension*, *weapon violence*, and *general delinquency* (which can still occur at school, but does not have to). To ensure proper temporal ordering, the covariates being used to test the effects of strain and psychological well-being on the adolescent’s delinquency are measured at Wave I and the delinquency outcome variables are measured at Wave II.

Suspension is measured using the responses collected during the Wave II at home interviews. *Suspended* is measured using the question, “Have you ever received an out of school suspension?” *Suspended* is measured dichotomously where 1 is yes and 0 is no.

Weapon Violence is also measured using responses collected during the Wave II at home interview about the respondent's involvement in fighting and violence. Although the items available in this section allow me to test both the frequency and severity of one's fighting and other violent experiences, I am only concerned with whether or not the respondent has engaged in acts of weapon violence, as these items allow me to identify one's individual participation in more serious types of delinquent activity as the aggressor. (The other variables in this section are a combination of delinquent activities better suited to measure victimization or group delinquency.) Therefore, adolescents receive a 1 if they responded "yes" to engaging in any of the forms of weapon violence during the past 12 months: "pulling a knife or gun on someone, shooting or stabbing someone, using a weapon in a fight, or using a weapon at school." See Appendix A for a full list of fighting and violence items.

General Delinquency. Similar to the prior delinquency variable being measured at Wave I (described below), Wave II data also includes an inventory of 14 of the same 15 delinquency items asking the respondents how often they have engaged in a variety of delinquent activities in the past twelve months, ranging from painting graffiti to stealing from others and physical fights. Again, I am only concerned with whether or not the respondent has engaged in the various acts of delinquency. Therefore, each item is recoded (1=yes, 0=no) so that *General Delinquency* refers to the *total number* of different types of delinquency reported by the person. For example, since the general delinquency score has 10 items⁴ (offense types), the general delinquency score can range from 0 to 10. See Appendix B for a full list of delinquency items at Wave II.

⁴ Four of the delinquency items were removed from the general delinquency score index because they are items that also tap into an individual's aggressive or more serious types of delinquency, which is being

Independent Variables

Skin Tone is the key independent variable. In the final section of the Wave III in-home survey the interviewer is asked to report on several items ranging from the physical characteristics of the respondent to the environment of the home at the time of the interview. One of the questions the interviewer is asked to complete is their perception of the skin color of the respondent. The survey asks: “What is the respondent’s skin color?” There are five categories from which the interviewer can choose (*1=Black, 2=Dark Brown, 3=Medium Brown, 4=Light Brown and 5=White*). For interpretation purposes, skin tone is recoded in the opposite direction from lightest to darkest (1=White and 5=Black). This measurement scheme is similar to previous studies that also used observer ratings of skin tone (Thompson and Keith, 2001; Freeman et al., 1966; Udry et al., 1969).

Race is measured based on the self-identification of the adolescents at Wave I. In order to examine the effects of skin tone on the proposed outcomes for a sample of Black adolescents, I define Black using the question, “What is your race?” Since the survey allows respondents to select more than one racial group, my subpopulation of Blacks consists of everyone who selected “Black or African American,” including those who also identified with other racial groups. Thus my definition of the Black population is a broad one that includes 2,024 respondents who self-identified as multiracial at Wave I, but it allows me to include those who identified as multiracial and part-Black (who, on average, have lighter skin tones than those who identify only as Black). I will include a

measured by weapon violence. These items are being used to measure one’s more “general” or nonviolent delinquent activity. One of the items (i.e. “used or threaten to use a weapon to get something from someone?”) actually overlaps conceptually with the measure of weapon violence.

control for whether or not the respondent also chose other racial identifications (1=multiracial, 0=single race Black).

Key Individual-level Control Variables

Prior Delinquency Scale. I also include a control for the respondent's prior delinquency (measured at an earlier wave) to ensure that the relationship between skin tone and delinquency is being conservatively estimated. I created a standardized scale for *prior delinquency* from the delinquency items provided in the Add Health data ($\alpha=.83$) at Wave I, and include this control in models of weapon violence and general delinquency where the dependent outcome occurs at Wave II. For my analysis of school suspensions I control for delinquency at Wave II, at the time the suspension occurred, to further assess whether the adolescent being suspended came as a result of their own current behavior or is more likely to have resulted from the discriminatory behavior of school officials. The scale contains items asking the respondents how often they were engaged in a variety of delinquent activities in the past twelve months. Responses range from 0 (never) to 3 (five or more times). See Appendix C for a complete list of the questions from the delinquency scale. The questions range from how often they have damaged someone else's property to physically harming another person in a fight. Using a Wave I measure of delinquency reduces the reverse causality questions that plague contemporaneous measures; this delinquency cannot be a direct result of the later suspensions and deviant behavior I measure here, although of course it could be related to earlier school suspensions.

Past research has shown that an individual's involvement in conventional social networks and activities can significantly reduce their involvement in delinquent activity, therefore four indicators of social support are being included to control for one's

closeness to school, family support, and mother's support, and sum of school activities, all of which can presumably make individuals more resistant to strain and reduce the likelihood of engaging in delinquent activity.

Closeness to School Scale ($\alpha=.74$) is measured as a standardized scale combining responses to the following four statements: "You feel close to people at your school. You feel like you are part of your school. You feel safe at your school. You are happy to be at your school?" Responses range from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree), but are recoded so that responses range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) and higher values represent higher levels of school closeness.

Family Support Scale ($\alpha=.72$) is measured as a standardized scale combining responses to the following questions: "How much do you feel that people in your family understand you? How much do you feel that your family pays attention to you? How much do you feel adults care about you? How much do you feel your parents care about you?" Responses range from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much).

Perceived Maternal Support Scale ($\alpha=.83$) is measured as an index combining responses to the following questions: "Most of the time, your mother is warm and loving toward you. Your mother encourages you to be independent. When you do something wrong that is important, your mother talks about it with you and helps you understand why it is wrong. You are satisfied with the way your mother and you communicate with each other. Overall, you are satisfied with your relationship with your mother." Responses range from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much).

Sum of School Activities is measured using one's self-reported participation in extracurricular activities, which may reflect not only one's commitment to conventional

lines of success above and beyond mandatory school attendance, but also if they are too busy to engage in deviant behavior. In Wave I, respondents are asked to report (1=yes, 0=no) on whether or not they participate in a list of organizations. There are a total of 33 clubs, organizations, and teams from which an adolescent can choose. The variable *sum of activities* is coded as the count of the number of activities the respondent responded “yes” to being involved in.

In addition to those listed above, a basic set of control variables in this analysis are drawn from the in-home survey and the parent survey. These control variables are demographic and social factors including age, gender, and parental socioeconomic status.

Age of the adolescent at Wave III is a continuous variable that ranges from 12 to 22. The variable *age* was constructed by subtracting seven years from the current variable so that *age* corresponds with the remaining Wave I variables measured seven years prior.

Gender is a dichotomous variable where male is equal to 1 and female 0.

Research shows that parents with more formal years of education and less financial hardship are more likely to be supportive of their children and become more involved with their teachers and schooling (Rutter, 1985; Brody et al., 1995; Brody et al., 1994). *Parental SES* is therefore measured with two variables: the highest level of parental education in the household based on responses given by the parent who was present in the home during the in-home interview, and an indicator of whether or not the household was currently receiving public assistance. Parents were instructed to report their highest level of schooling achieved, which ranges from 1 (less than 8th grade education) to 6 (graduate degree), and also whether or not they are currently receiving public assistance (0=no, 1=yes).

Descriptive Statistics⁵

Table 3.1 shows the weighted descriptive statistics for the variables used in the analysis for Black adolescents in Add Health. Statistics are given for the total sample of Black adolescents and for the male and female subsamples. The explanatory variable of primary interest is skin tone, the lightness or darkness of respondent's skin according to the perception of the interviewer. According to the perception of the interviewer, the majority of Black adolescent respondents, 86%, appeared to be the three darkest skin tones, "black, dark brown, and medium brown." There were only a few respondents who the interviewer perceived as having "white" skin tone while 13% of adolescents were perceived as having light brown skin tone. The majority of male respondents appeared to be in the two darkest skin tone categories, "black" and "dark brown," while the majority of female respondents were perceived as having "medium brown and dark brown" skin tones. Figure 3.1 shows the weighted proportions of Black male and female skin tone distribution compared to the overall sample.

The data in Table 3.1 also show that the final weighted sample consists of 44% of respondents who self-identify as male, meaning that the majority of the sample, 56%, consists of respondents who self-identify as female. About one-fifth of the population was receiving public assistance at the time the survey was taken. The average age was roughly 15 years old for both the male and female samples. The data in table 3.1 also indicate that 19% of the overall sample of Black adolescents have received an out of school suspension, 14% have engaged in weapon violence, and they have participated in

⁵ See Appendix D for bivariate correlations of all dependent and independent variables used in Add Health models.

on average about 1.12 of the possible 10 different types of general delinquency. By gender, we see overall that a higher proportion of Black adolescent males are reporting engaging in delinquent activity. More specifically, we see that about twice the number of Black males report having been suspended and engaging in weapon violence compared to their Black female counterparts. These findings on suspensions are higher than what we would see with a White or Latino sample; other studies of exclusionary discipline and delinquency that find Black boys are disproportionately disciplined and sanctioned compared to their White and Latino and female counterparts (e.g. Ferguson, 2001; Monroe, 2005; Skiba et al., 2011). Males are also reporting a slightly higher number of different types of delinquency than females as well as higher scores of psychological well-being, self-esteem in particular.

Methodology

This chapter tests the relationship between skin tone and each of the main dependent outcomes (strain, psychological well-being, and delinquency). The effect of skin tone on the proposed outcomes are tested by running separate multivariate analyses for each set of dependent outcomes for the overall sample of Black adolescents, and then testing the effect of skin tone using identical models for separate subsamples of Black male and Black female adolescents. Rather than just controlling for gender, previous research on delinquency and skin tone highlights the importance of separate analyses (or fully interacted models) because it is possible that these independent variables may affect the outcomes differently for Black male and Black female adolescents. I also test for a Non-linear relationship between skin tone and all major dependent outcomes.

I use logit models for the binary outcomes, ordered logit models for the ordinal outcomes, and OLS models for the continuous outcomes. To make certain that I am comparing the relationship between skin tone and all three main dependent outcomes for the same respondents, all models (e.g. bivariate models) are estimated using only those observations that are also available for the corresponding multivariate estimations, with a total N of 2,024 Black respondents.

Results

Effects of Skin Tone on Strain

Hypothesis 1: Darker skinned Black adolescents are more likely to self-report feelings of strain (school strain, general social strain, depression, and perceived peer prejudice).

I test hypothesis 1 with three sets of ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression models (school strain, general social strain, and depression) and one set of ordinal logistic regression models (perceived prejudice). The first sets of estimates (Model 1) on Tables 3.3, 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6 reflect the baseline (bivariate) relationship between skin tone and all four sources of strain. Contrary to my hypothesis, there were no direct *linear* effects of skin tone on any of the four types of strain. Regression estimates of *Non-linear* skin tone effects yield somewhat different results. When testing three separate categories⁶ of skin tone on strain (Tables 3.7-3.10), Table 3.9 shows there is a significant relationship between skin tone and depression that emerges in the bivariate model. Brown skinned

⁶ I created dummy variables to test non-linear effects of skin tone on strain. If respondents were perceived by the interviewer as having "brown skin," they were coded as a 1 for "brown skin," and all others receive a 0. The same coding was applied to the "dark skin" and "black skin" tone categories. Categories "white" and "light brown" were combined due to the small sample size of individuals perceived as having "white" skin. Therefore, in each model, the "brown," "dark brown," and "black" skin tone categories are presented, with the "white" and "light brown" categories as the comparison group.

Black males, compared to their “white” and “light brown” counterparts, experience a .24 ($p < .05$) decrease in reported level of depression, while brown skinned female adolescents, on the other hand, experience an increase in reported level of depression of .13 ($p < .05$) when compared to their “white” and “light brown” female counterparts. Although contrary to my hypothesis, these findings may lend support to the research on skin color and self-esteem (and other mental health factors) that have found positive relationships between darker skin tones and the self-esteem ratings of Black males.

I also test for Non-linear effects for those having the “darkest”⁷ skin tones compared to those with the lightest skin on all four types of strain (in Tables 3.11-3.14). While there are no direct effects of “darkest” skin tone for the overall sample, Table 3.12 shows that there is a significant relationship between the “darkest” skin tones and Black male adolescents’ feelings of social strain. More specifically, Black male adolescents with the darkest skin tones experience a .08 increase in not feeling wanted or accepted compared to Black male adolescents with the lighter skin tones. On the other hand, Black female adolescents with the darkest skin tones experience a .12 decrease in not feeling wanted or accepted compared to Black female adolescents with the lightest skin tones.

In model 2 across all of the tables I test if the effect of skin tone is conditional on individual demographic variables. No significant linear effects of skin tone were found in models 2 for any of the four types of strain. However, results yield significant effects for other individual-level personal characteristics and social control. For the overall sample

⁷ The second set of dummy variables was created in order to compare the two darkest skin tone categories to the 3 lightest skin tone categories. The dummy variable “darkest” is a measure of skin tone combining the two darkest skin colors; each respondent perceived as having “dark brown” and “black” skin are given a 1 and respondents perceived as having the three lightest skin tones are given a 0.

of Black adolescents, being male has a significant positive relationship with school strain and a negative relationship with general social strain and depression. This suggests males are significantly more likely to report feelings of trouble in the school environment and less likely to report not feeling wanted, accepted, or depressed. As expected, one's reported level of general social strain and depression also decline as the number of school activities increases for Black adolescents, which is consistent with other research on General Strain Theory and delinquency. Age has a positive significant effect for depression only, with every one year increase in age corresponding to a .07 ($p < .01$), .06 ($p < .01$), and .09 ($p < .01$) increase in the reported level of depression for Black adolescents overall and the subsamples of Black male and female adolescents, respectively. There is also a positive and significant relationship between receiving public assistance and levels of school strain for the total sample of Black adolescents. Turning to Non-linear effects of skin tone in model 2, Table 3.9 shows there are again significant effects of separate skin tone categories on depression. Brown skinned males continue to experience a decrease in level of depression (.28, $p < .05$), but the significant effect of skin tone disappears for "brown" skinned Black females, suggesting that significant demographic variables, such as age, may have more of an impact on Black female's reported level of depression than one's perceived skin color. More specifically, this finding may suggest that an increase in age is more indicative of one's coping level with depression than skin color alone. Model 2 in Table 3.14 shows that a significant effect of "darkest" skin tone emerges for the overall sample of Black adolescent's odds of higher agreement of prejudiced peers, suggesting that getting older may condition the effect of having the darkest skin tones on Black adolescent's odds of perceiving their peers as

prejudiced. Table 3.12 shows that the effect of “darkest skin” tone continues to exert a significant direct effect on Black male adolescent’s feelings of social strain, controlling for demographic variables (.08, $p = .049$).

Tables 3.3-3.6 also includes model 3, which tests the linear relationship between skin tone and strain when all remaining controls for social support are introduced into the model. For all four types of strain being tested, the linear effect of skin tone remained non-significant in predicting strain. However, for the overall sample of Black adolescents, being male has a positive and significant effect on school strain and a negative effect on social strain and depression. These findings suggest that Black adolescent males are more likely to report having trouble getting along with teachers and peers, while also being less likely to report feeling disliked or unwanted and feelings of depression, compared to their female counterparts. Next, as one would expect, Tables 3.3-3.6 also show that school closeness, family support, and mother’s support all significantly decrease the overall sample’s (and subsample of Black females’) reported level of school strain, social strain, and depression. Similarly, as Black adolescents’ feelings of closeness to their school increases, the odds of perceiving their peers as prejudiced also decreases. Additionally, adolescents whose parent receives public assistance experience an increase in their reported level of school strain only.

Table 3.9 shows that “brown” skinned Black adolescent males, compared to their white and light brown skinned counterparts, continue to experience an increase in their level of depression (.24, $p < .05$) when taking into account all other demographic factors and sources of social support. The Non-linear effect (Table 3.12) of “darkest” skin tone for the subsample of Black males remains a significant predictor of social strain. There is

a small increase in effect size (.08) to (.10) when all controls are considered. This means that Black adolescent males with the darkest skin, compared to Black adolescent males with white and light brown skin tones, experience a .10 ($p < .05$) increase in not feeling loved, wanted, and not feeling liked or treated friendly by others. This may suggest that the relationship between skin tone and social strain is in part conditioned by their higher feelings of school closeness and mother's support as these are both factors that significantly decrease their feelings of social strain. Finally, tables 3.11-3.13 showing the Non-linear effects of skin tone all continue to show that school closeness, family support, and mother's support all significantly decrease one's reported level of school strain, social strain, and depression. Additionally, Black adolescents who are more likely to agree with feeling close to their school are less likely to report feeling that their peers are prejudiced while those receiving public assistance are more likely to report having trouble at school.

Effect of Skin Tone on Psychological Well-being (coping)

Hypothesis 2: Darker skinned Black adolescents are more likely to self-report low levels of psychological well-being than their lighter skinned Black counterparts, including: self-esteem, self-efficacy (i.e. hard work), and optimism (i.e. hopefulness).

I test hypothesis 2 with one set of OLS regression models (self-esteem) and two sets of ordered logistic regression models (hard work and optimism). For each type of psychological well-being, I begin by presenting the bivariate regression estimates for the effect of skin tone on each to establish associations between the darkness of skin tone for Black adolescents and reported feelings of self-esteem, efficacy, and optimism. I then follow each set of bivariate regression estimates with the corresponding multivariate

analysis to test the effect of skin tone on each factor of psychological well-being once demographic and social support variables are introduced into the models.

First, for the linear effect of skin tone on self-esteem, bivariate estimates (Model 1) in Table 3.15 show a positive and significant effect of skin tone for the overall sample of Black adolescents and the Black female sample. The effects are contrary to expectations; we see that with each one increment increase in skin tone there is a .07 *increase* in self-esteem for the overall sample and a .08 increase in self-esteem for Black female adolescents. There is no significant effect of skin tone on self-esteem for the sample of Black male adolescents. The positive effect of skin tone remained significant and positive for both samples throughout models 2 and 3. In model 2, I test if skin tone affects self-esteem once I control for age, sex, parent's education, and school activities. Males had significantly higher self-esteem by .27 ($p < .01$) for the overall sample of Black adolescents. There are no significant effects for the remaining controls in model 2 for the overall sample or male and female samples of Black adolescents.

In model 3, I test whether the effect of skin tone on psychological well-being changes once different factors of social support are introduced into the model as one's maternal attachment and social relationships can also impact one's feelings of self-esteem. The effect size of skin tone is slightly reduced, but continues to have a positive and significant effect on self-esteem for the overall (.04, $p < .05$) and Black female (.07, $p < .01$) samples of Black adolescents, suggesting that social support may partially condition the effect of skin tone on self-esteem. Being male continues to significantly increase levels of self-esteem for the overall sample of adolescents and the effect size of being male slightly decreases when controls for social support are added to the model. As

one would expect, an increase in school closeness, family support, and mother's support all have a significant positive effect on one's level of self-esteem for all three samples of Black adolescents.

I also test for Non-linear effects of skin tone. The basic conclusions regarding the significance and association of skin tone effects for self-esteem are similar for both the overall and female sample of Black adolescents, however, table 3.16 shows that the effect size of skin tone is doubled and in some cases tripled for Black adolescents perceived as having "dark" and "black" skin tones. For example, Black adolescents with dark and black skin tones experience a .15 and .14 increase in their reported levels of self-esteem compared to Black adolescents with the lightest skin tone, respectively. Model 3 of Table 3.16 also shows that the subsample of Black female adolescents perceived as having *brown, dark, and black* skin tones experience a .14, .20, and .24 increase in their reported levels of self-esteem compared to Black females perceived as having a white or light brown skin complexion, respectively. The majority of past research shows darker skinned Black women as the group most likely to report lower self-esteem, therefore, I am somewhat surprised by the positive effect of skin tone on self-esteem for the female sample. However, other studies examining samples of Black youth often find that darker skinned adolescents, report not only higher levels of self-esteem but also more satisfaction with their own skin tone (e.g. Gibbs et al., 1989; Robinson and Ward, 1986).

I next turn to the effects of skin tone on feelings of self-efficacy or the adolescent's perception of personal achievement based on their own hard work. In Table 3.18 we see that there are no significant effects of skin tone on self-efficacy across all 3 models for all three samples of Black adolescents. Increases in age significantly increase

one's level of self-efficacy for the overall sample of Black adolescents and the subsample of Black male adolescents. More specifically, for every one-year increase in age, Black adolescents overall experience a .11 increase and Black adolescent males experience a .15 increase in the ordered log-odds of being in a higher category of self-efficacy, when all other variables in the model are held constant. There is also a positive and significant effect of mother's support for all three samples. With all controls held constant, for every one-unit increase in mother's support, there is a .64, .77, and .55 increase in the ordered log-odds of higher self-efficacy for Black adolescent and Black male and female subsamples, respectively. When comparing the effects of the darkest skin tones to Black adolescents with the lightest skin tones (Table 3.20) we see that parent's education and school activities also become positive significant predictors of self-efficacy for all three samples of Black adolescents.

I found similar results in reference to the effects of skin tone on one's level of optimism or hopefulness for the future. Skin tone was not a significant predictor of optimism for Black adolescents, but parental education, school activities, and closeness to one's school do have a significant and positive significant effect on adolescent's level of optimism. For the overall sample of Black adolescents, there is a .10, .09, and .20 increase in the ordered log-odds of higher optimism for every one-unit increase in parental education, number of school activities, and closeness to one's school, respectively. For every one-unit increase in parental education and number of school activities, Black adolescent males experience a .12 and .14 increase in their levels of optimism, respectively. Lastly, for Black adolescent females, there is a .08, .06, and .28 increase in the ordered log-odds of higher optimism for every one-unit increase in

parental education, number of school activities, and closeness to one's school, respectively.

Effects of Skin Tone on Delinquency

Hypothesis 3: Because darker skinned adolescents experience more strain and lower self-esteem, self-efficacy, optimism, and attachment to school, family and peers, they will react by engaging in more delinquency.

I test hypothesis 3 with two sets of logistic regression models (odds of weapon violence and suspension) and one set of OLS regression models (general delinquency). For each type of delinquent activity, I begin by presenting the bivariate regression estimates for the effect of skin tone on each to establish associations between the darkness of skin tone for Black adolescents and the probability of engaging in each type delinquent activity. I then follow each set of bivariate regression estimates with the corresponding multivariate analysis to test the effect of skin tone on each type of delinquency once factors of strain and psychological well-being are introduced into the models. In models using the total sample of Black adolescents, I add a control for gender, given that males are more likely than their female counterparts to experience being suspended from school and engage in delinquent activity in general.

The first set of models (Model 1) test for the *linear* effect of skin tone alone on the odds of engaging in weapon violence, odds of school suspension, and level of general delinquency (see Tables 3.24, 3.25, and 3.26). First, for the overall sample, we see that the direct effect of skin tone is statistically significant and in the positive direction as expected for the odds of weapon violence. As skin tone darkens, the odds of engaging in weapon violence increase by almost ($e^{0.22} = 1.24$) 24% for every one increment change in

skin tone from light to dark (1=white, 5=black). Table 3.30 shows the logistic regression coefficients testing the Non-linear effects of skin tone on weapon violence. In model 1, we see that when compared to the lightest skin tone categories, the total sample of Black adolescents with the two darkest skin tones experience a ($e^{0.39} = 1.47$) 47% increase in the odds of engaging in weapon violence. There are no significant effects of skin tone on the odds of suspension or general delinquency for the overall sample of Black adolescents.

For males, there is no statistically significant effect of skin tone on any of the three types of delinquency being measured (suspension, weapon violence, or general delinquency). For females however, when looking at the odds of being suspended, they experience a ($e^{0.22} = 1.24$) 24% increase in the odds of being suspended for every one increment change in skin tone (see Table 3.25). These findings are consistent with Hannon and colleagues (2013) study of skin tone and school suspension, which showed significant effects of skin tone for the female subpopulation only using Add Health data. The estimated odds of weapon violence for the female sample is also positive for skin tone at .22 but only marginally significant ($p = .06$). There are no significant direct effects of skin tone on one's likelihood of engaging in a variety of general delinquent activities for females. Possible explanations for the gender differences in findings are further discussed in chapter 5, but ultimately these findings lead me to suspect that the delinquency effects found for the female sample may be the result of a combination of the "good girl/bad girl" theory proposed by Jones (2010) and the "loud" and "unlady like" perspective offered in the work by Morris (2007), both of which suggest that girls are sometimes punished more often and differently than boys for not behaving as one would expect a girl to behave.

There are potentially many factors that may impact one's involvement in delinquency, most importantly one's prior engagement in delinquent activity. Therefore, in Model 2 (Tables 3.24-3.26), I consider the significant role that prior delinquency (Wave I) plays in predicting one's current (Wave II) engagement in weapon violence and general delinquency. In Model 2 of school suspension, I also control for delinquency⁸ but at Wave II. Using Wave II delinquency in school suspension models allows me to reduce the possibility of any impact that a student's current behavior may have on a school official's decision to suspend that individual. From the results in Table 3.24 we see that increases in the darkness of one's skin tone continues to significantly increase the odds of one's engagement in weapon violence controlling for prior delinquent behavior. The odds for the relationship between skin tone and weapon violence when controlling for prior delinquency (.22, $p < .05$) is almost identical in size to the bivariate relationship between the two variables (.22, $p < .05$). A one unit increase in prior acts of delinquency increase the odds of that individual's engagement in weapon violence by 500% ($e^{1.63} = 5.17$) for Black adolescents overall, 460% ($e^{1.53} = 4.63$) for Black males, and 540% ($e^{1.68} = 5.40$) for Black females.

Shifting to the logistic regression estimates for odds of suspension (Table 3.25), we see that when one's current (Wave II) acts of delinquency are introduced into the model, there is a continued significant effect of skin tone for Black adolescent females. More specifically, females experience a 23% ($e^{0.21} = 1.23$) increase in the odds of being suspended for every one increment change in skin tone. The lack of a major change in

⁸ In models not shown, I also estimate the odds of suspension controlling for prior delinquency at Wave I. Skin tone remains significant in all of the models for the subsample of Black females and the effect size of skin tone when using the Wave I measure of delinquency is basically unchanged.

effect size once current delinquency is introduced in the model suggests that irrespective of one's current deviant behavior at the time of sanctioning, skin tone remains a significant factor in predicting the odds of being suspended for Black adolescent females. There are still no significant effects of skin tone for the overall sample or by gender on one's likelihood of engaging in a variety of general delinquent activities.

Model 3 in Tables 3.24-3.26 presents the coefficients for the predicted effects of skin tone on delinquency controlling for prior (and current) delinquency of the adolescent along with relevant demographic characteristics related to skin tone and delinquency. For weapon violence, the overall sample of Black adolescents experience a 23% ($e^{0.21} = 1.23$) increase in odds of weapon violence as skin tone darkens. Prior delinquency continues to have a significant and large effect on weapon violence. Table 3.24 shows us that being male significantly increases Black adolescent's involvement in weapon violence by ($e^{0.36} = 1.43$) 43% while being involved in more school activities decreases involvement in weapon violence by ($e^{-0.12} = .88$) 12%, and for the overall sample of Black adolescents and ($e^{-0.19} = .82$) 18% for the female subsample of Black adolescents.

When demographic variables are added, skin tone still has no effect for the overall sample and male subsample of Black adolescents' odds of being suspended from school. The effect of skin tone for the female sample disappears, telling us that skin tone fails to explain a significant amount of the variance in the odds of being suspended when demographic variables such as receiving public assistance are taken into account. For example, we see that when female adolescents reside in a home receiving public assistance, the odds of being suspended are almost doubled ($e^{0.66} = 1.94$). There is also a significantly greater likelihood of being suspended for all Black adolescents living in a

household that receives public assistance. More specifically, I find that Black adolescents living in a household receiving public assistance experience a 60% increase in the odds 60%, ($e^{0.47} = 1.60$). There is still no statistically significant effect of skin tone on one's involvement in general delinquency. Prior delinquency and parent's education, however, do appear as significant predictors that increase one's involvement in general delinquent activity.

Of most importance to the current study is the effect of skin tone on delinquency once relevant factors of strain and psychological well-being are introduced. I predict positive effects of skin tone will remain significant after adding all controls for demographic factors, sources of strain and psychological well-being. Therefore, in models 4 and 5, I test the effect of skin tone on delinquency once measures of strain are introduced and before the addition of psychological well-being factors are taken into account. It is important to note that I no longer expect the addition of strain to change the effect skin tone has on delinquency since strain was not significantly related to skin tone (measured as a linear relationship) in part one of this study.

As shown in model 4 of Table 3.24, the overall sample of Black adolescents experience a ($e^{0.22} = 1.24$) 24% increase in odds of weapon violence as skin tone darkens, controlling for sources of strain alone. Prior delinquency continues to have a significantly large effect on weapon violence for all three samples of Black adolescents. Additionally, the odds of engaging in weapon violence are also significantly increased for the males in the overall sample along with higher levels of depression for the overall sample of Black adolescents. More specifically, a one-unit increase in depression

increases the odds of engaging in weapon violence for Black adolescents by 27% ($e^{0.24} = 1.27$).

In model 4 of Table 3.25, we see that the significant effect of skin tone on odds of suspension reappears for the subsample of female adolescents and is largely unchanged ($.22, p < .05$) from the significant effect found in model 2 ($.21, p < .05$), although there is a positive significant effect of school strain in the model. An increase in school strain actually doubles the odds of being suspended for Black female adolescents, but still has no impact of the magnitude on the effect of skin tone. Skin tone remains insignificant in both models for general delinquency, however, there are significant effects for increases in age, parent's education, and perceived prejudice of peers.

Consistent with hypothesis 3, there are some remaining significant effects of skin tone net of all controls. Table 3.24 also displays the results of the full multivariate models (model 5) estimating the effects of skin tone on weapon violence. As with the previous models, the effect of skin tone is statistically significant only for the overall sample and marginally significant for the Black female sample. The key result presented in this table is that the effect of skin tone remains positively significant even after taking into account multiple factors of strain, psychological well-being (i.e. coping factors), and other important sociodemographic factors that have been found to significantly affect Black adolescents' engagement in delinquent activity. More specifically, Black adolescents continue to experience a ($e^{0.22} = 1.24$) 24% increase in the odds of weapon violence for every one increment change in skin tone from light to dark. This finding is not surprising however, since we now know that skin tone is not related to most of the strain and psychological well-being variables.

Lastly, turning to model 5 of Table 3.25, we see that skin tone continues to remain a significant predictor of odds of suspension after controlling for strain and psychological well-being for the subsample of Black female adolescents. Once again, the effect of skin tone on odds of suspension remains positive and significant ($e^{0.20} = 1.22$), and is basically unchanged for the subsample of female adolescents although there is also still a strong positive significant effect of school strain ($e^{0.62} = 1.86$) and current delinquent behavior ($e^{0.31} = 1.36$) in the model. These effects would indicate that a negative school climate alongside delinquent behavior at the time of the suspensions are both associated with greater odds of being suspended from school. These results also hold true for the overall sample of Black adolescents who experience a ($e^{0.30} = 1.34$) 34% increase in the odds of being suspended as they report having more trouble with homework and getting along with teachers and peers.

Overall, the results show some evidence that darker skinned Black adolescents are engaging in and experiencing more delinquent activity than their lighter skinned counterparts, weapon violence and school suspensions in particular. However, the role of strain and psychological well-being on delinquency proved not to be as significant as initially predicted in respect to their relationship with skin tone, but does impact the involvement of delinquent activity differently for males and females. The gender-specific effects of skin tone and delinquency and other factors are further discussed and presented with my final conclusions in Chapter 5. In the next chapter, chapter 4, I present the data I will use and specific hypotheses I will test to analyze the effects of skin tone on perceived neighborhood conditions for Black adults.

Table 3.1. Weighted Summary Statistics for All Dependent and Independent Variables,
Black Add Health Respondents

Variable	Proportion / Mean (S.E.)			Range
	Total	Male	Female	
Skin Tone	3.69 (.05)	3.84 (.07)	3.57 (.05)	1 - 5
1 (White)	.01	.01	.00	26
2 (Light Brown)	.13	.10	.16	290
3 (Medium Brown)	.29	.25	.33	601
4 (Dark Brown)	.30	.32	.28	547
5 (Black)	.27	.32	.23	560
Delinquency				
Percent Ever Suspended	.19	.26	.13	0 - 1
Percent Weapon Violence	.14	.19	.11	0 - 1
Mean Delinquency Score	1.12 (.05)	1.32 (.09)	.96 (.07)	0 - 10
Source of Strain				
School Strain	.00 (.02)	.04 (.03)	.00 (.03)	-.94 - 2.78
General Social Strain	-.006 (.027)	-.10 (.03)	.07 (.04)	-.81 - 4.01
Perceived Peer Prejudice	2.16 (.085)	2.59 (.10)	2.63 (.08)	1 - 5
Depression Scale	.001 (.030)	-.15 (.03)	.12 (.04)	-.72 - 3.30
Psychological Well-being				
Self-Esteem Scale	-.00 (.03)	.154 (.03)	-.126 (.040)	-4.01 - 1.00
Hopefulness	1.79 (.03)	1.79 (.04)	1.78 (.046)	0 - 3
Efficacy of Hard Work	3.88 (.03)	3.91 (.05)	3.86 (.041)	1 - 5
Dichotomous Controls				
Male	.44	--	--	0 - 1
Public Assistance	.19	.18	.20	0 - 1
Social Bonding Controls				
School Closeness Scale	.04 (.02)	.13 (.03)	-.02 (.03)	-2.45 - 1.21
Family Support Scale	.05 (.02)	.11 (.02)	.00 (.03)	-3.88 - .897
Mother's Support Scale	.04 (.03)	.13 (.03)	-.03(.04)	-3.66 - .816
Continuous Controls				
Age	15.37 (.18)	15.49	15.27	12 - 21 years
Parent's Education	13.54 (.18)	13.69 (.20)	13.41 (.20)	8-18 years
Prior Delinquency Scale	-.03 (.019)	.053 (.03)	-.091 (.022)	-.437 - 5.19
Sum of Activities	1.62(.09)	1.39 (.09)	1.80 (.13)	0 - 25
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024

FIGURE 3.1

Weighted Distribution of Skin Tone Values for Black Adolescents by Gender

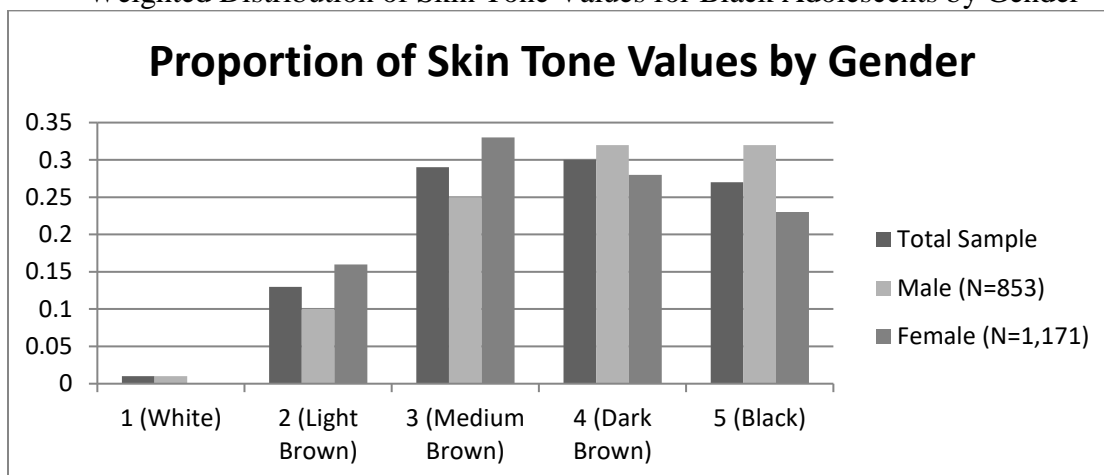


Table 3.2. Weighted Proportion/Mean of Dependent Variables by Skin Tone

	Suspension	Weapon Violence	General Delinq.	N
1 (White)	.13	.27	2.58	26
2 (Light Brown)	.19	.11	1.13	290
3 (Medium Brown)	.16	.12	.98	601
4 (Dark Brown)	.17	.14	1.17	547
5 (Black)	.22	.20	1.16	560
TOTAL	.19	.14	1.12	2,024

Table 3.3. Weighted Linear Effects of Skin Tone on School Strain

VARIABLES	School Strain								
	(1) Total	(1) Male	(1) Female	(2) Total	(2) Male	(2) Female	(3) Total	(3) Male	(3) Female
Skin Tone	-0.009 (0.023)	0.019 (0.034)	-0.042 (0.027)	-0.017 (0.023)	0.022 (0.033)	-0.044 (0.028)	-0.006 (0.020)	0.040 (0.028)	-0.038 (0.025)
Age				0.001 (0.016)	0.005 (0.018)	-0.004 (0.023)	-0.023 (0.015)	-0.011 (0.016)	-0.032 (0.024)
Male				0.091* (0.050)			0.168*** (0.047)		
Parent's Education				0.004 (0.008)	0.007 (0.015)	0.003 (0.011)	0.003 (0.008)	0.004 (0.014)	0.003 (0.011)
Public Assistance				0.125** (0.058)	0.095 (0.106)	0.149* (0.079)	0.117** (0.053)	0.083 (0.093)	0.143** (0.068)
School Activities				-0.010 (0.009)	-0.023 (0.014)	-0.004 (0.012)	-0.004 (0.010)	-0.017 (0.014)	0.002 (0.012)
School Closeness Scale							-0.255*** (0.026)	-0.333*** (0.047)	-0.211*** (0.030)
Family Support Scale							-0.192*** (0.035)	-0.231*** (0.058)	-0.158*** (0.034)
Mother's Support Scale							-0.061** (0.028)	-0.038 (0.048)	-0.079** (0.036)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
R-squared	0.000	0.001	0.004	0.010	0.008	0.011	0.155	0.194	0.135

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.4. Weighted Linear Effects of Skin Tone on General Social Strain

VARIABLES	General Social Strain								
	(1) Total	(1) Male	(1) Female	(2) Total	(2) Male	(2) Female	(3) Total	(3) Male	(3) Female
Skin Tone	-0.035 (0.025)	0.013 (0.027)	-0.054 (0.033)	-0.025 (0.024)	0.010 (0.027)	-0.054 (0.034)	-0.013 (0.020)	0.024 (0.027)	-0.042* (0.024)
Age				0.033* (0.018)	0.022 (0.024)	0.044* (0.026)	0.003 (0.018)	0.007 (0.022)	0.001 (0.026)
Male				-0.186*** (0.052)			-0.091** (0.045)		
Parent's Education				-0.016** (0.008)	-0.012 (0.012)	-0.017* (0.009)	-0.016** (0.007)	-0.013 (0.012)	-0.016* (0.009)
Public Assistance				0.048 (0.050)	0.101 (0.084)	0.006 (0.062)	0.053 (0.048)	0.104 (0.080)	0.004 (0.072)
School Activities				-0.015** (0.007)	-0.011 (0.012)	-0.019* (0.011)	-0.009 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.012)	-0.012 (0.011)
School Closeness Scale							-0.229*** (0.028)	-0.214*** (0.050)	-0.244*** (0.037)
Family Support Scale							-0.171*** (0.044)	-0.101* (0.054)	-0.215*** (0.062)
Mother's Support Scale							-0.207*** (0.040)	-0.145*** (0.051)	-0.230*** (0.047)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
R-squared	0.003	0.000	0.005	0.033	0.015	0.022	0.235	0.141	0.282

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.5. Weighted Linear Effects of Skin Tone on Depression

VARIABLES	Depression Scale								
	(1) Total	(1) Male	(1) Female	(2) Total	(2) Male	(2) Female	(3) Total	(3) Male	(3) Female
Skin Tone	-0.035 (0.028)	-0.036 (0.036)	-0.004 (0.035)	-0.016 (0.027)	-0.034 (0.036)	-0.003 (0.035)	-0.006 (0.025)	-0.023 (0.035)	0.010 (0.030)
Age				0.076*** (0.016)	0.062*** (0.019)	0.088*** (0.026)	0.050*** (0.016)	0.057*** (0.019)	0.045* (0.026)
Male				-0.293*** (0.051)			-0.218*** (0.048)		
Parent's Education				-0.008 (0.010)	-0.010 (0.014)	-0.007 (0.015)	-0.009 (0.009)	-0.011 (0.013)	-0.009 (0.015)
Public Assistance				0.092 (0.070)	0.055 (0.112)	0.117 (0.095)	0.085 (0.068)	0.043 (0.109)	0.088 (0.098)
School Activities				-0.021** (0.009)	-0.012 (0.012)	-0.027* (0.014)	-0.017* (0.010)	-0.009 (0.012)	-0.021 (0.015)
School Closeness Scale							-0.185*** (0.038)	-0.204*** (0.060)	-0.182*** (0.055)
Family Support Scale							-0.232*** (0.044)	-0.041 (0.056)	-0.359*** (0.062)
Mother's Support Scale							-0.083** (0.039)	-0.023 (0.050)	-0.088* (0.047)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
R-squared	0.002	0.003	0.000	0.056	0.029	0.033	0.152	0.074	0.183

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.6. Weighted Linear Effects of Skin Tone on Odds of Prejudice

VARIABLES	Odds Perceived Prejudice								
	(1) Total	(1) Male	(1) Female	(2) Total	(2) Male	(2) Female	(3) Total	(3) Male	(3) Female
Skin Tone	0.045 (0.053)	0.058 (0.099)	0.044 (0.063)	0.057 (0.054)	0.065 (0.099)	0.054 (0.063)	0.065 (0.054)	0.078 (0.099)	0.052 (0.065)
Age				0.091 (0.071)	0.044 (0.092)	0.132* (0.067)	0.083 (0.072)	0.033 (0.093)	0.120 (0.073)
Male				-0.095 (0.123)			-0.017 (0.122)		
Parent's Education				-0.022 (0.031)	-0.012 (0.042)	-0.029 (0.031)	-0.024 (0.030)	-0.013 (0.042)	-0.032 (0.031)
Public Assistance				-0.162 (0.151)	0.102 (0.263)	-0.353 (0.246)	-0.154 (0.163)	0.100 (0.281)	-0.319 (0.263)
School Activities				-0.031 (0.021)	-0.042 (0.037)	-0.027 (0.026)	-0.020 (0.021)	-0.035 (0.036)	-0.014 (0.026)
School Closeness Scale							-0.447*** (0.095)	-0.324* (0.165)	-0.506*** (0.121)
Family Support Scale							0.086 (0.107)	0.050 (0.124)	0.096 (0.146)
Mother's Support Scale							-0.075 (0.091)	-0.206 (0.161)	-0.011 (0.101)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10

Table 3.7. Weighted Non-linear (3 Categories) Effects of Skin Tone on School Strain

VARIABLES	School Strain								
	(1) Total	(1) Male	(1) Female	(2) Total	(2) Male	(2) Female	(3) Total	(3) Male	(3) Female
Brown Skin	-0.011 (0.071)	-0.075 (0.127)	0.025 (0.073)	-0.018 (0.071)	-0.083 (0.125)	0.025 (0.072)	0.003 (0.068)	-0.013 (0.126)	0.024 (0.075)
Dark Skin	-0.056 (0.080)	-0.048 (0.102)	-0.084 (0.100)	-0.073 (0.082)	-0.048 (0.101)	-0.083 (0.099)	-0.038 (0.079)	0.035 (0.106)	-0.067 (0.094)
Black Skin	-0.012 (0.078)	0.025 (0.116)	-0.084 (0.082)	-0.036 (0.077)	0.027 (0.112)	-0.092 (0.083)	-0.003 (0.071)	0.102 (0.103)	-0.077 (0.081)
Age				0.000 (0.016)	0.005 (0.018)	-0.005 (0.023)	-0.023 (0.016)	-0.011 (0.016)	-0.032 (0.023)
Male				0.091* (0.050)			0.169*** (0.047)		
Parent's Education				0.004 (0.008)	0.006 (0.015)	0.003 (0.011)	0.003 (0.008)	0.004 (0.014)	0.002 (0.011)
Public Assistance				0.124** (0.058)	0.096 (0.106)	0.147* (0.078)	0.116** (0.053)	0.083 (0.093)	0.142** (0.067)
School Activities				-0.011 (0.009)	-0.023 (0.014)	-0.004 (0.012)	-0.005 (0.010)	-0.017 (0.014)	0.002 (0.012)
School Closeness Scale							-0.256*** (0.026)	-0.331*** (0.048)	-0.211*** (0.030)
Family Support Scale							-0.191*** (0.035)	-0.230*** (0.058)	-0.159*** (0.034)
Mother's Support Scale							-0.060** (0.028)	-0.040 (0.048)	-0.076** (0.037)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
R-squared	0.001	0.003	0.005	0.011	0.011	0.012	0.155	0.195	0.136

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.8. Weighted Non-linear (3 Categories) Effects of Skin Tone on Social Strain

VARIABLES	Social Strain								
	(1) Total	(1) Male	(1) Female	(2) Total	(2) Male	(2) Female	(3) Total	(3) Male	(3) Female
Brown Skin	0.041 (0.059)	-0.071 (0.087)	0.118 (0.079)	0.030 (0.055)	-0.096 (0.094)	0.105 (0.075)	0.031 (0.058)	-0.060 (0.094)	0.086 (0.074)
Dark Skin	0.003 (0.063)	0.060 (0.081)	-0.006 (0.091)	0.017 (0.059)	0.045 (0.084)	-0.019 (0.090)	0.048 (0.057)	0.095 (0.087)	0.005 (0.079)
Black Skin	-0.073 (0.080)	0.002 (0.094)	-0.094 (0.099)	-0.052 (0.076)	-0.018 (0.095)	-0.096 (0.099)	-0.025 (0.071)	0.030 (0.096)	-0.080 (0.079)
Age				0.033* (0.018)	0.025 (0.026)	0.042 (0.026)	0.003 (0.018)	0.010 (0.023)	-0.001 (0.026)
Male				-0.187*** (0.052)			-0.091** (0.045)		
Parent's Education				-0.016** (0.008)	-0.013 (0.012)	-0.017* (0.009)	-0.015** (0.007)	-0.014 (0.012)	-0.016* (0.009)
Public Assistance				0.050 (0.050)	0.097 (0.083)	0.009 (0.062)	0.054 (0.047)	0.100 (0.080)	0.007 (0.071)
School Activities				-0.014* (0.007)	-0.012 (0.012)	-0.018 (0.011)	-0.008 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.012)	-0.012 (0.011)
School Closeness Scale							-0.228*** (0.029)	-0.212*** (0.049)	-0.242*** (0.037)
Family Support Scale							-0.174*** (0.044)	-0.103* (0.054)	-0.222*** (0.061)
Mother's Support Scale							-0.206*** (0.039)	-0.147*** (0.052)	-0.224*** (0.045)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
R-squared	0.004	0.006	0.011	0.034	0.022	0.027	0.236	0.149	0.285

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.9. Weighted Non-linear (3 Categories) Effects of Skin Tone on Depression

VARIABLES	Depression								
	(1) Total	(1) Male	(1) Female	(2) Total	(2) Male	(2) Female	(3) Total	(3) Male	(3) Female
Brown Skin	-0.012 (0.071)	-0.244** (0.135)	0.133** (0.078)	-0.031 (0.069)	-0.280** (0.135)	0.110 (0.076)	-0.013 (0.068)	-0.242** (0.133)	0.129 (0.079)
Dark Skin	0.008 (0.082)	-0.069 (0.141)	0.089 (0.097)	0.038 (0.078)	-0.070 (0.138)	0.077 (0.095)	0.076 (0.077)	-0.027 (0.135)	0.129 (0.088)
Black Skin	-0.106 (0.092)	-0.230 (0.145)	0.046 (0.104)	-0.065 (0.087)	-0.243* (0.142)	0.042 (0.102)	-0.036 (0.084)	-0.200 (0.139)	0.074 (0.090)
Age				0.077*** (0.016)	0.068*** (0.020)	0.087*** (0.027)	0.051*** (0.016)	0.062*** (0.019)	0.043* (0.026)
Male				-0.295*** (0.051)			-0.221*** (0.048)		
Parent's Education				-0.008 (0.010)	-0.011 (0.014)	-0.007 (0.014)	-0.009 (0.009)	-0.012 (0.013)	-0.009 (0.015)
Public Assistance				0.094 (0.069)	0.049 (0.111)	0.120 (0.095)	0.086 (0.066)	0.038 (0.109)	0.091 (0.096)
School Activities				-0.021** (0.009)	-0.014 (0.012)	-0.026* (0.014)	-0.016* (0.010)	-0.010 (0.012)	-0.020 (0.015)
School Closeness Scale							-0.183*** (0.039)	-0.199*** (0.060)	-0.181*** (0.055)
Family Support Scale							-0.235*** (0.044)	-0.043 (0.056)	-0.366*** (0.062)
Mother's Support Scale							-0.083** (0.040)	-0.028 (0.050)	-0.083* (0.047)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
R-squared	0.003	0.018	0.003	0.058	0.048	0.035	0.154	0.092	0.186

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.10. Weighted Non-linear (3 Categories) Effects of Skin Tone on Odds of Perceived Prejudiced Peers

VARIABLES	Odds of Perceived Prejudice								
	(1) Total	(1) Male	(1) Female	(2) Total	(2) Male	(2) Female	(3) Total	(3) Male	(3) Female
Brown Skin	-0.259 (0.214)	-0.170 (0.393)	-0.303 (0.214)	-0.303 (0.213)	-0.216 (0.400)	-0.361* (0.217)	-0.305 (0.211)	-0.216 (0.417)	-0.382* (0.218)
Dark Skin	-0.041 (0.160)	-0.134 (0.310)	0.077 (0.208)	-0.037 (0.159)	-0.146 (0.311)	0.049 (0.210)	-0.039 (0.167)	-0.108 (0.328)	-0.011 (0.223)
Black Skin	0.012 (0.175)	0.108 (0.357)	-0.054 (0.203)	0.026 (0.173)	0.104 (0.358)	-0.040 (0.197)	0.045 (0.175)	0.129 (0.364)	-0.041 (0.210)
Age				0.097 (0.070)	0.045 (0.090)	0.138** (0.066)	0.088 (0.071)	0.034 (0.091)	0.127* (0.071)
Male				-0.105 (0.123)			-0.025 (0.122)		
Parent's Education				-0.023 (0.031)	-0.012 (0.042)	-0.029 (0.031)	-0.025 (0.030)	-0.013 (0.041)	-0.031 (0.031)
Public Assistance				-0.172 (0.149)	0.112 (0.264)	-0.365 (0.239)	-0.161 (0.161)	0.113 (0.285)	-0.328 (0.257)
School Activities				-0.033 (0.022)	-0.046 (0.037)	-0.029 (0.027)	-0.023 (0.022)	-0.038 (0.036)	-0.016 (0.026)
School Closeness Scale							-0.444*** (0.095)	-0.313* (0.166)	-0.502*** (0.122)
Family Support Scale							0.101 (0.110)	0.060 (0.127)	0.118 (0.147)
Mother's Support Scale							-0.092 (0.091)	-0.222 (0.169)	-0.033 (0.100)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.11. Weighted Non-linear (Darkest) Effects of Skin Tone on School Strain

School Strain									
VARIABLES	(1) Total	(1) Male	(1) Female	(2) Total	(2) Male	(2) Female	(3) Total	(3) Male	(3) Female
Darkest Skin Tone	-0.028 (0.043)	0.041 (0.062)	-0.100 (0.061)	-0.043 (0.044)	0.047 (0.062)	-0.104* (0.062)	-0.024 (0.039)	0.077 (0.056)	-0.088 (0.055)
Age				0.000 (0.016)	0.005 (0.018)	-0.005 (0.024)	-0.023 (0.016)	-0.010 (0.016)	-0.032 (0.024)
Male				0.092* (0.050)			0.170*** (0.048)		
Parent's Education				0.004 (0.008)	0.006 (0.015)	0.003 (0.011)	0.003 (0.008)	0.004 (0.014)	0.002 (0.011)
Public Assistance				0.125** (0.058)	0.094 (0.106)	0.146* (0.078)	0.117** (0.053)	0.082 (0.094)	0.141** (0.067)
School Activities				-0.010 (0.009)	-0.023 (0.014)	-0.004 (0.012)	-0.004 (0.010)	-0.017 (0.014)	0.002 (0.012)
School Closeness Scale							-0.255*** (0.026)	-0.331*** (0.047)	-0.212*** (0.030)
Family Support Scale							-0.192*** (0.035)	-0.232*** (0.058)	-0.158*** (0.034)
Mother's Support Scale							-0.060** (0.028)	-0.039 (0.048)	-0.077** (0.036)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
R-squared	0.000	0.001	0.005	0.010	0.008	0.012	0.155	0.193	0.135

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.12. Weighted Non-linear (Darkest) Effects of Skin Tone on Social Strain

Social Strain									
VARIABLES	(1) Total	(1) Male	(1) Female	(2) Total	(2) Male	(2) Female	(3) Total	(3) Male	(3) Female
Darkest Skin Tone	-0.061 (0.049)	0.081** (0.047)	-0.125* (0.075)	-0.036 (0.046)	0.080** (0.047)	-0.124 (0.075)	-0.007 (0.037)	0.104** (0.050)	-0.091 (0.055)
Age				0.033* (0.018)	0.023 (0.025)	0.043* (0.026)	0.003 (0.018)	0.009 (0.023)	0.001 (0.026)
Male				-0.188*** (0.052)			-0.093** (0.046)		
Parent's Education				-0.016* (0.008)	-0.012 (0.012)	-0.018* (0.009)	-0.015** (0.007)	-0.013 (0.012)	-0.017* (0.009)
Public Assistance				0.047 (0.051)	0.097 (0.083)	0.004 (0.062)	0.052 (0.048)	0.100 (0.079)	0.002 (0.072)
School Activities				-0.015** (0.007)	-0.012 (0.013)	-0.019* (0.011)	-0.009 (0.008)	-0.007 (0.012)	-0.013 (0.011)
School Closeness Scale							-0.229*** (0.028)	-0.215*** (0.049)	-0.244*** (0.037)
Family Support Scale							-0.171*** (0.044)	-0.102* (0.054)	-0.216*** (0.062)
Mother's Support Scale							-0.208*** (0.040)	-0.147*** (0.052)	-0.228*** (0.047)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
R-squared	0.002	0.004	0.007	0.032	0.018	0.024	0.235	0.146	0.282

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.13. Weighted Non-linear (Darkest) Effects of Skin Tone on Depression

VARIABLES	Depression								
	(1) Total	(1) Male	(1) Female	(2) Total	(2) Male	(2) Female	(3) Total	(3) Male	(3) Female
Darkest Skin Tone	-0.039 (0.056)	0.020 (0.068)	-0.019 (0.073)	0.010 (0.052)	0.038 (0.068)	-0.013 (0.076)	0.032 (0.050)	0.056 (0.069)	0.017 (0.064)
Age				0.076*** (0.016)	0.064*** (0.020)	0.088*** (0.026)	0.051*** (0.016)	0.059*** (0.019)	0.045* (0.026)
Male				-0.299*** (0.051)			-0.224*** (0.048)		
Parent's Education				-0.008 (0.010)	-0.008 (0.014)	-0.008 (0.014)	-0.009 (0.009)	-0.009 (0.013)	-0.009 (0.015)
Public Assistance				0.091 (0.070)	0.050 (0.110)	0.117 (0.095)	0.083 (0.068)	0.038 (0.107)	0.088 (0.098)
School Activities				-0.021** (0.009)	-0.014 (0.012)	-0.027* (0.014)	-0.017* (0.010)	-0.010 (0.012)	-0.021 (0.015)
School Closeness Scale							-0.185*** (0.038)	-0.208*** (0.061)	-0.182*** (0.054)
Family Support Scale							-0.232*** (0.044)	-0.040 (0.056)	-0.358*** (0.062)
Mother's Support Scale							-0.084** (0.039)	-0.025 (0.050)	-0.089* (0.047)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
R-squared	0.001	0.000	0.000	0.055	0.027	0.033	0.152	0.074	0.183

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.14. Weighted Non-linear (Darkest) Effects of Skin Tone on Odds of Perceived Prejudice Peers

VARIABLES	Odds Perceived Prejudice								
	(1) Total	(1) Male	(1) Female	(2) Total	(2) Male	(2) Female	(3) Total	(3) Male	(3) Female
Darkest Skin Tone	0.162 (0.115)	0.109 (0.210)	0.218 (0.148)	0.200** (0.117)	0.132 (0.202)	0.247 (0.149)	0.210** (0.112)	0.165 (0.201)	0.231 (0.148)
Age				0.095 (0.071)	0.045 (0.092)	0.136** (0.067)	0.086 (0.072)	0.035 (0.092)	0.123* (0.073)
Male				-0.108 (0.123)			-0.028 (0.122)		
Parent's Education				-0.022 (0.031)	-0.014 (0.042)	-0.029 (0.031)	-0.024 (0.030)	-0.014 (0.042)	-0.031 (0.031)
Public Assistance				-0.166 (0.149)	0.098 (0.263)	-0.356 (0.244)	-0.157 (0.162)	0.097 (0.281)	-0.322 (0.262)
School Activities				-0.031 (0.021)	-0.041 (0.036)	-0.026 (0.026)	-0.020 (0.021)	-0.034 (0.035)	-0.013 (0.026)
School Closeness Scale							-0.445*** (0.095)	-0.323* (0.166)	-0.502*** (0.122)
Family Support Scale							0.085 (0.107)	0.047 (0.123)	0.094 (0.143)
Mother's Support Scale							-0.079 (0.090)	-0.209 (0.161)	-0.017 (0.100)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.15. Weighted Linear Effects of Skin Tone on Self-esteem

VARIABLES	(Total) Model 1	(Male) Model 1	(Female) Model 1	(Total) Model 2	(Male) Model 2	(Female) Model 2	(Total) Model 3	(Male) Model 3	(Female) Model 3
Skin Tone	0.071*** (0.020)	0.012 (0.024)	0.088*** (0.027)	0.056*** (0.019)	0.020 (0.024)	0.087*** (0.026)	0.045** (0.017)	0.008 (0.025)	0.077*** (0.021)
Age				-0.028 (0.018)	-0.008 (0.024)	-0.045* (0.023)	0.000 (0.016)	0.012 (0.021)	-0.011 (0.020)
Male				0.270*** (0.050)			0.182*** (0.043)		
Parent's Education				0.012 (0.008)	0.019* (0.011)	0.005 (0.009)	0.011* (0.007)	0.019* (0.010)	0.003 (0.009)
Public Assistance				-0.061 (0.045)	-0.141* (0.075)	-0.001 (0.068)	-0.075 (0.046)	-0.161** (0.072)	-0.011 (0.075)
School Activities				0.008 (0.007)	0.009 (0.012)	0.010 (0.010)	0.003 (0.006)	0.004 (0.010)	0.005 (0.009)
School Closeness scale							0.161*** (0.027)	0.135*** (0.049)	0.177*** (0.031)
Family Support Scale							0.111*** (0.041)	0.106** (0.049)	0.113* (0.059)
Mother's Support Scale							0.275*** (0.041)	0.260*** (0.054)	0.283*** (0.050)
Constant	-0.264*** (0.082)	0.108 (0.101)	-0.443*** (0.106)	-0.073 (0.324)	-0.040 (0.405)	0.172 (0.417)	-0.422 (0.283)	-0.367 (0.386)	-0.271 (0.384)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
R-squared	0.011	0.000	0.014	0.053	0.020	0.025	0.225	0.166	0.223

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.16. Weighted Non-linear (3 Categories) Effects of Skin Tone on Self-esteem

VARIABLES	(Total) Model 1	(Male) Model 1	(Female) Model 1	(Total) Model 2	(Male) Model 2	(Female) Model 2	(Total) Model 3	(Male) Model 3	(Female) Model 3
Brown skin	0.067 (0.073)	-0.001 (0.083)	0.091 (0.086)	0.073 (0.067)	0.024 (0.088)	0.103 (0.081)	0.089 (0.061)	0.009 (0.089)	0.141** (0.071)
Dark skin	0.197*** (0.069)	0.085 (0.079)	0.202** (0.092)	0.169*** (0.062)	0.112 (0.082)	0.208** (0.089)	0.150** (0.065)	0.078 (0.090)	0.200** (0.091)
Black skin	0.192** (0.076)	0.008 (0.085)	0.252*** (0.091)	0.155** (0.070)	0.039 (0.088)	0.250*** (0.087)	0.138** (0.062)	0.007 (0.093)	0.245*** (0.071)
Age				-0.027 (0.018)	-0.007 (0.024)	-0.046* (0.023)	0.000 (0.015)	0.014 (0.021)	-0.012 (0.020)
Male				0.270*** (0.049)			0.183*** (0.043)		
Parent's Education				0.013* (0.008)	0.019* (0.011)	0.005 (0.009)	0.011* (0.007)	0.019* (0.010)	0.003 (0.009)
Public Assistance				-0.060 (0.045)	-0.143* (0.075)	0.002 (0.069)	-0.073 (0.046)	-0.163** (0.072)	-0.009 (0.075)
School Activities				0.008 (0.007)	0.009 (0.011)	0.011 (0.010)	0.004 (0.006)	0.004 (0.010)	0.006 (0.009)
School Closeness scale							0.161*** (0.027)	0.134*** (0.049)	0.178*** (0.032)
Family Support Scale							0.108*** (0.041)	0.105** (0.048)	0.110* (0.059)
Mother's Support Scale							0.277*** (0.041)	0.260*** (0.052)	0.286*** (0.050)
Constant	-0.132* (0.071)	0.125 (0.077)	-0.271*** (0.086)	0.012 (0.310)	-0.038 (0.393)	0.329 (0.398)	-0.365 (0.268)	-0.382 (0.374)	-0.144 (0.366)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
R-squared	0.011	0.004	0.014	0.054	0.023	0.024	0.226	0.169	0.223

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.17. Weighted Non-linear (Darkest) Effects of Skin Tone on Self-Esteem

VARIABLES	(Total) Model 1	(Male) Model 1	(Female) Model 1	(Total) Model 2	(Male) Model 2	(Female) Model 2	(Total) Model 3	(Male) Model 3	(Female) Model 3
Darkest Skin Tone	0.149*** (0.039)	0.047 (0.049)	0.163*** (0.053)	0.113*** (0.037)	0.059 (0.049)	0.158*** (0.052)	0.084** (0.034)	0.036 (0.050)	0.126*** (0.044)
Age				-0.027 (0.018)	-0.007 (0.024)	-0.045* (0.023)	0.001 (0.016)	0.013 (0.021)	-0.011 (0.020)
Male				0.271*** (0.049)			0.183*** (0.043)		
Parent's Education				0.012 (0.007)	0.019* (0.011)	0.006 (0.009)	0.011* (0.007)	0.019* (0.010)	0.004 (0.009)
Public Assistance				-0.060 (0.046)	-0.142* (0.075)	0.004 (0.071)	-0.073 (0.047)	-0.162** (0.072)	-0.006 (0.078)
School Activities				0.008 (0.007)	0.008 (0.012)	0.010 (0.010)	0.003 (0.006)	0.004 (0.010)	0.005 (0.009)
School Closeness scale							0.162*** (0.027)	0.134*** (0.048)	0.178*** (0.031)
Family Support Scale							0.111*** (0.040)	0.106** (0.049)	0.115* (0.059)
Mother's Support Scale							0.274*** (0.041)	0.259*** (0.054)	0.281*** (0.050)
Constant	-0.086** (0.037)	0.124** (0.049)	-0.210*** (0.048)	0.057 (0.311)	-0.018 (0.396)	0.385 (0.394)	-0.313 (0.269)	-0.372 (0.368)	-0.070 (0.369)
Observations	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024	2,024
R-squared	0.011	0.001	0.012	0.053	0.021	0.022	0.224	0.167	0.219

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.18. Weighted Linear Effects of Skin Tone on Self-efficacy (Hard Work)

VARIABLES	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 3	Model 3	Model 3
Skin Tone	0.038 (0.048)	0.056 (0.081)	0.023 (0.058)	0.038 (0.048)	0.071 (0.084)	0.025 (0.059)	0.016 (0.049)	0.062 (0.083)	-0.009 (0.064)
Age				0.049 (0.033)	0.108** (0.041)	-0.002 (0.050)	0.089** (0.036)	0.151*** (0.046)	0.04 (0.051)
Male				0.03 (0.117)			-0.098 (0.121)		
Parent's Education				-0.012 (0.023)	0.022 (0.036)	-0.039 (0.028)	-0.018 (0.023)	0.017 (0.038)	-0.044 (0.029)
Public Assistance				0.038 (0.177)	0.153 (0.235)	-0.035 (0.209)	-0.001 (0.166)	0.105 (0.242)	-0.048 (0.190)
School Activities				0.008 (0.024)	-0.012 (0.039)	0.02 (0.027)	0.003 (0.025)	-0.019 (0.042)	0.016 (0.028)
School Closeness scale							0.104 (0.067)	0.177 (0.119)	0.058 (0.086)
Family Support Scale							-0.017 (0.098)	-0.222 (0.147)	0.118 (0.153)
Mother's Support Scale							0.640*** (0.099)	0.769*** (0.168)	0.554*** (0.113)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.19. Weighted Non-linear (3 Categories) Effects of Skin Tone on Self-Efficacy (Hard Work)

VARIABLES	(Total) Model 1	(Male) Model 1	(Female) Model 1	(Total) Model 2	(Male) Model 2	(Female) Model 2	(Total) Model 3	(Male) Model 3	(Female) Model 3
Brown skin	0.154 (0.164)	0.277 (0.312)	0.084 (0.208)	0.141 (0.171)	0.232 (0.323)	0.095 (0.210)	0.227 (0.174)	0.357 (0.325)	0.149 (0.214)
Dark skin	0.124 (0.164)	0.076 (0.316)	0.182 (0.210)	0.118 (0.163)	0.083 (0.301)	0.188 (0.209)	0.095 (0.171)	0.119 (0.296)	0.116 (0.233)
Black skin	0.161 (0.158)	0.294 (0.300)	0.048 (0.191)	0.153 (0.160)	0.305 (0.307)	0.061 (0.193)	0.15 (0.166)	0.358 (0.298)	0.013 (0.215)
Age				0.048 (0.034)	0.103** (0.044)	-0.003 (0.050)	0.086** (0.037)	0.143*** (0.046)	0.038 (0.052)
Male				0.032 (0.116)			-0.093 (0.119)		
Parent's Education				-0.012 (0.023)	0.023 (0.036)	-0.038 (0.028)	-0.017 (0.023)	0.019 (0.038)	-0.043 (0.029)
Public Assistance				0.04 (0.177)	0.16 (0.235)	-0.026 (0.206)	0.002 (0.168)	0.112 (0.243)	-0.04 (0.189)
School Activities				0.009 (0.024)	-0.011 (0.039)	0.021 (0.027)	0.004 (0.025)	-0.018 (0.042)	0.017 (0.028)
School Closeness scale							0.103 (0.068)	0.177 (0.120)	0.063 (0.089)
Family Support Scale							-0.022 (0.099)	-0.22 (0.146)	0.109 (0.154)
Mother's Support Scale							0.650*** (0.098)	0.784*** (0.171)	0.561*** (0.111)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.20. Weighted Non-linear Effects of Darkest Skin Tone on Self-efficacy (Hard Work)

VARIABLES	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 3	Model 3	Model 3
Darkest Skin Tone	-0.076 (0.113)	-0.26 (0.173)	0.056 (0.148)	-0.056 (0.113)	-0.264 (0.167)	0.084 (0.145)	-0.074 (0.110)	-0.308* (0.174)	0.093 (0.146)
Age				-0.027 (0.041)	-0.014 (0.055)	-0.037 (0.050)	-0.011 (0.044)	0.009 (0.056)	-0.024 (0.056)
Male				0.018 (0.120)			-0.044 (0.125)		
Parent's Education				0.100*** (0.019)	0.121*** (0.028)	0.081*** (0.026)	0.100*** (0.019)	0.128*** (0.026)	0.080*** (0.026)
Public Assistance				-0.089 (0.174)	-0.071 (0.233)	-0.103 (0.242)	-0.094 (0.176)	-0.095 (0.233)	-0.118 (0.250)
School Activities				0.094*** (0.025)	0.144*** (0.049)	0.071** (0.031)	0.089*** (0.025)	0.140*** (0.050)	0.064** (0.031)
School Closeness scale							0.204** (0.086)	0.104 (0.126)	0.276** (0.109)
Family Support Scale							0.005 (0.083)	0.066 (0.139)	-0.018 (0.103)
Mother's Support Scale							0.140* (0.082)	0.372*** (0.134)	0.026 (0.092)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.21. Weighted Linear Effects of Skin Tone on Optimism (Hopefulness)

VARIABLES	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 3	Model 3	Model 3
Skin Tone	-0.025 (0.052)	-0.150* (0.089)	0.068 (0.079)	-0.013 (0.051)	-0.142 (0.089)	0.079 (0.077)	-0.02 (0.049)	-0.161* (0.088)	0.085 (0.078)
Age				-0.026 (0.040)	-0.011 (0.054)	-0.036 (0.049)	-0.01 (0.044)	0.013 (0.056)	-0.024 (0.055)
Male				0.015 (0.120)			-0.048 (0.126)		
Parent's Education				0.100*** (0.019)	0.119*** (0.028)	0.080*** (0.026)	0.100*** (0.019)	0.125*** (0.026)	0.079*** (0.026)
Public Assistance				-0.091 (0.175)	-0.07 (0.235)	-0.109 (0.238)	-0.095 (0.176)	-0.094 (0.235)	-0.126 (0.245)
School Activities				0.094*** (0.025)	0.145*** (0.050)	0.072** (0.031)	0.089*** (0.025)	0.141*** (0.050)	0.065** (0.031)
School Closeness scale							0.204** (0.086)	0.109 (0.125)	0.279** (0.109)
Family Support Scale							0.004 (0.083)	0.061 (0.139)	-0.021 (0.103)
Mother's Support Scale							0.139* (0.083)	0.372*** (0.135)	0.028 (0.093)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.22. Weighted Non-linear (3 Categories) Effects of Skin Tone on Optimism (Hopefulness)

VARIABLES	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 3	Model 3	Model 3
Brown skin	0.004 (0.198)	-0.09 (0.334)	0.032 (0.232)	0.066 (0.188)	0.051 (0.335)	0.052 (0.219)	0.077 (0.188)	0.072 (0.323)	0.074 (0.231)
Dark skin	-0.108 (0.218)	-0.238 (0.345)	-0.073 (0.262)	-0.039 (0.210)	-0.144 (0.337)	-0.021 (0.247)	-0.051 (0.206)	-0.169 (0.332)	0 (0.253)
Black skin	-0.035 (0.185)	-0.414 (0.333)	0.256 (0.271)	0.018 (0.175)	-0.313 (0.329)	0.285 (0.261)	0.011 (0.169)	-0.345 (0.320)	0.309 (0.269)
Age				-0.027 (0.040)	-0.014 (0.056)	-0.036 (0.049)	-0.012 (0.044)	0.009 (0.057)	-0.023 (0.054)
Male				0.015 (0.121)			-0.048 (0.127)		
Parent's Education				0.100*** (0.018)	0.121*** (0.027)	0.078*** (0.026)	0.100*** (0.018)	0.127*** (0.026)	0.077*** (0.026)
Public Assistance				-0.091 (0.175)	-0.068 (0.235)	-0.128 (0.236)	-0.096 (0.176)	-0.092 (0.234)	-0.142 (0.241)
School Activities				0.094*** (0.025)	0.145*** (0.049)	0.070** (0.032)	0.089*** (0.025)	0.141*** (0.050)	0.063** (0.032)
School Closeness scale							0.204** (0.086)	0.1 (0.126)	0.276** (0.109)
Family Support Scale							0.004 (0.081)	0.06 (0.139)	-0.012 (0.103)
Mother's Support Scale							0.142* (0.084)	0.378*** (0.134)	0.029 (0.094)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.23. Weighted Effects of Darkest Skin Tone on Optimism (Hopefulness)

VARIABLES	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 3	Model 3	Model 3
Darkest Skin Tone	-0.076 (0.113)	-0.26 (0.173)	0.056 (0.148)	-0.056 (0.113)	-0.264 (0.167)	0.084 (0.145)	-0.074 (0.110)	-0.308* (0.174)	0.093 (0.146)
Age				-0.027 (0.041)	-0.014 (0.055)	-0.037 (0.050)	-0.011 (0.044)	0.009 (0.056)	-0.024 (0.056)
Male				0.018 (0.120)			-0.044 (0.125)		
Parent's Education				0.100*** (0.019)	0.121*** (0.028)	0.081*** (0.026)	0.100*** (0.019)	0.128*** (0.026)	0.080*** (0.026)
Public Assistance				-0.089 (0.174)	-0.071 (0.233)	-0.103 (0.242)	-0.094 (0.176)	-0.095 (0.233)	-0.118 (0.250)
School Activities				0.094*** (0.025)	0.144*** (0.049)	0.071** (0.031)	0.089*** (0.025)	0.140*** (0.050)	0.064** (0.031)
School Closeness scale							0.204** (0.086)	0.104 (0.126)	0.276** (0.109)
Family Support Scale							0.005 (0.083)	0.066 (0.139)	-0.018 (0.103)
Mother's Support Scale							0.140* (0.082)	0.372*** (0.134)	0.026 (0.092)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.24. Weighted Multivariate Logistic Regression Models of Weapon Violence

VARIABLES	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 3	Model 3	Model 3	Model 4	Model 4	Model 4	Model 5	Model 5	Model 5
Skin Tone	0.218** (0.095)	0.136 (0.122)	0.236* (0.131)	0.223** (0.101)	0.157 (0.135)	0.250* (0.137)	0.210** (0.105)	0.183 (0.136)	0.243* (0.144)	0.217** (0.107)	0.195 (0.131)	0.279* (0.155)	0.217** (0.107)	0.211 (0.140)	0.270* (0.151)
Prior Delinq. Scale				1.643*** (0.180)	1.533*** (0.214)	1.686*** (0.273)	1.619*** (0.180)	1.531*** (0.219)	1.699*** (0.275)	1.526*** (0.188)	1.462*** (0.266)	1.720*** (0.303)	1.528*** (0.190)	1.452*** (0.259)	1.727*** (0.314)
Age							0.009 (0.054)	0.034 (0.070)	-0.018 (0.087)	-0.003 (0.054)	0.022 (0.073)	-0.035 (0.088)	0.006 (0.052)	0.031 (0.069)	-0.013 (0.088)
Male							0.361** (0.168)			0.466*** (0.175)			0.453** (0.184)		
Parent's Education							0.039 (0.035)	0.069 (0.047)	0.001 (0.055)	0.042 (0.033)	0.068 (0.044)	-0.002 (0.050)	0.038 (0.034)	0.075 (0.047)	-0.015 (0.051)
Assistance							-0.049 (0.240)	0.01 (0.399)	-0.121 (0.373)	-0.054 (0.242)	0.053 (0.397)	-0.179 (0.361)	-0.057 (0.243)	0.081 (0.401)	-0.176 (0.339)
School Activities							-0.120** (0.049)	-0.06 (0.064)	-0.192*** (0.068)	-0.115** (0.049)	-0.052 (0.065)	-0.189*** (0.069)	-0.118** (0.049)	-0.051 (0.071)	-0.193*** (0.065)
School Strain										0.044 (0.139)	0.163 (0.237)	-0.115 (0.217)	0.003 (0.140)	0.056 (0.258)	-0.085 (0.232)
Gen. Social Strain										-0.026 (0.169)	-0.469* (0.270)	0.35 (0.235)	0.017 (0.176)	-0.524* (0.309)	0.532** (0.253)
Prejudiced Peers										-0.055 (0.084)	0.107 (0.120)	-0.264* (0.152)	-0.054 (0.086)	0.117 (0.123)	-0.266 (0.161)
Depression										0.243** (0.113)	0.322* (0.180)	0.151 (0.136)	0.248** (0.112)	0.317* (0.179)	0.205 (0.139)
Self-esteem													0.087 (0.160)	0.019 (0.264)	0.159 (0.259)
Hopefulness													0.023 (0.084)	-0.134 (0.136)	0.188 (0.138)
Efficacy of Work													-0.141 (0.087)	-0.087 (0.146)	-0.217 (0.136)
School Closeness scale													-0.078 (0.147)	-0.225 (0.227)	0.018 (0.171)
Family Support Scale													-0.131 (0.164)	-0.327 (0.261)	0.118 (0.186)
Mother's Support Scale													0.226 (0.176)	0.364* (0.215)	0.173 (0.242)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.25. Weighted Multivariate Logistic Regression Models of School Suspension

VARIABLES	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 3	Model 3	Model 3	Model 4	Model 4	Model 4	Model 5	Model 5	Model 5
Skin Tone	0.088 (0.096)	-0.099 (0.119)	0.222** (0.106)	0.086 (0.098)	-0.085 (0.120)	0.207** (0.108)	0.001 (0.100)	-0.155 (0.122)	0.175 (0.107)	0.004 (0.100)	-0.149 (0.122)	0.221** (0.104)	0.006 (0.098)	-0.13 (0.120)	0.203** (0.107)
Current Delinquency				0.248*** (0.045)	0.154*** (0.057)	0.368*** (0.072)	0.243*** (0.042)	0.176*** (0.049)	0.377*** (0.076)	0.211*** (0.047)	0.166*** (0.055)	0.313*** (0.084)	0.207*** (0.046)	0.157*** (0.055)	0.314*** (0.082)
Age							-0.155** (0.064)	-0.133* (0.067)	-0.186* (0.106)	-0.160*** (0.059)	-0.141** (0.066)	-0.187** (0.094)	-0.161*** (0.059)	-0.127* (0.070)	-0.196** (0.094)
Male							0.864*** (0.167)			0.878*** (0.169)			0.929*** (0.165)		
Parent's Education							-0.117*** (0.032)	-0.153*** (0.042)	-0.075* (0.045)	-0.119*** (0.033)	-0.157*** (0.041)	-0.072 (0.045)	-0.121*** (0.032)	-0.153*** (0.044)	-0.078* (0.044)
Assistance							0.473** (0.199)	0.322 (0.292)	0.662** (0.274)	0.427** (0.214)	0.332 (0.285)	0.611** (0.288)	0.451** (0.207)	0.35 (0.268)	0.609** (0.281)
School Activities							-0.033 (0.052)	0.009 (0.079)	-0.069 (0.047)	-0.031 (0.053)	0.011 (0.077)	-0.08 (0.053)	-0.024 (0.054)	0.024 (0.078)	-0.076 (0.054)
School Strain										0.404*** (0.113)	0.243 (0.162)	0.689*** (0.172)	0.303*** (0.110)	0.091 (0.185)	0.623*** (0.174)
Gen. Social Strain										-0.183 (0.166)	-0.308 (0.268)	-0.022 (0.190)	-0.253 (0.195)	-0.471 (0.317)	-0.06 (0.218)
Prejudiced Peers										-0.051 (0.087)	-0.114 (0.126)	0.064 (0.097)	-0.06 (0.083)	-0.132 (0.126)	0.058 (0.097)
Depression										0.146 (0.124)	0.261 (0.216)	-0.026 (0.138)	0.147 (0.129)	0.281 (0.228)	-0.042 (0.136)
Self-esteem													0.099 (0.147)	-0.054 (0.229)	0.143 (0.193)
Hopeful													-0.072 (0.091)	-0.12 (0.110)	0.008 (0.126)
Work													-0.131 (0.083)	-0.229* (0.116)	-0.024 (0.130)
School Closeness scale													-0.305*** (0.095)	-0.418** (0.175)	-0.228 (0.170)
Family Support Scale													0.055 (0.128)	0.114 (0.197)	-0.068 (0.175)
Mother's Support Scale													-0.11 (0.118)	-0.047 (0.181)	-0.063 (0.191)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Table 3.26. Weighted Multivariate OLS Regression Models of General Delinquency

VARIABLES	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	General Delinquency			(Total)	(Male)	(Female)
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 3	Model 3	Model 3	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	Model 4	Model 4	Model 4
Skin Tone	0.008	-0.099	0.051	-0.008	-0.098	0.043	-0.013	-0.082	0.04	-0.016	-0.079	0.04	-0.02	-0.083	0.041
	(0.054)	(0.093)	(0.055)	(0.047)	(0.085)	(0.041)	(0.045)	(0.085)	(0.042)	(0.045)	(0.083)	(0.041)	(0.044)	(0.081)	(0.040)
Prior Delinquency Scale				1.392***	1.212***	1.657***	1.380***	1.237***	1.655***	1.303***	1.201***	1.558***	1.303***	1.199***	1.535***
				(0.186)	(0.250)	(0.190)	(0.182)	(0.243)	(0.187)	(0.185)	(0.242)	(0.213)	(0.180)	(0.231)	(0.221)
Age							-0.054*	-0.05	-0.056*	-0.066**	-0.063	-0.061**	-0.062**	-0.047	-0.062**
							(0.030)	(0.062)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.061)	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.058)	(0.027)
Male							0.166			0.194			0.175		
							(0.120)			(0.125)			(0.122)		
Parent's Education							0.034**	0.031	0.035**	0.035**	0.032	0.035**	0.035**	0.033	0.036**
							(0.017)	(0.040)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.039)	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.040)	(0.014)
Assistance							-0.198*	-0.374**	-0.065	-0.194*	-0.377**	-0.071	-0.191*	-0.368*	-0.074
							(0.109)	(0.187)	(0.104)	(0.111)	(0.187)	(0.108)	(0.107)	(0.188)	(0.105)
School Activities							-0.015	-0.007	-0.014	-0.011	-0.002	-0.013	-0.011	-0.002	-0.015
							(0.017)	(0.039)	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.038)	(0.012)	(0.016)	(0.037)	(0.012)
School Strain										0.068	0.004	0.116	0.072	-0.007	0.128
										(0.072)	(0.120)	(0.084)	(0.069)	(0.113)	(0.081)
Gen. Social Strain										-0.114	-0.129	-0.076	-0.068	-0.076	-0.063
										(0.075)	(0.163)	(0.066)	(0.097)	(0.195)	(0.098)
Prejudiced Peers										0.084**	0.143**	0.041	0.091**	0.141**	0.056
										(0.036)	(0.068)	(0.040)	(0.037)	(0.069)	(0.042)
Depression										0.136	0.182	0.058	0.140*	0.179	0.058
										(0.082)	(0.186)	(0.061)	(0.082)	(0.180)	(0.059)
Self-esteem													0.082	0.108	0.028
													(0.079)	(0.138)	(0.084)
Hopeful													-0.009	-0.016	-0.017
													(0.037)	(0.085)	(0.037)
Work													-0.086	-0.160*	-0.022
													(0.055)	(0.086)	(0.050)
School Closeness scale													0.082	-0.002	0.111
													(0.065)	(0.132)	(0.069)
Family Support Scale													-0.021	-0.032	-0.03
													(0.080)	(0.133)	(0.093)
Mother's Support Scale													0.004	0.145	-0.042
													(0.078)	(0.146)	(0.074)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Table 3.27. Weighted Multivariate Non-linear (3 Categories) Logistic Regression Models of Weapon Violence

	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)
VARIABLES	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 3	Model 3	Model 3	Model 5	Model 5	Model 5
Brown Skin	-0.03 (0.286)	-0.08 (0.384)	-0.025 (0.535)	0.021 (0.343)	0.137 (0.459)	-0.108 (0.581)	0.016 (0.346)	0.174 (0.462)	-0.126 (0.586)	0.068 (0.340)	0.368 (0.491)	-0.247 (0.545)
Dark Skin	0.145 (0.334)	-0.025 (0.371)	0.147 (0.570)	0.247 (0.375)	0.205 (0.433)	0.197 (0.609)	0.212 (0.380)	0.277 (0.434)	0.135 (0.614)	0.218 (0.383)	0.443 (0.469)	0.136 (0.609)
Black Skin	0.587* (0.299)	0.353 (0.386)	0.635 (0.468)	0.608 (0.367)	0.512 (0.483)	0.605 (0.517)	0.572 (0.376)	0.593 (0.490)	0.584 (0.530)	0.616 (0.378)	0.763 (0.517)	0.579 (0.513)
Prior Delinquency Scale				1.636*** (0.181)	1.528*** (0.221)	1.692*** (0.278)	1.611*** (0.181)	1.526*** (0.227)	1.704*** (0.283)	1.522*** (0.194)	1.457*** (0.263)	1.733*** (0.327)
Age							0.01 (0.055)	0.032 (0.070)	-0.014 (0.089)	0.006 (0.053)	0.029 (0.067)	-0.009 (0.089)
Male							0.357** (0.170)			0.453** (0.187)		
Parent's Education							0.038 (0.035)	0.069 (0.048)	-0.001 (0.055)	0.037 (0.034)	0.077 (0.047)	-0.015 (0.053)
Assistance							-0.056 (0.237)	0.013 (0.401)	-0.153 (0.368)	-0.064 (0.240)	0.084 (0.403)	-0.204 (0.338)
School Activities							-0.120** (0.049)	-0.059 (0.064)	-0.192*** (0.066)	-0.118** (0.049)	-0.05 (0.071)	-0.191*** (0.063)
School Strain										0 (0.139)	0.051 (0.258)	-0.081 (0.240)
Gen. Social Strain										0.025 (0.172)	-0.518* (0.308)	0.551** (0.254)
Perceived Prejudice										-0.056 (0.085)	0.116 (0.121)	-0.271* (0.160)
Depression Scale										0.250** (0.112)	0.329* (0.183)	0.211 (0.140)
Self-esteem Scale										0.095 (0.160)	0.029 (0.260)	0.184 (0.264)
Hopefulness										0.018 (0.083)	-0.137 (0.135)	0.181 (0.140)
Efficacy of Hard Work										-0.143 (0.088)	-0.092 (0.147)	-0.207 (0.135)
School Closeness Scale										-0.077 (0.149)	-0.226 (0.228)	0.016 (0.169)
Family Support Scale										-0.124 (0.161)	-0.332 (0.261)	0.147 (0.174)
Mother's Support Scale										0.222 (0.178)	0.369* (0.217)	0.145 (0.232)
Constant	-1.993*** (0.267)	-1.543*** (0.335)	-2.320*** (0.451)	-2.171*** (0.329)	-1.935*** (0.418)	-2.331*** (0.515)	-2.812** (1.173)	-3.377** (1.378)	-1.766 (1.727)	-2.180* (1.304)	-3.345** (1.543)	-0.564 (1.902)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
Standard errors in parentheses												
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1												

Table 3.28. Weighted Multivariate Non-linear (3 Categories) Logistic Regression Models of Suspension

VARIABLES	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 3	Model 3	Model 3	Model 5	Model 5	Model 5
Brown Skin	-0.121 (0.320)	-0.596 (0.411)	0.38 (0.381)	-0.056 (0.328)	-0.518 (0.413)	0.412 (0.396)	-0.093 (0.324)	-0.611 (0.432)	0.436 (0.406)	-0.08 (0.317)	-0.484 (0.407)	0.408 (0.419)
Dark Skin	-0.086 (0.322)	-0.678* (0.371)	0.376 (0.420)	-0.077 (0.330)	-0.630* (0.372)	0.346 (0.446)	-0.298 (0.344)	-0.858** (0.394)	0.3 (0.463)	-0.276 (0.336)	-0.783* (0.397)	0.367 (0.428)
Black Skin	0.195 (0.332)	-0.511 (0.405)	0.770* (0.406)	0.216 (0.351)	-0.446 (0.419)	0.744* (0.422)	-0.017 (0.357)	-0.666 (0.436)	0.673 (0.429)	-0.003 (0.348)	-0.539 (0.430)	0.717* (0.426)
Current Delinquency				0.248*** (0.045)	0.151** (0.059)	0.370*** (0.071)	0.244*** (0.042)	0.174*** (0.052)	0.378*** (0.074)	0.208*** (0.046)	0.158*** (0.057)	0.317*** (0.080)
Age							-0.160** (0.065)	-0.137** (0.069)	-0.189* (0.106)	-0.164*** (0.060)	-0.133* (0.071)	-0.198** (0.092)
Male							0.875*** (0.170)			0.941*** (0.167)		
Parent's Education							-0.119*** (0.033)	-0.156*** (0.043)	-0.078* (0.044)	-0.123*** (0.033)	-0.156*** (0.045)	-0.081* (0.044)
Assistance							0.472** (0.199)	0.339 (0.289)	0.652** (0.269)	0.445** (0.208)	0.365 (0.265)	0.599** (0.282)
School Activities							-0.034 (0.051)	0.008 (0.077)	-0.071 (0.048)	-0.024 (0.054)	0.023 (0.075)	-0.077 (0.055)
School Strain										0.294*** (0.107)	0.081 (0.179)	0.616*** (0.172)
Gen. Social Strain										-0.24 (0.193)	-0.446 (0.316)	-0.07 (0.224)
Prejudiced Peers										-0.06 (0.083)	-0.138 (0.127)	0.066 (0.096)
Depression										0.157 (0.129)	0.293 (0.224)	-0.045 (0.137)
Self-esteem										0.112 (0.149)	-0.035 (0.223)	0.135 (0.199)
Hopeful										-0.072 (0.089)	-0.115 (0.109)	0.008 (0.127)
Work										-0.134 (0.084)	-0.233** (0.117)	-0.023 (0.129)
School Closeness scale										-0.308*** (0.097)	-0.412** (0.176)	-0.233 (0.173)
Family Support Scale										0.065 (0.130)	0.119 (0.199)	-0.073 (0.181)
Mother's Support Scale										-0.11 (0.118)	-0.053 (0.183)	-0.049 (0.196)
Constant	-1.471*** (0.292)	-0.535 (0.353)	-2.343*** (0.366)	-1.822*** (0.319)	-0.806** (0.391)	-2.781*** (0.375)	1.847 (1.232)	3.470** (1.383)	1.074 (1.839)	2.716** (1.169)	4.769*** (1.537)	1.143 (1.555)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.29. Weighted Multivariate Non-linear (3 Categories) OLS Regression Models of General Delinquency

VARIABLES	(Total) Model 1	(Male) Model 1	(Female) Model 1	(Total) Model 2	(Male) Model 2	(Female) Model 2	(Total) Model 3	(Male) Model 3	(Female) Model 3	(Total) Model 5	(Male) Model 5	(Female) Model 5
Brown Skin	-0.245*	-0.556*	-0.09	-0.221**	-0.444	-0.122	-0.210*	-0.392	-0.12	-0.187*	-0.3	-0.114
	(0.139)	(0.315)	(0.135)	(0.105)	(0.272)	(0.101)	(0.107)	(0.281)	(0.099)	(0.108)	(0.250)	(0.094)
Dark Skin	-0.053	-0.388	0.056	-0.005	-0.241	0.076	-0.017	-0.184	0.072	-0.028	-0.159	0.078
	(0.149)	(0.294)	(0.150)	(0.139)	(0.276)	(0.118)	(0.137)	(0.271)	(0.117)	(0.143)	(0.253)	(0.116)
Black Skin	-0.068	-0.494	0.109	-0.126	-0.454*	0.042	-0.134	-0.386	0.034	-0.137	-0.34	0.039
	(0.159)	(0.301)	(0.169)	(0.142)	(0.273)	(0.133)	(0.143)	(0.284)	(0.133)	(0.140)	(0.268)	(0.128)
Prior Delinq. Scale				1.394***	1.212***	1.661***	1.383***	1.237***	1.660***	1.306***	1.202***	1.538***
				(0.184)	(0.248)	(0.189)	(0.180)	(0.241)	(0.187)	(0.179)	(0.230)	(0.221)
Age							-0.050*	-0.043	-0.053*	-0.059**	-0.041	-0.060**
							(0.029)	(0.060)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.056)	(0.027)
Male							0.157			0.166		
							(0.118)			(0.120)		
Parent's Education							0.034**	0.03	0.036**	0.036**	0.032	0.037**
							(0.017)	(0.040)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.039)	(0.014)
Assistance							-0.198*	-0.381**	-0.063	-0.191*	-0.375**	-0.071
							(0.110)	(0.182)	(0.108)	(0.107)	(0.185)	(0.107)
School Activities							-0.015	-0.01	-0.014	-0.012	-0.005	-0.015
							(0.017)	(0.039)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.037)	(0.012)
School Strain										0.075	-0.007	0.13
										(0.069)	(0.113)	(0.082)
Gen. Social Strain										-0.067	-0.088	-0.055
										(0.098)	(0.196)	(0.097)
Perceived Prejudice										0.088**	0.142**	0.05
										(0.036)	(0.066)	(0.041)
Depression Scale										0.136	0.163	0.058
										(0.083)	(0.178)	(0.060)
Self-esteem Scale										0.078	0.092	0.032
										(0.081)	(0.143)	(0.083)
Hopefulness										-0.007	-0.012	-0.015
										(0.037)	(0.083)	(0.037)
Efficacy of Hard Work										-0.082	-0.153*	-0.02
										(0.055)	(0.084)	(0.050)
School Closeness scale										0.084	-0.001	0.112
										(0.065)	(0.131)	(0.070)
Family Support Scale										-0.018	-0.032	-0.024
										(0.082)	(0.133)	(0.093)
Mother's Support Scale										-0.004	0.138	-0.049
										(0.078)	(0.145)	(0.074)
Constant	1.230***	1.751***	0.947***	1.262***	1.598***	1.120***	1.567***	1.883	1.493***	1.764***	2.009	1.541***
	(0.130)	(0.273)	(0.115)	(0.099)	(0.225)	(0.093)	(0.520)	(1.295)	(0.521)	(0.643)	(1.330)	(0.586)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171
Standard errors in parentheses												
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1												

Table 3.30. Weighted Logistic Regression Estimates of Darkest Skin Tone Effects on Weapon Violence

VARIABLES	(Model 1)	(Model1)	(Model1)	(Model 4)	(Model 4)	(Model 4)	(Model 5)	(Model 5)	Model (5)
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Darkest Skin	0.392** (0.171)	0.230 (0.239)	0.408 (0.248)	0.217** (0.107)	0.195 (0.131)	0.279* (0.155)	0.373** (0.199)	0.359 (0.277)	0.519* (0.304)
Prior Delinq. Scale				1.526*** (0.188)	1.462*** (0.266)	1.720*** (0.303)	1.526*** (0.189)	1.444*** (0.259)	1.734*** (0.312)
Age				-0.003 (0.054)	0.022 (0.073)	-0.035 (0.088)	0.007 (0.053)	0.035 (0.069)	-0.013 (0.088)
Male				0.466*** (0.175)			0.451** (0.183)		
Parent's Educ.				0.042 (0.033)	0.068 (0.044)	-0.002 (0.050)	0.037 (0.034)	0.071 (0.046)	-0.012 (0.052)
Public Assistance				-0.054 (0.242)	0.053 (0.397)	-0.179 (0.361)	-0.050 (0.245)	0.078 (0.401)	-0.157 (0.346)
School Activities				-0.115** (0.049)	-0.052 (0.065)	-0.189*** (0.069)	-0.117** (0.048)	-0.049 (0.070)	-0.191*** (0.063)
School Strain				0.044 (0.139)	0.163 (0.237)	-0.115 (0.217)	0.009 (0.140)	0.069 (0.258)	-0.082 (0.235)
Social Strain				-0.026 (0.169)	-0.469** (0.270)	0.350 (0.235)	0.012 (0.175)	-0.532* (0.316)	0.532** (0.254)
Perceived Prej.				-0.055 (0.084)	0.107 (0.120)	-0.264* (0.152)	-0.056 (0.086)	0.119 (0.122)	-0.273* (0.161)
Depression				0.243** (0.113)	0.322* (0.180)	0.151 (0.136)	0.241** (0.112)	0.296* (0.177)	0.203 (0.144)
Self-esteem							0.091 (0.162)	0.012 (0.267)	0.171 (0.262)
Hopefulness							0.024 (0.085)	-0.134 (0.136)	0.192 (0.141)
Hard Work							-0.136 (0.089)	-0.079 (0.147)	-0.210 (0.138)
School Closeness							-0.073 (0.147)	-0.217 (0.227)	0.019 (0.171)
Family Support							-0.128 (0.163)	-0.319 (0.260)	0.117 (0.187)
Mother's Support							0.217 (0.175)	0.358* (0.213)	0.155 (0.239)
Observation	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.31. Weighted Logistic Regression Estimates of Darkest Skin Tone Effects on School Suspension

VARIABLES	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 3	Model 3	Model 3	Model 5	Model 5	Model 5
Darkest Skin Tone	0.135 (0.185)	-0.195 (0.238)	0.303 (0.213)	0.107 (0.186)	-0.191 (0.237)	0.255 (0.219)	-0.094 (0.196)	-0.347 (0.240)	0.183 (0.224)	-0.085 (0.187)	-0.329 (0.224)	0.255 (0.210)
Current Delinquency				0.248*** (0.044)	0.156*** (0.057)	0.368*** (0.072)	0.243*** (0.041)	0.179*** (0.050)	0.378*** (0.077)	0.208*** (0.045)	0.160*** (0.056)	0.314*** (0.083)
Age							-0.158** (0.065)	-0.140** (0.068)	-0.188* (0.107)	-0.163*** (0.059)	-0.134* (0.071)	-0.198** (0.093)
Male							0.878*** (0.167)			0.942*** (0.164)		
Parent's Education							-0.119*** (0.033)	-0.152*** (0.041)	-0.075* (0.044)	-0.122*** (0.033)	-0.152*** (0.044)	-0.076* (0.044)
Public Assistance							0.476** (0.198)	0.33 (0.290)	0.676** (0.278)	0.455** (0.206)	0.358 (0.267)	0.627** (0.281)
School Activities							-0.033 (0.051)	0.009 (0.078)	-0.07 (0.047)	-0.024 (0.054)	0.025 (0.077)	-0.077 (0.054)
School Strain										0.301*** (0.109)	0.088 (0.186)	0.613*** (0.173)
Gen. Social Strain										-0.252 (0.195)	-0.454 (0.317)	-0.071 (0.218)
Prejudiced Peers										-0.057 (0.082)	-0.134 (0.126)	0.057 (0.097)
Depression										0.15 (0.128)	0.296 (0.228)	-0.031 (0.134)
Self-esteem										0.106 (0.147)	-0.039 (0.227)	0.167 (0.193)
Efficacy of Hark Work										-0.073 (0.090)	-0.121 (0.109)	0.01 (0.125)
Work										-0.133 (0.083)	-0.235** (0.115)	-0.027 (0.129)
School Closeness scale										-0.305*** (0.095)	-0.419** (0.176)	-0.232 (0.168)
Family Support Scale										0.054 (0.129)	0.118 (0.198)	-0.071 (0.174)
Mother's Support Scale										-0.107 (0.119)	-0.046 (0.185)	-0.073 (0.191)
Constant	-1.552*** (0.158)	-0.933*** (0.198)	-2.077*** (0.195)	-1.859*** (0.181)	-1.160*** (0.238)	-2.492*** (0.194)	1.751 (1.155)	3.018** (1.273)	1.298 (1.732)	2.625** (1.101)	4.419*** (1.430)	1.4 (1.480)
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 3.32. Weighted Multivariate OLS Regression Estimates of Darkest Skin Tone Effects on General Delinquency

VARIABLES	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)	(Total)	(Male)	(Female)
	Model 1	Model 1	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2	Model 2	Model 3	Model 3	Model 3	Model 5	Model 5	Model 5
Darkest Skin Tone	0.105	-0.055	0.141	0.087	-0.039	0.142*	0.07	-0.013	0.135	0.047	-0.042	0.137
	-0.106	-0.176	-0.108	-0.091	-0.162	-0.084	-0.082	-0.15	-0.086	-0.081	-0.145	-0.085
Prior Delinq. Scale				1.390***	1.212***	1.658***	1.380***	1.237***	1.657***	1.302***	1.199***	1.536***
				-0.187	-0.254	-0.19	-0.183	-0.245	-0.187	-0.181	-0.232	-0.221
Age							-0.052*	-0.048	-0.054*	-0.061**	-0.046	-0.060**
							-0.029	-0.061	-0.029	-0.029	-0.057	-0.027
Male							0.152			0.164		
							-0.117			-0.12		
Parent's Education							0.035**	0.034	0.036**	0.036**	0.036	0.036**
							-0.017	-0.039	-0.014	-0.017	-0.039	-0.014
Assistance							-0.201*	-0.381**	-0.064	-0.195*	-0.373*	-0.073
							-0.109	-0.187	-0.105	-0.106	-0.189	-0.105
School Activities							-0.015	-0.01	-0.013	-0.011	-0.005	-0.014
							-0.017	-0.039	-0.012	-0.017	-0.037	-0.012
School Strain										0.073	-0.015	0.131
										-0.069	-0.114	-0.082
Gen. Social Strain										-0.069	-0.085	-0.06
										-0.098	-0.198	-0.098
Perceived Prejudice										0.090**	0.139*	0.053
										-0.037	-0.07	-0.041
Depression Scale										0.140*	0.188	0.056
										-0.083	-0.182	-0.06
Self-esteem Scale										0.076	0.104	0.026
										-0.079	-0.139	-0.084
Hopefulness										-0.008	-0.011	-0.016
										-0.037	-0.086	-0.037
Efficacy of Hard Work										-0.085	-0.163*	-0.021
										-0.055	-0.087	-0.05
School Closeness scale										0.081	-0.012	0.113
										-0.066	-0.135	-0.07
Family Support Scale										-0.021	-0.032	-0.03
										-0.081	-0.133	-0.093
Mother's Support Scale										0.003	0.143	-0.044
										-0.078	-0.146	-0.074
Constant	1.064***	1.365***	0.887***	1.112***	1.289***	1.038***	1.446***	1.635	1.427***	1.667**	1.88	1.480**
	-0.084	-0.136	-0.095	-0.067	-0.112	-0.077	-0.515	-1.285	-0.527	-0.647	-1.353	-0.588
Observations	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171	2,024	853	1,171

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

CHAPTER IV.

ARE DARKER SKINNED BLACKS MORE LIKELY TO PERCEIVE THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS AS LOWER QUALITY THAN LIGHTER SKINNED BLACKS?

The major focus of the current study is to examine the relationship between skin tone and perceptions of neighborhood quality and residential segregation. Blacks have a one in three odds of being systematically steered toward neighborhoods with high populations of minorities and lower value homes (Turner et al. 1991), creating communities of “concentrated poverty.” In this chapter, I ask whether, because of the negative stereotypes associated with darker skin tones, dark-skinned Blacks are most likely to be residing in segregated and disadvantaged neighborhoods. I want to know if skin tone is operating as an additional external form of discrimination that hinders darker skinned Blacks’ access to higher quality neighborhoods, controlling for the individual’s characteristics.

The current data allow me to test whether darker skinned Blacks differ from lighter skinned Blacks on their perceptions of the seriousness and quantity of neighborhood crime, drugs, and community resources, which is important for many reasons. Prolonged exposure to a negative environment decreases social mobility. Johnson et al. (1998) describes racially isolated and impoverished communities as “islands of despair” because they create an environment with many jobless people who eventually develop an array of antisocial behaviors (Wilson, 1996, Massey and Denton, 1993). After being shut out for so long from the educational and economic opportunities that the rest of society enjoys, this “hypersegregated” group of Blacks eventually becomes frustrated and more susceptible prone to the concentrated effects of criminality

and lure of illegitimate gain (Sampson, 2008; Wilson, 1987). I argue that darker skinned Blacks will incur the brunt of these concentrated neighborhood effects because they are being perceived by Whites as “more criminal” which in turn may also lead to more racial steering and discrimination by realtors and state funded housing programs.

I use two sources of data in this chapter, each with its own set of advantages. One data source (the National Survey of American Life, or NSAL) allows me to assess outcomes by skin tone for a sample of Black adults alongside their reported experiences of interracial and intraracial skin tone discrimination. One major strength of the second data source, Add Health, is the addition of the *interviewer's* assessment of the respondent's home and neighborhood environment in Wave IV, which allows me to compare the interviewer's perceptions to the self-reported measures of neighborhood quality in NSAL to confirm whether neighborhood and housing conditions vary by skin tone. Following my hypotheses, I first present the variable descriptions, descriptives, and analytical results for my NSAL sample and then I present the variable descriptions, descriptives, and analytical results for my Add Health sample.

Hypotheses

This chapter explores the relationship between skin tone and the perceptions of past and present neighborhoods' racial composition, crime, drugs, and community resources.

- (1) Darker skinned Blacks will report more experiences of *major* and *everyday* discrimination and *skin tone* discrimination than their lighter skinned counterparts.
- (2) Due to interracial skin tone bias, darker skinned Blacks will be more likely to reside in neighborhoods with high concentrations of Blacks compared to their lighter skinned counterparts.

(3) Darker skinned Blacks will be more likely to report serious drug and crime problems in their neighborhoods compared to their lighter skinned counterparts.

(4) Darker skinned Blacks will be more likely to reside in neighborhoods with deteriorating houses and fewer amenities than their lighter skinned counterparts.

DATA

National Survey of American Life (NSAL) Adult Questionnaire (AQ) and Self-Administered Questionnaire (SAQ)

To examine the relationship between skin tone and residing in residentially segregated neighborhoods, I use data from the National Survey of American Life: Coping With Stress in the 21st Century (NSAL) self-administered questionnaire (SAQ) and Adult Questionnaire (AQ). The NSAL data were collected in 2001 to serve as an updated version of the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA), gathering turn-of-the-century data on the physical, emotional, structural, and economic conditions of Blacks. Ideal for this particular study are the measures of self-reported perceptions of discrimination and skin tone. The interviews for the survey occurred throughout the United States in urban and rural centers where there are large populations of African Americans. Many of the areas chosen were from the South, in order to represent Blacks in the proportion in which they are distributed nationally. In total, there were 6,082 face-to-face interviews conducted with persons aged 18 or older. Of those interviewed, there were 3,570 Blacks, 891 non-Hispanic Whites, and 1,621 Black respondents of Caribbean descent. Each face-to-face interview lasted approximately 2 hours and 20 minutes on average, and there was special care given to ensure the racial and ethnic matching of the interviewers and respondents (Jackson et al., 2004).

Self-Administered Questionnaire

The NSAL-SAQ is a subset of the original NSAL. In order to reduce respondent burden, the questions on the 40-page self-administered questionnaire were removed from the original survey and later mailed to all adult respondents following their original NSAL interview. An incentive payment was sent to all respondents once the questionnaire was completed and sent back. The overall response rate for the SAQ was 56.5 percent (N = 3,438); the response rate was 59.9 percent for African Americans (N = 2,137), 42.9 percent for Caribbean Blacks (N = 695), and 68.0 percent for Whites (N = 606). The NSAL-SAQ data is ideal for examining residential segregation because it includes questions about group and personal identity (racial awareness and identity), ideology and racial relations (i.e. national pride, interracial contact, and exposure to Black social contexts), and more importantly, specific questions on the neighborhood characteristics occupied by respondents. There are no objective measures of neighborhood composition, however; all neighborhood data are self-reported.

Sample

The SAQ subset may be used as a stand-alone data set or (as with the current study) it may be merged with the NSAL data set. For this particular study I use data collected from the AQ and the SAQ.⁹ All of the major outcome variables are derived from the SAQ subset data and all of the major control variables are derived from the original NSAL AQ, therefore my final sample of Black respondents is significantly smaller than the original sample of Blacks. Before using listwise deletion to eliminate all of the missing data on my variables, there were a total of 5,189 observations for self-

⁹ The merge variable "CPESCASE" was used to combine the data sets

identified Black respondents with valid weights. After listwise deletion, there are a total of 2,006 Black respondents for the current study, 682 males and 1,324 females who completed both the AQ and the SAQ. Originally, I hoped to test the effects of skin tone separately for native-born Blacks and Caribbean-born Blacks. However, after cleaning these data I discovered that the sample of Caribbean Blacks was too small for a sufficient comparison of skin tone effects between the two groups. Additionally, I suspect the two groups are somewhat more qualitatively similar than originally predicted as all models were also run excluding Caribbean Blacks and there were no significant changes in effects or conclusions regarding the impact of skin tone.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables for the current study include respondent's perception of different types of discrimination, racial composition of neighborhood, neighborhood crime and neighborhood resources. Four types of discrimination are being used: Perceived intraracial skin tone discrimination, perceived interracial skin tone discrimination, perceived major types of discrimination, and perceived everyday types of discrimination.

Perceived Intra/Interracial Skin Tone Discrimination: Past research has shown that Blacks experience skin tone bias from both Whites and Blacks. The following questions will allow me to test how often darker skinned Blacks experience intraracial and interracial discrimination based on skin tone, using 2 items, "How often would you say... that whites treat you badly because of the shade of your skin color?that Blacks treat you badly because of the shade of your skin color?" Responses range from (1 = Very Often, 2 = Fairly Often, 3= Not Too Often, 4 =Hardly Ever, and 5 = Never). For

interpretation purposes, the variables *white discrimination* and *black discrimination* are recoded 1 (Never) to 5 (Very Often) in the opposite direction so that higher responses signify a higher reported frequency of skin tone discrimination.

Perceived Major Discrimination Scale: The NSAL provides information on respondents' "major" experiences of racism and discrimination to explore how often respondents are treated unfairly in major life situations, such as being unfairly denied a promotion a bank loan, or a job. For example, questions include: "Have you ever been unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood because the landlord or a realtor refused to sell or rent you a house or apartment? Have you ever been denied a job?" Responses are *yes* and *no* for these questions. The variable *sum of major discrimination* experiences is coded as the count of the number of types of discrimination the respondent responded "yes" to having experienced. See appendix E for a full list of questions used in the "major discrimination" item.

Perceived Everyday Discrimination Scale: The NSAL also provides information on respondents' "everyday" experiences of racism and discrimination to explore how often respondents are treated unfairly in everyday interactions with others. The question reads: "In your day-to-day life how often have any of the following things happened to you?" Options include "you are treated with less courtesy than other people" or "you receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores," and answers range from 1 (almost every day) to 6 (never) but are recoded 1 (never) to 6 (almost every day) and combined into a standardized scale to create the variable *everyday discrimination scale*. See appendix F for a full list of questions used in the "everyday discrimination" scale.

Five variables to measure the respondent's perception of their neighborhood environment are being used: racial composition of environment, perception of crime, perception of drugs, proximity to resources, and home problems.

One possible limitation of using self-reported measures of neighborhood quality and safety is that it is not uncommon for respondents to overestimate the occurrence of events like victimization in ways that are biased by the racial composition of a person's neighborhood and the influence of stereotypical media portrayals of offenders (e.g. Quillian and Pager, 2010). More specifically, people often overestimate crime rates in predominately Black neighborhoods. It is also important to note that the current neighborhood measures were written as if neighborhoods are only Black and White, ignoring the possibility of other minority groups that may be present in the respondent's neighborhood or school environment (e.g. Latinos) as well as the race or skin tone of others (e.g. a spouse) who may reside in the same house as the respondent. These limitations are important to keep in mind, and are additional reasons to test the results using a different set of measures in Add Health to see if the findings are robust. The measures are still useful, however, as other studies have proven self-reports to be valid and reliable measures of one's immediate surroundings, including perceived neighborhood disorder and crime, safety, and residential deterioration (e.g. May and Dunaway, 2000; Rountree and Land, 1996; Stiffman et al., 1999; Perkins and Taylor, 1996), and are at minimum a good measure of the individual's subjective sense of safety.

Racial Composition of Environment is measured using questions from the SAQ questionnaire asking respondents their perception of the racial composition of the places where they have gone to school, have lived, and currently live. More specifically,

childhood neighborhood, grammar school, junior high school, high school, and present neighborhood are all measured as stand-alone items. Responses for all perceived racial composition variables are: (1=All Blacks, 2=Mostly Blacks, 3=About half Black, 4=Mostly White, 5=Almost All White). For interpretation purposes, the variables are recoded 1 (Almost All White) to 5 (All Blacks) so that higher responses signify a higher presence of Blacks.

Perception of Crime is measured using the question: “How often are there problems with muggings, burglaries, assaults or anything else like that in your neighborhood?” Responses for this question range from 1 (Very Often) to 5 (Never).

Perception of Drugs is measured using the question: “How much of a problem is the selling and use of drugs in your neighborhood?” Responses for this question range from 1 (Very Serious) to 4 (Not at All Serious). For interpretation purposes, the variables *perception of crime* and *perception of drugs* are recoded in the opposite direction so that higher responses signify a higher reported frequency of crime and drug use.

Proximity to Resources: I measure proximity to *amenities* using the question, “Do you have any of the following in this neighborhood: A park, playground, or open space; A big supermarket where you can buy food; A Medical clinic or health service; A Bank or credit union; or a Public Library.” Responses are *yes* or *no* for each. The variable *sum of amenities* is coded as the count of the number of resources the respondent responded “yes” to having in their neighborhood.

Home Problems: To test whether darker skinned Blacks are more likely to live in homes with physical problems, I measure *home condition* using the questions, “Do you have any of the following problems with your home? A) Condition of inside or outside

stairs; B) There are problems with the plumbing or toilet; C) There are problems with the temperature, either too cold or too hot; D) It needs too many repairs.” Responses include *yes and no* for each. The variable is coded as the sum of the number of yes responses, indicating the number of physical problems reported. A higher number of home problems reported by the respondent signify a home with more physical problems.

Independent Variables

Skin Tone – The key independent variable is skin tone. For this study, I use respondent’s self-perception of relative skin tone¹⁰ according to the question provided in the AQ. *Skin tone* is measured on a 5-point scale using the question, “Compared to most Black people, what shade of skin color do you have? Would you say very dark brown, dark brown, medium brown, light brown or very light brown?” For interpretation purposes, skin tone is recoded so that responses range from 1 (very light brown) to 5 (very dark brown).

Race (AQ) – The NSAL includes Blacks and Blacks of Caribbean descent (and Caribbean-born) and Whites. Therefore, my sample of *Black*¹¹ respondents consists of those who self-identified as Black in addition to those who self-identified as Black and selected one or more of the following criteria: (1) they were of West Indian or Caribbean descent, (2) they were from a Caribbean-area country, or (3) they had parents or

¹⁰ Originally, I proposed that I would measure skin tone using the interviewer’s perceptions of skin tone since I argue skin tone discrimination is based on how others perceive darker skin tones. However, after multiple attempts, I was unable to secure the needed skin tone variable.

¹¹ The NSAL’s measure of race does not separate Blacks who self-identify as Black alone from those who may self-identify as more than one race (i.e. multiracial). Therefore, my measure of Black includes Blacks and Caribbean-born Blacks who are multiracial, who on average, have lighter skin tones.

grandparents who were born in a Caribbean-area country, all of which are combined into one item to create the NSAL's measure of Caribbean-descent Blacks.

Collective Efficacy Scale is measured by creating a standardized scale using the questions, "People around here are willing to help their neighbors. People in this neighborhood can be trusted. I have neighbors who would help me if I had an emergency." Responses range from 1 (Very True) to 4 (Not at All True). Though many individual factors are associated with perceived neighborhood conditions, collective efficacy, or the social cohesion or solidarity among residents, also impacts resident's feelings of safety and fear of crime in their neighborhood (e.g. Gibson et al., 2002; e.g. Duncan et al., 2003; Sampson et al., 1997).

Awareness of Neighborhood Associations is measured using the question, "Are there any groups in this neighborhood such as block clubs, community associations, social clubs, helping groups and so forth?" Responses include *yes or no*.

Demographics: Age is measured as a continuous variable. *Education* is measured using the question, "How many years of school did you finish?" Responses include: less than high school, high school, some college, and college degree. *Gender* is coded as Male or Female as perceived by interviewer. *Household Income* is measured continuously according to the respondent's answer to the question, "Now, thinking about your personal income (including your job) / total income (and your family's) from all sources, how much did you (and all the members of your family living here) receive in [the year before the interview] before taxes?"

Employment Status: is measured using the question, "Are you working now full or part time, temporarily laid off, unemployed, retired, a homemaker, a student, are you

permanently disabled, or something else?” Dummy variables are created for the categories *working*, *unemployed*, and *not in the labor force* to compare individuals with no current job to individuals who do have a job and/or are out of the labor force, because lack of employment can significantly reduce the ability to rent or purchase property in high quality neighborhoods.

Marital Status: is measured using the question, “Are you currently married, living with a partner, separated, divorced, widowed or have you never been married?” The status of ever having been married can greatly affect a person’s mobility and neighborhood choices. For this reason, dummy variables are created for *ever married* (1=yes, 0=no) to capture all respondents who have ever been married, separated, divorced, or widowed to compare to those who have never married.

Region: Consistent with many other studies that examine differences in perceptions of crime and/or neighborhood disorder, I control for region of the country because these rates are reported differently by region but also because of the possible regional differences in skin tone bias. Regions of the country are coded as dummy variables to compare the North Central, West, and Northeast against the baseline category of the South.

My overall goal in the current study is to explore the relationship, if any, between the shade of skin and the likelihood of living in racially segregated neighborhoods or with low quality living conditions. To do so, I first explore discrimination by skin tone, which may be affecting the likelihood of darker skinned Blacks residing in such environments. My first hypothesis posits an association between having darker skin and higher levels of reported discrimination, both intraracial and interacial. From there I continue to examine

if, because of their frequent exposure to such discrimination, darker skinned Blacks are more likely to live in racially segregated neighborhoods. Finally, are the neighborhoods occupied by darker skinned Blacks of lesser quality than those of their lighter skinned counterparts? The models test these questions, in this order, first using the NSAL data described above. Then I describe the comparable Add Health data and results.

NSAL Descriptive Statistics¹²

Table 4.1 shows the weighted descriptive statistics for the total sample of Black respondents for the main dependent variables: skin tone discrimination, racial makeup of neighborhood, and perceptions of crime and available resources. Blacks report a mean of 2.68 and 2.20 for perceived interracial and intraracial experiences of skin tone discrimination, respectively. This means, that on average, Black respondents report “hardly ever” and “not too often” experiencing skin tone discrimination from Whites or other Blacks, suggesting that Blacks experience skin tone discrimination from Blacks and Whites at a similar rate. Black respondents do report having experienced about 1.5 major (e.g. having been denied a loan or employment opportunity) and 1 everyday (e.g. treated with less courtesy or called names or insulted) types of discrimination. When we observe the discrimination experienced across skin color categories, Appendix H shows us that “very dark brown” respondents are reporting a slightly higher average of skin tone discrimination from Whites (mean=2.86) and Blacks (mean=2.60) compared to their “very light brown” counterparts (2.53) reporting of skin tone discrimination from Whites. “Very dark brown” respondents are also, on average, reporting about one additional

¹² See Appendix G for bivariate correlations of all dependent and independent variables used in NSAL models.

experience of major (2.36) and everyday (mean=2.34) types of discrimination compared to their “very light brown” counterpart who average about 1.43 major and 1.46 everyday types of discrimination.

Turning to the racial make-up of past and current neighborhood environments, the mean reported for childhood neighborhood and current neighborhood is 3.97 and 3.57. This means that the average Black adult grew up in a neighborhood that was comprised of “mostly Blacks” and they reside in a neighborhood that is comprised of on average, “about half Blacks.” Respondents also report that the schools they attended, grammar school (3.74) to high school (3.50), also consisted of a student population that was “mostly Black” to “about half Black.” The middle of table 4.1 shows the respondents’ perception of crime, drugs, and available resources in their neighborhood. Results indicate that Blacks, on average, perceive muggings, robberies, or attacks “hardly ever” (2.51) occurring in their neighborhood and the selling or using of drugs as being “not too serious” of a problem. About 43% of Black adults report having various community associations and social groups in their current neighborhood. They also report having an average of about 2.9 different local amenities such as a grocery store or a public library.

Concerning demographic statistics for the total sample of Black respondents, Table 4.1 shows that the final weighted sample consists of 34% of respondents who were identified as male, meaning that the majority of the sample consists of respondents who were identified as female. The average age of Black respondents is about 45 years old and they have on average about 12 years of education. The average household income for the total sample is \$37,837 dollars, which is about \$2,500 dollars less than the national average of \$39,877 for Blacks in the U.S. in 1999. About one-third of the sample has

never been married and the majority, 56%, were living in the south at the time the questionnaire was administered.

The explanatory variable of primary interest is skin tone, the lightness or darkness of respondent's skin relative to other Blacks according to the perception of the respondent. Table 4.2 and Figure 4.1 shows the weighted descriptive statistics for skin tone for the total sample of Black respondents, by gender.¹³ Overall, the plurality of the Black adults, 47%, report having "medium brown"¹⁴ skin tone. There are only a few respondents who report having "very light brown" or "very dark brown" skin tone, and the same is true for both genders. There is no particular pattern in skin tone values for male or females as the majority of both groups perceive themselves as having "medium brown" skin followed by "dark brown" skin. Figure 4.2 shows the distribution of the weighted proportions of Black male and female skin tone compared to the overall sample. The distribution also shows there are a few differences between the self-rated skin tone

¹³ To see if there is any relationship between skin tone and the outcomes of discrimination, segregation, and neighborhood conditions, I first inspect the mean perceptions of all outcomes by skin tone. Appendix G shows the weighted means and standard errors for all dependent variables by skin tone and results show that overall, Blacks with "very dark brown" skin are reporting, on average, more experiences with every type of discrimination compared to their "very light brown" counterparts. Blacks with the darkest ("very dark brown") skin color also reported remembering a greater proportion of Blacks in their childhood neighborhood and school environments as well as their current neighborhood. Lastly, the third section of Appendix G shows that Blacks with the darkest skin tone are also perceiving, on average, slightly more crime and drug use in their current neighborhood environments and more physical problems with the condition of their current residence. There is no linear relationship however between the respondent's skin tone and the mean number of clubs and associations and amenities present in their current neighborhood.

¹⁴ Two of the skin tone category labels ("very light brown" and "very dark brown") for the NSAL questionnaire differ from the category labels in the Add Health survey ("white" and "black"). Although not mentioned in the data, I am assuming the words NSAL chose not to use the term "white" because only Blacks were asked to identify their skin color; Whites were excluded from that question. Therefore, the terms "brown" are used to signify the range of skin colors for Blacks only.

distribution of the current NSAL sample of Black adults and the skin tone distribution of adult respondents as perceived by the interviewer in the Add Health sample (see Table 4.14). The “medium brown” and “dark brown” skin tone categories yield the largest sample of respondents for both samples of Blacks and the lightest skin tone category for both samples yield the smallest number of Black respondents with that skin color. A very noticeable difference between the two distributions of skin tone values is the significantly smaller proportion of Blacks who reported having “very dark brown” skin (.06) in the NSAL sample and the much larger proportion of respondents who are perceived as having “Black” skin (.27) in the Add Health sample (see Table 4.14). It is important to note again however, that the skin tone of Blacks in the NSAL sample is self-reported by a sample of all Blacks and the skin tone measure in Add Health is assessed by the interviewer for a sample of all races, which could explain the difference in the proportion of Blacks in the above mentioned skin tone categories.

Methodology - NSAL

The estimates of the relationship between skin tone and the proposed outcomes, controlling for the individual’s socioeconomic characteristics and other key independent variables, are tested by running separate multivariate analyses for the sample of Blacks from the NSAL. I use ordered logit models for the ordinal outcomes and OLS models for the continuous outcomes. To make certain that I am comparing the relationship between skin tone and all outcomes for the same individual respondents, all models are estimated using only those observations that have no missing data for the multivariate analyses. All of the descriptive statistics and analyses are conducted using STATA 13.1 and use the

“svy” command options to weight the analysis and control for clustering. I also test for a Non-linear relationship between skin tone and all major outcomes.¹⁵

Results

Effect of Skin Tone on Perceived Skin Tone Discrimination and Major and Everyday Experiences of Discrimination

Hypothesis 1: Darker skinned Blacks will report more experiences of major and everyday discrimination and skin tone discrimination than their lighter skinned counterparts.

I test hypothesis 1 with two sets of ordinal logistic regression models (perceived skin tone discrimination) and one set of ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression models (perceived major and everyday discrimination). For each type of discrimination, I begin by presenting the bivariate regression estimates demonstrating the relationship between skin tone on each to establish associations between the darkness of skin tone for Blacks and the probability of experiencing different types of discrimination. I then follow each set of bivariate regression estimates with the corresponding multivariate analysis to test the effect of skin tone once important sociodemographic and other factors related to discrimination are introduced.

The estimates on Table 4.3-Table 4.6 (below) reflect the baseline *linear* relationship with skin tone and all four types of discrimination. Partially consistent with my hypothesis, there are some direct effects of skin tone on perceived discrimination.

¹⁵ Dummy variables for each of the different skin tone categories are used in identical models to test for non-linear effects of skin tone on all outcomes. The categories “white” and “light brown” were combined due to the small sample. I also create a “darkest” dummy variable to test the effect of having just darker skin compared to those with lighter skin. Therefore, in each model, the “brown,” “dark brown,” and “black” skin tone categories are presented with the “white” and “light brown” categories removed as comparison.

More specifically, results show that the direct effect of skin tone is statistically significant in the expected direction for skin tone discrimination from Whites (.19, $p < .01$). This means that for every one-unit increase in skin tone, from light to dark, there is a .19 increase in the odds of more often experiencing skin tone discrimination from Whites. Using the same measures of skin tone discrimination, Hersch's (2006) descriptive analysis found that lighter skinned Blacks fare better than darker skinned Blacks on perceived treatment from Whites. There is no direct effect of skin tone on experiences of skin tone discrimination from other Blacks, although Hersch (2006) did find that lighter skinned Blacks reported somewhat better treatment from Blacks. I do find however a positive and significant direct effect of skin tone on the number of different types of *major* experiences of discrimination for Blacks (Table 4.5). For every one-unit increase in skin tone there is a .18 increase in the number of *major* types of discrimination (e.g. being fired from a job) experienced by Blacks. Compared to the overall mean (2.68) for the sample of respondents, a .18 increase in types of major discrimination is relatively small. However, recalling that the NSAL measure of skin tone ranges from (1-5), the impact of the coefficient from the lightest to darkest skin shade (change of four categories) is .72. This means that compared to respondents with the lightest skin shade, "very dark brown" respondents experience almost one additional type of major discrimination, which is meaningful considering the types of discrimination being measured involve experiences with a significant impact on your life, such as being denied a bank loan or unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood by a realtor. There is a positive relationship between skin tone and *everyday* types of discrimination but it is only marginally significant (.04, $p = .07$).

In models 2 and 3, I test if the relationship between skin tone and discrimination is altered by controlling for age and gender, physical characteristics that are most salient to observers, and then once relevant factors of socioeconomic status are taken into account. Skin tone continues to remain a positive and significant predictor for both perceived skin tone discrimination from Whites and major experiences of discrimination, although there is a small decrease in the effect size of skin tone as age and gender are also positive and significant predictors for both outcomes. Skin tone also becomes a significant predictor for *everyday* types of discrimination in model 2 (e.g. you are treated with less courtesy than other people), suggesting that experiences of everyday types of discrimination are conditioned by age and gender. Skin tone remains a significant predictor of skin tone discrimination from Whites and everyday types of discrimination in model 3. The effect of skin tone disappears for major discrimination, owing largely to the influence of education, being unemployed or not in the labor force, and divorced status. The skin tone effect remains not significant in models 4 and 5. There is still no significant effect of skin tone on experiences of discrimination from Blacks.

In model 4 I add in control variables for region of residence and then I add an additional control for the racial makeup of the respondent's childhood and present neighborhood of residency in model 5. The additional controls are added because certain areas of the U.S. have larger proportions of Blacks, which can impact how one perceives not only the level of racial segregation in their neighborhood and crime but also the level of major and everyday experiences of discrimination. As shown in Table 4.3 and Table 4.6, increasing skin darkness is associated with increases in skin tone discrimination experienced from Whites and everyday types of discrimination. This means that above

and beyond all physical and social characteristics, neighborhood and region, skin tone remains a significant predictor for Blacks' experiences of skin tone discrimination from Whites and everyday types of discrimination. Although there is still no significant effect of skin tone on perceived experiences of skin tone discrimination from other Blacks, there are significant effects for other important factors. An increase in the proportion of Blacks in one's childhood neighborhood significantly decreases the perception of frequent exposure to skin tone discrimination from Blacks. Lastly, there is a significant increase in the frequency of experiencing skin tone discrimination from Whites and everyday types of discrimination for Blacks who reside in the western region of the U.S. compared to those who reside in the South. Respondents who live in the West or Midwest regions also reported experiencing more major types of discrimination compared to Blacks who reside in the South.

Effect of Skin Tone on Racial Composition of School and Neighborhood

Hypothesis 2: Due to interracial tone bias, darker skinned Blacks will be more likely to reside in neighborhoods with high concentrations of Blacks compared to their lighter skinned counterparts. I also hypothesize that darker skinned Black males will be more likely to reside in majority Black neighborhoods as they are the group least likely to benefit from their skin tone when seeking occupational and educational opportunities.

Another important question for the current study is whether or not skin tone plays a role in the likelihood of Blacks residing in neighborhoods with high proportions of Blacks. Because these data are not longitudinal, my measure of past school and neighborhood environment is based on the perception of the respondents at the time survey was taken. However, I still consider the racial composition of past school

environments very important to the current study because of the impact these settings can have on future educational and income attainment, factors indicative of the type of neighborhood in which one resides. Schools are a place we also all spend a significant amount of our childhood and young adulthood and it is here where we begin to form our beliefs and opinions on matters such as discrimination or our perceptions about others not of our own race group (Braddock, 1980). For example, a Black person who attended a majority Black junior high and high school may not have had many interactions with persons from different races growing up and therefore misinterpret or overestimate experiences of discrimination with persons of a different race. Therefore, I briefly visit the results for the effect of skin tone on past school and neighborhood environments.

Model 1 in Table 4.7 shows the ordinal logit models for all four past school and neighborhood settings; skin tone is positive and statistically significant in all four. This means that for a one-unit increase in skin tone, there is a .18, .23, and .18 increase in the ordered log-odds of remembering a greater proportion of Blacks in the school environments (see also Hersch 2006). In reference to the racial makeup of respondents' neighborhoods growing up, results show that for every one skin shade darker, there is a .19 increase in the ordered log-odds of remembering a greater proportion of Blacks present in the respondent's childhood neighborhood. Skin tone remained significant in model 2 for all outcomes which take into account one's most salient physical characteristics, age and gender. There are small decreases in the effect size for each outcome, owing partly to the significant effect of age, which shows that older Blacks are more likely to remember having attended majority Black schools and growing up in majority Black neighborhoods.

Ordered Logit Models of Racial Composition of Present Neighborhood

Table 4.8 presents the coefficients and standard errors for five weighted ordered logit models investigating the effect of skin tone on the racial composition of one's present neighborhood. Model 1 in Table 4.8 presents the coefficient for the effect of skin tone alone. For the current sample of Blacks, there is no significant direct effect of skin tone alone on racial makeup of one's present neighborhood.¹⁶ In model 2, I test for the effect of skin tone on racial composition of present neighborhood controlling for age and gender, two characteristics that are most visible to realtors and/or landlords and that we might expect to be related to the decision to allow or deny one access to certain neighborhoods. Model 3 is the same as model 2 with the addition of controls for other important factors of socioeconomic status such as income. As previously mentioned, certain areas of the U.S. have larger proportions of Blacks, which can impact how one perceives the level of racial segregation in their neighborhood, therefore, Model 4 includes additional controls for different regions of the United States. In model 5, I continue to test the effect of skin tone on racial makeup of present neighborhood with added controls for the respondent's experiences of skin tone discrimination and major types of discrimination.

Surprisingly, I found no statistically significant linear effect for skin tone in all five models. There are however, positive and significant effects for Blacks with medium brown skin in 2 out of 5 models. More specifically, Table 4.9 shows that when compared

¹⁶ In unweighted models not shown, the linear effect of skin tone was found to be a significant predictor of the racial composition of one's present neighborhood for models 1 through 5.

to Blacks with *very light* and *light brown* skin tones, there is a .27 and .24 increase in their odds of perceiving a higher presence of Blacks in their present neighborhood, controlling for socioeconomic status (model 3) and region of residence (model 4). The significance of the Non-linear effect does however disappear once discrimination is introduced (model 5).

The effects for other important demographic variables are as one would expect. Household income, being unemployed or not in the labor force, and region are all very significant predictors of one's neighborhood racial composition. More specifically, as household income increases, the odds of residing in an "all black" neighborhood versus a neighborhood comprised of "mostly blacks to almost all whites" decreases. Living in the western region of the U.S. also significantly decreases the odds that Blacks will reside in an "all Black" neighborhood compared to living in the south. While being unemployed significantly increases the odds of living in an "all Black" neighborhood compared to one with "mostly blacks to almost all whites," having grown up in a majority Black neighborhood actually doubles the respondent's odds of living in an "all Black" neighborhood. Although skin tone is not a significant predictor of the racial makeup of one's present neighborhood, skin tone may still have an effect on other important neighborhood characteristics such as frequency of drug use and crime.

Effect of Skin Tone on Perception of Drugs and Crime in Present Neighborhood

Hypothesis 3: Darker skinned Blacks will be more likely to report serious problems of drugs and crime in their neighborhoods compared to their lighter skinned counterparts

Tables 4.10 and 4.11 present the weighted coefficients and standard errors for five ordered logit models investigating the relationship between skin tone the respondent's

perception of the (1) selling and use of drugs and the (2) frequency of muggings, burglaries, and assault in their neighborhood. Model 1 presents the coefficient for the effect of skin tone alone on one's perception of drugs and crime. For the current sample of Blacks, results show that darker skin has a relationship with the odds of neighborhood drug problems, but not frequency of crime. More specifically, what this .14 ($p < .01$) tells us is that for every one unit increase in the darkness of the respondent's skin tone, the log odds of perceiving the selling and use of drugs in one's neighborhood as more serious increase by .14.

In model 2, I continue to test for the effect of skin tone on one's perception of drugs and crime, controlling for socioeconomic status. Skin tone continues to have a significant effect on the respondent's perception of neighborhood drug abuse (Table 4.10). Household income and divorce status are also significant predictors. While an increase in household income significantly decreases the odds of observing drug use in one's neighborhood, currently being divorced has a positive and significantly large effect on living in a neighborhood with higher drug use. There is a similar effect of divorce status on the frequency of crime in one's neighborhood (.32, $p < .05$).

The odds of higher drug use and crime are also significantly impacted by the racial composition (model 3), collective efficacy (model 4), and number of clubs present (model 4) in one's neighborhood, all of which are added controls to test whether the effect of skin tone would remain significant after taking into account past neighborhood environments and the availability of social support and resources needed to combat frequent drug use and crime in one's neighborhood. As one would expect, an increase in the proportion of Blacks in one's neighborhood increases the odds of Blacks living in a

neighborhood with higher crime and drug use, and having trust in one's neighbors significantly decreases the odds. Unexpected, however, is the significant and large positive effect that the presence of neighborhood clubs and associations and resource facilities (e.g. playground or medical clinic) has on perceptions of crime and drug use in one's neighborhood. More specifically, One would expect to see the exact opposite effect for neighborhood social support and resources, however, these data do not allow me to test the availability, condition, and structure of these neighborhood resources as these factors can impact how useful or effective such resources are to community members. It is also possible that the implementation of these clubs and organizations came as a result or a response to problems already present in the neighborhood. The large significant effect that having clubs and facilities in one's neighborhood has on the respondents' perception of crime could also indicate that such resources are needed in order to fix or control problems with drugs and crime in neighborhoods.

Lastly, in model 5, I add in controls for region of residency as other studies have shown that residents' perception of crime and/or neighborhood disorder differ regionally. Results show that skin tone remains a significant predictor for respondents' perception of drugs in their neighborhood. At .16 ($p < .01$), the coefficient for the effect of skin tone on the use and sale of drugs is for the most part unchanged even after controlling for demographic and neighborhood characteristics. Household income continues to also be a significant predictor alongside one's divorce status, racial composition of neighborhood, and the presence of trustworthy neighbors and neighborhood clubs and associations. similar to drug use, the remaining neighborhood factors of racial composition and the

presence of trustworthy neighbors and neighborhood associations all remain significant predictors of crime in the respondent's neighborhood.

Effect of Skin Tone on Perception of Neighborhood Resources and Home Condition

Hypothesis 4: Darker skinned Blacks will be more likely to reside in neighborhoods with deteriorating houses and fewer amenities than their lighter skinned counterparts.

Tables 4.12 and 4.13 present the unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors for three models investigating the effect of skin tone on the number of neighborhood amenities present in one's neighborhood and the number of physical problems characterizing the respondent's home. Model 1 presents the unstandardized coefficient for the effect of skin tone alone on each outcome. For the current sample of Blacks, results show that skin tone has no significant effect on the number of neighborhood facilities present in one's neighborhood or the physical condition of one's home. When respondents' demographic characteristics are added in model 2, skin tone remains an insignificant predictor of neighborhood facilities but emerges as a significant predictor for the physical condition of the home (.058, $p < .05$). This means with each one increment increase in skin tone, the reported number of physical problems in one's home increases by .06. This finding may also suggest that the effect of skin tone on one's home problems may be conditioned by other important demographic factors, such as gender, education, and household income, as these factors are also significant in model 2. More specifically, an increase in one's household income (-.053, $p < .05$), level of education (-.101, $p < .05$), and gender (-.2.14, $p < .05$) all have significant negative associations with household problems. In model 3, I test whether the effect of skin tone remains after taking into account region of residency and perception of racial makeup of

past and current neighborhoods. Skin tone was found to be unrelated to neighborhood amenities and the significant effect of skin tone for home condition has now disappeared. Regarding the number of amenities present in one's neighborhood, compared to respondents living in the South, residents in the Northeast, West, and Midwest regions of the U.S. have a .525, .618, and .468 increase in the number of amenities present in their neighborhood, respectively. A higher proportion of Blacks in one's present neighborhood is associated with an increase in the number of problems reported for one's home and a decrease in the number of amenities present in one's neighborhood. Overall, among all of the variables on Tables 4.12 and 4.13, education, gender, region of residence, and a higher presence of Blacks in present neighborhood demonstrated the clearest relationship with number of facilities present and the number of home conditions as perceived by the respondent.

Effect of Skin Tone on Neighborhood Outcomes Using Add Health Data

DATA

A separate set of models using the Add Health measures of the respondent's neighborhood environment are also included to compare with the NSAL results. In 2007 and 2008 a fourth in-home interview was conducted with the original Wave I Add Health respondents. Wave IV respondents were between the ages of 24-32 at the time of the interview. During the final section of the Wave IV survey, field interviewers were asked to assess the respondent's home and neighborhood environment, including the actual physical condition of the respondent's home as well as how safe they felt in the respondent's neighborhood. Therefore, using the additional environmental measures

provided in Add Health, I compare the self-reported measures of neighborhood quality in NSAL to those based on the interviewers' perceptions in Add Health to confirm whether neighborhood and housing conditions vary by skin tone. It is important to note that not all of the interviews were conducted at the respondent's home, and those respondents that completed their questionnaires at a place other than their home (e.g. libraries or coffee shops) are dropped from my sample. After listwise deletion, my final Add Health sample includes 1,950 self-identified Blacks: 754 males and 1,196 females.

Dependent Variables

Home Problems are measured according to whether the field interviewer responded *yes* to either the respondent's "building structure or entrance is unsafe, or contains cracks or holes, broken siding or glass, or peeling paint" or "the yard is unkempt with overgrown shrubs or grass, or contains clutter, trash or other debris."

Perception of Unsafe Neighborhood is measured using the question, "How safe did you feel when you were in the sample member's/respondent's neighborhood? Did you feel..." Responses range from *1 = very safe to 4 = very unsafe*.

Independent Variables

Neighborhood Type is measured using the question, "Which of the following best describes the immediate area or street (one block, both sides) where the sample member/respondent lives?" Responses included: *rural farm, rural town, suburban, urban with residential housing only, 3 or more commercial properties with mostly retail, and 3 or more commercial properties with mostly wholesale or industrial*. Types of

neighborhood are coded as dummy variables to compare suburban, rural,¹⁷ and commercial neighborhoods against the baseline category of urban.

Household Income is measured continuously using the variable created in Add Health based on the respondent's answer to the question, "In [the year before the interview], how much income in total did you (and all others in household) receive from personal earnings before taxes, that is, wages or salaries, including tips, bonuses, and overtime pay, and income from self-employment?" Responses range from 1 (Less than \$5,000) to 13 (\$150,000 or more).

Respondent's Education is measured using the question at Wave IV: "What is the highest level of education that you have achieved to date? Responses range from 1 (8th grade or less) to 11 (completed a doctoral degree).

Interviewer Race and Gender are included as controls, since both characteristics may have an effect on how the interviewer perceives the safety and quality of a neighborhood and home. Interviewer's race is measured as Black, White, and Other.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 4.14 shows the weighted descriptive statistics for skin tone, neighborhood characteristics, interviewer characteristics and demographic control variables. For the key independent variable of interest, skin tone, the values for each category are fundamentally the same as the sample for the Add Health analysis in previous chapter (chapter 3) with

¹⁷ Due to small sample sizes, the responses for "rural farm" and "rural town" were combined to create the *rural* category and the responses for "3 or more commercial properties with mostly retail" and "3 or more commercial properties with mostly wholesale or industrial" were combined to create the *commercial* category.

the majority of respondents being perceived as having the three darkest skin colors. Regarding the interviewer, the majority of the interviewers (87%) were female and about 57% of them were White and 40% were Black. The interviewers report a mean of 1.67 on a scale of 1 to 5 regarding their concern for their safety in the respondent's neighborhood. Of all of the interviews conducted at home, about 12% of those homes had at least one physical problem (e.g. entrance is unsafe or broken siding) with the outside conditions, according to the perception of the interviewers. Lastly, according to the perception of the interviewer, the greatest number (42%) of respondents reside in suburban neighborhoods while only about 5% reside in rural neighborhoods.

Methodology

The effects of skin tone on the proposed neighborhood outcomes, controlling for the individual's socioeconomic characteristics and other key independent variables, are tested by running multivariate analyses for the sample of Blacks from Add Health. For each outcome, in Model 1 I test for the effect of skin tone alone on the interviewer's perception of the physical condition of the respondent's house and neighborhood safety. Model 2 adds a control for household income to model 1. Model 3 adds the remaining demographic variables: age, education, and gender. Model 4 includes model 3 with additional controls for the race and gender of the interviewer. Model 5 includes model 4 with an additional control neighborhood type. The analyses for the current data are logistic (home condition) and ordered-logistic (level of concern for safety) regressions with adjustment for clustering and weights.

Results

Regression Estimates for Effect of Skin Tone on Neighborhood Outcome for Add Health Sample

Tables 4.15 and 4.16 show that skin tone is not a significant predictor of the likelihood of either of the neighborhood outcomes. Similar to results found for the NSAL sample, household income is a very strong predictor of having visible physical problems with the outside condition of the respondent's residence as well as how concerned the interviewer felt about his/her safety in the respondent's neighborhood. For example, according to model 2 in Table 4.15, for every one-unit increase in the household income of the respondent, the log odds of the interviewer perceiving problems with the respondent's home (e.g. building structure or entrance is unsafe or contains cracks or holes, broken siding or glass, or peeling paint) decreases by .10. As model 5 of Table 4.15 also shows, household income continues to have a negative effect on the interviewer's perception of the respondent's home problems after controlling for all other demographic variables, race and gender of the interviewer, and the type of neighborhood the respondent currently resides. According to model 5 of Table 4.16, what this .11 coefficient for household income tells us is that for every one-unit increase in the household income of the respondent, there is a .11 decrease in the ordered log-odds of perceiving the respondent's neighborhood as unsafe after controlling for all demographic, interviewer, and neighborhood type variables.

Interestingly, both Tables 4.15 and 4.16 show positive and significant effects for the relationship between interviewer's characteristics and their perception of both neighborhood outcomes. More specifically, being a White or a female interviewer has a positive and significantly large effect on how many problems they perceived were visible

with the respondent's home and how concerned the interviewer felt for their safety in the respondent's neighborhood. Compared to Black and other race interviewers, White interviewers perceive .45 and .43 (Model 4 and 5 of Table 4.15) more problems with the outside of the respondent's home. When looking at the concern for their safety, we see that compared to their Black counterparts, White interviewers report a .52 and .65 increase in the concern for safety and compared to male interviewers, female interviewers report a 1.20 and 1.05 (Model 4 and 5 of Table 4.16) increase in the odds of feeling concerned about their safety very safe to very unsafe. These findings are interesting but not surprising as past studies of perceived "neighborhood disorder" (e.g. vacant houses; burned-out, boarded-up, or burned-out, boarded-up or abandoned houses; badly deteriorated residential units) found that females tend to perceive more disorder in a given neighborhood than males, and Whites also tend to perceive more disorder than Blacks (Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004) when asked to rate disorder in the same neighborhood. The mechanism by which the interviewer rates the physical problems and safety of a neighborhood is impacted by past environments and prior beliefs or stereotypes about different neighborhoods (e.g. Quillian and Pager, 2010), in particular, neighborhoods perceived as having proportions of minorities (highly segregated) and neighborhoods with large quantities of dilapidated homes. As explained by Sampson and Raudenbush (2004), "a white person living in an all-white area would expect to see, on average, relatively small amounts of disorder. In this case even minor amounts of disorder might be perceived as a problem (p. 329)." Blacks on the other hand who may have experienced or grew up in majority Black neighborhoods often characterized with

more disorder, would have a higher level or perceived threshold of disorder and therefore report fewer problems with housing and safety than Whites.

While age and being male have no significant impact on interviewer's perception of the physical condition of the respondent's house and neighborhood safety, the respondent's level of education is negatively associated with home condition and interviewer's concern for safety, even after controlling for all other sociodemographic variables and interviewer characteristics. As one would expect, there is a significant and large decrease in the odds of having physical problems to the home and safety concerns in suburban neighborhoods compared to more urban neighborhoods.

Table 4.1. Weighted Summary Statistics for Main Dependent and Independent Control Variables for NSAL (N = 2,006)

Dependent Variable	Proportion /Mean	SD	Range
Skin Tone	3.12 (.02)	.91	1 - 5
Type of Discrimination			
Skin Tone Disc. From Whites	2.68	1.23	1 - 5
Skin Tone Disc. From Blacks	2.20	1.16	1 - 5
Major Discrimination	1.54 (.05)	1.74	0 - 10
Everyday Discrimination	.09 (.03)	.69	-.95 - 3.25
Proportion Neighborhood Black			
Childhood NH	3.97 (.04)	.99	1 - 5
Present NH	3.57 (.04)	.99	1 - 5
Proportion School Black			
Grammar School	3.74 (.04)	1.20	1 - 5
Junior High	3.61 (.04)	1.16	1 - 5
High School	3.50 (.04)	1.18	1 - 5
Perception of Neighborhood			
Frequency of Crime	2.51 (.04)	1.17	1 - 5
Seriousness of Drugs	2.32 (.06)	1.13	1 - 4
Number of Amenities	2.88 (.05)	1.26	0 - 4
Home Problems	.84 (.04)	1.16	0 - 4
Continuous Controls			
Age	41.67 (.65)	15.26	18-90
Education	2.37 (.04)	.99	1 - 4
(0-11 years)	.21		
(12 years)	.36		
(13-15 years)	.25		
(>16 years)	.17		
Household Income	37,872	2.94	0 - 200,000
Collective Efficacy	-.02 (.02)	.80	-2.27 - 1 .5
Dichotomous Controls			
Male	.34	.49	0 - 1
Married/Separated/Divorced	.69		0 - 1
Never Married	.31	.46	0 - 1
Unemployed	.10	.30	0 - 1
Have Clubs and Associations	.43		0 - 1
Region			
South	.56	.49	0 - 1
Northeast	.16	.37	0 - 1
West	.08	.27	0 - 1
Midwest	.18	.38	0 - 1

Table 4.2. Weighted Proportions of Skin Tone Values by Gender for NSAL

Skin Tone	Total	Male	Female	N
1 (Very Light Brown)	.05	.05	.05	96
2 (Light Brown)	.16	.13	.17	318
3 (Medium Brown)	.47	.41	.52	950
4 (Dark Brown)	.26	.33	.21	533
5 (Very Dark Brown)	.06	.07	.04	109
Observations	2,006	682	1,324	2,006

FIGURE 4.1.

Weighted Proportions of Skin Tone Values by Gender for NSAL

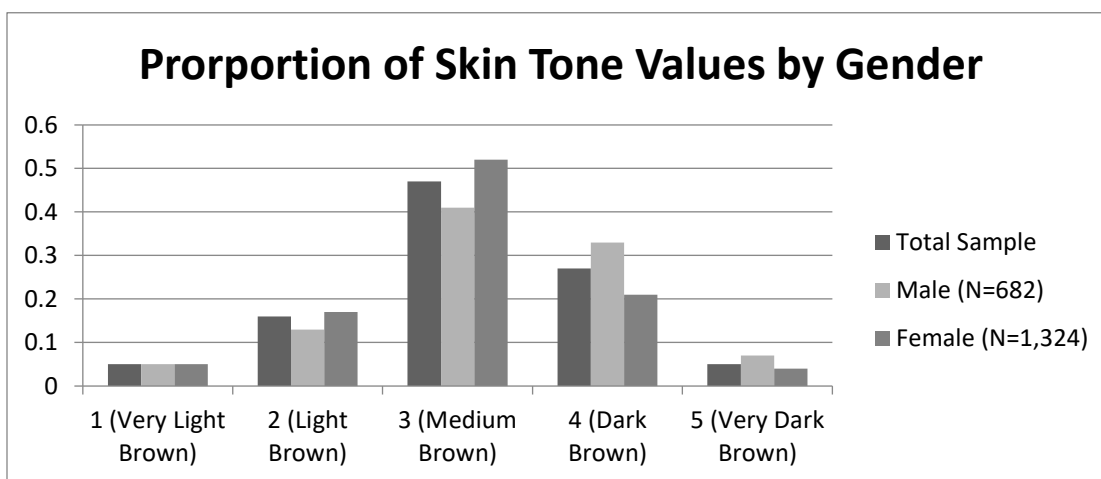


Table 4.3. Weighted Ordinal-Logit Models for Skin Tone Discrimination
from Whites

VARIABLES	(Model 1) Skin Tone	(Model 2) Age & Gender	(Model 3) All SES	(Model 4) Region	(Model 5) NH Black
Skin Tone	0.193*** (0.059)	0.152** (0.060)	0.148** (0.061)	0.142** (0.062)	0.142** (0.063)
Age		0.011*** (0.004)	0.014*** (0.005)	0.014*** (0.005)	0.014*** (0.005)
Male		0.293** (0.114)	0.330*** (0.118)	0.307** (0.121)	0.307** (0.120)
Education			-0.004 (0.064)	-0.043 (0.063)	-0.043 (0.063)
HH Income			-0.034 (0.033)	-0.034 (0.032)	-0.036 (0.033)
Unemployed			0.255 (0.162)	0.216 (0.162)	0.225 (0.163)
Not in Labor Force			-0.405** (0.166)	-0.423** (0.164)	-0.418** (0.165)
Divorced			0.134 (0.191)	0.120 (0.185)	0.116 (0.187)
Never Married			-0.047 (0.174)	-0.067 (0.166)	-0.066 (0.166)
Northeast				0.157 (0.149)	0.168 (0.147)
West				0.697* (0.354)	0.682** (0.340)
Midwest				0.107 (0.125)	0.115 (0.123)
Child NH Black					0.017 (0.053)
Present NH Black					-0.039 (0.056)
Observations	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.4. Weighted Ordinal-Logit Models for Skin Tone Discrimination from Blacks

VARIABLES	(Model 1) Skin Tone	(Model 2) Age & Gender	(Model 3) All SES	(Model 4) Region	(Model 5) NH Black
Skin Tone	0.018 (0.075)	-0.013 (0.076)	-0.015 (0.076)	-0.016 (0.075)	-0.004 (0.074)
Age		0.018*** (0.003)	0.016*** (0.004)	0.016*** (0.005)	0.018*** (0.005)
Male		-0.032 (0.117)	-0.023 (0.120)	-0.017 (0.120)	-0.027 (0.120)
Education			-0.018 (0.065)	-0.013 (0.065)	-0.013 (0.065)
HH Income			0.001 (0.029)	0.002 (0.029)	0.000 (0.028)
Unemployed			0.084 (0.182)	0.084 (0.185)	0.081 (0.186)
Not in Labor Force			-0.144 (0.168)	-0.143 (0.167)	-0.172 (0.166)
Divorced			0.137 (0.174)	0.144 (0.174)	0.134 (0.175)
Never Married			-0.104 (0.161)	-0.094 (0.162)	-0.095 (0.159)
Northeast				-0.079 (0.150)	-0.119 (0.146)
West				-0.115 (0.144)	-0.166 (0.156)
Midwest				0.072 (0.107)	0.046 (0.110)
Child NH Black					-0.126*** (0.044)
Present NH Black					0.022 (0.048)
Observations	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.5. Weighted OLS Regression Estimates of Major Discrimination

VARIABLES	(Model 1) Skin Tone	(Model 2) Age & Gender	(Model 3) All SES	(Model 4) Region	(Model 5) NH Black
Skin Tone	0.181** (0.069)	0.114** (0.067)	0.100 (0.065)	0.092 (0.065)	0.090 (0.067)
Age		0.009*** (0.003)	0.007** (0.003)	0.006** (0.003)	0.006** (0.003)
Male		0.721*** (0.109)	0.741*** (0.098)	0.734*** (0.100)	0.736*** (0.101)
Education			0.282*** (0.058)	0.249*** (0.056)	0.250*** (0.056)
HH Income			0.003 (0.021)	0.003 (0.020)	0.004 (0.020)
Unemployed			0.414** (0.192)	0.367* (0.184)	0.362* (0.182)
Not in Labor Force			-0.297** (0.132)	-0.333** (0.133)	-0.331** (0.133)
Divorced			0.418*** (0.149)	0.414*** (0.142)	0.417*** (0.140)
Never Married			-0.150 (0.110)	-0.161 (0.112)	-0.161 (0.111)
Northeast				0.264 (0.182)	0.266 (0.187)
West				0.508** (0.225)	0.526** (0.248)
Midwest				0.599*** (0.119)	0.600*** (0.118)
Child NH Black					0.015 (0.060)
Present NH Black					0.016 (0.054)
Constant	0.976*** (0.226)	0.482** (0.208)	-0.134 (0.257)	-0.170 (0.251)	-0.280 (0.341)
Observations	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006
R-squared	0.009	0.057	0.105	0.124	0.124

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.6. Weighted OLS Regression Estimates of Everyday Discrimination

VARIABLES	(Model 1) Skin Tone	(Model 2) Age & Gender	(Model 3) All SES	(Model 4) Region	(Model 5) NH Black
Skin Tone	0.041* (0.024)	0.045* (0.025)	0.048** (0.024)	0.045** (0.024)	0.047** (0.024)
Age		-0.010*** (0.001)	-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.009*** (0.001)	-0.009*** (0.001)
Male		0.157*** (0.050)	0.179*** (0.052)	0.174*** (0.053)	0.172*** (0.052)
Education			0.039* (0.022)	0.025 (0.022)	0.024 (0.022)
HH Income			-0.001 (0.010)	-0.001 (0.010)	-0.002 (0.010)
Unemployed			0.138** (0.065)	0.121* (0.064)	0.125* (0.064)
Not in Labor Force			-0.005 (0.052)	-0.017 (0.051)	-0.020 (0.052)
Divorced			0.139*** (0.051)	0.138*** (0.050)	0.136*** (0.050)
Never Married			0.135** (0.055)	0.131** (0.052)	0.131** (0.052)
Northeast				0.055 (0.049)	0.053 (0.050)
West				0.238*** (0.079)	0.221** (0.084)
Midwest				0.147* (0.078)	0.146* (0.079)
Child NH Black					-0.013 (0.023)
Present NH Black					-0.014 (0.019)
Constant	-0.029 (0.083)	0.285*** (0.088)	0.042 (0.127)	0.048 (0.121)	0.147 (0.167)
Observations	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006
R-squared	0.003	0.059	0.074	0.087	0.088

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.7. Weighted Multivariate Ordinal Logistic Regression Models of Racial Composition of Past School and Neighborhood Environment

VARIABLES	Grammar School		Junior HS		High School		Childhood NH	
	(Model 1)	(Model 2)	(Model 1)	(Model 2)	(Model 1)	(Model 2)	(Model 1)	(Model 2)
Skin Tone	0.189*** (0.062)	0.147** (0.067)	0.237*** (0.064)	0.205*** (0.066)	0.188*** (0.052)	0.157*** (0.053)	0.192*** (0.055)	0.183*** (0.060)
Age		0.041*** (0.004)		0.037*** (0.003)		0.032*** (0.003)		0.017*** (0.003)
Male		-0.151 (0.092)		-0.219* (0.120)		-0.189* (0.101)		-0.195* (0.100)
Observations	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.8. Weighted Ordinal Logistic Models of Racial Composition of Present Neighborhood

VARIABLES	(Model 1) Skin Tone	(Model 2) Age & Gender	(Model 3) All SES	(Model 4) Region	(Model 5) Discrimination
Skin Tone	0.056 (0.066)	0.067 (0.064)	0.091 (0.068)	0.088 (0.069)	0.026 (0.066)
Age		0.002 (0.005)	0.005 (0.005)	0.006 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.006)
Male		-0.203* (0.112)	-0.119 (0.115)	-0.078 (0.115)	-0.047 (0.117)
Education			-0.125* (0.065)	-0.058 (0.066)	-0.069 (0.069)
HH Income			-0.084*** (0.022)	-0.089*** (0.023)	-0.086*** (0.021)
Unemployed			0.336* (0.180)	0.418** (0.190)	0.389** (0.186)
Not in Labor Force			0.094 (0.121)	0.132 (0.126)	0.269** (0.118)
Divorced			-0.054 (0.142)	-0.070 (0.147)	-0.054 (0.144)
Never Married			0.101 (0.151)	0.133 (0.142)	0.097 (0.145)
Northeast				0.172 (0.175)	0.407*** (0.150)
West				-1.314*** (0.268)	-1.052*** (0.303)
Midwest				0.233 (0.269)	0.390 (0.289)
Child NH Black					0.722*** (0.086)
White Skin Tone Discrimination					-0.029 (0.052)
Black Skin Tone Discrimination					0.011 (0.050)
Major Discrimination					0.019 (0.032)
Observations	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.9. Weighted Ordinal Logit (3 Categories) Effects of Skin Tone on Racial Composition of Present Neighborhood

VARIABLES	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Brown Skin Tone	0.227 (0.137)	0.221 (0.135)	0.269** (0.138)	0.240** (0.131)	0.167 (0.122)
Black Skin Tone	0.110 (0.170)	0.130 (0.164)	0.211 (0.168)	0.200 (0.169)	0.071 (0.161)
Age		0.002 (0.005)	0.005 (0.006)	0.006 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.006)
Male		-0.183 (0.110)	-0.101 (0.113)	-0.064 (0.113)	-0.025 (0.115)
Education			-0.129* (0.066)	-0.062 (0.067)	-0.073 (0.069)
HH Income			-0.083*** (0.021)	-0.089*** (0.023)	-0.086*** (0.021)
Unemployed			0.336* (0.178)	0.418** (0.188)	0.393** (0.185)
Not in Labor Force			0.085 (0.120)	0.125 (0.125)	0.270** (0.119)
Divorced			-0.052 (0.142)	-0.068 (0.147)	-0.047 (0.143)
Never Married			0.098 (0.150)	0.130 (0.141)	0.108 (0.143)
Northeast				0.171 (0.178)	0.408*** (0.151)
West				-1.309*** (0.274)	-1.039*** (0.304)
Midwest				0.226 (0.268)	0.392 (0.286)
Child NH Black					0.722*** (0.087)
White ST Discrimination					-0.021 (0.052)
Black ST Discrimination					0.025 (0.049)
Major Discrimination					0.030 (0.032)
Everyday Discrimination					-0.098 (0.075)
Observations	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.10. Ordinal Logistic Models of Seriousness of Drugs Sales and Use in Neighborhood

VARIABLES	(Model 1) Skin Tone	(Model 2) All SES	(Model 3) NH Black	(Model 4) Resources	(Model 5) Region
Skin Tone	0.149*** (0.046)	0.187*** (0.053)	0.195*** (0.051)	0.172*** (0.054)	0.167*** (0.055)
Age		-0.003 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)	0.003 (0.005)	0.000 (0.005)
Male		-0.067 (0.099)	-0.081 (0.103)	-0.068 (0.106)	-0.085 (0.104)
Education		-0.043 (0.065)	-0.023 (0.062)	-0.072 (0.067)	-0.107 (0.067)
HH Income		-0.061*** (0.021)	-0.047** (0.020)	-0.038* (0.020)	-0.043** (0.020)
Unemployed		0.178 (0.185)	0.099 (0.185)	0.105 (0.183)	0.045 (0.175)
Not in Labor Force		0.166 (0.129)	0.105 (0.143)	0.159 (0.136)	0.131 (0.140)
Divorced		0.424*** (0.136)	0.419*** (0.140)	0.401*** (0.143)	0.385*** (0.138)
Never Married		0.183 (0.114)	0.164 (0.120)	0.227* (0.124)	0.170 (0.130)
Child NH Black			-0.179** (0.067)	-0.146** (0.067)	-0.089 (0.069)
Present NH Black			0.485*** (0.069)	0.490*** (0.067)	0.480*** (0.060)
Collective Efficacy				-0.531*** (0.075)	-0.487*** (0.077)
Have Clubs				0.537*** (0.121)	0.426*** (0.106)
Facilities				0.060 (0.044)	0.018 (0.042)
Midwest					0.699** (0.278)
Northeast					0.653*** (0.169)
West					0.821** (0.369)
Observations	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

4.11. Ordinal Logistic Models of Frequency of Crime in Neighborhood

VARIABLES	(Model 1) Skin Tone	(Model 2) All SES	(Model 3) NH Black	(Model 4) Resources	(Model 5) Region
Skin Tone	0.065 (0.058)	0.089 (0.059)	0.091 (0.058)	0.070 (0.057)	0.065 (0.059)
Age		-0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)	0.004 (0.005)	0.001 (0.005)
Male		0.055 (0.110)	0.054 (0.116)	0.065 (0.117)	0.071 (0.118)
Education		0.026 (0.064)	0.040 (0.064)	0.003 (0.064)	-0.019 (0.062)
HH Income		-0.055** (0.026)	-0.042* (0.024)	-0.032 (0.024)	-0.040* (0.023)
Unemployed		0.247 (0.210)	0.189 (0.216)	0.160 (0.191)	0.131 (0.203)
Not in Labor Force		0.115 (0.155)	0.070 (0.158)	0.126 (0.134)	0.099 (0.138)
Divorced		0.328** (0.138)	0.342** (0.138)	0.297** (0.143)	0.279** (0.128)
Never Married		0.209 (0.147)	0.196 (0.147)	0.277* (0.151)	0.229 (0.153)
Child NH Black			-0.086 (0.060)	-0.054 (0.058)	0.001 (0.059)
Present NH Black			0.330*** (0.053)	0.354*** (0.051)	0.332*** (0.056)
Collective Efficacy				-0.651*** (0.067)	-0.612*** (0.067)
Have Clubs				0.429*** (0.104)	0.302*** (0.095)
Facilities				0.156*** (0.044)	0.109** (0.043)
Midwest					0.687*** (0.192)
Northeast					0.809*** (0.127)
West					0.693* (0.355)
Observations	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006	2,006

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.12. Full OLS Regression Models for Sum of Neighborhood Facilities

VARIABLES	(Model 1) Skin Tone	(Model 2) All SES	(Model 3) NH Black
Skin Tone	-0.005 (0.037)	-0.006 (0.037)	-0.005 (0.037)
Age		-0.007** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.003)
Male		0.050 (0.063)	0.015 (0.067)
Education		0.136*** (0.049)	0.082* (0.048)
HH Income		0.035** (0.016)	0.023 (0.014)
Unemployed		0.104 (0.128)	0.073 (0.121)
Not in Labor Force		0.067 (0.112)	0.025 (0.102)
Divorced		0.032 (0.080)	-0.008 (0.082)
Never Married		-0.056 (0.102)	-0.078 (0.086)
Northeast			0.525*** (0.087)
West			0.618*** (0.115)
Midwest			0.468*** (0.103)
Child NH Black			-0.014 (0.034)
Present NH Black			-0.123*** (0.040)
Constant	2.894*** (0.124)	2.636*** (0.226)	3.145*** (0.318)
Observations	2,006	2,006	2,006
R-squared	0.000	0.031	0.086

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.13. Full OLS Regression Models for Sum of Home Problems

VARIABLES	(Model 1)	(Model 2)	(Model 3)
	Skin Tone	All SES	NH Black
Skin Tone	0.026 (0.036)	0.058** (0.032)	0.051 (0.034)
Age		-0.006* (0.003)	-0.007** (0.003)
Male		-0.214*** (0.077)	-0.215*** (0.077)
Education		-0.101*** (0.036)	-0.115*** (0.038)
HH Income		-0.053*** (0.019)	-0.051*** (0.018)
Unemployed		0.185 (0.116)	0.142 (0.113)
Not in Labor Force		-0.112 (0.082)	-0.138* (0.078)
Divorced		0.013 (0.093)	0.012 (0.093)
Never Married		-0.126 (0.115)	-0.138 (0.113)
Northeast			0.176 (0.113)
West			0.349*** (0.116)
Midwest			0.269** (0.108)
Child NH Black			-0.005 (0.034)
Present NH Black			0.089** (0.037)
Constant	0.767*** (0.116)	1.605*** (0.213)	1.279*** (0.243)
Observations	2,006	2,006	2,006
R-squared	0.000	0.059	0.075

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.14. Weighted Summary of Descriptive Statistics
for Add Health (N = 1,950)

Variable	Mean (SE)	SD	Range
Skin Tone	3.67 (.05)	1.04	1 - 5
White	.01		
Light Brown	.13		
Brown	.30		
Dark Brown	.29		
Black	.27		
Neighborhood Characteristics			
Concerned for Safety	1.67 (.05)	.75	1 - 5
Home Problems	.12	.32	0 - 1
Interviewer Characteristics			
Female	.87		0 - 1
White	.57		0 - 1
Black	.40		0 - 1
Demographic Controls			
Male	.45		0 - 1
Age	28.04 (.19)	1.87	24 - 33
Education	5.28 (.17)	5.69	1 - 13
Household Income	6.69 (.16)	3.07	1 - 12
Urban	.37		0 - 1
Rural	.15		0 - 1
Suburban	.42		0 - 1
Commercial	.05		0 - 1

Table 4.15. Logit Models of Home Problems for Add Health (N = 1,950)

VARIABLES	(Model 1) Skin Tone	(Model 2) Income	(Model 3) All SES	(Model 4) Interviewer	(Model 5) NH Type
Skin Tone	0.136 (0.100)	0.111 (0.102)	0.092 (0.102)	0.112 (0.106)	0.098 (0.106)
HH Income		-0.109*** (0.037)	-0.067 (0.046)	-0.081** (0.039)	-0.086** (0.035)
Age			0.019 (0.056)	0.023 (0.054)	0.025 (0.053)
Male			-0.139 (0.215)	-0.108 (0.223)	-0.116 (0.231)
Education			-0.158** (0.074)	-0.143** (0.059)	-0.116** (0.055)
White Interviewer				0.450** (0.209)	0.427** (0.206)
Female Interviewer				-0.553 (0.425)	-0.436 (0.364)
Rural					0.417 (0.322)
Suburban					-0.613** (0.302)
Commercial					-0.381 (0.400)
Constant	-2.478*** (0.408)	-1.703*** (0.429)	-1.588 (1.533)	-1.593 (1.506)	-1.615 (1.586)
Observations	1,950	1,950	1,950	1,950	1,950

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4.16. Ordinal Logistic Models of Safety Concern for Add Health (N = 1,950)

VARIABLES	(Model 1) Skin Tone	(Model 2) Income	(Model 3) All SES	(Model 4) Interviewer	(Model 5) NH Type
Skin Tone	0.046 (0.067)	0.013 (0.064)	0.007 (0.062)	0.037 (0.063)	0.024 (0.061)
HH Income		-0.146*** (0.030)	-0.122*** (0.035)	-0.123*** (0.034)	-0.116*** (0.034)
Age			-0.033 (0.059)	-0.030 (0.054)	-0.020 (0.051)
Male			-0.155 (0.117)	-0.157 (0.107)	-0.164 (0.110)
Education			-0.077* (0.044)	-0.102*** (0.035)	-0.120*** (0.035)
White Interviewer				0.528** (0.207)	0.650*** (0.184)
Female Interviewer				1.204*** (0.383)	1.054*** (0.304)
Rural					-1.319*** (0.361)
Suburban					-0.712*** (0.178)
Commercial					0.076 (0.343)
Observations	1,950	1,950	1,950	1,950	1,950

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

CHAPTER V.

OVERALL RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

How we perceive each other often dictates how we treat each other. The research on colorism has shown that the stigmatizing aspects of skin tone have made it so that darker skinned Blacks are treated as less deserving than their lighter skinned counterparts. However, there is a gap in the current research on skin tone as there is limited or no studies at all that have investigated if skin tone is linked to different types of delinquency for Black youth and a variety of neighborhood outcomes for Black adults. Therefore, this investigation examined if darker skinned Blacks fared worse in regard to their engagement in delinquent activity and exposure to disadvantaged neighborhoods, both of which have not been examined using skin tone as a motivating factor.

The purpose of this project was to explore the relationship between skin tone and different life outcomes for a sample of Black adolescents and a sample of Black adults in two separate studies. While both studies examined the operation of skin tone as a source of discrimination, each also addressed several different research questions unique to that particular sample of Black adolescents or adults. In this section, I discuss the main hypotheses for each study and the major findings for each question. Following the discussion of the study's key findings, I address the limitations and implications for both studies. Finally, I conclude this chapter with my final thoughts on the impact of skin tone for Blacks, both during adolescence and later in life.

Relationship Between Skin Tone, Strain, Psychological Well-being, and Delinquency

In the present study (study 1), there were three main hypotheses formulated within the framework of Agnew's (1992) general strain theory and based on skin tone and discrimination. The first hypothesis was that a positive relationship would exist between the skin tone of Black adolescents and their reported feelings of strain. More specifically, I predicted that darker skinned Black adolescents would be more likely to self-report feelings of strain at school, strain in their general social environments, depression, and perception of prejudiced peers.

This hypothesis was partially verified because contrary to my hypothesis, I found no linear effects of skin tone on any of the four types of strain. There were, however, significant relationships between Black adolescents with "brown skin" and the "darkest skin" tones and their feelings of depression, social strain, and perception of prejudiced peers. Specifically, brown skinned Black adolescent males and the darkest skinned Black adolescent males experience a decrease in their level of depression and an increase in not feeling loved, wanted, and not feeling liked or treated friendly by others, respectively, compared to their white and light brown counterparts. These relationships remain significant even when taking into account all other demographic factors and sources of social support. It does appear, however, that the relationship between skin tone and social strain for the Black males with the darkest skin tones is in part conditioned by their higher feelings of school closeness and mother's support as these are both factors that significantly decrease their feelings of social strain. Although the finding that brown skinned Black adolescent males experience a decrease in depression is contrary to my hypothesis, this finding may lend

support to the research on skin color and other mental health factors that have found positive relationships between darker skin tones and the self-esteem ratings of Black males. These findings also suggest future investigations of skin tone and mental health (i.e. depression and stress) need to include samples of Black males in their analysis as this group is rarely included in these studies and the attention is often given to the mental health experiences of darker skinned Black women who are often considered more disadvantaged than darker skinned Black men. As expected and consistent with research on skin tone, brown skinned Black adolescent females experience an increase in depression when compared to their “white” and “light brown” counterparts. However, the significant effect of skin tone disappears once I control for demographic variables, which may suggest that an increase in age or parent’s education for example, is more indicative of one’s coping level with depression than skin color alone.

Additionally, many of the findings are consistent with other studies of General Strain Theory showing the positive impact of family resources on different types of strain. As I expected, school closeness, family support, and mother’s support all significantly decrease the overall sample’s (and subsample of Black females’) reported level of school strain, social strain, and depression. Similarly, as Black adolescents’ feelings of closeness to their school increases, the odds of perceiving their peers as prejudiced also decreases. Additionally, adolescents whose parent receives public assistance experience an increase in their reported level of school strain only. This finding is somewhat surprising being that past research would suggest that receiving public assistance is indicative of financial or economic hardship and therefore should have a positive effect on the strain experienced in the home environment as well.

The Effects of Skin Tone on Psychological Well-being

The second hypothesis was that darker skinned Black adolescents would be more likely to self-report low levels of psychological well-being than their lighter skinned counterparts. More specifically, I hypothesized that darker skinned Black adolescents would self-report lower levels of, efficacy of hard work, and optimism. This hypothesis was partially verified. While I found no significant relationship between skin darkness and levels of self-efficacy or optimism, I do find evidence of a relationship between skin tone and self-esteem for the total sample of Black adolescents and Black female adolescents. Additionally, because research has suggested that darker skinned Black women have historically been seen as less attractive and report lower feelings of self-worth, I also predicted that darker skinned adolescent girls especially would be more likely to report lower levels of self-esteem, self-efficacy, and optimism than their lighter skinned counterparts, and that this relationship will be weaker for adolescent boys. I found no support for this hypothesis and contrary to expectation, results show that an increase in skin tone is actually associated with an increase in self-esteem for Black female adolescents, and I found no evidence at all that skin tone is related to the self-esteem of Black adolescent males.

I am somewhat surprised by the positive effect of skin tone for Black female adolescents as this finding is somewhat inconsistent with past research that finds that darker skinned Black women report lower levels of self-esteem compared to their lighter skinned counterparts (e.g. Wade, 1996; Thompson and Keith, 2001). Thompson and Keith (2001) for example, also examined the impact of skin tone on

self-esteem for a sample of Black adults and found that lighter skinned women reported higher levels of self-esteem. than their darker skinned counterparts. They also found that skin tone was not related to self-esteem for men, but it was related to their feelings of self-efficacy.

However, researchers have also argued that the effect of skin tone on self-esteem (and other variables of well-being) may operate differently in varying sociocultural contexts (e.g. Black college vs. White college) (Coard et al., 2001; Harvey et al., 2005). The effects of skin tone are also more or less pronounced in these different settings for Blacks as they get older because they are more aware of the societal messages regarding skin tone and perceived attractiveness for example, and therefore internalize those messages as either positive or negative and as result have higher or lower levels of well-being. This could possibly explain why I find no relationship between skin tone and self-efficacy and skin tone and optimism. Most studies of skin tone and self-esteem and/or self-efficacy examine the relationships between these factors in reference to their association with the respondent's perceived level of attractiveness. The current study did not control for the social environment (e.g. majority Black or White) or the physical attractiveness of the respondent. It is possible that skin tone means more for the self-efficacy and optimism of young adults in college or those college-age rather than adolescents who are probably less concerned with how their physical appearance may impact their ability to get a job or hopefulness for future endeavors.

Similar to these studies, results also show a slight decrease in the effect size of skin tone for the overall sample of Black adolescent's self-esteem when

demographic variables are added, which may suggest that skin tone effects are in part mediated by factors of SES. As I expected, an increase in school closeness, family support, and mother's support all have a significant positive effect on one's level of self-esteem for all three samples of Black adolescents. This means that having more positive relationships inside and outside of the school environment, as well as with one's mother in particular, significantly increases the level of self-esteem reported by Black adolescents.

While the current study is not the first to examine the effects of skin tone on self-esteem and self-efficacy, it is to my knowledge the first study to examine if skin tone is related to optimism for Black adolescents. The mixed findings for self-esteem and null findings for self-efficacy and optimism may be related to the present study's conceptualization of self-efficacy and optimism. It may be that feelings of hopefulness for the future or feeling that you get what you want because of your work as used here may not capture the intricacies of skin tone that affect Black adolescents. Therefore, shifting the conceptualization of the concept of well-being may yield different results. As previously mentioned, effect of skin tone may change depending on the context and their relationship to physical attractiveness. Thus, expanding the measures of optimism to include how hopeful the respondent feels about getting good grades or finding more friends at school for example, may provide findings that support the current hypotheses as these are measures that are important to young people and relevant to their school-age environment. More importantly, all of these factors with varying measures have been linked to adolescent delinquency.

The Effects of Skin Tone on Delinquency

The third hypothesis was that darker skinned adolescents would be more likely to engage in delinquent activity, and this relationship would be explained by their higher levels of strain and lower lower levels of well-being. Specifically, I hypothesized that darker skinned adolescents would be more likely to report having been suspended from school, engaged in violence with a weapon, and overall general delinquency (e.g. having shoplifted, damaged someone's property, or participated in a physical fight), and that this relationship would be explained by their higher levels of strain, attachment to groups, and lower levels of psychological well-being. This hypothesis was also only partially verified. Consistent with my prediction, analysis of the sample of Black adolescents revealed that skin tone was indeed related to weapon violence and school suspension, but not general acts of delinquency. However, the impact of strain was not as I predicted in relation to skin tone and delinquency, but I did find some evidence in support of strain theory, more specifically in reference to the connection between school strain and suspension as well as depression and weapon violence.

The major findings from part three of this study are as follows: First, results show that the direct effect of skin tone is statistically significant only for the overall sample and marginally significant for the Black female sample of Black adolescents. More specifically, the odds of engaging in weapon violence increase by almost 24% for Black adolescents for every one increment change in skin tone from light to dark (1=white, 5=black). The effect of skin tone remains statistically significant for the overall sample and marginally significant for the Black female sample of Black

adolescents even after taking into account multiple factors of strain, psychological well-being (i.e. coping factors), prior delinquency and other important sociodemographic factors that have been found to significantly affect Black adolescents' engagement in delinquent activity. Specifically, I find that Black adolescents continue to experience a 24% increase in the odds of weapon violence for every one increment change in skin tone from light to dark. Despite the confirmation of my hypothesis, this finding is not surprising since we now know that skin tone (measured as a linear relationship) was not related to most of the strain and psychological well-being variables in part one of this study. Prior delinquency remains a significant predictor of engaging in weapon violence for Black adolescents, which tells us that, whether or not the respondent participated in delinquent activity in the past year has a significant effect on the likelihood of engaging in weapon violence.

Second, results show that skin tone is also directly related to Black female adolescent's odds of being suspended from school. Specifically, Black female adolescents experience a 24% increase in the odds of being suspended for every one-increment change in skin tone. These findings are consistent with Hannon and colleagues (2013) study of skin tone and school suspension, which showed significant effects of skin tone for the female subpopulation only using Add Health data. More importantly, the effect of skin tone on odds of suspension remains positive and significant even after controlling for strain, psychological well-being, and the current behavior for the subsample of Black female adolescents.

How do these findings support my theoretical argument regarding the propositions of General Strain Theory and the effects of skin tone bias on delinquency? First, I do find some evidence that certain types of strain increase delinquency for Black adolescents. For example, Black adolescents experience a 24% increase in the odds of engaging in weapon violence as their reported level of depression increases. There is also a strong positive significant effect of school strain in the model predicting school suspension for Black adolescent females, which would indicate that a negative school climate is associated with greater odds of being suspended from school. Neither of these strains drastically changed the effect that skin tone has on weapon violence, which leads me to the next important point.

Agnew's GST would assert that Blacks are more likely to engage in delinquent activity because of their disproportionate experiences of strain, especially when the strain is perceived as unjust, such as experiences of discrimination. Additionally, Kaufman and colleagues (2008) further argue that compared to Whites, Blacks are disproportionately exposed to different types of strains and stressful situations that include negative relations with teachers, racial discrimination, and prejudice. This study finds that skin tone directly affects the odds of weapon violence and school suspensions, which suggest that skin tone may be operating as an additional source of strain for Black adolescents. However, the impact of skin tone as a source of discrimination may operate differently for males and females, which leads me to my next point regarding the impact of the dark "dangerous criminal" stereotype that I hypothesized would lead to delinquency for Black adolescents.

Consistent with other research on delinquency and research on school discipline and sanctioning practices, the current descriptive results also show that a higher proportion of Black adolescent males are reporting engaging in delinquent activity. More specifically, I find that about twice the number of Black males report having been suspended and engaging in weapon violence compared to their Black female counterparts. More recently however, research on Black girls have found that they are also being overrepresented in disciplinary infraction and sanctioning practices compared to their White and Latina female counterparts (e.g. Blake et al., 2011; Morris, 2007). Although the reason for these findings is not definitive, researchers widely recognize that teachers are more likely to perceive or misinterpret the behavior of Black youth as threatening, hostile or “disrespectful” (Mendez et al., 2003; Skiba et al., 2002), especially for Black adolescent males. However, it appears as if skin tone may not be impacting these perceptions as much for Black adolescent males. On the other hand, results suggest that skin tone may matter more for Black adolescent females than males, especially in the school environment, and the added stigma of dark skin may be impacting their likelihood of being suspended.

To reiterate, I controlled for the current delinquent behavior rather than prior delinquent behavior in the school suspension models to reduce the possibility that any impact that a student’s current behavior may have on a school official’s decision to suspend that individual. It is important then to note that the current study finds that the effect of skin tone on being suspended is basically unchanged for the subsample of female adolescents although there is also still a strong positive

significant effect of school strain and current delinquent behavior in the model. Therefore, the lack of a major change in effect size once current delinquency is introduced in the model suggests that irrespective of one's current deviant behavior at the time of sanctioning, skin tone remains a significant factor in predicting the odds of being suspended for Black adolescent females. More specifically, this finding suggests that Black adolescent females are being penalized by teachers for having darker skin.

I further suspect that the delinquency effects found for the female sample may be the result of a combination of the "good girl/bad girl" theory proposed by Jones (2010) and the "loud" and "unlady like" perspective offered in the work by Morris (2007). By this I mean, Black female adolescents already have the added stigma of being "loud and assertive" or not acting like "ladies" (e.g. Morris, 2007), which often results in more disciplinary referrals and ultimately school suspensions or expulsions for what appear to be minor offenses. This in conjunction with others expectations that darker skinned Black girls should fight and be aggressive when faced with confrontation (Jones, 2010) make skin tone an even more salient feature and source of strain for darker skinned Black girls in the school setting as they are probably encouraged to fight and be more violent than their lighter skinned counterparts. Based on these findings, I would also recommend what Hannon and Bruch (2013) have argued, "that in order to understand how skin tone may affect suspension, it is necessary to take an intersectional approach that distinguishes between the experience of young African American males and females" (p. 282). This recommendation is especially important since some scholars have suggested

that darker skinned Black women experience “triple jeopardy,” whereby they experience multiple levels of oppression due to their status as: 1) a Black minority 2) a woman 3) and having darker skin. These findings do not mean however, that skin tone and/or the negative criminal stereotype don't affect the discrimination experienced by darker skinned Black males in school. It is possible that race (being Black alone) may be the more salient feature impacting a teacher's decision to suspend Black males, as Black males in general are also deemed more criminal and threatening, and their darker skin is of secondary importance to their race.

Furthermore, I find no evidence to support Agnew's proposition that factors of coping and social control serve as important mediators between the strain and criminal behavior of adolescents when youth find themselves faced with limited resources for which they can turn to for support or an outlet to redirect their feelings of strain (Agnew, 2002). More specifically, I found no significant effects for any of the psychological well-being variables, and involvement in school activities was the only social control variable that showed significance. Specifically, results show that being involved in more school activities decreases involvement in weapon violence by 12%, for the overall sample of Black adolescents and 18% for the female subsample of Black adolescents. However, being involved in activities did not impact on the effect of skin tone on weapon violence.

The lack of significance regarding these specific variables may be due to me excluding a measure of “negative emotion” in the current study for which GST proposes acts as a mediating variable between strain and delinquency. Therefore, I may have failed to incorporate the actual variable needed to test whether the impact

of strain is lessened once factors such as self-esteem and family attachment are included. Failing to include this variable may also explain why depression is the only factor of strain that remained significant in the models predicting weapon violence. While anger is often used as the mediating variable between strain and delinquency, the current finding may lend support to studies of GST that have utilized measures of depression as a mediating negative emotion. However, GST would suggest the use of anger in an analysis of strain and weapon violence as these are behaviors and activities that tap into an individual's aggressive or more serious types of delinquency. Weapon violence is also somewhat qualitatively different than general delinquency or a minor infraction that may result in a school suspension, although weapon violence can occur at school.

The Relationship Between Skin Tone, Perceived Discrimination, and Perceptions of Neighborhood Outcomes

My overall goal with the second study was to investigate the relationship between skin tone and racial segregation. While the current study is one of the first to examine whether darker skinned Blacks are more likely to live in majority Black neighborhoods, it is also the first to test if darker skinned Blacks perceive their residential environment to be less safe and of lower quality than the neighborhoods of their lighter skinned counterparts, controlling for differences in income.

In the present study (study 2), there were four main hypotheses. The first hypothesis was that a positive relationship would exist between the skin tone of Black adults and experiences of interracial and intraracial skin tone bias. More specifically, I hypothesized that darker skinned Blacks would report more experiences of *major* and *everyday* discrimination and *skin tone* discrimination than

their lighter skinned counterparts. This hypothesis was verified however results show that the direct effect of skin tone is statistically significant in the expected direction for skin tone discrimination from Whites and on the number of different types of *major* experiences of discrimination. Contrary to the findings in Keith et. al's (2009) study which also used the NSAL, I did find a significant relationship between skin complexion and discrimination. However, I found no direct effect of skin tone on experiences of skin tone discrimination from other Blacks, although Hersch (2006) did find that lighter skinned Blacks reported somewhat better treatment from Blacks and the positive relationship between skin tone and *everyday* types of discrimination is only marginally significant.

Skin tone continues to remain non-significant for experiences of skin tone discrimination from other Blacks across all five models, which suggests that skin tone may matter more during encounters with non-Blacks than it does for encounters with other Blacks. It is also possible that the context in which the discrimination was experienced becomes a key factor in whether or not the Black respondent perceives a situation as unfair or bias. For example, the current study finds that an increase in the proportion of Blacks in one's childhood neighborhood significantly decreases the perception of frequent exposure to skin tone discrimination from Blacks, which suggests that skin tone may become less salient in everyday experiences for Blacks who grew up in a majority Black neighborhood or had frequent encounters with Blacks in their everyday life.

The current findings regarding the direct effect of skin tone show that there is a .19 increase in the odds of more often experiencing skin tone discrimination from

Whites for every one shade darker of skin tone. Findings also suggest that compared to respondents with the lightest skin shade, “very dark brown” respondents experience almost one additional type of major discrimination. Again, this is very meaningful considering the types of discrimination being measured involve experiences with a significant impact on your life, such as being denied a bank loan or unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood by a realtor. It appears as if everyday types of discrimination are conditioned by age and gender as the effect of skin tone becomes significant once these variables are introduced into the model. Interestingly however, the effect of skin tone disappears for major discrimination, owing largely to the influence of education, being unemployed or not in the labor force, and divorced status and the effect remains non-significant once controls for region of residence and racial makeup of neighborhoods. Whereas, it appears as if experiencing skin tone discrimination from Whites and everyday types of discrimination is significantly increased for Blacks who reside in the western region of the U.S. compared to those who reside in the South. Respondents who live in the West or Midwest regions also reported experiencing more major types of discrimination compared to Blacks who reside in the South. More importantly, above and beyond all physical and social characteristics, neighborhood and region, skin tone remains a significant predictor for Blacks’ experiences of skin tone discrimination from Whites and everyday types of discrimination.

The Effects of Skin Tone on Perceived Racial Makeup of Neighborhoods

The second hypothesis was that darker skinned Blacks would be more likely to reside in neighborhoods with high concentrations of Blacks compared to their

lighter skinned counterparts and this relationship would be explained by the positive effects of interracial skin tone bias. This hypothesis was only partially verified as no significant linear skin tone effects were found for the total sample of Black adults. Results do show however, that Blacks with medium brown skin tones experience a .27 and .24 increase in their odds of perceiving a higher presence of Blacks in their present neighborhood, controlling for socioeconomic status and region of residence, compared to their very light and light brown counterparts. The significance of the Non-linear effect does however disappear once discrimination is introduced, which suggests a few things about the role of “medium brown” skin tone in these models. First, the effect is not significant in models 1 and 2. This could suggest that skin tone alone as a visible feature to landlords (or realtors, etc.) does not predict perceptions of neighborhood racial composition and may be conditioned by other factors. Second, the disappearance of effects once past neighborhood composition is added in model 4 suggest that the racial composition of the neighborhood one grew up in as a child childhood may also be related to both skin tone and the perceived racial composition of their present neighborhood.

Although no major skin tone effects were found for the racial makeup of the respondent’s present neighborhood, much can be gained from the findings regarding the demographic controls. As I expected, household income, being unemployed or not in the labor force, and region all show significant relationships with the respondent’s current neighborhood racial composition. More specifically, as household income increases, the odds of residing in an “all black” neighborhood versus a neighborhood comprised of “mostly blacks to almost all whites” decreases.

Living in the western region of the U.S. also significantly decreases the odds that Blacks will reside in an “all Black” neighborhood compared to living in the south. While being unemployed significantly increases the odds of living in an “all Black” neighborhood compared to one with “mostly blacks to almost all whites,” having grown up in a majority Black neighborhood actually doubles the respondent’s odds of living in an “all Black” neighborhood. While the data did not allow me to assess how they came to live in their current neighborhood, the increased odds of living in a majority Black neighborhood could simply be the result of respondent's self-selecting or choosing to live in a neighborhood or environment that they are more comfortable with because of their past experiences or exposure to same-race environments. On the other hand, individuals who grow up in highly segregated neighborhoods have a higher probability of being steered into similar neighborhoods by landlords and realtors.

I am also surprised by the non-significance of the discrimination variables in the final model of the sequence, especially the major and everyday types of discrimination variables. Notable studies on the racial segregation of Blacks and other minorities (e.g. Massey and Denton, 1993) have linked the restricted access of Blacks to more racially diverse neighborhoods to the deliberate discriminatory practices of landlords and realtors in certain communities. However, what these findings may suggest is that other factors such as race or household income have a larger impact on the likelihood of Blacks living in racially segregated neighborhoods.

The Effects of Skin Tone on Perceived Neighborhood Condition and Resources

Hypothesis three and four are both concerned with the actual social and physical conditions of the respondent's current neighborhood, as perceived by the respondent. More specifically, I hypothesized that darker skinned Blacks would more likely to report serious drug and crime problems in their neighborhoods, and be more likely to reside in neighborhoods with deteriorating houses and fewer amenities than their lighter skinned counterparts. I found no significant relationship between skin darkness and frequency of crime in the respondent's neighborhood. Results suggests however that darker skinned Blacks may be more likely to live in neighborhoods perceived as having a more serious problem with the selling and use of drugs. More specifically, I found that for every one unit increase in the darkness of the respondent's skin tone, the log odds of perceiving the selling and use of drugs in one's neighborhood as more serious increase by .14. This effect for the most part remained unchanged (.16) even after controlling for demographic and neighborhood characteristics, including region and collective efficacy, both important characteristics that have been shown to affect resident's perception of crime and/or neighborhood disorder.

As one would expect, an increase in the proportion of Blacks in one's neighborhood increases the odds of Blacks living in a neighborhood with higher crime and drug use, and having trust in one's neighbors significantly decreases the odds. Household income remained a significant predictor alongside one's divorce status and the presence of trustworthy neighbors and neighborhood clubs and associations in the expected directions. Unexpected, however, is the significant and large positive effect that the presence of neighborhood clubs and associations and resource facilities (e.g.

playground or medical clinic) has on perceptions of crime and drug use in one's neighborhood. One would expect to see the exact opposite effect for neighborhood social support and resources, however, these data do not allow me to test the availability, condition, and structure of these neighborhood resources as these factors can impact how useful or effective such resources are to community members. It is also possible that the implementation of these clubs and organizations came as a result or a response to problems already present in the neighborhood. The large significant effect that having clubs and facilities in one's neighborhood has on the respondent's' perception of crime could also indicate that such resources are needed in order to fix or control problems with drugs and crime in neighborhoods.

Finally, I also made an extra effort to test the results of the neighborhood outcomes using a different set of measures in Add Health to see if the findings from the NSAL were robust. Overall, findings from the Add Health data were similar to the findings from the NSAL sample for both the home problems and the perception of safety outcomes. Findings suggest that skin tone is not a significant predictor of the likelihood of either of the neighborhood outcomes. However, similar to results found for the NSAL sample, household income is a very strong predictor of having visible physical problems with the outside condition of the respondent's residence as well as how concerned the interviewer felt about his/her safety in the respondent's neighborhood.

The additional variables related to the characteristics of the interviewer in the Add Health data did reveal some interesting findings and provide useful information regarding the interviewer's perceptions of the neighborhood outcomes. For example, being a White or a female interviewer had a positive and significantly large effect on how many

problems they perceived were visible with the respondent's home and how concerned the interviewer felt for their safety in the respondent's neighborhood. Compared to Black and other race interviewers, White interviewers perceived about .45 more problems with the outside of the respondent's home. When looking at the concern for their safety, I found that compared to their Black counterparts, White interviewers report a .65 increase in their concern for safety and compared to male interviewers, female interviewers report a 1.20 increase in the odds of feeling concerned about their safety very safe to very unsafe. Again, these findings are interesting but not surprising as past studies of perceived "neighborhood disorder" (e.g. vacant houses; burned-out, boarded-up, or burned-out, boarded-up or abandoned houses; badly deteriorated residential units) found that females tend to perceive more disorder in a given neighborhood than males, and Whites also tend to perceive more disorder than Blacks (Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004) when asked to rate disorder in the same neighborhood.

Limitations

Although the current studies offer several strengths and extensions from prior work, there are data and theoretical limitations that should be noted, beginning with the main variable of interest, skin tone. As noted earlier, I found a very noticeable difference between the two distributions of skin tone values represented in each set of data. Specifically, descriptive findings show a significantly smaller proportion of Blacks reported having "very dark brown" skin (.06) in the NSAL sample and a much larger proportion of respondents who were perceived as having "Black" skin (.27) in the Add Health sample. It is possible that there were very few respondents in the NSAL sample who perceived themselves as having "very dark brown" skin, or it is also possible that the

observers in the Add Health sample classified individuals as “black” (very dark) who would have classified themselves as lighter. As it is suggested by Anthony et al. (1992) the interviewers could have “own-race bias,” where the racial classification of others not of our own race is more difficult and viewed in more extreme terms compared to those who are of our own race or ethnic group. For example, a White interviewer will often report the skin complexion of African Americans substantially darker than would African American interviewers (Hill, 2002). Such findings alongside the current descriptive results also lead me to wonder whether the actual wording or description used to label the different skin shades (Black vs. very dark brown) may have influenced how the interviewer (observer) and the respondent interprets the different skin color categories, especially the word “Black.” By this I mean that the word Black can be used to describe both the color of one’s skin and/or their race/group identification. The same can also be argued for the opposite end of the spectrum where the word “white” is used to categorize the lightest skin shade of all respondents, including Whites, in the Add Health data and the words “very light brown” are used as the descriptor of the lightest skin tone in the NSAL data.

The current data are ideal however for examinations of adolescent delinquency. It offers a large sample size with extensive measures of the respondent’s social and psychological wellness and important factors needed to measure both the adolescent’s school and home environment. Another major limitation is the current study’s measure for all three types of delinquent activity; suspension, weapon violence, and general delinquency. Delinquency is measured according to the respondent’s recollection of their involvement in these activities over the past 12 months, which could introduce error in

the data. First, it may be possible that the respondent forgets or hides engaging in certain situations and therefore underreports their actual involvement in delinquent activity. Second, it is also possible that the respondent accounts for “vicarious violence” (Eitle and Turner, 2003) or takes into consideration other situations that they were not an actual participant, such as a fight between a friend and another person, and therefore over report his/her actual involvement in certain delinquent activities. The possibility of such errors should encourage future research to utilize data collected from the respondents as well as data collected from an official source. This would allow for a comparison between the respondent’s answers and the official suspension records of a student taken by their school, for example.

Additionally, the current Add Health data provided a very limited number of variables that could measure perceived discrimination or prejudice, a factor GST suggests is a major source strain for Blacks, especially since Blacks are more likely to come from disadvantaged neighborhoods and communities (e.g. Agnew, 2006; Kaufman, 2008). While the current data did provide a measure of perceived prejudiced peers, future efforts should strive to incorporate contextual level measures, such as the percent of the school that is Black and/or the neighborhood level of percent living below the poverty line, amidst other important individual level sociodemographic factors, such as gender. The racial composition of schools is an important factor to consider in studies of discrimination as Black students often report feelings of exclusion and increased frequency of discrimination in schools highly populated with Whites (e.g. Lewis, 2003; Feagin et al., 1996), whereas students who attend racially integrated or majority Black

schools are more apt to report high levels of self-esteem and school connectedness (e.g. Harvey, 2005; McNeeley et al., 2002).

Implications for Future Research

While the findings on strain are not as expected, the effects found for skin tone regarding the school environment are to be further explored and considered in teaching as the current study and Hannon et al.'s (2013) have shown, that Black students with darker skin tones may be at a higher risk of disciplinary sanctions by their teachers at school. Therefore, McGhee and colleagues (2016) recommend that education programs “prioritize colorism in the preparation of teachers” to increase their awareness of the effects of colorism but also how their own personal beliefs/ideas of colorism may be affecting their teaching and treatment of Black students, Black female students in particular. They even argue that if teacher education programs opt to include the recommended learning opportunities, then there should be a special focus on not only the construction of race, but its depth of training should also include the physical construction of skin tone, hair texture, facial features, and body physique as well.

Additionally, my findings emphasize the importance of not only further investigations of the effect skin tone has on neighborhood outcomes for Blacks, but also future investigations of the effect skin tone, or the darkness of one's skin, has on other significant life stages or social outcomes for Blacks for which they are most often the recipient of negative or disparate treatment. As demonstrated in the literature review, more recent research on criminal justice outcomes has begun to demonstrate the importance of skin tone in such studies as it is very common for Blacks with darker skin to face harsher penalties in the criminal justice system compared to their lighter skinned

counterparts (Eberhardt et al., 2006; Dixon and Maddox, 2005; Viglione et al., 2011; Gyimah-Brempong and Price, 2006; Blair et al., 2004). Findings from the adolescent sample suggest future investigations of criminal justice outcomes should incorporate factors that account for the cumulative effects of strain and psychological well-being as suggested by the life course literature.

One noteworthy attempt by Gyimah-Brempong and Price (2006) test whether darker skin hue increases the probability of an individual engaging in criminal activity over the entire life course (compared to Blacks with a lighter skin hue). They argue that because Blacks with darker skin are afforded fewer legitimate opportunities to make a living, they may find it more acceptable to engage in illegitimate activities. With a sample that consisted of Blacks with varying skin tones (measured with a 6 point scale) who had been convicted of varying offenses, Gyimah-Brempong and Price (2006) find that not only does possessing a darker skin hue significantly increase the probability of an individual's transition into criminal activity, but even after controlling for the type of crime committed, Blacks in Mississippi with a darker skin hue still received longer prison sentences than those with a lighter "skin hue."

I also find it important for future research to examine the possible link between possessing darker skin and the likelihood of incarceration for Black adults. More specifically, if darker skinned Blacks have a higher likelihood of ever experiencing incarceration, and if so, does incarceration occur more frequently and earlier in life compared to their lighter skinned counterparts? To be clear, I would not be interested in testing whether darker skinned Blacks receive harsher treatment in terms of jail or prison sentences. To do so I would have to control for a host of legal factors (e.g. type of crime

and seriousness of offense). Rather my goal would be to test whether the likelihood of experiencing incarceration is greater for darker skinned Blacks, controlling for criminal history, psychological well-being and social bonds, which does allow me to control for other important differences across individuals.

Final Thoughts

While the findings on strain are not as expected, the effects found for skin tone regarding the school environment are to be further explored and considered in teaching as the current study and Hannon et al.'s (2013) have shown, that Black students with darker skin tones may be at a higher risk of disciplinary sanctions by their teachers at school. Therefore, McGhee and colleagues (2016) recommend that education programs “prioritize colorism in the preparation of teachers” to increase their awareness of the effects of colorism but also how their own personal beliefs/ideas of colorism may be affecting their teaching and treatment of Black students, Black female students in particular. They even argue that if teacher education programs opt to include the recommended learning opportunities, then there should be a special focus on not only the construction of race, but its depth of training should also include the physical construction of skin tone, hair texture, facial features, and body physique as well.

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APPENDIX A

Fighting and Violence Questions from In-Home Questionnaire at Wave II

In Section 29 respondents were asked the extent to which they have recently participated in or been victims of physical violence.

All of the questions have the same possible responses:

- 0 - never
- 1 - 1 or 2 times
- 2 - 3 or 4 times
- 3 - 5 or more times

During the past 12 months, how often did each of the following things happen?

1. You saw someone shoot or stab another person.
2. Someone pulled a knife or gun on you.
3. Someone shot you.
4. Someone cut or stabbed you.
5. You were jumped.
6. You pulled a knife or gun on someone.
7. You shot or stabbed someone.
8. drunk alcohol while carrying a weapon, such as a gun, knife, or club?
9. used drugs while carrying a weapon, such as a gun, knife, or club?
10. used a weapon in a fight?
11. carried a weapon at school?
12. During the past 30 days, on how many days did you carry a weapon—such as a gun, knife, or club—to school?
13. During the past 30 days, what one kind of weapon did you carry most often to school?
14. Is a gun easily available to you in your home?

APPENDIX B

Delinquency Scale Questions from In-Home Questionnaire at Wave II

In Section 28 respondents were asked to report their recent delinquent or undesirable behaviors.

All of the questions have the same possible responses:

- 0 - never
- 1 - 1 or 2 times
- 2 - 3 or 4 times
- 3 - 5 or more times

In the past 12 months, how often did you...

1. paint graffiti or signs on someone else's property or in a public place?
2. deliberately damage property that didn't belong to you?
3. lie to your parents or guardians about where you had been or whom you were with?
4. take something from a store without paying for it?
5. run away from home?
6. drive a car without its owner's permission?
7. In the past 12 months, how often did you steal something worth more than \$50?
8. go into a house or building to steal something?
9. use or threaten to use a weapon to get something from someone?
10. sell marijuana or other drugs?
11. steal something worth less than \$50?
12. act loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place?
13. take part in a fight where a group of your friends was against another group?
14. Have you been initiated into a named gang?

APPENDIX C

Delinquency Scale Questions from In-Home Questionnaire at Wave I

In Section 29 respondents were asked to report their recent delinquent or undesirable behaviors.

All of the questions have the same possible responses:

- 0 - never
- 1 - 1 or 2 times
- 2 - 3 or 4 time
- 3 - 5 or more times

1. In the past 12 months, how often did you paint graffiti or signs on someone else's property or in a public place?
2. In the past 12 months, how often did you deliberately damage property that didn't belong to you?
3. In the past 12 months, how often did you lie to your parents or guardians about where you had been or whom you were with?
4. How often did you take something from a store without paying for it?
5. How often did you get into a serious physical fight?
6. How often did you hurt someone badly enough to need bandages or care from a doctor or nurse?
7. How often did you run away from home?
8. How often did you drive a car without its owner's permission?
9. In the past 12 months, how often did you steal something worth more than \$50?
10. How often did you go into a house or building to steal something?
11. How often did you use or threaten to use a weapon to get something from someone?
12. How often did you sell marijuana or other drugs?
13. How often did you steal something worth less than \$50?
14. In the past 12 months, how often did you take part in a fight where a group of your friends was against another group?
15. How often were you loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place

APPENDIX D

Weighed Bivariate Correlations for Add Health (N=2,024)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Skin Tone	1								
2. School Strain	-0.0135	1							
3. Gen. Social Strain	-0.0524*	0.2479*	1						
4. Perceived Prej.	0.0213	0.0412	0.1885*	1					
5. Depression	-0.043	0.2826*	0.4820*	0.1339*	1				
6. Self-esteem	0.1029*	-0.1720*	-0.5482*	-0.1365*	-0.2940*	1			
7. Hopefulness	-0.0144	-0.0930*	-0.0981*	-0.0049	-0.0950*	0.1779*	1		
8. Efficacy of Work	0.0147	-0.1431*	-0.1067*	-0.0177	-0.0432	0.2157*	0.0547*	1	
9. Weapon Violence	0.0772*	0.1440*	0.0399	0.0166	0.1149*	0.0001	-0.0073	-0.0599*	1
10. Suspended	0.035	0.1532*	-0.0126	-0.0109	0.0396	0.017	-0.0598*	-0.0763*	0.2066*
11. General Delinq.	0.0051	0.1904*	0.0237	0.0912*	0.1247*	-0.0014	-0.0052	-0.0913*	0.3860*
12. School Closeness	0.0504*	-0.3082*	-0.3380*	-0.1682*	-0.2454*	0.2704*	0.0926*	0.0795*	-0.0760*
13. Family Support	0.042	-0.2639*	-0.3314*	-0.0245	-0.2874*	0.2866*	0.0373	0.0920*	-0.0824*
14. Mother's Support	0.0470*	-0.1834*	-0.3592*	-0.0576*	-0.2172*	0.3901*	0.0726*	0.2239*	-0.0076
15. Age	-0.0378	0.0097	0.0724*	0.0792*	0.1368*	-0.0548*	-0.0254	0.0435	0.014
16. Male	0.1284*	0.0626*	-0.1317*	-0.0137	-0.1635*	0.1953*	0.0026	0.0262	0.1167*
17. Parent's Educ.	-0.0532*	-0.0074	-0.0782*	-0.0314	-0.0563*	0.0647*	0.1576*	-0.0114	0.0272
18. Public Assistance	0.0457*	0.0646*	0.0504*	-0.0193	0.0595*	-0.0510*	-0.0672*	0.0086	0.0159
19. Sum of Activities	-0.0161	-0.0406	-0.0478*	-0.0477*	-0.0567*	0.0176	0.1186*	0.007	-0.0667*

*Indicates $p < .05$

APPENDIX D Cont.

Weighed Bivariate Correlations for Add Health

	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. Skin Tone										
2. School Strain										
3. Gen. Social Strain										
4. Perceived Prej.										
5. Depression										
6. Self-esteem										
7. Hopefulness										
8. Efficacy of Work										
9. Weapon Violence										
10. Suspended	1									
11. General Delinq.	0.1794*	1								
12. School Closeness	-0.0814*	-0.0515*	1							
13. Family Support	-0.0207	-0.0985*	0.2355*	1						
14. Mother's Support	-0.0208	-0.0487*	0.2156*	0.4325*	1					
15. Age	-0.0771*	-0.0453*	-0.0615*	-0.1435*	-0.1171*	1				
16. Male	0.1654*	0.1182*	0.1085*	0.0817*	0.1077*	0.0666*	1			
17. Parent's Educ.	-0.1081*	0.0829*	0.0067	-0.0009	0.0211	-0.0188	0.0542*	1		
18. Public Assistance	0.0994*	-0.0301	-0.0104	-0.026	0.0287	0.0094	-0.0275	-0.3129*	1	
19. Sum of Activities	-0.0489*	-0.0206	0.0625*	0.0036	0.007	-0.0767*	-0.0925*	0.1263*	-0.0543*	1

*Indicates $p < .05$

APPENDIX E

Major Discrimination Questions from NSAL Questionnaire

In Section G2 respondents were asked if they have ever experienced any of the following acts of discrimination.

All of the questions have the same possible responses: (1 - yes) or (2 - no)

- a) At any time in your life, have you ever been unfairly fired?
- b) For unfair reasons, have you ever not been hired for a job?
- c) Have you ever been unfairly denied a promotion?
- d) Have you ever been unfairly stopped, searched, questioned, physically threatened or abused by the police?
- e) Have you ever been unfairly discouraged by a teacher or advisor from continuing your education?
- f) Have you ever been unfairly prevented from moving into a neighborhood because the landlord or a realtor refused to sell or rent you a house or apartment?
- h) Have you ever been unfairly denied a bank loan?
- i) Have you ever received service from someone such as a plumber or car mechanic that was worse than what other people get?

APPENDIX F

Every Day Discrimination from NSAL Questionnaire

In section G18 respondents were asked: In your day-to-day life how often have any of the following things happened to you? Would you say:

All of the questions have the same possible responses:

- 1 - Almost everyday
- 2 - At least once a week
- 3 - A few times a month
- 4 - A few times a year
- 5 - Less than once a year
- 6 - Never

- a) You are treated with less courtesy than other people.
- b) You are treated with less respect than other people.
- c) You receive poorer service than other people at restaurants or stores.
- d) People act as if they think you are not smart.
- e) People act as if they are afraid of you.
- f) People act as if they think you are dishonest.
- g) People act as if they're better than you are.
- h) You are called names or insulted.
- i) You are threatened or harassed.
- j) You are followed around in stores.

APPENDIX G.

Weighted Intercorrelations for NSAL (N=2,006)

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>
1. Skin Tone	-												
2. From Whites	0.0898*	-											
3. From Blacks	0.0084	0.4866*	-										
4. Major Discrim.	0.0946*	0.3134*	0.1899*	-									
5. Everyday Disc.	0.0538*	0.3834*	0.2643*	0.4192*	-								
6. Childhood NH Black	0.1014*	0.0186	-0.0297	-0.0042*	-0.0678*	-							
7. Present NH Black	0.0227	-0.0132	0.0034	-0.022	-0.0428	0.3426*	-						
8. Grammar School Black	0.0953*	-0.0012	0.0442*	-0.0014	-0.1071*	0.4667*	0.2274*	-					
9. Junior HS Black	0.1180*	0.0042	0.0038	-0.0333	-0.1412*	0.3996*	0.2337*	0.6999*	-				
10. High School Black	0.0952*	0.0064	0.0231	-0.0564*	-0.1446*	0.3692*	0.2204*	0.5805*	0.7356*	-			
11. NH Crime	0.0239	0.1684*	0.1044*	0.1199*	0.1444*	0.017	0.1863*	0.0501*	0.1070*	0.0655*	-		
12. NH Drugs	0.0752*	0.1291*	0.0879*	0.1173*	0.1358*	0.0091	0.2387*	0.0503*	0.0970*	0.0588*	0.5613*	-	
13. Number of Amenities	-0.0035	-0.0064	0.0111	0.0775*	0.0702*	-0.0985*	-0.1327*	-0.0595*	-0.0774*	-0.0676*	0.0960*	0.0336	-
14. Home Problems	0.0201	0.0738*	0.0534*	0.0284	0.1018*	0.0189	0.1067*	0.0115	0.0445*	0.0431	0.1673*	0.1533*	0.0057
15. NH Clubs/Association	0.0053	-0.0009	0.0233	0.1036*	0.0437	-0.0728*	0.001	0.0137	-0.0401	-0.0689*	0.1073*	0.1103*	0.2197*
16. Age	0.0978*	0.1075*	0.1473*	0.0884*	-0.2027*	0.1349*	0.0267	0.2820*	0.2633*	0.2354*	-0.0316	0.0047	-0.0719*
17. Male	0.1321*	0.0949*	-0.0064	0.2154*	0.1171*	-0.0342	-0.0512*	-0.0089	-0.0278	-0.0212	-0.0115	-0.0451*	0.0316
18. Education	0.0332	-0.0309	-0.0301	0.1626*	0.0512*	-0.0683*	-0.1518*	-0.0902*	-0.1450*	-0.1724*	-0.0641*	-0.0884*	0.1434*
19. Married	0.0671*	0.0135	0.0088	0.0302	-0.1024*	0.0267	-0.0548*	0.0223	-0.0062	0.0301	-0.1097*	-0.1130*	0.0324
20. Divorced	0.0117	0.0613*	0.0910*	0.0885*	-0.0419	0.0312	0.0264	0.1176*	0.1206*	0.0912*	0.0636*	0.1008*	-0.0375
21. Never Married	-0.0828*	-0.0712*	-0.0937*	-0.1144*	0.1485*	-0.0575*	0.0343	-0.1329*	-0.1051*	-0.1168*	0.0587*	0.0277	0
22. Working	0.0545*	-0.0008	-0.0362	0.0418	0.0204	0.0042	-0.1111*	-0.0894*	-0.1297*	-0.1068*	-0.0783*	-0.0882*	0.0445*
23. Unemployed	-0.0493*	0.0408	0.005	0.037	0.0898*	0.0205	0.0903*	-0.0077	0.0540*	0.0649*	0.0687*	0.0544*	-0.0037
24. Not in Labor Force	-0.025	-0.0304	0.0377	-0.0765*	-0.0924*	-0.0205	0.0587*	0.1087*	0.1078*	0.0732*	0.0374	0.0597*	-0.0484*
25. HH Income	0.0431	-0.0261	-0.0079	0.1103*	-0.0109	-0.0541*	-0.1845*	-0.0646*	-0.1277*	-0.1074*	-0.1403*	-0.1572*	0.1244*
26. Collective Efficacy	-0.0232	-0.1077*	-0.0247	-0.1022*	-0.1709*	0.0163	-0.0412	0.0517*	0.0072	-0.0024	-0.2865*	-0.2405*	-0.0443*

APPENDIX G Cont.

Weighted Intercorrelations for NSAL (N=2,006)

	<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>26</u>
1. Skin Tone													
2. From Whites													
3. From Blacks													
4. Major Discrim.													
5. Everyday Disc.													
6. Childhood NH Black													
7. Present NH Black													
8. Grammar School Black													
9. Junior HS Black													
10. High School Black													
11. NH Crime													
12. NH Drugs													
13. Number of Amenities													
14. Home Problems	-												
15. NH Clubs/Association	0.0205	-											
16. Age	-0.0702*	0.0139	-										
17. Male	-0.1078*	0.0323	0.0178	-									
18. Education	-0.1497*	0.2097*	-0.0484*	0.0275	-								
19. Married	-0.0579*	0.0730*	0.1396*	0.1724*	0.0819*	-							
20. Divorced	0.0324	-0.0520*	0.3873*	-0.1462*	-0.0643*	-0.5071*	-						
21. Nevermarried	0.0321	-0.0301	-0.5085*	-0.0494*	-0.0282	-0.6020*	-0.3829*	-					
22. Working	-0.0507*	0.0869*	-0.2165*	0.0544*	0.2530*	0.1358*	-0.1510*	-0.0057	-				
23. Unemployed	0.1031*	-0.0701*	-0.1521*	-0.0072	-0.1637*	-0.1294*	-0.006	0.1442*	-0.5170*	-			
24. Not in Labor Force	-0.0207	-0.0463*	0.3658*	-0.0570*	-0.1656*	-0.0571*	0.1784*	-0.1040*	-0.7545*	-0.1717*	-		
25. HH Income	-0.1858*	0.1651*	0.0425	0.1628*	0.4802*	0.3750*	-0.1912*	-0.2248*	0.3415*	-0.2244*	-0.2210*	-	
26. Collective Efficacy	-0.2399*	0.0181	0.1941*	0.0502*	0.0782*	0.0791*	-0.0092	-0.0763*	0.0011	-0.0771*	0.0578*	0.1455*	-

APPENDIX H

Weighted Means and Standard Errors of Dependent Variables by Skin Tone (NSAL)

	<u>White Discrimination</u>		<u>Black Discrimination</u>		<u>Major Discrimination</u>		<u>Everyday Discrimination</u>			
1 Very LB	2.532	(0.188)	2.536	(0.139)	1.431	(0.236)	1.463	0.238		
2 Light Brown	2.451	(0.100)	2.223	(0.109)	1.205	(0.139)	1.235	0.139		
3 Med Brown	2.697	(0.053)	2.108	(0.047)	1.551	(0.077)	1.548	0.078		
4 Dark Brown	2.79	(0.076)	2.212	(0.064)	1.562	(0.108)	1.563	0.108		
5 Very DB	2.868	(0.180)	2.605	(0.161)	2.363	(0.256)	2.342	0.253		
	<u>Grammar</u>		<u>Junior</u>		<u>High</u>		<u>Child NH</u>		<u>Present NH</u>	
1 Very LB	3.426	0.156	3.404	0.141	3.317	0.167	3.632	0.130	3.293	0.149
2 Light Brown	3.682	0.108	3.503	0.096	3.469	0.078	3.857	0.087	3.574	0.079
3 Med Brown	3.723	0.058	3.551	0.060	3.422	0.062	3.992	0.055	3.618	0.057
4 Dark Brown	3.779	0.073	3.701	0.068	3.596	0.064	4.042	0.055	3.534	0.075
5 Very DB	4.232	0.128	4.185	0.143	3.992	0.146	4.147	0.123	3.602	0.118
	<u>Freq. of Crime</u>		<u>Drug Seriousness</u>		<u>Have Clubs</u>		<u>Number of Facilities</u>		<u>Home Problems</u>	
1 Very LB	2.273	0.181	2.119	0.152	0.394	0.064	3.042	1.239	0.599	0.116
2 Light Brown	2.515	0.096	2.210	0.080	0.396	0.038	2.824	1.334	0.828	0.095
3 Med Brown	2.530	0.069	2.318	0.076	0.457	0.025	2.905	1.265	0.875	0.063
4 Dark Brown	2.508	0.077	2.404	0.084	0.415	0.031	2.923	1.241	0.870	0.068
5 Very DB	2.562	0.139	2.514	0.134	0.418	0.062	2.945	1.145	0.719	0.104

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