THE DEVELOPMENTAL INFLUENCE OF SKIN TONE ON PSYCHOSOCIAL OUTCOMES AMONG AFRICAN AMERICAN YOUTH

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ABSTRACT

Elizabeth A. Adams: The Developmental Influence of Skin Tone on Psychosocial Outcomes among African American Youth
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This doctoral dissertation is the first to explore the longitudinal impact of skin tone bias among African American adolescents. The relationships between skin tone, self-esteem, peer discrimination, and race socialization were explored using a data from the Youth Identity Project. African American adolescents (N = 189) were surveyed in Grades 5, 7, 10 and 12. During the final wave of data collection a skin tone measure was added to the study, and youths' skin tone was rated on a 3-point scale (1 = Light, 2 = Brown, 3 = Dark).

In exploring changes in the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem across time, youth with light-skinned youth reported higher self-esteem than dark and brown-skinned youth in Grades 5 and 7, yet by Grade 12 these differences were no longer significant. Further, results from latent growth curve analyses demonstrate that skin tone predicts a quadratic trajectory, such that skin tone predicts the initial downturn and subsequent rebound of self-esteem during adolescence. In terms of the relationship between skin tone race socialization, light and dark-skinned girls reported receiving more preparation for bias messages than brown-skinned girls, and both light and dark-skinned youth reported receiving more cultural socialization messages than brown-skinned youth. Additionally, parents reported transmitting significantly more cultural socialization messages to their light and dark-skinned youth than to those rated as brown-skinned. Contrary to expectations, skin tone was not a significant predictor of peer

discrimination frequency or peer discrimination distress, and peer discrimination distress did not moderate the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem. Finally the results from this dissertation are discussed in terms of implications for parents and clinicians.

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INTRODUCTION

According to Hill (2002), "African Americans rank at the bottom of nearly every measure of social, psychological and economic well-being (except for the striking exception of suicide rates)" (p. 87). Whereas researchers have explored intergroup factors leading to these outcomes for African Americans, intragroup distinctions among African Americans are important to take into account as the experiences of members of the same racial group vary greatly (Celious & Oyserman, 2001).

One individual difference that leads to varying experiences among African Americans is skin tone. For example, Keith and Herring (1991) used data from the National Survey of Black Americans and found the disparity in educational attainments of dark-skinned Blacks versus light-skinned Blacks to be strikingly similar to the same divide represented among Blacks versus Whites, with light-skinned Blacks obtaining two years more education than their dark-skinned counterparts. Using the same dataset disparities have also found in income: For every dollar a light-skinned person earns, a darker-skinned person earns twenty-eight cents less (Hughes & Hertel, 1990). Researchers have attributed these disparities to both stereotyping and discrimination. Experimental evidence suggests that both Blacks and Whites discriminate on the basis of skin color, with darker-skinned Blacks more likely to be the targets of discrimination (Maddox & Gray, 2002). Further supporting the experimental evidence, survey studies suggest that Blacks with darker skin are eleven times more likely to report being discriminated against than their lighter-skinned counterparts (Klonoff & Landrine, 2000).

The wealth of evidence demonstrating the link between dark skin and negative outcomes has led some researchers to ask if discrimination against African Americans is solely a function of race. Some findings suggest that it is more likely that individuals who give off more race salient physical cues, such as darker skin, will encounter more discrimination (Blair, Judd, Sadler & Jenkins, 2002). One important caveat is that skin tone is not the only salient cue of Black racial group membership. Hair texture, breadth of nose and thickness of lips are others. Yet skin tone is arguably the most readily visible feature to which individuals attend when making racial distinctions (Livingston & Brewer, 2002). One study sought to disentangle the relationship between Afrocentric facial features and skin tone, in order to better understand the influence of both on perceptions of likeability (Hagiwara, Kashy & Cesario, 2012). White college students were asked to rate the likeability of both light and dark skinned Blacks with either Afrocentric facial features (fuller lips and a broader nose) or more Eurocentric looking facial features (more narrow nose, and less full lips). The participants rated dark skinned Blacks with both Afrocentric and Eurocentric features more negatively than light skinned Blacks with the same facial features (Hagiwara, et al., 2012). Therefore, skin tone plays an important role in people's perceptions of likeability, above and beyond the influence of their facial features.

Stereotyping or discrimination against Blacks on the basis of their skin tone is referred to as "skin tone bias." While researchers have noted the potential deleterious impact of skin tone bias, all of the studies of this phenomenon to date with children or adolescents have relied on a single time point. At present there are no published studies that have explored the relationship between skin tone and measures of well-being longitudinally in children or adolescents. In the current study a longitudinal design to examine the impact of skin tone for African American youth. Observer ratings of skin tone will be used to understand relationships between skin tone

and changes across time in youths' self-esteem, both child- and parent-reported race socialization, and perceptions of racial discrimination. In addition, gender differences will be explored to better understand how gender may moderate the developmental impact of skin tone on psychosocial outcomes in African American youth, and racial socialization will be examined as a moderator of the relationship between skin tone and outcomes.

In the following sections, I will give a brief review of the historical antecedents to skin tone bias and then review the literature linking skin tone (preferred, perceived and observed) to self-esteem. Next, I will present the research related to differences in perceptions of discrimination in relationship to skin tone. I will then use extant research to theorize a potential link between skin tone and race socialization messages imparted by parents and received by youth. In the final sections of the Introduction I review research and theory regarding race socialization as a protective factor. Within each section I discuss gender differences that may emerge in regards to outcomes associated with skin tone. The Introduction ends with a summary of the study hypotheses. These hypotheses predict individual differences in self-esteem, experiences of discrimination, and race socialization based on skin tone. Gender differences are also anticipated in the aforementioned relationships. Additionally, race socialization messages will be tested as a moderator of the negative outcomes associated with skin tone bias.

Historical Background

As part of the rationale for American slavery, Blackness was defined "as barbaric, savage, ugly, and evil whereas whiteness was defined as civilized, virtuous and beautiful" (Keith, 2009, p. 27). Many mixed-race Blacks or mulattos were afforded educational opportunities and more favorable jobs during slavery than darker-skinned individuals. It has been

argued that visible White ancestry (more Eurocentric features in African Americans) became a basis for societal privileges prior to and after the abolition of slavery.

After the abolition of slavery African Americans with lighter skin tones attempted to distance themselves from the lower-status African Americans with darker skin tones. This distancing took place through the use of "paper bag tests" used to prevent Blacks from joining social organizations and to deny admission to Black colleges and universities (Hill, 2002; Thompson & Keith, 2001). The paper bag test denied entry to African Americans whose skin was darker than a brown paper bag. Additionally, lighter-skinned African Americans avoided marrying and procreating with darker-skinned African Americans to keep their blood "pure." Methods such as the paper bag test and marital avoidance demonstrate the possible transmission and sharing of European Americans' initial skin tone bias into the African American psyche.

Today, some of these discriminatory practices are illegal. However, researchers argue that the perpetuation of White supremacy continues, as it was ingrained in the national subconscious due to an association of White equaling good (Fegley, Spencer, Goss, Harpalani & Charles, 2008). There was a brief point in the 1960's and 1970's when African Americans attempted to reverse skin tone related attitudes and instill pride in darker skinned people. However, researchers argue that even though the movement helped to improve racial attitudes, the effects were short lived (Brown, Ward, Lightbourn & Jackson, 1999). Indeed, research clearly documents the negative relationship between skin tone and status (Hughes & Hertel, 1990). Therefore, some authors assert that a hierarchical skin tone value and belief system is maintained in American society that few acknowledge (Breland, 1998). Such a hierarchy may place darker-skinned individuals at risk for negative psychological outcomes such as low self-esteem.

Skin Tone Bias and Self-Esteem

Self-esteem is a general evaluation of one's worth (Porter & Washington, 1979). Although some researchers have suggested that skin tone bias may lead to negative self-evaluations among Blacks (Thompson & Keith, 2001), Blacks have higher levels of self-esteem on average than members of other racial-ethnic groups (Gray-Little & Hafdal, 2000). Some researchers have speculated that the healthy self-esteem of Blacks is due to a sense of self based on in-group evaluations rather than on views of the larger society (Keith, 2009). Others suggest that these high levels of self-esteem are due to strong racial identity found in Blacks (Gray-Little & Hafdal, 2000). Another explanation is that more positive self-esteem reported by Blacks when compared to Whites is due to less body self-consciousness in the Black community (Bond & Cash, 1992).

Scholars have not fully evaluated attitudes toward skin tone and their repercussions for self-esteem in the Black community. If individuals have negative attitudes toward darker skin, then one would conclude that those with darker skin might be at risk for lower self-esteem. Moreover, even though Blacks have higher self-esteem on average than Whites, skin tone bias might put darker-skinned Blacks at risk for lower self-esteem compared to lighter-skinned Blacks. Although little research has looked explicitly at the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem, several studies examine attitudes toward skin tone. The following sections will summarize this literature with studies organized by the age group of the samples.

Childhood. To the best of the author's knowledge, only one study has directly tested the association between skin tone and self-esteem in children. Specifically, skin tone satisfaction was positively related to self-esteem in a sample of children age’s five to ten (Young-Hyman, Schlundt, Hermen-Wenderoth & Bozylinski, 2003). Although this relationship is understudied,

the results from various studies that focus on skin tone preferences and stereotyping may be extrapolated to have implications for self-esteem. For example, literature concerning Black children and racial dissonance (e.g. Clark & Clark's Doll Study, 1947) has often led to suggestions of deflated self-esteem (Spencer, 1984).

One of the youngest samples in which skin tone and attitudes have been examined was comprised of 56 kindergarten and first-grade African American children in a predominately African American school (Averhart & Bigler, 1997). To determine the extent that children stereotype light- versus dark-skinned Blacks, the authors tested the children's memory regarding stereotypic versus counter-stereotypic information about skin tone. The children were exposed to six stories with pictures about dark- and light-skinned African American boys and girls. The authors manipulated whether stereotypical and counterstereotypical traits were paired with light- versus dark-skinned characters. The children were also exposed to six stories about either light or dark skinned adults in high and low-status occupations. These story elements (i.e., stereotypic: dark-skinned person in a low-status occupation; and counterstereotypic: light-skinned person in a low-status job) were also counterbalanced. As predicted, the children showed significantly better memory for the stereotypic versus counterstereotypic stories. Additional analyses showed that children who self-rated their skin tone as light demonstrated more of a stereotypic memory bias than the children who self-rated as dark-skinned (Averhart & Bigler, 1997). Thus, the authors were able to demonstrate a link between skin tone and stereotypes in a sample of African American children in a racially homogeneous setting.

Similar results have been found with children in middle childhood. Using a sample of 9-11 year olds who attended a majority Black school district, Porter (1991) asked children to identify the skin tone that the opposite sex most preferred. Children were most likely to select a

light skin tone as the color the opposite sex desires. When asked why the lighter skin tones were selected, children indicated that lighter skin is more attractive, and that the opposite sex wants to look like everyone else.

A more recent study showed similar results regarding the interracial and intra-racial stereotypes held by African American children (Williams & Davidson, 2009). The authors recruited first and third grade children from all-Black schools and used the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM) to assess how positively or negatively African American children ages 7 and 9 felt about Blacks of varying skin tones. Overall children assigned significantly more positive traits to the light-skinned characters than to the dark skinned characters, and younger children assigned more positive traits to light skinned characters than older children. Children were also more likely to remember positive activities when the activities were associated with the light skinned character, and were more likely to remember negative activities when they were associated with the dark skinned character.

Adolescence. Adolescence has been cited as a particularly vulnerable time for all children independent of their racial group membership. Because of the appearance of formal operational thinking, adolescents are able to engage in perspective taking and gain more introspective abilities. They are also able to think about how others perceive them and what physical traits are considered desirable by the larger society (Fegley, et al., 2008).

Because adolescents are known to have an increased preoccupation with their physical appearance, partially due to the physical changes that puberty brings about, and Black adolescents may become more aware of the meaning associated with their racial group membership, they may pay increased attention to their skin tone as it is one of the most salient features that indicates their race. Due to increased attention to physical appearance and race,

Black adolescents may also become aware of and/or internalize the skin tone bias that exists in society. If youth are aware that their skin tone is negatively stereotyped, deficits in self-esteem may result. Because adolescence is a vulnerable time, self-esteem deficits related to race and skin tone may leave Black adolescents particularly vulnerable (Fegley et al., 2008).

Despite researchers' awareness of the many risks that Black adolescents face, few studies have examined the link between skin tone and self-esteem during this developmental period. Robinson and Ward (1995) used five items from the Rosenberg self-esteem inventory and a self-report skin tone perception measure to assess the relationship between self-esteem and perceived skin tone. The sample was comprised of 123 African American adolescents (ages 11-19; mean age 15). The authors found that the darker youth had significantly lower self-esteem than the lighter and medium-skinned tone youth.

A more recent study stands in contradiction to Robinson and Ward's (1995) findings. The researchers in the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) collected interviewer assessed data on skin tone and compared it to self-esteem reported by Black girls in Grades 7-12. Skin tone was rated using four categories (Black, Dark Brown, Medium Brown, and Light Brown/White). No differences in self-esteem were found between groups (Keith, 2009).

One weakness of the two aforementioned studies is their measurement of skin tone. Robinson and Ward (1995) asked participants to identify their skin tone by comparing it to 'most' other Black people; however, no referents were used. The lack of referents may have led to inaccurate identification of skin tone because it is unknown how others perceive the skin tone of 'most' other Black people. The Add Health study suffered from measurement limitations as well. Adolescents' skin tone was assessed by interviewers. However, the interviewers who

reported the skin tones varied in race. The racial variation in the interviewers who assessed skin tone presents a potential confound as Black skin tones may be harder to differentiate by members of other races (Hill, 2002).

In this dissertation, participants' skin tones are measured by comparing them to pictures of actual people representing three different skin tone categories (light, brown, dark). Three African American interviewers measured each participant's skin tone to establish inter-rater reliability. When possible, youths' skin tones were assessed in person. When in-person assessments were not possible, photos were used to rate students' skin tone.

College Samples. It appears that as children mature into adulthood, effects of skin tone may become gendered: Women appear to be affected by skin tone bias in different ways than men (Hill, 2002). Coard (1997) examined the relationship between participants' perceived skin tone and self-esteem in Black students at a predominately White college. The measures, originally introduced by Bond and Cash (1992), included an interviewer-assessed perception of skin tone measure, a satisfaction with perceived skin tone measure, and the Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Inventory. In contradiction to the author's original hypothesis, men's satisfaction with having darker skin was associated with lower self-esteem scores. Coard (1997) suggested that this finding may be due to men reporting satisfaction with their skin tone, yet not accepting it. Therefore, an emotional conflict may be in place, where men are not internalizing their acceptance, leading to deficits in self-esteem.

Bond and Cash (1992) used an all female sample from a predominately White college and the same methodology as the Coard (1997) paper except instead of directly assessing self-esteem, the authors used the Skin Color Assessment Procedure (SCAP). The SCAP could be considered a proxy for racial self-esteem, as part of the SCAP measure indicates the match or

mismatch between a person's skin tone and their idealized skin tone. In contradiction to Coard's (1997) results, dark-skinned women were more likely to idealize darker skin tones, while the other two skin tone groups (light and medium) idealized the lightest skin tones. All groups reported that they felt the opposite sex idealized lighter skin-tones, leading the authors to conclude that darker-skinned women are aware of skin tone bias, but disidentify with lighter skin because it is unattainable.

Although Coard (1997) and Bond and Cash (1992) used similar measures and both used college student samples, their results differ greatly. Because Bond and Cash did not measure self-esteem, it would be interesting to see how the darker-skinned students would compare on self-esteem measures to the women in the other skin-tone groups. However, because self-esteem was not directly measured, evidence of the reported satisfaction with skin tone actually being internalized is not available.

Using another college student sample, Harvey and colleagues (Harvey, LaBeach, Pridgen & Gocial, 2005) predicted that self-reported skin tone would have more of an impact on self-esteem for their participants who were in an all-Black university versus those at an all-White one. Self-esteem (measured using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory) was significantly correlated with skin tone for students at the predominately Black university, but not at the predominately White university. However, contrary to the researchers' hypotheses that darker-skinned students would report lower self-esteem, at the predominately Black university, darker-skinned students had *higher* self-esteem than their light-skinned counterparts.

One explanation Harvey et al. (2005) provide for these results is that in an all-Black environment, dark-skin may be favored because it is most representative of "Blackness;" therefore, students of a darker-skin tone may value their perceived closer relationship to their

African ancestry and subsequently experience increased self-esteem (Harvey, et al., 2005). A possible interpretation not mentioned by the authors is that students who choose to attend predominately Black universities may already have relatively high levels of self-esteem. High self-esteem coupled with an all-Black/racially consonant environment that may celebrate darker skin as more "authentically Black" could also have a positive impact on self-esteem.

In summary, research focusing on skin tone, skin tone attitudes, and self-esteem rely heavily on college age samples. Studies of attitudes and preferences have shown that even in early childhood, darker skin is viewed more negatively than lighter skin, and developmental theory would predict that the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem would increase as youth enter adolescence. In order to understand the influence of skin tone on self-esteem developmentally, this dissertation will directly assess the relationship using children in Grades 5, 7, 10 and 12. Gender differences are also anticipated in regards to the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem. The following section will explore the intersection of skin tone, gender, and self-esteem related issues.

Skin Tone, Self-Esteem and Gender

Research regarding skin tone bias suggests that it is a gendered issue. The media are frequently used to demonstrate skin tone bias in the U.S. Black women in the media who have been viewed as "sex symbols" have typically been of light complexion, perpetuating the idea that Black women must be light skinned to be considered attractive/beautiful. Further, historical images in the media of dark-skinned Black women were commonly unflattering, unattractive, and featured overly masculine portrayals of "mammy" like characters. In contrast, Black men have been historically depicted in the media and popular culture as having a variety of skin tones, with many darker-skinned men reaching prominence (e.g., Louis Armstrong, Sidney

Poitier, Michael Jordan, Denzel Washington). Additional evidence of the influence of skin tone bias on women can be seen in the beauty products marketed to women of color, many of which (e.g. chemical hair straighteners, skin bleaching creams) are geared toward making women look more phenotypically White (Hill, 2002).

Due to the assertions that skin tone bias functions differently for men and women, several studies have focused on women and the influence of skin tone bias in their lives. In terms of attractiveness, there are gender differences in skin tone preferences: The skin tone of women has been shown to be of higher importance in determining attractiveness, with lighter skin tone preferred (Hill, 2002). The use of skin tone in the determination of attractiveness for women may be particularly detrimental to their psychological well-being, as women are more likely than men to base their self-esteem and self-worth on the appraisals of others (Hill, 2002). On the other hand, much of the research focused on African American men and skin tone bias links darker skin tones to greater experiences of discrimination and decreased economic and educational attainment (Dixon & Maddox, 2005). The bulk of research exploring the intersection of gender and skin tone bias focuses on women as opposed to men, as women are perceived as more affected by these issues (Russell, Wilson & Hall, 1992).

Researchers have found that young children already perceive dark skin as unattractive. Using a sample of Black children living in all Black neighborhoods in the Southeast (ages 6-13, mean age was 9), Porter (1991) found that boys were almost two times more likely than girls to perceive that girls have a desire to be light. Additionally, age differences were found in why the children felt the opposite sex would prefer to be lighter. For children ages nine through eleven, the primary reason given was so they could look more like other children, whereas children ages

twelve and thirteen were more likely to report the preference for wanting to be lighter was related to an increase in physical attractiveness.

In a study of African American adolescents ages 11-19, similarities across genders were found in response to the prompt "skin color makes a difference to guys when they date girls" (Robinson & Ward, 1995). More than half (53%) of the boys and nearly half of the girls (48%) either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. Robinson and Ward (1995) assumed that their participants' responses were related to their perception of lighter skin as attractive. However, this assumption was not directly tested. Considering the emphasis on looks and physical attractiveness, if having a darker skin tone is viewed as unattractive this may have a particularly deleterious impact on the self-esteem of darker skinned Black women, particularly beginning in adolescence. Therefore, developmental gender differences and the influence of skin tone on self-esteem is a potentially rich area of study.

Studies using adult samples have found significant associations between women's skin tone and attractiveness. Using NSBA data, Hill (2002) found that as skin tone lightened women were more likely to be rated by the Black interviewer as attractive. This relationship was much weaker and not statistically significant for men (Hill, 2002). Using a sample of college students Bond and Cash (1992) found that 70% of the women selected the lightest three skin tone categories as the skin tone men idealized the most. In another study using a college-age sample, Coard, (1997) found that the women in the study perceived that men idealized a lighter skin tone than the men in the study actually reported.

Whereas darker skin tone may be a liability for Black women, some studies have found that darker skin may at times be an asset for Black men. Wade (1996) found that men who rated themselves as being in the darkest skin tone category perceived themselves as more 'sexually

attractive' than their lighter-skinned counterparts. In a qualitative study with Black men and women undergoing psychotherapy, Harvey (1995) found that the light-skinned men were perceived as weaker and less 'masculine' than darker-skinned men. Theory suggests that some of the gender differences in skin tone and attractiveness may be related to cultural ideals of masculinity. Specifically, for men it is desirable to be tall, dark and handsome; thus darker-skinned Black men may be more in line with this ideal of masculinity and therefore perceived to be more attractive than lighter-skinned men (Hill, 2002).

The research regarding the intersection of gender, skin tone attitudes, and attractiveness has suggested that women are more negatively affected by skin tone bias than men. This assertion is based on prior research that shows that women concern themselves with appearance and physical attractiveness more than men (Thompson & Keith, 2002). However, much of the prior empirical work has either ignored gender differences or dropped men from the analyses altogether (Hill, 2002). Moreover, to the extent to which darker skin activates negative stereotypes, dark-skinned boys may be at greater risk for experiencing discrimination than lighter-skinned boys.

The intersection of skin tone, self-esteem, and gender will be explored developmentally in this dissertation. Based on previously reviewed literature, dark-skinned girls may be at greater risk of deficits in self-esteem than dark-skinned boys. Because the importance of physical attractiveness increases in adolescence, girls with darker skin may be more vulnerable in terms of deficits in self-esteem across time. I expect that the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem will increase with age among girls, but not among boys.

Self-esteem may also be negatively impacted by discrimination. The negative impact of discrimination on self-esteem may be exacerbated by skin tone for youth with dark skin. The

following section will review the literature regarding the relationship between skin tone and discrimination.

Skin Tone and Discrimination

Race-based discrimination has been associated with a wide range of negative mental health outcomes such as decreases in self-esteem, lower life satisfaction, and increases in distress and depressive symptomology (Fisher et al., 2000; Seaton, Caldwell, Sellers & Jackson, 2008; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003). Studies have provided a wealth of anecdotal evidence to suggest the presence of discrimination based on skin tone or a "skin tone bias" (Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Hall, 2005). This section will review recent correlational and experimental studies that have directly tested the link between skin tone and discrimination.

Klonoff and Landrine (2000) used self-reports of skin tone from a sample of 300 Black adults and compared skin tone to reports of discrimination. The adults in the study were grouped into two clusters (low discrimination and high discrimination) based on self-reports of discrimination using the Schedule of Racist Events (Klonoff & Landrine, 1999) (ex: How many times have you been treated unfairly by your employers, bosses or supervisors because you are Black?). Overall, dark-skinned Blacks were 10.9 times more likely to be in the high discrimination cluster than those with light skin. Gender differences were found such that men were three times more likely to be in the high discrimination cluster than women, suggesting that men with dark skin experience discrimination at a higher rate than women. Stereotypes frequently applied to Black men with dark skin (criminal, tough, aggressive) may be more likely to lead to the type of race-based discrimination measured in the Klonoff and Landrine (2000) study than the stereotypes that are frequently applied to Black women with dark skin. The results

suggest a strong link between discrimination and skin tone; however, it is important to take into account a major limitation of the study, which is the reliance on self-reported skin tone.

Using an experimental design, Dixon and Maddox (2005) explored the idea that dark-skinned Black men are likely to be victims of prejudice because they are perceived as criminals. Using a racially and ethnically diverse college student sample, the investigators showed students a 15 minute news story of which a 22-second segment was dedicated to a crime story about a Black (light, medium, and dark-skinned) male or White male perpetrator whose picture was shown for 3 seconds. At the end of the news story the students were asked to recall the perpetrator. The authors found that the students were more likely to accurately remember the perpetrator and victim if the perpetrator was a dark-skinned Black male. Therefore, the authors concluded that darker skin tone may influence stereotype activation and subsequent prejudice.

Maddox and Gray (2002) used other experimental designs to determine if the stereotyping and subsequent discrimination directed toward Blacks with dark skin is both an intra-group and intergroup occurrence. A sample of Black and White college students viewed photographs of Blacks of varying skin tones along with members of other racial groups and were asked to list their cultural beliefs about each group. Dark-skinned Blacks were more likely than those with lighter skin to be linked to the traditional negative stereotypes applied to all Blacks (e.g. less intelligent, poor, aggressive, etc.). This result was consistent for ratings of both the Black and White students, and supported the researchers' contention that discrimination on the basis of skin tone occurs through the negative stereotyping of darker skinned Blacks.

Maddox and Gray (2002) also found gender differences in the stereotypes applied to dark-skinned Black men versus Black women. Dark-skinned Black women were perceived to be less attractive, less intelligent, less motivated, less self-assured and more likely to be in poverty

than their lighter-skinned counterparts. Darker-skinned Black men were significantly more likely than lighter-skinned men to be stereotyped as a criminal, lacking intelligence, in poverty and tough/aggressive. Thus, the results of Maddox and Gray (2002) showed that for women with dark skin the stereotyped domains were related to appearance and self-concept, whereas--consistent with Klonoff and Landrine's (2002) results, dark-skinned men are stereotyped in terms of criminality.

One study that directly tested the relationship between the skin tone of Black women and their reports of discrimination did not find relationships between the two (Keith, Lincoln, Taylor & Jackson, 2010). Keith et al. (2010) used a nationally representative sample of 2,229 self-identified African American women and gathered both interviewer-assessed and self-reported skin tone. Whereas 88% of respondents reported experiencing some form of discrimination, no significant relationships were found between skin tone and discriminatory experiences. The authors theorized that the lack of relationship might be because of lack of variability in discrimination scores.

The reviewed studies provide a further understanding of how skin tone may lead to discrimination. If dark skin activates negative racial stereotypes, then such stereotypes may be an underlying mechanism that leads to differing experiences of racial discrimination for Blacks of varying skin tone. Although the studies reviewed relied solely on adult populations, they were able to show that skin tone is an important physical cue, and also that darker skin tones are associated with a lack of intelligence, lack of motivation, and laziness. In the following section I review research conducted with Black youth and their experiences of peer discrimination within the school context, ending with the connections between school related discrimination and skin tone, and gender differences in youths' experiences.

Skin Tone and Peer Discrimination. Studies exploring attitudes related to skin tone with African American youth have consistently demonstrated a skin tone bias. Youth have been shown to perceive darker skin to be less attractive/less desirable (Porter, 1991), and to negatively stereotype darker skin tones more than lighter skin tones (Averhart & Bigler, 1997; Williams & Davidson, 2009). The stereotyping, negative attitudes toward, and overall devaluing of darker skin tones may leave African American youth with darker skin tones at risk for experiencing discrimination from their peers.

Peer discrimination may come in the form of exclusion from activities, teasing or being picked on, etc. Discrimination from peers has been found to be more psychologically harmful than discrimination from adults, resulting in lower reports of self-esteem and increased depressive symptomology over time (Greene, Way & Pahl, 2006).

In this dissertation I will test the relationship between skin tone and reports of perceived peer discrimination within time and across the transition to middle school (Grades 5 and 7). It is expected that as skin tone darkens, reports of peer discrimination will increase. Additionally, I will test peer discrimination as a moderator in the relationship between self-esteem and skin tone, and race socialization as a moderator in the relationship between skin tone and peer discrimination distress.

Gender differences are anticipated due to the importance placed on attractiveness during adolescence for girls, and the negative association between attractiveness and skin tone. Because of these associations, the relationship between skin tone and peer discrimination is expected to be more distressing for girls than for boys. Although it is expected that both boys and girls with darker skin will report more peer discrimination than youth with lighter skin, girls with darker skin are expected to report more discrimination distress than darker skinned boys. Peer

discrimination will significantly mediate the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem for girls but not for boys. Among girls, the relationship between darker skin and lower self-esteem will be at least partially explained by higher rates of peer discrimination compared to lighter-skinned girls. Additionally, race socialization messages will moderate the relationship between skin tone and peer discrimination distress, such that girls with darker skin tones and high amounts of race socialization will report less discrimination distress than girls with dark skin tones who do not have high amounts of race socialization.

Race Socialization and Skin Tone

Race socialization refers to intentional and unintentional communications, interactions, and behaviors that ethnic groups use to pass on knowledge about their own cultural group and prejudices they may face in being members of their particular racial group (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor & Davis, 2002). These messages are meant to enhance ethnic identity and pride as well as serve as a buffer against stereotypes and prejudice (Sellers & Shelton 2003; Stevenson et al., 2002). Race socialization is a central part of childrearing in families of African descent (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). A majority of African American parents report implementing some type of racial socialization messages in their parenting (Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006; Sanders Thompson, 1994; Spencer, 1990; Stevenson, 2002). In their seminal study on race socialization messages, Bowman and Howard (1985) studied three generations of African American families and found that the content of race socialization messages were related to the subsequent generation's achievement and upward mobility. The authors theorized that the link between racial socialization and upward mobility occurred by increasing a sense of personal efficacy and enhancing academic performance.

Race socialization messages have been found to strengthen racial identity in children and

serve as a buffer to race-related stress (Neblett, Smalls, Ford, Nguyen, & Sellers, 2008; Stevenson & Arrington, 2009). Averhart and Bigler (1997) provided evidence that children who hold positive views of their racial group may not be as vulnerable to skin tone bias as children with less positive views. What is left unknown is how the children in their sample developed their feelings about their racial group. How is it that some children hold positive views and some hold negative views? Do parent-transmitted race socialization messages play a role? And does such socialization vary for darker- as compared to lighter-skinned children? To date, researchers have not explored the relationships between race socialization and skin tone.

Researchers who have studied race socialization messages have identified four types of messages that are frequently communicated (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Sanders Thompson, 1994). While researchers may refer to the types of messages by different names, they all generally fall under the same four categories. These categories are cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, and egalitarianism. The two categories that are the focus of this dissertation are the two most frequently studied—cultural socialization and preparation for bias.

Cultural socialization refers to practices used by parents to promote pride in their history, ethnicity, culture, and traditions (Hughes et al., 2006; Hughes & Chen, 1999). These practices include behaviors such as reading books about the group's ethnic heritage, viewing art, eating foods common to one's cultural group, and conversing about race-related topics such as the Civil Rights movement. Various studies have reported that anywhere between 75% and 92% of Black parents transmit cultural socialization messages to their children (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Spencer, 1983). Demo and Hughes (1990) found that those who reported receiving more cultural socialization messages had a greater sense of closeness to others

within their ethnic group and a stronger ethnic identity. Hughes et al. (2006) suggested that parents who use cultural socialization messages provide a buffer that helps children not to internalize negative stereotypes about their racial group. Finally, Neblett and colleagues (Neblett, White, Ford, Phillip, Nguyen & Sellers, 2008) found that race pride messages were associated with a decrease in perceived stress.

Preparation for bias has been defined as practices used to help children become aware of racial bias and to cope if it occurs (Hughes & Chen, 1999; Hughes et al., 2006). In Phinney and Chavira's (1995) sample, 93.8% of the African American parents reported giving preparation for bias messages to their adolescent children. Research results on outcomes associated with preparation for bias messages have been mixed, with studies finding both positive and negative correlates of this type of socialization. Phinney and Chavira (1995) found that preparation for bias messages were associated with proactive coping strategies. Other studies have shown that preparation for bias is associated with more positive academic achievement, racial identity, mental health, and personal efficacy (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Fischer & Shaw, 1999; Neblett, Phillip, Cogburn & Sellers, 2006). On the other hand, preparation-for-bias messages have also been linked to a heightened awareness of discrimination and poor academic outcomes (Fisher, Wallace & Fenton, 2000; Hughes & Chen, 1999). These mixed findings may be due to differences in how parents transmit these messages. Harris-Britt and colleagues found a curvilinear relationship between preparation for bias messages and the ability to cope with discrimination, suggesting that either too much or too little might have a negative impact on developmental outcomes (Harris-Britt, Valrie, Kurtz-Costes & Rowley, 2007).

It is important to keep in mind that while parents choose to proactively engage in race socialization, this process may be reactive as well. Developmental theorists have supported the

idea that children play an active role in their own development. Individual characteristics of the child such as intellect and temperament may influence parenting practices (Hughes et al., 2006, Garcia-Coll, et al., 1996). Particularly in the case of race socialization, race salient physical characteristics may affect the types and timing of messages transmitted to the child. Studies have found a relationship between adolescents' discriminatory experiences and parents' increased engagement in race socialization (Hughes & Johnson, 2001; Miller & Macintosh, 1999; Neblett, Philip, Cogburn & Sellers, 2006). Because darker-skinned individuals are more likely to experience discrimination (Klonoff & Landrine, 2002), parents' racial socialization might differ depending on the child's skin tone. Thus, parents may proactively or reactively engage in race socialization messages in part due to the child's skin tone. If a child has dark skin, thus placing him or her at greater risk for discrimination, a parent may engage in more race socialization. Parents may either transmit messages that promote pride in the child's race-salient physical characteristics (cultural socialization), and/or warn the child of bias and further enable him or her to cope with racism (preparation for bias).

In this dissertation I explored longitudinally the relationships between children's skin tone and the transmission and receipt of race socialization messages. Both parent- and child-reported messages were studied to understand how they change across time. I also explored gender differences in the transmission of race socialization messages as a function of youths' skin tone. I expected that reports of race socialization messages would vary by skin tone and as a function of gender, with darker skinned boys reporting more cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages than other groups. Also, I expected that race socialization messages would moderate the relationship between discrimination distress and skin tone. Those hypotheses are explained in the next section.

The goal of this project was to understand how skin tone is related to psychosocial outcomes for African American youth. To understand how the effects of skin tone bias can be reduced, I explored how the relationship between skin tone and positive parenting practices such as race socialization may moderate the potentially negative relationships between experiences of discrimination and youths' self-esteem, discrimination distress. Gender differences in the aforementioned relationships were explored to determine the extent to which skin tone related experiences differ for boys and girls throughout adolescence. The results of this dissertation could lead to a better understanding of skin tone as a potential risk factor for adolescents, as well as give a better understanding as to how parenting practices can reduce the impact of discrimination associated with darker skin tones.

Hypotheses

In the current study, longitudinal data from four measurement points (Grades 5, 7, 10, and 12) were used to further our understanding of the developmental impact of skin tone on African American youth. I used observer-measured ratings of participants' skin tones, both child and parent reports of race socialization, along with child reports of other measures to test the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Individual differences in self-esteem will vary as a function of children's skin tone and gender. Children with darker skin will report lower overall levels of self-esteem throughout childhood than children with lighter skin. A significant gender interaction is expected in that early (Grade 5) gender differences may be apparent, with stronger associations between skin tone and self-esteem among girls than among boys. Additionally, I hypothesize that skin tone will be increasingly related to changes in self-esteem over time among girls compared to among boys.

Hypothesis 2: Both parent and child reports of race socialization messages (preparation for bias and cultural socialization) will vary as a function of children's skin tone and gender from Grades 5 through 12. Higher amounts of race socialization messages are expected among darker-skinned youth. Moreover, these rates are predicted to increase more with age for youth with dark skin than youth with lighter skin. Specifically, dark skin tone is expected to be associated with higher amounts of preparation for bias messages. Gender differences in the relationship between skin tone and bias preparation will be explored; however, no predictions are made about gender differences.

Hypothesis 3: Child reports of both peer discrimination frequency and peer discrimination distress will be related to skin tone both within and across time (Grades 5 and 7). It is expected that darker-skinned youth will report more frequent peer discrimination and corresponding distress than lighter-skinned youth. Gender differences will be explored: Girls with darker skin are expected to report more peer discrimination and discrimination distress than darker-skinned boys.

Hypothesis 4: Both skin tone and peer discrimination distress will predict self-esteem both within and across time (Grades 5 and 7). Youth with darker skin tones are expected to report lower self-esteem, and this relationship is expected to be partially mediated by the distress caused by discrimination. Gender differences are anticipated: Dark-skinned girls are expected to report more peer discrimination distress, leading to lower self-esteem, than dark-skinned boys.

Hypothesis 5: Whereas darker skin is expected to predict greater discrimination distress, both child and parent reports of race socialization messages are expected to moderate the impact of skin tone on child-reported peer discrimination distress. Both within and across time (i.e., Grades 5 and 7), darker skin tone is expected to predict greater rates of peer discrimination distress only

among youth who receive low amounts of racial socialization. Gender differences will be explored to determine if race socialization messages influence discrimination distress differently for boys versus girls.

The current study will be the first to examine the relationships among skin tone, self-esteem, racial socialization and reports of discrimination longitudinally. The results of this study could lead to a better understanding of a potential risk factor for children and adolescents (i.e. skin tone) and its ramifications for healthy development. Additionally, this study may reveal how positive parenting practices such as race socialization may reduce the negative impact of skin tone bias vis-à-vis reductions in the distress related to discrimination.

METHOD

Participants

Participants in the study were 198 youth from the Youth Identity Project (YIP). YIP is a longitudinal study that focuses on identity development and academic achievement in African American youth. More than 300 youth were originally recruited in three cohorts of fifth graders from seven predominantly Black (72% or more of the students were African American) elementary schools. The 189 students in the current study are a smaller subset of the YIP students because skin tone data collection took place during the final cohort of data collection, and the final sample only includes youth who participated in all four waves of data collection. The three cohorts of fifth grade data were collected in years 2002-2003, 2003-2004, and 2004-2005. Grade 12 data collection from these three cohorts occurred during the 2009-2010, 2010-2011 and 2011-2012 school years. Data for the present study will be drawn from Wave 1 (Grade 5), Wave 2 (Grade 7), Wave 3 (Grade 10), and Wave 4 (Grade 12) of YIP.

Youth attended 17 urban middle schools during Wave 2 and 11 urban high schools during Waves 3 and 4. These schools were either part of or in close proximity to the urban school district where data collection originated. The majority of the youths' parents self-reported as African-American (97%), with approximately 1% of parents identifying themselves as White, and 2% identifying as "other." The youth who comprise the sample used in this dissertation include 119 girls and 70 boys. A total of 29 or 15.3% of the sample (7 boys, 22 girls) were categorized as having light skin (skin tone rating = 1), 67 or 35.4% of the sample (28 boys, 39

girls) were brown skin (skin tone rating = 2), and 93 or 49.2% of the sample (35 boys, 58 girls) were categorized as having dark skin (skin tone rating = 3).

A total of 174 parents completed questionnaires. Skin tone ratings of these parents' children were as follows: 27 were parents of light-skinned children, 60 were parents of brown children; and 87 were parents of dark-skinned children.

When youth participants were in Grade 5, 33% of parents were married and living together, 8% were separated, 25% were divorced, and 33% were never married. Educational attainment was measured on a 10-point scale with responses ranging from "less than high school" to "doctoral or professional degree." In terms of highest level of education achieved ,11% percent of the parents had some high school education, 31% completed high school or received a GED, 37% completed some college or received a technical or associates degree, 15% graduated from college, and 6% had received a Master's, doctoral or professional degree. Parents reported their household income before taxes on an 11-point scale ranging from "under $10,000 yearly/under $200 weekly" to "over $100,000 yearly/over $2000 weekly." These reports showed that when youth were in Grade 5, 44% of parents reported annual incomes below $30,000, 38% reported earning between $30,000-$60,000, and 10% earned more than $60,000.

Procedure

Informed consent from parents and assent from children were obtained by distributing consent documents to children at school and asking them to have parents sign and return the forms. Children completed questionnaires in small groups at school and received a small gift as compensation. Parents were then mailed questionnaires containing measures of demographic information and measures pertaining to their beliefs about and behaviors with the focal student. Included in the mailing with the questionnaire were stamped, return envelopes so that the

questionnaires could be easily returned to the investigators. Upon receipt of the completed questionnaire, parents received a monetary incentive. Youth participants received monetary incentives for participation in Grades 10 and 12.

Measures

At each measurement point, youth completed measures of race socialization, self-esteem, and perceived educational discrimination. In Grades 5 and 7 youth completed a measure of perceived peer discrimination. In Grade 12 youths' skin tone was assessed either in person or from 12th grade yearbook and/or Facebook pictures. Each measure is described in greater detail below.

Racial socialization. In fifth and seventh grades youth racial socialization experiences were assessed with an adapted version of two of the three subscales of the Race Socialization Scale (Hughes & Chen, 1997). In addition to the fourteen items from the published measure, this adapted version included three additional items that assessed behaviors that foster cultural socialization (e.g. "Talked about the accomplishments of Black individuals"). Children responded to items asking about their parents' behavior. Youth rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *never*; 5 = *more than 10 times*) the frequency with which their parents engaged in each behavior during the prior year. A total of 8-items in Grades 5 and 7, and 6-items in Grades 10 and 12 were used to assess cultural socialization (e.g. "Taken you to a Black cultural event"), alpha = 0.82, 0.84, 0.81, 0.82. Youth completed 9-items in Grades 5 and 7, and 7 items in Grades 10 and 12 to report preparation for bias messages (e.g. "Said that people might try to limit you because of race) alpha = 0.85, 0.85, 0.86, 0.83. Factor analysis confirmed a two-factor solution and item scores were averaged for each subscale to create a composite score for cultural socialization and a composite score for preparation for bias.

Parents were asked the same race socialization questions as their child at each wave of data collection. Reliability for the parent race socialization measure is as follows: Cultural Socialization alpha's = .85, .87, .86, .82 and Preparation for Bias alpha's = .91, .89, .91, .91. For the analyses examining change in parent reported racial socialization practices over time, families in which there were inconsistent parent reporters across time were excluded.

Self-Esteem. The 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Inventory (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965) is a self-report measure that was used in all four waves of the current study to assess children's global self-esteem and overall feelings of self-worth and acceptance. The items are answered on a 4-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*) (e.g., "I feel that I have a number of good qualities") with negatively worded items (e.g. "All in all I am inclined to think I am a failure") reverse coded. Alpha reliability for the measure was 0.66, 0.73, 0.74, and 0.79, for the four waves of data collection.

Discrimination. An adaptation of the 8-item Adolescent Discrimination Distress Index (ADDI) (Fisher, Wallace & Fenton, 2000) was used to measure perceived peer discrimination in Grades 5 and 7. Youth rated on 5-point scales the frequency of experiencing a discriminatory event in the past 3 months (1= Never; 5= More than 10 times). The peer discrimination subscale consisted of 4 items ("Because of your race or ethnicity other kids did not include you"), frequency $\alpha = 0.81$ and distress $\alpha = 0.53$ in Grade 5; frequency $\alpha = 0.48$ and distress α in Grade 7 = 0.67.

Skin tone. Three graduate student research assistants rated youth's skin tone on a scale of 1 to 3. A "1" represented the lightest skin tone category, "2" represented brown or medium-toned skin, and "3" represented the darkest skin tone category. The research assistants used a referent

with three celebrities' photographs that corresponded to each of the three skin tone categories (1-Alicia Keys, 2-Brandy 3-Alek Wek).

Inter-rater reliability was 1.00. A total of 82 students' skin tones were rated in person. An additional 93 skin tone measurements were taken from high school year book photos (freshman through junior year photos), and 14 ratings were made from online Facebook photographs.

RESULTS

Prior to testing the hypotheses, preliminary analyses were conducted. First the data were checked for possible outliers; however, none were found. The smaller sub-sample of youth who had skin tone ratings (n = 198) were compared to the African American youth whose skin tone was not rated yet were also participants in the Youth Identity Project (n = 463). There were no statistically significant differences found between the means of key study variables.

Bivariate correlations were calculated for key study variables and are presented in Tables 1 to 3. Results are organized sequentially by hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Skin Tone and Self-Esteem

According to Hypothesis 1, youth with darker skin would have lower self-esteem than youth with lighter skin, and this effect would be especially pronounced among girls. Moreover, I expected that skin tone would predict changes in self-esteem across the four time points, with lower self-esteem across time for darker-skinned youth.

The first part of the hypothesis—a relationship between skin tone and self-esteem, and gender differences in that relationship—was tested with an Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) in which self-esteem was the dependent variable. Time was a within-subjects repeated variable, and Gender and Skin Tone were entered as between subjects variables. In addition, parent education and household income were entered as covariates. The hypothesis would be confirmed with a main effect of Skin Tone (showing that lighter skin was associated with higher self-esteem), and a Skin Tone x Gender interaction (with simple effects showing that skin tone differences in self-esteem were larger among girls than among boys). Although the across-time

analysis was also tested with latent growth curve modeling, which more adequately accounted for missing data, the ANCOVA would provide support for the effect of skin tone on change across time if the Skin Tone x Time interaction was significant. Means appear in Table 4.

As expected, the 2(Gender) x 3(Skin Tone) x 4(Time) ANCOVA yielded a significant Skin Tone x Time interaction, $F(6, 230) = 2.89$, $p = .01$. Comparisons of means revealed that in Grades 5, 7, and 10, lighter-skinned youth reported higher self-esteem than brown and darker-skinned youth, who did not differ from each other. In contrast, in Grade 12, there were no statistically significant differences in self-esteem. Among light-skinned youth, average self-esteem scores did not change across Grades 5, 7, and 10, but decreased in Grade 12. Among brown and dark-skinned youth, self-esteem increased across time such that youth held higher self-esteem in Grade 12 than in earlier years. Contrary to expectations, the Skin Tone x Gender interaction was nonsignificant, indicating that the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem did not differ by gender. All other main effects and interactions were also nonsignificant.

Latent growth curve modeling (LCM) was used to test the hypotheses modeling change over time. LCM enables an understanding of how outcomes may change over time, and can also incorporate exogenous predictors to model the influence in the initial status (intercept) and change in outcomes over time (slope). LCM is a preferred method to model changes over time as it allows for flexibility when accounting for missing data, can model non-linear trajectories, and is sensitive to non-normally distributed repeated measures (Bollen & Curran, 2006).

To examine if skin tone influences the growth trajectories in self-esteem, an unconditional latent growth curve model was fit without including skin tone or other covariates as predictors as is the traditional first step in latent growth model building. This first step allows for an examination of the overall trajectory independent of predictors. Next, skin tone is

incorporated in the model as a potential explanatory variable and is used to predict the growth trajectory. The interaction between skin tone and gender is added as a time invariant covariate to determine the moderating influence of gender. Finally, parent income and education were entered as control variables.

The latent growth curves model is depicted in Figures 1. The fit for all models is indicated by the comparative fit index (CFI) and the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), with values of .90 or greater representing a good fit (McDonald & Ho, 2002). Additionally the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) index of values .05 or lower are also used to indicate adequate fit (Bollen & Long, 1993).

Unconditional Model. Results of the initial unconditional LCM modeling changes in self-esteem across Grades 5, 7, 10 and 12 are presented in Table 9. The results indicate that the model for self-esteem fit a linear trajectory yielding acceptable fit indices, χ^2 (5) = 14.72, $p < .05$, RMSEA = .07, CFI = .93, TLI = .91. The slope for self-esteem was .06 (*SE* = .13, $p < .01$), and intercept 3.31 (SE = .03, p < .01). On average, self-esteem scores started at 3.31 in Grade 5 and rose by .06 across each time point. The variances of the intercept (β = .09, *SE* = .02, $p < .001$) and slope (β = .02, *SE* = .01, $p < .001$) components of the model are both significant, reflecting significant individual variability in the initial reports of self-esteem and in the rate of increase in self-esteem over time. Finally, there was significant covariance between the intercept and linear slope (β = -.02, *SE* = .01, $p < .05$), meaning that on average individual variability in the starting point is related to the rate of change in self-esteem over time.

Conditional Model. To test Hypothesis 1, that skin tone would be associated with changes in self-esteem over time, I incorporated skin tone as a time invariant covariate to predict changes in the trajectory of self-esteem. The conditional model did not fit the data as well as the

unconditional model, indicating that the additional variables did not improve the model fit (χ^2 (11) = 24.08, $p < .05$, RMSEA = .08, CFI = .91, TLI = .84). Skin tone was not a significant predictor of the intercept (β = -.06, *SE* = .04, $p = .12$) or the slope (β = .17, *SE* = .18, $p = .34$). On average, skin tone was not significantly associated with either initial levels of self-esteem or with rates of change over time in the linear model.

To test if gender significantly moderates skin tones' influence on the trajectory of self-esteem, a skin tone x gender interaction was entered into the model. The model with the interaction provided slightly less than adequate fit than the model with skin tone as a predictor (χ^2 (15) = 29.93, $p < .05$, RMSEA = .07, CFI = .89, TLI = .81). The skin tone-gender interaction was not a significant predictor of the intercept (β = .10, *SE* = .08, $p = .22$) or the slope (β = .01, *SE* = .04, $p = .74$). To compare the fit of the original conditional model and the new conditional model with the gender interaction included, a likelihood ratio test was used. In the likelihood ratio test the change in chi-square in the two models is tested for significance. If the change in chi-square is significant, then the new model is considered to have a statistically significant improvement in model fit. The likelihood ratio test for the conditional model with the gender interaction was not significant (χ^2 (4) = 5.85, $p > .05$), indicating the additional parameters added to the model did not significantly improve model fit.

Although the means for self-esteem increased linearly independent of skin tone, in regards to changes in self-esteem over time as a function of skin tone, the means for self-esteem neither increased nor decreased consistently, suggesting a non-linear growth trajectory. Therefore, a quadratic latent variable that is the square of the linear coefficients was added to the model to see if the addition improved the model fit.

The quadratic model with skin tone predicting the trajectory of self-esteem fit significantly better than the linear model according to the likelihood ratio test (χ^2 (7) = 21.23, p < .001). Therefore, skin tone predicted an initial decrease in self-esteem from Grade 5 to Grade 7, along with the subsequent increase from Grades 7 to 12 (χ^2 (4) = 2.86, p < .01, RMSEA = .00, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.04). While neither the intercept (β = -.07, *SE* = .07, p = .37) nor the slope (β = -.15, *SE* = .09, p = .12) for Grade 5 reports of self-esteem were significant predictors as a function of skin tone, the quadratic slope was significant (β = .21, *SE* = .11, p < .05), indicating that the curvilinear change in self-esteem is significantly associated with skin tone. One important indicator of the growth in self-esteem changing in a non-linear fashion as a function of skin tone is the significant covariance between the slope and the quadratic term (β = -.09, *SE* = .04, p < .001). Therefore, a curvilinear line best represents the observed changes in self-esteem as a function of skin tone. Additionally, the significant covariance between the intercept and quadratic slope (β = .49, *SE* = .17, p < .01) means that skin tone is both associated with individual level of variability and the variability in curvilinear change in self-esteem over time.

To test if gender moderates the curvilinear relationship between skin tone and self-esteem, the interaction between skin tone and gender was entered into the quadratic model. This model yielded a good fit (χ^2 (6) = 5.57, p = .47, RMSEA = .00, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.02). The likelihood ratio test was significant (χ^2 (1) = 15.66, p < .001), indicating an improvement in model fit. However the interaction term was not significantly associated with the intercept (β = .42, *SE* = .28, p =.23), slope (β = -.31, *SE* = .34, p = .37) nor the quadratic curve (β = .39, *SE* = .36, p = .29). Due to the lack of significant findings with the interaction term, the appearance of a good fitting model should be interpreted with caution. Overall the model does not do an adequate job in explaining the relationships among gender, skin tone and changes in self-esteem over time.

The results from the latent growth curve analyses partially support Hypothesis 1. The model that best explained changes in self-esteem over time with skin tone as a predictor was non-linear. The quadratic model fit the data best, indicating that skin tone influences the downturn and subsequent rebound of self-esteem during adolescence. The results from the latent growth curve analysis are further supported by the ANCOVA demonstrating that in early years youth with light skin had higher self-esteem; however the skin tone related differences in self-esteem diminished by Grade 12.

Hypothesis 2: Skin Tone and Racial Socialization

According to Hypothesis 2, both parent and child reports of race socialization messages would vary as a function of children's skin tone and gender from Grades 5 through 12. Higher amounts of race socialization messages were expected among darker-skinned youth at later ages, with greater increases with age anticipated for youth with dark skin than those with lighter skin. This effect was particularly anticipated for preparation for bias messages. In addition, possible gender differences in the relationship between skin tone and racial socialization were explored. As for Hypothesis 1, MANCOVA was used initially to examine gender and skin tone differences in racial socialization, then LCM was used to explore predictors of change across time.

Means and standard deviations of racial socialization reports appear in Tables 5 through 8. Two 2(Gender) x 3(Skin Tone) x 2(Type of Race Message) x 4(Time) MANCOVAs were conducted, the first on youths' reports of racial socialization, and the second on parent reports. In each analysis, Type of Race Message (i.e., preparation for bias or cultural socialization) and Time were entered as within-subject repeated variables, and Gender (boys, girls) and Skin Tone (light, brown, dark) were between subjects variables. Parent education and household income were covaried in each analysis.

The MANCOVA on child reports of race socialization yielded a significant main effect of Type of Race Message, which was qualified by a Gender x Skin Tone x Type of Race Message interaction, $F(1, 118) = 12.32$, $p = .001$ and $F(2, 118) = 5.42$, $p = .006$, respectively. The Gender x Skin Tone x Type of Message interaction emerged because light-skinned girls and boys and dark-skinned girls reported more preparation for bias than brown-skinned boys and girls and dark-skinned boys. In contrast, for cultural socialization, girls of all skin types reported high amounts, whereas light-skinned and brown-skinned boys reported lower amounts. Dark-skinned boys reported more cultural socialization than other boys. The Gender x Time interaction was also significant, $F(3, 116) = 2.70$, $p = .049$. Comparison of means showed that girls report receiving significantly more race socialization than boys in Grades 5 and 12. All other main effects and interactions were nonsignificant.

Because of missing parent data, analyses examining parent reports of race socialization was run separately for each pair of consecutive time points. These analyses were 2(Gender) x 3(Skin Tone) x 2(Type of Race Message) x 2(Time) MANCOVAs to explore interactions across two time points, rather than all four simultaneously. Because the sample size is already greatly reduced when using parent reports, the exploration of mean differences over two time points reduces the number of participants deleted due to missing data on any of the four times of data collection.

In the analysis on Grade 5 and Grade 7 data, a marginally significant Skin Tone x Type of Race Message interaction emerged, $F(2, 110) = 2.99$, $p = .054$. Parents of light-skinned youth reported transmitting fewer cultural socialization messages compared to parents of brown-skinned youth. The same Skin Tone x Type of Race Message interaction emerged in the MANCOVA analyses with Grades 7 and 10, $F(2, 104) = 3.54$, $p = .03$. Light-skinned youth

received more preparation for bias messages than dark-skinned youth. Both light-skinned and dark-skinned youth received significantly more cultural socialization messages from parents than brown-skinned youth. Finally, for the MANCOVA analyses involving Grades 10 and 12, the Skin Tone x Type of Race Message x Time interaction was significant $F(2, 90) = 3.93$, $p = .038$. This interaction emerged due to parents transmitting significantly more cultural socialization messages to their light and dark-skinned youth than to those rated as brown-skinned.

I also hypothesized that racial socialization would show greater increases over time for youth with dark skin compared to youth with lighter skin. Latent growth curve modeling was used to test this hypothesis, and gender was tested as a possible moderator of the relationship between skin tone and changes in race socialization.

Unconditional Models: The results from the initial unconditional LCM that models changes in race socialization messages from Grades 5, 7, 10 and 12 fit the data poorly (Preparation for Bias-Child: χ^2 (14) = 99.26, $p < .05$, RMSEA = .18, CFI = .52, TLI = .48, Parent: χ^2 (14) = 101.59, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .18, CFI = .56, TLI = .56; Cultural Socialization-Child: χ^2 (14) = 112.72, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .19, CFI = .37, TLI = .33; Parent: χ^2 (14) = 110.39, $p < .01$, RMSEA = .19, CFI = .48, TLI = .43) (see Table 9). The poor fitting unconditional race socialization models may be due to the means of race socialization being unstable. Both parent and child preparation for bias messages, and child reported cultural socialization messages neither increased nor decreased in a linear or curvilinear fashion across time. Therefore, due to the poor fit of the unconditional model, the conditional model with skin tone as a time invariant covariate was not tested.

Overall, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported. The results from the MANCOVA demonstrated significant differences in child reported race socialization messages. Both light-

skinned and dark-skinned girls reported receiving higher amounts of preparation for bias during adolescence than brown-skinned girls. Additionally, dark-skinned boys reported more cultural socialization than other boys. The child-reported results differed from the parent reported transmission of race socialization messages. Parents of light-skinned youth transmitted significantly less preparation for bias messages in Grades 5, 7 and 10 when compared to parents of brown-skinned youth. Yet when examining a three-way interaction between skin tone, race socialization and time, parents reported transmitting significantly more cultural socialization messages to their light and dark-skinned youth.

Hypothesis 3

Gender differences in the influence of skin tone on reports of peer discrimination frequency and distress. A 2(Gender) x 3(Skin Tone) x 2(Peer Discrimination Type) x 2(Time) MANCOVA was conducted to understand gender differences in the influence of skin tone on peer discrimination frequency and reports of peer discrimination distress in Grade 5 and 7. (Peer discrimination was not measured in Grades 10 and 12.) Type of peer discrimination (i.e., frequency or distress) and Time were entered as within-subject repeated variables, and Gender (boys, girls) and Skin Tone (light, brown, dark) were between subjects variables. Parent education and household income were covaried in the analysis.

The hypothesis that dark-skinned youth would report more peer discrimination frequency and distress would be supported by a significant main effect of Skin Tone, and, the hypothesis that gender differences would emerge within and across time would be supported by significant Gender x Skin Tone x Time or Gender X Skin Tone X Peer Discrimination x Time interactions. Contrary to expectations, all main effects and interactions were nonsignificant. Reports of peer discrimination were unrelated to skin tone, and reports did not vary by gender or time.

Hypothesis 4: Gender differences in the relationship between skin tone, peer discrimination distress and self-esteem. In line with Hypothesis 4, youth with darker skin were expected to report lower self-esteem, and the relationship was expected to be partially mediated by peer discrimination distress. Further, girls with darker skin tones were expected to report being more distressed by peer discrimination, leading to lower self-esteem than boys. A path model to test for peer discrimination as a partial mediator in the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem was run (See Figure 3 for model). In the first step of testing the model, the direct effect or the path between skin tone and self-esteem was tested by regressing self-esteem on skin tone.

Next, to test the indirect effects or the path between skin tone and peer discrimination distress, peer discrimination distress was regressed on skin tone. The final indirect effect included a path between peer discrimination distress and self-esteem. This path was tested by regressing self-esteem on peer discrimination distress. Lastly I tested the overall mediation of skin tone's influence on self-esteem occurring through peer discrimination distress to determine if the model including the indirect and direct effects is statistically significant. These relationships were tested both within Grade 5 and Grade 7, and across time predicting Grade 7 self-esteem while controlling for Grade 5 self-esteem. The models were run separately by gender to explore potential gender differences.

The Grade 5 mediation model's fit indices suggested a good fit (χ^2 (14) = 27.27, $p < .05$, RMSEA = .00, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.00). However, it is important to note that because all of the coefficients in this model are estimated, it is fully identified with zero degrees of freedom, therefore the path analyses results will always show a "perfect fit" in accordance to CFI, TLI and RMSEA estimates. Overall the total effect, which combines all of the direct and indirect effects to test the overall significance of the path model, was not significant for the girls (β = -.15, *SE* =

.08, p = .10) or boys (β = -.09, SE = .12, p = .46). The specific indirect effect for the path connecting skin tone to peer discrimination distress and peer discrimination distress to self-esteem was also not significant for girls (β = .01, SE = .03, p = .76) or boys (β = -.17, SE = .26, p = .50). The direct path connecting skin tone to self-esteem approached significance for girls (β = -.16, SE = .09, p = .09), but not for boys (β = .35, SE = .29, p = .36). Girls with darker skin reported lower levels of self-esteem in Grade 5 than girls with lighter skin.

The model predicting Grade 7 self-esteem was not significant for girls (β = -.13, SE = .09, p = .15) or boys (β = -.03, SE = .12, p = .79). The specific indirect effect for the path connecting skin tone to peer discrimination distress and peer discrimination distress to self-esteem was also not significant for girls (β = -.01, SE = .01, p = .50) or boys (β = -.01, SE = .05, p = .85). Unlike the Grade 5 model, the direct path connecting skin tone to self-esteem was not significant for girls (β = -.13, SE = .09, p = .18), or boys (β = -.02, SE = .13, p = .86).

In the analyses using peer discrimination distress in Grade 5 as a mediator in the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem in Grade 7, the model for both girls (β = -.13, SE = .09, p = .18) and boys (β = -.03, SE = .12, p = .79) was not significant. The specific indirect effect for the path connecting skin tone to peer discrimination distress and peer discrimination distress to self-esteem was also not significant for girls (β = -.07, SE = .10, p = .49) or boys (β = -.14, SE = .26, p = .58). Finally, the direct path connecting skin tone to self-esteem was not significant for girls (β = -.06, SE = .14, p = .68), or boys (β = .11, SE = .29, p = .70).

The findings from the Grade 5, Grade 7 and across time path models did not support Hypothesis 4. The only significant path was in the Grade 5 model for girls, where skin tone approached significance in predicting self-esteem. Contrary to my hypotheses, dark skin did not predict discrimination distress, and discrimination distress did not predict changes in self-esteem.

Additionally no gender differences emerged in the relationship between skin tone, peer discrimination distress and self-esteem.

Hypothesis 5: The moderating influence of race socialization in the relationship between skin tone and peer discrimination distress. According to Hypothesis 5, race socialization would moderate the relationship between skin tone and peer discrimination distress. That is, youth with darker skin were expected to report high amounts of discrimination distress if they received low amounts of racial socialization, but not if they received higher amounts of racial socialization. These hypotheses were tested with regression analyses in which peer discrimination distress was the dependent variable. All variables were centered and a skin tone by race socialization interaction term was entered as a predictor variable, along with skin tone, race socialization, parent income and education. Analyses were conducted examining the relationships within Grade 5, within Grade 7, and predicting across time from Grade 5 to Grade 7. For the across time analyses, Grade 5 reports of peer discrimination distress were entered as a covariate. Analyses were conducted separately for child-reported and parent-reported race socialization.

Child reported race socialization. In terms of child reported race socialization messages, only the Grade 7 child preparation for bias model was significant, $F(5, 198) = 15.23$, $p < .05$. However, the skin tone x preparation for bias interaction term was not significant ($\beta = .11$, $SE = .29$, $p = .70$), nor were any of the other predictors, all p's > .10. None of the Grade 5 models reached significance, nor did the child cultural socialization model predicting peer discrimination distress across time, all p's > .10.

Gender Differences. Due to a concern over a lack of power to detect significance in a three-way interaction, gender differences were explored by running the analyses separately by

gender. For boys, the Grade 5 child reported preparation for bias messages and cultural socialization models were both significant (F (5, 198) = 13.44 and 11.18, respectively, p's < .01), but not the interaction terms (Preparation for Bias: β = -1.19, SE = .87, p = .13; Cultural Socialization: β = -1.09, SE = 1.01, p = .28). In the preparation for bias model, only parent education was a significant predictor of discrimination distress, p <.05. In Grade 7 analyses with boys' data, both child reported preparation for bias messages and cultural socialization models were significant, F(5, 198) = 3.59 and 2.08, respectively, p's < .05. However, the skin tone x racial socialization interaction terms were not significant, p's > .10.

In the analysis for boys using Grade 5 race socialization to predict Grade 7 discrimination distress, both child reported preparation for bias messages and cultural socialization models were significant (F (6, 198) = 9.08 and 10.13, respectively, p's < .05), but not the skin tone x racial socialization interaction terms (Preparation for Bias: β = .43, SE = .37, p = .24); Cultural Socialization: (β = .60, SE = .52, p = .25). The other predictor variables were also not significant, all p's > .10. Unlike the boys' models, none of the models with girls' data reached statistical significance in Grade 5, Grade 7, or across time, all p's > .10.

Parent reported race socialization. In terms of parent reported race socialization messages, the Grade 5, Grade 7, and across time models were all nonsignificant, all p's > .10.

Gender Differences. As reported above with parent reports of race socialization, exploratory analyses were conducted separately for boys and girls to determine if results differed by gender. Again all of the models either reached statistical significance or marginal significance for boys, but not for girls. For boys, the Grade 5 parent reported preparation for bias messages and cultural socialization models were both significant (F (5, 198) = 6.86 and 6.31, respectively, p < .01), but not the interaction terms (Preparation for Bias: β = .38, SE = .91, p = .68; Cultural

Socialization: β = -.88, *SE* = .94, *p* = .35) or the other predictors, all *p*'s > .10. Across time, both parent reported preparation for bias messages and cultural socialization models were significant (*F* (6, 198) = 5.82 and 5.34, *p's* < .05), but not their interaction terms (Preparation for Bias: β = .36, *SE* = .41, *p* = .38; Cultural Socialization: β = .41, *SE* = .57, *p* = .47). Unlike the boys' models, none of the girls' models reached statistical significance, all *p's* > .10. In terms of child reported race socialization messages gender did not significantly moderate the relationship between skin tone and distress in Grades 5, 7 or across time. Contrary to Hypothesis 5, racial socialization did not moderate the expected relationship between skin tone and discrimination distress.

DISCUSSION

Much of the literature on skin tone in adults has focused on easily quantifiable indices such as education, income, and health disparities. One wouldn't expect those disparities in children--instead, it's more likely that skin tone has an impact on social, emotional and psychological outcomes. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the psychosocial influence of skin tone among African American youth. Additionally, age and gender differences were explored to account for potential developmental and gender differences in the psychosocial outcomes associated with skin tone. Finally, this study sought to identify ways in which parents' race related messages may reduce the negative outcomes associated with skin tone bias. The results of this study may provide a better understanding as to how skin tone bias operates throughout adolescence, along with factors that may contribute to resiliency.

The Longitudinal Impact of Skin Tone on Self-Esteem

The youth in my sample with brown and dark skin tones reported lower self-esteem than lighter-skinned peers in early adolescence; however, by late adolescence this difference disappeared. The findings of youth reporting lower self-esteem in association with darker skin tones is in line with prior studies by Thompson and Keith (2001), who used an adult sample of women, and Robinson and Ward (1995), whose sample was comprised of adolescents between the ages of 11 and 19. The current study sheds light on the changes in self-esteem that may occur during adolescence. While Robinson and Ward (1995) reported a negative association between darker skin and self-esteem in adolescence, they did not assess age differences in the

relationship. Results from the current study indicate that skin tone related differences in self-esteem may diminish over time.

Although the negative relationship between skin tone and self-esteem diminished over time, the mechanisms underlying this change are not yet known. The increase in self-esteem over time for youth with dark skin and brown skin tones may be a function of changes in racial identity. Self-esteem was initially measured when youth were in Grade 5, and thus may have just begun to explore a racial/ethnic identity. Research has demonstrated that youth who have yet to commit to an ethnic identity are more likely than committed youth to internalize the stereotyped views of larger society (Parham & Helms, 1985); therefore they may not hold their racial group in high regard. Particularly when it comes to skin tone, Black children have been found to endorse mainstream views of skin tone by demonstrating more positive attitudes toward light skin, and negative attitudes toward dark skin (Williams & Davidson, 2009; Porter, 1991). As youth in a predominately Black environment age, they may begin to hold their racial group in higher regard (also known as private regard as defined by Sellers et al., 1998). As Sellers and colleagues (1998) found, youth who were high in private regard reported higher self-esteem than peers who held more negative views of other African Americans. There may be a connection between private regard, skin tone and self-esteem. As youth begin to view their racial group in a positive light, they may begin to celebrate salient aspects of their racial group membership, such as fuller lips, kinky hair, and their skin tone. This celebration of racial phenotype, that may have in the past been a source of pain, may become the basis for a boost in self-esteem.

Another factor to consider is that youth in my sample were in a predominately-Black environment, Majority Black high schools may be uniquely supportive of the development of high private regard for African American youth. The findings of the current study are consistent

with previous research by Harvey and colleagues (2005), who found that darker-skinned college students had higher self-esteem than their lighter-skinned counterparts. Similar to the Harvey et al. (2005) study, the youth in our sample were also in predominately Black school settings. These predominately Black schools may create an environment where African ancestry may be celebrated, thus potentially increasing youths' feelings of private regard. Therefore, the dark and brown-skinned youth in our sample may experience the increase over time in self-esteem in part due to the fact that they are in predominately Black schools.

The lack of gender differences in the relationship between self-esteem and skin tone were unanticipated. The bulk of research related to self-esteem and skin tone has focused on women, as it is theorized that women are more affected than men by skin tone bias due to the association between skin tone and attractiveness (Hill, 2002). The association between self-esteem and skin tone may be understudied in men because it is assumed that the link does not exist (Russell, Wilson & Hall, 1992). However, it may be that men and women experience skin tone bias differently. For example, Coard (1997) found that although dark-skinned men reported satisfaction with their dark skin, they also had lower self-esteem than their lighter counterparts. Therefore, the association between dark skin and self-esteem may be negative for men also, but just may be operating differently. Due to the strong association between Black men's skin tone and their reports of racial discrimination and negative stereotyping, dark-skinned Black men may experience similar deficits in self-esteem as women. For men, research has shown that dark skin tone is a prime for criminal/aggressive stereotypes (Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Klonoff & Landrine, 2000; Maddox & Gray 2002). The activation of such stereotypes may be an underlying reason why dark-skinned men are more likely than lighter-skinned Black men to report racial discrimination (Klonoff & Landrine, 2000), and possibly may be the basis of self-esteem deficits.

Therefore, although the relationship between skin tone and self-esteem may be due to different mechanisms, with concerns about attractiveness more important for women and activation of negative stereotypes about intelligence and criminality more common for men, gender differences would not emerge because dark-skinned individuals of both genders might experience self-esteem deficits.

Further research should explore potential gender-specific mediators and moderators in the relationship between skin tone bias and psychological outcomes to further tease apart how skin tone bias operates differently by gender. Finally, the gender differences that were anticipated in the current study are based on prior research and theory regarding adult populations. The findings in this dissertation shed light on how skin tone bias may operate for African American adolescents. Although gender differences did not emerge, gender may still be an important factor to consider when studying skin tone.

The Relationship between Skin Tone and Discrimination

The current study is the first to explore the relationship between skin tone and adolescents' reports of discrimination longitudinally. I hypothesized that because these youth were in a predominately Black (70-98% Black) school setting, that youth' reports of peer race-based discrimination were actually related to skin tone bias. My hypothesis would have been supported by a significant relationship between skin tone and reports of peer discrimination. The results of this study did not support the hypothesis. However, there are several possible reasons for the null findings. First, reports of peer discrimination were low in frequency. For example, in Grade 5, the majority of youth (59.3%) reported never experiencing peer discrimination in the past 3 months, and the mean report of peer discrimination was 1.42 (*SE* = .80), on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = *never* to 5 = *more than 10 times*). Due to the low reports of peer discrimination, there was

little variability to account for in the statistical analyses. This problem was exacerbated by the relatively small cell sizes for skin tone groups, especially when the groups were broken down by gender. Thus, the low frequency of peer discrimination, coupled with small cell sizes, created very low statistical power to detect a relationship.

Previous research that has focused on skin tone and discrimination has focused exclusively on adults. Although the current study did not find any statistically significant association between skin tone and reports of discrimination, prior studies using adult populations have consistently found a relationship (Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Hall, 2005; Klonoff & Landrine, 2000). The lack of significant findings may be related to studying discrimination in adolescents versus adults. Adults may be more perceptive of discrimination and therefore more likely to categorize negative experiences as related to their racial group. African American adolescents who are just beginning to explore their racial group membership may not yet have the racial cognition to accurately categorize a negative experience to being race based. Evidence of the lack of racial cognition may be inferred from the changes in reports of having experienced peer discrimination from Grade 5 to Grade 7. As previously mentioned, in Grade 5, more than half of the sample reported that they had not experienced peer discrimination in the past three months; however, by Grade 7 only 34% of the sample reported the same. This increase in reports of discrimination may be related to increased racial cognition. As racial cognition increases, children may be more likely to attribute discrimination to their race group membership (Brown & Bigler, 2005).

Prior research dealing with stereotyping and skin tone suggests that youth, like adults, negatively stereotype Blacks with darker skin tones (Averhart & Bigler, 1997; Williams & Davidson, 2009). Considering the strong relationship between stereotyping and discrimination, it

is feasible to suggest that youth may discriminate against their peers on the basis of skin tone. One important caveat is that in the current study we assessed blatant acts of discrimination, but perhaps youth who hold a skin tone bias are more likely to participate in subtle forms of discrimination that are less likely to be labeled as such by the victim. Therefore, youth who may be receiving these subtle forms of discrimination may not be reporting it. Because questions regarding subtle discrimination were not asked, these youth may not be aware that they are experiencing it due to a lack of racial cognition.

Finally, another possible explanation for the null findings it that although these youth were in predominately Black environments with ostensibly predominately Black peers, the measure may not have been a good assessment of skin tone based discrimination. I inferred the presence of a skin tone bias but asked youth to report peer discrimination linked to race. Thus, skin tone bias was not directly tested. When the youth in the study reported that their peers discriminated against them, they did not report which peers perpetuated the race-based discrimination. It may not be the youths' African American peers; instead it may be the non-African American youth at their school. Because the relationship between skin tone and peer race-based discrimination was not supported, the nature of peer race-based discrimination in a predominately Black school setting is still unknown. Future studies should ascertain the race of the individual responsible for the discrimination to better tease apart inter- versus intra-group racial discrimination.

The Influence of Skin Tone on the Transmission of Race Socialization Messages and Associated Outcomes

Skin tone and gender differences in the way that parents choose to racially socialize their children were found in the current study. Both light-skinned and dark-skinned girls reported that

they received more preparation for bias messages than brown-skinned girls. This finding may be due to parents perceiving their light- and dark-skinned girls as being targeted for skin tone bias for differing reasons. It may be that parents are expecting both their light-skinned and dark-skinned girls to be targeted for discrimination. As Ozakowa-Rey, Robinson & Ward (1987) suggest, light-skinned girls are more likely to be targeted by other African American girls due to their understanding of the privileges that are associated with having lighter skin, and their proximity to idealized beauty standards, whereas dark-skinned girls may be targeted for teasing and ostracism because of their distance from idealized beauty standards. Additionally, in the Black community lighter-skinned women may feel alienated due to the lightness of their skin serving as a form of privilege, yet also as a factor eliciting both inter and intragroup discrimination.

Hunter (2002) demonstrates through her research how light skin can serve as a form of social capital for women. More specifically because lighter skin is perceived as more beautiful and privileged in our society, light skin becomes a form of social capital. The social capital associated with light skin can then be converted into economic capital (either through their own employment or through association with high-earning romantic partners) in similar ways that women's overall attractiveness can positively influence life outcomes. Hunter (2002) found that African American women with light skin were more likely than darker-skinned women to marry higher status men, to obtain more education, and to earn higher incomes. Adolescents may be aware of how different shades of skin tone may play a role in their day-to-day interactions and subsequent life outcomes. Therefore, light-skinned girls may face discrimination from other girls due to the perceived unfairness associated with their skin tone, and dark-skinned girls may face discrimination because other people perceive that their skin tone is unattractive.

If youth communicate with their parents about such experiences of bias, this might lead parents to engage in more preparation for bias with both their light and dark-skinned children. As shown in prior research, parents are more likely to engage in preparation for bias messages if they perceive their children are treated unfairly (Hughes & Johnson, 2001). It is also important to note that parents can reactively engage in race socialization messages in response to what their children tell them, but they can also choose to proactively engage in anticipation of their child's race-related experiences (Hughes, et al., 2006). Therefore what is left unknown, and an interesting area for future research, is if parents are proactively engaging in the transmission of race socialization messages as a function of their child's skin tone.

Skin tone differences also emerged in boys' reports of race socialization: Light-skinned boys reported more preparation for bias than other boys, and dark-skinned boys reported more cultural socialization than other boys. The finding that light-skinned boys receive the highest amount of preparation for bias messages may be a spurious finding because of the low number of light-skinned boys included in the analyses (n=6). Alternatively, this result might be due to the relationship between skin tone and perceived ideals of masculinity. Light skin for men is associated with lower self-esteem among underweight men (Thompson & Keith, 2001). The relationship between skin tone, self-esteem and body weight is theorized to be a result of societal ideals of masculinity. For men it is possible that being light-skinned may be stereotyped as less masculine than darker skin (Wong, Horn, & Chen, 2013). Therefore, youths' parents may be taking into account their child's physical characteristics such as weight/body type and skin tone, and choosing to prepare their light-skinned sons for potential bias they may face from boys of other skin tones. Although body type was not measured in this study, it may be important to take

into account other physical characteristics along with skin tone to have a clearer picture as to how skin tone bias may operate in conjunction with physical traits.

The motivations underlying parents' attempts to racially socialize their children in regards to skin tone should be further studied to take into account other aspects such as body weight, or other physical characteristics that parents may feel place their youth at risk. Parents transmit the types of race socialization messages studied in this dissertation as a deliberate strategy to either increase race pride or warn children for bias they may face. Therefore, it would be interesting to understand further the salient cues that correspond with skin tone that parents use to decide when and how to engage in race socialization.

General Conclusions

Theorists suggest that the experience of being Black is not monolithic; in fact, skin tone may be a significant contributor to in-group heterogeneity in terms of the Black experience in America (Celious & Oyserman, 2001). Several aspects of an individual can contribute to differences in experience such as gender (African American women and men may have unique experiences as a result of their gender), and skin tone (experiences may vary based on the degree of darkness represented in their skin). Past research has attempted to examine skin tone as a factor to better understand heterogeneity in the Black experience. The research that has answered the call to explore the influence of skin tone has established a link between darker skin tones and higher rates of discrimination, lower self-esteem, poorer economic outcomes, and poorer physical health. However, much of the research that has directly linked skin tone to outcomes has used adult populations. This dissertation furthers previous skin tone related research by examining the influence of skin tone on both psychosocial well-being and parenting strategies, and also by exploring how the impact of skin tone changes over time.

The findings from the current study underscore the salience of skin tone throughout the development of African American youth. More specifically, the results provide a more nuanced understanding of how skin tone may influence the self-esteem of boys and girls differently. Additionally, this study provides a deeper understanding of how parents may choose to racially socialize their sons and daughters differently based on their skin tone.

Several important conversations can be started based on the findings of this dissertation. First, the research opens up the dialogue of distinguishing between inter- and intragroup discrimination as it relates to skin tone. Much previous research in racial discrimination has assumed that the perpetrator is a member of the racial out-group. However, skin tone bias can occur as both an inter and intragroup phenomenon, thus potentially placing African Americans with darker skin tones at a higher risk of experiencing more frequent discrimination both from other Blacks as well as members of other racial groups.

Another important aspect to explore is the racial make-up of youths' environment when experiencing skin tone bias. More specifically, it may be possible that skin tone bias may be intensified in predominately Black settings. This intensification could work in two ways: (1) Darker skin tones may be less stigmatized because the environment celebrates skin tones as a closer connection to African ancestry; or (2) Darker skin tones are more negatively stigmatized because of the internalized perception of dark skin demonstrating visible distancing from European beauty ideals. (The reverse could be true for light skin, i.e. light skin is stigmatized due to perceived distant connection to African ancestry). Additionally, it is important to think about how skin tone bias operates when youth are racial minorities in their neighborhood and school settings. Of course, the answers to these questions may vary according to other factors such as gender and the socioeconomic standing of the community. However, it is important for future

research to take into account how the racial-make-up of the environment may influence the perpetuation of skin tone bias.

Finally, there are several clinical implications that can be taken from this dissertation. Skin tone related issues are commonly brought up during therapy with African Americans, and at times is associated with pain and rejection (Okazowa-Rey, Robinson & Ward, 1987). As has been demonstrated by the results of this dissertation, skin tone can have a negative effect on psychosocial well-being. Therefore, this research is beneficial to clinicians in that it gives a better understanding as to how skin tone may influence youths' self-esteem at different developmental stages. In addition to understanding the longitudinal influence of skin tone, it may be useful for clinicians to also better understand the mechanisms by which the effects of skin tone bias may be reduced, such as race socialization. If clinicians are able to teach parents to implement appropriate race socialization strategies with their children, the negative impact of skin tone bias could potentially be reversed. Finally, interventions aimed at promoting and celebrating African ancestry and African American culture should incorporate the various shades of Black skin tones so that all African American youth, regardless of hue, will have pride in and celebrate their heritage.

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Table 1. Correlations Means, Standard Deviations and Correlations for Self-Esteem Latent Growth Curve Model

Variable	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Skin Tone	2.34 (.73)	…							
2. Gender	---	0.06	…						
3. T1 Self-Esteem	3.35 (0.42)	-0.08	-0.05	…					
4. T2 Self-Esteem	3.35 (0.45)	-0.13	-0.05	0.41**	…				
5. T3 Self-Esteem	3.44 (0.41)	-.16*	0.10	0.19	.47**	…			
6. T4 Self-Esteem	3.55 (0.40)	0.03	-0.09	0.17	.37**	.57**	…		
7. Parent Income	4.05 (2.69)	-0.15	0.02	0.07	0.01	-0.04	0.05	…	
8. Parent Education	5.34 (2.13)	-0.08	0.03	0.22*	0.10	0.15	-0.01	-0.03	…

Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations and Bivariate Correlations for Race Socialization Variables

Variable	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. Skin Tone	2.34 (0.73)	----																		
2. Gender	----	0.07	----																	
3. T1 Child Prep. Bias	2.70 (0.92)	-0.10	-0.10	----																
4. T2 Child Prep Bias	2.87 (0.92)	-0.13	0.02	0.31**	----															
5. T3 Child Prep Bias	2.67 (.98)	-0.03	0.03	0.25**	0.37**	----														
6. T4 Child Prep Bias	2.71 (1.06)	0.02	0.02	0.15*	0.35**	0.54**	----													
7. T1 Child Cult. Soc.	3.04 (0.93)	-0.09	-.16*	0.68**	0.12	0.17*	0.11	----												
8. T2 Child Cult. Soc.	3.28 (0.91)	-0.11	-0.03	0.25**	0.76**	0.22**	0.23**	0.25**	----											
9. T3 Child Cult. Soc.	3.12 (1.00)	-0.04	-0.01	0.33**	0.32**	0.64**	0.39**	0.31**	0.31**	----										

10. T4 Child Cult. Soc	2.85 (1.05)	0.01	-.16*	0.14	.20*	0.35**	0.67**	0.23**	0.21**	0.54**	----								
11. T1 Parent Prep. Bias	2.93 (1.06)	-0.08	0.06	0.19*	0.10	0.30**	0.27**	0.22*	0.04	0.17	0.15	----							
12. T2 Parent Prep Bias	2.72 (0.99)	-0.03	-0.02	0.04	0.18*	0.15	0.22*	-0.04	0.19*	0.10	0.20*	0.55**	----						
13. T3 Parent Prep Bias	2.98 (1.09)	-0.11	-0.01	0.10	0.10	0.27**	0.36**	0.14	0.06	0.20*	0.25**	0.46**	0.53**	----					
14. T4 Parent Prep Bias	2.78 (1.09)	0.04	0.06	0.09	0.14	0.23*	0.45**	0.05	0.09	0.17	0.27**	0.50**	0.39**	0.59**	----				
15. T1 Parent Cult. Soc.	3.33 (0.99)	-0.04	-0.03	0.21*	0.10	0.24**	0.24**	0.33**	0.17	0.12	0.15	0.70**	0..40**	0.35**	0.43**	----			
16. T2 Parent Cult. Soc.	3.03 (0.95)	0.04	-.18*	0.05	0.10	0.06	0.16	0.13	0.27**	0.08	0.33**	0.35**	0.66**	0.33**	0.22*	0.47**	----		
17. T3 Parent Cult. Soc.	3.24 (0.95)	0.07	-0.09	0.06	0.07	0.14	0.18	0.15	0.13	0.20*	0.32**	0.31**	0.44**	0.67**	0.41**	0.35**	0.52**	----	
18. T4 Parent Cult. Soc	3.26 (1.11)	-0.03	0.01	0.14	0.16	0.07	0.23*	0.14	0.24**	0.18	0.26**	0.21*	0.33**	0.36**	0.66**	0.33**	0.45**	0.49**	----

19. Parent Income	4.23 (2.55)	-.18*	0.18*	0.16	-0.05	0.22*	0.13	0.17	-0.05	0.05	-0.01	0.17	-0.02	0.17	0.11	0.15	-0.11	0.01	0.05	----
20. Parent Edu.	5.49 (2.01)	-0.12	0.12	0.12	0.14	.24**	0.15	0.12	0.12	0.14	-0.01	0.17	0.07	0.16	0.20*	0.27**	-0.05	-0.02	0.17	0.63*

Table 3. Means, Standard Deviations and Bivariate Correlations for Peer Discrimination and Self-Esteem Variables

Variable	M (SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1. Skin Tone	2.34 (.73)	…																	
2. Gender	---	0.06	…																
3. T1 Peer Disc. Freq.	1.46 (0.61)	0.06	-0.18	…															
4. T2 Peer Disc. Freq.	1.54 (0.56)	0.1	-0.01	.36**	…														
5. T1. Peer Disc. Distress	1.76 (0.86)	-0.12	0.01	0.36*	-0.02	…													
6. T2 Peer Disc. Distress	1.83 (0.81)	0.18*	0.02	0.38*	0.84**	0.05	…												
7. T1 Self-Esteem	3.36 (0.42)	-0.08	-0.05	-0.19	-0.04	0.10	-0.07	…											
8. T2. Self-Esteem	3.35 (0.46)	-0.13	-0.05	-.47**	-0.11	-0.01	-0.14	.41**	…										
9. T1 Child Prep Bias	2.70 (0.92)	-0.10	-0.10	0.10	0.20**	-0.14	0.14	0.05	0.03	…									
10. T2 Child Prep Bias	2.87 (0.92)	-0.13	0.02	-0.10	0.27**	-0.17	0.17*	0.01	0.16*	0.31**	…								
11. T1 Child Cult. Soc.	3.04 (0.93)	-0.09	-.16*	-0.02	0.10	-0.11	0.06	0.06	0.18*	0.68**	0.12	…							

12. T2 Child Cult. Soc.	3.28 (0.91)	-0.11	-0.03	-0.15	0.22**	-0.18	0.11	-0.01	0.25**	0.25**	0.76**	0.25**	…					
13. T1 Parent Prep Bias	2.93 (1.06)	-0.08	0.06	-0.02	0.14	-0.11	0.16	0.10	0.10	0.19*	0.10	0.22*	0.04	…				
14. T2 Parent Prep Bias	2.72 (0.99)	-0.03	-0.02	-0.04	0.04	-0.2	0.05	0.01	0.10	0.04	0.18*	-0.04	0.19*	0.55**	…			
15. T1 Parent Cult. Soc.	3.33 (0.99)	-0.04	-0.03	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.15	0.13	0.21*	0.10	0.33**	0.17	0.70**	0.40**	…		
16. T2 Parent Cult. Soc.	3.03 (0.95)	0.04	-.18*	-0.03	-0.07	-0.22	-0.06	0.04	0.18*	0.05	0.10	0.13	0.27*	0.35**	0.66**	0.47**	…	
17. Parent Income	4.23 (2.55)	-0.18*	0.18*	-0.04	-0.11	0.04	-0.12	0.07	0.07	0.16	-0.05	0.17	-0.05	0.17	-0.02	0.15	-0.11	…
18. Parent Education	5.49 (2.01)	-0.12	0.12	-0.15	-0.03	-0.07	-0.09	0.21*	0.15	0.12	0.14	0.12	0.12	0.17	0.07	0.27**	-0.05	0.63

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations for Boys' and Girls' Self Esteem, by Grade

	Grade 5	Grade 7	Grade 10	Grade 12	Average Across Time	Cell sizes
Light	3.56 (.37)	3.58 (.29)	3.58 (.33)	3.42 (.45)	3.54 (.36)	*n* = 21
Boys	3.58 (.37)	3.47 (.29)	3.70 (.27)	3.27 (.55)	3.50 (.37)	*n* = 6
Girls	3.56 (.38)	3.58 (.29)	3.53 (.35)	3.49 (.41)	3.54 (.36)	*n* = 15
Brown	3.36 (.38)	3.41 (.37)	3.49 (.32)	3.59 (.33)	3.46 (.35)	*n* = 45
Boys	3.23 (.41)	3.31 (.39)	3.49 (.39)	3.55 (.36)	3.40 (.38)	*n* = 17
Girls	3.45 (.35)	3.48 (.36)	3.48 (.32)	3.62 (.31)	3.50 (.34)	*n* = 28
Dark	3.33 (.44)	3.29 (.51)	3.41 (.46)	3.56 (.43)	3.40 (.46)	*n* = 59
Boys	3.40 (.31)	3.39 (.37)	3.49 (.37)	3.59 (.35)	3.47 (.35)	*n* = 25
Girls	3.28 (.51)	3.22 (.58)	3.34 (.51)	3.54 (.48)	3.35 (.52)	*n* = 34
All Skin Tones	3.38 (.41)	3.38 (.44)	3.46 (.40)	3.55 (.40)	3.44 (.41)	*N* = 125

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations for Boys' and Girls' Child Preparation for Bias, by Grade

	Grade 5	Grade 7	Grade 10	Grade 12	Average Across Time	Cell sizes
Light	2.96 (.85)	3.01 (.77)	2.84 (1.06)	2.71 (1.16)	2.88 (.96)	*n* = 21
Boys	2.69 (.97)	3.37 (.63)	3.54 (1.20)	2.67 (1.09)	3.07 (.97)	*n* = 6
Girls	3.07 (.80)	2.87 (.79)	2.56 (.90)	2.72 (1.22)	2.80 (.93)	*n* = 15
Brown	2.66 (.83)	2.77 (.90)	2.41 (.97)	2.48 (1.01)	2.58 (.93)	*n* = 45
Boys	2.56 (.71)	2.83 (.93)	2.30 (.91)	2.52 (1.05)	2.55 (.90)	*n* = 17
Girls	2.72 (.90)	2.73 (.89)	2.47 (1.01)	2.82 (1.02)	2.69 (.96)	*n* = 28
Dark	2.64 (.99)	2.84 (.98)	2.71 (.88)	2.77 (.96)	2.74 (.95)	*n* = 59
Boys	2.53 (1.06)	2.86 (.89)	2.65 (.75)	2.71 (.89)	2.69 (.89)	*n* = 25
Girls	2.71 (.95)	2.81 (1.05)	2.76 (.97)	2.82 (1.02)	2.77 (.99)	*n* = 34
All Skin Tones	2.70 (.91)	2.84 (.91)	2.62 (.95)	2.66 (1.02)	2.71 (.95)	*N* = 125

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations for Boys' and Girls' Child Cultural Socialization, by Grade

	Grade 5	Grade 7	Grade 10	Grade 12	Average cross Time	Cell sizes
Light	3.18 (.82)	3.39 (.86)	3.39 (1.02)	2.85 (1.10)	3.20 (.95)	*n* = 21
Boys	3.02 (1.07)	3.43 (.89)	3.35 (1.10)	2.19 (.39)	2.99 (.37)	*n* = 6
Girls	3.25 (.73)	3.37 (.88)	3.39 (1.02)	3.11 (1.19)	3.28 (.96)	*n* = 15
Brown	3.05 (.97)	3.28 (.81)	2.94 (1.05)	2.67 (.97)	2.99 (.94)	*n* = 45
Boys	2.65 (.99)	3.19 (.85)	2.57 (.98)	2.37 (.87)	2.70 (.92)	*n* = 17
Girls	3.28 (.90)	3.33 (.80)	3.16 (1.04)	2.84 (1.00)	3.15 (.94)	*n* = 28
Dark	2.95 (.98)	3.19 (.98)	3.15 (.90)	2.96 (1.06)	3.06 (.98)	*n* = 59
Boys	2.99 (1.05)	3.21 (.83)	3.27 (.77)	2.86 (1.06)	3.08 (.93)	*n* = 25
Girls	2.92 (.94)	3.18 (1.10)	3.06 (.98)	3.03 (1.07)	3.05 (1.02)	*n* = 34
All Skin Tones	3.02 (.95)	3.26 (.90)	3.11 (.98)	2.83 (1.04)	3.05 (.97)	*N* = 125

Table 7

Means and Standard Deviations for Boys' and Girls' Parent Preparation for Bias, by Grade

	Grade 5	Grade 7	Grade 10	Grade 12	Average Across Time	Cell sizes
Light	2.98 (1.15)	2.60 (1.03)	3.15 (1.00)	2.64 (1.05)	2.84 (1.06)	*n* = 18
Boys	3.47(1.47)	2.75 (1.46)	3.21 (1.41)	3.21 (1.53)	3.16 (1.47)	*n* = 4
Girls	2.85 (1.07)	2.56 (.94)	3.13 (.92)	2.48 (.88)	2.76 (.95)	*n* = 14
Brown	2.87 (1.15)	2.75 (1.00)	2.84 (1.15)	2.72 (1.19)	2.80 (1.12)	*n* = 26
Boys	3.04 (1.19)	2.63 (.82)	2.78 (1.20)	2.78 (1.29)	2.80 (1.12)	*n* = 12
Girls	2.73 (1.12)	2.84 (1.16)	2.89 (1.15)	2.67 (1.15)	2.78 (1.15)	*n* = 14
Dark	2.87 (1.10)	2.58 (.93)	2.77 (1.04)	2.61 (.97)	2.71 (1.01)	*n* = 35
Boys	2.98 (1.04)	2.68 (.58)	3.00 (1.16)	2.89 (.92)	2.88 (.93)	*n* = 12
Girls	2.81 (1.15)	2.53 (1.08)	2.65 (.99)	2.47 (.98)	2.62 (1.05)	*n* = 23
All Skin Tones	2.87 (1.11)	2.64 (.96)	2.88 (1.07)	2.66 (.99)	2.76 (1.03)	*N* = 79

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations for Boys' and Girls' Parent Cultural Socialization, by Grade

	Grade 5	Grade 7	Grade 10	Grade 12	Average Across Time	Cell sizes
Light	3.39 (1.02)	2.97 (.82)	3.30 (.80)	3.35 (1.15)	3.25 (1.19)	*n* = 18
Boys	3.44 (1.31)	2.66 (.93)	3.53 (.82)	3.63 (.96)	3.32 (1.00)	*n* = 4
Girls	3.38 (.99)	3.05 (.80)	3.24 (.82)	3.27 (1.22)	3.24 (.96)	*n* = 14
Brown	2.99 (1.10)	2.79 (.90)	2.82 (.89)	3.09 (1.04)	2.92 (.98)	*n* = 26
Boys	2.86 (1.12)	2.57 (.76)	2.63 (.87)	3.04 (.85)	2.78 (.90)	*n* = 12
Girls	3.09 (1.12)	2.97 (.99)	2.99 (.89)	3.13 (1.20)	3.05 (1.05)	*n* = 14
Dark	3.34 (.93)	2.95 (1.03)	3.31 (1.03)	2.99 (1.11)	3.15 (1.03)	*n* = 35
Boys	3.38 (.79)	2.70 (.71)	3.46 (.68)	3.23 (.94)	3.19 (.78)	*n* = 12
Girls	3.33 (1.00)	3.10 (1.15)	3.23 (1.18)	2.86 (1.19)	3.13 (1.13)	*n* = 23
All Skin Tones	3.24 (1.01)	2.90 (.93)	3.15 (.95)	3.10 (1.09)	3.10 (.99)	*N* = 79

Table 9.
Latent Growth Models for Self-Esteem

	Unconditional	Conditional	Gender Interaction
Variable	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)
Intercept	3.31 (.03)**	3.27 (.13)**	3.42 (.14)**
Slope	.07 (.01)**	.09 (.06)	.11 (.07)
Slope with Intercept	-.02 (.01)	-.02 (.01)*	-.02 (.01)
Slope on Skin Tone	---	.02 (.02)	.01 (.02)
Intercept on Skin Tone	---	-.06 (.04)	-.09 (.05)*
Slope Variance	.02 (.01)**	.02 (.01)**	.02 (.01) **
Intercept Variance	.09 (.02)**	.08 (.02)**	.08 (.02)
Slope on Interaction	---	---	.01 (.04)
Intercept on Interaction	---	---	.10 (.08)
Model Fit Indices			
$\chi 2$ (df)	89.91 (20)	24.08 (11)	29.92 (15)
RMSEA	.13	.08	.07
CFI/TLI	.63/.61	.90/.84	.89/81

Table 10
Unconditional Latent Growth Models for Race Socialization

	Child Prep Bias	Child Cultural Socialization	Parent Prep Bias	Parent Cultural Socialization
Variable	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)
Intercept	4.99 (.75)	6.85 (1.52)	3.66 (-.13)	4.89 (.68)
Slope	-.59 (.18)	-.34 (.15)	-.13 (.17)	-.02 (.19)
Slope with Intercept	-.30 (.17)	-0.08 (.33)	-.33 (.20)	-.24 (.29)
Slope Variance	1.00**	1.00**	1.00**	1.00**
Intercept Variance	1.00**	1.00**	1.00**	1.00**
Model Fit Indices				
$\chi 2$ (df)	99.26 (14)	112.74 (14)	101.59 (14)	110.39 (14)
RMSEA	.17	.19	.19	14
CFI/TLI	.52/.48	.37/.32	.59/.56	.48/.44

*p < .05; **p< .01

Table 11
Conditional Latent Growth Models for Race Socialization

	Child Prep Bias	Child Cultural Socialization	Parent Prep Bias	Parent Cultural Socialization
Variable	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)
Intercept	2.84 (.29)	2.78 (.34)	3.58 (.61)*	4.36 (.85)**
Slope	-.24 (.16)	-.56 (.17)	-1.04 (.73)	.04 (.77)
Slope with Intercept	-.04 (.04)	-.67 (.11)	-.35 (.19)	-.25 (.29)
Slope on Skin Tone	.06 (.08)	-.56 (.17)	.15 (.15)	.06 (.73)
Intercept on Skin Tone	-.15 (.08)	.87 (.21)	-.08 (.15)	.03 (.11)
Slope Variance	.79 (.03)**	.26 (.09)**	.96 (.69)**	.97 (.06)**
Intercept Variance	.27 (.09)**	.29 (.08)**	.97 (.03)**	.97 (.04)**
Model Fit Indices				
$\chi 2$ (df)	22.54 (11)	120.17 (11)	26.15 (11)	37.92 (11)
RMSEA	.07	.16	.08	.11
CFI/TLI	.52/.48	.37/.34	.89/.82	.76/.61

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

Table 12
Conditional Latent Growth Models for Race Socialization-Gender Interaction

	Child Prep Bias	Child Cultural Socialization	Parent Prep Bias	Parent Cultural Socialization
Variable	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)	Coefficient (SE)
Intercept	5.06 (.99)	7.10 (1.72)**	3.40 (.65)**	4.58 (.91)**
Slope	-.73 (.61)	-.34 (.15)	-.91 (.79)	.06 (.88)
Slope with Intercept	-.28 (.19)	-0.28 (.19)	-.35 (.19)	-.19 (.34)
Slope on Skin Tone	.14 (.14)	.14 (.14)	.13 (.18)	.04 (.21)
Intercept on Skin Tone	-.15 (.14)	-.15 (.27)	-.03 (.12)	.00 (.13)
Slope Variance	.96 (.04)**	-.94 (.06)**	.95 (.06)**	.96 (78)**
Intercept Variance	.90 (.74)**	.82 (.12)**	.97 (.03)**	.93 (.06)
Slope on Interaction	.08 (.41)	.32 (.48)	.18 (.58)	.02 (.66)
Intercept on Interaction	-.17 (.41)	-.37 (.47)	-29 (.36)	.28 (41)
Model Fit Indices				
$\chi 2$ (df)	37.92 (15)	44.35 (15)	28.26 (15)	41.87 (15)
RMSEA	.11	.09	.07	.09
CFI/TLI	.76/.61	.67/.69	.91/.82	.76/.58

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

Table 13
Path Models for Peer Discrimination Distress Mediation

	Grade 5		Grade 7		Across Time	
Predictor	Girls β(SE)	Boys β(SE)	Girls β(SE)	Boys β(SE)	Girls β(SE)	Boys β(SE)
Skin Tone	-.15 (.09)	.26 (.28)	.09 (.09)	.38 (.11)	.31 (.21)	-.53 (.18)
Self-Esteem	-.16 (.09)	.15(.26)	.11 (.06)	.07 (.07)	-.07(.10)	.11 (.28)
Model Fit Indices						
χ^2 (df)	27.27 (14)		30.45 (14)		28.60 (14)	
RMSEA	.00		.00		.00	
CFI/TLI	1.00/1.00		1.00/1.00		1.00/1.00	

*p < .05; **p< .01

Table 14. *Preparation for Bias Messages Predicting Changes in Peer Discrimination*

Model	Child Model						Parent Model					
	Grade 5			Grade 7			Grade 5			Grade 7		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	2.34	1.49	---	1.21	0.91	---	4.37	1.61	---	2.29	0.78	---
Parent Income	-0.04	0.21	-0.16	-0.03	0.11	-0.24	0.03	0.21	0.15	-0.06	0.11	-0.58
Parent Education	-0.26	0.19	-1.39	-0.03	0.10	-0.24	-0.18	0.20	-0.88	0.01	0.10	0.01
Skin Tone	0.06	0.42	0.15	0.12	0.25	0.46	-0.50	0.49	-1.03	-0.08	0.22	-0.35
Prep Bias	0.11	0.42	0.25	0.07	0.26	0.28	-0.63	0.54	-1.17	-0.31	0.25	-1.24
Skin Tone x Prep Bias	-0.30	0.55	-0.53	0.15	0.33	0.46	0.43	0.69	0.62	0.43	0.32	1.36
Model R^2 (adjusted)		0.12			0.08*			0.18			0.06	

Table 15

Cultural Socialization Predicting Changes in Peer Discrimination

Model	Child Model						Parent Model					
	Grade 5			Grade 7			Grade 5			Grade 7		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	3.02	2.10	---	1.33	1.05	---	1.46	2.12	---	1.82	0.96	---
Parent Income	0.01	0.22	0.01	-0.04	0.11	-0.35	-0.05	0.21	-0.22	-0.08	0.11	-0.71
Parent Education	-0.27	0.19	-1.45	-0.01	0.11	-0.07	-0.23	0.21	-1.14	0.03	0.10	0.25
Skin Tone	-0.17	0.58	-0.29	0.13	0.29	0.46	0.33	0.65	0.51	0.16	0.26	0.60
Cult. Soc.	-0.10	0.56	-0.17	0.03	0.26	0.11	0.34	0.56	0.61	-0.12	0.26	-0.46
Skin Tone x Cult. Soc.	0.03	0.74	0.04	0.11	0.36	0.30	-0.65	0.85	-0.76	0.07	0.37	0.20
Model R^2 (adjusted)		0.10			0.08			0.13			0.05	

Table 16
Child and Parent Reported Race Socialization Predicting Changes in Peer Discrimination Across Time

Model	Prep Bias Model						Cultural Socialization Model					
	Child			Parent			Child			Parent		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	0.66	0.90	---	0.83	1.21	---	1.07	1.14	---	1.34	1.12	---
Parent Income	-0.04	0.11	-0.33	-0.05	0.11	-0.43	-0.03	0.11	-0.30	-0.03	0.11	-0.24
Parent Education	0.05	0.12	0.40	0.02	0.12	0.16	0.05	0.13	0.36	0.04	0.13	0.33
Skin Tone	0.20	0.22	0.89	0.10	0.27	0.38	0.13	0.27	0.48	0.04	0.34	0.12
Grade 5 Peer Disc.	0.09	0.17	0.55	0.14	0.17	0.84	0.09	0.18	0.50	0.11	0.17	0.65
Race Soc.	0.13	0.23	0.58	0.07	0.31	0.21	0.01	0.25	0.04	-0.08	0.30	-0.26
Skin Tone x Race Soc.	0.07	0.30	0.24	0.23	0.37	0.64	0.14	0.34	0.41	0.25	0.44	0.57
Model R^2 (adjusted)		0.09			0.11			0.07			0.07	

Table 17
Child Reported Preparation for Bias Predicting Changes in Peer Discrimination-Separated by Gender

Model	Girl Model						Boy Model					
	Grade 5			Grade 7			Grade 5			Grade 7		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	1.99	1.89	---	1.27	0.92	---	0.94	0.09	---	1.20	0.87	---
Parent Income	0.07	0.33	0.21	-0.09	0.15	-0.58	-0.02	0.21	-0.08	-0.04	0.16	-0.23
Parent Education	-0.13	0.30	-0.43	-0.07	0.14	-0.48	-0.51	0.20	-2.59*	0.14	0.16	0.87
Skin Tone	0.16	0.59	0.27	0.23	0.27	0.87	0.15	0.50	0.30	-0.13	0.25	-0.51
Prep Bias	-0.03	0.51	-0.05	0.25	0.28	0.90	0.97	0.82	1.19	-0.27	0.26	-1.04
Skin Tone x Prep Bias	-0.26	0.69	-0.37	-0.16	0.37	-0.43	-1.19	0.87	-1.36	0.73	0.33	2.19
Model R^2 (adjusted)		0.06			0.06**			0.58			0.25**	

Table 18. *Child Reported Cultural Socialization Predicting Changes in Peer Discrimination – Separated by Gender*

Model	Girl Model						Boy Model					
	Grade 5			Grade 7			Grade 5			Grade 7		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	2.21	2.36	---	1.55	1.06	---	2.22	2.86	---	1.47	1.00	---
Parent Income	0.09	0.34	0.26	-0.08	0.15	-0.49	-0.01	0.20	-0.07	-0.10	0.17	-0.58
Parent Education	0.04	0.31	0.13	-0.07	0.14	-0.53	-0.56	0.16	-3.63*	0.19	0.16	1.17
Skin Tone	0.11	0.72	0.15	0.16	0.31	0.53	0.07	0.62	0.11	-0.06	0.28	-0.20
Cult. Soc.	-0.19	0.56	-0.33	0.14	0.28	0.51	0.99	0.89	1.17	-0.32	0.26	-1.23
Skin Tone x Cult. Soc.	-0.15	0.80	-0.19	-0.06	0.40	-0.16	-1.09	1.02	-1.07	0.60	0.37	1.61
Model R^2 (adjusted)		0.09			0.05			0.65**			0.18*	

Table 19
Parent Reported Preparation for Bias Predicting Changes in Peer Discrimination-Separated by Gender

Model	Girl Model						Boy Model					
	Grade 5			Grade 7			Grade 5			Grade 7		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	4.61	1.36	---	2.59	0.82	---	6.04	2.33	---	2.43	0.75	---
Parent Income	0.07	0.28	0.24	-0.11	0.15	-0.77	-0.04	0.24	-0.16	-0.09	0.17	-0.53
Parent Education	0.17	0.31	0.56	0.01	0.13	-0.09	-0.57	0.19	-2.96*	0.12	0.16	0.76
Skin Tone	-0.77	0.46	-1.69	-0.08	0.24	-0.35	-0.79	0.59	-1.35	-0.37	0.25	-1.50
Prep Bias	-1.12	0.46	-2.46*	-0.25	0.28	-0.92	-0.30	0.79	-0.38	-0.63	0.26	-2.47*
Skin Tone x Prep Bias	0.94	0.69	1.36	0.33	0.36	0.91	0.38	0.91	0.41	0.99	0.35	2.82
Model R^2 (adjusted)		0.28			0.04			0.55**			0.18*	

Table 20

Parent Reported Cultural Socialization Predicting Changes in Peer Discrimination-Separated by Gender

Model	Girl Model						Boy Model					
	Grade 5			Grade 7			Grade 5			Grade 7		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	2.46	1.98	---	2.27	1.02	---	2.67	2.41	---	2.13	0.93	---
Parent Income	0.07	0.34	0.22	-0.10	0.15	-0.67	0.02	0.21	0.07	-0.09	0.17	-0.56
Parent Education	-0.04	0.32	-0.13	-0.02	0.14	-0.12	-0.63	0.22	-2.87*	0.10	0.16	0.63
Skin Tone	-0.11	0.69	-0.16	0.01	0.29	0.05	0.07	0.67	0.11	0.13	0.29	0.45
Cult. Soc.	-0.22	0.54	-0.41	-0.11	0.28	-0.40	0.72	0.65	1.11	-0.50	0.30	-1.63
Skin Tone x Cult. Soc	0.12	0.90	0.13	0.16	0.40	0.40	-0.88	0.94	-0.94	0.37	0.46	0.81
Model R^2 (adjusted)		0.03			0.04			0.61**			0.18	

Table 21
Child and Parent Reported Race Socialization Predicting Changes in Peer Discrimination Across Time-Girls

Model	Prep Bias Model						Cultural Socialization Model					
	Child			Parent			Child			Parent		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	1.52	1.04	---	1.08	1.28	---	2.36	1.39	---	2.45	1.52	---
Parent Income	-0.05	0.18	-0.26	-0.09	0.19	-0.50	-0.01	0.19	-0.06	-0.03	0.21	-0.14
Parent Education	-0.06	0.17	-0.38	-0.17	0.19	-0.89	-0.16	0.17	-0.93	-0.13	0.20	-0.63
Skin Tone	-0.11	0.34	-0.32	0.01	0.36	0.02*	-0.29	0.43	-0.67	-0.39	0.52	-0.75
Grade 5 Peer Disc.	0.33	0.21	1.53	0.42	0.20	2.09	0.35	0.24	1.47	0.45	0.19	2.37*
Race Soc.	0.01	0.31	0.03	0.15	0.40	0.37	-0.17	0.35	-0.49	-0.28	0.41	-0.66
Skin Tone x Race Soc.	0.27	0.41	0.67	0.21	0.50	0.43	0.45	0.48	0.94	0.62	0.65	0.95
Model R^2 (adjusted)		0.17			0.22			0.16			0.23	

Table 22
Child and Parent Reported Race Socialization Predicting Changes in Peer Discrimination Across Time-Boys

Model	Prep Bias Model						Cultural Socialization Model					
	Child			Parent			Child			Parent		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error	Beta
(Constant)	1.43	0.98	---	1.02	1.21	---	2.23	1.31	---	2.31	1.43	---
Parent Income	0.01	0.16	0.03	-0.01	0.16	-0.08	-0.01	0.16	-0.02	0.02	0.17	0.14
Parent Education	0.10	0.18	0.53	0.06	0.18	0.31	0.06	0.22	0.29	-0.05	0.23	0.23
Skin Tone	0.08	0.22	0.35	0.11	0.28	0.40	-0.09	0.28	-0.31	-0.06	0.37	-0.15
Grade 5 Peer Disc.	-0.10	0.18	-0.57	-0.10	0.18	-0.55	-0.16	0.28	-0.57	-0.25	0.25	-1.01
Race Soc.	-0.27	0.30	-0.88	-0.09	0.32	-0.27	-0.39	0.41	-0.95	-0.19	0.41	-0.46
Skin Tone x Race Soc.	0.43	0.37	1.19	0.36	0.41	0.89	0.60	0.52	1.16	0.41	0.58	0.72
Model R^2 (adjusted)		0.18*			0.21*			0.18*			0.18	

Figure 1. Latent Growth Curve Model- Skin Tone Predicting the Growth Trajectory of Self-Esteem

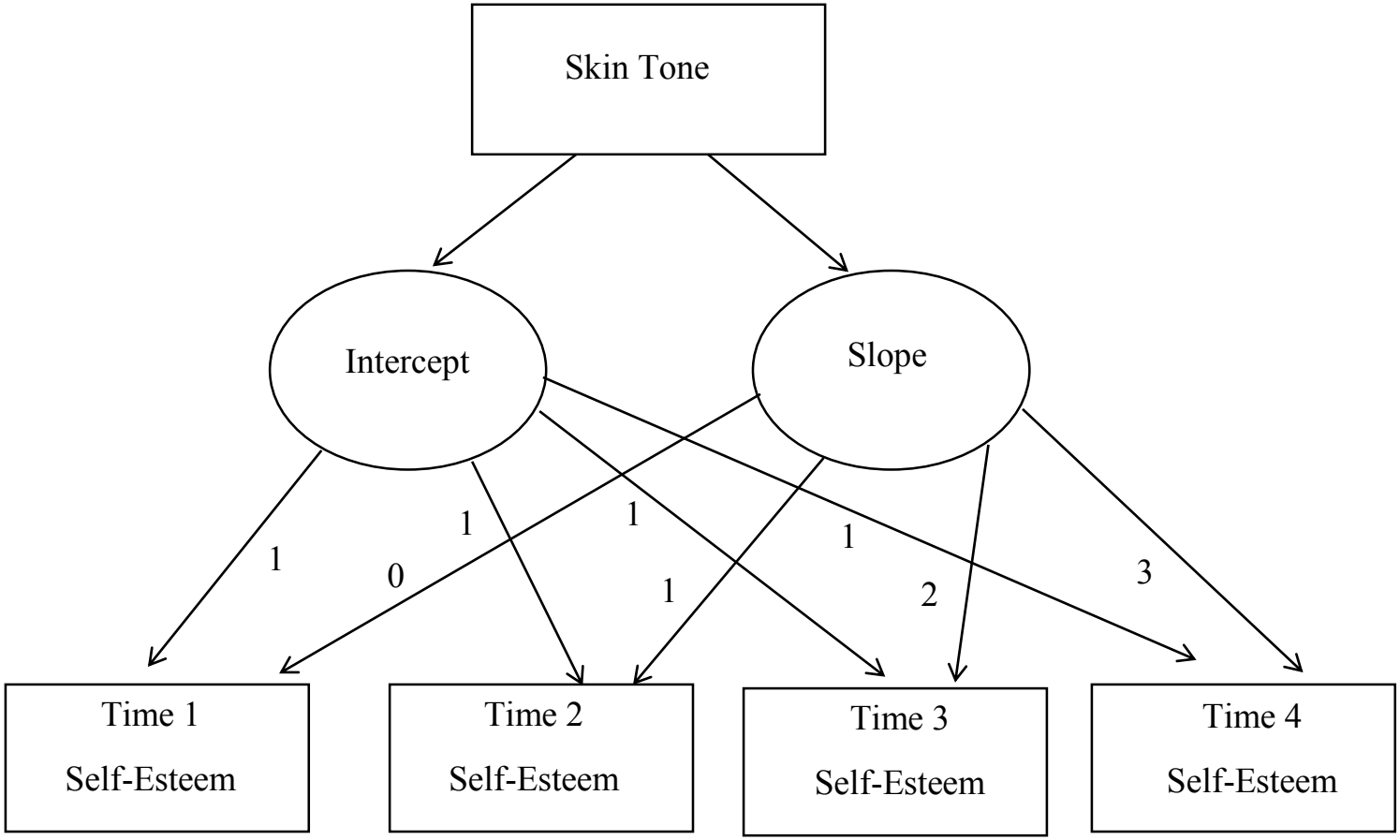

Figure 2. Quadratic trajectory-Skin tone predicting changes in self-esteem across time

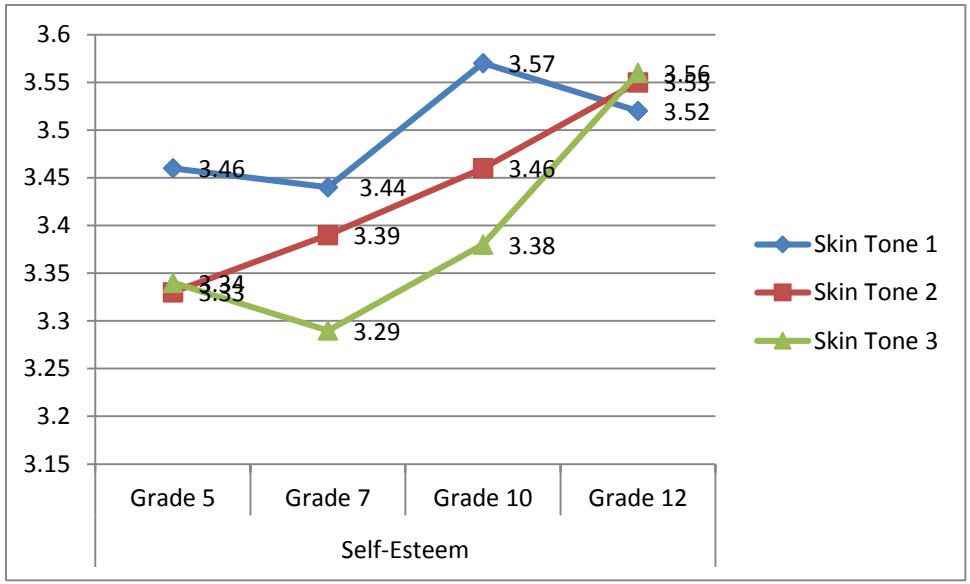

Figure 3. Peer Discrimination Distress as a Mediator in the Relationship between Skin Tone and Self-esteem