

SOCIALIZATION,
BLACK SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN
AND
THE COLOR CASTE HIERARCHY

by
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SIGNED:

But where the comic and the tragic (for want of a better word) are closely interwoven, certain members of an audience will always give emphasis to the comic as opposed to the other, for by so doing they rationalize the other out of existence.

Harold Pinter ^{V T}
960
Letter to the Sunday Times
London, 14 August 1960

in

Read, K.E. (1980). Other
Voices. Novato, CA: Chandler &
Sharp Publishers, Inc.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the descriptive research was to investigate the relationship between an adherence to the Black community's belief and value system about Black skin tones and Black school-age children's skin tone preferences and perceptions of occupational life opportunities. Six Black skin tones were scaled via Thurstone's method of paired comparisons and the law of comparative judgment. The result was an interval level Skin Tone Scale on which the skin tones were positioned from most to least preferred by the children. The most preferred skin tones ranged from medium to honey brown. The least preferred were the extreme tones of very light yellow and very dark brown.

Data collection was accomplished with the Porter Skin Tone Connotation Scale (PSTCS). The instrument was constructed from the forced choice preference paradigm.

Data were obtained from a volunteer sample of 98 Black school-age children who resided in a city in Arizona. Data collection and analyses were constructed to test two hypotheses: 1) Black school-age children's skin tone classifications for differential status occupations will be related to gender, age, and perception of own skin tone as indexed by the skin tone values of the Skin Tone Scale, and 2) with increasing age, Black school-age children's skin tone preferences will be more systematically related to the skin tone values of the Skin Tone Scale.

Testing of the first hypothesis with multiple regression indicated that the independent variables did not account for enough variance to support the hypothesis. Analysis of the second hypothesis with coefficient gamma suggested a trend toward more systematic agreement with the Skin Tone Scale with increasing age.

Results of the first hypothesis were discussed in relation to composition of the sample, gender differences, the achievement value of the Black sociocultural system, and these Black children's lived experience. Results of the second hypothesis reflected those from similar investigations conducted in the 1940s. The results suggested Black children still most prefer brown skin tones and least prefer extreme light and dark skin tones. Black children's preferences for Black skin tones have not altered in approximately forty years.

PROLOGUE

Got one mind for white folks to see.
'Nother for what I know is me ...

Black Folksong
Author Unknown

The words of the folksong reflect my Faustian curiosity about how we, as humans, create an integrated self from the 'stuff' around us and how we maintain that self in a state of psychological well-being. I am curious about the multidimensional construct known as mental health. What is mental health? The construct defies definition by both theoreticians and practitioners. Thus, the term is idiosyncratically defined by each investigator and committee who professes an interest in its antecedents and existence. Neither an idiosyncratic definition nor a description of the semantic intricacies of the professional usage of the term are presented here. It is sufficient for my purposes to describe the term as including the ability to both survive and thrive in life. For my purposes, mental health becomes the ability to create and maintain the integrity and psychological well-being of the self while both surviving and thriving in life. Mental health, then, is observable in terms of behavioral freedom. "Behavioral freedom may be regarded as the ability ... to develop and maintain a resiliency and flexibility in response to a changing environment and a changing self" (Bower, 1969, p. 237).

There exist many groups, within our sociocultural system, that have difficulty with the creation and maintenance of a psychologically well self. Some members of these groups neither survive nor thrive. One of the groups at highest risk, by dominant group standards, for lack of psychological well-being is *Black American children. The Report of the Joint Commission on the Mental Health of Children (1970) notes that "only rarely does the child of an ethnic minority escape the damaging effects of racism .. which cripples the minority-group child in body, mind, and spirit" (p. 215). This view of the risk to Black children, as members of an ethnic minority group, is consistently supported by the findings of social science research. The research findings support the notion that Black American children are psychological cripples (Clark & Clark, 1939, 1947; Clark, 1955; Porter, 1971; Rainwater, 1966; Powell, 1983). Powell (1983) elaborates on the view with a cogent statement about how the focus on illness in social science research perpetuates itself. Powell states that the focus is supported by

the supposition by some that it is doubtful that any Afro-American child can grow up psychologically unscathed in this racist, negrophobic, white dominated culture - that no matter what the parameters of psychological well-being might be, they cannot be or are rarely achieved by Afro-American children (p. 50).

*The capitalized word Black is used to designate those classified as Afro-American.

The supposition which undergirds social science research about Black children is a reflection of the sociocultural belief system. Science 'proves' the sociocultural belief that Black Americans are psychological cripples by its persistent descriptions of 'causal' pathology and deficits (Jones, 1973). Needless to say, the findings of social research, as a reflection of a racist sociocultural belief system, need not reflect 'truth'. Also, social science research with its inferior and deficit models (Jones & Korchin, 1982) and Black-*White comparisons (Murray, 1973; Watson, 1973) describe only one piece of the environmental and personal puzzle from which Black children create and maintain psychological well-being. It describes only the racist relationship between Black and White Americans. Suffice it to say, that one piece does not constitute an entire puzzle.

But, Black America is conditioned by majority and minority groups to attend to the racist piece of the puzzle more closely than any other. It cannot be denied that the emphasis on and concern with White racism is neither a legitimate nor an all encompassing part of the lives of Black Americans. White racism is the thread that holds the commonality of the Black experience together. It is a commonality based on an ascribed status, that is based on innate and immutable physical characteristics (Leggon, 1979). Specifically, White racism is an

*The capitalized term White is used to designate those classified as Caucasian.

integral part of every Black American's existence, because it is woven into the fabric of the American sociocultural system. Generally then, racism is an integral part of every American's existence. It becomes a part of each of us through the socialization processes. Segal and Yahraes (1978) support this belief with the statement that "pervasive and often subtle, racism is felt in the life of every American child. It has been termed 'the number one health problem facing America' and 'the only contagious form of mental illness'" (p. 272). vanden Berghe (1967) points out the inevitability of racism when he argues that

the existence of races in a given society presupposes the presence of racism, for without racism, physical characteristics are devoid of social significance. Thus, it is not the presence of objective physical differences between groups that create racism but the social recognition of such differences as socially significant or relevant (p. 11).

Thus, the social significance of physical characteristics fosters racism. The tradition of racism in America as a product of collective action, developed as both a process and an ideology. Racism as a process refers to "the ways in which a system of racial domination emerges, functions, and is maintained" (Leggon, 1979, p. 6). Racism as an ideology refers to the beliefs, conceptions, and the collective world view that supports the racist process operating at the individual, the group, or the institutional level (Leggon, 1979). Racism, then as a process and an idea, and the result of collective action is a product of ongoing group interaction in which the control of resources (power) by one group, which makes it dominant, defines the status and behavior of the group without control of resources (no power), which makes it

minority (Leggon, 1979; Wilson, 1973). Size of the group is not a critical element in this description of racism. In support of the position, Leggon (1979) states "most discussions on minority and majority groups use 'power' or 'resource base' as the distinguishing dimension" (p. 6). Wilson (1973) suggests the scope and extent of racial domination are directly related to the extent of the power discrepancy between groups. The racist process and ideology can be traced in the histories of Black and White America. The crippling outcome is the sustained stratification of Black and White Americans and the belief by some White Americans and Black Americans that Black Americans as a group are psychically exploited by the racist system. "Psychic exploitation obtains when minority individuals internalize the norms justifying their subordination and begin to question their own humanity" (Leggon, 1979, p. 6). It is obvious from the past and current history that Black Americans, as a group, are not psychically exploited to the point of questioning their humanity.

Regardless of how the term racism is described -- racism is a social reality in the American sociocultural system. Racism exerts its psychologically crippling effect upon each and every individual within the system. Is White racism as a piece of the environmental and personal puzzle worthy of so much of Black America's attention? Or should White racism be placed in its proper perspective for Black children - as simply one piece of the puzzle?

If White racism is placed in proper perspective, there is another piece of the puzzle to which Black America must attend. That

piece is Black children's relationship with Black America. This piece of the environmental and personal puzzle is described differently by Black social scientists. They present empirical data and formulate theories about Black America which counterbalance the pathological interpretations of the deficit model used by White mainstream social scientists. Black psychology, as an accepted trend in the social sciences, concerns itself, "in its theoretical work, with three principal areas: black family life and its effect on personality; mental health; and IQ" (Watson, 1973, p. 15). The force behind the movement of Black social scientists is to develop an alternative frame of reference for Black Americans. They recognize that the destructive and continual Black-White comparisons are insensitive to the fact that Black and White Americans can never have the same frame of reference (Lander, 1973; Watson, 1973).

Black social scientists are developing alternative frames of reference which transcend the limits of White social scientists (Ascante & Vandi, 1980). They describe the influence of powerful social forces on Black America's belief and value systems. They induce how the strength and adaptability of Black Americans help them to survive these forces without becoming psychological cripples. They graphically portray the strengths and accommodative functionalism of the Black family (Billingsley, 1968; Hill, 1972; Martin & Martin, 1978; McAdoo, 1981; Staples, 1979; Willie, 1981). Black social scientists are also waging an important scientific and political war in the areas of mental health and intelligence (Jones & Korchin, 1982; Jones, 1980; Powell,

1983). These battles and wars are all about the racist relationship between White and Black America. They are all necessary wars. But again, they are primarily related to only one piece of the environmental and personal puzzle that influences psychological well-being.

In all of the current Black social science literature about intragroup belief and value systems there is minimal mention of how belief and value systems are associated with skin tone. The massive number of skin tone investigations, by Black and White social scientists, is in relation to racial awareness, preference, and identity of Black compared with White children (Horowitz, 1936; Clark & Clark, 1940; Morland, 1958; Porter, 1971; Banks & Rompf, 1973; Brand, Ruiz & Padilla, 1974; Banks, 1976). The data from these studies are interpreted in terms of White racism. The perpetual emphasis on White racism prohibits Black America from exploring its own intergenerational belief and value systems about skin tone that have been slowly evolving since the institutionalization of slavery. The time is now for Black America to explore its piece of the puzzle. Black children create and maintain a sense of psychological well-being primarily from Black America - not White America.

This descriptive investigation is an attempt to view Black America's belief and value systems about skin tones through the eyes of Black children. The investigation embraces both the historical and current experiences of Black children because past and present perspectives are rarely mutually exclusive. The interactional nature of the historical and current perspectives is captured in two major themes.

The first theme is the relationship between sociocultural structure and process. This relationship is embodied in socialization processes which perpetuate sociocultural values, standards, and beliefs. The second theme is the creation and maintenance of psychological well-being or mental health. This theme is embodied in Black children's perception of their ability to survive and thrive within the existing system. The two themes are related to Black America's belief and value systems about its variety of skin tones. The investigation is directed toward an understanding of how major sociocultural forces impact upon Black America and how those forces influence the kind and quality of environmental 'stuff' it provides for its children. The particular environmental 'stuff' of concern is the socialization of Black children into beliefs and values about skin tones.

I realize some may ask questions like: Of what importance are Black America's beliefs and values about skin tone? or Why expose the raw edges of Black people's color consciousness to scrutiny? or Don't White people have enough social myths, stereotypes, and unadulterated prejudices about Black people now? My response to these and similar questions is that exposure of the problem is vitally important to us as Black people. Skin tone consciousness, like White racism, is not a simple delusion. It is a set of beliefs and values whose structure arises from the innermost core of our beings. The beliefs about the values attributed to different skin tones form the fabric of our assumptions about life, ourselves, and others, and help to create the scenes for our varied sociocultural experiences. Therefore, any

information which may add to our understanding of ourselves and our children contribute to our ability to maintain our psychological well-being. As grown-up Black Americans we have the onerous responsibility to help our children not only survive in a hostile environment, but also to thrive par excellence. If we are unwittingly contributing to their risk for lack of psychological well-being by socializing them with outmoded beliefs and values we need to be aware of it and become actively involved in change for them. Is there of a more important reason why this problem should not be investigated?

At this juncture, some comments must be made about my concerns regarding attempting even a rudimentary scientific investigation of Black custom. The attempt is a venture charged with scientific difficulties and personal opinions and philosophy. Need more be said about how personal opinions, values, and preferences influence scientific findings? A second concern centers around the presentation of the data. Its presentation without the nuances of the contextual background may be unfairly construed and lead to additional social myths and stereotypical thinking about Black America. A final concern centers around the making of generalizations. In ethnic/minority research, generalizations which ignore within-ethnic group differences can culminate in oversimplified generalizations about an entire group. Contrary to a popular assumption, Black America is not a monolithic group, and statements made about one segment cannot be generalized to the total group. This tendency is and has been destructive.

In spite of my concerns, as a Black nurse researcher, I accept the challenge of describing as openly, sensitively, and truthfully as I am able, the perceived reality of our children. This investigation then is their perceived reality at one point in their time -- as it is and as it might be and as it should be. In the sense that, nothing in human existence is ever all of any one aspect.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Mary had a little lamb
Its fleece was white as snow
And everywhere that Mary went
The little white lamb could go.

Mary had another lamb
Its fleece was black, you see
They thought he was a "you-know-what"
And hung him from a tree.
(Lincoln, 1968, p. 249)

Color consciousness, to some degree, is a universal phenomenon. Skin color is one of the most important factors that affect intrapersonal, interpersonal, and national and international intergroup relations (Franklin, 1968; Samuels, 1969; Shils, 1968). Since the color problem is ubiquitous it is relevant to consider it from a worldwide perspective.

Few investigations exist about the color consciousness of the world's people. The majority of investigations are carried out in and focus upon the United States where color consciousness has been most strikingly displayed. One reason for the preponderance of studies about the United States is the long history of American scholarly interest in the phenomenon (Brewster-Smith, 1973). Since few investigations exist about the color consciousness of other groups, "it is commonly assumed that the 'white' people of the world are unduly sensitive to the colour

of a person's skin and that attitudes toward people are formed upon that basis" (Samuels, 1969, p. 203). The erroneous assumption is related to the many complex aspects of intergroup relations (Bartlett, 1969; Shils, 1968). Franklin (1968) graphically illuminates the erroneous assumption about racial confrontation being only between White individuals and differently pigmented other individuals with a quote from "The Economist ... shortly after the Los Angeles riots of 1965."

The week of the Los Angeles riots was also the week when Malaysia broke apart because brown men could not control their dark suspicions of yellow men, and when black and brown men resumed their efforts to slug it out in southern Sudan. (p. vii).

Franklin proposes that people of different colors coexist uneasily in the same environment. Thus, the potential for trouble between the people is always present. The assignment of particular social values to various skin tones extends to the far corners of the world. The literature indicates that the lighter skin tones are most highly valued by the majority of groups.

Wagatsuma (1968) relates that "long before any sustained contact with either Caucasoid Europeans or dark-skinned Africans or Indians, the Japanese valued 'white' skin as beautiful and deprecated 'black' skin as ugly. Their spontaneous responses to the white skin of Caucasoid Europeans and the black skin of Negroid people were an extension of values deeply embedded in Japanese concepts of beauty" (p. 129). In a discussion about India, Beteille (1968) describes vague

negative feelings based on skin tone differences among the many religious and regional groups. He concludes, "that in India, as elsewhere, high social values are attached to certain physical traits. Among those that are valued most highly, fair skin occupies a conspicuous position" (p. 173). Bastide (1968) comments that Brazil is "a country in which prejudice is based not on race but on color, where discrimination varies in direct proportion to the blackness of the skin" (p. 34). Braithwaite (1968), a "colored immigrant" (p. 218), recounts the sociocultural status of Indians, Pakistanis, and West Indians in Britain. He describes how colored immigrants unjustly suffer the color antagonism of the White Britons. Little (1968) broadens Braithwaite's personal perspective about the social unacceptability and believed inferiority of people of darker skin tones with a sociological view of the status of a larger group of colored immigrants. On the basis of sociological data, Little contends "that prejudice and discrimination on grounds of race existed on quite a wide scale long before the colored immigrants arrived in large numbers" (p. 235). It is precisely the large influx of colored immigrants that is the important variable in making skin tone a dominant, emotional and political factor in intergroup relations. He suggests from the data about all groups that "'color' has negative value in the British social class system" (p. 240). Little also remarks about the skin tone values of West Indians in an attempt to explain why this group may feel the color antagonism most acutely. He states, "in the West Indies, the lighter-

skinned person quite often considers himself to be on a higher social plane than a person of darker color. His lighter skin marks him out in general terms as a member of a wealthier and more socially favored group. He is color-conscious ... as well as race conscious" (p. 238). Lowenthal (1968) corroborates Little's remarks about West Indians' skin tone values with a variety of sociological facts and opinions. Some of these include a quote from a Guyanese who argues that in the West Indies "...the dark-skinned people hate the light brown people ...[and] a study of social stratification in Trinidad [which] depicts a society...[where] the light-colored elite and the black peasantry of Grenada are shown to inhabit worlds not remotely alike" (p. 303). Broom (1972) presents a similar picture about Jamaica when he discusses its ethnic and color based social stratification system. He points out that the foundation for the system's pattern of stratification was created during the 18th century. It was during that time that "lightness valued as a promise of higher status, became valued for itself, and status became equated with lightness" (p. 85). Johnson (1972) discusses the role of skin tone in a study about White-Indian-Negro relations in the southern United States. He describes the mixed-blood Indian communities as intermediate groups in the strict skin tone classification system of the South. He states, "at the bottom of the social scale are the darker Indians. They are on the whole poorer than the others, ...and ...are jealous of the lighter Indians" (p. 63). The Indians in the middle of the social scale are not light enough to pass for white. So, "they envy

the lighter ones and resent the darker ones" (p. 63). At the top of the scale are the Indians that could pass for white. Generally, the 'white' Indians "have a better economic status, a better education, and higher prestige" (p. 63). Among the Indians, the skin tone-status scale is a prohibited topic of discussion, even though the outcome of scale position is everywhere evident in their society. In South Africa, where apartheid rules, skin tone is of prime importance. "Color is the sole determinant of power...[in this country where] ... racial and color prejudice and discrimination are embedded ... [in its] structure" (Légum, 1968, p. 205). As stated previously, "white," "fair," "light" skin tone is the most highly valued among most groups in the world.

Lincoln (1968) contends that "in the United States...skin color is probably the most important single index for uncritical human evaluation" (p. 249). To contend that the phenomenon is most important solely in the United States is too restrictive. Personal evaluations based on skin tone are probably the most important universal single criterion in human relations everywhere. Universally, "color is often read as a signal to denigrate, to discriminate, to segregate. It takes on the characteristics of a cultural norm" (Lincoln, 1968, p. 249) in most of the world's sociocultural systems. An example of skin color discrimination in the United States is provided by an investigation by Paschal and Sullivan (1925). The investigation entitled "Racial Influences in the Mental and Physical Development of Mexican Children" is purported to be a "study of race psychology" (p. 59). The sample

consisted of 379 nine and twelve year old Mexican children on whom various psychological and anthropological data were collected. The most pertinent conclusion was "the correlations between mental score and individual race characters are very small in a group like this in which intermixture has taken place for so many generations. Of those chosen, skin color shows the highest correlation with mental score" (p. 74).

The existence of skin tone consciousness and discrimination are indisputably pervasive phenomena. In spite of the fact that color as an abstraction, and skin tone as pigmentation are meaningless sense data. Color, as skin tone becomes meaningful and emotionally value laden in its symbiotic relationship with symbols. Its symbolic meaning and value are perpetuated by specific sociocultural structures and processes. The perpetuation of the value laden symbolic meaning of skin tone influences intergroup and intragroup relations. For all individuals, the perpetuation of skin tone's symbolic meaning, plays a salient role in the creation of a person's identity and in the creation of a particular world view. Together, these two factors influence the motivation to achieve sociocultural status. Thus, the phenomena influence, positively and negatively, the psychological well-being of all individuals within a sociocultural system. Skin tone consciousness and discrimination are universally concerned with sociocultural forces as sociocultural experiences - experiences which are interpreted with a particular world view (Rosenberg, 1973).

The notion of sociocultural forces as sociocultural experiences and their influence on the psychological well-being of Black American children, in particular, is elaborated upon in this chapter. The chapter contains the statement of the problem, statement of the purpose, significance of the problem, and the literature review for this investigation.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this descriptive research is to investigate the relationship between an adherence to a specific belief and value system about skin tone preference (color caste hierarchy) and Black school-age children's perception of occupational life opportunities. An additional purpose is the acquisition of information about the continued existence of a belief in the color caste hierarchy.

The symbolic phrase, color caste hierarchy, refers to a socio-culturally defined rank order scale on which skin tone value and social status/achievement are perfectly confounded. The symbolic phrase, color caste hierarchy is grammatically redundant because the word caste implies hierarchy. Regardless of the redundancy, the phrase explicitly describes the lived experience of Black individuals with varying degrees of pigmentation. The key term in the symbolic phrase is caste. The term caste refers to a hierarchical sociocultural system that is organized around beliefs in superior and inferior groups. The individuals born into either group have certain privileges and limitations. In a caste system, because of some external characteristic, there is

minimal or no mobility from inferior to superior group (Dollard, 1949; Sutherland, 1942). The important point is that the term caste connotes permanency of status. The color caste hierarchy is a skin tone value scale based principally on two beliefs. These are a belief in the inherent superiority and inferiority of different skin tones and a belief in the coexistence of desirable and/or undesirable personality characteristics with different skin tones. The hierarchy is constructed so that the two beliefs are associated in a confounded relationship. One belief cannot be separated from the other. In this sense, the color caste hierarchy is a causal belief and value system with skin tone causing desirable and/or undesirable personality characteristics and desirable and/or undesirable personality characteristics being caused by skin tone. For example, the more superior the skin tone, which are light tones, the more desirable are the personality characteristics. Thus, lighter skin toned Black individuals are more friendly, more motivated, more industrious, and more positive in their approach to life. The more inferior the skin tone, which are dark tones, the less desirable are the personality characteristics. Thus, darker skin toned Black individuals are 'evil', lazy, and negative in their approach to life. In that skin tone is permanent, Black individuals are ascribed personality characteristics they may not possess. Thus, the hierarchy, based principally upon two beliefs, is a combination of observed and inferred differences among individuals (Mackie, 1973).

A belief in the hierarchy, whether a self or larger system belief, is envisioned as a mechanism for the denial of both psychological well-being and sociocultural and economic opportunities. Therefore, the primary concepts in the description of the color caste hierarchy are skin tone values and perception of sociocultural achievement. These two concepts, mediating through a perception of own skin tone influence psychological well-being.

Perspective For the Problem

In this portion of the chapter, the concepts are placed in a particular sociocultural, economic, and psychological perspective. The perspective enhances the understanding of the color caste hierarchy and its meaning for Black America. The perspective is necessary because it is difficult for White Americans to comprehend the rationale for the institutionalized color distinctions in Black America. Drake and Cayton (1962) ask the question, "How can Negroes ignore color distinctions when the whole culture puts a premium upon being white, and when from time immemorial the lighter Negroes have been the more favored?" (p. 495). Drake and Cayton's question graphically crystallizes the rationale for the institutionalized color distinctions in Black America. Their question also explicitly describes Black and White America's interconnected skin tone value systems. These particular value systems are one example of a common core of interconnected values. The common core of interconnected values links the two groups together in a symbiotic relationship that Diamond, as cited by Willie

(1976), figuratively labels a hellish minuet. Hence, any assumption that the life of Black Americans can be understood independent of their involvement with White Americans is totally unwarranted (Willie, 1976). Any aspect of the lives of Black Americans possesses a similar or obverse side in the lives of White Americans (Dollard, 1949).

The similar values assigned to skin tones are a stellar example of the symbiotic relationship between the two Americas. Skin tones are used by White America to stratify its own and other groups in reference to stereotypical person perception, social power and status. The outcome of this stratification is a sociocultural classificatory system based on a value laden scale of skin tone, with an individual's social power and status inexplicably associated with a position on the scale (Mencke, 1979). Black America also stratifies its group. Its sociocultural classificatory system is no exception to the rule of classification by skin tone in reference to stereotypical person perception, social power and status. Consequently, within both of the Americas there exists a tension of inequality and preference based solely on various amounts of skin pigmentation. The skin tones most valued and preferred by both of the Americas are those with less pigmentation - a pro-white skin tone preference (Banks, 1976).

Numerous theories are posited to explain the development of pro-white skin tone preference among Black and White children. These theories are posited in the child development research about the acquisition of racial attitudes. These empirical investigations contain

various methodological flaws. Some of these directly impact external validity of the findings (Katz, 1976; Brand, Ruiz & Padilla, 1974; Banks, 1976). In the sense of external validity, these formulations have been generated by work with adults, and extrapolations to children have been made primarily on a theoretical, rather than an empirical basis (Katz, 1976, p. 129). Methodologically, only single determinants of complex multidetermined racial attitudes have been empirically investigated (Katz, 1976). None of these empirical investigations increase the understanding of pro-white skin tone preference among Black and White children. Supportive evidence for the diverse interpretations of data from single variables is scanty, inconsistent and nongeneralizable. Brand, Ruiz and Padilla (1974) summarize the 'state of the art' for forced choice preference paradigm investigations about pro-white preference with the statement that "under present empirical and theoretical gaps, it is moot whether studies reflect minority preferences for white stimuli or mirror partial subject responses within biased designs" (p. 883). Therefore, "the parameters underlying ... [the] development [of pro-white preference] are not known at the present time" (Katz, 1976, p. 127).

Pro-white skin tone preference among Black American children cannot be empirically investigated with either single determinants or method lacking external validity. Any attempt to bring theoretical clarity to this human phenomenon must be informed by the sociocultural, economic and political context in which this phenomenon occurs.

Sociohistorical Context

Black America's pro-white skin tone preference is argued to have arisen from "the corruption of color-prejudice which the Negro as a group has come to experience at the hands of the white" (Bovell, 1943, p. 449). If the preference can be legitimately argued in that manner, then Black America's -- "color consciousness and...discrimination between shades" (Dollard, 1949, p. 70) -- or its "intraracial segregation" (Gibson, 1931, p. 413) -- or its "color-sensitivity" (Freeman, Ross, Armour & Pettigrew, 1966, p. 365) -- or its "color-struck people" (Drake & Cayton, 1962, p. 496) -- or its "color conflict" (Bovell, 1943, p. 449) -- or its "color caste hierarchy" (Holtzman, 1973, p. 94) -- is as ancient as the institutionalization of slavery. And thus Black America's pro-white preference is indelibly etched in its sociocultural, economic and political past.

Slavery

The American institution of slavery not only dehumanized and exploited Blacks, but it was also instrumental in the creation of a human being who was a product of African and White American genes. The result of this miscegenation was the mulatto individual (Johnson, 1941). Mulattoes, as slaves, presented White America with an unusual dilemma. There was uncertainty about the place of this group within both the structure and ideology of the system. Ideology changed and mulattoes were acknowledged in a manner different from that of the darker skinned slaves. For example, they were the first to have the

benefit of schools, they were granted easier tasks in the 'big house', and they either lived in or closer to the big house than others. They shared to some small extent at least, the prestige of their masters and progenitors (Johnson, 1941). In close association with the mulatto's differential acknowledgement,

A sociological hierarchy developed within the slave culture which brought about the concept of the field nigger and the house nigger — the former group being genetically black and the latter group being adjudicated black ... The most overt determinant separating the two groups was that of color (Robinson, 1978, p. 18).

The dominant group reinforced the skin tone hierarchy with its employment of physical characteristics as criteria for, the inheritance of property, the right to purchase or be granted freedom, movement out of the South, and other favors indicative of greater social status (Edwards, 1959; Martin & Martin, 1978; Frazier, 1939). "On the whole ...[the] lot [of the mulatto slave] was easier than that of their darker plantation kin" (Johnson, 1941, p. 257).

These sociocultural and economic factors, in combination with others, played major roles in inculcating Black slaves with the assumption "that the lighter one was, the closer one was to white; hence, the better one was. " (Robinson, 1978, p. 18). The assumption created an abyss between slaves of different skin tones and helped to foster the creation of a system where connotations of self-respect and esteem were inexorably linked with the differences in skin tone. Thus, "as one moved further down the scale of color towards darkness, the

less one was in terms of worth" (Robinson, 1978, p. 18). Holtzman (1973), Martin and Martin (1978), Poussaint (1972) and Scales and Smith (1975) also discussed skin tone rivalry among Black slaves and the resultant discriminatory value laden color caste hierarchy. Two aspects of the sociocultural system of Black slaves was confirmed by these authors. First, mulattoes assumed themselves to be superior to darker skin toned Blacks. Second, a kind of snobbery by skin tones evolved which was consistently reinforced by the ideology, behaviors and blood-labeling of the dominant group.

In summary, during the period of enslavement there were definite sociocultural and economic forces that influenced the assignment of higher values to lighter skin tones. The social and aesthetic evaluations and connotations of skin tones for Black America had its origins during this period. Without question, the preference and mark of social distinction had become "the amount of aristocratic 'white' blood one possessed" (Ottley, 1943, p. 168).

Post-Slavery

The color caste hierarchy was not socially invalidated with the Emancipation Proclamation. It was too deeply ingrained in Black America's sociocultural value system. Also, the hierarchy's reinforcement by White America's legal and extra-legal total segregation made it difficult for Black America to invalidate the skin tone value system. Basically, the hierarchy continued to serve a purpose.

Mencke (1979) described how White America perceived lighter skin toned Blacks during the years 1865-1918 -- The Reconstruction to the First World War. White America's perception is described in statements about the economic differences between different skin tones. Individuals with lighter skin tones were predominantly of a higher socioeconomic status, while those with darker skin tones were predominantly of a lower socioeconomic status. White America exhibited its perception of and belief in lighter skin tones being somehow different from and superior to darker skin tones by granting greater economic mobility to light skinned individuals. Thus, there continued to exist positive social advantage and status for those who possessed lighter skin tones. "When freedom came, the Negroes who in culture and refinement approximated the master-class comprised a sort of natural aristocracy and provided the race with leaders. Of the twenty congressmen and two senators who represented the race during the Reconstruction Period, all but three were mulattoes." (Ottley, 1943, p. 168). During this era, Black America continued to be divided by social distinctions based solely on skin tone. "Not only did these distinctions give many... (mulattoes) a feeling of superiority over other Negroes, but it even made them feel superior to poor and lower-middle-class whites" (Ottley, 1943, p. 168). Ottley's statement received support from Mencke's (1979) repeated reference to skin tone divisions among Black Americans. Black and White America's skin tone perceptions and connotations of lighter skin tone remained entangled. Weale (1910) exemplified the perception

and connotation of black skin tone by the community-at-large during this era when he remarked about the cruelty of

the strange law which has given to so many scores of millions of human beings coal-black faces and bodies ...together with the unalterable odour which accompanies it, and the simian features which accentuate it - is held to be the mark of the beast (p. 228).

Black America's skin tone values were also influenced by the scientific community. Jones (1973) discussed how various mainstream social scientists, between 1870 and 1930, dealt with the mulatto concept, while consistently providing 'proof' of the doctrine of Black inferiority. The argument and scientific 'proof' presented by social scientists were focused around the accomplishments of the mulatto. The focus on mulatto accomplishments perpetuated among all people the assumption that the lighter skin tones were more deserving and worthy of respect and high esteem. The focus perpetuated the myth among Black people that those with white blood were the only ones capable of self-improvement and/or societal contribution.

It also helped to perpetuate differences within the race that already existed. Whites made this argument come true by rewarding and advancing light-skinned Blacks and by denying opportunities to Blacks of darker skin (pp. 122-123).

Various empirical investigations, of this era 'proved' that intelligence, achievement, and cultural contribution varied directly with the amount of white blood (Reuter, 1918). Jones (1973) contended that the mulatto argument as scientifically investigated may be viewed as a kind of counterargument for those who insisted that some Black Americans did

possess intelligence and did contribute to the total sociocultural system.

In another description of the scientific community's influence on Black America's skin tone values, Williams (1977) discussed sociology's struggle, from 1890-1945, with the doctrine of Black inferiority. Williams (1977) described how as a result of social forces, sociologists conceded that Blacks were not innately inferior and could be assimilated into the sociocultural system.

The social science investigations from 1870 to 1945 reflected the ambivalent struggle within the scientific community about the doctrine of Black inferiority. But the struggle was of minimal consequence to a belief in the doctrines of Black inferiority and mulatto superiority. Science, as a system for the provision of knowledge, has touched least humankind's beliefs, values and attitudes about humankind. Thus, approximately 75 years of various scientific investigations that confirmed a belief in the superiority of lighter skin tones and the inferiority of darker skin tones was another force in the perpetuation of Black America's skin tone value system.

The sociohistorical context that influenced the development and persistence of the color caste hierarchy has been discussed. The discussion has portrayed how different aspects of sociocultural structure influences social experiences.

Literature

Many kinds of scientific and lay literature refer to the ubiquitousness of the color caste hierarchy. It is discussed in socio-historical research by Frazier (1932, 1939), Martin and Martin (1978), McKay (1968), Ottley (1943) and Anderson (1982) -- in sociological research by Myrdal (1944), Edwards (1959) and Lincoln (1968) -- in social anthropological research by Dollard (1949), Davis, Gardner and Gardner (1941) and Drake and Cayton (orig. 1945, 1962) -- and in a series of three studies on the personality development of Black youth in different sections of the country by Sutherland (1942), Davis and Dollard (1940), Warner, Junker and Adams (1941). The color caste hierarchy is also discussed in journals like The Black Scholar (1973) and in magazines like Ms (1981) and Ebony (1982). A television drama entitled Color (1983) is dedicated to the portrayal of the personal emotional affect of the phenomenon on women with different skin tones. In all of the sources, the color caste hierarchy is consistently implicated in social, economic and political processes that either facilitated the upward mobility, or at least some social recognition, of lighter skin toned Black individuals. The divisiveness of the hierarchy is consistently discussed in all of the sources.

Two examples are presented to illustrate these facets. Gibson (1931) recounted "not many years ago, there stood in a large southern city a Negro Episcopal Church, the doorways of which were painted a light tan. If, upon entering the church, an individual was seen to be

of a complexion darker than the doorway, membership in the church was denied him" (p. 413). Drake and Cayton (1962) quoted the Black owner of a restaurant in the Black area of Chicago. He stated, "I have a policy of hiring only real light girls with good hair. I do that because they make a good appearance.... A dark girl has no drawing power" (p. 499).

The two examples are instances of how sociocultural structure as a force, is incorporated in an exaggerated form into social experience. The examples are also instances of how skin tone as a symbol "is used not only for the convenience of description but also to indicate ...social advantage, prestige, and popular qualities of beauty" (Bovell, 1943, pp. 447-448).

The divisiveness of the hierarchy is implicated in the lack of psychological well-being of Black Americans. The psychiatric literature emphasized the pervasiveness of both color denial and ancestry among psychotic Black individuals. Lind (1914), Myers and Yochelson (1948), and Brody (1963) stated the delusions of being white in color were the most common manifestations of psychoses in Black Americans. Bovell (1943) and Gibson (1931) discussed the psychological considerations of the hierarchy. They emphasized how the values attributed to various skin tones influenced personality and necessitated the use of defense mechanisms.

The divisiveness of the color caste hierarchy was also implicated in the lack of psychological well-being in articles by Swann (1982), Harrison (1973), and Jeffers (1973). Each of the authors has

lived a stigmatized experience. Jeffers (a black black), Harrison (a light yellow), and Swann (a mulatto) discussed their ostracism from and desire to be truly accepted by Black America.

The literature described the color caste hierarchy's toll on the psychological well-being and life opportunities of Black individuals. The toll was one of interpersonal and intrapersonal conflict. Bovell (1943) pessimistically predicted that "these conflicts will continue as long as the Negro remains in a dominant white environment and as long as the great variety of complexions continue among them" (p. 459). Bovell's statement may no longer be predictive of Black America's reality. During the late 1960s and early 1970s Black America engaged in an aggressive quest for human rights. There was a rise of ideologies that fostered Black awareness, identity, and unity. The ideologies sought to induce Black Americans to embrace a distinctively black physical model and way of life and to reject ascribed inferiority. Whatever has been the outcome of the Black Power movement in terms of the color caste hierarchy has yet to be determined. Even though it has been generally assumed by Black individuals that the forceful intensity of the movement invalidated the hierarchy. The assumption has been supported only by incidental observed evidence and inferred meaning. The observed evidence has been the many indications that skin tone was no longer a salient feature of intragroup relations. An example of undocumented evidence occurred in McAdoo's comments about status differentiation based on skin tone were that skin tone discrimination "is markedly

less than in earlier times but is still a viable, though often unspoken, criterion of status leading to certain levels of antagonism between light- and dark-skinned Blacks" (1981, p. 157). She concluded "skin color is not as important a mobility criterion now as is individual achievement" (p. 157). The inferred meaning has been derived from the rhetoric of the movement, that skin tone values were detrimental to Black unity and pride (Ransford, 1970). Grier and Cobbs' (1968) statement embodied the supportive inferred meaning. "With the new black movements underway, all that we have just said (about the Black psyche) may assume merely historical significance. The contorted efforts to be white, the shame of the black body...all may vanish quickly" (p. 43). To date, no specific and systematic data exist to support the assumption that the color caste hierarchy has been invalidated (Udry, Bauman & Chase, 1971). An intriguing question is whether an approximate 20 year span of history can invalidate an approximate 300 year history of the socialized stigma of dark skin.

The dilemma of the color caste hierarchy affects the lives of Black children in various ways. One of the ways Black children of all skin tones are affected by the hierarchy is in terms of personal identity. Personal identity is an "important antecedent to achievement" (Shade, 1978, p. 84) and is the basis of psychological well-being. The skin tone values of the color caste hierarchy impede the ability to create and maintain the integrity and psychological well-being of the self while both surviving and thriving in life.

In summary, the purpose of this descriptive research is to explore the relationship of a belief in the color caste hierarchy with Black school-age children's perceptions of occupational life opportunities. An additional purpose is the acquisition of information about the continued existence of the color caste hierarchy.

Statement of the Purpose

Black children, like all children in all sociocultural systems acquire the attitudes, values, and behaviors of the system in which they are socialized. Social scientists in the past have been aware of Black America's color caste hierarchy and Black children's perceptions of status and achievement as a result of being socialized in the value system. The primary purpose of this research is to investigate the relationship between a belief in the color caste hierarchy and Black school-age children's perception of occupational life opportunities. The particular aspect of psychological well-being under investigation and related to occupational achievement is perception of life opportunities. On the basis of the problem statement, previous theoretical considerations, and reviewed empirical evidence about Black children's skin tone perceptions and preferences hypotheses are formulated and variables conceptualized.

The variables being investigated are perception of life opportunities and skin tone preference. The predictor variables are gender, age, and skin tone. The Skin Tone Scale values (Appendix A) provided the numerical indicators for the skin tone variables. The Skin

Tone Scale was an interval level scale with six Black skin tones positions from most to least preferred. The specific hypotheses that guide the investigation are:

Hypothesis 1: Black school-age children's skin tone classifications for different status occupations will be related to gender, age, and perception of own skin tone as indexed by the skin tone values of the Skin Tone Scale.

Hypothesis 2: With increasing age, Black school-age children's skin tone preference will be more systematically related to their skin tone values of the Skin Tone Scale with increasing age.

The variables and hypotheses are distilled from the complex associations among sociocultural structure, process, and socialization. The breadth and the complexities among the associations necessitate delimiting the variables under investigation to Black America only. The delimitation does not negate the fact that the interconnectedness of the two Americas' has indelibly stamped lighter skin tone as one of the main determinants of achievement and status.

Significance of the Problem

For the universe of humans, skin tone consciousness and discrimination have implications for harmony in a world of shrinking ecological resources. In particular, skin tone consciousness and discrimination have implications for Black children's ability to create and maintain their psychological well-being. All of the elements that compose psychological well-being for all humans have relevance for the

health/medical care system. The elements of well-being assume extraordinary relevance when the humans are Black American children who are already at high risk for psychological difficulties. Since the elements that compose psychological well-being are primarily social in nature, caregivers' attitudes about their social responsibility are influential factors in the health/medical care system's ability to assist in fostering well-being in Black American children. Caregivers who possess attitudes of social responsibility are those who have a frame of reference grounded in a belief of the interconnectedness of humans with their environments. These caregivers possess an awareness of the totality of human existence. Caregivers attitudes about their social responsibility influence the quantity and the quality of their care in the health/medical system.

The health/medical care system attempts to provide physical and psychosocial preventive and interventive care for the ethnic/minority mosaic which is the contemporary American scene. The system, aided by medical technology and research, is usually effective in providing disease oriented physical interventive care. To date, the system is very ineffective in providing preventive psychosocial care, in general, and to ethnic/minority children in particular (Powell, 1983). The system is woefully inadequate in fostering the psychological well-being of ethnic/minority children (Joint Commission on Mental Health, 1970). It is apparent then that "solving problems of disease is not the same thing as creating health.... This task demands a kind of wisdom and

vision which transcends specialized knowledge of remedies and treatments and which apprehends in all their complexities and subtleties the relation between living things and their total environment" (Dubos, 1959, p. 22). The task of fostering the psychological well-being of Black American children demands attitudes of social responsibility in the caregivers. The data to date suggest these attitudes may be lacking in the health/medical care system's caregivers.

There are many caregivers in the system. Nurses comprise one group of caregivers. Nursing as an integral part of the health/medical care system, is ineffective in providing preventive psychosocial care for ethnic/minority children. Nursing is ineffective even though "from the Crimean campaign of Nightingale's era ... nursing has long recognized its social responsibilities, their relevance to the provision of health care services, and the need to communicate these responsibilities to the public" (Fry, 1983, p. 61). The most current declaration of nursing's social responsibilities is contained in Nursing: A Social Policy Statement (American Nurses' Association, 1980). The social policy declaration expresses nursing's responsibilities as "the diagnosis and treatment of human responses to actual or potential health problems" (ANA, 1980, p. 9). The goal of nursing's social responsibilities is the improvement of the health of all people. The declaration about "social policy captures the promotion of health as the shared mission of all nurses" (Fry, 1983, p. 64). Why is it then that nursing's impact on the psychological well-being of ethnic minority

children is so ineffectual? There are a myriad of reasons. Some reasons are related to nursing's status as a profession, some are related to nurses as people, and some are related to nursing education. All of the reasons are enmeshed with each other. But, for the sake of discussion, the latter two kinds are isolated and cursorily discussed.

Nurses as people are predominantly White. They have been socialized in the belief and value systems of the dominant group. They enter the educational system with both conscious and unconscious negative biases about the very poor and ethnic/minority groups. In the educational system, nurses are exposed to mainstream social science research that supports the negative sociocultural belief and value systems about ethnic/minority children. Thus, nurses are often both socioculturally and educationally biased about Black children. These biases perpetuate stereotypical thinking and culminate in a desire to avoid others not like themselves. The findings of Willie (1960) and Schneiderman (1965) suggest that nurses and other medical/health caregivers prefer middle-class clients because of the perceived similarity in values and characteristics. Valentine (1968) relates how often poverty is associated with Black Americans. Mosley's (1977) research findings suggest that nursing students graduated "with gaps or negative values in their perceptions of the urban poor" (p. 47). Nurses need "an understanding of class differences and ethnocentricity. Relevant facts on poverty life styles should be distinguished from myth and prejudice" (Mason, 1981, p. 85).

Since nurses are not consistently helped to alter their socio-cultural biases in the educational system, many develop assumptions about Black children. Wilson (1978) discusses one of the major assumptions about the similarities between Black and White children. He states it is assumed

the black child is a white child who "happens" to be painted black. This unexamined assumption when carried to its logical conclusion, as it has often been, implies what is good for the white child (particularly the white middle class child) is equally as good for the black child (p. 6).

Consequently, among nurses, the physical and psychosocial patterns of White children are considered the standards for Black children (Watson, 1973; Jones, 1980; Ladner, 1973).

In sum, nursing is ineffective in providing preventive psychosocial care for Black children because of socialized biases, stereotypical thinking, and unexamined assumptions. In light of these circumstances, a cross-cultural communication breakdown between Black children and nurses is inevitable and preventive health strategies for the fostering of psychological well-being are doomed to failure.

Taylor (1979) supports this view in a discussion about international health but appropriate for this cross-cultural situation. Taylor points out that "in cross-cultural communications, emotions and values stand out more starkly because they are fundamental to behavior and more recognizable to people from other cultures than superficial mannerisms" (p. 803). Cross-cultural communication breakdown occurs in these nursing situations because both nurses and Black children view

each other from positions of socialized biases, stereotypical thinking, and unexamined assumptions.

Nurses and other health/medical caregivers urgently require information about Black children. Caregivers need to be aware that different social forces render it impossible for a Black child to be a White child who happens to be painted black. One of the major social forces that impact on Black children, from dominant and minority groups, is skin tone consciousness and discrimination. "Colour is an undeniable fact of the Negro's existence in a place like America" (Proshansky & Newton, 1973, p. 180). The psychological well-being of Black children is indubitably enmeshed with skin tone. Nurses require information about how skin tone affects Black children to help insure the effectiveness of their preventive health strategies and so that they are able to approach Black children with fewer stereotypical assumptions. Being concerned about Black children (e.g., asking questions, discussing new views about intergroup relations), in other than stereotypical ways of thinking, is one way in which nursing can actualize its social responsibility to this part of the public sector.

Empirical Investigations

If you're white, you're right.
If you're yellow, you're mellow.
If you're brown, stick around.
If you're black, git back.

Author Unknown
quoted in Freeman et al., 1966

This adage was often expressed among Black Americans and it accurately represents the findings of the empirical investigations about the color caste hierarchy. The major corpus of investigations was conducted during the 1940s and 1950s. Some research interest in the phenomenon continued in the 1960s and 1970s (Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971). The earlier findings suggested lighter skin toned Black individuals were preferred as friends and marital partners and permitted greater status and achievement opportunities. The findings of early empirical investigations consistently supported those of the sociological and anthropological field studies of the 1940s and 1950s regardless of either the age of the sample or the methodological approach. The findings of two later investigations suggested a reversal in the pattern.

Johnson (1941) conducted a study within the culture-personality framework that centered around the question of how being Black affected personality development. The sample was selected from eight counties in five southern states located in the rural cotton belt. The study was based on a sample of "southern rural Negro youth, (ages 12-20 years) who were given six tests....The tests were followed up by intensive

interviews of about 20 percent of these youth and, in addition, 916 of the families of these youth were interviewed" (p. xxv). Questionnaires were designed for the study to elicit responses concerning racial and personal attitudes and values, reactions to skin tone differences, and to determine intelligence quotients.

A Color Rating Test was designed to measure reactions to skin tone differences. None of the psychometric properties of the test were accounted for in the methodology. The test consisted of four parts. The subjects responded to the items with a 6-point skin tone classification scale which ranged from black (1) to white (6). The four parts of the test included: (1) skin color judgments of familiar individuals (e.g., principal in your school, the boy you most like); (2) skin color judgments of family members; (3) a rank order of family from most to least liked; and (4) judgments that stated the choice of the best, worse, and would like to be skin tones with the rationale for the judgments. "Approximately 500 of the 2214 rural youth so tested were later interviewed for further information and insights into the status problems associated with color" (p. 258). The interviews revealed results similar to the Color Rating Test.

The analysis in the form of frequency tabulations, converted to percentages suggested: (1) that aesthetic and moral judgments were given color values; (2) there was a preference for lighter skin tones; (3) the least desirable skin tones were yellow and black because of the intense prejudice against these extremes; (4) the best skin tone range

to be was light-brown to brown; and (5) self-appraisals of skin tone was lighter than the tone objectively appeared to be.

Johnson concluded that although there was "little correlation (not statistical) between class and color in the southern rural area. Differences in complexion and hair create problems of adjustment" (p. 272).

Hill (1944) explored two aspects of the influence of the color caste hierarchy. First, the hierarchy's influence on social status judgments. Second, its influence on the importance of physical appearance in mate selection. The data were obtained from a questionnaire distributed to 167 Black college students and 250 Black high school seniors throughout the state of Oklahoma. Neither age nor gender differences among the sample were stated.

The questionnaire was designed to elicit intra-racial physical appearance attitudes. The questionnaire, based on a 4-point skin tone classification scale, contained forced-choice preference items about: (1) complexion, hair type, and facial features; (2) preference for the physical characteristics in mate selection and in other social situations; and (3) self perception and others perception of self in relation to physical characteristics. None of the psychometric properties of the instrument were accounted for in the methodology.

The data were analyzed with comparisons of percentages of responses to items by different skin tone groups. The findings suggested "that while a vast majority of these adolescents adjudge

themselves as having more or less deep pigmentation...such a large number of them prefer their associates to be unlike them in physical characteristics" (pp. 444-445), including prospective husband or wife. This finding was consistent across all the social situation items of the questionnaire. The findings of the self-perception items suggested light brown to brown was the favorite skin tone range and few subjects wanted to be the extremes.

Hill concluded, "when it is remembered that only 12.2 percent of the respondents in this study would marry a dark skinned person with extreme Negroid features, and at the same time 45.3 percent of them are heavily pigmented with typical Negroid physical characteristics, a social problem of first rate importance exists for these youth" (p. 447).

Seeman (1946a) investigated skin color values among Black school-age children. He hypothesized that school-age children had incorporated the values of the color caste hierarchy and that skin tone was used as a socially differentiating factor in friendship selection. The sample was composed of 81 Black children in three all Black classrooms. Two classes were combined third and fourth grades with a sample size of 54. The third class was a combined fifth and sixth grade with a sample size of 27. Neither age nor gender groupings were indicated. It was stated that "there was a fairly even sex ratio in the three classes" (p. 315). Subjects' skin tone judgments were made by three independent Black and White raters in two of the classes. The raters

used a 5-point skin tone classification scale that ranged from very dark brown (1) to very light brown (5). The interrater correlations ranged from .76 to .94. The distribution of skin tone classifications reflected a larger proportion of darker skin toned children in the lower socio-economic level as determined by parental occupation and education. The sample was not stratified.

The data were collected with four measures that were a combination of sociometric and interview techniques. The interview consisted of questions about (1) self-perception of skin tone, (2) motivations for friendship choice, (3) a "three wishes test" of ten statements designed to elicit the relative desirability of lighter skin tones, (4) "what skin color do you prefer?" The sociometric data collection techniques were two questionnaires. They were used to elicit responses about the behavioral importance of the color caste hierarchy in its relationship to social acceptance and reputation. The only psychometric property noted is a retest of one of the questionnaires, which yielded a correlation of .90.

The data were analyzed with parametric techniques. The findings supported both hypothesis: Black children valued light skin and light skin tones were associated with more desirable friendship status and with more favorable reputational status. An intriguing finding occurred in the class where the children had a narrow range of skin tone difference. In this class, the questionnaire results indicated no significant differences in friendship and reputation by skin tone. An unexpected

finding of the interview process was that although favorable friendship choice was significantly associated with lighter skin tones, the children did not verbalize skin tone preference as a basis for choice. Seeman explained these unexpected findings with several social cognitive hypotheses about the contextual significance of skin tone values.

Seeman (1946b) used the social cognitive hypotheses of the previous study to extend his investigation of the color caste hierarchy among children. To explore the hypothesis that skin tone values were context dependent he selected two "inter-racial school classes" (p. 200) and compared them with the three all Black classes in the previous investigation. The sample was composed of 79 children (48 males and 31 females) in two inter-racial fifth grade classes. In the two classes there were a total of eight White children! The methodology varied only with the elimination of the interview technique. The questionnaires were administered.

The data were analyzed with parametric techniques. In general, the findings for this investigation were similar to the first. Important findings were: (1) the superior choice position of the 'very light brown' group (p. 203); (2) the unfavorable status of the White group; and (3) the more favorable rating of the very dark brown group over the dark brown group. The findings were hypothetically discussed.

Seeman conceded that the data were inconclusive as to "whether the inter-racial situation presents a substantially different matrix

for the operation of color values as compared with the uni-racial situation" (p. 205). He suggested possibilities for further investigations.

Marks (1947) approached the investigation of skin tone preference from the perspective of whether the skin tone of the person judging skin tones had an impact on the judgments and the relationship between judgments of skin tone and judgments of attractiveness. The sample was composed of 103 Black undergraduate and graduate students at Fisk University during 1941 and 1942. No age or gender grouping was clearly indicated. Each member of the class rated every other member present on a Likert-like 8-point scale. The ratings consisted of six personal characteristics, e.g., "energy", "personal charm", "skin color" (p. 116). No psychometric properties of the instrument were included in the methodology. Skin tone judgments of each subject was determined by the average skin tone judgments of all other subjects. The judgments were made on a 7-point skin tone classification scale which ranged from very dark (0) to very light (7).

The judgments of skin tone were correlated with personal charm (attractiveness). All of the correlations were statistically significant. The findings suggested: (1) the average preferred skin tone was light brown to brown; (2) judgments of attractiveness are influenced by objective skin tone; (3) a pattern among the judges to displace their judgments about attractiveness in the direction of the preferred skin tone; and (4) that "skin color and attractiveness of female subjects

are more closely related for male judges than they are for females" (p. 119).

Marks' findings contributed information to the question about the judge's skin tone frame of reference. He concluded that the reference scale used by judges was dependent on the judges own skin tone. Marks considered the findings particularly relevant to "a theory of social perception" (p. 119). He posited a social perception compromise displacement hypothesis (pp. 119:120) to explain the correlation between judges' skin tone and their judgments.

Freeman, Armour, Ross and Pettigrew (1966) investigated the association between skin tone, and structural and sociopsychological measures. The sample was composed of 250 middle-income, residentially stable urban Black families "in Boston's predominantly Negro Washington Park area....[In this area] the male head of household is between 20 and 60 years of age and the family has an annual income of not less than \$5,200....The sample is characteristics of today's intact middle income family who lives in ghetto-like areas of large northern metropolitan areas" (p. 367). The questions of the investigation were concerned with whether or not skin tone as a structural characteristic (attribute) was an important status criterion among the more general status criteria used by Black Americans.

The data were collected in a panel-type design with two interviews conducted approximately ten months apart. Ninety percent of the

study group were re-interviewed. The structured interviews were conducted by Black social workers.

The key variable, skin tone, was judged with a lithograph chart of six skin tones scored from white (1) to ebony black (6). Interviewers judged subject's skin tone at both interviews by using the dorsal surface of the hand. Robinson's coefficient of agreement was .86 and the intra-class correlation was .72 between raters. Errors that resulted from differences in judgments were minimized by trichotomizing the classification into light, medium, and dark tones. With this change, interrater agreement increased and was congruent for 94 percent of the subjects. The data were collected with six social status attitude measures. These were brief Likert-type 6-point scales composed of statements derived from the literature. None of the psychometric properties of the instrument were noted. The data were analyzed with parametric and nonparametric techniques.

The findings suggested: (1) skin tones of both husband and wife were correlated with social status, and (2) objective class characteristics are associated with attitudes. The authors concluded that "skin color operates through marital selection as a determinant of the chance to achieve status" (p. 365). Skin tone is a status variable, or at least a correlate of more general status variables. As a result, it was hypothesized, "that color among American Negroes can best be viewed, like occupation, as a contemporary status symbol shaping the

individual's personal world, rather than as a status ascribed at birth and related to the total life experience of the individual" (p. 365).

Ransford (1970) explored the status position and feelings of hostility among dark skinned Black American males. The purpose of the study was to explore two hypotheses. First, that dark skin toned Black individuals encounter more job and income discrimination than light skin toned Black individuals. Second, that "dark skinned Negroes will be more likely to express hostility toward white people and toward white society as a system" (p. 166). "The sample was composed of 312 Negro males who were heads of the household and between the ages of 18 and 65" (p. 167). The subjects were randomly selected by Black interviewers "on a door-to-door basis without prior appointments" (p. 167). The "disproportional stratified" (p. 168) middle and lower class sample was drawn from three major areas of Los Angeles.

The data were collected in 1965 after the Watts riot by Black interviewers. The data were collected with three separate Likert-like indexes composed of one to three items each and designed to tap the operational definitions of the dependent variables. The reliability of the indexes was established with interitem correlations and a scale to scale correlation and another with a Kuder-Richardson coefficient of .77.

Skin tone, as the independent variable, was judged by the interviewers on a 3-point skin tone classification scale of light, medium, and dark. An indirect reliability check was done by a comparison of the interviewers' distributions of their skin tone

judgments. The comparisons were considered reliable because the distributions were highly comparable.

The data were analyzed with nonparametric techniques. "Gamma [was] employed as a measure of the strength of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables" (p. 170). The findings suggested that, "skin color per se appears to structure opportunity, irrespective of educational investment (college graduates are an exception to this statement)" (p. 164). The findings about the relationship between color and hostility toward white society suggested "dark Negroes are more hostile toward whites, more willing to use violence to improve their position, and more rejecting of an integrated society than light Negroes" (p. 177). This finding was particularly relevant for the working and lower class, those with no contact with whites, and those who felt powerless. Ransford proposed a social psychological hypothesis for the anti-white attitudes among dark skin toned males. The hypothesis was concerned with social change. It suggested no change would occur in these findings until large numbers of Black individuals were permitted increased social mobility, status, power, and interracial communication. He stated this would not eliminate the dark skin toned individuals readiness to use violent means to address society's violation of their rights. The elimination of the negative connotation of dark skin could be accomplished by a new generation of Black people who believe in the 'black is beautiful' value of the Black Power movement moving into positions of power and status.

Udry, Bauman, and Chase (1971) "examined the trend of relationships between status attributes, mate selection, and skin color, by comparison of duration-of-marriage cohorts" (p. 722). The sample was stratified on the basis of social class and social mobility as indicated by the male's occupation. The sample was composed of 350 marital pairs in Washington, D.C. The data were collected by male and female Black interviewers. "Negro females interviewed the wives, and Negro males interviewed the husbands a month or more later" (p. 725). The interviewers made skin tone judgments on a 5-point skin tone classification scale which ranged from very light to black. No external criterion was used to make the skin tone judgments. Inter-rater skin tone judgments were achieved with a second interview with different interviewers on a random sample of 46 of the female subjects. The correlation between the judgments was .78, $p < .001$ (p. 725).

The data were analyzed with various parametric and nonparametric techniques. The findings suggested definite trends. On the basis of the findings, the authors concluded that for this sample: (1) the relationship between skin color and status variables has not shown any change for women; i.e., the "traditional status advantage of light skinned women has not significantly altered" ...; (2) darker skinned men experienced better status and mate selection opportunities than those with lighter skin" (p. 732); (3) darker skinned men are far more likely to have high job-mobility orientation than light-skinned men; (4) and dark skin is associated with status mobility through its

relationship to a higher job mobility orientation. These statistically significant trends for dark skin toned males is a reversal of the values of the color caste hierarchy. The authors attributed the trend to the "impact of the Negro struggle for racial equality on...skin-colored attitudes" (p. 732).

Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) conducted a large scale survey during 1968 of Black and White school-age children. The purpose of the study was to obtain comparative information about race and its relationship to self-esteem. The sample was a stratified cluster of 1988 Black and White children in grades three through twelve from 26 schools in the Baltimore City public school system. Black children constituted 63.6 percent of the sample.

One aspect of the investigation was an exploration of the influence of skin tone preference on Black children's self-esteem. The data were collected by Black interviewer's using an open ended interview format. The interviewers made skin tone judgments with a 3-point skin tone classification scale which ranged from black to almost white. No external skin tone criteria were used by the interviewers. No inter-rater reliability index was noted. It was noted that the interviewers' skin tone judgments about which skin tone was "good looking" (p. 44) reflected the community's belief in the color caste hierarchy.

The data were analyzed with comparisons of percentages of responses both between and within groups of different skin tones.

The authors discovered, as did Seeman (1946) that "on the overt level, there is little indication that one or another color of skin is considered preferable by black children" (p. 43). However, when the children were presented with questions that were skin tone indicators, a very different picture was painted by them. The results in response to questions about family members with the nicest skin tone were quite different from the noncommittal responses to questions about skin tone preference. The results were "seventy-four percent of the children said the family member with the 'nicest skin color' was lighter than himselfOnly 6 percent said such a family member was darker. Twenty percent said the color was the same" (p. 43). In general, the findings supported the conclusion that Black children continued to have an aesthetic and value preference for lighter skin tones. The authors reviewed the various social psychological interpretations assigned to this conclusion. They focused upon the narrow interpretation of Black people's preference for the physical model more closely approximating the White model. The authors did not negate the possibility "of a deeper symbolic meaning underlying the black preference for light skin" (p. 46).

Edwards (1972) investigated the relationship between skin color and the racial attitudes of Black Americans. The "data ... were taken from a 1968 survey of racial attitudes of 2809 Blacks between the ages of 16 and 69 living in fifteen American cities" (p. 475). The gender groupings were unclear. The data were collected by Black interviewers.

The interviewers made subjective skin tone judgments on a 3-point skin tone classification scale which ranged from dark to light. Neither external skin tone criteria nor reliability procedures were used by the interviewers. The author contended "there was no systematic relationship between skin color of respondent and skin color or other characteristic of interviewers" (p. 475).

The data were collected with "pretested questionnaires including more than one hundred items and averaging one and a quarter hours in length" (p. 475). None of the instrument's psychometric properties were noted.

The data were analyzed with comparisons of percentages of responses between the three skin tone groups. The findings suggested: (1) skin tone was related to economic position; (2) attitudes concerning the extent of racial discrimination were "to some degree" (p. 478) related to skin tone; (3) darker skin toned individuals expressed a stronger white hostility; and (4) there was a greater sense of Black pride and identification among the darker skin toned individuals. The magnitude of the differences between groups was small, but was consistent in direction.

It was concluded that, "when subjects of dark, medium, and light complexion were compared in terms of several indicators of socioeconomic status, those of light skin ranked higher" (p. 482). This conclusion was consistent with sociocultural reality.

Holtzman (1973) presented data from a case study of an urban community college in St. Louis, Missouri. The broad case study was concerned with social characteristics, attitudes, and political behavior of Black and White students. A specific research interest was whether Black awareness and pride had affected any changes in the pervasive influence of the color caste hierarchy. The investigation was specifically focused on relationships among skin tone, and measures of personal competence and political efficacy. The random sample was composed of 144 Black and 159 White students. Neither age nor gender grouping was stated for the sample. The data were collected by interviewers. The ethnicity of the interviewers was not indicated. The interviewers of the Black subjects made skin tone judgments based on a 5-point skin tone classification scale which ranged from very light to very dark. Neither external skin tone criteria nor interrater reliability estimates were noted.

The data were collected with two personality measures. One was a 7-question, forced choice personal competence scale. The other was an adapted version of a political efficacy scale which was a 5-point Likert-like scale. No psychometric properties were presented for either personality measure.

The data were analyzed in terms of comparisons of percentages between the five skin tone groups. The findings of the personal competence measure suggested that the medium skin tone group had the highest percentage feeling of competence. The very dark skin tone group had the

lowest percentage feeling with the very light skin tone group next. The findings of the political efficacy measure suggested the same rank order pattern by skin tone groupings.

It was concluded that "admiration for lightness appears to be declining, although the very dark are still disadvantaged. Medium, light, and dark are all coupled with" (p. 97) greater feelings of competence and ability to effect change. The findings of the study suggested "the very light appear to no longer have an advantage in terms of self-appraisal" (p. 100).

Summary

As evidenced in the review, the majority of the investigations about the color caste hierarchy possessed methodological and psychometric flaws. Some of the flaws included nonrandom samples, method of data collection, and instruments without psychometric properties. These flaws rendered the results ungeneralizable across studies, time and region.

Among the investigations prior to 1970, there was the persistent finding darker skin tones were undesirable and lighter skin tones were desirable. There was also the persistent finding that in comparison with darker skin toned individuals, the lighter skin toned ones were permitted higher socioeconomic status, were more likely to experience status advancement, and were preferred as marital partners and friends. Two of the later investigations (Holtzman, 1973; Udry,

Bauman & Chase, 1971) suggested a change in trend indicative of more positive attitudes about darker skin tones.

The review indicated that no investigation of Black children's skin tone attitudes had been conducted since the Black Power movement. No investigation has attempted to explore Black children's attitudes since the widespread social protest in which Blacks were to take pride in their variety of skin tones. It is important to explore whether the Black children of today have been socialized in the outdated, psychologically damaging value system of the color caste hierarchy or in the identity with blackness values of the Black Power Movement.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTIONS AND OPERATIONS

A conceptual model and its operationalization are presented in this chapter. The conceptual model is discussed in order to present the variables from which the instrument was constructed and the social psychological variables that undergirded the investigation. The picture of the model's derivation is painted in bold strokes with the omission of many qualifying details. Controversy is created by a conceptual model because it is an interrelated set of ideas grounded in a particular world view. The controversy that a model stimulates by its existence is resolved by operationalization. The process of operationalization concretizes the set of ideas in the model and makes the ideas less particularistic in nature (Boring, 1945). The task of operationalization is multifaceted. The facets discussed include; operational definitions for all concepts, the designation of measures and measurement techniques necessary for the observation of data, and the many problems inherent in the measurement of human behavior.

Derivation of the Conceptual Model

The conceptual model is based on the intricately interrelated and imprecisely comprehended ideas about sociocultural systems, socialization, and a specific kind of social knowledge about self and others. The major constructs of the model are derived from these items.

Sociocultural Systems and Socialization

Social scientists are far from agreement regarding how best to conceptualize the interrelated and complex facets of social life and the process that perpetuates it. It is generally acknowledged that the process which perpetuates social life is socialization.

The term socialization has been described and researched from a variety of discipline related perspectives (Levine, 1969). At present, there is no formal conceptual scheme for the study of the socialization process (Levine, 1969; Williams, 1975). The term socialization is an abstraction created for analytic simplification (Keesing, 1981) and is viewed as both a universal and particular series of actions and operations. The universality of the construct is connoted by socialization, or "the set of species wide requirements and exactions made on human beings by human societies" (Mead, 1963, p. 187). The particularity of the construct is connoted by enculturation, or the process of learning one culture in all its uniqueness (Mead, 1963). It is the particularistic connotation of the construct which served as the substratum of this investigation, even though the term socialization is used.

As used here, the term socialization is most closely aligned with the anthropological perspective. The term is described as an interactive process that involves the intergenerational communication and transmission of sociocultural content (Williams, 1975). Socialization, then is broadly referred to as the process of learning sociocultural information (Keesing, 1981). Geertz (1965) explicitly

noted the interconnectedness between socialization and learning with the statement

Man's great capacity for learning, his plasticity, has often been remarked, but what is ever more critical is his extreme dependency upon a certain sort of learning: the attainment of concepts, the apprehension and application of specific systems of symbolic meaning (p. 113).

Social knowledge is learned during the socialization process. Social knowledge is composed of the systems of shared ideas, systems of concepts, and "specific systems of symbolic meaning" that provide the basic forms and expressions of everyday life. Socialization, as an interactive context sensitive social process, is the manner in which social knowledge is distributed among individuals. The outcome of socialization is the social construction of shared meaning and the perpetuation of the sociocultural system (Geertz, 1965, 1973; Keesing, 1981). In order for the outcome to occur, it is not necessary for all individuals to perceive the system of shared meaning from the same perspective. But, it is necessary for the system of meaning to be common to all individuals (Pelto & Pelto, 1975; Keesing, 1981). In this case, social knowledge provides the foundation and structure for a shared social reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). All participants in a particular sociocultural system must be socialized in order to share the reality and to competently survive within the system. Competent sociocultural survival is difficult to achieve without the social knowledge that undergirds the shared reality.

Conceptually, the socialization process may be viewed as consisting of many functionally interrelated parts (Williams, 1971). Some of these parts may be identified as "personal" (e.g., family, peers, teachers) and "impersonal" (e.g., books, television, movies) socializing agents (Williams, 1975). Socializing agents are institutionalized structures that are granted the responsibility for perpetuation of the shared "reality", and thus, the continuity of the system. To accomplish their goal, the agents either sanction and discourage behaviors or serve as sources of information. The agents in this capacity serve the function of child rearing -- the primary method of socialization. Child rearing, as a complex interactive process, is influenced by both the children and the system's implicit ideas about what is expected in and appropriate for a developmental sequence (Forgas, 1983). Child rearing, then, consists of the interaction between dynamic children and dynamic socializing agents. In this sense, children are socializing agents as well as agents to be socialized (Hartup, 1980) and are reconstructing as they are being socialized. As the primary method of socialization, child rearing is a future oriented activity, in that it prepares children to perform sociocultural tasks competently within a particular reality as grown-ups (Ogbu, 1981). Thus, socialization can be viewed as a preparatory period in the life of a developing individual, a period in which the developing individual is both learning and reconstructing the shared reality -- the systems of shared ideas, systems of concepts and values -- that are accepted by the sociocultural system. The variety of personal and impersonal socializing agents indicate that the

teaching of sociocultural competence occurs in the immediate and extended environments. "Everyone recognizes that the social world of the child consists of many worlds" (Hartup, 1980, p. 273). Each of these "worlds" influences the interactive socialization process.

Social Knowledge About Self and Others

During the context sensitive interactions between children and socializing agents social knowledge about self and others is learned (Brooks-Gunn & Lewis, 1978; Youniss, 1974, 1975). The concept of social knowledge implicates people and exemplifies the distinction between the cognizer cognizing animate versus inanimate objects (Shweder, 1980; Glick, 1978). "Social cognition (social knowledge) in particular may be defined as a field devoted to the study of the relationship between individual cognition and sociocultural representations in the general sense" (Forgas, 1983, p. 141). In this sense, during the socialization process, children develop knowledge about an extensive range of social features of the sociocultural environment. A very abbreviated account of these social features include: other persons (Livesly & Bromley, 1973), the social perspectives of others (Selman & Bryne, 1974), social rules and conventions (Turiel, 1978), and self (Youniss, 1974, 1978), and societal institutions (Furth, 1980). The investigations of these phenomena are carried out by developmental social cognitivists "who ... claim that social knowledge has unique properties which require from the child a special sort of cognitive-structural development" (Damon, 1979, p. 208). The investigators argue that since it remains a distinct

possibility that people do not behave as objects do, this has consequences for the processing of different kinds of information. In the elaboration of the distinction between the knowledge of people versus objects, it is contended that people not only react to actions upon them but act themselves as well. The social world is not only known about, it is probabilistically acted within by people. Thus, concrete social knowledge and developmental sequences which are fundamentally different from logical sequences may be required in the social world (Glick, 1978; Damon, 1979; Shweder, 1980; Turiel, 1978).

According to Damon (1979) social and physical events are capable of being distinguished by the mutuality of conduct and communication. The mutual human elements of a social event engender and require a unique kind of understanding. "The eventual fruits of this social experience are social-relational concepts like friendship, love, rivalry; social-regulatory concepts like fairness, custom, convention; intrapersonal concepts like identity and self; and extra-personal concepts like other persons or social institutions" (p. 208). The mutuality of conduct and communication occurs only in social exchange. For different kinds of social exchanges, children have to master distinct kinds of mutualities, which serve a particular purpose and are established in somewhat unique manners (Damon, 1979). Children must come to terms with social reality via social conduct. Social conduct requires a different kind of cognition from conduct with a physical object. The cognitive activity associated with social conduct is probabilistic, concrete, affect-laden, and context-dependent (Forgas,

1983; Shweder, 1980; Glick, 1978). Thus, mastery of social reality is associated with the kind of cognitive and affective problem solving required in social situations. "Social conduct is the result of multiple necessary conditions of restricted scope....Many of the multiple necessary conditions for social conduct are matters of 'meanings' (e.g., the actor's interpretation of the situation), which are notoriously subject to fluctuation and rapid change....The social world is a world of 'meanings'" (Shweder, 1980, p. 267).

In summary, the model is derived from intricately interwoven ideas about sociocultural systems, socialization, and social knowledge about self and others. The interactive socialization process inculcates "systems of symbolic meanings" which are cognitively constructed and integrated into social knowledge. Social knowledge provides the foundation and structure for a shared reality. Thus, social knowledge based on a shared system of meaning can be used to interpret social relations and to inform social conduct. In the social world, a direct relationship between the observable characteristics of stimuli and the actual meaning conveyed to the observer, rarely, if ever exists. Instead, the hallmark of social behavior is inscrutable and fluid internal processes which influence the kinds of cognitions, meanings, and expectations the observer has about the stimuli. The observer's cognitions, meanings, and expectations are grounded in a shared symbolic world.

Conceptual Framework

The model of the conceptual framework appears in Figure 1. The model systematizes the experience of psychological reality on specific levels of abstraction. It also schematizes a particular world view of how social and personal selves are shaped, and thus serves as an outline of the major interrelated variables of the investigation. The conceptual framework is formalized according to Gibbs (1972).

Assumptions

1. Every human value is a social product that is transmitted and preserved in some form from generation to generation.
2. A value is the result of the influences of personal and impersonal socializing agents that impinge upon children.
3. All children live in an interconnected environment.
4. The socialization in skin tone values occurs in relation to social values.
5. Thinking about social objects is affective and value-laden.
6. The construction of a hierarchical value system has both sociocultural and individual counterparts.

Unit Term

The term for this model is: "children of a minority group living in a sociocultural system dominated by a majority group."

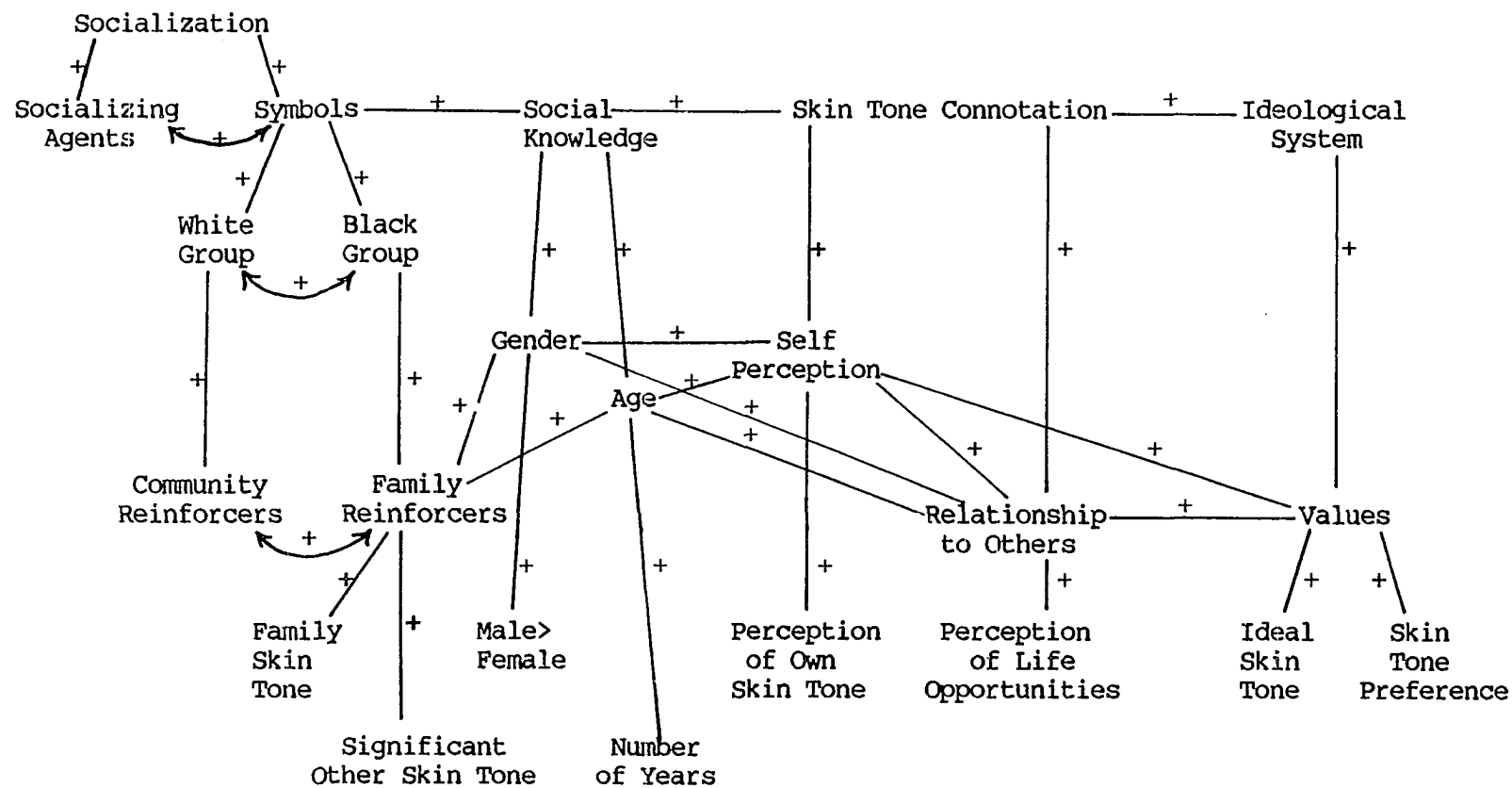


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework: Skin Tone Connotation

Extrinsic Definitions

A minority group consists of a portion of a total number of people in a region, who may or may not be fewer in number. But, they differ from others in the region in some characteristic manner, and are consequently subjected to varieties of differential treatments. A minority group has no control of resources. Thus, a minority group does not possess power.

A majority group consists of a portion of a total number of people in a region who may or may not be the greater in number. But, they comprise that portion of the total number of people in a region who possess the control of resources and power to make decisions which are binding upon the minority group.

Aggregates of "children of a minority group living in a socio-cultural system dominated by a majority group" can be recognized based on: race, class, religion, age, sex, values, ethnicity, and a seemingly unlimited number of characteristics. A selected literature survey validates the choice of the unit term (Coles, 1967; McAdoo, 1981; Jones, 1980; Sowell, 1981; Leggon, 1979). The unit term is chosen because it lends both flexibility and generalizability to the conceptual model. The model is then capable of being used to guide a variety of kinds of investigations about children living in these sociocultural systems. The unit term in the current use of the model is: "Among Black children living in a sociocultural system dominated by White groups."

Temporal Dimension

According to Gibbs (1972) each intrinsic term must include some reference to time. Therefore, a portion of the temporal quantifier is the symbol (A^T) which designates some point in time in which the Black child will become aware of the group's value system. This point in time will not be the same for each child. The temporal quantifier for the investigation is A^T_{13} and designates change over time in years. The period of time is measured in years, even though the association between age and awareness of the group's value system has not been clarified (Porter, 1971; Katz, 1976). The designated age range of the sample was six to thirteen years.

The Model

Figure 2 is a model that schematizes both the construct and concept levels of the framework. The first level depicts constructs and the second level depicts concepts. Following Gibbs' (1972) formalization of theory construction concatenations exist within and across levels of theory. The lines within and across the levels represent the relationships among the constructs and concepts. Also, according to Gibbs (1972), each construct and concept is defined. The literature that provides the substantive content of the framework, also supports the definitions of constructs and concepts.

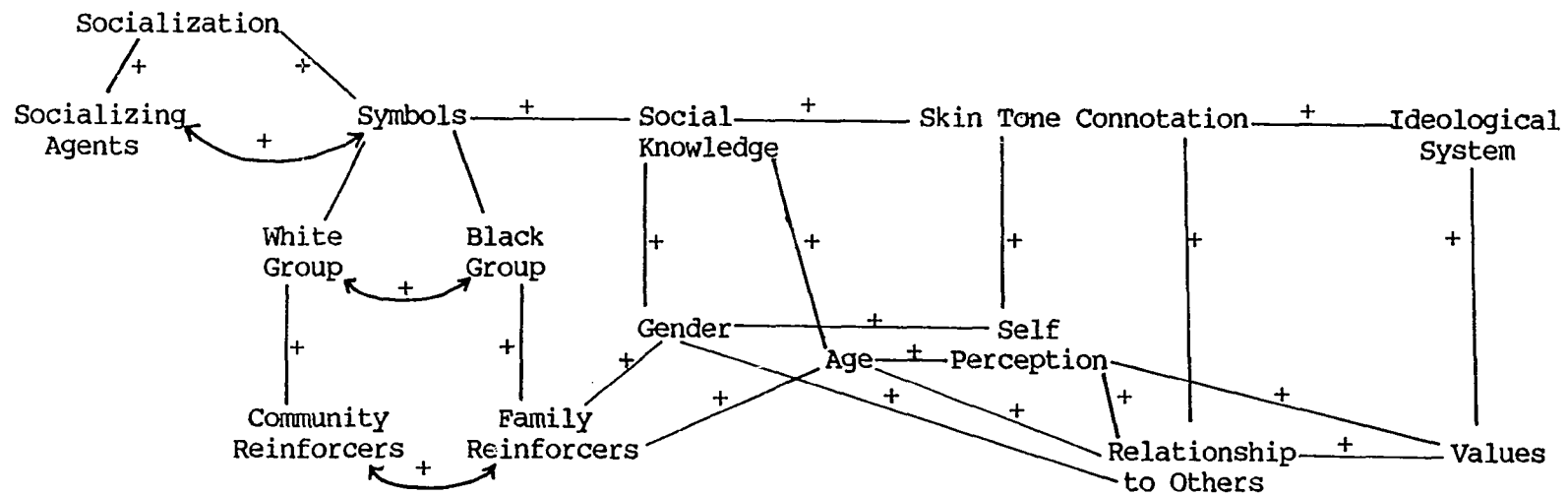


Figure 2. Skin Tone Connotation: Construct and Concept Levels

Construct Level

The linkages among the eight abstract ideas are developed on the construct level. The one metaconstruct is socialization. The seven other constructs include: socializing agents, symbols, White group, Black group, social knowledge, skin tone connotation, and ideological system.

Socialization is defined as including all the learning processes by which Black children obtain the everyday social knowledge (e.g., social behaviors, values, beliefs) of the American sociocultural system. The socialization process, as a system of intergenerational exchange is mainly determined by unified collective systems of thinking of either the children or the grown-ups (Williams, 1975; Mead, 1963; Schwartz, 1980; Glick, 1978).

Socialization processes expose Black children to the forms of behaviors, principles, values and ideologies necessary for competent functioning within the American system. Socializing Agents are defined as institutionalized structures primarily responsible for the socialization process. The agents, responsible for the continuation of the system, provide opportunities for Black children to learn the requisite skills necessary for competent sociocultural functioning (Ogbu, 1981; Williams, 1972, 1975).

Since Black America is an embedded subculture in a majority White sociocultural system (Hall & Freedle, 1975), Black children's socialization is of necessity influenced by "systems of symbolic meaning" from both Americas. Symbols are defined as signs generated by a sociocultural group that possess "an arbitrary relationship between

stimulus object and referent" (Spradley, 1975, p. 14). Since symbols do not have any formal similarity to their referents, their use necessitates the application of "rule(s) for attaching <them> to a particular referent" (Spradley, 1975, p. 15). The group decides the rules to be assigned to a particular referent. The rules determine the meaning of the symbol. For example, the symbol for religion is the cross.

Symbols are used in the creation of a shared reality. The symbols used by groups of humans within a system may be both divergent and convergent. The White Group is defined as those individuals who have less pigmentation and are in control of the resources of the sociocultural system. Thus, the White group is a majority group. The Black Group is defined as those individuals who possess more pigmentation and are not in control of the resources of the sociocultural system. Thus, the Black group is a minority group. An example of the convergence of Black and White group symbols is related to skin tone and language. Both groups disparage very dark black skin tones, as evidenced by the connotation of black as evil. Both groups infer personality traits with different skin tones.

During the socialization process, Black children are exposed to a variety of divergent and convergent group symbols by personal and impersonal socializing agents. Social Knowledge is defined as the accumulated, learned knowledge about self in relation to others that is acquired through interactions (Youniss, 1975). "The definition includes five aspects: a sense of self, of others, of a 'relative social standing,' of the knowledge of self vis-a-vis society, and of values and principles" (Brooks-Gunn & Lewis, 1978, p. 80). If the purpose of

social knowledge is to create a shared social reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Shweder, 1980; Spradley, 1975), and if the socialization process helps to perpetuate a shared social reality via shared symbolic meanings, then it is a warranted belief that Black children acquire knowledge about the symbols, rules, and values attributed to various skin tones.

One of the multitudinous ways individuals learn to distinguish self from others is in terms of perceptual cues. The early cues "will invariably include those based upon gender, age, kinship, and race" (Katz, 1976, p. 146). Whether specific perceptual cues are an antecedent or an outcome of the socialization process is a moot issue for the purposes of this investigation. Suffice it to say that the majority of children use skin tone as a differentiating perceptual cue. Perceptual differentiation is also a function of "the particular labels and evaluative statements applied by peers and adults" (Katz, 1976, p. 140). Dollard and Miller (1950) note that labels and perceptions influence each other in synergistic ways. Black children learn the labels for and evaluations of skin tones from both personal and impersonal socializing agents as they acquire social knowledge. Skin Tone Connotation is defined as the learned assignment of behavioral, emotional and social evaluative meanings to categories of people with different degrees of skin pigmentation (Berger, 1968; Dollard & Miller, 1950; vanden Berghe, 1967). The significance of the various meanings serve to inform behavior and structure the social world (Spradley, 1975). Black children live their everyday lives in a subjectively perceived and interpreted social world that is based on a learned sociocultural ideological

system. An Ideological System is defined as a functionally integrated cognitive system of overlapping beliefs, attitudes, and values. It is a relatively stable system that serves as a guide to customary behavior (Rokeach, 1968). The system reflects the shared system of meanings of the total sociocultural system.

Concept Level

The conceptual level is less abstract and moves the conceptual framework closer to the operational level. The five interrelated concepts are community reinforcers, family reinforcers, relationship to others, self perception, and values.

The impetus of the socialization process is partially maintained with the aid of reinforcers. They are an aggregate relationship to others, self perception, and values.

The impetus of the socialization process is partially maintained with the aid of reinforcers. They are an aggregate of behaviors from individuals in the immediate and extended environments that are "any stimulus which induces positive or negative emotional reactions" (Hamblin, Jacobsen & Miller, 1973, p. 99) in Black children. The affective responses to the reinforcers range from a positive to a negative valence depending upon multiple factors. For this framework, it is presumed that Black children's affective range of responses will be related to three variables; the communicator of the reinforcer, previous experience with the reinforcer, and the children's contextual interpretation of the immediate situation. Reinforcers are socio-

cultural behaviors that are based on shared systems of meaning about the world.

The multitude of reinforcers are encountered in interactions with community and family socializing agents. Community Reinforcers are defined as those positive and/or negative behavioral stimuli that occur in the extended environment and structure of the community. They represent the White group's ideological system about and symbolic meanings for different degrees of skin pigmentation (Rappaport, 1977). A community "is a subgroup within society, which is perceived or perceives itself as distinct in some respects from the larger society" (Rappaport, 1977, p. 3). It may be described in many ways. Some ways include its physical characteristics (e.g., location), size, socioeconomic characteristics, and patterns of interactions. Family Reinforcers are defined as those positive and/or negative behavioral stimuli that occur in the immediate environment and structure of the family. They represent the Black group's ideological system about the symbolic meanings for different degrees of skin pigmentation. A family is a unit of social membership defined by the members and composed of a more or less durable union of men, women, and children. The unit provides the structure in which children grow, develop, and are socialized (Speier, 1970).

Children are socialized into gender and age roles in an inter-related and multifaceted manner. The community and family reinforcers as personal socializing agents use particular sociocultural symbols and standards to help children identify with the gender and age categories to which they belong. Gender is defined as belonging in either the male

or female division of the species. The symbols and standards communicated to the children about gender are composed of many qualities and include behaviors for competent functioning in every aspect of the sociocultural system. "Every class of human activity is potentially vulnerable to being linked to the standard that describes culturally appropriate sex-role behavior. Even the work of the school can fall within this sphere" (Kagan, 1984, p. 141). Age is defined as the number of biological years from birth. Age in biological years is one way to index developmental change. Children acquire the symbols and standards appropriate to different ages as their developmental changes permit. In terms of the model, age as developmental change, in conjunction with gender plays a mediating role in the kind of socialization processes employed by community and family reinforcers. Thus, both age and gender, as mediators, affect the kind, quantity, and quality of the reinforcers the children receive from community and family. It is a known fact that males and females are socialized differently and result in gender differences (Kagan, 1984; McAdoo, 1981).

The family and community as personal socializing agents mediated through gender and age also provide the arena in which Black children begin the simultaneous tasks of perceiving themselves in relation to others and as distinct from others. Self Perception is narrowly defined in terms of skin tone as the ability to incorporate a realistic perception of own degree of skin pigmentation into the totality of cognitions, evaluations, and feelings that comprise the representation of self (Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971; Wilson, 1978). In terms of the model, self perception is associated with gender and age. Age as developmental

change is related to the ability to perceive one's skin tone as either different from or similar to the skin tones of others. Age as developmental change is also related to the ability of being cognizant of the broader sociocultural system's reactions to one's skin tone. Gender is related to the kind of gender-skin tone socialization received. Males and females are socialized differently in terms of what skin tone symbolizes for their specific tones (Udry, Bauman & Chase, 1971; Marks, 1947). Thus, age and gender are necessary correlates of self perception. How children perceive themselves is associated with how they function with others. Relationship to Others is narrowly defined in terms of skin tone as an awareness of the sociocultural consequences for individuals possessing different degrees of skin pigmentation (Marks, 1947; Seeman, 1946a). It is a component of social knowledge and is learned via interactions with family and community reinforcers.

As Black children learn and accumulate social knowledge about skin tones and begin to evaluate and identify who they are along the many social dimensions that conjoin with skin tone, they begin to develop a fluid hierarchical value system. Values are defined as an enduring belief that certain skin tones are personally and socioculturally preferable to other skin tones. Values also include a preference for the preferable (Rokeach, 1968).

In summary, the construct and concept levels schematically depict the relationships among the variables. The conceptual framework depicts the major variables that impact upon Black children's socialization in skin tone values.

Operations

Operationalism is, ... something more than experimentation, because it aims, not at the pluralism of particular experiments, but at the unification of science in the most general system of terms available (Boring, 1945, p. 244).

Operational Model

The operational model is portrayed in Figure 3. The concepts under investigation appear in capital letters with the corresponding referential formula or operational definition directly below it as capitalized acronyms (Gibbs, 1972). Each referential formula represents one operational measure. According to Gibbs (1972), the transformational statements are indicated by the lines between the concepts and the referential formulae. The model is described in terms of its referential formulae.

One concept, Family Reinforcers, with its two referentials indexes the comparative reference group Black school-age children use in the development of skin tone values. Family reinforcers are represented by Family Skin Tones (FST) and Significant Other Skin Tones (SOST). FST is operationally defined as a mean score on the Skin Tone Scale. The FST is one item that requested children to select three skin tones that looked most like the skin tones of parent(s) and sibling(s). SOST is operationally defined as a single score on the Skin Tone Scale. SOST is one item that requested children to select the skin tone of a most cared about person.

The two referentials (FST and SOST) of the concept family reinforcers index separate aspects of the comparative reference group

of Black children. The two referentials are based on the assumption that family members need not be significant others. FST indexes the group whose evaluations may be respected. SOST indexes the individuals whose evaluation might be strongly desired. The two items identify the point of reference against which children evaluate their own skin tones (Simmons, 1969; Rosenberg, 1973). The two items provide a reasonably accurate picture of the children's comparative reference group.

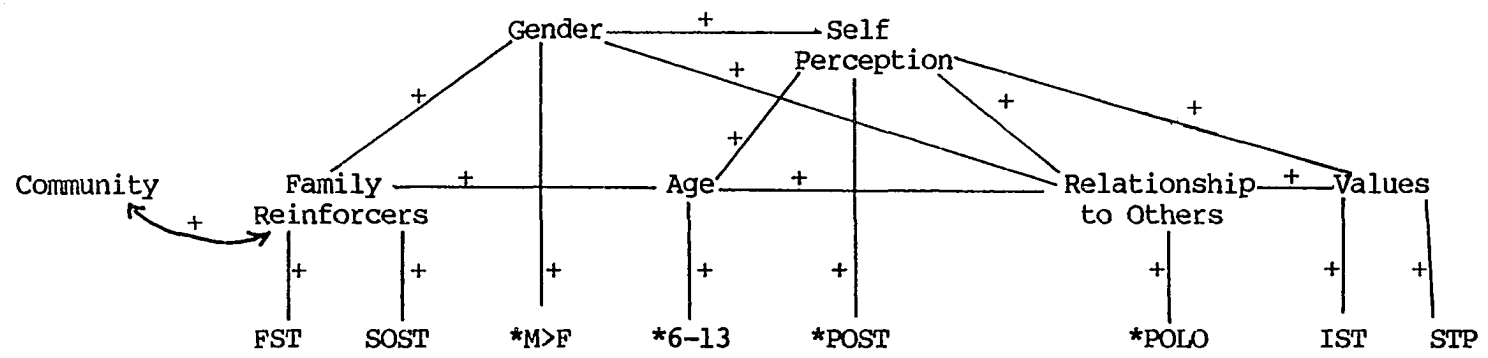
The concept Gender is represented by M>F (male greater than female). M>F is operationally defined as either a male or a female of the species. M>F is one item that requested children to identify their gender.

The concept Age is represented by 6-13 (six through thirteen years), which is operationally defined as the biological age in years, and is two items that requested children to state their ages in years and the month, day, and year of their birth.

Two concepts, Self Perception and Relationship to Others, each with a single referential indexes the psychological well-being of Black school-age children. The concept Self Perception was represented by POST (Perception of Own Skin Tone). POST is operationally defined as one score on the Skin Tone Scale. POST is one item that requested children to select the one skin tone that looked most like their skin tone. Relationship to Others was represented by POLO (Perception of Life Opportunities). POLO is operationally defined as a separate score for each occupation. POLO is four items that requested children to select four skin tones that correspond to specific occupations with social status differentials. The children's responses to the items in

POLO indicate their awareness of the association between status and skin tone.

The two referentials index separate aspects of a particular kind of social knowledge -- skin tone values. This particular kind of social knowledge is involved in personal identity, motivation, and achievement goals. Thus, they are important aspects of psychological well-being. The two referentials are based on the assumption that knowledge of self and relationship of self to others are dialectically opposed and evolve simultaneously (Brooks-Gunn & Lewis, 1978; Youniss, 1975). POLO indexes a knowledge of self vis-a-vis society (Brooks-Gunn & Lewis, 1978, p. 80). POST indexes a sense of self in terms of the particular skin tone perception that interaction with others has helped to create (Rosenberg, 1973; Youniss, 1975).



* = Operationalized aspects of the model

Figure 3. Skin Tone Connotation: Concepts and Referentials

The concept Values, with two referentials, indexes Black children's skin tone value system. Values are represented by Ideal Skin Tone (IST) and Skin Tone Preference (STP). IST is operationally defined as a separate score on the Skin Tone Scale. IST is three items. The first item requests children to select the skin tone that is the ideal or best one to have. The second and third items request children to select the 2) skin tone of a child of opposite gender who is dissatisfied with his/her skin tone, and 3) the preferred skin tone of that child. The children are requested to comment about why the child desired the preferred skin tone. It is presumed that the separate scores of these three items more closely approximate the 'true' ideal skin tone. STP (Skin Tone Preference) is operationally defined as a mean score on the Skin Tone Scale. STP is one item that requests children to rank order the six skin tones in order of preference from best to worst.

The two referentials (IST and STP) combine the act of evaluation and valuing. Since value judgments are "a vertical hierarchical order in relation to a certain (determined) criterion. Any value discernment implies as well a criterion that guides the assertion or rejection of the value hierarchy" (Grunberg, 1978; p. 127).

The conceptual framework and its operationalization represented intricately interrelated ideas that are presumed to be involved in Black children's acquisition of social knowledge about skin tones. The current investigation does not test the entire framework. The portions selected for study are 1) gender (M>F), 2) age (6-13), 3) perception of own skin tone (POST), 4) perception of life opportunity (POLO), and 5)

skin tone preference (STP). These referentials are related to the two hypotheses.

Summary

The necessary conceptions and operations for this investigation were presented. The conceptual framework which depicted the relationships among the ideas was presented in bold strokes. The framework was used to demonstrate the conceptualization upon which the current investigation was based. The framework depicted the complex interrelationship between socialization and the acquisition of a specific kind of social knowledge about self, others, and skin tone. The specific portions of the conceptions and operations used in this investigation were reviewed. The operationalization of the total conceptual framework was detailed.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The design model, sample selection, the Porter Skin Tone Connotation Scale (PSTCS), and the methodology are presented in the chapter. The data collection method is detailed. The statistical analysis plan used to investigate the hypothesis is reviewed.

Design Model

A conceptually based descriptive correlational design (Polit & Hungler, 1978) or an ex post factor descriptive design (Kerlinger, 1973) was used to establish the degree of relationship among the variables, either singly or through interaction. The design was consistent with the design models used by Marks (1947), Freeman, Armor, Ross and Pettigrew (1966), and Ransford (1970) in investigations of Black skin tone preference.

Sample

Subjects in this investigation consisted of a purposive sample of Black school-age children. The sample was selected from a target population of Black school-age children who resided in a particular school district in a city in southwestern Arizona. Possible subjects were either male or female Black children who attended elementary and

junior high schools with greater than ten percent Black student enrollments. Additional criteria for inclusion were:

1. Age 6 to 13 years
2. Socially self-identified as Black, except those with interethnic parents
3. Voluntary participation
4. Able to speak either standard or Black English

The second criterion excluded children with interethnic parents (e.g., White/Black, Black/Mexican-American) even though those children socially self-identified as Black. These children were excluded because nothing was known about how interethnicity, a complex phenomenological variable, related to socialization in the value and belief systems of the Black community. A sample size of 80 to 100 subjects was deemed more than adequate to test the hypotheses. The adequacy of the sample size was based on Tabachnick and Fidell's (1983) suggestion that the minimum ratio of subjects to independent variables was 4 to 5:1.

Porter Skin Tone Connotation Scale

The investigation was designed to describe how a value and belief system about skin tones was related to Black children's perceptions of occupational life opportunities and skin tone preferences. The subjects' responses to the investigation could not be anticipated since the relevant empirical and qualitative Black skin tone preference investigations were conducted prior to the Black Power Movement. Therefore, a structured interview format was chosen for the

Porter Skin Tone Connotation Scale (PSTCS)(Appendix B). The format was expected to allow the subjects a degree of latitude in their forced choice responses. The subjects' degree of latitude was expected to manifest itself as verbal and nonverbal behaviors during the interview process. In addition, the observational information would enrich the interpretation of the subjects' responses to the structured interview questions. The use of the interview format was not an innovative change in the methodology of Black skin tone preference research. It was used consistently in a variety of investigations (Johnson, 1941; Seeman, 1946a; Ransford, 1970; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971). The interview format also has a long history in the general area of child development research (Yarrow, 1960).

The conceptually based PSTCS was constructed to assess the connotation of skin tone for Black children. The scale was constructed to reflect the three major factors that were conceptually purported to be related to the development of a skin tone belief and value system — the self, the family, and the sociocultural system. The major factors were concretized in the scale items.

Family Composition

The first two items, Family Composition and Occupational Prestige, were included as less threatening items. They were intended to provide the subjects an opportunity to be comfortable with the interview situation and the interviewer. The remaining items were the connotation of skin tone ones.

Perception of Own Skin Tone (POST)

This scale item indexed the role of the self as demonstrated by the children's ability to realistically perceive their skin tones. Johnson (1941) suggested that Black individuals persistently perceived their skin tone as lighter than others perceived it. This phenomenon was suggested to be the result of an intense dislike for darker skin tones. The item was repeated at the end of the interview in an attempt to assess consistency in perception.

Family Skin Tones (FST)

The scale items indexed the role of the family as a comparative reference group for skin tone. Poussaint (1972), Martin and Martin (1978), and Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) among others, have remarked how both family skin tones and the family's value and belief system about skin tones exerted a powerful influence on children's affective perceptions of their own skin tones.

Significant Other Skin Tone (SOST)

This scale item indexed an additional comparative skin tone reference in the form of an individual that the children cared about and whose positive opinion they desired and respected. The item acknowledged the fact that for many children, the identified biological family members were not the significantly important individuals in their lives (Rosenberg, 1973).

Perception of Life Opportunities (POLO)

The scale items indexed the role of the sociocultural system in the development of a skin tone value and belief system. These items indexed the children's perception of how skin tone related to occupational status. The responses to the items were expected to be the result of the children's awareness of how the sociocultural system responded to skin tones in terms of differential status occupations.

Ideal Skin Tone (IST)

The scale items indexed the children's skin tone fantasy system. These items were expected to provide a coarse assessment of what the children thought about their realistically perceived skin tone. The cross-gender referents in the items were constructed for the purpose of psychologically distancing the children from perceived self-disclosure. Thus, the psychological distance would perhaps permit more truthful responses to the items.

Skin Tone Preference (STP)

The item indexed the children's reconstruction of their realities (Goodman, 1952). The responses to the item were expected to reflect the skin tone value system of each child at a particular point in time.

The PSTCS contained three specific probes. The probes were related to the items, Occupational Prestige, Perception of Own Skin Tone (POST), and Perception of Life Opportunities (POLO). The three

probes were used to maintain the explanatory consistency of the interviews.

In summary, the PSTCS was a multidimensional instrument. The conceptually based scale was intended to index the major factors that were related to the development of a skin tone value and belief system. The structural interview format within a forced choice paradigm was not atypical of an instrument constructed to measure skin tone preference.

Stimulus Materials

The stimulus materials consisted of six skin tones created from a mixture of oil paints and painted on white canvasboard. The skin tones ranged in color from very dark brown to very light yellow (Appendix A, Figure A-1). The six tones were presented in 4" x 4" squares, glued three-fourths inch apart in random order to a 6" x 30" piece of white pressboard. Thus, the order of presentation was fixed for all subjects.

A second set of the six tones was presented in 4" x 4" squares for all subjects to manipulate for the skin tone preference (STP) item.

Reliability and Validity Testing

Reliability

The PSTCS was not assessed for its reliability. The items of the subscales were so heterogeneous that an analysis technique which purported to reveal the extent to which the various items were equivalent and measured the same concept would be inappropriate (Anastasi, 1976).

Validity

Face Validity. Anastasi (1976) noted that technically this aspect was not validity at all. Face validity "concerns the extent to which an instrument 'looks like' it measures what it is intended to measure" (Nunnally, 1978, p. 111). The face validity of the PSTCS was derived from several sources. These included, a review of the literature about skin tone preference, a 'mock testing' of the instrument with eleven White and two Black graduate psychology students, and personal experience with Black school-age children.

Content Validity. Content validation referred to judgments about the representativeness of the items in the instrument. The PSTCS's content validity was initially estimated by its intuitive appeal and the similarity of its content to other instruments used in skin tone preference research (Johnson, 1941; Seeman, 1946a; Marks, 1947; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971). The instrument's content validity rested upon similarity with others of this genre.

Data Collection Method

Subjects who were identified as Black by school district ethnic codes and by teachers and principals were approached by the interviewer. Possible subjects, in groups of five to twenty, were given an explanation of the purpose of the investigation and what their participation entailed (Appendix C). During the explanation of the investigation, subjects were assured of confidentiality of data and advised of their right to withdraw from the investigation at any time. The subjects who volunteered to participate were given parental information

letters (Appendix D) and parental consent forms (Appendix E). Subjects were requested to return the signed parental consent forms to their classroom teachers the next day.

All subjects were interviewed by the Black investigator in an unoccupied school room during the school day. The interview procedure consisted of two parts, the Porter Skin Tone Connotation Scale (PSTCS) and a series ($N = 20$) of triadic comparisons of six skin tones. The triadic comparisons were used as data for the construction of the Skin Tone Scale (Appendix A). Administration of the interview and triadic comparisons was randomized. The randomization was determined by the subject's identification number.

Interview Procedure

Each subject was interviewed once by the Black investigator for fifteen to twenty minutes. Each subject was seated at a table beside the investigator. On the table was a lamp with a sixty watt incandescent bulb at an approximate distance of sixteen inches from the fixed array of skin tones.

The formal interview process began with all subjects signing the informed assent to participate in the investigation. All subjects were informed of their rights to not participate, to ask any question, and to decline responding to any question (Appendix F). All subjects were encouraged to be verbally free. All subjects were informed:

What we are going to do is not a test. What it is -- is a chance for you to let me know what you think about the different skin tones/colors among Black people.

Since this is not a test, there are no right or wrong answers and you cannot fail. All you have to do is think — really pay attention to the colors and the questions I ask. I would like you to be very serious. We can have fun after you have finished helping me with the task. It is important to me that you say what you really think and pick the colors you want to pick. Any questions?

The Demographic Data Form was completed by all subjects (Appendix G). During this time, each subject's skin tone was judged by the investigator. The criterion for the judgments was the Skin Tone Scale. Each subject's skin tone was approximated as closely as possible to those of the Skin Tone Scale. Since all judgments were made by one investigator, the resultant biases were systematic ones.

The Porter Skin Tone Connotation Scale was administered. All subjects were informed:

On this big board are some skin tones/colors of Black people. You know that Black people come in all different tones/colors. I am going to ask you some questions and you pick out the skin tone/color you think goes best with the question. The skin tone/color you put your finger on will be your answer to the question. You can talk about the color you put your finger on if you want to.

The order of presentation of the items in the PSTCS did not vary by subject. The PSTCS was so constructed that least threatening items appeared first. The items were ordered so that each was assumed to be independent of the other. The probes were used consistently. They were stated twice, in the same manner, and if a subject remained unable to complete the task they were eliminated from the investigation.

Scoring Procedure

The scoring for the PSTCS was based on the Skin Tone Scale of the six skin tones (Appendix A). The skin tone responses for each item was assigned the corresponding scale value that was derived in the Thurstone scaling procedure. The scale values ranged from zero to .986. The skin tones ranged from very light to very dark. All subjects' responses were codes on score sheets (Appendix H).

At the end of the interview, subjects were thanked. Each subject then selected a prize out of the 'prize bag' and returned to the classroom.

Protection of Human Subjects

The investigation was granted approval without alteration by the Human Subjects Ethical Review Committees of the University of Arizona, College of Nursing and the Arizona Health Sciences Center (Appendix I). Approval was also granted by the Legal and Research Division of the school district (Appendix J). The investigation was granted exempt status by all Committees.

Statistical Analysis Plan

Several kinds of statistical analyses were conducted in this investigation: 1) descriptive, 2) examination of regression equation, and 3) an ordinal measure of association. The qualitative data were used to augment the statistical analyses.

Descriptive

Descriptive statistics were used to determine the characteristics of the sample. The analyses included demographic data and the investigator's skin tone judgments. The data were compared to determine the degree to which subjects differed on such demographic variables as gender, age, grade level, and length of residency in the city. Percentages of skin tones by gender and age were also obtained.

Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis was tested with stepwise multiple regression. The predictor variables were gender, age, and perception of own skin tone. The criterion variable was perception of life opportunities. The purpose of the analysis was to describe the relationships between and among the predictor variables and the criterion variable.

Assumptions of Regression Analysis

A set of underlying assumptions has been known to exist for most statistical tests. It has been generally acknowledged that violations of some assumptions of statistical tests could render analyses meaningless. Even though the robustness of regression to a violation of some of its assumptions have been well documented, its robustness has been related to the extent to which the underlying assumptions have been violated (Verran & Ferketich, 1984; Pedhazur, 1982). The assumptions underlying regression have been discussed by many authors. Some of these included Pedhazur (1982), Lewis-Beck

(1980), Hays (1963), Verran and Ferketich (1984), Tabachnick and Fidell (1983).

The assumptions underlying simple linear regression have been stated as:

1. The specification of variables without error. In other words, the relationships among the variables are linear and additive.
2. The independent variable is fixed. In other words, the values of the independent variable do not change.
3. The variables are measured without error.

The remaining assumptions have been related to the error term. They are:

4. The mean of errors is zero.
5. Homoscedasticity, which means that the variance of the errors at one point of the dependent variable is the same at all points of the variable. Homoscedasticity then, is related to the assumption about normality of the distribution.
6. The error terms are not autocorrelated. Thus, the errors are independent of each other.
7. The error terms are normally distributed.
8. The error term is not correlated with the independent variable.

The interrelatedness of the assumptions was indicated by this brief discussion. Adherence to the assumptions was necessary for having confidence in the results of the regression analysis because departure from, or violations of, assumptions created serious consequences.

Adherence to the assumptions was the means for obtaining the best linear unbiased estimators of population parameters.

It was concluded that a violation of the assumption of the normal distribution of the residuals alone was not necessarily a serious one. The statistical test of significance was reported to be robust to this single violation (Pedhazur, 1982; Verran & Ferketich, 1984).

Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis was tested with Gamma, Goodman and Kruskal's coefficient of ordinal association. The purpose of the analysis was to describe the extent of agreement between the skin tone preference ranks of the age groups and the Skin Tone Scale.

Summary

This chapter has detailed the selection of the design model, sample selection criteria, the PSTCS, and the methodology of the investigation. The plans for data collection and statistical analysis were reviewed. A brief discussion about the use of regression analysis, and the statistical assumptions was presented.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

The results of the analyses of data are presented and discussed in this chapter. The chapter is organized into three major divisions: the sample, the reliability and validity testing of the instrument (PSTCS), and the two hypotheses. The data are analyzed with the skin tone values of the Skin Tone Scale (Appendix A).

The sample is characterized with descriptive data. Pertinent subject characteristics are discussed and presented. A profile of the typical subject in this investigation is formulated.

Reliability and validity testing of the instrument are presented and discussed. Pearson product moment correlations as measures of correspondence between and within raters are outlined.

The two hypotheses are discussed. The first hypothesis is discussed in terms of the regression descriptive analyses. The second hypothesis is discussed in terms of coefficient gamma (G). Comparisons of values between the age groups skin tone rankings and the Skin Tone Scale are presented.

Description of the Sample

Size

There was a target population (N=312) of identified Black children in the three elementary schools and one junior high school (School District Ethnic Comparison Statistics). This target population was not stable as parents freely changed their children's ethnic codes and as children moved in and out of the schools within the district.

The sample consisted of ninety-eight Black school-age children. This sample was selected from a larger one (N=114) of school-age children who socially self-identified as Black. The exclusion of children (N=16, 18%) with interethnic parents (e.g., Black/White, Black/Mexican-American) reduced the sample size (N=98). As stated previously, interethnic children were excluded because interethnicity was an unknown variable in the socialization process.

Grade Levels

The ninety-eight subjects were recruited from three elementary schools (N=91) and one junior high school (N=7) in a large city school district. The sample consisted of Black children who attended school in grades one through eight. Grades two through five (N=68) constituted the largest percentage (69.4%) of the sample (Table 1).

Ages

The subjects ranged in age from six to thirteen years, with a mean age of 9.1 years. The distribution of ages and the mean age

Table 1. Subjects by Grade Levels

Grade	n	% Total
First	11	11.2
Second	19	19.4
Third	16	16.3
Fourth	18	18.4
Fifth	15	15.3
Sixth	12	12.2
Seventh	3	3.1
Eighth	4	4.1
Totals	98	100.0

reflected that the majority of the sample (N=71, 72%) was in the early school years (six to ten years)(Figure 4).

Gender

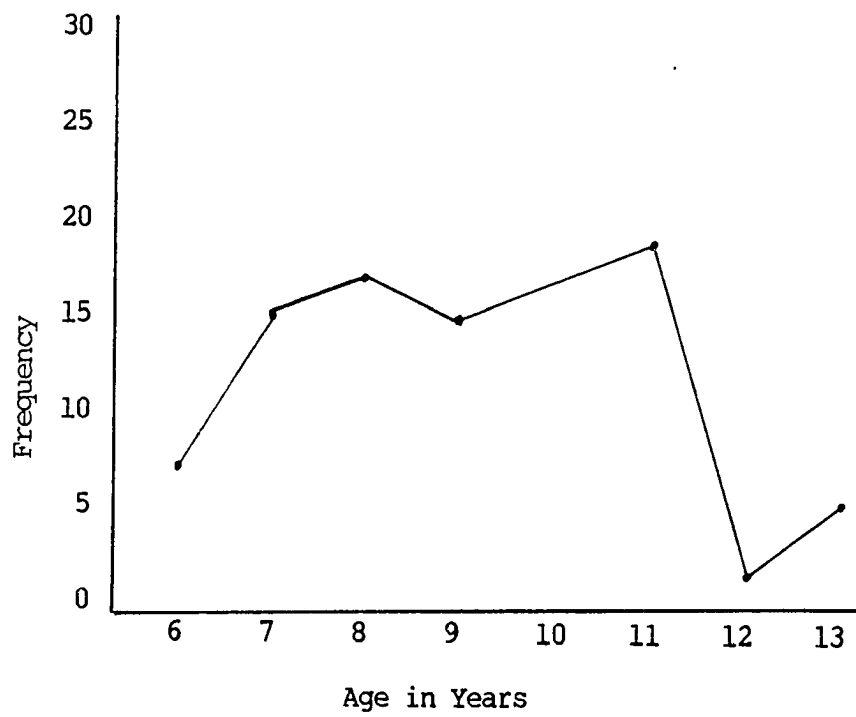
The total sample consisted of forty (41%) males and fifty-eight (59%) females. The majority of the females (N=43, 44%) were clustered in ages eight to eleven years. The males were clustered in two groups. Thirteen (13%) were in the six to seven year old group and sixteen (16%) were in the ten to eleven year old group (Table 2).

Residence

The data for the total sample showed that the majority (N=78, 80%) of the subjects were residents of the city for a number of years (Table 3). The majority of the subjects indicated they lived in the primarily Black residential areas of the city.

Parental Occupations

The subjects' descriptions and labels for their parents' occupations were categorized according to the classification of the US Bureau of the Census (Green, 1970). The subjects' responses were grouped into specific broad categories of the classification (Table 4). The data reflected a broad range of parental occupations with identifiable clusters in specific occupations. For example, the category of service worker was the largest field of employment for mothers (N=28) and the category of Armed Forces was the largest field of employment for fathers (N=29). A description of the characteristics of the total sample of subjects' parents is presented (Table 5). The



$\bar{x} = 9.1$ years
s.d. = 6.09

Figure 4. Subjects by Ages

Table 2. Gender by Age Group

Age Group	Males		Females	
	n	% Total	n	% Total
6- 7	13	13.2	9	9.2
8- 9	8	8.2	24	24.5
10-11	16	16.3	19	19.4
12-13	3	3.1	6	6.1
Totals	40	40.8	58	59.2

Table 3. Length of Residency

Length	n	% Total
Tucson Born	43	43.9
1-5 years	31	31.6
>5 years	4	4.1
Unknown	20	20.4
Total	98	100

Table 4. Occupations* of Subjects' Resident Parents

Occupation	Mother n	Father n
Armed Forces Enlisted Personnel	3	29
Service Worker	28	5
Clerical Worker/Sales	15	2
Operative/Semiskilled	1	13
Craftsman/Skilled	0	8
Laborers/Factory	6	1
Professional	5	1
Student	2	0
Total	60	59

*US Bureau of the Census Classification (1970)

Table 5. Characteristics of Subjects' Parents

Characteristic	Mother n	Father n
Resident Parents Employed	60	59
Resident Parents Unemployed	29	3
Non-Resident Parents		
Never Known Parents	5	5
Not in Home	2	28
Deceased	0	2
Jail	2	1
Total	98	98

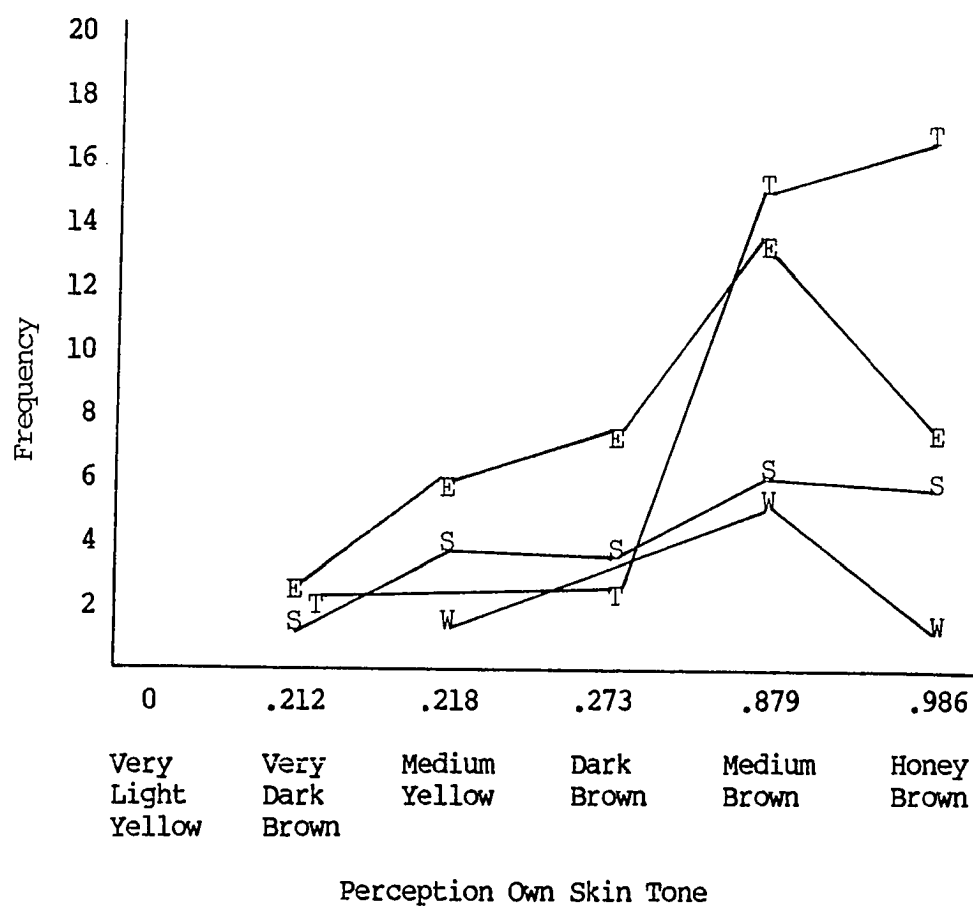
categorization of the characteristics indicated that thirty percent (N=29) of the subjects' mothers were unemployed and twenty-nine percent (N=28) of the subjects' fathers were not in the home.

The categorizations of parental occupations and characteristics were intended to create a more complete description of the sample. No assumptions were made about the multifaceted phenomenon of socioeconomic status from either of the categorizations of the subjects' parents.

Skin Tone

The subjects' perceptions of their skin tones were not uniformly distributed in the sample. The principally perceived skin tones (N=73, 74%) were in the medium brown (scale value = .879) to honey brown (scale value = .986) range (Figure 5). Thus, the skin tone distribution for the sample was negatively skewed and did not represent the variety of Black skin tones in its prototypical community distribution.

In summary, the typical subject who volunteered to participate in this investigation was either be a Black male or female who was approximately nine years of age, and attended an elementary school with a large Black enrollment. The Black female or male had a medium brown skin tone and had lived most of her/his short life in this city in Arizona. He/she came from an intact home in which both parents were employed outside the home.



Key:
 S = 6- 7 years
 E = 8- 9 years
 T = 10-11 years
 W = 12-13 years

Figure 5. Perception of Own Skin Tone by Age Group

Reliability and Validity Testing

As previously stated, the investigation began with the construction of an interval scale of six skin tones. The Skin Tone Scale (STS) was assessed separately for its reliability and validity (Appendix A).

The instrument PSTCS was constructed for use with the STS. The instrument was assessed for its reliability and validity. These psychometric characteristics were directly related to the instrument's ability to adequately and consistently index the children's responses to the phenomenon under investigation.

Intrarater Reliability

In an attempt to monitor intrarater reliability, the children were requested to select the skin tone that looked most like their own at the beginning and end of each interview. The procedure was designed to assess similarity in perceptual judgment. A Pearson product moment correlation coefficient was calculated as a measure of agreement. The correlation calculated for the total sample (N=98) was .65 ($p=.001$). The moderate correlation was lower than expected with the randomized conditions. As previously expressed, the PSTCS was sequentially alternated with the skin tone triadic comparisons. It was noted that the children who dealt with the triadic comparisons as the first task maintained their similarity in choices of their skin tones at beginning and end of the interview. It was assumed that the triadic comparisons task created a methods effect. Thus, the obtained correlation might be due to a number of children who altered the perception of their skin

tone selection with increased comfortableness with the interview format and the interviewer. The random error variance was due to temporal fluctuations in the children's selections and deflated the correlation coefficient.

Concurrent Criterion Related Validity

The assessment of the validity of the interview information was a complex issue. The method chosen to estimate the validity of the children's perceptual responses was an interrater technique. The method was deemed to be a criterion related validity assessment since the investigator was the objective perceptual criterion at the time of the judgments.

At the beginning of each interview the investigator judged each child's skin tone and placed it at a point on the Skin Tone Scale. The purpose of the judgment was to assess the children's ability to perceive their skin tones as an objective other might perceive them. A Pearson product moment correlation was calculated as an indicator of the degree of correspondence between the two ratings.. The correlation calculated for the total sample (N=98) was .48 ($p=.001$). This moderate correlation between the children's second rating of their skin tones and investigator's perceptions of their skin tones was not expected. The obtained correlation was concluded to be due to the random error in the form of outliers. In random instances there existed wide skin tone discrepancies between the children's and investigator's perceptions. The random error deflated the correlation coefficient.

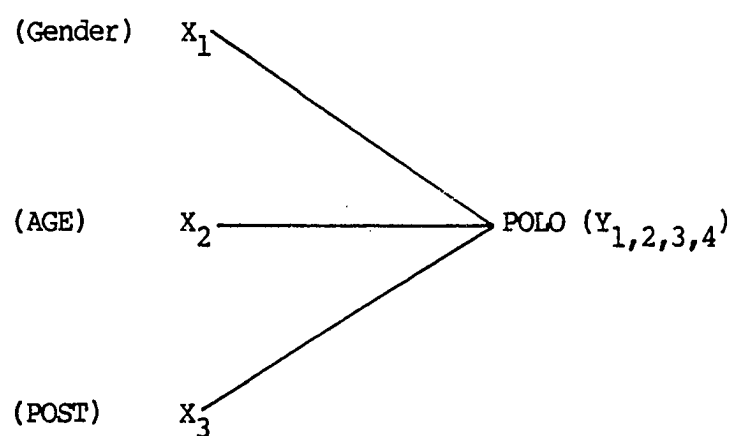
In summary, the Pearson product moment correlation coefficient was used to analyze intrarater reliability. The obtained reliability coefficient was significant, but lower than the expected .90, because it was attenuated by random error. The Pearson product moment correlation coefficient was used to analyze criterion related validity. The obtained validity coefficient indicated the children's modest ability to judge their skin tones as an objective other might judge them. The total sample validity was less than .50, because it was attenuated by random error.

Hypothesis One

This section of data analysis was conducted to test the hypothesis: Black school-age children's skin tone classifications for differential status occupations will be related to gender, age, and perception of own skin tone as indexed by the skin tone values of the Skin Tone Scale. The hypothesis was statistically analyzed with multiple regression. The statistical model included the independent variables gender, age, and perception of own skin tone (POST), and the dependent variable perception of life opportunities (POLO). The dependent variables were composed of four occupations: doctor, school teacher, factory worker, and lawyer. Each of the four occupations was considered as a separate variable. Each of the four occupations was considered as separate since the supporting empirical evidence (Seeman, 1946a; Johnson, 1941; Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971) and the conceptual framework for this investigation suggested 1) different variables have been related to Black children's association of skin tone with

perception of life opportunities, 2) no one specific variable among the set of independent variables had a significant relationship with the dependent variable, and 3) no predicted relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable.

The previously mentioned empirical and conceptual suggestions indicated that stepwise multiple regression was the appropriate statistical tool. Stepwise regression, as an exploratory technique, was used to eliminate superfluous variables since in this technique variables were brought into the equation in accordance with their explained variance prediction (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1983). The statistical model for each occupation was formulated (Figure 6). The analysis was performed with 1) the total sample (N=98), 2) a sample (N=57) of older children ages nine to thirteen years, 3) the total sample of females (N=58), 4) the total sample of males (N=40), 5) a sample (N=31) of older females ages nine through thirteen years, and 6) a sample (N=26) of older males ages nine through thirteen years. The data were separated in this manner because the preliminary descriptive data suggested that younger children (six to eight years) were only vaguely conceptually aware of the status occupations of doctor and lawyer. Thus, the younger children's responses were assumed to be random. The elimination of these age groups from the analysis would reduce error and increase the amount of explained variance. The data were separated by gender because the findings of investigations by Marks (1947), Seeman (1946a), and Hill (1944) suggested gender differences in the values of different skin tones. The presentation of



$$Y_i = a + bX_1 + bX_2 + bX_3 + e$$

Key:

Y_1 = Doctor

Y_2 = School Teacher

Y_3 = Factory Worker

Y_4 = Lawyer

Figure 6. Statistical Models for Hypothesis 1

the data analysis for this hypothesis was organized around these six approaches.

Assumptions of Regression

As mentioned previously, statistical assumptions did underlie the use of regression analysis. The interrelated assumptions of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity were assessed for the nature and degree of their violations. Since the assumptions have been related to the error term/residual, scatterplots of the residuals were examined for violations of these assumptions (Verran & Ferketich, 1984).

Results: Total Sample (n=98, 6 to 13 years).

The independent variables accounted for either no or minimal variance in the dependent variables. The comparisons of the regression coefficients and Beta weights for the two samples are presented in Table 6.

Doctor and Lawyer. The independent variables accounted for no variance in these dependent variables.

School Teacher. Age was the only independent variable that entered the prediction equation. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .129$, Beta = .359 ($p < .001$). The finding suggested that as the children increased in age, the more the preferred skin tones were chosen for the occupation of school teacher.

An examination of the scatterplot of the standardized residuals with the predicted dependent variable revealed a violation of the statistical assumption of normality. The assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity were not violated. The pattern of the scatterplot

Table 6. Comparison of Regression Coefficients and Beta Weights for the Two Samples

D.V.	6 - 13 years n=98					9 - 13 years n=57		
	I.V.	R ²	Beta	Model R ²	I.V.	R ²	Beta	Model R ²
Doctor	--	--	--	--	Gender	.082	-.297 p=.03	.152 p=.012
					Age	.069	.152 p=.012	
School Teacher	Age	.129	.359 p<.001	.129 p<.001	POST	.177	.421 p=.001	.177 p=.001
Factory Worker	Age	.073	-.270 p=.008	.073 p=.008	Gender	.125	-.354 p=.006	.125 p=.007
Lawyer	--	--	--	--	Age	.068	.262 p=.048	.069 p=.048

-- = No Significant Predictor Variables

D.V. = Dependent Variable

I.V. = Independent Variable

indicated the systematic pattern that Verran and Ferketich (1984) stated could "occur when a dependent variable in an equation is discrete" (p. 35). In this investigation, the dependent variable consisted of six possible points. The histogram of the standardized residuals indicated a negatively skewed bimodal distribution, this finding confirmed the violation of the assumption of normality.

Factory Worker. Age was the only independent variable that entered the prediction equation. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .073$, Beta = $-.270$ ($p=.008$). The finding suggested as the children increased in age the less the preferred skin tones were selected for the occupation of factory worker.

An examination of the scatterplot of the standardized residuals with the predicted dependent variable revealed a violation of the statistical assumption of normality. The assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity were not violated. The pattern of the scatterplot indicated a systematic pattern due to a discrete dependent variable. The histogram of the standardized residuals indicated a negatively skewed bimodal distribution.

The ability of the independent variables to account for a non-significant amount of variance in the dependent variables was thought to be associated with the random responses of the younger age groups (six to eight years). The group was eliminated from the next analysis. There was a marked difference in the results of the analysis. The independent variables now accounted consistently for minimal amounts of variance with each dependent variable.

Results: Older Children (n=57, 9 to 13 years)

Doctor. In step one gender entered the prediction equation. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .082$, Beta = $-.287$ ($p=.030$). The finding suggested that males selected the least preferred skin tones for doctor. In step two age entered the equation. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .069$, Beta = $.152$ ($p=.012$). The finding suggested the older the children, the more preferred skin tones were selected for the occupation of doctor.

An examination of the scatterplot of the standardized residuals with the predicted dependent variable indicated a violation of the assumption of normality. The assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity were not violated. The pattern of the scatterplots revealed a systematic pattern indicative of a discrete dependent variable. The histogram of the standardized residuals indicated a negatively skewed bimodal distribution.

School Teacher. Perception of own skin tone (POST) was the only variable that entered the equation. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .177$, Beta = $.421$ ($p=.001$). The finding suggested that as own skin tone was perceived as closer to the preferred skin tones (medium brown to honey brown), the more preferred skin tones were selected for the occupation of school teacher. This was the first equation in which own skin tone accounted for any variance in a dependent variable.

An examination of the scatterplot of the standardized residuals with the predicted dependent variable reveals a violation of the

assumption of normality. The assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity were not violated. The pattern of the scatterplot revealed a systematic pattern indicative of a discrete dependent variable. The histogram of the standardized residuals indicated a negatively skewed distribution.

Factory Worker. Gender was the only variable that entered the equation. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .125$, Beta = $-.354$ ($p=.006$). The finding suggested that males selected the least preferred skin tones for the occupation of factory worker.

An examination of the scatterplot of the standardized residuals with the predicted variable revealed a violation of the assumption of normality. The assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity were not violated. The pattern of the scatterplot revealed the similar systematic pattern of the other regressions. The histogram of the standardized residuals indicated a trimodal distribution.

Lawyer. Age was the only variable that entered the equation. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .068$, Beta = $.262$ ($p=.048$). The finding suggested that as children increased in age, the more preferred skin tones were selected for the occupation of lawyer.

An examination of the scatterplot of the standardized residuals with the predicted variables revealed a violation of the assumption of normality. The assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity were not violated. The pattern of the scatterplot revealed the systematic pattern previously described. The histogram of the standardized residuals indicated a platykurtic bimodal distribution.

In summary, the relative predictive value of the independent variables was minimal even when the younger age groups were eliminated from the sample. Also not one of the variables was a consistent predictor of variance.

Data analysis for gender differences was performed with both the total and older children's samples. Stepwise multiple regression remained the statistical tool of choice.

Total Sample of Females (n=58, 6 to 13 years)

The independent variables account for no or minimal variance in both samples. The variables accounted for a higher percentage of the variance in the older female sample. The comparisons of the regression coefficients and the Beta weights for the two samples of females are presented in Table 7.

Doctor, Factory Worker, and Lawyer. The independent variables accounted for no variance in these dependent variables.

School Teacher. Age was the only independent variable that entered the equation. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .145$, Beta = .381 ($p=.004$). The finding suggested that as females increased in age, the more preferred skin tones were chosen for the occupation of school teacher. The histogram of the standardized residuals indicated a negatively skewed distribution.

The presentation of the analyses of the residual scatterplots has been discussed as a group at the end of the discussions about the prediction equations. The scatterplots were all similar.

Table 7. Comparisons of Regression Coefficients and Beta Weights for Females

D.V.	6 - 13 years n=58				9 - 13 years n=31			
	I.V.	R ²	Beta	Model R ²	I.V.	R ²	Beta	Model R ²
Doctor	--	--	--	--	--	--		
School Teacher	Age	.145	.381 p=.004	.145	POST	.268	.518 p=.003	.368 p=.002
					Age	.099	.317 p=.04	
Factory Worker	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
Lawyer	--	--	--	--	Age	.143	.378 p=.036	.143 p=.036

-- = No Significant Predictor Variables

D.V. = Dependent Variable

I.V. = Independent Variable

Results: Older Females (n=31, 9 to 13 years)

Doctor and Factory Worker. The independent variables accounted for no variance in these dependent variables.

School Teacher. In step one perception of own skin tone entered the equation. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .268$, Beta = .518 ($p=.003$). The finding suggested that as skin tone moved toward the more preferred skin tones (medium brown to honey brown) the more older females selected the most preferred skin tones for school teacher. Age entered in step two. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .099$, Beta = .317 ($p=.04$). The finding suggested that as females increased in age, the more the most preferred skin tones were chosen for lawyer. The histogram of the standardized residuals indicated a platykurtic multimodal distribution.

Lawyer. Age was the only variable that entered the equation. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .143$, Beta = .378 ($p=.036$). The histogram of the standardized residuals indicated a very platykurtic, negatively skewed distribution.

Scatterplots

An examination of the scatterplots of the standardized residuals with predicted dependent variables were strikingly similar for these equations. The scatterplots all revealed a violation of the statistical assumption of normality. None indicated violations of the assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity. Each of the patterns revealed a systematic pattern as described previously.

In summary the relative predictive value of the variables remained minimal. The only variables that showed any promise of accounting for variance was POST which was associated with school teacher in the older group of females. Not one of the variables was a consistent predictor of variance.

Results: Total Sample of Males (n=40, 6 to 13 years)

Comparisons of the regression coefficients and the Beta weights for the two samples of males are presented in Table 8.

Doctor and Lawyer. The independent variables accounted for no variance in these dependent variables.

School Teacher. Age was the only independent variable that entered the equation. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .104$, Beta = .323 ($p=.045$). The finding suggested that as males increased in age, the more preferred skin tones were selected for school teacher. The histogram of the standardized residuals revealed a basically flat, bimodal distribution.

Factory Worker. Age was the only independent variable that entered the equation. The amount of variance accounted for was $R^2 = .282$, Beta = $-.531$ ($p<.001$). The histogram of standardized residuals indicated a flat multimodal distribution.

Scatterplots

An examination of the scatterplots of the standardized residuals with the predicted dependent variables were all quite similar for these equations. They consistently indicated a violation of the

Table 8. Comparison of Regression Coefficients and Beta Weights for Males

O.V.	6 - 13 years n=40			9 - 13 years n=26		
	I.V.	R ²	Beta	I.V.	R ²	Beta
Doctor	--	--	--	--	--	--
School Teacher	Age	.104	.323 p=.045	--	--	--
Factory Worker	Age	.282	-.531 p<.001	--	--	--
Lawyer	--	--	--	--	--	--

-- = No Significant Predictor Variables

statistical assumption of normality. None of the scatterplots indicated violations of the assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity. Both scatterplots revealed systematic patterns due to a discrete dependent variable.

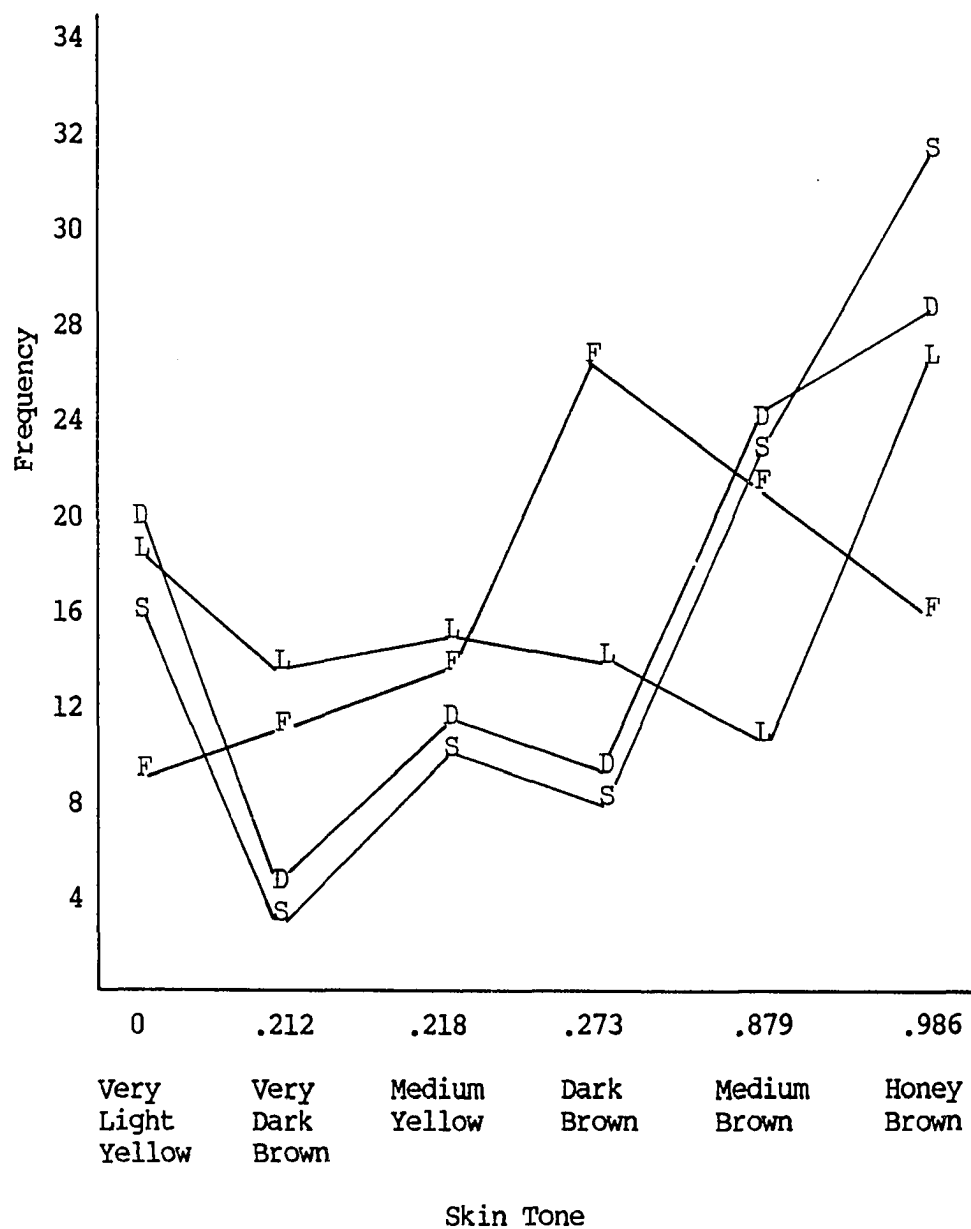
Results: Older Males (n=26, 9 to 13 years)

Doctor, School Teacher, Factory Worker and Lawyer. The independent variables accounted for no variance in any of the dependent variables.

In summary, the relative predictive value of the variables is minimal for the total sample of males for the dependent variables of factory worker. For the older males, the variables explained no variance. Again, the variables were inconsistent predictors of variance.

Descriptive Analysis

Following the multiple regression analysis, the data for the total sample (N=98) were analyzed for the frequency of skin tone chosen for each occupation. The frequencies were computed on two separate scales. The results in Figure 7 were computed with the children's Skin Tone Scale. On this scale, the extreme tones were clustered on one end and the medium to honey brown tones were clustered on the opposite end. The results in Figure 8 were computed with the color caste hierarchy scale. On this scale, the skin tones ranged in succession from very dark brown to very light.



Key:

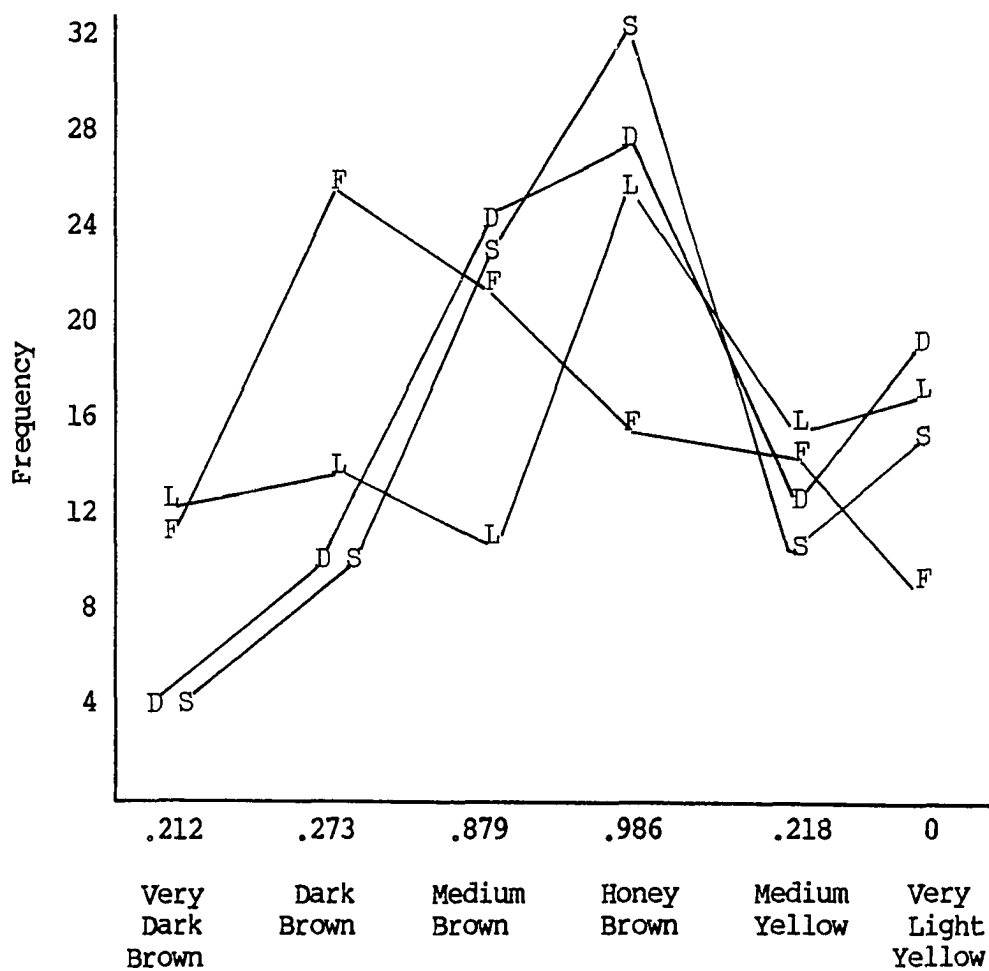
D = Doctor

S = School Teacher

F = Factory Worker

L = Lawyer

Figure 7. Skin Tone Chosen for Each Occupation by the Skin Tone Scale



Key:

D = Doctor

S = School Teacher

F = Factory Worker

L = Lawyer

Figure 8. Skin Tone Chosen for Each Occupation by the Color Caste Hierarchy

Results of Figure 7 indicated the status occupations (doctor, school teacher, and lawyer) received the highest frequencies of the most preferred skin tones. Results of Figure 8 indicated the status occupations received the highest frequencies in the most preferred skin tone range. Figure 8 also indicated the frequencies of the extreme tonal ranges more clearly. The doctor, school teacher, and lawyer were more likely to receive a higher frequency of lighter skin tones and factory worker to receive a higher frequency of darker skin tones.

Hypothesis Two

This portion of the data analysis was conducted to test the hypothesis: With increasing age, Black school-age children's skin tone preference will be more systematically related to the skin tone values of their Skin Tone Scale. A distribution-free statistical procedure was selected as appropriate because the dependent variable skin tone preference (STP) was operationalized as the ordinal ranking of the six skin tones in the order of the best to have to the worse to have. Coefficient gamma (G), as developed by Goodman and Kruskal, was selected as an appropriate ordinal measure of association to test the hypothesis.

According to Freeman (1965) association has been generally "a matter of guessing values of one variable on the basis of values of another" (p. 79). In ordinal ranking the specific concern has been with the guessing of order. The associative concern with ordinal scales "is the degree to which an individual's relative position or rank in one ordinal scale is predictable from his rank in another. ... The degree of association, or the degree of predictability between two ordinal

scales" (Freeman, 1965, p. 79) has been determined by the extent of agreement or inversion in their rank order. Freeman (1965) has described agreement as rankings in the same order and inversion as rankings in the opposite order on two scales. The coefficient gamma "is a ratio of the amount of predominance of agreement or inversion between two sets of rankings to the maximum possible agreement or inversion" (Freeman, 1965, p. 82). The computational procedure for untied ranks:

$$G = \frac{f_a - f_i}{f_a + f_i}$$

f_a = frequency of agreements

f_i = frequency of inversions (p. 83).

Thus, the ratio has been interpreted as the percentage of agreement or disagreement between subjects on their rankings.

Results

The data were analyzed with the Skin Tone Scale as the standard for the comparisons of rankings. The total sample (n=98) was divided into eight age groups (6 to 13 years) in an attempt to test for differences across the ages. The means of the frequencies for each rank position for each age group were treated as ordinal ranks for the computation of gamma (Table 9). The table clearly depicted the number of agreements and inversions. All except the gamma for the twelve year olds was significant.

The positive gammas consistently demonstrated greater agreement than disagreement of each age group with the standard Skin Tone Scale. The positive gammas suggested a systematically consistent association

Table 9. Mean Skin Tone Preference Rankings by Age Groups

Rank of Skintone	Standard STS	Ages 6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Best									
1	.986	.593	.583	.615	.686	.782	.652	.915	.676
2	.879	.469	.530	.645	.658	.797	.621	.713	.512
3	.273	.632	.561	.366	.507	.398	.495	.492	.611
4	.218	.366	.507	.402	.346	.269	.428	.145	.328
5	.212	.282	.211	.344	.175	.209	.242	.232	.264
6	-0-	.226	.176	.196	.196	.113	.130	.071	.177
Worst									
N		7	15	17	15	17	18	3	6
G		.73	.86	.73	.86	.86	1.0	.86	.86
*P		.810	.467	.426	.467	.426	.412	No Table Value	.867

*Obtained G larger than table value = significant one tailed

between the Skin Tone Scale and the skin tone preference rankings of each age group. The gammas also suggested a trend toward increased association with the Skin Tone Scale with age. The trend was difficult to ascertain with any certainty because of the small sample sizes of the lower (6 years) and upper (12 to 13 years) age groups. The distribution of the gammas are presented in Figure 9.

Summary

The chapter contained the results of the data analyses including the description of the sample. The rationale for and the procedures performed on the data were presented and discussed earlier.

The descriptive findings suggested the sample consisted primarily of Black elementary school children with the predominant skin tone range of medium to honey brown. The reliability and validity testing showed moderate levels of correlation between intraraters and interraters. The results of the analysis for Hypothesis One suggested the independent variables accounted for either no or minimal variance in the dependent variables. The hypothesis was not supported. The results of the analysis for Hypothesis Two suggested a trend toward increased association with the Skin Tone Scale with age.

The next chapter concludes this descriptive exploratory investigation. The chapter includes further discussion of the results and suggestions for nursing in relation to its minority focused research and practice.

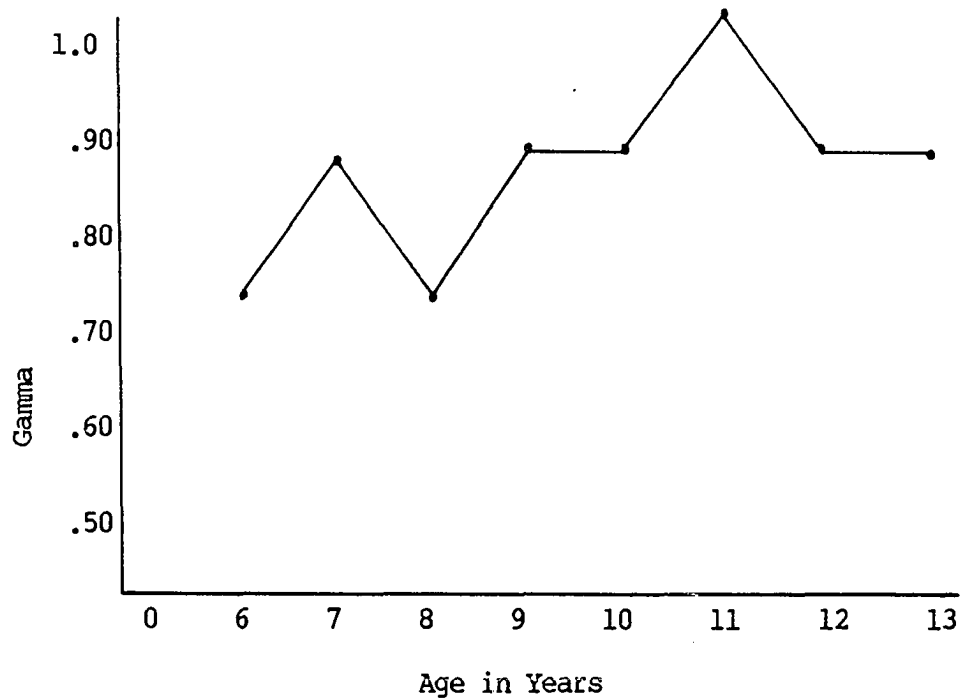


Figure 9. Gammas for Age Groups Skin Tone Rankings

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

On Monday, ...
I wonder to myself a lot:
"Now is it true, or is it not,
That what is which and which is what?"

On Tuesday, ...
The feeling on me grows and grows
That hardly anybody knows
If those are these or these are those...
(Hoff, 1982, p. 30)

Hoff's words are an accurate reflection of this chapter's theme. In the chapter a summary of the findings and conclusions inferred from the results presented in Chapter IV are discussed. The integration of the total investigation is accomplished with the presentation of ideas about the data and conjectures about the obtained results. Limitations of the investigation are outlined. Statements about the implications for minority focused nursing research and nursing practice are detailed.

Overview

A terse overview of the findings of the investigation in terms of its purpose is presented. The summary is followed by specific ideas about the results.

The themes the investigation endeavored to capture were 1) the relationship between sociocultural structure and process as embodied in socialization process, and 2) the relationship between socialization processes and the creation and maintenance of psychological well-being. The purpose that emerged from the themes was the exploration of the relationship of a belief in the color caste hierarchy with Black school-age children's perceptions of occupational life opportunities. An additional purpose was the acquisition of information about the continued existence of the color caste hierarchy. The investigation began with the scaling of six Black skin tones. The scaling methodology was Thurstone's method of paired comparisons and the law of comparative judgment. The result was an interval level Skin Tone Scale on which the six skin tones were positioned from most to least preferred. The most preferred skin tones ranged from medium brown to honey brown. This range of skin tone preference was the same finding as those in studies by Johnson (1941), Hill (1944), and Marks (1947).

Data collection was accomplished with an instrument constructed from the forced choice preference paradigm. Data collection and analysis were constructed to test two hypotheses: 1) Black school-age children's skin tone classifications for differential status occupations will be related to gender, age, and the perception of won tone as indexed by the skin tone values of the Skin Tone Scale, and 2) with increasing age, Black school-age children's skin tone preference will be more systematically related to the skin tone values of the Skin Tone Scale. The Scale was necessary to the analyses of both hypotheses.

The analysis of the first hypothesis with multiple regression indicated that the independent variables did not account for enough variance in the dependent variables to support the hypothesis. The independent variable age did, as anticipated, account for the minimal variance more consistently than any other variable. The analysis of the second hypothesis with coefficient gamma suggested a trend toward more systematic agreement with the Skin Tone Scale with increasing age.

Conclusions

The conclusions of the results presented in Chapter IV are discussed. This portion of the chapter is organized around the two hypotheses that stem from the general purpose of the investigation.

Hypothesis One

The multiple regression analysis included the three predictor variables of gender, age, and perception of own skin tone and the four dependent variables of the composite variable perception of life opportunities. The four dependent variables were the differential status occupations of doctor, school teacher, factory worker and lawyer. The data were separated for analyses by both gender and age.

Gender Differences

The results of these analyses were surprising.

Males. The suggested findings for the total sample of males were the same as for the sample of all children. The variables accounted for no significance variance for the older group of males (9 to 13 years).

Females. The findings for the total sample of females suggested that as age increased school teacher was the occupation selected for the most preferred skin tones. The findings for the older sample of females (9 to 13 years) suggested the occupations of lawyer and school teacher were selected for the most preferred skin tones as they increased in age. The primary difference between the selection of school teacher and lawyer with increasing age was the added dimension of skin tone with school teacher. The dimension of skin tone suggested that females whose perception of their skin tone ranged from brown to honey brown selected school teacher more often for those skin tones.

Age

The results of the analysis for the total sample was not anticipated. Age was related to the skin tones of school teacher and factory worker, but in reverse order, in that as the children increased in age they increased their selection of school teacher and decreased their selection of factory worker as occupations for the most preferred skin tones.

The results of the analysis for older children (9 to 13 years) was remarkably different. Age was related to the choice of preferred skin tones for the occupations of doctor and lawyer only. Perception of own skin tone was only related to the most preferred skin tones for school teacher.

General Discussion

The data were difficult to interpret. Since age was consistently related to the skin tones for all the occupations in the two samples, it was presumed that increasing age was an important variable in these Black children's skin tone perceptions of occupational life opportunities. The random responses of the younger children also supported this presumption. Thus, the results of the investigation could be discussed in terms of the ages of the sample. The age groups selected for this investigation were too young. The presumption was made that for these Black children stable perceptions about occupational life opportunities in relation to skin tone were made after the age of thirteen.

Taylor's (1976) discussion of a conceptual framework for the psychosocial development of Black youth/adolescents supported the presumption about the age of the sample. Using an Ericksonian theoretical perspective he focuses on the establishment of identity as the quintessential task of adolescents. "The issues of crucial significance for youth are questions of choice and commitment ... the need to develop a sense of identity ... compels the youth to make a series of increasingly more circumscribed selections of personal, occupational and ideological commitments" (p. 356).

Even though the children were young, they possessed social knowledge about the occupational status of Black people. When asked "Can you be what you want to be when you grow up?"

An eleven year old female who wanted to be a doctor said "If I could ... if they would let me be one, cuz if they don't it might be because of my skin color.

A nine year old male said, "No, some people are not the right color.

When asked "Tell me what the world is like for Black people the responses from all the age groups varied, but the predominant theme could be characterized by the words "horrible", "terrible", "dark", "poor".

There was much discussion about jobs ... "they won't give Black people jobs," "Black people can't find no work", and "nobody will hire ya if you're Black."

The six analyses suggested gender differences with age, once again, as the variable that consistently accounted for the variance. The results of three analyses (total samples of males and females and older sample of females) despite specific skin tones selected for occupations were consistent with respect to their implications. The results of the three analyses supported the achievement value of the Black community (Christenson & Yang, 1976), in that status occupations were selected for their more preferred skin tones. Also, when the children were asked "what are some things that can help you be what you want to be?"

The responses were persistently "get a good education," "try harder," "keep up in school, like grades," "go to college," and "work real hard."

The inclusion of the high status occupation of lawyer in the older female's analysis was anticipated due to the history of different socialization processes for Black males and females. Black females were socialized for greater success than Black males (Ausubel, Sullivan &

Ives, 1980). Its inclusion was supported by the observation that "most of the information to date indicates that the greatest proportion of academic achievers among Blacks are females" (Shades, 1978, p. 83). Therefore, it was expected that the highest status positions would be associated with females. However, the ability of the variables to account for no significant variance for the older males was quite unanticipated. There were no conjectures for this intriguing lack of findings.

The children's proclivity for the status of school teacher was supposed to be related to the fact that in all the schools there were Black male and female teachers. The school teachers' skin tones ranged from dark brown to honey brown. The Black teachers in the elementary schools were favorites of the children as demonstrated by participant observations and children's comments. The children might have been influenced by their real world role models. Their experience with these concerned teachers might have shown them that being a school teacher was a respected and achievable occupational goals.

Results of Descriptive Analysis

The descriptive analysis of the total sample's (n=98) frequencies of skin tone selections by occupations (Figures 7 and 8) were perplexing. The children selected their most preferred skin tones for the higher status occupation (doctor, school teacher, and lawyer) in both analyses. A comparison of the frequencies of skin tone selections across occupations (Figure 8) suggested their possible awareness of the color caste hierarchy. However, the suggested frequency pattern could

also represent the children's dual-consciousness (McAdoo, 1981), i.e., their perceptions of the relationship between the two Americas. Their perceptions could be aptly described by the words of a ten year old girl when asked to select the best skin tone for a Black person if they wanted to be a lawyer.

She stared at the selection of skin tones and stated cryptically, "You know it's White, but I'll pick this one." She selected the very light yellow skin tone.

However, if these children were without hope of status achievement, the status occupations would not have received the majority of selections for their most preferred skin tones. The presumption was that these children possessed hope and their skin tone selections for the status occupations which mirrored their personal skin tone perceptions reflected this hope.

Hypothesis Two

The analysis of the skin tone preference data to test the second hypothesis suggested a trend toward systematic agreement with the Skin Tone Scale with increasing age. As stated previously, the skin tones most preferred were the same range of skin tones most preferred by Black children and adolescents in the studies of the 1940's. Also, the extreme skin tones (very dark and very light) were the least preferred as in the studies of the 1940's. The results of the analysis was not generalizable across the other studies because of sampling procedures and methodological differences.

Limitations

Judgment calls made about research issues during the formulation and execution of the design resulted in limitations. These limitations included: the sample for the investigation, the instrument, and the sample for the Skin Tone Scale.

Sample

A purposive self-selected sample was used in the investigation. The self-selectiveness of the children was demonstrated by both the age and skin tone distributions. Since the sample was nonrandom and nonrepresentative, generalizability to the general population of Black school-age children was precluded. The use of random samples of Black children from each age group (6 to 13 years) would have been the ideal sampling procedure. However, this would have necessitated gaining access to a very large number of schools because of the school district's desegregation policies.

The sampling procedure did not pose a serious limitation for this investigation; even though the procedure did permit the introduction of random effects. The fact was recognized that skin tone perceptions and preferences as social knowledge represented a particular preference at a particular point in time for these children. Therefore, knowledge of how skin tone perceptions and preferences operated in the real world for these children and others could not be discussed with any confidence.

Porter Skin Tone Connotation Scale (PSTCS)

The primary limitation of the instrument was its forced choice preference paradigm. The paradigm created two interrelated limitations. First, the structured alternative choice responses might produce what appeared to be unambiguous representations of ambiguous and fluid processes that were contextually dependent (Yarrow, 1960; Seeman, 1945a, 1946b). The skin tone selection process did not reflect the contextually dependent role that skin tone plays in social behavior. The children's skin tone selections could be perceived as fixed notions rather than as notions that were continually changing due to different situations.

The second limitation was a limitation of any instrument constructed from a forced choice preference paradigm. The structured alternative choice responses could not differentiate between children who valued a specific skin tone because of a belief in the color caste hierarchy and children who possessed no socialized knowledge of its existence (Yarrow, 1960; Brand, Padilla & Ruiz, 1971). The instrument did not provide an index for children's reasons for particular skin tone selections. For example, two children could select the same skin tone for the same status occupation but for different reasons. one child's reason could be knowledge of the color caste hierarchy. The other child's reason could be "it's my mother's favorite color."

Sample for Skin Tone Scale

The random sample for the skin tone scale was part of the sample used to test the hypotheses. The total sample used to test the

hypotheses was nonrepresentative and biased in terms of the predominant skin tones. The argument could be made that the Skin Tone Scale was biased in terms of the predominant skin tones. The bias was then reflected in the low proportion of explained variance. While this fact placed an important limitation on the kinds of conclusions that could be drawn, the aim was to investigate the perceptions and preferences of a specific sample of Black children. The scale was essential to knowing the skin tone preferences of this specific sample.

Implications for Nursing Research

Implications for nursing research that emerged from this investigation are discussed in relation to study design, future research and contribution to nursing knowledge. Each is discussed separately.

Implications from Study Design

In studies that have involved sensitive topics for particular groups of children, subject self-selection has been a serious problem and threat to external validity. In this investigation children self-selected in terms of skin tone. The repeated assurances of confidentiality and anonymity were not enough to insure the participation of large numbers of children with skin tones from the extreme tonal groups. The manner in which these children reacted supported the assumption that human values were social products that were intergenerationally transmitted and preserved. The presumption was these children were being socialized in the negative values that the Black community has attributed to these skin tones since the institutionalized

zation of slavery. It was clear that there were many ways of being a Black child and some of these ways were related to skin tone. Alternative ways of thinking about subject considerations were needed to encourage these two extreme groups of children to participate.

Implications for Future Research

Implications indicated by the suggested finding of the investigation focused on two recommendations for future research regarding Black children's skin tone perceptions and preferences. The first recommendation was replication of the investigation with a sample of Black children living in an environment with a large Black community. It has generally been accepted, among Black community members, that the Black population in this Arizona city was so small and dispersed that a positive identification with Blackness was difficult to achieve in the children. Also, in this Arizona city, Black children had very few role models. In light of these factors, it was difficult to assess to what degree the skin tones preferences of minority/minority Black children were influenced by the skin tone preferences of majority/minority Mexican American children. Therefore, replication of the investigation with Black children from a large Black community would eliminate this disturbing sociocultural unknown. The elimination of the unknown might permit a more accurate reflection of the skin tone preferences of Black children.

The second recommendation concerned the necessity of a qualitative research program. Since the independent variables explained minimal variance in the dependent variables, it was recommended that

qualitative investigations be designed to suggest what social knowledge was salient in Black children's decisions about life opportunities. Qualitative research strategies were deemed essential for two reasons: 1) problem delineation, and 2) identification of specific age groups. Problem delineation was necessary to determine which processes and concepts were important to Black children in their decisions about life opportunities. The identification of the age range in which Black children seriously considered occupational opportunities was necessary to appropriate sample selection. The suggested findings of this preliminary investigation support the cogency of the two recommendations.

Implications for Contribution

An implication indicated by the investigation was its contribution to the body of nursing knowledge about Black children's inter-related perceptions of their skin tones and their environments. The implication is briefly discussed.

In a review of nursing research "published between 1952 and early 1982" regarding school-age children and adolescents, Denyes (1984) noted "knowledge generated through nursing studies relative to child and adolescent perceptions of self, life events, and environment was limited" (p. 28). None of the studies described in the review was specifically concerned with minority children.

Two simplistic inferences were deduced from this observation. The first inference was that the result of the review was a manifestation of nurse researchers' belief in the assumption of the similarity between Black and White children. If the simplistic inference was

logically correct, this investigation, with its many flaws, has contributed to nursing's meager knowledge base about Black children. The investigation has contributed information about a little known and poorly understood intraethnic skin tone value and belief system. This information could help to dispel the myth of similarity between Black and White children.

The second inference was that the result of the review was a manifestation of the cultural alienation of nursing science (Gaidenko, 1979). The inference addressed the issue of nursing science's contribution and role within the sociocultural system. If nursing's mission has become the improvement of health for all people, how could the mission be accomplished without relevant knowledge that confirmed the relationship between the sociocultural system and health? Nursing as an applied discipline concerned with the total health of all people has the need to create a more socioculturally relevant science to achieve its stipulated mission. The relevancy of nursing science to the lived experiences of individuals would assist in a more positive and creative partnership between nurse scientists and clinical nurses. This investigation which explored the lived experience of Black children was an attempt to contribute socioculturally relevant information to nursing.

Implications for Nursing Practice

Implications for nursing practice were bounded by the limitations of this preliminary descriptive investigation. The purposive, skewed, nonrepresentative sample and the minimally explained variance of the dependent variables restricted generalizability. The findings of

the investigation are ill-suited and not recommendable for clinical application. Although the investigation did not produce findings that were directly applicable to clinical nursing, implications for the education of nurses who would care for minority children could be extrapolated from the study. The discussion of the implications for the nursing care of ethnic/minority children has been structured around nursing education and the investigation's conceptual framework (Chapter II, Figure 1, P. 55).

The conceptual framework included several ideas (e.g., socialization, social knowledge, ideological system, and values) that were relevant to nursing's societal mission. If nursing's mission as stated in Nursing: A Social Policy Statement (ANA, 1980) has become the improvement of health for all people by "the diagnosis and treatment of human responses to actual or potential health problems" (p. 9), then the framework's concepts have to be an essential piece of the sensitive cognitive armamentarium of every nurse who cares for Black children. The concepts were deemed essential because to identify "human responses to actual or potential health problems" the nurse must have possession of information about the lived experience of the person being diagnosed. The concepts provided a structure around which to build the information needed to understand another's lived experience. Since nursing practice was directly related to the quality of nursing education, nursing education must help to supply the armamentarium. However, as stated in the significance of the problem, many nurse educators were conceptually ill equipped to help supply the necessary armamentarium.

Where could the nurse who cared for Black children be exposed to the concepts in the framework that were directly related to nursing's societal mission?

In response to the question some might comment about the approximately fifteen year interest in intercultural nursing. The framework's concepts did mesh with the ideology of the currently espoused trend in intercultural nursing that emphasized cultural diversity and the need for specialized knowledge in caring for culturally dissimilar humans. The question becomes: how has this ideological trend been concretized in nursing education?

The contention was that nursing education has been minimally influenced by the approximately fifteen year trend in intercultural nursing. Thus, the nurse who cared for Black children did not possess the sensitive cognitive armamentarium that alerted her to the fact that a particular socialization process guaranteed that certain elements of social knowledge would be more salient than others. The nurse who cared for Black children did not possess the orientation that the shared reality of Black children was not that of White children. If the nurse did possess this orientation it was usually stereotypical. Thus, the nurse continued to assume that Black children were White children who happened to be painted black (Wilson, 1978).

In summary, the investigation's relevance for nursing practice was mediated through nursing education. The conceptual framework provided ideas that need to be included in the education of nurses who care for Black children. The ideas need to be included in other than a

stereotypical fashion. Two examples of the use of the concept socialization in a nonstereotypical manner in nursing education would be: if Black children were socialized in dual racist sociocultural systems, what were some of the factors which contributed to their psychological survival?, and, If one of the outcomes of the socialization process was a hierarchical value system, how were the value systems of Black children and White nurses similar?

A nonstereotypical positive use of the concepts in the conceptual framework was essential to the provision of quality human experiences for Black children during their encounters with the nurse in the medical/health care system. The positive use of the concepts were essential to nursing's achievement of its social mission. However, in order to achieve their mission, both clinical nurses and nurse educators have to decide if they are truly concerned about cultural diversity. The contention was that without a true and concretized concern about cultural diversity, the probability of nursing achieving its social mission in terms of Black children is exceedingly low.

Summary

The conclusions inferred from the results of this investigation were discussed. Implication for both nursing practice and research were detailed. Limitations of the investigation were outlined. The results of this investigation were ill-suited for clinical application and practice. A more qualitative inquiry into the nature of skin tone preferences was necessary prior to future qualitative research. It is recommended that nurses who are practitioners, scientists, and educa-

tors think 'objectively' about how this kind of information would contribute to the achievement of nursing's societal goal, and nurses are encouraged to realize that they are also products of the socialization processes in skin tones that occur in relation to social values.

APPENDIX A

SKIN TONE SCALE

SKIN TONE SCALE

Introduction

L. L. Thurstone's investigatory approach to social attitudes and values has maintained its attraction for diverse professionals with varied interests. Among all of Thurstone's approaches, the method of paired comparisons and the statistical model of the law of comparative judgment have maintained a particular interest. "Hundreds of journal articles and numerous books ... have been written in large measure about empirical studies employing the law of comparative judgment or about theoretical issues relating to it" (Nunnally, 1978, p. 60). During the past twenty years both the method and the model have received considerable attention and extension (Davidson & Farquhar, 1976). Bradley (1976) in remarking about the simplicity of the method of paired comparisons stated, "it has been used extensively in experimental situations where the subjective judgments or appraisals of individuals lead to qualitative responses, situations where quantification through measurement is difficult or illusory. The method has led to a surprising amount of model building to provide stochastic representation of the experimental process" (p. 214). In concert, Rounds, Miller and Davis (1978) stated the method of paired comparisons "has been frequently applied in conjunction with the law of comparative judgment to scaling 'psychological' variables" (p. 415). The basic statistical model has been extended over the years to include, among others, "adjustment for ties, triple comparisons, use of factorial treatment

combinations, and the multivariate case" (Bradley, 1976, p. 214). The brief prologue places both the method and the model, for this approach to psychological scaling, in a 'state of the art' perspective.

Method and Model

The method of paired comparisons and the law of comparative judgment were the outcome of Thurstone's extensive development and generalization of Fechner's psychophysical two-category case of the method of constant stimuli (Bock & Jones, 1968; Guilford, 1954; Torgerson, 1958). Thurstone's extension of Fechner's method and model made possible the quantitative investigation of a variety of kinds of subjective experiences.

In the basic method of paired comparisons a subject or subjects was presented a series of similar stimuli in all possible pairs. Thus, each stimulus served in turn as the standard. All variants of the method (e.g., triads, tetrads), assumed that each stimulus had been compared with each other stimulus a large number of times. The subject's task was to render a subjective comparative judgment of the paired stimuli with respect to the designated attribute. The results of the repeated subjective comparative judgments are expressed as the number and proportion of times each stimulus is judged 'greater than' with respect to the designated attribute. The values of the proportions are expressed as unit normal deviates (Thurstone, 1959; Torgerson, 1958; Guilford, 1954).

The law of comparative judgment requires data in the form of proportions. The law "is a set of equations relating the proportion of

times any given stimulus k is judged greater on a given attribute than other stimulus j to the scale values" (Torgerson, 1958, p. 159). The stimuli are scaled linearly and unidimensionally by giving each stimulus a single value that reflects the magnitude of that stimulus on the psychological attribute being investigated. The scale distances on the psychological continuum are some function of the proportions of judgments of stimulus k greater than stimulus j . The law provides a rationale for the ordering of stimuli along a psychological continuum because the scale values and distances are related to observable proportions (Thurstone, 1959; Guilford, 1954). Basically, "the law is very simple. It consists of converting percentages of responses 'greater than' into corresponding deviates of the normal curve" (Nunnally, 1978, p. 60). It is hoped that the resultant scale "will have the properties of an interval scale. At least we can approach this objective" (Guilford, 1954, p.155).

Variability Models

The basic form of the law of comparative judgment is not solvable because the number of unknowns on the right side of the equation always exceed the number of observation equations. Thurstone's (1959) solution was to distinguish five cases or variability models with respect to applications of the law. The cases possessed the differentiating characteristics of the number of subjects, assumptions, and degree of simplification. For example, Case V, the most popular and least complex of the variability models, assumes 1) normal distribution of discriminial processes, 2) unidimensionality of

the continuum, 3) zero correlations between discriminial processes, and 4) equal standard deviations of the differences (Thurstone, 1959; Torgerson, 1958; Guilford, 1954).

Scale Construction

Thurstone's method of paired comparisons and model of the law of comparative judgment was used to construct the Skin Tone Scale (STS). The STS, constructed from a stimulus centered method can be categorized as probabilistic and unidimensional.

The scale was constructed with the assumptions of the Case V variability model.

At this juncture, it is important to note that STS provided no information on individual differences in preferences. STS was a scale that characterized the preferences of the group as a whole.

In Thurstone's model, replication of presentations for one individual can be replaced by replication over individuals so that a unidimensional interval scale can be obtained representing the preference scale for a group of individuals. This scale can be conceived of as an average scale for individuals (Delbeke, 1968, p. 3).

The important point was that individuals within the group may possess different degrees of preference for the same stimulus. The scale value might reflect either weaker or stronger preferences for that stimulus within a sub-group of individuals within the larger sample. Thus, the STS as an average scale, provided an index of the interrelationships of the skin tones under preference for the total sample.

Sample. Thirty Black school-age children were randomly selected from a purposive sample of sixty-eight voluntarily participating Black school-age children (Hamblin & Smith, 1966). All children attended one large school district in Tucson. The children ranged in age from six to thirteen years (Table A-1). The children's skin tones were representative of the variety of tones among Black Americans (Tables A-2a and A-2b). The children were asked about their parents' occupations. The information obtained was validated as closely as possible with school records. Parental occupations were categorized according to Green's (1970) categorization of specific occupations by the U.S. Bureau of the Census (Table A-3). The categories were intended to assist in the creation of a more complete description of the sample. No assumptions about the complex phenomenon of socio-economic status were made from the categorization of parental occupations.

Stimuli. The stimuli were six Black skin tones created from a mixture of various oil paints. The skin tones were varied in arbitrary steps from very light yellow to very dark brown. Each tone was painted on white canvas board (Figure A-1).

The six painted canvas boards were cut into three inch by three inch squares. The squares were glued three-quarters of an inch apart in triads to four inch by twelve inch white foamboard. The triads were systematically arranged by balancing and counterbalancing to achieve the objectives of 1) equal presentation of pairs, 2) equal alternate positions of pair members, and 3) maximal separation of like pairs. The goal of these objectives was to minimize biasing effects (Guilford,

Table A-1. Sample: Age and Gender

Age (Years)	Total Number	Gender	
		Female n	Male n
6	2	0	2
7	6	2	4
8	0	-	-
9	6	2	4
10	6	1	5
11	7	4	3
12	0	-	-
13	3	2	1

$$\bar{x} = 9.46$$

$$s.d. = 1.98$$

Table A-2a. Skin Tone Perception by Subject

	Skin Tone	Number of Subjects	% Total	
Very Dark Brown	1	0	0	
	2	2	6.7	
	3	11	36.7	
	4	10	33.3	
	5	5	16.7	—
Very Light Yellow	6	2	6.7	$\bar{x} = 3.8$
Total		30	100	

Table A-2b. Skin Tone Perception by Interviewer

	Skin Tone	Number of Subjects	% Total	
Very Dark Brown	1	1	3.3	
	2	5	16.7	
	3	12	40.0	
	4	5	16.7	
	5	6	20.0	
Very Light Yellow	6	1	3.3	—
Total		30	100	$\bar{x} = 3.26$

Table A-3. Occupations of Subjects' Parents

Occupation	Mother n	Father n
Armed Forces Enlisted Personnel		11
Unemployed	10	
Service Worker	8	1
Clerical Worker	6	
Craftsman/Skilled		4
Operative/Semiskilled		3
Students	2	
Professional	2	
Total	28	19

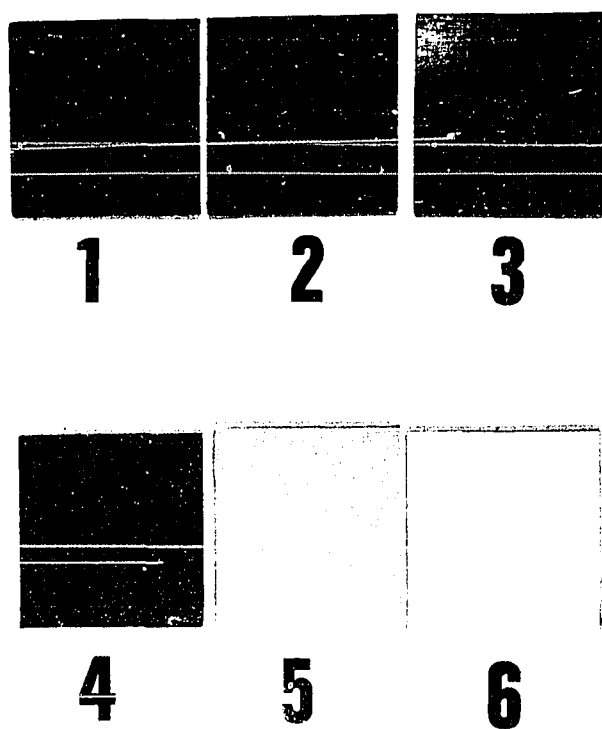


Figure A-1. Skin Tones for Stimuli

1954; Torgerson, 1958). The objectives were accomplished as closely as possible with an even number of stimuli.

The six stimuli produced twenty triads. The triads were serially randomized in three sequences.

Stimulus Sequence. A sequence consisted of twenty combinations of six stimuli taken three at a time. In each sequence of twenty triads there were fifteen pairs repeated four times each. In each serially randomized sequence each subject comparatively evaluated sixty pairs. The three sequences of twenty triads were rotated among all subjects.

Procedure.

Each subject sat at a table with a sixty watt incandescent light shining fourteen to sixteen inches from the table top. A sequence of triads was serially presented in one session. The sequence of triads was alternated with the interview.

Instructions

Each subject was told,

On these boards are three separate skin colors that look like some of the skin colors of Black people. Your task is to pick out the color that you like most and the color that you like least. I am going to be writing down some numbers but don't you pay any attention to anything but the colors. Any questions? Ready? Put your finger on the skin color you choose.

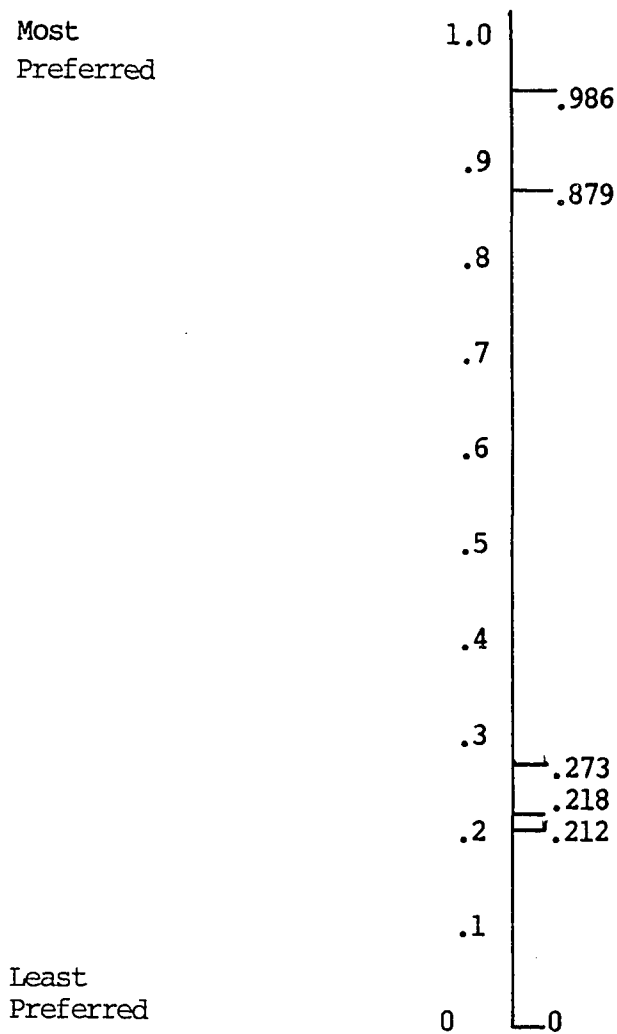
Treatment of the Data

Each paired comparison was embedded in twenty sets of three stimuli. The subject's comparative evaluations of the triads implied a paired comparison on each pair within the triad. Each triad was decomposed into three sets of paired comparisons. The raw data ($N=1800$ pairs) was the frequency with which one member of a pair was preferred over each of the other. The observed preference frequencies were arranged in an F matrix. The number in each cell represented the number of times i skin tone was preferred over j skin tone. The maximum possible preferences per cell was 120. The P matrix, constructed from the frequencies in the F , was the observed proportion of times each skin tone was preferred over each other skin tone. The numbers in each cell represented the proportion of times i skin tone was preferred over j skin tone. The unit of analysis for this matrix was the number of possible times each stimulus was compared with each other ($N=120$). The Z or basic transformation matrix (Table A-4) was constructed from the P . The numbers in each cell represented the unit normal deviate of each proportion.

The STS (Figure A-2) with its particular linear spacing of the stimuli was constructed from the Z matrix. Each skin tone was placed on the scale line at the point that represented its distance from zero in terms of its Z score. The scale values correspond to the positions of the six stimuli on the psychological continuum of preference for Black skin tones.

Table A-4. Z Matrix

Skin Tones	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	--	.189	.674	.625	.023	-.126
2	-.189	--	.674	.700	-.085	-.189
3	-.674	-.674	--	.169	-.729	-.813
4	-.625	-.700	-.169	--	-.904	-.970
5	-.023	.085	.729	.904	--	-.454
5	.126	.189	.813	.970	.454	--
z	-1.385	-.911	2.727	3.368	-1.241	-2.552
\bar{S}	-.231	-.752	.454	.567	-.207	-.425
$\bar{S} + .425$.272	.273	.879	.986	.218	.000



Key:

Skin Tone	Scale Value
6	0
5	.218
4	.986
3	.879
2	.273
1	.212

Figure A-2. Skin Tone Scale

Instrument Testing

The scale was assessed for its complementarity of reliability and validity — the two basic properties of empirical measurement (Zeller & Carmines, 1980). The measurement of an instrument's degree of trustworthiness is related to its ability to index some aspect of reality in both a reliable and valid manner.

Internal Consistency

Average Absolute Deviation. The psychological scale produced by the law of comparative judgment has a "unit of measurement <that> is frankly subjective, and yet it provides formal checks of internal consistency" (Thurstone, 1959, p. 15). The test of consistency determined how closely theoretical proportions, derived from final scale values, resembled the observed proportions (Guilford, 1954; Thurstone, 1959). "A common procedure is simply to obtain the average absolute deviationIf the average discrepancy is 'small', it is concluded that the model fits adequately" (Torgerson, 1958, p. 186). The test of internal consistency was also a "satisfactory indicator" of whether there existed "systematic differences between sub-groups" of the sample. If the discrepancy was minimal systematic differences did not exist between sub-groups. "Evidence ... seems to show that sub-groups may be strikingly homogeneous with the total population of judges is relatively small" (Guilford, 1937, p. 142). Guilford's statements about sub-groups were mentioned to describe the functions of the test of internal consistency. Sub-groups of this sample were not considered in the analysis.

The Skin Tone Scale's absolute average discrepancy was .050. This average discrepancy was slightly larger than the reported range. Edwards (1957) reported .032 for seven stimuli, Saffir (1937) reported .031 for 25 stimuli, and Hevner (1930) reported .024 for 20 stimuli scaled by the method of paired comparisons. The STS's average discrepancy was not within the narrow range of those reported in the literature. However, since no criterion for the average discrepancy was located in the literature, it was difficult to interpret the meaning of the test for the STS.

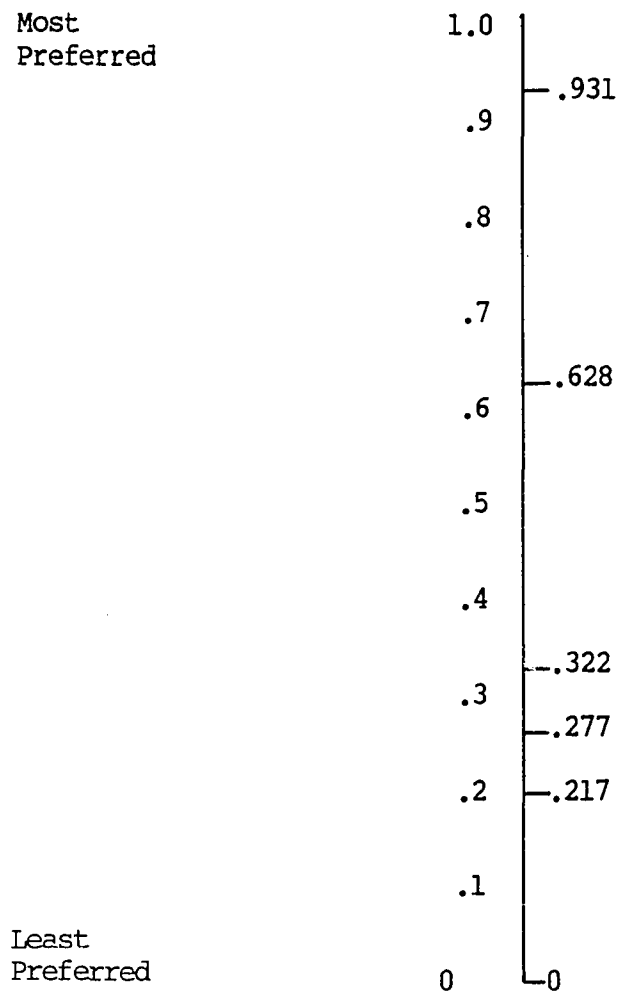
Test of Significance. Mosteller's (1951) chi-square test of significance measuring the goodness of fit between the observed and theoretical proportions was not performed because of its insensitivity to Case V assumptions and the resultant ambiguous conclusions drawn from the result. A significant chi square means something is wrong with the Case V assumptions. It could mean either lack of linearity or unidimensionality, or unequal standard deviations (Edwards, 1957; Guilford, 1954; Torgerson, 1958). The more appropriate test of significance was Kendall's (1975) coefficient of agreement. This coefficient would reveal more specific information about the sample because it was based on the number of pairs that were ordered in the same direction. The coefficient provided a means of determining the extent to which the group of judges agreed in their comparative judgments (Kendall, 1975; Edwards, 1957). The coefficient agreement for the Skin Tone Scale was $u = .17$. The positive value indicated that among the children an extent of agreement existed.

A chi-square test of significance for the coefficient of agreement was obtained to consider "what the distribution would be if all the preferences were allotted at random" (Kendall, 1975, p. 152). The chi-square value with df 15.38 was 323.24. The value was significant at $p = .01$. It was concluded that the sample of 30 judges did exhibit significant agreement in their comparative judgments and their judgments were not random.

Validity

Content Validity. Judgments of the sampling adequacy and discriminability among the stimuli were made by two Black adults, two White adults, and one Black school-age child. All concurred that the stimuli represented the content domain of the variety of skin tones among Black Americans (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955; Fitzpatrick, 1983).

Scale Replication. Following the initial construction of the scale, a replication was attempted to determine if new evidence might suggest either modifications or new developments (Nunnally, 1978). Replication of scale values was accomplished with a second random sample ($n=15$) from the total sample. The criterion used to determine the validity of the scale was the relative sameness of the size of the intervals between the skin tones (Nunnally, 1978). The scale replication (Figure H-3) was a similar scale in that skin tones were in relatively the same positions on both scales. For example, the brown tones were scaled the highest, and the extreme light and dark tones were scaled the lowest. Also, both scales had 1) wide intervals between the most preferred and least preferred tones, and 2) clusters of least



Key:

Skin Tone	Scale Value
6	.217
5	.277
4	.628
3	.931
2	.322
1	0

Figure A-3. Replication of Skin Tone Scale

preferred tones. It was concluded from the results of the replication that the initial scale possessed characteristics that rendered it generalizable to this sample.

In summary, the Skin Tone Scale constructed from the method of paired comparisons and the model of the law of comparative judgment was described. The scale's psychometric properties supported the degree to which the scale could index the sample of Black school-age children's skin tone preference.

APPENDIX B

PORTER SKIN TONE CONNOTATION SCALE (PSTCS)

PORTER SKIN TONE CONNOTATION SCALE (PSTCS)

I. Family Composition

- A. How many people live in your house?
Father, Mother, Sister, Brother, Other
- B. How many Brother, Sister, Other are older?
- C. How many Brother, Sister, Other are younger?

II. Occupational Prestige

Which of these types of jobs do you think are better than the others? List them from the ones you think are the best kind to the ones you think are the worst kind. Don't put them in the order of what you want to be when you grow up.

Probe: Better means you make more money, people think you are a big deal and the job takes more education which means you have to go to school for a longer time.

III. Perception of Own Skin Tone (POST)

Pick out the skin tone that looks most like your skin tone.

Probe: Now, this one looks most like me. Find the one that looks most like you.

IV. Family Skin Tones (FST)

In most Black families the people in them have different skin tones. Select the skin tone that looks most like the skin tone of your Father, Mother, Brother or Sister.

V. Significant Other Skin Tone (SOST)

- A. Most of us care about some people more than others. Pick out the skin tone that looks most like the person you care the most about. You do not have to tell me who that person is, just pick the skin tone.
- B. Is that person in your family?

VI. Perception of Life Opportunities (POLO)

Sometimes a person has to be a certain skin tone to get the job they want or to do the things they want to do in life.

Probe: Talking about a job where you make money people think you are successful.

Pick out the skin tone that is best for a Black person to have if the Black person wants to be a

- ...Doctor
- ...School Teacher
- ...Factory Worker
- ...Lawyer

VII. Ideal Skin Tone (IST)

All of us think sometimes about what color we are and think about the color we would like to be.

- A. Of all the colors on the board, which do you think is the best skin color to have?
- B. Here's a tricky one. There is a Black boy/girl who is unhappy about his/her skin color. Pick the color of the unhappy boy/girl. What color is the child now?
- C. Pick out the skin color that she/he wants to be.
- D. Why does she/he want to be that skin color?

VIII. Skin Tone Preference (STP)

Put all of the skin colors in a row. Start with the one you like the best to the one you like the worse.

IX. Perception of Own Skin Tone (POST)

Once again, pick out the skin color that looks most like your own skin color.

APPENDIX C

SUBJECT RECRUITMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

SUBJECT RECRUITMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Hello, I am _____, but everyone calls me "CP". I am working on a study about what children today think about skin tones. I am a college student in psychology and nursing at the University of Arizona. For my study, I am going around to different schools, like this one, and talking with many Black children about their ideas and what they think. You know, that big people do not really know what children think and why they think the way they do.

So, I am here today to see how many of you will be willing to help big people out and talk with me about skin tone. I am asking for volunteers. You will not be paid or get a higher grade for helping. I realize that skin tone is something you are not supposed to talk about, because everybody is supposed to be the same. So, in a way, we will be sharing secrets when we talk. If you decide you want to talk with me, no one will know who said what or when because each of you will be given a special code number.

To help out requires about 15 to 20 minutes of your time. We will talk some place in the school during school hours. While we're talking if you don't like the questions you can quit.

If you decide to help out you raise your hand and I will give you a form to take home for your mother or father to sign. You have to return the signed form to the teacher tomorrow.

Now, questions?

Who wants to help?

Remember, only help if you want to. If you don't want to, it will be all right. I hope you will still speak to me when you see me. You must decide what you want to do.

APPENDIX D

PARENTAL INFORMATION SHEET

PARENTAL INFORMATION SHEET

Dear Parent:

I am conducting a study to increase our understanding of what children today think about skin color. I realize that parents teach their children not to judge others by the color of their skin, but studies in the past have shown that children have their own ideas about skin color. The information from this study will be used to help develop ways to help children accept each other and themselves.

The study consists of your child's participation for approximately 15 to 20 minutes at some time during the school day in the school. Your child will be asked questions about different shades of skin color and how these different shades of skin color might affect the chances for success in life.

The study is being conducted by a pediatric nurse, who is a doctoral student in the College of Nursing at the University of Arizona. The study has been approved by the Ethical Review Committees of the College of Nursing, the Arizona Health Sciences Center, and the Legal and Research Department of the Tucson Unified School District. All committees agree that your child's participation will not be harmful in any way. All information will be treated with confidentiality and anonymity. Each child will be assigned a code identification number.

Upon completion, the findings of the study will be shared at a general parents meeting. The meeting will provide us the opportunity to share ideas and questions.

The study has been discussed with the principal of your child's school. Your child is being asked to participate. If you are willing to have your child participate, please sign and date the parental consent form. Your child is being asked to return it to the classroom teacher in one day. No child will participate without parental consent.

If you have questions, comments, or concerns, please call Cornelia P. Porter at the College of Nursing at 626-6154 and leave a message indicating a convenient time to return your call.

Thank you for your willingness to have your child participate. Again, please call if you have questions, comments, or concerns.

Sincerely,

Ms. Cornelia P. Porter
Doctoral Candidate
College of Nursing

APPENDIX E

PARENTAL CONSENT FORMS

(Note the 2 forms used)

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

TITLE: SOCIALIZATION, SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN AND THE COLOR CASTE HIERARCHY

I understand that I am consenting for my child _____, to take part in a research study that is designed to explore what school-age children think and feel about different shades of skin color among people. My child is asked to participate because she/he lives in the area and attends school.

My child is to be interviewed once for approximately 15 to 20 minutes, with a tape recorder, about thoughts and feelings about skin tones. My child is to be requested to select different shades of brown color in response to questions and to draw and color pictures. My child is also to be requested to respond to selected demographic questions. These include, the title of my occupation only, the number of persons in the family unit, and length of residency in the city.

I am informed that the identity of my child is not to be revealed and all materials are to be kept indefinitely for use at a later time. I am also informed that I am free to question the interviewer at any time about any aspect of the study.

I understand there are no physical discomforts or known risks to my child. All information will remain strictly confidential, anonymous, and there is no cost to us. I also understand that my child's participation in this research will assist parents and others in understanding one of the many aspects of the development of children.

The research has been explained to me and my child. I understand that I am free to ask questions and withdraw my participation at any point and it will not affect our relationship. I have been duly informed and understand what participation involves. I consent to my child being a participant in the research.

Parent or Guardian

Date

Witness

Date

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

TITLE: SOCIALIZATION, SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN AND THE COLOR CASTE HIERARCHY

I understand that I am consenting for my child _____, to take part in a research study that is designed to explore what Black school-age children think and feel about the different shades of skin color among Black people. My child is asked to participate because she/he is Black, lives in the area, and attends school. My child is to be interviewed once for approximately 20 minutes, with a tape recorder, about thoughts and feelings about Black skin tones. My child is to be requested to select different shades of brown colors in response to questions and to draw and color pictures. My child is also to be requested to respond to selected questions. These include the title of my occupation only, the number of persons in the family unit, and length of residency in the city.

I am informed that the identity of my child is not to be revealed and all materials are to be kept indefinitely for use at a later time. I am also informed that I am free to question the interviewer at any time about any aspect of the study.

I understand there are no physical discomforts or known risks to my child. All information will remain strictly confidential, anonymous, and there is no cost to us. I also understand that my child's participation in this research will assist parents and others in understanding one of the many aspects of the development of Black children.

The research has been explained to me and me child. I understand that I am free to ask questions and withdraw my participation at any point and it will not affect our relationship. I have been duly informed and understand what participation involves. I consent to my child being a participant in the research.

Parent or Guardian

Date

Witness

Date

APPENDIX F

CHILD'S ASSENT FORM

CHILD'S ASSENT FORM

TITLE: SOCIALIZATION, SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN AND THE COLOR CASTE HIERARCHY

I am asking you to help with this research study about what Black children think and feel about the different shades of skin among Black people. I am asking Black children between the ages of 6 and 14 years to help me with this study. I will visit you once, for 15 to 20 minutes in a place in school that is comfortable for you.

I will ask you to talk directly with me about the different shades of skin among Black people, pick out different brown colors, and to draw and color pictures. I will have a tape recorder so that I will not forget what you have to say. I think what you have to say about all of the different skin colors among Black people may help us to understand each other better and help others to know some of the things that Black children think about as they grow up.

Please decide for yourself whether or not you wish to be a part of the study. Whichever you decide will be all right. There is no reason I know of that any of this will hurt you in any way. I will not pay you any money to help with the study. You may ask me any questions you wish about the study and I will answer them. You may stop talking with me anytime you like. You will not have to answer any questions you do not wish and you will not have to explain why.

When we finish talking I will write about what you have said, but I will not tell anyone your name. This means there will be no way for others to know what you have said. I will save what you have told me to make speeches, write papers, and to share with others what a Black child, like you, thinks and feels about different skin colors.

I want you to remember that any time you do not want to answer a question or any time you do not want to be a part of the study, all you have to do is tell me. You will not have to explain why and it will not affect our relationship.

I want you to keep a copy of this form so you will remember what I have said to you. I am asking you to sign it. when you sign it, it means you understand what I have said. I also have a form for your parent(s) to read and sign.

I understand what has been written in this assent. What it means has been explained to me and my parents. I know that I may ask questions, stop helping with the study at any time, and no one will know my name.

Subject's Signature or Mark

Date

Witness

Date

APPENDIX G

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA FORM

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA FORM

Name _____ Skin Tone _____
I.D. No. _____
School _____ Grade _____
Age _____ B.D. _____ Sex _____
Ethnic Heritage _____
Group _____ Parent _____

Length of Residence

Tucson _____
Section N _____ S _____ E _____ W _____
Other Cities _____

Parental Occupation

Father: Type of Work _____
Where Work _____
Job Title _____

Mother: Type of Work _____
Where Work _____
Job Title _____

APPENDIX H

PSTCS SCORE SHEET

PSTCS SCORE SHEET

Interview _____ I.D.# _____

I. Family Composition:

F _____ M _____ B _____ S _____ O _____

B: Older _____ S: Older _____ O: Older _____

Younger _____ Younger _____ O Younger _____

II. Occupational Rank:

Clerk _____
Doctor _____
School Teacher _____
Factory Worker _____
Policeman _____
Lawyer _____

III. POST: _____

IV. FST: M _____ F _____ B _____ S _____

V. SOST: _____ In Family: Yes _____ No _____

VI. POLO: A _____ B _____ C _____ D _____

VII. IST: A _____ B _____ C _____

D _____

VIII. STP: _____
Best _____ Worse _____

IX. POST: _____

Comments:

APPENDIX I

NOTICE OF APPROVAL, HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE



THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

HEALTH SCIENCES CENTER
TUCSON, ARIZONA 85724

HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE
1609 N. WARREN (BUILDING 220), ROOM 112

TELEPHONE: (602) 626-6211 or 626-6212

2 May 1984

Cornelia P. Porter, M.N.Ed.
College of Nursing
Arizona Health Sciences Center

Dear Ms. Porter:

We are in receipt of your project, "Socialization: Black School-Age Children and the Color Caste Hierarchy", which was submitted to this Committee for review. The procedures to be followed in this study pose no more than minimal risk to the minor subjects participating. Regulations issued by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (45 CFR Part 46, Subpart D) authorize approval of this type project, with the condition that adequate provisions are made to secure the consent of the subjects' parents and, where possible, the assent of the subjects themselves. Although full Committee review is not required, a brief summary of the project procedures is submitted to the Committee for their information and comment, if any, after administrative approval is granted. This project is approved effective 2 May 1984.

Approval is granted with the understanding that no changes or additions will be made either to the procedures followed or the consent form(s) used (copies of which we have on file) without the knowledge and approval of the Human Subjects Committee and your College or Departmental Review Committee. Any physical or psychological harm to any subject must also be reported to each committee.

A university policy requires that all signed subject consent forms be kept in a permanent file in an area designated for that purpose by the Department Head or comparable authority. This will assure their accessibility in the event that university officials require the information and the principal investigator is unavailable for some reason.

Sincerely yours,

Redacted

Milan Novak, M.D., Ph.D.
Chairman
Human Subjects Committee

MN/jm

cc: Ada Sue Hinshaw, R.N., Ph.D.
College Review Committee

APPENDIX J

NOTICE OF APPROVAL FOR ACCESS TO SUBJECTS

TUCSON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

P.O. BOX 40400
1010 EAST TENTH STREET
TUCSON, ARIZONA 85717-0400

November 13, 1984

Cornelia P. Porter
2756 N. Forgeus Avenue
Tucson, Arizona 85716

Dear Ms. Porter:

We are pleased to inform you that your request to do research in the Tucson Unified School District has been approved by: Ben Canada, Assistant Superintendent, Region II.

PROJECT TITLE: Socialization, Black School-Age Children, And
The Color Caste Hierarchy

REFERENCE NUMBER: 1256

It will be your responsibility to contact the administrator of the sites participating in your study to secure their approval. You MUST show them a copy of this letter.

Please keep in mind that building principals have administrative responsibility and control of the conduct of your study in their area.

When you have obtained all of the sites in TUSD participating in your study, please inform Legal and Research Services of these sites.

Finally, provide the Department with two copies of the final report of the study.

Sincerely,

Redacted

Christopher Crowder, PhD
Assistant Director
Testing and Evaluation

CC/se

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

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